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HISTORY OF MICRONESIA

**A COLLECTION OF SOURCE
DOCUMENTS**

**VOLUME 4 —RELIGIOUS CONQUEST
1638-1670**

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by

Rodrigue Lévesque

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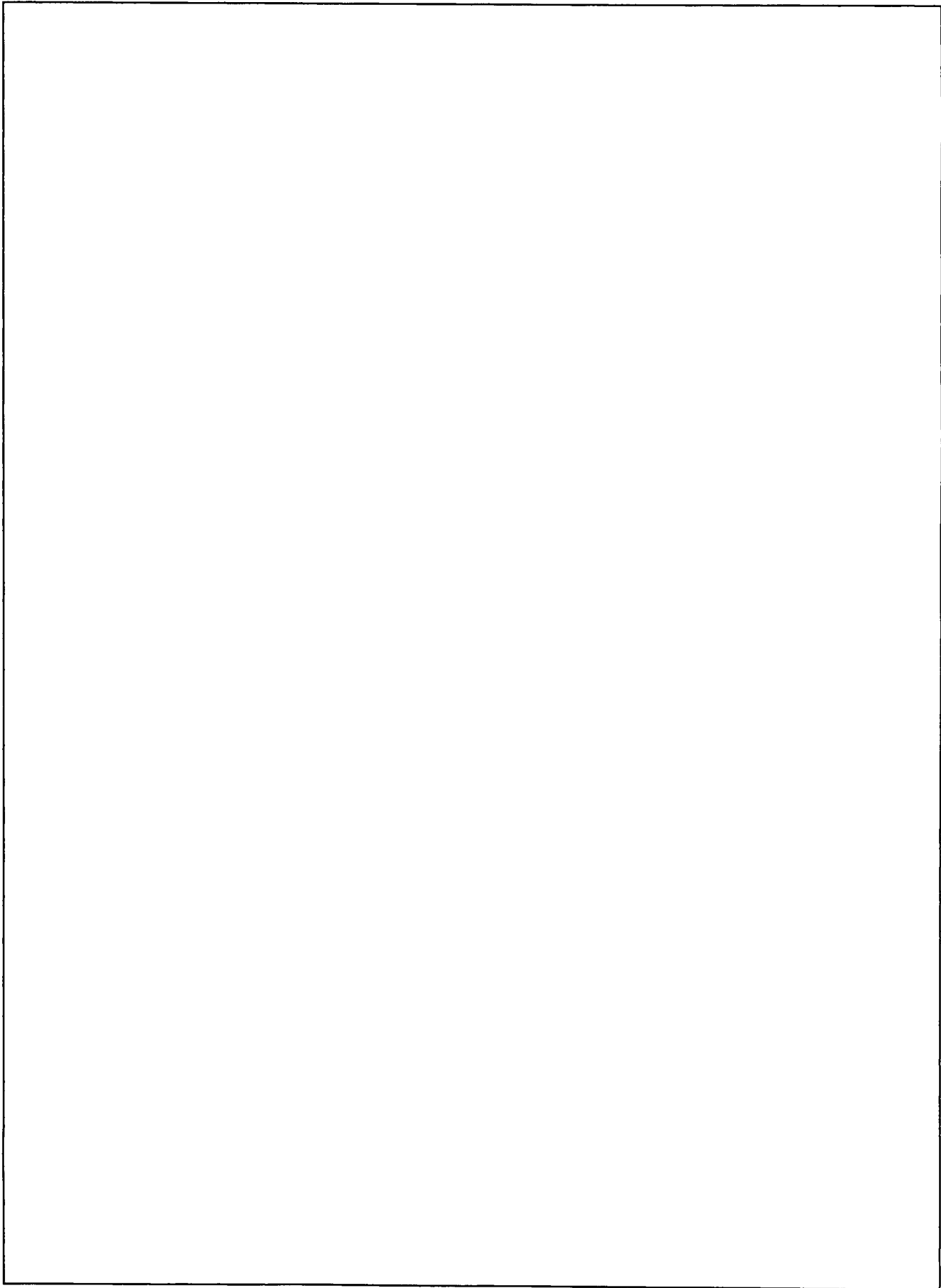
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Rear fly-leaf	Image of St. Francis Xavier, printed in Mexico in 1668 (see Doc. 1669B).
Rear endpaper	Map of the Philippines and Ladrones, by Sanson d'Abbéville, 1652.

Abbreviations

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

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

Foreword

“History teaches everything, even the future.”

Alphonse Lamartine, 1847.

A moving story

For over a century, the Spanish galleons returning from Acapulco to Manila every year would pass by the Mariana Islands without stopping, as there was no European colony there. It took a shipwreck to force the foreigners to live among the naked savages. From then on, only the white men among the survivors would be forcibly “rescued” by passing ships. In particular, the following story, as told by a Governor of the Philippines (see Doc. 1667G) is especially moving:

“The year that I passed by the Islands, in 1653, one of those who had remained from the shipwreck was recognized as a Spaniard by those aboard the galleon, but he was so disfigured that he did not seem so, not even in his speech, which he had forgotten. We tricked him aboard, along with other barbarians, but we did not let him leave with the others when they went off. He persisted in wanting to go with them. Once in Manila, within a few days, he died of a broken heart.”

No wonder. The man had been taken away from his Chamorro family and friends...

Major events of the 1638-1670 period

The religious conquest of the Mariana Islands in 1668 is the most important event of the period covered by this volume. However, before the arrival of the Jesuit apostles and their small band of Filipino disciples, other foreigners had already made their residence among the naked islanders and adopted their customs. Indeed, a Manila galleon, the **Concepción**, was forced by stress of weather to return from the North Pacific and was shipwrecked on the south coast of Saipan in 1638.

The people of Saipan killed some of the survivors of the Concepción shipwreck, but not the people of the other islands. One Spanish seaman, Estevan Ramos, who later became an Admiral, spent two years in the Ladrones before making a daring crossing to Manila aboard a native canoe. Among the many Filipino sailors who slowly trickled back home aboard passing galleons, there were two who had spent 20 years in the Marianas and they became known to the Jesuits at Manila.

In 1662, a Jesuit mission band was passing by Guam. One priest, named Father Diego Luis Sanvitores, the future Apostle of the Marianas, was sufficiently impressed with the condition of the natives that he decided to return and establish a mission. It

was not until 1668 that his project was realized, at the cost of great difficulties. In Manila, he had recruited some devout Filipinos to help him in his endeavor. Their leader was Juan de Santa Cruz, destined to become the peaceful Conquistador of the Marianas. He brought his wife, sister, and her baby boy. The sister became the first school teacher of Guam. But the most important Filipino was the interpreter of the Mariano, or Chamorro, language. During the voyage from Manila to Acapulco, and from there to Guam, Francisco de Mendoza taught Fr. Sanvitores and other Jesuits what he knew, so well that a grammar and catechist had already been written in this language **before** the ship arrived with the new colonists.

It was entirely by chance that the ship **San Diego** anchored in Agaña Bay in 1668. The local chief, Kipuha, was quick to realize his good luck and gave his land to the missionaries to establish a settlement. That is how this mid-size village suddenly took on the relative importance it has retained to this day. The first two years of the Mariana Mission were very successful, in spite of a rumor started by Choco (a Chinese mestizo who had deserted from a champan driven to the Ladrones, circa 1649). This man claimed that baptism killed babies. This belief, more than any other factor, was responsible for the violent death of the first missionary in 1670; it was not surprising that this priest, Fr. Medina, was killed in Saipan, an island where the “urritao”, or teenage boys, were more violent. By 1673, at least 20 “guirrago”, or foreigners, had been killed by islanders. The 3 muskets owned by the colonists had killed about the same number of natives, in self-defence. A major rebellion almost decimated the colony in 1684. However, the final phase of the religious, and relatively peaceful, conquest of the Marianas was not to take place until much later, in 1695 and 1699, in the northern Marianas, and in the Gani (northernmost) Islands, respectively.

Population of the Marianas

At the arrival of the missionaries in 1668, there were in fact hardly more than 10,000 inhabitants in the archipelago of 13 islands, all inhabited, except the last one, Urac, which was inhabited only by birds. The immediate objective of the missionaries was to baptize all children as soon as possible. In the first two years, they claimed to have baptized 13,000; so, they estimated the overall population to be 30,000.

Using such figures (made public by Father LeGobien in his History of the Marianas, in French, in Paris, in 1700), some anti-Catholic writers in England were the first to publish false news about the slaughter of natives by the Spanish. They quoted the inflated population estimates given by the missionaries themselves at contact, and the more realistic population censuses that followed, then they invented the notion of a catastrophic decline in population, and therefore some massacres, epidemics, etc. Nothing like that ever happened. I personally have always been bothered by modern “scholars” who continue to foster the myth of a large initial population, etc. This volume contains the proof that the missionaries were tricked into over-estimating the population, by naïvely believing their informants, by being overly enthusiastic about the size of the missionary harvest, and, more importantly, by making mistakes in arith-

metic... How could a simple error in addition have escaped the attention of historians until now?

From Day 1, the missionaries would make gifts of clothes, beads, iron bits, and so on, to the parents of children, in order to get permission to baptize them. The Marianos—the new name given to those whom Magellan had called Ladrones, or Thieves—were born tricksters; so, they immediately had their children baptized more than once... As for the arithmetical mistake, I have traced the source to the Jesuit Brother, later Father, Bustillo; the other missionaries merely signed his reports, without checking, obviously. Even the official report sent to the Propagation of the Faith in Rome contained his bad Latin translation; for 13,000, he wrote “triginta millia” which means 30,000 (see Doc. 1670C). It was not until the arrival of the Belgian Jesuits, however, that the errors were detected by the local Jesuits themselves, but they never corrected their earlier reports. In 1673, Fr. Coomans was mulling over the draft copies of the first reports when he detected that the 13,000 figure for baptisms was grossly exaggerated. In his own history of the mission for the 1668-1673 period, he pointed out that Br. Bustillo had simply added the baptisms for Guam to the number for the whole archipelago...¹ and we now know that many of the early baptisms were performed more than once on the same individuals.

For years, I have been working on recreating the exact details regarding the list of Jesuit missionaries. This past year, I have come across some interesting documents in the archives, such as police reports of Spanish and foreign missionaries leaving Spain. These, and many other documents from Seville, up to the period of Jesuit expulsion in 1769, have allowed me to get the full picture and to put the final touch to the list shown in Appendix B.

Carolinian history during this period

There was a Spanish galleon that became shipwrecked in Palau in 1660. Like Choco's champan, it had been on the way from Manila to deliver reinforcements to Ternate, when it got blown off the Moluccan passage. Ten years later, a Palauan canoe from Ngerdmau on the west coast of Palau drifted to Cape Espiritu Santo where it was picked up by the galleon **San Diego** that had just landed Fr. Sanvitores and his group at Guam.

In the meantime, other Carolinian canoes drifted to the Moluccan Passage. They were people from Ifaluk Atoll, and for the first time, their story was properly recorded by a Jesuit, Fr. Miedes, then serving at the northern tip of Celebes Island (see Doc. 1664D). This document shows that the Central Carolinians were great travellers. Even before they made contact with the Marianas, they had made contact with Melanesia. In the 17th century, Ifaluk was apparently the center of the Carolines; the center of political power had not yet shifted to Yap. Carolinians knew about the war-like inhabitants of Truk [Chuuk] Atoll, and had even heard of the presence of dogs in Pohnpei.²

1 Ed. note: This proof is shown in the next volume, Doc. 1673L.

2 Ed. note: Kiti means dog in Pohnpeian.

Finally, at the end of this volume, there is the usual list of ships through Micronesia, fully reconstructed and many times verified. All in all, I feel confident that this list, and this particular volume, will add to our knowledge of the history of the North Pacific.

Rod Lévesque
Gatineau, March 1995.

Acknowledgment

Father Juan Ledesma is a Filipino Jesuit who compiled a documentary history of the life of the Apostle of the Marianas, Fr. Diego Luis de San Vitores, that was instrumental in leading to the latter's beatification on 6 October 1985. Some of Fr. Ledesma's translations have been reproduced in this and subsequent volumes, with his permission.

Errors and corrections

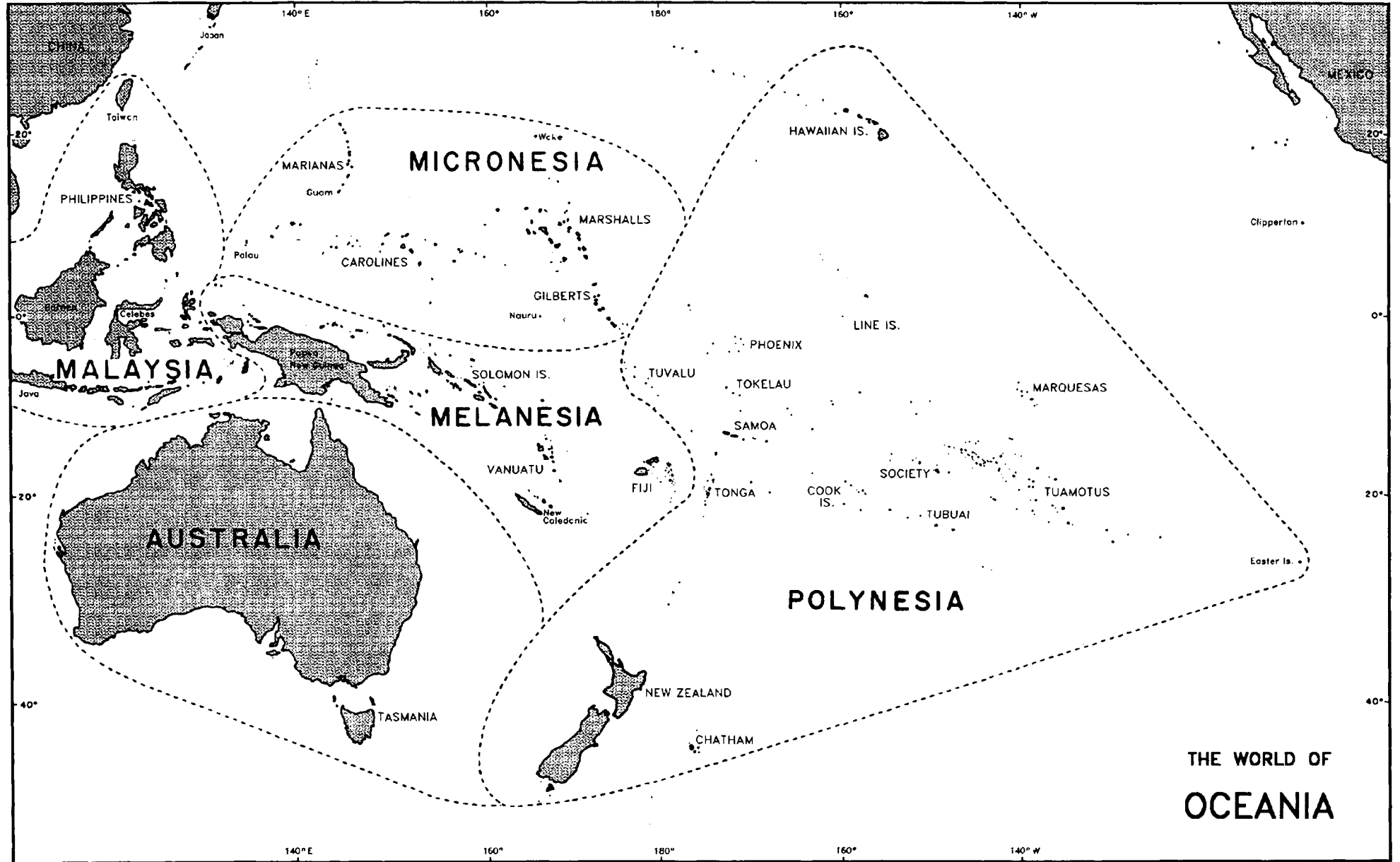
Despite every effort to check the facts, minor errors have undoubtedly remained. For these, as well as for judgments expressed, the editor takes full responsibility. However, readers who should spot factual errors are sincerely invited to submit corrections.

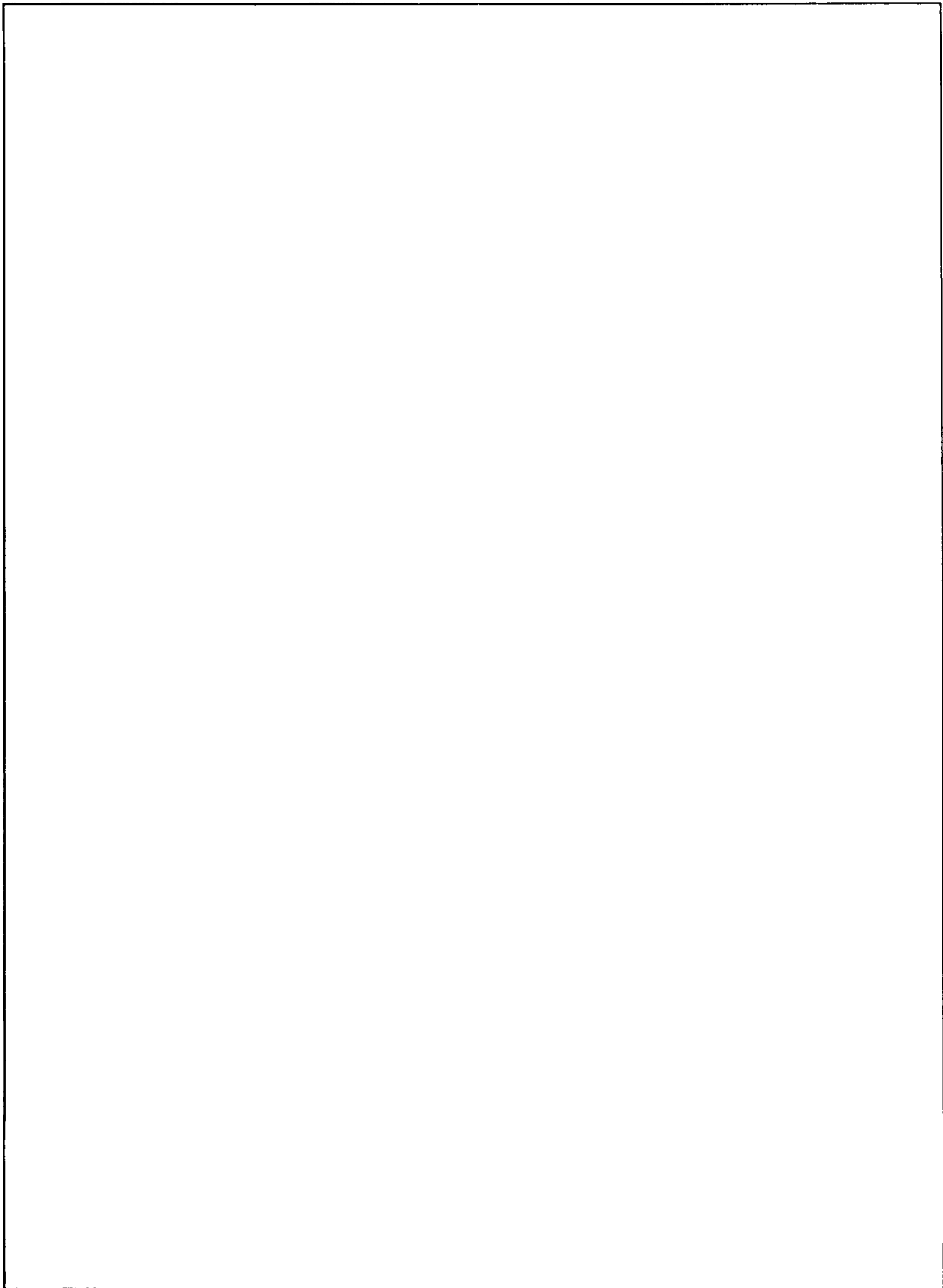
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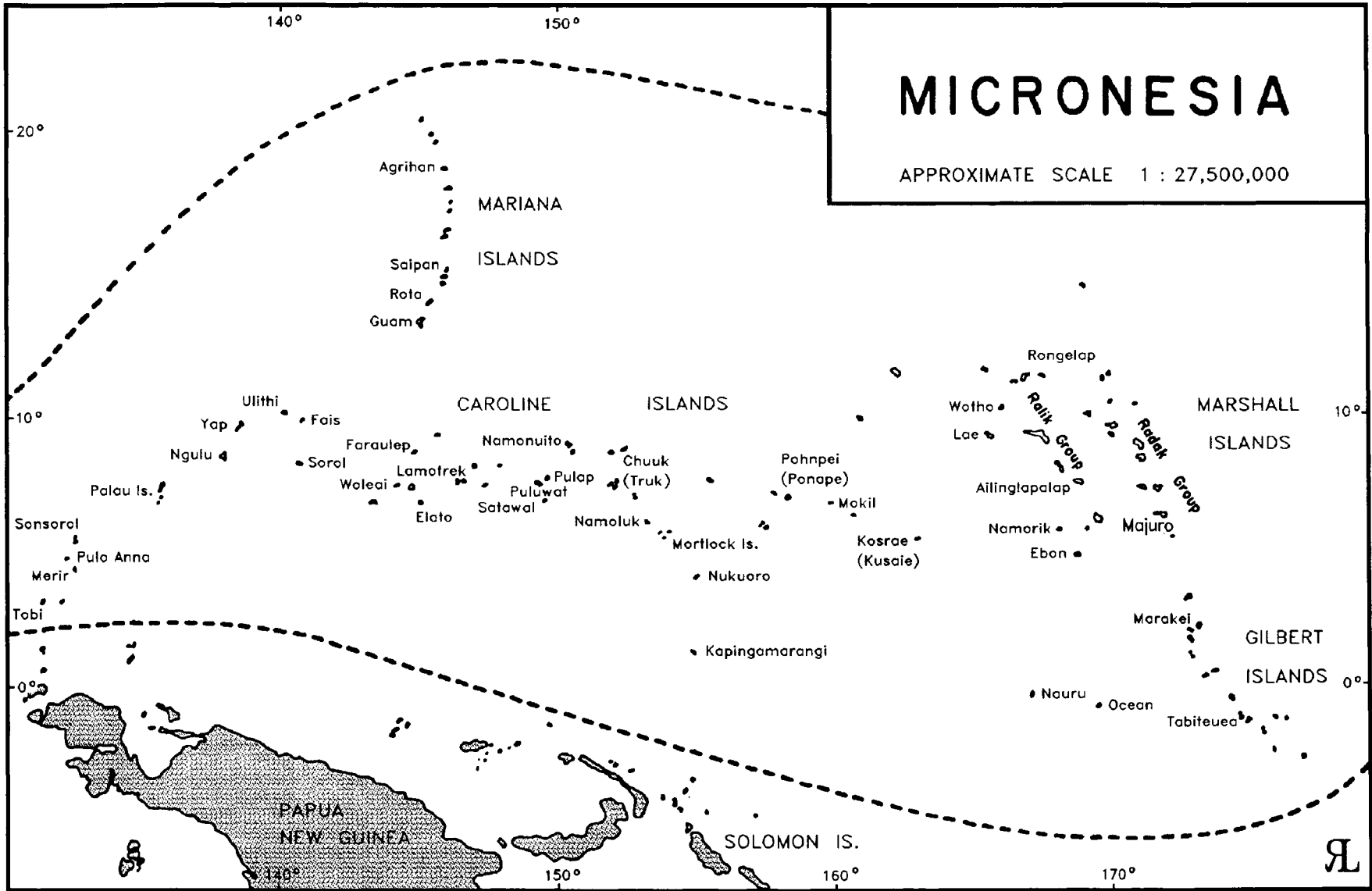
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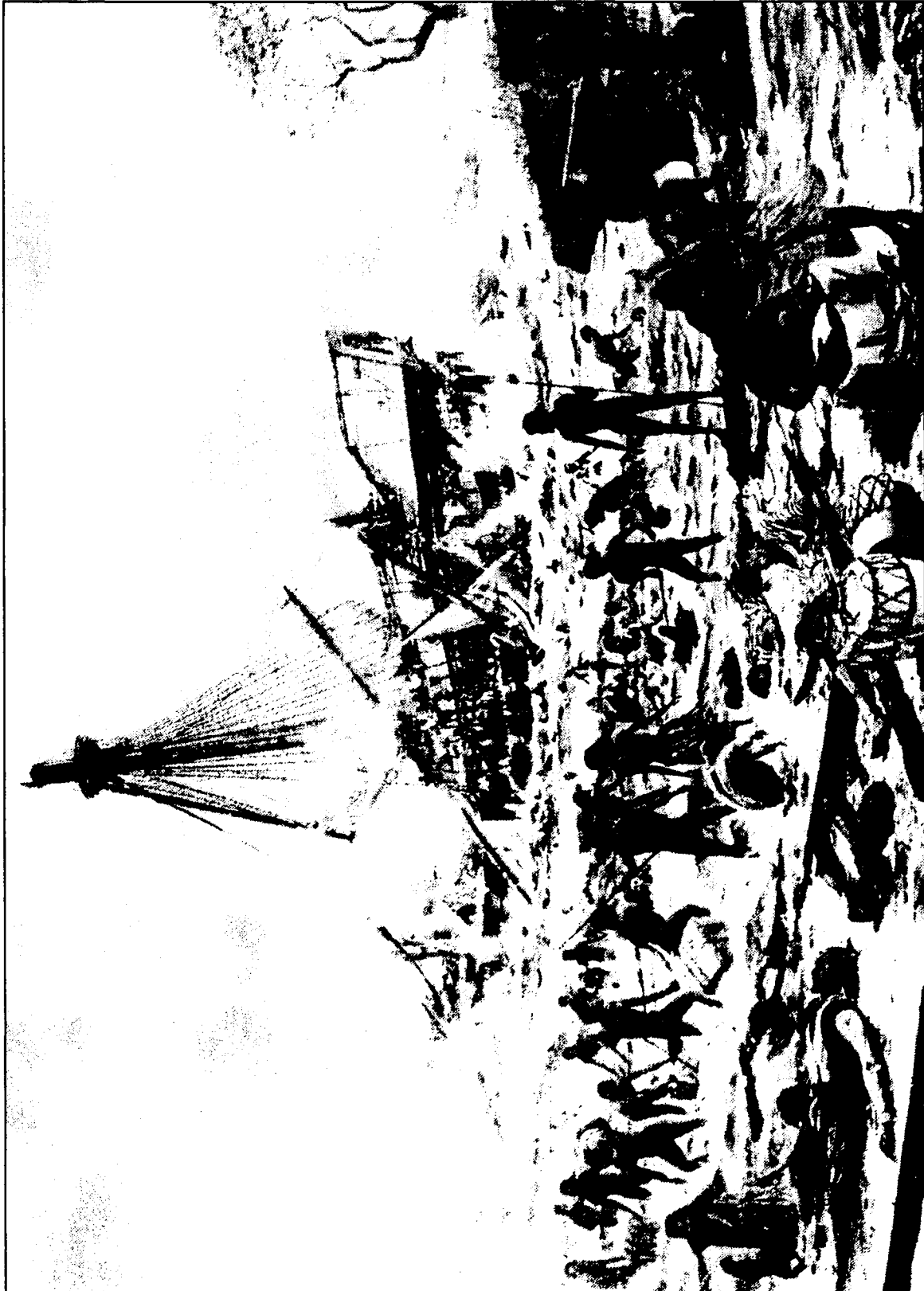
Note on place names

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









Documents 1638A

The shipwreck of the galleon Concepción in 1638

Sources: See Bibliography, under 1638.

The treasure that was partly mine—A personal tragedy.

In the early 1980s, my historical research led me to the discovery of the site where the rich treasures of the galleon **Nuestra Señora de la Concepción** had lied undiscovered since about 1700. When I lived in Saipan (1982-84), I had even picknicked at this site. Exactly 300 years before me, Father Coomans, a Belgian missionary serving in the Marianas, had written a report from that very beach, where he had witnessed the recovery of some of the bronze cannon by Captain Quiroga and his soldiers. There was no doubt in my mind where the treasure was.

Back in 1981, I had made contact with Walt Poitevent, a treasure seeker and the owner of the American yacht **Ella**. I was then mostly interested in retracing Magellan's steps through the Pacific, and the Philippines. After he saw my first book on Magellan's discovery of the Philippines, and knowing of my knowledge of Spanish, he challenged me to direct my research to the finding of shipwreck sites in the waters of Micronesia, an area which was still untouched. He was to provide the finances for any salvage project, and I was to get a percentage of the gross revenue from the sale of the artifacts. Unfortunately, when I did find the sites of many shipwrecks in the Marianas, and proposed to him the salvage of the **Concepción**, all my letters to his previous addresses came back unopened.

When I read about the treasure of the **Atocha** and the 18-year search for its mother-lode treasure by Melvin Fisher, of Treasure Salvors, Inc. of Key West, Florida, I went to see him. We signed a salvage contract. He was to obtain the salvage rights, and do

(Facing page:) **The Wreckage of the Concepción at Agingan Beach.** (From a painting by Roger D. Morris, Apex Collection. With permission of Pacific Sea Resources).

the actual salvage, while I was to be his research partner in this new venture. Unfortunately, time passed, with no progress, until I received the following message from him.

Letter from Mel Fisher to Rod Lévesque, dated Key West 28 January 1987

Dear Rod:

I plan to go to Guam and Saipan on February 16th, to check out the government and salvage conditions. I am not sure I remember where you pointed out the suspected location site of the **Concepcion**.

I have a fax machine with which you can theoretically send me a set of papers from Africa,¹ Canada or anywhere in the world in a matter of minutes (providing you have a fax at your end). Please note my fax number... and my telex cable number is ... Please let me know roughly where we hope the site location is, then I can go to the government or file an admiralty claim. I will send you a check for ... to get started on locating the manifest or other information. It looks as though I've got the funding to do it.

This year's the year!

Best regards,

Melvin A. Fisher

P.S. You can go with us!

Telex message to Mel Fisher, dated 6 Feb 87

My wife called from Canada today about your Saipan trip. Am in Accra, Ghana, Africa, heading a United Nations project. My contract due to be extended on 15 Feb until November but not yet signed.

I have sent you two reports last spring but when you did not acknowledge, I kept Report No. 3 which is now in mail. Search area described Page 28 of Report No. 1. See also the topographical map I gave you last year.

One report explains why a manifest is unlikely to be found in Seville. Nevertheless, Report No. 3 mentions many references worth pursuing. Would like to continue research Seville but would have to be convinced that timing is urgent. Could it wait until next December? Understand your Saipan trip might be to acquire rights for now. When would you intend to start actual exploration phase? Next winter?

In Saipan contact my friend ... at ... to learn all about local personalities and best procedures. My telex number in Ghana is ... Answerback is ... Time five hours ahead of Key West. Address: ...

Regards,

Rod

1 I was then working on a UN project in Ghana.

Telex from Mel Fisher, dated 18 Feb 87

Received your mailgram. This trip is just to look around and see about contract with Government. Unlikely we will work this year. Will say hello to ... for you. We probably won't start until next year, so maybe we could do some research in January 1988.

Best regards,
Mel Fisher

What happened afterwards.

No more messages came from Melvin Fisher. When I subsequently contacted him by phone, I learned that he had not personally gone to the Marianas, but despatched one marine archaeologist from his staff. The latter sent a postcard from Saipan. He reported that some "pirates" were already diving on the site; they had found "yellow fish",¹ and, he was joining them.

The rest of the story about the salvage of the Concepción shipwreck is now history. Little by little, I learned of the success that the team from Pacific Sea Resources were having, through various media, local sources and published sources. The leak of information must have occurred in Key West...

In June 1990, I was in Brussels working on the Bouwens-Coomans papers, when I was contacted by William Mathers' secretary. She said he knew of my research abilities, and wanted me to help with the deciphering of some shipping marks on some of the hundreds of storage jars discovered intact on site. I phoned him in London, where he was at the time to interest Christie's in an auction of the artifacts recovered from the Concepción shipwreck. I did some research on old Filipino scripts when passing through Paris, and mailed him the first report from Mogadishu, Somalia.² Anyway, it was already too late to do additional research on that subject, by 1991, as the treasure had already been bought by a Japanese group. The value of the treasure turned out to be roughly what I had estimated it to be.

In 1993, I was in Saipan when a representative of another group, the IOTA Partners, came to get the rights for still more salvage on the same site, among others. I did some research for them, but, as Melvin Fisher would say, the mother-lode is now long gone.³

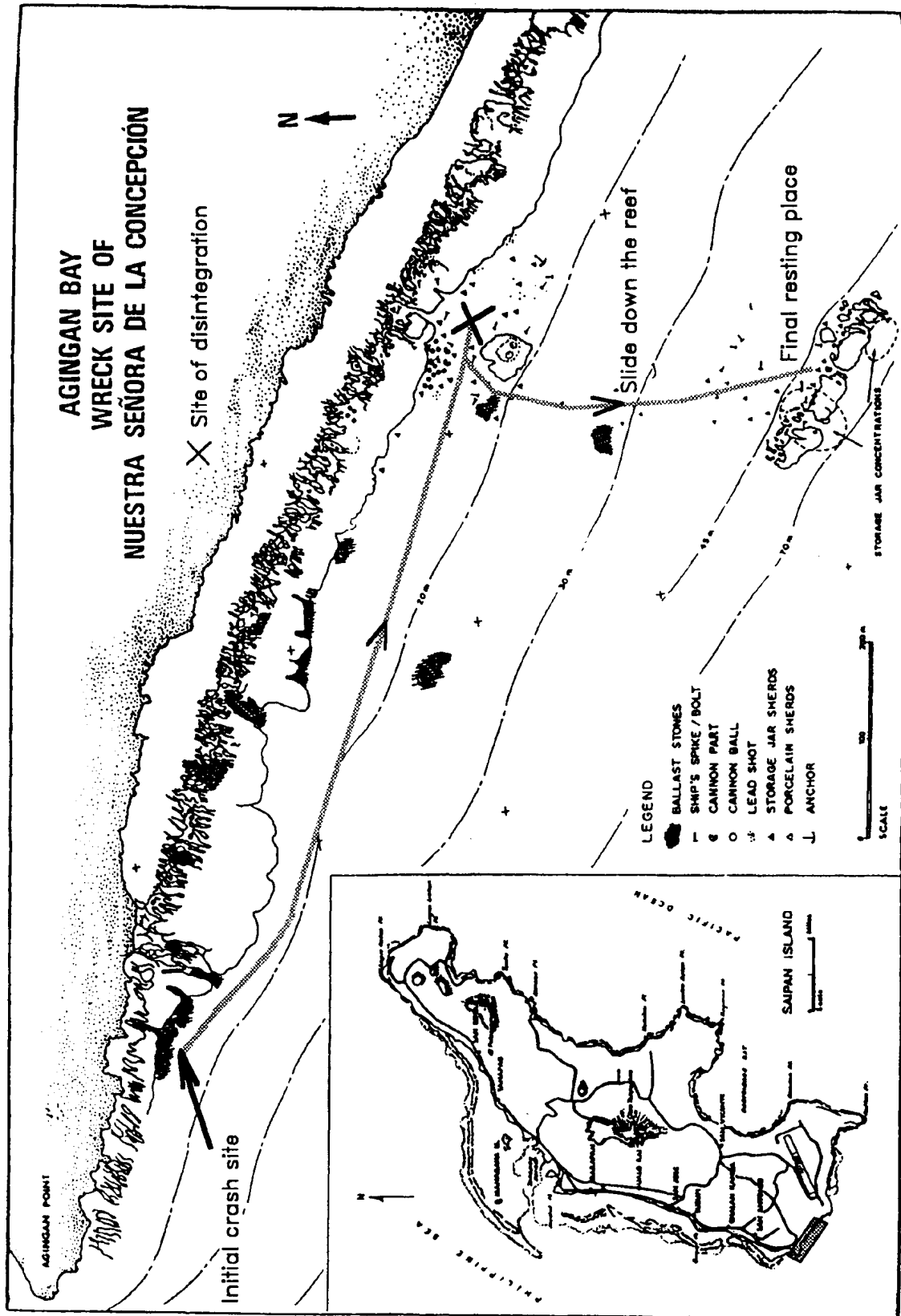
Walt Poitevent, where art thou?

1 The code word for "gold".

2 I was there on another UN project, but the war was already raging throughout that land. I was lucky to escape alive when the war came to the capital at the end of 1990.

3 The rest of this story is not yet written. I hope I will get better luck with other sites, and other partners.

(Overleaf:) **Path of destruction of the Concepción at Agingan Beach.**
(Adapted from Pacific Sea Resources, Archaeological Report, 1990, p. 86. With permission of William Mathers).



Document 1638B

Jesuit annual report for 1637-38

Sources: RAH Jesuit tomo 84, n° 35; published in B&R 29: 23-49.

Note: This Jesuit letter is unsigned, but was no doubt written by Fr. Juan López, who was then in charge of the Jesuit house at Cavite. The last entry is dated July 1638.

Events in the Philippines, 1637-38

The patache for [New] Spain left here 24 August [1637]. It had a propitious season [for departure], and therefore it has apparently enjoyed favorable monsoon winds. A short time before that, the patache had left for the island of Hermosa;¹ its commander was Don Alonso de Alcoçer, and the governor of that islands, Sergeant-Major Pedro Palomino, sailed in it. On 5 September, a galley arrived from India on its way to Macan, which had been obliged to put in here on account of the weather. It left Malacca on 16 August in order to warn the inhabitants of Macan to be on the lookout, for there were many Dutch in the strait [of Malacca]. Now they are going in the galleon **San Juan Baptista** under the command of Juan López de Ariduin, to buy materials of importance for his Majesty's fleets. The galley remains here to be used for the expedition to Jolo, for which it seems well fitted.

...
Of their own accord the Sangleys² offered the governor a gift of 6,000 pesos, giving the following reasons for doing so: first, because he had redeemed 31 of their people from the captivity of Corralat [in Mindanao]; second, because he had made the seas free and secure for their ordinary trade; and third, because he maintained them in peace and justice. Consequently, the expense of the war of Mindanao, taking into account the artillery, and the pillage which pertained to his Majesty, and the above-mentioned 6,000 pesos, was not only covered, but there were also 1,500 pesos left over, as I was told by his Majesty's accountant. The latter also adds that the golden water-jug and

1 Ed. note: So called by the Portuguese and later called Formosa and Taiwan.

2 Ed. note: Chinese merchants at Manila.

plate that belonged to Auditor Alcaraz were bought for the King our Lord with those 1,500 pesos; and the governor Don Sebastian [Corcuera] added to that sum more than 100 pesos as a gift from his own purse, in order to make up the cost of the said water-jug and plate.¹ Dated at Cavite 15 September 1637.

...

24 October: The patache from the island of Hermosa entered the port, and it brought back most of the people in those forts...

The day before, the 23rd, Sergeant-Major Don Pedro de Corcuera, the governor's nephew, died at Manila. The governor had raised him from childhood in Flanders. He was well liked and respected in these islands, for his affable manners had obtained for him much popularity.

...

The Master-of-Camp Pedro de Heredia died at Manila on 5 November. He left all his property to charity. But the Audiencia sequestered it all immediately, until the end of his residencia.² Captain Don Diego de Miranda also died from an accident, which carried him off in thirty hours.

News was received on 15 November that the [Dutch] enemy were passing the Mindoro coast. That same day, Don Sebastian despatched some vessels to attack them.

...

Yesterday, 9 December, Don Sebastian set out from Manila for Jolo. He sailed in the galley flagship. With him went the other galley, brigantines, champans, and the two galleons for Ternate, under the command of Gerónimo Enriquez; and as admiral Don Pedro de Almonte, the same as last year.

...

A patache arrived at Manila on 27 December from Macan, laden with 5,000 arrobas of iron bought by Captain Juan López de Ariduin from some English, who were near Macan with three galleons and this patache.³

It brought news of the remarkable martyrdom of Father Francisco Marcelo Mastriello, who reached Japan on 19 September last. Having left Manila on 10 July, he landed in the kingdom of Satsuma with only one companion. He immediately went inland to go to the emperor's court, but he was seized on 4 October and, having suffered most cruel tortures, he was beheaded on October 17 with his aforesaid companion. Since I translated the relation from Portuguese into Castilian, I enclose it herewith.

...

It was learned, at the coming of that patache, that those fathers who had accompanied the venerable Father Marcelo who went with the captain-major of Macan had ar-

1 Ed. note: One can reasonably expect, therefore, that such gold artifacts were shipped aboard the galleon Concepción that was shipwrecked at Saipan in 1638.

2 Ed. note: A residencia was an official management audit of someone's term of office.

3 Ed. note: Fr. López mentions later on that the English ships were friendly, because England was then allied with Spain and the daughter of their king had gone to Spain where she would spend the rest of her life.

rived safely; and that the champan which had fled there with 18 [Spanish] sailors had made port at that city. It was reported that the Portuguese have not been well received in Japan either this year or last, and all that is because of the preachers who go there [from here].

...

Almost the whole month of January and that of February was taken up with prayers in various churches, for the fortunate success of Don Sebastian [and his expedition]... On the night of 10 February, thieves entered the church of this residence at Cavite, and stole two silver lamps... A week later, about 2,000 pesos' worth of jewels were stolen in Manila in [the church of] St. Dominic, Our Lady of the Rosary. But the thief (who was a Spaniard) was discovered, and most of it has been recovered.

...

A patache which left Macan some days after our galleon **San Juan Baptista** arrived from that city on 4 May, and they expected to find the galleon here; however, experienced persons say that it is not late...

At the closing of the hour of prayer on 13 May, the day of the glorious Ascension of our Lord, news arrived of the capture of the [fortified] hill of Jolo. It is a matter of the greatest consolation for all nations; at least, all joined in the festival with great appearances of rejoicing...

The above news was received on the occasion of the arrival of 5 or 6 ships from Great China, laden with merchandise, which was needed in the islands. They give as news that 11 other and more powerful ships have been given trading licences. That has been of the greatest consolation, for in the last two years those ships have had so little custom, because of the small amount of silver that had been sent from Mexico, that it was feared that the Chinese would not come this year.

...

Today, 20 May, at 2 p.m., quite without our expecting it, and without the fires in Mariveles having announced it, the galleon **San Juan Baptista**—which had taken 50 days to come from Macan, a voyage which the patache made in 9—arrived. God delivered them from a great danger on some shoals, to which the currents were taking them swiftly during a calm.

...

It has been learned from Japan, from the very ones who are in power, that they are now tired and weary of killing Christians; and that they are not well satisfied with the Dutch and their trade... All the priests in Japan at present are three of the Society of Jesus, all Japanese... There is one other father, a European, named Juan Baptista Porro. They do not say that he is alive, for, although his death is not known, it is presumed that he is dead...

Yesterday, 27 May, the galleons of the Ternate relief expedition anchored at this port...

Yesterday, 31 May, Don Sebastian made his triumphant entrance into Manila, in the same manner as he had done, the year preceding, upon his arrival from Mindanao.

...

Today, 18 July, the patache sails with the reinforcements for the island of Hermosa, under the command of Don Pedro Fernández del Rio.

Yesterday, 23 July, at dawn, a Macan patache anchored in the roadstead. It comes from Camboja laden with rice, *camanguian* or benzoin, and other drugs.

Document 1638C

Letter from the Treasurer at Manila to the King, dated 31 August 1638

Sources: AGI 67-6-8 (Simancas—Secular; Audiencia de Filipinas; cartas y expedientes del gobernador de Filipinas visto en el Consejo: años 1629 á 1640); published in B&R 29: 52-65.

Letter from Baltasar Ruiz de Escalona to Philip IV, dated Manila 31 August 1638

Sire:

If my so great obligations to your Majesty—not only since you are my king and natural sovereign, but since you have honored me so generously in these islands by employing my person in the post of official judge-treasurer of your royal estate—necessarily and strictly did not oblige me to inform your Majesty of the manner in which the said royal estate is administered here, its condition, and the so great ruin that it has suffered and is suffering since it was your Majesty's pleasure to have Don Sebastian Hurtado de Corcuera come to govern these islands in the year '35, I should have to arouse myself and take courage to place before the pious eyes of your Majesty this list of disasters...

Don Sebastian Hurtado de Corcuera entered this city in the latter part of June 1635, to assume this government. He showed apparent signs of an endeavor to excel, in his honest and careful attitude toward your royal estate; but we were soon undeceived by his so unexpected and inconsiderate resolution not to despatch the ships [in 1635] which your Majesty has ordered, by so many decrees and ordinances, to be sent annually to New Spain with the property of the inhabitants of this city—so that the usual subsidy might be sent to these islands from the proceeds of your royal duties, and serve as a help to the great and numerous expenses which your Majesty is incurring annually in the increase and preservation of so many of the faithful as have in these regions deserved to receive the holy water of baptism. Yet it was a fact that Don Juan Cerezo de Salamanca (who was concluding his governorship, to which he had been appointed by the Viceroy of New Spain), had prepared two ships, and their cargoes were aboard—the

lading-space having been allotted, in accordance with the orders given by your Majesty, among the inhabitants of this city. The losses and damage that have resulted, both to your royal estate and to the property of the merchants of these islands, are so considerable and momentous that I would not dare to name them. Your Majesty's ministers in Mexico, in whose charge is the management of your royal estate, will have already reported them to you, for they will be able to do it with more accurate knowledge and certainty; and, consequently, I think that they will already have come to your Majesty's ears.

...

[Some of the current wage rates at Manila are mentioned, e.g. the pay of a Spanish cavalry captain was 1,200 pesos per year, whereas that of a Filipino infantry captain was only 240 pesos per year. The construction of an eleventh church was begun within the walls of Manila and had already cost over 80,000 pesos, Corcuera having taken 18,000 pesos from the soldiers' salary account, and the rest from the King's account.]

Consequently, it has been necessary that the remaining amount be supplied from the royal treasury, although it would be more proper to expend that sum in building galleons to carry the goods of this city to New Spain. For with galleons the royal treasury will be increased, and thereby will the governor obey the many and urgent orders which your Majesty has been pleased to issue in this regard; and the vassals and inhabitants of these islands would not be so ruined, and so hopeless of returning to their former state. It was all occasioned by **the governor's resolution not to despatch any ships during the year 1635 and that of 1637**; and even next year, 1639, there is little assurance that he will despatch them, for there is no money with which to prepare them. If that were done, we could entertain stronger hopes; because, as I write this, the usual succor from Mexico¹ has not yet arrived, as only one very small patache was despatched last year [to Mexico in 1637], and there is doubt that it was able to reach port. On that account we are so perplexed and afflicted that it is even a special providence of God that we are able to breathe.

The ships which are being despatched this year are sailing without a register; for, as yet, the inhabitants have not registered a shred of cloth with which to lade them, as they do not know the condition of their property in New Spain. As they are so ruined as regards their capital, they are, according to my way of thinking excusable. But I have been unable to find any excuse in any way for the governor, who has, by his so extraordinary and unadvised resolutions, placed this city in the last straits; and has paid no attention to those who, with foresight, have represented to him these great damages, besides those which have followed and will follow to the royal estate of your Majesty. For this year alone (and I do not speak of former years), more than 150,000 pesos have

1 Ed. note: The word Mexico was only then beginning to be applied, not just to Mexico City, but to the whole of New Spain.

been spent on these ships, both for the preparation that has been necessary, and for the pay of the commanders, pilots, and other seamen and other officials who sail in them, and for the food. Your Majesty will never be reimbursed for that sum, for, as **no cargo goes in the ships**, there can be no duties collected;¹ and it is from these duties that the funds for these expenses must be obtained, as your Majesty has ordered and commanded. Hence, Sire, it becomes necessary to say that it seems as if your Majesty had sent the governor to these islands to ruin and destroy your royal estate, rather than to increase and preserve it. This conclusion, if relief does not come speedily, will be seen to be verified with the great loss of all, and the special sorrow of us who, as your Majesty's faithful ministers and servants, are bound to strive for the increase of your royal estate.

[He goes on to relate the two expeditions against the Moslem Filipinos in Mindanao and Jolo in 1637, in which over 57,000 pesos were spent from the royal treasury.]

He [Corcuera] has tried and is trying to cover the expense of both expeditions by the value of the slaves, and other things of little account, which he took as booty in both expeditions; and by other communications, which will be seen in your Council, according to the relations or certifications which he has given to us. Most of it can have but little foundation, as there is nothing more than what the governor has been pleased to give. But it will be well to consider that although the fifth part of any booty taken belongs to your Majesty (as is a fact), he has ordered all the artillery, and other war supplies and ammunition to be valued and adjudged as part compensation for the expenses incurred. That is a thing which, according to my understanding, could not be done; for he is attempting to persuade your Majesty that he is giving you something. Since that is clearly yours by law, there is no reason for [thus] adjudging it, under any of the pretexts of which, [to judge] from appearances like these, he always avails himself to accredit his own actions...²

[The case of the weigher of coins]

At the beginning of his governorship, the said Don Sebastian Hurtado de Corcuera tried to change the inferior employees of the tribunal of your royal officials.

Among the others whom he appointed was the weigher of coins, notwithstanding that we opposed that. For your Majesty has been pleased to honor us with your special decrees, in which you order that we ourselves choose our employees, so that they may be to our satisfaction; and that your governors give their titles to those whom we should thus propose to them. [We also opposed it] because the said governor ordered

1 Ed. note: This information was misleading, to say the least, as 4,000 pesos were collected in duties... Only the galleon San Ambrosio was to make it through to Acapulco, the richer galleon Concepción being shipwrecked in Saipan.

2 Ed. note: A summary list the seizures in Jolo is given in B&R 29: 135-138. Some 192 Filipino prisoners were sold as slaves, for 20,815 pesos. The list of cannon and other weapons is interesting: there was 1 English and 1 Portuguese bronze cannon; the cast-iron cannon were mostly English and Dutch; among the firearms, there were 7 light muskets, all made-in-Japan, etc.

us to admit the said weigher to the enjoyment and exercise of his office without bonds, although all those who had thus far exercised that office had given bonds in the sum of 4,000 pesos for the security of your royal estate, as it is an office that requires great faithfulness because of the many and continually-recurring opportunities that present themselves for him to make considerable thefts without your royal officials being able to stop it.

This has been proved to us by experience, for, notwithstanding all our efforts in watching him, at the end of a year and slightly more (for so long a time did he hold the said office) we found that he had stolen more than 3,500 pesos from your royal treasury. We began a prosecution in your royal Audiencia. The said governor, seeing that the weigher was proved to be a criminal by what was enacted, and by his confession and deposition, in order that he might not be completely exposed, had a memorial presented [to the Audiencia] through a Father of the Society of Jesus—in which it is stated that a man had declared in confession that he was the thief, and that the said weigher was not guilty; and had given him a certain number of pay-warrants with which to satisfy, by way of restitution, the [claim for] 3,500 pesos. The said governor ordered that this reparation should be accepted; and although the pay-warrants had no justification—as their owners had been dead for many years, and the papers contained no cessions or powers by virtue of which receipts should be given and signed—we had to receive them, because, as they had been examined before the auditor of accounts, and attested by him, they were [technically] entirely sufficient, and could and ought to be received. Thereupon, the said weigher went scot free from prison. The said governor immediately sent him to Macan, in order to remove him from the danger that might meet him at any time in this city.

In this manner, Sire, was so serious a crime as the aforesaid punished; and in this wise does the governor protect his henchmen, for there is no human strength which can oppose his. This is a consideration that causes not a little sorrow to your Majesty's servants and ministers; for only that name is left us, for we have been stripped, for the sole purpose of being able to depreciate and even disaccredit us, of all the power and authority which your Majesty was pleased to give us in our titles, and in the ordinances and many other decrees. However, I think and trust, God helping, that that will not be attained, however vigilant the governor may be; for we are and shall be always in your Majesty's service, and hope that, as our pious king and sovereign, you will always examine our causes, and that you will pity us for the calamities and miseries that we are suffering for the sole reason of being so far from your royal presence, and that you will take what corrective measures are most pleasing to you.

With that hope we receive new courage, although in the midst of so many perils, to fulfill our obligations, as faithful and grateful vassals and ministers of your Majesty, whose royal person may our Lord preserve, with the increase of greater and more extensive empires, as is necessary to us all.

Manila 31 August 1638.

Don Baltasar Ruiz de Escalona

Documents 1638D

Royal decrees regarding the galleon trade, dated Madrid 8 December 1638

D1. Decree regarding commerce of the islands with Mexico

Sources: AGI 105-2-12; published in B&R 29: 110-11.

The King.

To my Viceroy, president, and auditors of my royal Audiencia resident in the City of Mexico in New Spain:

Don Juan Grau y Monfalcón, procurator-general of the Philippine Islands, has reported to me that the permission possessed by those islands of 250,000 pesos of merchandise, and 500,000 for the returns thereon, is very small, as that was conceded 34 years ago, when the citizens and inhabitants were fewer, the duties and expenses not so great, and the islands less infested by their foes. Because of the latter, their needs have increased so greatly that, if the said permission be not increased, it will be impossible to maintain them, or for their citizens to support themselves. He tells me that some illegal acts may have resulted from the present narrow limit of the permission, both in the lading of the merchandise, and in the returns of the silver.

In order that those violations may be avoided, and those islands and their inhabitants maintained in a less straitened manner, he has petitioned me to have the goodness to concede an increase of the 250,000 pesos of the merchandise to 400,000, and also of the 500,000 pesos of silver to 800,000. For, besides the above-mentioned advantages, my royal duties will thus increase, to supply the expenses of the said islands; illegalities and frauds will cease; and the inhabitants will increase in wealth.

The matter having been examined in my royal Council of the Indies, inasmuch as I wish to know what permission the said islands enjoy, and that of the Count and Duke of San Lúcar, and whether it will be advisable to enlarge the permission of the said islands; and considering their needs and expenses, and other advantages: I order you to

inform me very minutely in regard to it all, so that, after examination, the advisable measures may be taken.

Given at Madrid, 8 December 1638.

I the King.

Countersigned by Don Gabriel de Ocaña y Alarcón, and signed by the members of the Council.

D2. Decree regarding the lading of the galleons

Sources: AHN Cedulaario Indico, tome 7, fol. 352v, n° 526; also in AGI 105-2-12; translated in B&R 29: 113-115.

The King.

Don Juan Grau y Monfalcón, procurator-general of the Philippine Islands, has reported to me that certain citizens of those islands, to whom were allotted tonnage in the amount [of lading] permitted, have, for lack of means to ship the goods, sold that space—which has thus been secured by the merchants of New Spain and Peru, [who] for that purpose have their agents in Manila. He states that this practice is overlooked [by the royal officials], although, after the first distribution of the permitted lading-space has been made, and the tonnage allotted, the citizens who through poverty or other causes are unable or unwilling to lade the goods which belong and are allotted to them cannot give, sell, or transfer that space to any other person, unless they again declare the tonnage before the bureau of allotment. The bureau again shares the space which was thus declared among such citizens as ask for it, or who can occupy it to better advantage; and these must pay for it, giving for each ton the amount appraised, according to the season and circumstances, by the bureau itself. The proceeds from the said tonnage shall be given and paid to the owners who had declared them. Thus poor persons will obtain relief, and the citizens [of the Philippines] will have the benefit of the entire amount of trade permitted to them, while those of New Spain will be excluded from it. [The said procurator] entreats me to issue a decree in accordance with these facts, including therein adequate penalties to secure its execution.

The matter having been discussed in my royal Council of the Indies, and the above statements carefully considered, I have approved [the said request]. I command my governor and captain-general of the said Philippine Islands who now holds or shall in future hold that office, and the auditors of my royal Audiencia there, and other persons who shall have in charge the allotment of the said tonnage, and the bureau for the said allotment, that they observe and fulfill, and cause to be observed and fulfilled, exactly and inviolably, what is ordained in this my decree, without in any way contravening or exceeding its tenor or form. And those who disobey this decree are warned that such an act will be charged to them in the visitations and their residencias, and they will be punished according to law; for such is my will.

[Madrid, 8 December 1638.]

Document 1639A

Jesuit annual report for 1638-39

Sources: RAH Jesuit tome 4, n° 34, fol. 268+; published in B&R 29: 141-171.

Note: Although the document is unsigned, it is thought to have been written by Fr. Juan López.

Events in the Philippines from the year 1638 to that of 1639

...

At midnight of 10 November, such a fierce gale of wind came from the south that it broke five of the moorings of the flagship [galleon] **San Luis**, which was laden and with its artillery aboard. The wind carried away its shrouds, and grounded it in the sand near Parañaque, but in such a manner that it could be floated off after five days.

...

Early on the night of 21 November, the two galleons, the **San Luis** as flagship and the **San Juan** as almiranta, left for Ternate. The Commander-in-chief is Don Pedro de Almonte, and the admiral Don Alonso de Alcoçer, although with the title of governor of the almiranta galleon. The commander of the flagship as far as Zamboanga is Don Pedro Fernández del Río, who is captain and sergeant-major for the voyage.

...

January 15, General Don Gerónimo de Sumonte took possession of the post of fort commander and other offices at this port [of Cavite].

...

March 20, there came tidings that large pieces of planking, masts, and the ribs of a vessel which had suffered shipwreck had been found on the coast of Paracali, opposite [that of] Manila. From appearances, it is thought that it is the almiranta **San Ambrosio** which sailed for Mexico from these islands last August, *quod Deus avertat*.¹

1 Ed. note: Latin phrase meaning: "God forbid!" The wreck was not that of either galleon sent to Mexico, as the Concepción ran aground in Saipan, and the San Ambrosio made it alright to Acapulco. It must have been the wreck of a marauding Dutch ship.

A champan arrived here on 30 May with 50 arrobas of nails which had been taken from the wreckage of the ship which, as I said, had run aground on the coast of Paracali. Those whose opinion is most accurate in that matter have examined it, and believe that it is all from the almiranta **San Ambrosio**. On that account the profound sadness that was general in April and May has ceased; or it had been reported that indubitable signs were found that the flagship [**Concepción**] had been wrecked.¹

...
27 June, a destructive hurricane came down upon this port from the northwest, and veered about to almost all points of the compass. It overturned some houses, and did great damage in all the others and in the churches. It blew the tiles through the air as if they were bits of paper. The galleons along the shore were a great cause for anxiety; and the commander, Don Gerónimo de Sumonte, and Captain Pedro Muñoz hastened to them quickly, with the prominent men of this port, all of whom worked valiantly. That was very necessary; for the galleon **San Juan Baptista**, although held by 11 cables, came dragging upon the **Concepción**, which was being made ready to sail to Mexico.² They would infallibly have been dashed to pieces, had they not been attended to so carefully and diligently. Of the other smaller craft, some have been wrecked; and some men were drowned. It was God's pleasure to allow the wind's fury to last only four hours. Had it blown with the same violence during all the 24 hours while it lasted, no ship would have escaped, and not a house or church would have been left standing. Two hundred houses were overthrown in the village of the Indians. But what caused most fear to those natives (and the old men say that they have never seen such a thing, or heard it told by their ancestors), is that the hurricane carried into the air the small boats that they use, which are called *bancas* and resemble canoes. It is said that they were blown about like paper, and that when they fell again they were broken to pieces. The hurricane blew with the same violence in all the surrounding villages, and caused the same damage; it blew down 170 houses in Parañaque.

Since 7 July there have been very severe storms of wind and rain. On the 19th the ferry boat was wrecked in the bay and it is said that 18 persons were drowned. Many illnesses have occurred during that time, in which a great number of people of all nations have perished. Because of this, and because many have been persuaded that the two ships of the past year have been wrecked—not only because of the signs that the sea has thrown up, but because news of their arrival in so belated—there is a universal gloom and sorrow over the whole country, such as it has never had before. May God in His mercy console the land.

...

1 Ed. note: This can only be interpreted to mean that the flagship had been indeed carrying more people and goods than the almiranta.

2 Ed. note: This is not an error. This *Concepción* was nicknamed "Cambojana", because she had been built in Cambodia. The other *Concepción* was, of course, lying shipwrecked off the southern coast of Saipan.

[News of the Concepción shipwreck in the Ladrones]

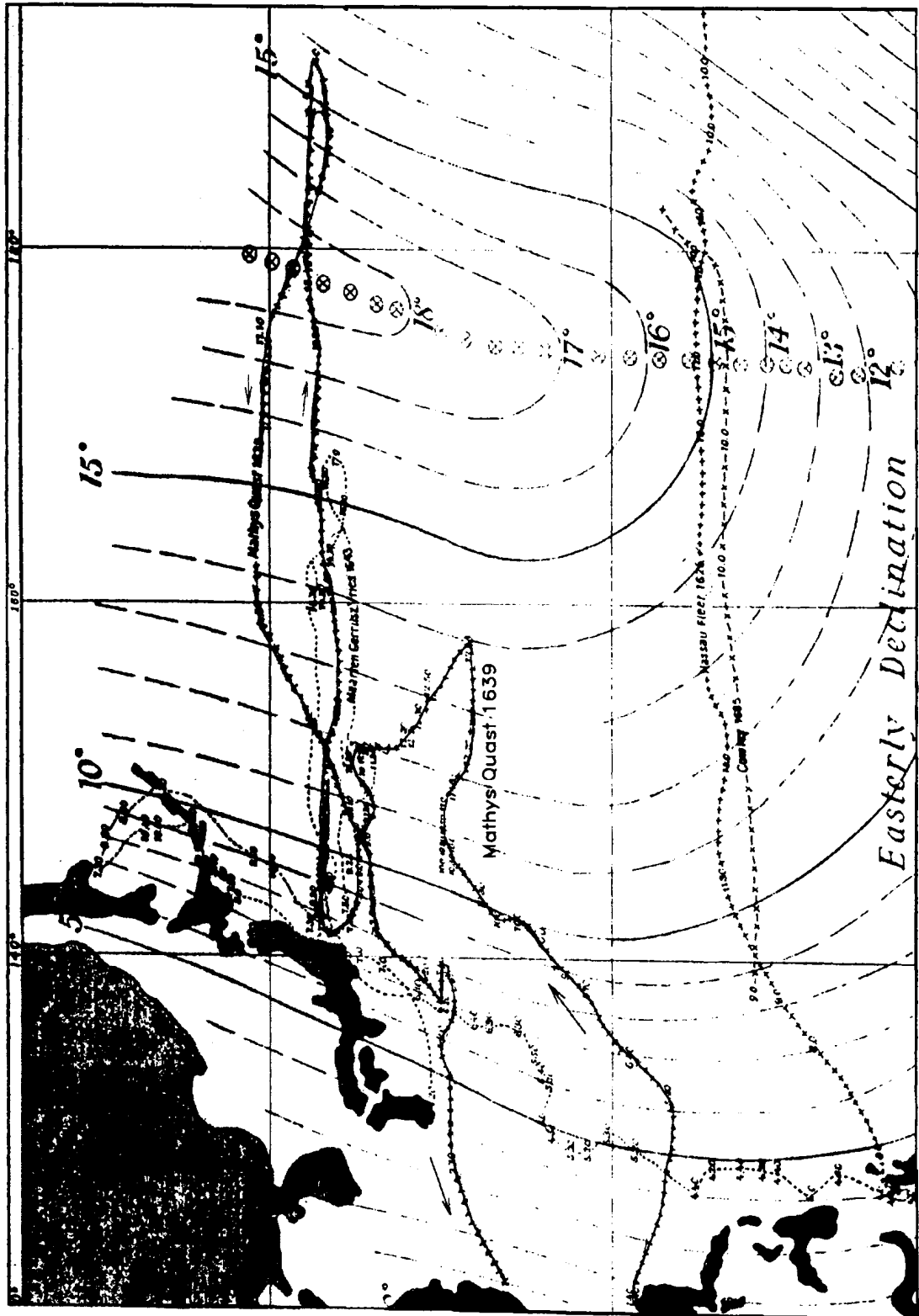
In the afternoon of 24 July [1639], six of the men who had sailed in the flagship of last year, which was wrecked on 20 September 1638, by the fury of a tempest in the Ladrone Islands—on an island 35 leagues away from the islands where our ships generally land on the voyage—arrived here. Besides those who were drowned, many were killed by lance-thrusts from the natives. Those who escaped went from island to island to those of Uan and Harpana, where they were well treated.¹ The reason alleged for that was, that the Spaniards are good men, and leave them iron when they pass there. From the island of Uan the natives despatched six Spaniards and two Indians in two canoes, furnishing them with food from what they had. They commended themselves to God, crossed the open stretch of more than 300 leagues, which they did in but one fortnight—a wonderful thing, if one will but consider those small boats which are of much less burden and steadiness than pirogues and canoes, and even smaller than they. They arrived almost dead with hunger, thirst, and lack of sleep. Our Fathers of the Society of Jesus received them in Palapag, and cared for them for several days; after that they recovered, and immediately set out [for Manila] in a champan with a good supply of food. The Indians of Uan sent those Spaniards, so that they could give the news and send a boat for the other 22 Spaniards who are there alive, with some Indians and negroes, and carry them iron, etc.

As soon as the tidings were told in this port of Cavite, the sobs and cries were so many that all were stunned, for there is no-one who has not lost a son, a father, a brother, a brother-in-law, a father-in-law, a son-in-law, or a husband. The loss has been one of the greatest that has ever visited these islands, because of the loss of men and the poverty of the islands.²

Good news is received of the almiranta [**San Ambrosio**], for they say that they saw it but shortly before they were wrecked, sailing on a good tack; and that it is thought that it has arrived at New Spain. May God grant that it has so happened.

1 Ed. note: Since Harpana is recognizable as Zarpana, i.e. Rota, Uan may similarly be a misprint for Guan, i.e. Guam.

2 Díaz states (*Conquistas*, p. 402) that this galleon (“Nuestra Señora de la Concepción”) was “the largest one built up to that time,” and that it contained the greatest wealth of the islands. The few men who escaped to land were afterward rescued by Spanish ships, and taken back to Manila.



Document 1639B

Voyage of discovery east of Japan, by Mathys Quast

Note: This voyage took place outside of Micronesia. However, because of its historical importance regarding the interest of the Dutch in Micronesia, where they planned to capture the Manila galleons (see Doc. 1645A), a note was in order.

Source: Heeres, J. E. (ed.), Abel Janszoon Tasman's Journal (Amsterdam, 1898), which includes some data on Quast's voyage.

Note on this voyage

The Dutch at Batavia were in possession of stolen Spanish charts of the Pacific and had long wished to capture a Manila galleon, the same way that Commodore Anson did 100 years later. They also wanted to visit the fabulous **Rica de Oro** and **Rica de Plata** Islands in the North Pacific.

In 1639, they despatched a ship to look for them. After rounding the north coast of Luzon, the ship headed NE and re-discovered **Parece Vela** and the **Bonin Islands** in July 1639. After sighting the NE coast of Japan, it went on an easterly cruise, zigzagging along the 40° parallel, spending the whole of September and most of October on a fruitless search for non-existent islands. It came back to the Japanese coast and the voyage ended at the Dutch fort in Formosa (Taiwan).

The only new thing learned as a result of this voyage came from a complete set of readings of compass variations, that allowed Dr. W. Van Bemmelen, the Assistant Director of the Royal Meteorological Institute at Utrecht, to attempt the completion of an isogonic map of the Indian and Pacific Oceans.

In 1643, another Dutchman, Maarten Gerritsz Vries, also working for the Dutch East Indies Company, repeated the same experiment, with the same result.

(Facing page:) **Isogonic Map of the NW Pacific Ocean for the 1640s.** The chart shows the Dutch voyages of the period, with the lines of equal magnetic variations of the compass, or declinations, East of true North. Drawn by Dr. W. Van Bemmelen, after the observations of Abel Janszoon Tasman, and others.

Document 1640A

Jesuit annual report for 1639-40

Sources: Vol. ii, pp. 167-184, Ventura del Arco transcripts, Ayer Collection, Newberry Library, Chicago; transcribed in Pastell's edition of Colin's Labor evangelica, iii; translated and published in B&R 29: 194-207.

Events in the Philippine Islands from August 1639 to August 1640

On 4 August, 1639, orders were given that the ship **Concepción**, built in Camboja, should leave the port for her voyage to New Spain; and in the afternoon of that day began a furious monsoon wind which lasted three days. This compelled the ship to ask for aid by firing two cannon, as its people feared some danger; but when the storm was over, the ship began its voyage.

At that very time, five large ships had sailed from Manila, on their return to Great China; and two of these were driven ashore by the great force of the wind, four leagues from Manila. Six hundred Chinamen were drowned, although a still larger number escaped [ashore]; for, on account of the lack of subsidy in these two years, many were returning, leaving their houses and shops deserted.

On the 7th came the unexpected news of the relief ships; their arrival was celebrated with the utmost joy, and all the bells were rung. The people were revived by this news, all the more because these ships were the almiranta [**San Ambrosio**] of last year, and the patache of two years ago—which, with so great injustice and excessive harshness, had been detained at Acapulco—the[sort of] injury of which this country has complained to God and to the king for many years. Wives who had put on mourning for their husbands took off those garments, giving thanks to God and receiving from His hand their husbands, as it were, restored to life. The Chinese, who learned the news on board their ships, disembarked, and returned to their shops and their trading. There was also a circumstance in this coming of the ships, in which God displayed the providence that He exercises over this country; for they arrived at the port of Nueva Segovia, from which had just departed two hostile Dutch galleons, who had pretended that they were English and friendly [to us].

...
On 21 August, at daybreak, a Spaniard arrived here from Nueva Segovia; he says that **the two relief ships from Mexico were wrecked** at that port, and 150 persons were drowned, which has been a severe punishment from God upon the past [sins?]; and with this news the [local] people have returned to their former sadness. The ships were lost on 5 August. It was afterward learned that the relief despatched by the King had been taken out of the ships before they were wrecked; but that the property of the citizens that has been lost will amount, in luxuries and money, to 550,000 pesos.

...
The patache **San Nicolás** is going with the relief for Ternate; its chief pilot is Captain Machado, a pilot of long standing and great experience. This vessel has orders to go, on the return voyage from Ternate to the Ladrone Islands, in order to carry away the Spaniards and other people from the wrecked ship who are there.¹

On 25 November, in the morning, confused reports reached us that the Sangleys had revolted at Calamba...²

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- 1 Ed. note: In 1993, Professor Boxer of England still had in his possession an autograph record of service for this Captain Machado.
 - 2 Ed. note: This was the beginning of a large insurrection by the Chinese living in the Philippines where they then numbered about 35,000. Those at Calamba on the western shore of Laguna de Bay had been sent there by Governor Corcuera to work in rice fields, in virtual slavery. The revolt was severely repressed and much blood spilled on all sides, at least 22,000 Chinese having died during the war.



Documents 1640B

The galleon trade in the 1640s

Sources: AGI documents published and commented in a Spanish book compiled by Antonio Alvarez de Abreu and entitled: "Extracto historial del expediente ... sobre la forma que se ha de hacer y continuar el Comercio, y Contratacion de los Texidos de China en Nueva España..." (Madrid, Ariztia, 1736); copy of the book available at Harvard and in Newberry Library; translated into English and published in B&R 29: 19-109.

Commerce between the Philippines and New Spain

...

Short version of the memorial by Grau y Monfalcon.

[Only extracts are presented here. Grau's argument is carefully divided, and not always ingenious, but a forceful presentation of the difficulties of the Manila-Acapulco trade and the livelihood of the Manila colonists. Grau proposes some procedural changes to offset the arbitrary ones made by a judge-visitor sent to Manila in 1635. This memorial is followed by some royal decrees issued, for information purposes only, to Bishop Palafox whom the King had sent to Mexico as judge-visitor.]

[Effects of procedural changes made by Inspector Quiroga]

There remains, then [to discuss] the form which must be adopted and followed in this commerce of the islands with New Spain. Don Pedro de Quiroga [y Moya] proceeded in this manner with measures so rigorous and unusual that he tried to establish regulations different from those which are respected and observed in all the ports of Spain, of the Indies, and of the world. He undertook to open and weigh the bundles and chests, and to count, weigh, and measure the commodities and wares, without any preceding denunciation, information, or [even] indication that these exceeded the registration. He laid an embargo on all, without there being any guilt on the part of the owners, or prohibition of the articles; and for only raising this so unjust embargo he extorted from the commerce 300,000 pesos—excluding from composition 600,000

(Facing page): 17th-century galleons ready to leave the port of Acapulco

pesos' worth besides, which are included in the [right of] composition by express, clear, and plain provisos [of the ordinances]. He collected the dues on whatever appraisement of the goods it suited him to make, although it was evident to him that they were being sold at half that rate in Acapulco, and even in Mexico. He hindered the returns of the proceeds from the merchandise, which is allowed by the royal decree; and it cannot be denied that he who carries his goods to sell, [even though] with permission, may not exact the price that he shall obtain for them. For granting that permission, he demanded new dues and imposed new burdens; compelled the shippers to do whatever he wished, and harassed the mariners on that trade-route until he made them leave it—when it is known (and the islands are making representations to that effect) that it is for what is most needed in those islands that the governors in Manila make concessions in their citizens when the latter ask for these, in order to constrain them by kindness to what could not be obtained by severity; and the Council is conferring upon those citizens privileges and distinctions, in order that many may be encouraged to become mariners and gunners. All this was done by Don Pedro de Quiroga under pretext of serving his Majesty; but it caused his royal treasury the great loss which has been experienced in the failure, for two years, of ships to arrive [at Acapulco] from the Philippines. By this has been lost, in dues alone, 660,000 pesos, and as much more through the suspension of commerce; and still greater were the losses to the vassals of his Majesty, to say nothing of the danger in which those islands were left, and to which they are still exposed.

...

Although representations have been made, with more exaggeration and less in accordance [with the facts] than would be desirable, of serious infractions of law that have been committed in this commerce—which representations I have answered at length and in detail in the said memorial..., it may be observed that, if there are any (which, if I do not admit, I do not deny), they are not of greater extent nor of different character than those which are every year experienced in the fleets and galleons on the India trade-route. **These infractions consist in shipping more merchandise than what is registered, and different commodities from what are declared, and in carrying back more silver than is shown by the registers;** and there are not and cannot be on the ships of the Philippines other infractions than the shipment of more goods and the return of more silver than appear on the registers.

...

The illegal shipments on the Philippine route cause much less loss than do those on the India route; for instance, when a galleon with silver is lost at sea, as compared with one that is captured by enemies. In the former case, there is only our own loss, but in the latter is the same loss, and an advantage to our enemies. It cannot be denied that the silver which goes unregistered in the ships of the Philippines is lost, but no enemy of this Crown benefits thereby; for that silver comes to a halt in China, from which country it never emerges.

...

From these considerations, we draw the final conclusion that if the Philippine Islands are, as has been proved, absolutely necessary to this Crown on account of the eminent advantages and benefits which result to it from them, and that, in order to preserve them, there are but two methods: one, for his Majesty to support them; the other, to grant them commerce by which they can sustain themselves. The first one is costly and difficult, the second easy and obvious; the latter ought to be accepted and carried out. [This can be done] by giving them the commerce which they have hitherto enjoyed with New Spain, to the amount that is expedient, and in the usual manner, without adding conditions that will diminish or render it difficult; for that will be to withdraw and consequently to destroy and end it, and with it those islands, which are so important to this Catholic monarchy. Your illustrious Lordship will make such report on this point and argument as [his Majesty's] vassals there expect and desire from your ability and zeal.

[The permission]

As for the permission [to trade] which the islands have enjoyed since 1604—which is to be the amount of 250,000 pesos that may be carried in merchandise, and 500,000 pesos which may be sent back in silver, on the two ships which are allotted for that trade—the islands have petitioned his Majesty that he would graciously increase the 250,000 pesos' worth of merchandise to 500,000, and the 500,000 pesos of silver to 800,000; this is referred to the inquiry of your illustrious Lordship. Although I have in the said memorial discussed the main arguments for this request, I will, since these are related to the entire subject of those islands, here reduce them to six or even principal points.

Firstly, because, as I have stated and proved, this commerce began in the year 1565, and was carried on without any restriction of its amount until 1604, when it was limited to the amount above stated. The islands could endure this limitation because they then possessed three attributes which they now lack.

[The citizens of Manila were then rich and could absorb some short-term losses; before 1600 the Philippine seas were not so infested with enemies; financial losses due to shipwrecks and other sea disasters are so great that recovery becomes impossible.]

Secondly, [relief should be given] because when the permission for 250,000 pesos was granted there were in Manila fewer citizens and soldiers...

[In 1640, there are twice as many Europeans there as in 1604, and a war situation now prevails.]¹

Thirdly, this argument being sufficient for the increase and enlargement of the amount permitted, it is asserted that this amount is less than what was first granted...

[The governors had introduced the practice of reserving a share in the tonnage for hospitals, convents, and good works.]

1 Ed. note: In 1640, there were 3,338 Spaniards employed in the King's service in Manila, and 2,540 Indians of various nationalities; these figures exclude other citizens, e.g. traders, etc.

Fourthly, even if it be granted that some illegalities have been committed in that trade, these must have been in exporting more merchandise and bringing back more silver than what the permission decreed...

[The continuous decrease in the tonnage allotted, on a per capita basis, had been the root cause of the "illegal" practices.]

Fifthly, because the main reason for having limited this commerce was the injury which has resulted from it to Seville, not only with the merchandise which it carries to New Spain [i.e. silk], but with the silver which it drains thence...

[Grau proves that in the end it does not matter whether the accusations made by the enemies of the Philippine trade are true or false. He goes on to say:]

If this permission were ample enough to include the funds of all those who lade goods, it is evident that the infractions of law would cease, and that it would not be possible to have them, or means to commit them; and this becomes more credible, if the urgency with which this increase of the permission is requested be noted.

I observe that it would seem a very proper measure to place a limit to the permission only on the returns in silver, and that the shipment of merchandise be free, under the direction of the governor.

...

[Grau makes many other points regarding goods produced within the Philippines, and the trade between Peru and Acapulco. About the latter, he says:]

That this suspension of the commerce of Peru is injurious to the Philippines is notorious.

[Not all the silver shipped to Manila came from New Spain; some of the silver that goes into making the amount of the permission originated from silver mines in Peru.]¹

...

Informatory decree regarding the question to what extent and on what plan shall the commerce of the islands with New Spain hereafter proceed.

The King.

To the Reverend Father in Christ, Don Juan de Palafox y Mendoza, Bishop of the cathedral church of the city of Puebla de los Angeles, member of my royal Council of the Indies, to whom I have entrusted the visitation of my royal Audiencia of the City of Mexico in New Spain, and of its tribunals, and that of the port of Acapulco:

On the part of Don Juan Grau y Monfalcón, procurator-general of the distinguished and ever loyal city of Manila, the capital of the Philippine Islands, he has in the name of that city presented to me a statement that, having set forth to me in another memorial the wretched condition in which those islands are, and offered various petitions regarding it, which have been examined in the said my royal Council of the Indies, they failed to come to a decision on the principal points, not only on account of their im-

¹ Ed. note: Probably from Potosi in Upper Peru, what is now Bolivia.

portance, but in order to wait for the despatches which they were expecting to come in the trading fleet.

And among those which arrived with the fleet from New Spain there were letters from the city of Manila and the Governor of the Philippines, and from certain intelligent persons, all of which agree—in which, to judge from the condition of affairs, those islands were in evident risk of being ruined unless the relief which they needed were sent to them with the utmost promptness, by helping to give form to their commerce, on which is based their preservation and defence, in the returns of silver, in the succors [they receive] in fighting men, and in seamen [who go there].

...

It must be noted that three-fourths of the merchandise which the citizens are accustomed to trade is pledged to the Sangleys, since the commerce has hitherto been sustained on credit alone; and as in the past year of 1636-37 no money went from New Spain from the goods which the citizens sent, which the Sangleys had sold on credit, they have not been able to satisfy these claims. For this reason the Sangleys have gone away, and say that they are not willing to lose more than what they have lost; and the Portuguese of Macán have done the same—who, like the Chinese, have returned to their own country, ruined. And the citizens having refused, in the past year of 1636, to lade their goods in the two ships which were ready to sail, fearing (and with good cause) the severity of Don Pedro de Quiroga, the Governor urged them to lade their goods, and those which they had procured on credit—assuring them in my name that these would be expedited at Acapulco in the same manner as formerly, for which purpose he ordered that all the goods should be registered with the utmost possible exactness and equity.

The effect of this was, that Don Pedro de Quiroga paid no attention to what the Governor had promised in my name; instead, his harsh nature being thereby irritated, he displayed greater severity, and, not content with detaining whatever the ships carried, he weighed and opened registered bales and chests—contrary to the usage at all the ports, against the regulations provided by royal decrees; and the appraisement that he made of the merchandise was so increased and exorbitant that what was at its just price in Mexico worth 800,000 pesos he rated at four millions...

God permitted that he should die; but, on account of his death, what he had begun was continued by the [Viceroy] Marquis of Cadereita, and continued with no less severity.

...

The result was, that of all the investment for the said year of 1636, when the entire capital of the citizens of the islands was sent, there remained no considerable amount that could be returned to them—as they were informed by the commissioner through whose hand the returns were sent.

...

Accordingly, they [the citizens] assembled in an open session of the municipal council, and agreed that, until I should be pleased to form and establish a definite plan for

the said commerce, no-one of them should lade or send to New Spain any merchandise, whether in great or small quantity—with which the said commerce has entirely ceased and been suspended, and will remain in that condition until a decision shall be sent them in regard to its plan.

...

They have acted accordingly, since in a patache which the governor despatched in the year 1637, with information of these necessities and of others contained in the letters, there came no merchandise, nor was there any person who was willing to ship goods; and the same occurred with the two ships which were despatched in the past year of 1638. And although the governor made all possible efforts to constrain the citizens to lade the two ships, he could not succeed in this, which now causes them to feel their loss still more keenly.¹ It is evident that the foregoing alone will cause a greater loss of duties to my royal treasury in New Spain...

In the year 1638, when no ships except one patache came [to Acapulco],² the dues from it amounted to [only] 4,000 pesos, and another 4,000 pesos were collected from the almiranta which arrived at Acapulco in 1639. As the citizens of Manila had no means to lade merchandise, not only the [1637] patache but the [1638] almiranta came without registers—as also did the flagship—which had to turn back to port in distress. According to what the Governor writes, he will not send ships in the year 1640; with this, in three years I shall have lost 900,000 pesos in duties, the same amount which was extorted as composition, against all reason and justice, by Don Pedro de Quiroga; and it is he who has caused, by his severe measures, these so irreparable losses, not only to my royal treasury but to the commerce.

...

I have entrusted to you the settlement and enforcement of matters concerning the commerce of the said islands. I request and charge you, to inform me about all that I have here mentioned, with great distinctness and thoroughness, with your opinion and any suggestions that you can offer regarding the advantages and the preservation of the said Philippine Islands—in order that, after the matter has been examined in the said my Council, I may take such measures as are most expedient.

Done at Madrid, 14 February 1640.

I the King.

By command of the King our Lord: Don Gabriel de Ocaña y Alarcón

1 Ed. note: True that the flagship Concepción and the almiranta San Ambrosio left without a register in 1638, but that does not mean they were empty of cargo; the evidence is given by the artifacts recovered from the wreck of the Concepción on the one hand, and the duties (albeit small) paid at Acapulco by the San Ambrosio.

2 Ed. note: Despatched from Manila in 1637.

Informatory decree upon the increase of the amount of the permission to the Philippine Islands, in both silver and merchandise; and that the products of the islands shall not be included in the permission of 250,000 pesos.

The King.

To the Reverend Father in Christ Don Juan de Palafox y Mendoza, etc.

The Governor of those islands, seeing the pressing necessities of the citizens, in the year 1637 lent them from my royal treasury 76,765 pesos, besides what he lent them in the year 1638, when in the same condition—when formerly the citizens loaned such great sums, as is known, to my royal treasury...

...

Moreover, in order to mitigate somewhat the great injuries and losses for 8 to 10 years, [Grau has asked] that an increase be allowed them in the permission for the silver, up to the amount of 800,000 pesos instead of the 500,000 for which they have permission—or such quantity as I shall be pleased [to grant]; and that I give them permission to carry to New Spain, besides the 250,000's worth of cloth from China which is already allowed to them, all the products of the country...

This matter has been considered in my royal Council of the Indies, notwithstanding that I commanded the Viceroy and the Audiencia of Mexico, by my decree of 8 December 1638, to inform me what permission the Philippine Islands have, and that which was granted to the Count-Duke...¹

...

I request and charge you that, after having thoroughly informed yourself of all that I have mentioned, you report to me very fully thereon, in order that, when the matter shall have been discussed in the said my Council, I may take such measures as shall be most expedient for the relief and preservation of my vassals in those islands.

Done at Madrid, 14 February in the year 1640.

I the King.

By command of the King our Lord: Don Gabriel de Ocaña y Alarcón

¹ Ed. note: See Doc. 1638D.

Document 1642A

Ordinances for good government, compiled by Governor Corcuera

Sources: José Felipe Del-Pan's Ordenanzas de buen gobierno de Corcuera, Cruzat y Raón (Manila, 1891); translated in B&R 50: 191-264.

Notes: The ordinances presented here have been edited by a later governor, Fausto Cruzat y Góngora, in 1696. They are translated in full, except where brackets are used to indicate a synopsis. Montero y Vidal (in his Historia general, i, pp. 380-385) has also given a summary of these ordinances.

...

I order and command you, the said alcaldes-mayor and corregidores who are at present and shall be in the future in the provinces of the district of this government, that during the term of your offices, each one of you in your jurisdiction and district, shall observe the following order, sections, and instruction.

1. [On taking office, they must swear before the chief notary of the government to execute the laws according to justice; not to take bribes and excessive fees; and to abide by the laws of the kingdom, and any ordinances, and the present instructions.]

2. [Since the officials will serve as an example to the natives under them, they must see that their behavior morally and religiously is above reproach. They are also to watch carefully over the morals of those under them, and especially to see to it that blasphemy is punished.]

3. [The Indians must be well treated, and must be molested by no person, whatever his rank. The rich must not oppress the poor in any way, "and if anything should arise in this that you cannot remedy in person, you shall advise me very minutely of it so that I may correct it and have it remedied in the most adviseable manner. You shall not permit any *encomendero* [landed gentry] or his collectors, or any other person, to borrow or get credit from the Indians in gold, reals, or any other... nor that any collection be made from him who sowed and did not harvest; nor from anyone who was sick or occupied in the service of his Majesty, and was unable to sow, nor from old men of sixty years, who are by reason of that age exempted by this government [from the tribute]. You shall not consent under any consideration to the contrary of all the above; nor that the said *encomenderos* or their collectors live among the Indians of their *encomiendas* [land grants] longer than the duration of the time of the collection, which at the longest

must not be more than three months.” Likewise the *encomenderos* and their collectors are to promptly pay what they owe to the Indians, both for personal services and for provisions and other supplies furnished at the time of the collection of the tribute, and these shall be paid at the current rates. Great care is to be exercised in the election of new *cabezas de barangay* [village chiefs], who are to be in the line of succession, and have the necessary qualifications therefor, and are to pay the *media-anata* before a legal title can be issued to them by the Governor. When at death or for any other just reason it becomes necessary to elect other *cabezas*, “you shall send me the nomination of three chief persons suitable and capable for each *barangay*, and shall inform me of the reasons and causes for the removal, so that after I have examined them I may choose whom I please.” The non-observance of this method of election will bring its punishment. Each *barangay* must consist of forty-five to fifty tributes, and no more.” *Barangays* with less shall be united.]

4. [The Indians must not be harassed with injurious taxes and assessments (as is so often the case). If such become necessary, the Governor is to be informed thereof, the necessity therefor, and the sum to be assessed. A list of the citizens is also to be sent, “with mention of those who possess property, so that allowance may be given by this government” to make the assessment, so that an equal charge may not rest upon those who have money and those who are destitute of it but that each one contribute according to his several ability.” The imposition of a tax or assessment without the permission of the Governor carries with it deprivation of office and satisfaction from the property of the one dismissed of the entire sum contributed, to those assessed, and a fine of 500 pesos for the treasury and fortification expenses.]

5. [In the management and disbursements of funds from the communal treasuries, there is much graft among the officials.]

6. [Alcaldes-mayor and corregidores are not to accept any presents, even of food, during the term of their office, as their hands will be bound thereby. They must pay a just price for what they purchase. During the term of their office they are not to purchase a ranch or any lands in the territory of their jurisdiction; neither are their secretaries or alguacils-mayor to buy them: for many evils follow therefrom. They are to build no sailing craft under any consideration “under penalty of loss thereof and 200 pesos, applied half to fines for the treasury and fortifications, because of the great harm caused to the natives by such constructions. For when you need any vessel, you can charter one.” Likewise they are forbidden to engage in any trade with the natives and citizens of their jurisdiction, either directly or through agents. They are not to take a portion of the fees and salaries of their clerks, interpreters, and other persons, “because of the harm resulting from the judges having such shares. Nor shall you allow your officials to take them; nor shall you make an agreement with anyone in regard to the above-said.”]

7. You shall visit your jurisdiction once each year, remaining 12 days in each large village of the chiefs, and 6 days in the small villages, visiting them and trying with

justice the natives in whatever they plead, remedying all that you may find necessary and clearing away whatever injuries or injustices may have been committed...

8. [This regulates the manner of trials and the fees for the same... If one Indian causes the arrest of another Indian, and the one arrested confesses his guilt, sentence is to be passed by virtue of the confession. Otherwise witnesses shall be called, and after their depositions are taken, the case shall be judged. If there is any appeal, the case is to be tried in second instance, and after examining the witnesses the records are to be sent to the Manila Audiencia. Criminal cases must be tried as soon as possible. Those involving sums not in excess of five pesos shall be tried summarily, and nothing more than a mere record of them shall be made for the archives of the notary...]

9. [Tariffs according to which food can be supplied to travellers are to be posted in all the villages along the line of travel; as well as of all aid furnished in sailing craft, men, and horses...]

10. [Bridges are "to be built and repaired, and rivers kept clean... This must be done with the least possible trouble to the Indians, and all must share alike in the work.]

11. [In villages along the line of travel, the natives must not be made to act as porters (a prolific source of evil), even with light burdens. Each village must purchase immediately horses and cows, so that they may be available for travelers.]

12. [Natives must not become vagabonds, but must cultivate their land, both for their own good and that of the community. In some provinces, underbrush has sprung up and food is scarce because of the nomadic habits of the Indians, and their laziness. An edict is to be published to the effect that if all those who own lands do not cultivate and sow them within two years, such lands will be sold to the highest bidder. The official not obeying this law shall be fined fifty pesos, to be applied in halves to the treasury and the fortifications.]

13. [The rearing of chicken and pigs is obligatory on the inhabitants. Each Indian is to have at least six hens and one cock, and one sow...]

14. [Great harm results from Spaniards, Sangleys, and Indians giving money to other Indians for their trading...]

15. [Inasmuch as Indian slavery is forbidden; and since the transfer of those called slaves by custom is also forbidden...]

16. [Careful regulations are made concerning the Chinese. Because of the spiritually demoralizing effect of the Sangleys on the Indians, and the harm resulting from the wasting of the substance of the latter which is given in exchange for things of little value offered them by the wily celestials, great care is to be exercised in regard to both Christian and heathen Sangleys. None of the latter are to have residence among the Indians, and if any such are found in any village, they are to be immediately sent to the Parian in Manila, the penalty in case of non compliance with this order being 200 lashes and 4 years' service in the Cavite harbor...]

17. [Commerce is to be free to all Indians of whatever jurisdiction they be, throughout the Philippines; and no licence is required, nor can any fee be charged them. This will

ensure a good supply of provisions and other necessities, and promote the cultivation of the land...]

18. [Large and small weights and measures are to be uniform in all the islands with those used in Manila, and shall have been sealed and marked in that city. All others shall be collected, and used under no consideration...]

19. [This law lessens and defines those exempt from tribute, poll taxes, and personal services... Those exempt shall include all 60 years old and above; the *cabezas de barangay*, and their eldest sons and successors; cantors, sacristans, porters, and cooks [of the church and convents], who have been exempted in accordance with the act of Governor Santiago de Vera; all officers of justice for the time they serve only; the Pampangos who serve as soldiers and in other capacities for the royal pay in Manila, Cavite, and other garrisons, for the time they serve, and their wives in case that they are married...]

20. [This law concerns the matter of *repartimientos* [forced contributions] among the natives for supplies for the royal magazines, and for the galleons and vessels despatched annually to New Spain and the **Marianas**...]¹

21. [A law of the kingdom prohibits *repartimientos* of Indian domestic servants for the service of the alcaldes-mayor, priests, or any other persons; or that contributions of fish be asked for the support of anyone, for vigils, or for Fridays and Saturdays. This law must be strictly enforced...]

22. [Alcaldes-mayor, corregidores, priests, and other officials shall not be supported at any other than their own expense. Provisions shall be purchased at the prices current, and cash must be paid for them. The natives, however, are compelled to sell provisions to such persons for their support, but such purchases are not to exceed the amount needed. Violation of this law means loss of office.]

23. [Alcaldes-mayor and corregidores on assuming office shall receive from their predecessors an inventory of all papers in the archives (if there are no notaries in charge of them), and shall pass on the same with all that have accumulated during their term of office to their successors. This shall be a charge in their *residencias*, and they must present testimony that they have so done...]

24. [In prisons, women and men must be kept separate. If the complaint against women is slight, they shall not be confined in prison, but kept in the house of some relative. No prison fees shall be accepted by any official from the Indians imprisoned, under penalty of repaying them, and a fine four times as large.]

25. [No office can be resigned without governmental permission, under penalty of a fine of 100 pesos. Record books shall be delivered to the alcaldes-mayor and corregidores by the government secretary, in which shall be kept an account of the fines, expenses of justice, and fifths of gold. At the conclusion of anyone's term, this book shall be delivered to the royal accountancy, and the amount of the fines and fifths to the royal treasury.]

¹ Ed. note: Obviously, the last modification, that mentioning the Marianas, was introduced by Governor Cruzat.]

26. [This law concerns the appointment of inferior officials by alcaldes-mayor and corregidores. No Spanish *alguacil* [constable] is to be appointed without government title. If any serious case demands such an officer, he shall be appointed only for the time necessary and when the immediate duty is concluded he shall be dismissed. Appointments as lieutenant, masters-of-camp, sargents-mayor, captains, lieutenants, sergeants and adjutants of native military companies, governors for the Sangleys and natives, and all other appointments to military and political posts (whether paid or not), shall not be made without government title. Appointments shall be made only when vacancies occur, and when necessary, three names shall be sent to the governor at Manila, who shall make the appointment therefrom. Without the government title, no one shall exercise any official duty, under penalty to that alcalde-mayor or corregidor who shall violate this law, of a fine of 500 pesos, the payment of the fees of *media-anata* and such title, while the violation shall become a charge in his *residencia*, and he shall be subject to all other penalties imposed for such violation...]

27. [Methods of election for various jurisdictions are prescribed by this law...]

28. [No *encomienda* [land grant] shall be granted nor any acts made in regard to them without the express command of the superior government...]

29. [No Spaniards may live in any Indian village, except by permission of the Governor at Manila... If Spaniards wish in the future to marry Pampangas, they cannot live among the natives, under penalty of a fine of fifty pesos.]

...

32. [Great care is to be taken to have the Indians plant coconut palms and set out abaca plants: the chiefs, trees to the number of 200 and plants to the same number; and freemen, each to the number of 100. Those dying out are to be renewed, so that the number may always be kept up. This is to be a matter of personal care on the part of the alcaldes-mayor, who are to appoint a representative in each village to register the trees and plants and render account of neglect to observe this law. The palms are useful for the support of the Indians; while from its fruit are obtained oil, wine, and *bonote* [coir] for the supply of the galleons and other vessels, and the material for making rigging.]

36. [Lists of the persons sailing in any royal vessel to points in the islands shall be furnished by the pilot or master; as well as the time for which they are supplied with food. A month's rations are to be allowed to such persons after supplies are exhausted... All repairs to such vessels as have to be made in the provinces, and the cost of the same shall be estimated by experts in the presence of the proper officials and the priest of the village. The alcalde-mayor shall pay the same from the royal funds, and, on the statement of the priest, the expense shall be admitted.]

...

Document 1643A

Father Bobadilla's Relation

Sources: Spanish ms. that was owned by Don Carlo del Pezzo at about 1900; translated into French and published in Melquisedec Thévenot's Relations de divers voyages curieux (Paris, 1696, tome i, part ii), copy available in the Prescott Collection at Harvard; translated into English and published in B&R 29: 277-311.

Notes: The author is thought to have been Fr. Diego de Bobadilla, who lived for 25 years in the Philippines. The original ms. is unsigned, and undated, but it must have been written at the time of his voyage to Europe (1637-43). I think that it was begun, or drafted, in Manila circa 1637 (since he mentions a population of 20,000 Chinese and there is no mention of their 1640 insurrection) and finalized, or revised, in Europe.

Fr. Bobadilla was born at Madrid in 1590 and entered the Jesuit order at the age of 16. He first went to the Philippines in 1615 and spent 15 years there teaching at the Jesuit College at Manila, and then 5 years as its rector. In 1637, he went to Rome as procurator and returned in 1643 with a band of 42 missionaries. Again he became rector of the College, and in 1646 was elected Provincial. He died at Carigara, in 1648, while making a visitation of the Mindanao missions.

The relation attributed to Fr. Diego de Bobadilla, S.J.

Notes on the galleon trade.

...
Galleons much larger than those which sail the Mediterranean are built at Manila; for there is a great abundance of wood, pitch, and *abacá*—which resembles European hemp, and of which good rigging is made for the ships. The anchors are imported from Goa; and the iron for the nails comes from China in little bars, and is very serviceable.

The Spaniards of the Manilas trade throughout the islands of that archipelago, at Borney and Cambojja, whence they carry wax, butter, *camanguien* or storax, ivory, and bezoar. They formerly traded to Japan, before the persecution of the Christians was begun...

We trade also with the Portuguese of Macao, who come to the Manilas every year with two or three ships, and bring here silks, musk, precious stones, and eagle and calambac wood—which is a sweet-scented wood that is very valuable. The inhabitants of the Manilas also go to Macao sometimes, to carry their merchandise there; but their chief trade is with the Chinese, who come annually, at the end of the month of Decem-

ber and the beginning of January, with 20 or 30 vessels, laden with products and valuable merchandise. They sail usually from Ocho [sic] and Chincheo, ports of Anay [Amoy?], a province of China which faces the Philippines. They carry small oranges, nuts, chestnuts, plums, raisins, and *chicuei*—a fruit resembling an apple, very round, transparent, and, when it is ripe, having the color of yellow amber; its peel is very loose, and its flesh very sweet and very pleasant to the taste.¹ They also bring all sorts of cloth stuffs, and some of these are as fine as those which come from France and the Low Countries; and many black stuffs of which the Indians make their clothes. They bring silk, plain and twisted, of all colors; damasks, velvets, tabbies, and double taffetas; cloths of gold and silver, galoons, and laces; coverlets, and cushions; and porcelain—although not the finest variety, as the trade in that is prohibited. They bring pearls and **gold**; iron, in little bars; thread, musk, and fine parasols; paste gems, but very beautiful to look at; saltpeter, and flour; white and various-colored paper; and many little fancy articles, covered with varnish, and gold in relief, made in an inimitable manner. Among all the silk stuffs brought by the Chinese, none is more esteemed than the white—the snow is not whiter; and there is no silk stuff in Europe that can approach it.

The Chinese return in the month of March, and carry to China **silver** in return for their merchandise.² They also take a wood called *sibuaco*, that is, brazil-wood, which is used in making their ink. Those Chinese merchants are so keen after gain that if one sort of merchandise has succeeded well one year, they take a great deal of it the following year. A Spaniard who had lost his nose through a certain illness, sent for a Chinese to make him one of wood, in order to hide the deformity. The workman made him so good a nose that the Spaniard, in great delight, paid him munificently, giving him 20 escudos. The Chinese, attracted by the ease with which he had made that gain, laded a fine boatload of wooden noses the following year, and returned to Manila. But he found himself very far from his hopes, and quite left out in the cold; for in order to have a sale for that new merchandise, he found that he would have to cut off the noses of all the Spaniards in the country. Besides the Chinese merchandise that is brought into the islands, there is wax, cinnamon, civet, and a sort of very strong cotton cloth which is called *lampotes*.

All those goods are exported to Mexico, where they are sold at great profit, and on the spot. I do not believe there is a richer traffic in the world than that. The duties that the King gets out of it is large, and, with what he gets from the islands, amount to fully 500,000 escudos. But he spends 800,000 in the maintenance of the Governor, the members of the Audiencia, the archbishop, the bishops, the canons, those who possess the prebends, and the other ecclesiastics. The greater part of that sum is employed in the equipment of the galleons that are sent to Mexico and to the Moluccas, and of those which are kept in those seas to resist the Dutch.

1 The persimmon apple.

2 Ed. note: This silver came mostly from Mexico aboard the Manila galleon.

...

[The eastward crossing of the Pacific]

The voyage from Manila to Mexico lasts four, five, six, or seven months. Manila, which lies in 13-1/2° [lat. N.], is left in the month of July, during the monsoon winds. [After leaving the Philippines], the course is taken to the north[-east] until the ship reaches 38 or 40 degrees. The pilots take that course because they are more certain of finding winds; for otherwise they would run the risk of encountering calms, which are more to be dreaded in long voyages than are the most furious gales. From the time that the Philippines are left until almost the coast of New Spain is reached, no land is seen, except a chain of islands called the **Ladrones**, or la Sa[r]pana, which lie 300 leagues from the Embocadero of the Philippines. **The people who inhabit those islands are barbarians, who go quite naked.** When our vessels pass there, those people carry to them fish, **rice**, and fresh water, which they exchange for neither gold nor silver, but only for iron—which they value much more, because of the use to which they put it in the manufacture of their tools, and for the building of their little boats.

The first land sighted after that is the island of Cedros, quite near the Mexican coast. The open expanse between that island and those of the Ladrones is subject to storms, which are to be feared, specially near the Japanese Islands—which are passed, however, without being sighted. During the whole course of so long a voyage, scarcely a day passes without seeing a bird. There are usually some birds that live in the sea, and many large whales and porpoises are seen.

As the [American] coast is neared, at a distance of 60, 80, or 100 leagues, signs are to be seen in the sea by which it is recognized that the ship is within that distance. Those signs consist of long reeds, brought down by the rivers of New Spain, which being massed together resemble a kind of raft; and on those reeds are to be seen monkeys—another sign that they are approaching the coast. When the pilot discovers those signs, he immediately changes his course, and instead of continuing east he puts the bow of the ship south[-east], in order to avoid getting caught in the land, or in some gulf whence he would have a hard time to get out; but, when he has sighted the coast of New Spain, he follows it to the port of Acapulco, which lies in 18 degrees.

Acapulco is a fine port, well sheltered from all the winds, and defended by a celebrated redoubt. There the passengers and goods are disembarked, and are afterward carried by mules to Mexico City, which is 80 leagues away from there.

...

[He goes on to give a short description of the rest of the journey to Spain.]

...

That will also be the end of this relation, which I have written in order to be obedient to a person to whom I earnestly desire that it may prove agreeable.¹

1 Ed. note: This last comment proves that the relation was written, or finalized, during Fr. Bobadilla's stay in Europe, 1638-40.

Document 1643B

Letter from Fr. Bobadilla to the Fr. General, dated Manila 6 August 1643

Sources: ARSI Phil. 11, fol. 235-239v; RAH 9/3693 (formerly Jesuit tome 120, n° 20, 6 leaves); cited in B&R 53: 296 as: "Carta del P. Diego de Bobadilla, de la compañía de Jesus, al P. General de la misma, en que le hace una detallada relación del viage que hizo desde Mejico a las islas Filipinas con 44 PP. mas cuyos nombres consigna... sucesos del viaje, y buen recibimiento que les hicieron en las islas."

Notes: Another copy of this letter used to be in the same tome at RAH, as part of doc. n° 27, but it too is no longer there. The General of the Jesuits was then Muzio Vitelleschi (1615-1646). The narrative of Fr. Bobadilla's voyage from Cadiz to Veracruz in 1642 is given in one of his letters, dated Mexico 1 February 1643; it is reproduced in the Colección de documentos inéditos, vol. 2, fol. 384 et seq.

Detailed narrative of the voyage he made from Acapulco to the Philippines in 1643

Original text in Spanish.

Iter P. Didaci Bobadillæ in Philippinas.

N.P. General.

Pax Christi &c^a

En esta prosequire, dando quenta a V.P. de nuestro viaje, y navegacion como lo hice en la passada de 1º de febrero, que escrevi desde Mexico de donde todos los que estavamos destinados para Filipinas, salimos repartidos en quatro tropas de a doce cada una; y començo la primera a caminar a 2 de Março y la ultima en que yo iba salio de la dicha Ciudad de Mexico a 7 de Março. En todo el camino por tierra, que es casi de noventa leguas, guardamos todo el buen orden Religioso, que fue possible y aunque era Quaresma, y las possadas estavan muy desproveidas de lo necessario, uvo tan buena prevencion, que pudimos siempre guardar los ayunos de la Iglesia.

A 19 del mesmo mes de Março llegue yo con mi tropa a Acapulco, a donde ya estavan todos Juntos, y a donde el P. Simon Cotta con otros dos padres que con tiempo avian ydo a este puerto a prevenir nos lo necessario en el, avian caydo malos, y assi el Padre Simon Cotta, pues se avia de quedar por Procurador desta Provincia en la nueva España, pareçio conveniente, que se retirasse a mejor temple, y assi se fue a Mexico. De

los demas recién llegados à este puerto algunos cayeron enfermos y decuidado en special uno que fue el Padre Juan del Campo, al qual apreto de suerte un recio tabadillo que casi nos quito las esperanças de su vida, y yo trate de dexar le en tierra, en que avia mas que medianas dificultades, porque en Acapulco por el mal temple, y desamparo, parece moralmente fuera cierta, su muerte, si nosotros nos embarcamos, dexandole a el en tierra: pues llevarle a mejor temple quarenta leguas de alli, era mas difficil; porque ni avia, quien lo executasse, y en el camino fuera mas sin duda el morir. A esto se añadia el notable desconsuelo, que el Padre tenia en que le dexassemos en tierra, y assi me resolví de embarcarle como se hizo llevandole los nuestros en braços hasta la playa, y con la alegría de verse embarcado en pocos días estuvo bueno, como tambien lo tuvieron los demas que se embarcaron emfermos.

Aunque la nao Capitana era mucho maior que la Almiranta, con todo esso jamas me incline a embarcarme en la primera, sino en la segunda, y vióse ser inspiracion de Dios por las muchas comodidades que tuvimos en la Almiranta de que carecieramos en la Capitana. Escribo el Señor Virrey de Mexico a los offisios [sic] Reales de Acapulco, apretadamente, que nos diessen toda buena commodidad para nuestro pasage, y ellos lo hizieron muy bien, por que fuera de darnos una muy capaz despensa para los caxones de libros, y todo el matalotaje, nos dieron todo el alcaçar de babor y estribor. [fol. 235v] Una choza particular para mi, con que hicieron todo que les fue possible. Pero el Almirante llamado Martin de Arreguia, a quien por derecho toca la camara y corredor de popa, nos dio liberalmente la mitad de lo uno, y de lo otro dividiendolo con tablas y esta mitad era tanto como una camara y corredor de otras naos, por ser la nuestra muy grande y capaz. Con esto nos acomodamos muy religiosamente, porque en el alcazar de la vanda de babor hizimos enfermeria para los muchos, que fueron cayendo enfermos, como luego dire. En la popa pusimos asientos al rededor, con que se vino à acomodar el refef[c]torio muy bien, y el corredor servia de cocina y repartidor. Y en todo lo que nos tocava de noche se acomodavan bien los nuestros para descansar y entre día tenian desahogo en la popa y corredor.

Dispuestas pues todas las cosas en la forma dicha, nos embarcamos a 31 de março Martes Santo y a 2 de Abril que fue el Jueves Sancto cantamos Missa en la mar y conforme el uso de la Iglesia comulgaron todos nuestros sacerdotes con sus estolas, y despues comulgaron nuestros Hermanos, y casi toda la gente de la nao, que eran hasta quatrocientas personas de varias naciones. Acabada la comunión levaron anclas y dieron a la vela y el día siguiente, que fue viernes Santo, pusimos un Christo en puesto y yo predique algo de la pasion, para consuelo de los navegantes.

El orden y concierto que en toda la navegacion guardamos fue cassi el mesmo que en la passada del mar del Norte; y el que V.P. nos encomendo en la Instruccion que nos dio. A la mañana al reir del alva se tocava con campanilla a levantar. Luego se tocava a oracion, y esta acabada se dezia una Missa los días de trabaxo y dos los días de fiesta, para que ninguno de la nao la dexase de oyr. Esta missa se yba repartiendo por todos los sacerdotes por su orden, y todos comulgavamos, los días que no la deziamos, y los Hermanos dos o tres vezes cada semana con grande edificacion de toda la nao. Luego

se tocava à almoçar conforme el uso de los navegantes, que las dos comidas son para ellos almuerzo y comida a las tres de la tarde. Mas antes de almoçar deziamos de comunidad el Itinerario. A la mesa se leya un libro Spiritual a primera, y a segunda. Antes de anocheser deziamos con todos los de la nao las Letanias de la Virgen y luego cantavamos la Salve y acabada se tocava a las Ave Marias. Despues todas las noches juntava un Padre hazia la proa la gente en special los muchachos y les enseñava la doctrina y misterios de la fee, y contava un exemplo de que gustavan mucho y los Sabados avia sermon para toda la nao. Aviendo ya anohecido bien, por no olvidarnos del exemplo de nuestro P. S. Francisco Xavier, tomava yo una Campanilla y en voz alta echava las animas pidiendo a todos, las encomendasen a N. Señor, para que las sacase de penas de Purgatorio, y que tambien encomendasen a Dios los que estavan en peccado mortal, y el buen sucesso de nuestro viaje: En comenzando a tocar esta Campanilla, avia grande silencio en la nao, poniendose todos a rezar. Hize esto unos quinze dias, mas luego los Padres con su mucho fervor se opusieron a quererlo hazer y assi por consolar a uno, le dexe este officio que le hiço con mucha puntualidad hasta el fin de la navegacion. En fin se tocava al examen antes de comer, y despues antes de acostar, y de este modo hicimos toda nuestra navegacion.

Mas antes de passar adelante, quiero poner una lista de todos los que nos embarcamos, que fuimos quarenta y siete, y de las Provincias de donde vinieron por aver avido alguna mudanza de los de la primera navegacion del mar del Norte.

De la Provincia Romana

P. Domingo Balverde, sive Vuaibel

P. Julio Antonio Job.

De la de Milan

P. Francisco Casella

P. Bartolome Besco

P. Carlos de Lemos, sive Lemuggi.

De la de Napoles

P. Francisco Paliola

P. Carlos de Valendia, sive Receputo.

De la de Sicilia

P. Luis Spinelli

P. Vicente Damian

P. Francisco Messina.

De la de Toledo

P. Gregorio Balero

P. Xavier Riquelme

P. Tomas de Andrade

H. Francisco Fernandez.

De la de Castilla

P. Luis Pimentel
P. Bernardino Alissin
P. Pedro Tellez
P. Francisco Deça
P. Juan del Campo
P. Francisco de Virotia.

De la de Andalucia

P. Juan Davila
P. Pedro de Fontiveroz
P. Matias de Montemayor
H. Alfonso Perez
H. Ignacio Francisco.

De la de Aragon

P. Pedro Cope
 [fol. 236v]
P. Gonçalo de Cisneros
P. Luis Fuster
P. Francisco Combes
H. Francisco Ferrer.

De la de Cerdeña

P. Juan Domingo Aresu
P. Juan Bautista Zurreddo
P. Diego Siluano
P. Francisco Lado
H. Garino Solinas.

De la Germania Superior

P. Jorge de Angulo, sive Ec Kart [i.e. Eckhart]
P. Ignacio de Monte, sive Gualtero Sonnemberg.

De la de Austria

P. Adolfo de Pedrosa, sive Stainhauser [sic]
P. Josef Sanchez, sive Zanzini.

De la de Gallo belgica

P. Nicolas Denia, sive Degne
P. Francisco de Burgos, sive Boursim.

De la de Mexico

P. Pedro Carlos
P. Lorenço de Horta

H. Juan de Landa

H. Ambrosio de la Cruz

H. Juan Ortiz.

Eramos segun esto por todos quarenta y siete, y de trece Provincias diferentes y con ser assi, no podre significar bien la grande Union y Caridad que en todos huvo, sin aver ni el mas minimo disgusto entre nosotros, sino un alma y un corazon en todos, cosa en que repararon mucho los de la nao, y se edificaron no poco y aun tomaron exemplo dello, pues en toda la nao con aver tanta gente, y de diversas naciones, y aver tantos soldados[,] marineros, grumetes, y passageros era tal la conformidad en todos que no vi pendencia, ni riña ninguna, sino mucha conformidad, ni oyi juramentos ni maldiciones, ni avia Juegos, ni otras cosas que son tan ordinarias en otras semejantes naos, y galeones; que parece milagro. Las cavezas y mandadores de la nao se adelantavan en esto, teniendo entre sí grande Union y amistad y dando buen exemplo en todo y aviendo con nosotros como se fueran Hermanos de la Compañia haziendonos mill caridades en quanto se ofreçia, y parece, que andavan [fol. 237] buscando ocasiones de hazer nos las con lo qual todos ybamos contentos y alegres[.] La frecuencia de los sacramentos en los de la nao fue mucha, pues en todas las fiestas era gran numero. El que avia de comuniones y las fiestas principales celebravamos con mas solemnidad de missa cantada &ª.—A 3 de Maio dia de la Invençion de la Cruz adornamos en publico una hermosa cruz con un Relicario en que avia lignum crucis y a la tarde, cantando los Hymnos desta festividad la dimos a adorar a todos los de la nao, que lo hicieron con grande devocion.—

A 4 de Junio fue dia del Corpus Christi y celebramos la fiesta solemnemente; ade-reçoçe la nao con pavesadas, colgose de buenas colgaduras[.] La plaça de armas, dipu-rose la artilleria y arcabuceria; cantamos missa y luego llevamos en procession el Sanctissimo Sacramento con muchas hachos y cirios encendidos, cantando el Pange lingua, y haziendo salva la artilleria y arcabuzeria, y gran parte de la nao comulgo este dia y fue de grande alegria para todos.

El dia del B. Luis Gonzaga 21 de Junio hizimos tambien grande fiesta, pero acabada començo una recia tempestad con un furioso huracan que andubo todos los rum-bos de la aguja, sino es dos; duro tres dias y nos dio cuydado, por cogernos cerca de tierra. La Capitana se vio obligada a cortar los arboles, y estubo a peligro de perderse por la mucha agua, que hacia. Nuestra nao Almiranta resistio mejor y la Vigilancia de los oficiales de la nao, y en especial del Almirante y Pilotos fue notable, con que salimos felizmente deste peligro. Mientras duro nosotros nos ocupavamos en acudir a nuestro Señor, y hazer algunas plegarias, con que tubo buen fin aunque nos apartamos este dia de la Capitana y no la vimos mas, hasta el dia ybamos a tomar Puerto.—

A pocos dias de navegacion reconicimos el viento, que aunque era favorable para navegar, era pestilencia para la salud y assi fueron cayendo enfermos los de la nao, que casi ninguno se escapo. Tambien los nuestros fueron enfermado y en tanto numero, que casi toda la navegacion fueron los enfermos doze o catorze y muchos recayeron tres y quatro vezes, y pocos fueron los que se escaparon de caer; fueron cinquenta y

tantos los enfermos nuestros, contando recaydas y con ser tantos, y en la mar, se les acudio con tanto regalo, y caridad como se podia hazer en un collegio muy opulento, y lleno de oficiales[.] señale tres Padres enfermeros que con un moço acudian a nuestros enfermos y de quando en quando los mudava, porque no peligrasen todos. Acudian con tanta caridad y trabajavan con tanto fervor que fue de grande edificacion a todos. Yo tambien cay enfermo y de peligro de suerte que me timieron y yo quede muy obligado a los nuestros por ver el gran sentimiento que hacian de que les faltasse.

*Para los enfermos de la nao avia señalado otros tres Padres que acudieron con notable fervor, y caridad a lo espiritual y temporal administrandoles los santos sacramentos de la penitencia, eucaristia y entremencion, acudiendoles con [fol. 237v] El regalo posible de comida y bebida assi de nuestro matalotaje como de lo que para esto dava el Almirante cuya liberalidad en esta parte es muy digna de alabanza. Por esta buena disposicion fueron menos los muertos de lo que se tenia[.] **murieron en nuestra nao treinta y tres personas; y los cinco fueron sacerdotes de nuestra Compañia** todos de tan aventajada virtud, y Religion y tan amados de los nuestros y de los seglares, que ubo general sentimiento en todos. Y yo le tube tan grande, que no lo sabre encarecer ni hallava consuelo, sino en que era voluntad de nuestro Señor, y juicios que no alcanzavamos, que tan buenos sujetos y de quien tanto necesitavan estas Islas, nos faltasen quando avian de entrar trabajando, y ayudando a los demas. Dire aora lo general, que son todos cinco se hizo reservando hablar en particular dellos, para el fin desta carta en muriendo uno de los nuestros, revestido de sacerdote, le poniamos sobre un bufete en la plaça de armas con candelas encendidas, y cantando haciamos el oficio de la sepultura, para echarle a la mar, que es el entierro de los navegantes. Acompañavan los nuestros y los de fuera el cuerpo con cirios y candelas encendidas y al echarle se disparava una pieza de artilleria que es la honrra, que en la mar se haze, quando muere una persona de quenta, y el Almirante no quiso dexar de hazer esta a los nuestros. este dia se ponian dos altares y se decia un buen numero de missas.*

En la Capitana lo pararon peor; tubieron grandes trabajos y necessidades y falta de todo, fuera del peligro en que se dieron de anegarse. Murieron se[te]nta personas, y dellos seis Padres de Santo Domingo de solos veinte y dos, que se embarcaron, fuera de otros dos que murieron en Mexico, y tres que se quedaron enfermos en el camino. Por lo qual y por otras cosas, dixen que fue especial providencia de nuestro Señor que nos embarcasemos en la Almiranta y no en la Capitana.

En començando a navegar, se abrio un orden secreto que del Governador de Filipinas avia, y en el se nos mandava, que no fuessemos por el camino ordinario ni embocaremos por el embocadero destas Islas, como se suele, por aver tres años arreo el holandés aguardado destas naos, y se rezelava lo hiciesse este tambien, aunque no lo groo [no lo logró] y aunque nuestras naos eran muy grandes y fuertes y yban bien artilladas, y guarnecidas de gente, que podian resistir al enemigo, parecia mas prudente consejo huir el encontrarle llevando tanto tesoro de Plata, como llevavan. Ordenavamos que fuesemos a la baya y puerto de Casiguran (que es en esta Isla de Manila) adonde entraron nuestras naos, y echando el Almirante un correo en tierra con los plie-

gos de su Magestad, me parecio saltar en tierra con otros dos Padres a disponer cassas, y todo lo necessario en el pueblo de Casiguran, como lo dispussimos y despachamos embarcaciones para que los nuestros viniesen a tierra en especial uno que venia enfermo y de peligro. Mientras esto se disponia llego nuebo orden a las naos para que passasen a otro puerto mas acomodado treinta leguas deste que de nuebo se avia descubierto que se llama Lampon[.] fueron a el las naos y dieron fondo a 7 de Jullio despues [fol. 238] de noventa y siete dias de navegacion que es de las mas largas que a avido en estos mare[s.] yo estava guardando las embarçaciones que avia embiado para que viniessen los nuestros a tierra[.] bolvieron de bacio diciendo lo que passava de aver se ydo las naos a otro puerto por lo qual me embarque luego en una buena embarcacion de Casiguran y fui al dicho puerto de Lampon adonde halle a los nuestros en tierra[.] dimos aviso a Manila para que nos embiassen el avio necessario como nos le embiaron.

...
*Nuestro Señor guarde a V.P. como la Compañía ha menester y yo suplico a la divina Magestad en mis sacrificios y oraciones en los de V.P.[.] mucho me encomiendo.
 Manila y Agosto 6 de 1643 años.
 Diego de Bobadilla*

Translation.

[Endorsement in Latin:] **Voyage of Fr. Diego Bobadilla to the Philippines.**

[To] Our Fr. General.

Peace of Christ, etc.

In this letter I will continue to inform Y[our] P[aternity] about our voyage and navigation, as I did in my last letter dated 1 February, which I wrote from Mexico, where all of us who were destined for the Philippines, went out in four bands of up to twelve each. The first band started out on 2 March and the last one, of which I was a member, left Mexico City on 7 March. During the whole voyage overland, which is almost 90 leagues, we maintained as much a good religious order as was possible, and although it was Lent, and the inns were very destitute of necessities, there was enough good planning that we were able to observe the fasts of the Church.

On the 19th of the same month of March, I arrived with my band at Acapulco, where everyone was already to be found, and where Fr. Simon Cotta and two Fathers, who had gone ahead of us to this port to arrange for necessities for us, had fallen sick. So, it seemed proper for Father Simon Cotta, who was to remain behind as Procurator for this Province in New Spain, to go back to a better climate, and so, he left for Mexico. Among those who had just arrived at this port, a few fell sick. One who was specially affected was Father Juan del Campo, who was hit by a stiff *tabadillo* [fever?] that made us almost despair for his life. I tried to leave him on land, but there were more than average difficulties, because on account of the bad climate in Acapulco, and abandonment, it seemed as if his death would be certain, if the rest of us would sail away, leaving him ashore; besides, to take him to a better climate 40 leagues from there was more difficult, because there was no-one who would carry it out, and along the way his death

was even more certain. Furthermore, the Father felt a noteworthy disconsolateness in the possibility of our leaving him ashore, and so I decided to embark him, as was done, our people carrying him in their arms as far as the beach. With the happiness at seeing himself aboard, within a few days he was well. The same thing happened to those who were sick when they went on board.

Although the flagship was much bigger than the almiranta, still I was never inclined to board the former, but the latter, and this turned out to have been divine inspiration, for the many advantages that we received in the almiranta, which we would have missed in the flagship. His Excellency the Viceroy of Mexico wrote a timely letter to the royal officials of Acapulco, for them to give us all the comforts possible for our passage, and they did so very well indeed, because, besides the very spacious store-room for our crates of books and all our supplies, they gave us the whole quarterdeck, port side and starboard side; there was even a special cabin for me, so that they did all that was possible. However, the Admiral, named Martin de Arreguia, for whom the poop cabin and gallery is reserved, willingly gave us half of both, dividing it with boards. This half was as large as the poop cabin and gallery of other galleons, as ours was very big and spacious. With this, we settled in very religiously, because we converted the quarterdeck on the port side into an infirmary for the many who were falling sick, as I will say later. We placed some benches around the poop [cabin] and that became good for a refectory; the gallery served as a galley and service area, and for everything we needed at night in order to rest, whereas both the cabin and gallery provided ample room for daytime use.

Everything having thus been arranged, we embarked on Tuesday, 31 March, and on 2 April, which was Holy Thursday, we sang mass at sea and, in accordance with the custom of the Church, all our priests took communion wearing their stoles, and afterwards our Brothers took communion, and most of the people of the galleon, who were as many as 400 persons of various nationalities. When communion was over, they weighed the anchors and raised the sail [sic] and the next day, which was Good Friday, we put a crucifix in place and I preached something about the passion, for the consolation of the travellers.

The routine that we kept during the whole voyage was almost the same as the one we kept during the crossing of the Northern Sea, that is, the one that Y.P. recommended us to follow in the Instruction you gave us. In the morning at the crack of dawn the small bell was rung for réveillé. Then, it was rung again for prayer, and once it was finished, one mass was said on workdays, and two masses on holidays, so that no-one on board would miss it. This mass was said by all the priests in turn, and all took communion, on days that we did not say mass ourselves, and the Brothers two or three times a week with great edification of everyone aboard the galleon. Then it was time to have breakfast, in accordance with the custom at sea, that is, to have two meals [a day], breakfast, and dinner at 3 p.m. However, before [eating] breakfast, we recited the Itinerary in common. Some spiritual book was read at the first serving, and another at the second. Before sunset, we recited the Litanies of the Virgin with all those of the galleon, and then we sang the Salve [Regina] and after that it was time for the Rosary. After-

wards, every evening, one Father would gather the men before the mast, specially the boys, and would teach them the doctrine and mysteries of the faith. He would narrate to them a story by way of an example, something they enjoyed. On Saturdays, there was a sermon for everyone aboard the galleon. Now, when the evening was far advanced, in order for us not to forget the example of our Fr. St. Francis Xavier, I was taking the small bell and rousing everyone with a high voice, urging them to pray for the souls in purgatory, to commend them to the Lord, so that He would relieve them of their punishments, and also to commend to God those who were not in the state of grace, and to pray for the success of our voyage. As soon as the small bell was rung, there was silence aboard the galleon, as everyone started to pray. I did this for about 15 days, but later on the Fathers in their great fervor objected, saying they too wanted to do it. So, to console one of them, I let him take over this task, and he did it in a timely manner for the rest of the voyage. Finally, we took time for an examination of conscience before eating, and afterwards before going to bed. That was the routine we followed during the whole voyage.

Before I go on with the narrative, I would like first to reproduce the list of the 47 of us who came aboard, along with the Provinces from which they came, as there have been some changes since the first voyage across the Northern Sea.

From the Roman Province

*Fr. Domingo Valverde, alias Vuaibel¹

Fr. Julio Antonio Job.

From that of Milan

*Fr. Francisco Casella

Fr. Bartolomé Besco

Fr. Carlos de Lemos, alias Lemuggi.

From that of Naples

Fr. Francisco Paliola

Fr. Carlos de Valendia, alias Receputo.

From that of Sicily

Fr. Luis Spinelli

Fr. Vicente Damian

Fr. Francisco Messina.²

From that of Toledo³

1 Ed. note: Those marked with an asterisk died during the crossing of the Pacific.

2 Ed. note: Future Provincial, 1681-83.

3 Ed. note: The Province of Toledo was not centered on Toledo, but on Alcalá; it corresponded roughly to the boundaries of New Castile.

Fr. Gregorio Valero
 Fr. Xavier Riquelme¹
 Fr. Tomás de Andrade²
 Br. Francisco Fernandez.

From that of [old] Castile

Fr. Luis Pimentel³
 Fr. Bernardino Alissin
 Fr. Pedro Tellez
 Fr. Francisco Deza
 Fr. Juan del Campo
 Fr. Francisco de Virotia.

From that of Andalusia

Fr. Juan Davila
 Fr. Pedro de Fontiveroz
 Fr. Matías de Montemayor
 Br. Alfonso Perez⁴
 Br. Ignacio Francisco.

From that of Aragon

Fr. Pedro Cope
 *Fr. Gonzalo de Cisneros
 Fr. Luis Fuster
 Fr. Francisco Combes
 Br. Francisco Ferrer.

From that of Sardinia

Fr. Juan Domingo Aresu
 Fr. Juan Bautista Zurreddo
 Fr. Diego Siluano
 Fr. Francisco Lado
 Br. Garino Solinas.

From that of Upper Germany

*Fr. Jorge de Angulo, alias [Georg] Ec Kart [sic = Eckhart]⁵
 Fr. Ignacio de Monte, alias Walter Sonnemberg.

From that of Austria

Fr. Adolfo de Pedrosa, alias Stainhauser [sic]

-
- 1 Ed. note: Future Provincial, 1675-78.
 2 Ed. note: Future Provincial, 1681 (only for 6 months).
 3 Ed. note: Future Provincial, 1670 (int.), 1675 (int.), 1687-90.
 4 Ed. note: See his own account of the voyage in Doc. 1643D.
 5 Ed. note: Since Eck in German means Angle, that is the shortened name they gave this German.

Fr. Josef Sanchez, alias Zanzini.

From the Gallo-French Province

Fr. Nicolas Denia, alias Degne [sic]

*Fr. Francisco de Burgos, alias Boursim.

From the Province of Mexico

Fr. Pedro Carlos

Fr. Lorenzo de Horta

Br. Juan de Landa

Br. Ambrosio de la Cruz

Br. Juan Ortiz.

According to this list, we were a total of 47, from 13 different provinces, and it being so, I cannot but emphasize the great harmony and charity that moved everyone, without the least amount of disagreement among ourselves. Rather, everyone was of one soul and one heart, something that was not only noticed by those aboard the galleon, but which they took as an example. Indeed, although there were so many people, of so many nationalities, be they soldiers, sailors, ship's boys, and passengers, the good relations among them were such that I did not see any dispute, not a single fight; instead, there was only agreement. I did not hear any swearing, not even curses. There was no gambling, nor any other things that are so common aboard similar ships and galleons; it was like a miracle. The officers and their mates outdid themselves, keeping great harmony and friendship among themselves, and giving a good example to everyone else, as they behaved toward us as if they were Brothers in the Society, being constantly on the lookout to do us a thousand small services. Therefore, we were all happy and contented. The attendance at the sacraments among the people of the galleon was great, since there was a large number at all the holidays. As far as communions were concerned, the main feast-days that we celebrated with the greater solemnity of a high mass, etc. were:

—3 May, the Finding of the Cross, we decorated in public a pretty cross with the reliquary containing some *lignum crucis* [slivers of wood from the true cross], and in the afternoon, while singing the Hymns of this feast, we presented it to all those of the galleon for adoration, which they did with great devotion.

—4 June, Corpus Christi, we celebrated the feast solemnly. The galleon was made ready with waist-clothes, good pendants were put up. The gunners and musketeers took over the quarterdeck. Mass was sung and then we took the Blessed Sacrament in a procession with many torches and tall candles lit, singing the *Pange lingua*, and the gunners and musketeers firing their guns. Most of the galleon took communion on this day and it was a merry event for all.

—21 June, the feast-day of Blessed Luis Gonzaga, we also had a great feast, but, once it was over, there began a stiff storm with a furious hurricane that came from all points of the compass, except two. It lasted for three days and gave us some concern, as it caught us near land. The flagship saw herself forced to cut her masts, and was on

the verge of foundering, on account of the high seas. Our own almiranta resisted better and the vigilance of the officers of the galleon, specially our Admiral and the pilots, was admirable, so that we luckily survived this danger. While it lasted, we ourselves took care to appeal to the Lord, and to make some vows, so that it ended well, although on this day we separated from the flagship, and we never saw her again until the day we arrived in port.

A few days later, we recognized that the wind, which nevertheless was favorable to navigation, was harmful to health. So, the people of the galleon began to fall sick, and almost no-one escaped. Our own people fell sick as well, in such great numbers that during most of the voyage the number of sick was from 12 to 14, some falling sick three and four times. Very few did not fall sick at least once. We had a total of 50 cases or more among our people, counting the relapses. There were so many, and at sea, but they were treated with as much good food and charity as would have been possible in a very rich college, full of officials. I appointed three Fathers as orderlies and gave them one young man to take care of the sick; from time to time, I rotated them, so as not to endanger them all.¹ They were applying so much charity and labored with such fervor that it was greatly edifying to all. I too fell sick and seriously, so that I made them fear for my life; as for me, I was left very obligated to our people, seeing how they felt that I would be sorely missed.

As far as the other sick people of the galleon, I had assigned three other Fathers to take care of them, with notable fervor and charity, administering to them physical care and the holy sacraments of penance, eucharist, and extreme unction. They were given as much good food and drink as possible, out of our own provisions as well as those given for the purpose by the Admiral, whose generosity is very praiseworthy. For this good disposition there were fewer dead than otherwise. **Thirty three persons died aboard our galleon, and five of them were priests of our Society.** All were so qualified in virtue, and religion, and so loved by our people and the civilians that there was a general sorrow in everyone. I myself had such a great sorrow that I cannot overrate it, nor could I find comfort, except in the thought that it was the Lord's will, and decisions which we cannot fathom. They were such good individuals and these Islands needed them so much; they went missing at the moment when they were about to begin their work, and assistance to the others. I will now say something general about the five of them (keeping a particular notice of them for the end of this letter). When one of our people died, he was dressed in his priest's vestments, placed upon a desk on the quarterdeck with lit candles, and we sang the office of the dead, before throwing him overboard, which is the burial at sea. Our people and the outsiders accompanied the body with lit candles, tall ones and ordinary ones, and upon throwing him overboard a gun was fired, as this is the honor that is done at sea when a person of rank dies, and the Admiral did not want to miss the opportunity to make this honor to our people. On this day two altars were arranged and a goodly number of masses were said.

1 Ed. note: Little did he know that he was spreading the infection this way.

Aboard the flagship, they had it worse. They went through some bad times and lack of everything, in addition to the danger they met of foundering. Seventy persons died there, and among them six Dominican Fathers from a band of only 22 who had boarded, besides two others who died in Mexico, and three sick ones who remained behind along the way. That is why I said that it was by special providence of our Lord that we boarded the almiranta and not the flagship.

At the beginning of the voyage, a secret order from the Governor of the Philippines was opened. In it he was ordering us not to go the ordinary route through the Embocadero of these Islands, as usual, because for three years in a row the Dutch had lied in wait to capture these galleons, and it was feared that they might do it again this year, although they they had been unsuccessful and our galleons were very big and strong, and went so well armed and manned that they could resist the enemy, it seemed more prudent to avoid an encounter, as they were carrying such a treasure in silver. We were ordered to go to the bay and port of Casiguran (which is in this Island of Manila) where our galleons went in. As the Admiral was sending a messenger ashore there with the royal mail, it seemed to me that I should also go ashore with two other Fathers to arrange for houses, and all things necessary in the town of Casiguran. That is what we did, and we despatched some boats to take our people ashore, specially one who was sick and at risk. While this was going on, another order was delivered to the galleons to go on to another port, a more comfortable one 30 leagues from this one, that had been recently discovered, and is called Lampon. The galleons went there and anchored on 7 July, after 97 days at sea, which is one of the longest crossing in those seas. I was waiting for the boats that I had sent to come back bringing our people ashore. They returned empty, saying what was happening, that the galleons had gone to another port. So, I boarded a good boat from Casiguran and went to the said port of Lampon where I found our people ashore. We advised Manila, asking them to send us the necessary food supplies, and they did.

[Synopsis: Upon leaving Lampon for Manila, the Jesuit train included 8 hammocks carrying the sick and the weak among the missionaries. Travelling was on foot, through mountains and valleys, wading across rivers with water up to the waist, etc. until they reached Laguna de Bay, where they boarded boats for the Jesuit house of San Pedro de Makati, a suburb of Manila. They went on from there to Manila itself. Those who had died during the voyage were: on 2 April, Fr. Francisco Cassella, originally from Naples; on 1 May, Fr. Francisco Boursim, alias de Burgos, originally from Arras, 33 years old; on 8 June, Fr. George Eckhart, alias de Angulo, originally from Newburg, 28 years old; on 29 June, Fr. Gonzalo Cisneros, originally from Villanueva in Aragon, also 28 years old; and on 1 July, Fr. Domingo Vuaibel, alias Balverde, originally from Costance in Germany, 28 years old.]

May our Lord keep Your Paternity as the Society requires and I beg the divine Majesty in my sacrifices and prayers, also wishing to be remembered in yours.

Manila, 6 August 1643.

Diego de Bobadilla

Document 1643C

The voyage of 1643, narrated by Fr. Murillo Velarde

Source: Chapter 16 of Father Pedro Murillo Velarde, S.J., Historia de Philipinas (Manila, 1716; also 1749).

Note: The fleet that year consisted of the flagship Encarnación, and her consort, the Rosario, which carried the Jesuits.

Secondary account of Fr. Bobadilla's band

Chapter 16. The arrival of a numerous band...

330. In the fifth Provincial Council, held in the year of 1635, Fr. Diego de Bobadilla was elected Procurator in Rome and Madrid. He embarked in 1637 and, while he was in Spain, there occurred the troubles in Portugal, and in Cataluña. Such news were of great disconsolateness in this Province, because it perceived that the relief would be in jeopardy. The Province, in addition to the ordinary mission among the Tagalogs, and the Visayans, held the new Missions of Buhayen, Iligan, Basilan, and Jolo, and some years, there were only 40 priests available; they did as best they could to fulfill such great necessities. Philip IV, whom we may call the Great, on account of his unconquered, great and singular patience, whom God deigned to accredit with great, and repeated misfortunes, was so zealous of the Catholic religion, of its preservation, and its propagation, that even in such dire times, he did not excuse himself from approving a **band of 47 missionaries** for this Province, and he ordered that they be given 8,040 ducats in Seville, and 1,000 pesos in Mexico. These were very considerable alms under those circumstances. Only the heart of such a Catholic prince could have done this. Every day he renewed the vow that he had made, not to make friends with Infidels to the detriment of Religion, even though it might cost him his Crown, and his life.

On Holy Tuesday 31 March 1643, 47 Jesuits embarked at Acapulco. On 2 April, mass was celebrated, and they had communion, not only the missionaries, but almost as many civilians who came aboard the almiranta, where a routine lasted so long that it was like a regular College. Indeed, at the break of dawn, the réveillé was sounded,

the prayer recited, a mass said on workdays, and two of them on feast-days, followed by the communion of all the priests who did not say mass (two, or three times a week for the Student and Coadjutor Brothers). At meal time, there was a reading. At about nightfall, the litanies were recited and the *Salve* was sung. Every night, there was a Father who would go to the forecandle, to explain the Christian doctrine, and finishing with a short discourse. When night came, the Father Procurator would ring a small bell, so that they would pray for the souls in Purgatory, and for those who were in the state of mortal sin, as St. Francis Xavier had done. Before going to sleep, an examination of one's conscience was in order. Every Sunday, feast-day, and Saturday, there was a sermon preached to all those aboard the ship.

A short time after they had embarked, a certain draught of wind ran, which caused almost all on board to become sick, of whom **five Jesuits died**, and 33 civilians. Aboard the flagship, six Dominicans died, and 70 persons. So many ill people kept the charity of our own people well exercised; they assisted them with the administration of the sacraments, and by caring for their souls, and they even tried to alleviate their suffering as much as possible, with treats and favors. This labor was very singularly fruitful, in that the sermons, and exhortations made by the missionaries, caused much reform in the customs, and a greater frequency in the sacraments.

On 21 June, a storm so fierce arose that it lasted three days, much to the disconsolateness of the crew, and even of the pilots, who expected to perish, but on the fourth day, it abated, much to the consolation of everyone. Governor Don Sebastian Hurtado de Corcuera, having seen that the Dutch were trying to capture our ships, and that they had stationed themselves on the coasts of the Strait and Cape of Espiritu Santo the previous years, decided, much wisely, that upon going out of Acapulco, sealed orders should be opened; in them, he was ordering the Commanders of the ships not to follow the ordinary route, in order to escape danger, and to frustrate the corsair. Consequently, the ships no longer headed for the Strait of San Bernardino, but for Casiguran on the eastern coast of Luzon Island, north of San Bernardino.

On 7 July, they arrived at Casiguran, and from there the galleons went on to the port of Lampon, which is in 16 degrees of latitude north. From there, the missionaries came to Manila, suffering along the way, on account of the rough roads, and the continuous rains of that season, crossing mountains, gorges, muddy areas, forests, jungles, and great precipices. Some even went on foot for three days through such rough areas. However, everyone thought it worthwhile, considering the great need of the Province, and the opportunity of relieving it. This mission [band] was a large one, and it did a lot of work; it is noteworthy that some of those missionaries spent 50, and even over 60 years in the Philippines.

...

Document 1643D

Account of the 1643 voyage by Br. Alonso Perez

Source: RAH 9/3693, doc. n° 74 (formerly Jesuit tome 120, doc. n° 108); cited in B&R 53: 297.

Letter from Brother Alonso Perez to Brother Pedro de Alanuza, dated Manila 22 July 1644

Original text in Spanish.

A mi Hermano Pedro de Alanuza [or Abaunza]

Pax Christi, etc.

A veinte de Julio de 644, recibí una de mi Hermano Pedro de 31 de Agosto de 43 en la qual [yo] experimento el afecto y buena voluntad que mi Hermano Pedro me tiene, aunque se lo é poco merecido pero al fin cada uno hace como quien es, y aunque de mi parte faltan meritos, avrá de la de mi Hermano mucha caridad que sobre pasara la cortedad mia, un año antes que esta llegue a los manos de mi Hermano, avia de recibir otra mía, que despaché assi que llegue a estas islas [in 1643] mas quisó Dios, que de las dos naos, que salen todos los años de este puerto arribasse, la Capitana donde yba nuestro Procurador para España, y juntamente otro P[adr]e para Visitador, de México, podra ser los reciba mi Hermano Pedro juntas despues de tantos naufragios; mi llegada y la de todos fue despues de grandes trabajos, en esta navegación del Sur [de 1643], que si mal se passó en la del Norte por las tormentas, aqui naufragamos con doblado trabajo porque tormentas no faltaron por ser los vientos deste mar del Zur tan fuertes, que nuestra Capitana desarboló a nuestra vista, siendo un galeon nuevo de mas de mil y ochocientos toneladas, y juntamente fortissimos, que de otra suerte no podrian pasar estos mares, llegamos al fin despues de 100 y 20 dias de navegación con muerte de 5 Padres, y caida universal de todos, yo le estuvé dos veces, mas Dios quisó guardarnos para lo que su Magestad sabe.

Llegamos a nuestro Colegio de Manila, emporio y cabeza de todas estas islas donde fuimos recibidos con increíbles muestras de caridad y amor, todos los Padres fueron luego poco a poco desocupando la casa, y ocupando cada uno su puesto de Indios, y

los demas que no aviamos acabado los estudios los estamos acabando en Manila, este año de 44 es el 1º de mi santa theologia. Dios nos la dexé acabar para emplearme en lo que todos estamos con tanto deseo. El Pe. Matias, y el Pe. Avila, Pe. Fontiveros todos estan en sus misiones. quedaron en la Nueva España el Pe. Artiago y el Pe. Vargas, En quanto al natural son muy dociles, conciben bien a el alma de la religion, y tambien de sus ministros, que los sirven al pensamiento. La tierra es de temple húmido y cálido, de suerte que todo el año es un agosto, abunda de oro, perlas, anbar, y mucho de mercaderias, que venian del Japon, China, Malaca, Goa. Agora con los rebeliones de Macan que es de los Portugueses, y poco trato de Japon, que todavia se dura su sequedad, juntamente con la muerte de mas de 30 mil Chinos, de mas de 60 mil que se levantaron el año 40, (a quedado desvista de su antiguo trato que, ora Dios, se vuelva a repuestar, con tiempo) y fueron sugetados de apenas mil Españoles, y 9 mil Indios, entre los quales ay una nación que llaman Panpangos, que son buenos mosqueteros, y sobre todo leal-lissimos, a los quales en dandoles por Capitan un Español les parece que llevan al mundo todo en su amparo, fue Dios servido que con tan poca gente como son mil hombres los mil Españoles y los nueve mil Indios dar una vitoria. Que su perdida lo sería destas islas, y de toda la Cristiandad que avia en ella.

*Avisame, mi Hermano Pedro de los dos expulsos, de Agustino no se me hará(?) de nuevo que no sabía yo, que era tan virtuoso como su ermano, pero sí me asombro Sen-
osposa(?), que aviendo escudriñado en nemi [=no sé?] qual sera la causa, no halló otro que algun tropezon de estudios, ó mucho amor de su madre, que me parece tenía la leche muy en los labios; lo que le pido al Hermano Pedro es que las cartas que yo le e encaminado los procure recoger y abrir, porque va una gustosa **relacion del viage** no se pierda, y hacer para que hablo con mi Hermano Pedro en lo que toca a la sustancia, una reliquia va en ella del Pe. Marcelo [Mastrili], de la al Hermano a quien fuera su gusto, a los condiscipulos míos que ay se hallasen, les pedira se diossen tener esta por suya, y avisar me quien tubo(?) conclusiones en Granº (?) y enseq(?) al Pe. Valenzuela, Hermano Reyno, al buen Laredo, y amigo particular Esquivel con el Benigno Cueva, y Munive, mis íntimos, que no se olviden de este pobre apartado por Dios 6 mil leguas, de encomendarle en sus muy fervorosos a su Majestad que guarde a mi Hermano Pedro como puede y deseo.*

Manila y Julio 22 de 644.

A mi Hermano Pedro escojo por mi correspondiente, y al Pe. Romano pidale que no me olvide, y aviseme del puesto que tienen las personas mas conocidas, en especial el Pe. Bernardo de Ocaña, que lo quiero como a mi vida.

Alono Perez.

Translation.

To my dear Brother Pedro de Alanuza [or Abaunza, in Seville]

May the peace of Christ be with you, etc.

On 20 July 1644, I received a letter from my dear Brother Pedro, dated 31 August 1643, in which I experienced the affection and good-will that my Brother Pedro has for

me, although I have not deserved it much, but in the end everyone does what he can, and although there is a lack of merit on my part, this is made up by the great charity of my Brother which surpasses my shortcomings. One year before this letter reaches the hands of my Brother, he is to receive another from me, that I despatched as soon as I arrived at these islands [in 1643] but God willed that, out of the two galleons that leave every year from this port, the flagship returned, upon which our Procurator was going to Spain, along with another Father as Visitor for Mexico. It is possible that my Brother Pedro will receive them together, after so many shipwrecks. My voyage and that of everyone was full of great labors, in this navigation of the Southern Sea; if the voyage across the Northern Sea [i.e. Atlantic] was bad, on account of storms, here we were shipwrecked with twice the labors because of storms that did not fail, because the winds of this southern ocean are so strong that our flagship lost her masts in sight of us,¹ [although] she is a new galleon of over 1,800 tons, a very strong one at that, one which would not be able to cruise other seas.

Finally, after 120 days of navigation with the death of 5 Fathers, and the universal sickness of everyone, I was sick twice, but God willed to preserve us for what his Majesty knows. We arrived at our College in Manila, the emporium and capital of all these islands, where we were received with indredible demonstrations of charity and love. All the Fathers were afterward leaving the house little by little, and each one taking his post among the Indians. The rest of us who had not yet finished our studies were finishing them in Manila; this year of 1644 is my first year in holy theology. May God let us finish them so that we may be all employed in what we long for. Fr. Matias, Fr. Avila,² and Fr. Fontiveros are all gone to their missions. Fr. Artiago and Fr. Vargas have remained in New Spain.³

With regards to the native(s), they are very docile, they have a good conception of the soul of religion, and also of its ministers, who helped them to think. The land is of a damp and warm climate, so that the whole year is like the month of August; it is abundant in gold, pearls, amber, and many merchandise that come from Japan, China, Malacca, Goa. Now with the rebellions at Macau, which belongs to the Portuguese, and the little trade with Japan, where drought [i.e. seclusion] persists, in addition to the death of over 30,000 Chinese, from over 60,000 who rebelled in the year 1640 (their old trade has lost its vigor but, pray God that it may regain it, in time) and they were subjected by hardly 1,000 Spaniards and 9,000 Indians. Among the latter there is a nation called the Pampangos, who are good musketeers, and above all very loyal; if one Spaniard is given to them as their Captain, it seems as if they would be capable of taking the

1 Ed. note: The flagship was the Encarnación. The Jesuits were aboard the almiranta Rosario.

2 Ed. note: This Fr. Juan de Avila was born in Seville in 1615, entered the Jesuit order at the age of 15, and was ordained in 1639. He arrived in the Philippines in 1643, and labored in the Bisayan missions for many years. He died of cancer in the face in Ilog, Negros Island, on 20 June 1706. While serving in Carigara, he is credited with the introduction of the culture of cacao into the Philippines (B&R 47: 219).

3 Ed. note: He refers to his companions from the Province of Andalusia (see page 67).

world by storm. God was pleased to give a victory to those 10,000 men, that is the 1,000 Spaniards and the 9,000 Indians. Had they lost, that would have meant the loss of these Islands, and the whole Christian community established in them.

Let me know, my dear Brother Pedro, what happened to the two who were expelled [from the Order]. About Agustino, there is nothing that I would not already know; he was as virtuous as his brother, but I am indeed saddened by Br. Espinosa(?) who, having [been] scrutinized for I do not know what reason, did not find another [reason] than some faltering in his studies, or the excessive love of his mother, so that it seems to me he still had the taste of her milk on his lips. What I am asking to my Brother Pedro is that he should try and recover and open the letters which I have sent to him, so that a delightful **narrative of the voyage** which they contain will not be lost,¹ and pretend that I am speaking with my Brother Pedro, for the most part. Also enclosed is a relic of Fr. Marcelo [Mastrili]; give it to any Brother you may wish. As for the students in my class, who are still there, please ask them to consider this letter as if written to them, and to let me know who managed to finish in [Granº] and [enseq?]. As for Fr. Valenzuela, Brother Reyno, the good Laredo, and my special friend Esquivel, with Benigno Cueva, and Munive(?), my intimate friends, they should not forget this poor exile for the love of God, some 6,000 leagues away, and they should commend him in this very zealous prayers to his Majesty, He who may preserve my dear Brother Pedro as much as He can and as I wish.

Manil, 22 July 1644.

[P.S.] I select my dear Brother Pedro as my correspondent. Please ask Fr. Romano not to forget me, and let me know the post given to the persons I know the most, specially Fr. Bernardo de Ocaña whom I love as I do my own life.

Alonso Perez.

1 Ed. note: This narrative is not found in the same file as this letter, and may have become "lost".

Document 1644A

Galleons of 1643 and 1644

Sources: RAH 9/3693 (formerly Jesuit tome 120, n° 106); published in B&R 35: 176.

Events in the Philippines, 1643-44

Relation of the news and notable events in these Philippine Islands in the years of 43 and 44.

Of the two galleons which set out in the past year of 1643 for New Spain, two months later the flagship returned, dismasted, and entered the new port of Lampon where it was made ready for sailing again this year. The almiranta, which made the voyage successfully, has already arrived from its return voyage; and the news came today that it is remaining at Cagayan, and that the [new] governor, Don Diego Faxardo, was coming as far as he could overland.¹

¹ Ed. note: The rest of the report deals with China, Japan, Macao, Ternate, Eastern India, Mindanao and Jolo. The almiranta in question was the galleon San Luis.

Document 1645A

The unsuccessful Dutch plan to capture the Manila galleon near the Ladrones

Source: Abel Janszoon Tasman's Journal, edited by J.E. Heeres (1898), pp. 110-111; cited by Andrew Sharp, The Discovery of the Pacific Islands, section 19.

Admiral Vries' plans to cruise for the galleon near the Ladrones in 1645

Synopsis by Andrew Sharp.

Somewhere around 1645 Maarten Gerritszoon Vries, one of the captains of the Dutch East India Company, made a voyage from Batavia along the north coast of New Guinea and as far as the Western extremity of New Hanover, and thence to the Marianas. No further details of this voyage are known.

Synopsis by J. E. Heeres.

Very soon after this [June 1643] preparations were again set on foot at Batavia for the new voyage of discovery to the South-land. [François Jacobszoon] Visscher played an important part also in these preparatory measures and in the enterprise itself. Directly after the return of the second expedition, we again find traces of Visscher's restless activity. In a resolution namely of the Governor-General and Councillors, dated 17 October 1644, it is stated that Visscher and Tasman had pointed out a "new route and passage" for waylaying the Spanish silver-ships between Acapulco and Manila.¹

These memoirs or advices formed the basis for an important expedition of which Visscher formed part, but of which the leadership was entrusted to Commander

¹ Tasman's advice is contained in the chart, dated 8 September 1644, reproduced in the present work.

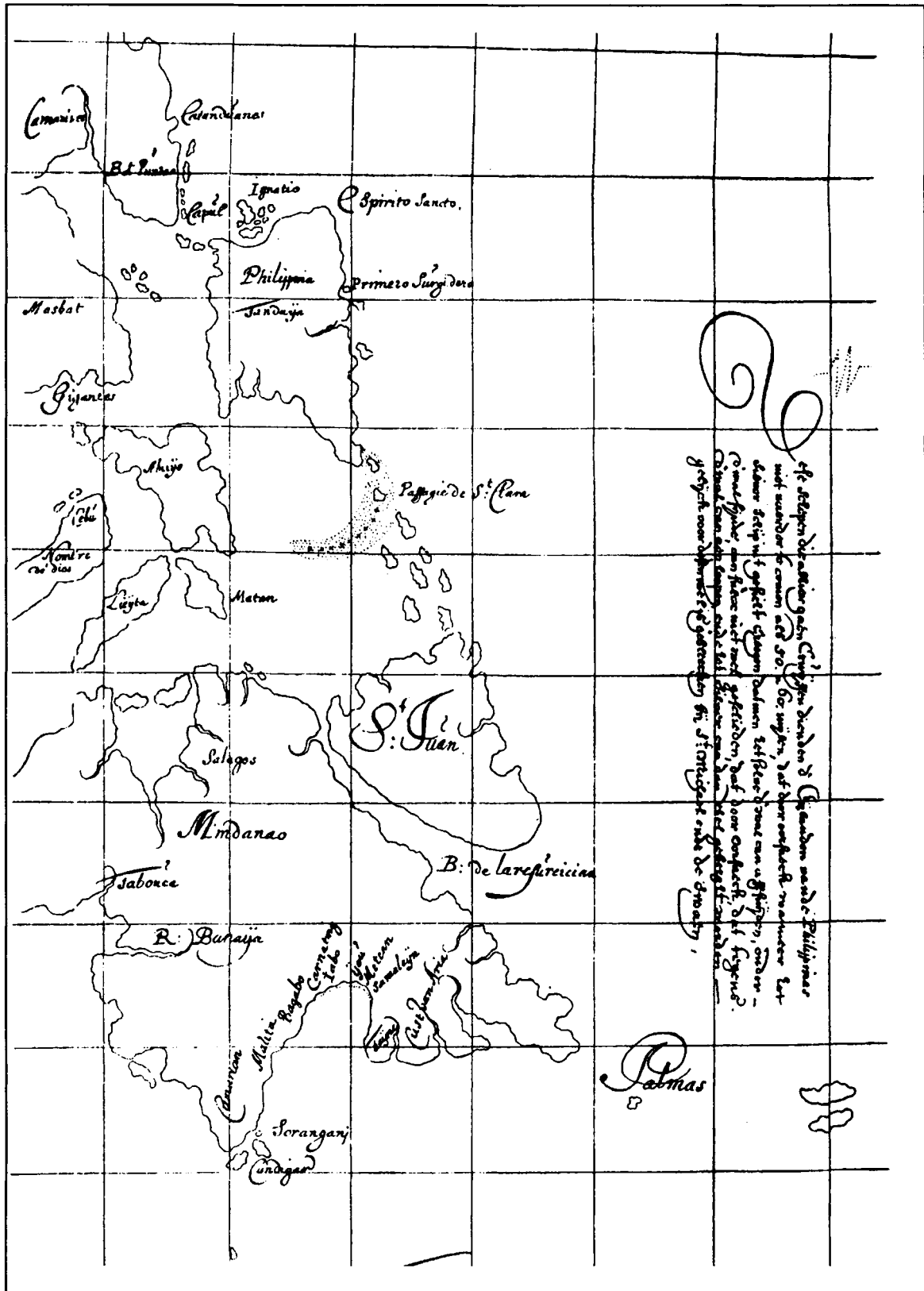
Maarten Gerritszoon Vries, who was expressly directed constantly to confer with the “pilot-major as regards the determination of the courses to be held.”¹

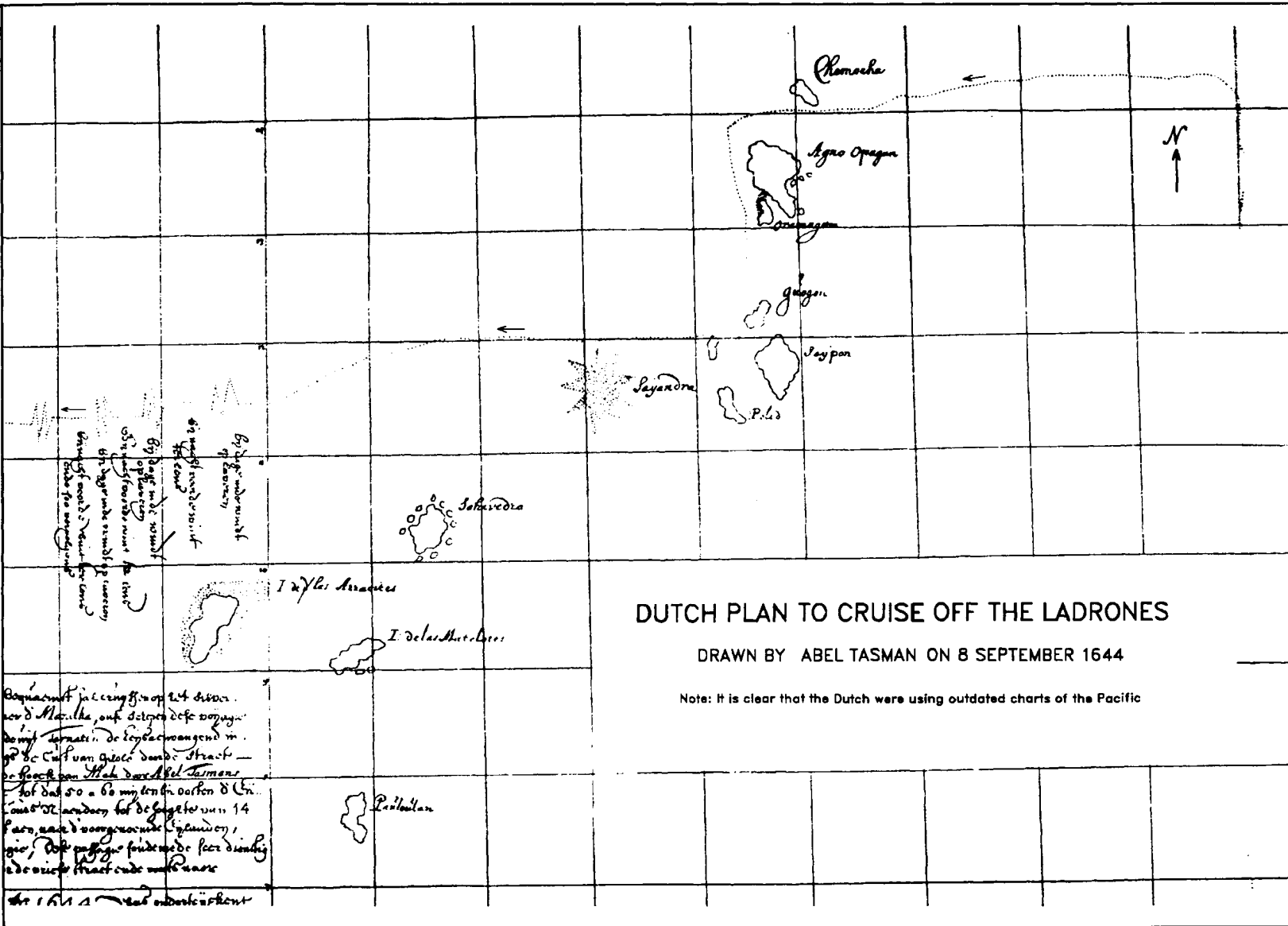
The ships which formed part of this expedition, were ordered to proceed to the Moluccas, whence they were to be dispatched on a cruise to watch for the silver-ships. For several years past flotillas had been sent out for this purpose, but hitherto always without result. The Supreme Government, therefore, had “time and again contemplated other methods of action;” thus “the experienced pilot-major François Jacobszoon Visscher had proposed a certain manner of cruising near and about the Ladrões isles, departing from the latter between fourteen and twelve degrees Northern Latitude to run for the channels of the Holy Ghost [i.e. Cabo del Espiritu Santo] and Santa Clara, for the purpose of meeting the enemy’s ships at sea, and cutting them off from the land for the time being,” But the execution of this plan had hitherto been frustrated by the circumstance that “the rendez-vous assigned, being the Ladrões isles, is not be reached owing to the constant south-easterly winds prevailing in the great South Sea.” At present, however—we see that “the recent discovery of the South-land” was already bearing fruit—“the discovery of the unknown South-land and of the north-coast of Nova Guinea, made by Abel Tasman,” had opened up “a convenient route;” and according to the said navigator the Ladrões islands “could without much difficulty be successfully fetched up by running eastward along the said north-coast of Guinea.” Tasman’s proposal was, “with Visscher’s advice, duly ventilated, discussed and deliberated on” by the Governor-General and Councillors, and the upshot of this discussion was the instruction for the expedition.

The ships were ordered in the beginning of February to navigate from Ternate to the cape of Maba, through Patientie Strait along the coast of Weda, following Abel Tasman’s course along the north-coast of New Guinea, “sailing on the said course until you estimate yourselves to have come to 50 or 60 miles east of the [longitude of the] Ladrões islands, which point it is assumed you will be able to reach in a short time with the land- and sea-winds, together with the westerly or north-westerly winds (which are held to prevail on the said coast from the month of December down to the end of March, and to constitute the monsoon). If then you should find this to be practicable, we should deem it advisable for you to further survey the coast about 40 miles more to eastward, until you shall have got into the longitude of 168 degrees, this being the longitude of Salomon Sweers cape,” in order to run “as far as possible eastward of the Ladrões islands.” From Salomon Sweers cape they were directed to sail in a northerly direction as far as 13-1/2° N. Lat., and then to run for the Ladrões on a western course.

Should the plan to seize the silver-ships miscarry, the Plenary Council was authorized to decide on an attempt against the Philippines, if they should deem such attempt feasible, the Instructions here setting forth the information concerning the Babuyan islands,

1 Instructions, 31 October 1644.—As regards this expedition, see also L.C.D. Van Dijk, *Nedêrlands vroegste betrekkingen met Borneo*. Amsterdam, Scheltema, 1862, pp. 289-299; Leupe, *Nieuw-Guinea*, pp. 172-175.





obtained by Tasman in 1639. If, on the other hand, the rich booty should fall into their hands, they were to take it to the Pescadores and Formosa.

The voyage was unsuccessful so far as its main object was concerned, and the results of the *coup de main* upon the Philippines were nothing to speak of. The only thing that needs mention here, is that Vries sailed “along the (‘barren’) coast of Nova Guinea (about as far as Salomon Sweers cape), he having, as much as time and circumstances would allow, explored and surveyed the said coast by making occasional landings, and having found the inhabitants of it to be a wild, robust and warlike people”—he got into hostile contact with them—“of whom in the way of refreshments he could obtain nothing but cocoa-nuts, while he utterly failed to find any traces or collect information as to any precious metals, stones or other valuable commodities obtainable in those parts.”

Document 1647A

Galleons and naval battles with the Dutch, 1644-47 period

Sources: Printed booklet in RAH Madrid Jesuit tome 71, n° 32; translated in B&R 35: 212-275. Extracts follow.

Relation of the events on sea and land in the Philippine Islands in recent years

By Father Fray Joseph Fayol, of the Order of Mercy for the redemption of captives, chief chaplain of the royal chapel of the Incarnation of Manila.

Fortune was not born to endure... The Faith recognizes no Fortune but that of the Divine Will and providence...

Since 1638-39, when occurred the losses and wrecks of the ships that sailed to and from New Spain, and the insurrection of the Sangleys in Manila and its environs...

[Arrival of Governor Fajardo in 1644]

Such was the condition of the islands at the end of June 1644 when Don Diego Faxardo, Knight of the Order of Santiago and member of his Majesty's Council of War, who had been sent as their proprietary governor landed on the extreme point of this island of Manila after a difficult and long voyage, due either to the early beginning of the monsoon winds, or to having sailed late from Acapulco. He found the islands deficient in naval strength, since the few ships there were had been sent to Ternate to oppose the threatened invasion of the [Dutch] enemy that year. About the middle of August his Lordship made his entrance into Manila and took possession of the government; and early in September he despatched the galleons **Encarnación** and **Rosario**—which were waiting equipped and ready to sail—to New Spain.

...

[The galleons of 1645]

In July [1645], the two galleons **Encarnación** and **Rosario** arrived at the port of Lampon, on the coast opposite Manila, with abundance of aid from New Spain, carefully provided by his Majesty (whom God preserve) on account of the information received by his royal Council regarding the reinforcements that were going from Holland against these islands. With these galleons came his Lordship Don Fernando Montero de Espinosa, bishop of New Segovia and archbishop-elect of Manila... His illustrious Lordship reached the port with poor health. The land routes which they had to take in travelling from Lampon to the Lake [i.e. Laguna de Bay] and the river of Manila are very rough and steep, without any convenience or comfort of inns... When he reached the lake he became seriously ill. He would not allow them to bleed him, and on that very night he was attacked by a hemorrhage of blood, so abundant that it caused his death.

[A severe earthquake hit Manila on 13 November 1645. At the beginning of 1646, the first 5 ships of a Dutch fleet of 18 appeared off the coasts of Ilocos and Pangasinan.]

[The battles of 1646]

The news of the first squadron arrived on the first day of February. The two galleons **Encarnación** and **Rosario**, which had brought the succor from New Spain, were already in Cavite; for with special forethought and vigilance orders had been given them to stop unloading the silver that they carried, and to come to that port. Although it seemed an act of temerity for two ships to oppose so many, his Lordship—urged on by his great valor and resolution in these matters of war—after a conference and council which he summoned for this purpose, decided that the two galleons should make ready for battle. In the flagship (which was the **Encarnación**) were mounted 34 pieces of artillery, all of bronze and of the reinforced class, which variously carried balls of 30, 25, and 18 pounds. The almiranta (which was the **Rosario**) was equipped with as many as 30 pieces, of the same capacity—although, on account of the deficiency in this sort of artillery, it was necessary to dismantle some posts in the fortifications of this city and of Cavite... As commander-in-chief his Lordship appointed General Lorenzo de Orella y Ugalde, a Vizcayan, under whose charge the ships had sailed from Acapulco... Captain Sebastian Lopez, an Andalusian, was appointed admiral, with the right of succession to the commander... The post of sergeant-major was given to Don Agustin de Cepeda, a knight of nobility and acknowledged courage...

[The first battle took place in mid-March]

Recognizing their own strength, the enemy tried to approach the almiranta, which they supposed was not so well armed, being a smaller ship. But they were received with equal valor and spirit on our side, our ships firing so often and throwing so many balls that they could not be counted. The fight lasted about five hours, and the mortality and damage were so great that all the anxiety that the heretics had felt to reach our ships

when they thought to conquer us was now directed to separating themselves from us. They anxiously awaited the night, which was now approaching, to make their cowardly escape, which they did with lights extinguished... When daybreak came, our two galleons found themselves alone, and did not know what course the enemy had taken... This was regarded as a brilliant victory, not only because of the disparity in the number of ships, but because of the little damage our side had sustained. In that battle not a man was killed, and comparatively few were wounded.

[The second battle]

Our squadron took some rest at the port of Bolinao, and while there it received orders to sail to the Embocadero and there await and escort the galleon **San Luis** which was expected from New Spain. Our ships set sail, and, after encountering many calms and headwinds, made port on the first of June, at the island of Ticao, within sight of the Embocadero...

The Dutch made their appearance there on 22 June [1646], when one of our sentinels reported 7 ships, which were heading toward the port in which our two galleons were anchored. With gallant resolution, our commander immediately gave orders to weigh anchor and go out to meet them; but afterward... it was decided that it would be more proper to let the enemy waste [their powder], and not to engage in battle with them until the galleon should arrive from New Spain with succor, for which they were waiting, or until it should make some other port in safety.

[The Dutch blockaded the port with their 7 ships and 16 launches. After 31 days of feigning attack, some Spanish prisoners fled the Dutch ships and reported on their strength and plans.]

This information was of no little importance, and threw light upon what should be done. On 21 July, our commander, considering that it was now time for the ship **San Luis**, which was expected from New Spain, to have made port in some one of the many harbors that these islands contain, decided to set sail at dawn on the 25th, the day of the glorious apostle Santiago [i.e. St. James], to cannonade the enemy in the midst of his fleet, and to challenge him to battle... The squadron weighed anchor and took the route for Manila...

At daybreak of the 29th, we discovered all seven of their ships together, who were coming from the windward side to look for us. At midday, they halted, and again they tacked in another direction, until 5 p.m. when our commander, unable to endure such delay, challenged them to battle by firing a cannon.

Apparently they did not wish to fight by day, but thought the night more suitable for their design, which was to send their two fireships against our galleons. At that time, the nights were very clear and calm, and the moon shone brightly. They waited, then, until sunset; and about 7 p.m., between Banton and Marinduque [Islands], they came down with an east wind ahead of our flagship, and surrounded it, the fearful multitude of their artillery filling it [with balls]. Our flagship also did its duty, responding to them as they deserved. Our almiranta followed in its wake firing the artillery at its prow, and

inflicting much damage on the ships that were fighting astern of our flagship. The enemy's flagship came up with ours, to the sound of loud clarions and trumpets, and well garnished with lanterns of various sizes, all lighted. Its sails were so trimmed as to let it go no faster than our flagship, as arrogantly as if they had already conquered us. It came so near that our men heard distinctly the noise made when our balls hit the side of the enemy's ship. From both sides there was an incessant fire of both artillery and musketry, from the maintops, forecastles, and poops. In both the Dutch and the Spanish ships were seen heaps of cannon balls, cylinders, and cross-bar shots, which caused great destruction of masts, yards, and rigging, and even damaged the sides of the vessels.

The battles went on, as keenly and fiercely as might be expected from our persistent valor and the great strength of the enemy. At the height of the battle our flagship, undertaking to bear down upon two ships that were hard pressed, found itself entangled with their almiranta, and this was the greatest danger that had arisen, on account of the ease with which the enemy could then work havoc among our men. The brave seamen came to the rescue, cutting the ropes and separating the galleons, with great courage and promptness. Meanwhile, our artillery and musketry kept up an incessant fire on the enemy's sides, which were unprotected—displaying as much dexterity and order in their firing as they could have done if the galleons were apart. It pleased God, through the agency of His glorious mother, that the ships should quickly separate.

Then one of their fireships approached our flagship; but our artillery checked this rash boldness, hurling at the fireship terrible volleys on the starboard quarter until it came under the stern-gallery of our flagship. Then our commander gave orders to attack it with the stern-chasers, which pierced the enemy from side to side, and with such volleys of musketry that the heretics became demoralized and retired toward our almiranta, which received the fireship with a volley from 10 guns at once, so opportunely that its destruction was completed; for its fireworks being thus kindled, it was sent to the bottom. Soon came the launch from our flagship—which our commander, with military foresight, had equipped with musketeers and seamen, to hinder the fireships—and picked up a Dutchman, the only one left alive. This man informed us of the enemy's plans, and of their signals, and said that they had another fireship—his statements entirely agreeing with those of the captives already mentioned.

This fierce and stubborn battle lasted from 7 p.m. until daybreak, without the loss of a single man on our flagship, and only 2 wounded; the almiranta did not lose over 5 men killed. This must be one of the most unusual records known in naval warfare; it was a favor, evident beyond doubt, from God and His mother, who protect the Catholic power in these islands, on account of its importance to the propagation of His holy Faith. The damage sustained by the heretics was well understood from the care with which they began to retreat as soon as daylight came. The whole day was spent by both sides in cleaning and repairing their vessels; but the enemy continued to retreat...

[The third battle]

Two days later, on 31 July—a day consecrated to the glorious patriarch St. Ignatius de Loyola, founder of the Society of Jesus—our commander... finding that he was sailing with a north wind, to windward of the enemy... ordered all sails to be spread, and started in pursuit of the enemy. He soon overtook the Dutch ships between the islands of Maese de Campo and Mindoro. At 2 p.m. on the same day, he courageously forced our two galleons among the six vessels of the enemy, and another horrible battle was fought. The artillery was all fired as often and as skilfully as musketry could have been used. The enemy attacked our almiranta, but it defended itself and assailed the enemy so bravely that it inspired fear and astonishment...

Throughout the afternoon, the fight continued with the same obstinacy and vigor, with the determination on our part not to stop until we should reduce the enemy's ships to splinters, or send them to the bottom...

The heretics made their last effort by attempting to send close to our flagship their second fireship, which was large enough to carry 30 cannon; it was escorted by two other ships and towed by some launches. Our commander, as one so experienced in military affairs, ordered the musketeers to fire on the men who were directing the launches, and at the same time, the artillery on the starboard from which the fireship was coming, to fire at its sides; the guns on the lookout and the poop were fired with such effect that the vessel quickly sank in sight of all, listing to port and going down bow first. The heretics were so badly beaten and cowed that, spreading all their canvas, they basely fled toward the land. Our squadron followed in pursuit, but as night was approaching, and there was a squally wind from the northwest, accompanied by thunder and lightning, the enemy escaped by spreading their canvas aft and extinguishing their lights...

The losses on our side were as insignificant in this as in the previous battle...

The Governor and Captain-general, Don Diego Faxardo, was informed of all this; and by his orders our fleet retired to the port of Cavite in the latter part of August, after a 6-month voyage, in such a need of repairs as can well be imagined from the foregoing account of the three battles.

[The newly-built galleon San Diego and the final battle of 1646]

About this time the galleon **San Diego**, recently built, sailed from this port for New Spain... Our galleon, having left the port, found itself, while still in sight of Mariveles near an islet called Fortun, at nightfall near a Dutch ship, one of three that were in that quarter; these were part of the third squadron, which had come to join the 12 ships of the two squadrons before-mentioned... **Our galleon carried her guns on the ballast and the various decks were littered with boxes and utensils, as is usually the case when one of those ships sails on such a long voyage.** The enemy recognized, at once, that our vessel was not a warship and attacked it furiously. They approached so close that the conversation of various persons could be heard, but they did not venture to board the galleon; for General Christoval Marquez de Valenzuela, commander of

the galleon, a brave and experienced soldier, hurriedly disencumbered five iron cannon, and, bringing them to bear on the enemy, stood on the defensive. That action was sufficient to secure his retreat toward Mariveles; entering the bay, with the loss of a few killed, he arrived at the port of Cavite and made a report of the occurrence.

This new accident did not depress the brave heart of his Lordship; he ordered that the two strong galleons should be immediately prepared to go out again, in convoy of this third one... On this second occasion, he appointed Admiral Sebastian Lopez commander-in-chief of the fleet, and Sergeant-Major Don Agustin de Cepeda admiral... An excellent galley was also equipped with a cannon amidships, carrying a 35-pound ball, and small culverins carrying 14-pound balls; it contained an infantry company of 100 picked men... The galley was also accompanied by 4 brigantines of good capacity, well equipped with musketry, and each carrying a cannon at the prow.

...

On 15 September, the three galleons **Encarnación**, **Rosario** and **San Diego** sailed from the harbor of Cavite, accompanied by the fleet of oared vessels formed by the galley and the four brigantines aforesaid. Continuing their voyage, they arrived at Fortun and saw, toward a point called Calavite, on the island of Mindoro, three of the enemy's ships under sail. Our brave commander was glad of the opportunity and at once invited them to fight by firing a cannon.

[A fight ensued in which the almiranta found herself in the middle of the three Dutch ships, doing considerable damage to them.]

As soon as the sun rose, our flagship bore down upon the enemy and offered fight. But the foe, who had more need of repairs than desire to fight again, put in at a place near Calavite point whence he had sailed, among some shoals where our galleys could not follow.

Our commander then decided to continue the voyage, to furnish an escort for the galleon **San Diego**. But, as it was recently-built vessel, and had not yet been tested, it was soon discovered that it did not answer the helm, or carry its sails well. Also, as the monsoon winds had ended and the north winds prevailed, which are unfavorable for a voyage to New Spain, General Sebastian Lopez, in accordance with the opinion of a council called for this purpose, decided that the galleon **San Diego** should put in at Mariveles, and remain there until his Lordship could be informed of the matter and despatch new orders.

[Just then, as the three Spanish ships were separated, the three Dutch ships attacked the flagship but lost the gun battle that lasted 4 hours. The galley came up and was attacked the stern of the Dutch flagship, but the wind came up and she escaped.]

On this occasion, although the enemy's flagship was supported by a ship on each side, and all of them were firing terrible volleys at once, not a single person was killed on our galley, which seems a miracle...

Accordingly to the estimate made by well informed persons, although we fired, in these battles, over 2,000 cannon-shots, and the enemy over 5,000, we had only 14 men killed, and comparatively few wounded; while the enemy, besides the vessels which we

sank, arrived at their forts so damaged, and had lost so many men, that for many a year they will remember the two stout Manila galleons.

[What had happened to the galleon San Luis coming from Acapulco in 1646]

The galleon **San Luis**, commanded by General Fernando Lopez Perona, left Acapulco late in the season and encountered the monsoon winds so prevalent in these islands that, before land was sighted, it passed through fierce tempests, lost its masts, and finally made the unlucky port of Cagayan. There, driven by the currents, it struck on the rocks and was torn open at the keel—not before, however, the commander had placed in safety the men, and the registered silver (which is the most essential part of the succor sent), and afterward removed the artillery. Nevertheless, the loss is great, owing to the lack of vessels on these islands at present, the many failures suffered by businessmen, and the lawsuits to which such disasters give rise. It cost no less than the life of the commander, who died in this same city of Cagayan a few days after his arrival—giving up his life, as a proof of his honorable devotion and of his zeal in fulfilling his duties in the service of the king and the welfare of the colony.

...

[The newly-built galleon Nuestra Señora de Guía sent to Acapulco in 1647]

In the council which was called for the despatch of the relief ships from New Spain, opinions agreed that, for this year, only one vessel should sail; and order was given that the building of another ship should be completed as speedily as possible in the shipyard in the island of Leyte; and that in the port of Cavite the galleons, galleys, and other vessels there should be repaired.¹

[The Battle of Cavite, 12 June 1647]

[In June, a Dutch fleet of 12 ships arrived and attacked Cavite. The Spanish, with 11 ships went out and a battle (similar to that which was to happen there in 1898) took place. The Dutch flagship had a capacity of 700 tons, and carried 48 cannon, in two tiers of 12 on each side; it was heavily damaged in the initial engagement.]²

Our galleon **San Diego**, which carried the colors as flagship and faced the enemy,³ received over 200 cannon-shots, but not one penetrated her hull, and only 2 men were killed—one a Spaniard, on the poop; and the other an Indian, in the ship's waist.

[The town of Cavite was bombarded heavily as well.] Notwithstanding, there was not in any house, convent, or church a single person killed or wounded; and the entire number of killed and injured in all the vessels and military posts during this engagement, did not exceed 5 Spaniards and 4 Indians killed, and 8 Spaniards and 1 Indian

1 Ed. note: One of the galleons was the **San Andrés** commanded by Captain Lope de Colindres.

2 Ed. note: Three other ships were of 800 tons, the rest between 300 and 400 tons, and the pataches from 60 to 100 tons. Among the 48 cannon of the flagship, 18 were bronze (firing balls up to 36 pounds), the rest iron (balls up to 15 pounds).

3 Ed. note: She was under the command of Don Andrés Azcueta.

wounded, who all together did not equal the number of killed on the enemy's flagship alone.

...

It was considered a special favor from Heaven that at the height of the conflict, when all the enemy's ships were off Cavite, one of our pataches, in command of Admiral Luis Alonso de Roa, which was returning from the kingdom of Camboja—where Don Luis had gone as an envoy, in regard to establishing there a plant for building ships, and conveying to it provisions and other supplies—entered the [Manila] bay through the smaller channel of Mariveles, and reached a place of safety.

[The Dutch then landed troops for food and to pillage several inhabited places on the Bataan Peninsula. They captured the fortified church at Abucay, after the coward Spanish mayor prevented the Pampango defenders (veterans of the Ternate wars) from attacking the Dutch first; in that, the Dominican Fathers, who had sided with the mayor, did receive some of the blame. In the end, when they ran out of powder, nearly 200 Pampango soldiers were put to death, while the mayor and the religious were made prisoners. The reason why the Dutch captured Abucay was because informants had told them that the silver from a Chinese ship that had run aground had been buried there; this treasure, worth about 20,000 pesos, was carried off by the Dutch, after they set fire to the church and convent, but not to the village. The Dutch also attacked the village of Samal, but this time they were met on the beach and forced to retreat. On 11 July, the Dutch returned to Abucay to pillage the village and steal food; this time they were attacked by Spanish troops who killed at least 14 Dutch and captured 2 of them. The Dutch prisoners gave a full report about the Dutch fleet, which had been despatched from Jakarta by Governor Cornelis van der Lyn and was under the command of General Martin Gercen [Gertzen?], a Frisian by birth.]

Their flagship left Batavia with 220 men, all white, of various European nations, unmixed with men from any of the peoples of those regions...

Our fleet at present is composed of 3 large galleons and 1 of medium size, 2 pataches, and 2 galleys, with other oared vessels of less size. All hands are at work on it, without any cessation...

Printed with permission, at Manila, in the printing-house of the Society of Jesus, in the year 1647.¹

1 Ed. note: The fact that this booklet was printed by Jesuits explains its presence among the Jesuit tomes in RAH Madrid, although the author was not a Jesuit.

Document 1648A

Friar Domingo Navarrete's description of his voyage

Original text in Spanish

Source: Fray Domingo Fernández Navarrete, O.P. Tratados históricos, políticos, ethicos, y religiosos de la monarchía de China... con narración difusa de varios sucessos, y cosas singulares de otros reynos, y diferentes navegaciones... (Madrid, Imprenta Real, 1676); available at BNM #R34960, and at LC.

[Tratado VI] Capitulo III — De la estada en Acapulco, y navegación hasta las Philipinas.

[p. 299]

1. Desde el año antecedente [1647] teniamos casa alquilada en Acapulco, para el tiempo de la navegación...

[4.] ... Huvo sus dificultades, sobre si passaria el Virrey al Piru en aquel Patache, ó si son él socorreria a Philipinas, de donde dos años continuos avian faltado Navios. El Pirú tampoco estava sossegado. Hizose junta; determinaron convenia mas socorrer a las Islas. Lo cierto es, que no gustaban tomasse el Gobierno el Obispo de Campeche, el qual ya avia tiempo, que estava en Mexico para este efecto. Executóse lo resuelto por la junta; tomóse el Patache por quenta de su Majestad, en treinta y seis mil reales [sic] de a ocho. En la India Oriental, no ay duda, labraran con aquella cantidad quatro Navios, mayores doblado, que dicho Patache.

5. Con esto asseguranos nuestro viage. Comencé con nuevos brios a componerse el matalotage, y hacer agua, q. es lo principal, huvo sobrada, y sin medida, solo el embarcarla me costó treinta y seis pesos. Los Negros hazen monopolio, y ha de ser lo que ellos quisieren. El Patache era pequeño; la gente, mercaderias, generos que embia el Rey, comida, agua, vino &c. tanto, que parecia imposible caber en el; de hecho se sacaron muchos fardos, por falta de lugar. El General era amigo, acomodónos lo mejor q. pudo, y fuimos, sin comparación, mas bien acomodados, que estuvimos en la primera navegación. Treinta sacerdotes nos embarcamos Domingo de Ramos ocho de Abril de 1648. Un oficial Real se me quedó con doze gallinas que le avia prestado; ningun titulo tuvo para aquello, porque nada hizo por nosotros, ni tuvimos dél, ni de sus compañeros

mínima dependencia. El P. Guardian se quedó con seis de limosna, con esso me pagó el Sermon que le prediqué día de S. Ioseph. Al embarcarnos, llegó una carta del señor Obispo Palafox a nuestro Vicario, en que dezia, como de España avia tenido nuevas, de que las Islas estavan en poder del Olandés, que reparasse en este punto. Hizose publica la nueva (no dudo tuvo gran fundamento, como se dirá adelante). Y aunque era muy bastante para desanimar a qualquiera, ninguno flaqueó un solo apice, antes intrepidos todos dicimos, nos queríamos certificar con nuestros ojos de lo que avia; bien mirado, fue genero de temeridad, a lo menos a lo humano; pero parece obrava alli N. Señor; el deseo de ir era grande, con que en nada reparavamos...

6. El Domingo de Ramos comimos en el Patache, lo que nuestra casera nos embió...

...Salimos del Puerto muy alegres, y con ser la tierra que dexavamos por popa, bien alta, la perdimos de vista aquella tarde. Ocho dias paramos esperando viento. El calor que hazia con aquella calma, era mas que ordinario. El día de Resurreccion se dixo una Missa; no tenia el Patache comodidad, ni capacidad para celebrar aquel Altissimo Misterio con que fue aquella la primera, y la ultima; Rosario, Lethanias, Te Deum al amanecer, jamas faltaron. Juntaronse otros ejercicios, y platicas espirituales. Entrónos el viento aquel día, y nos duró, sin amainar un instante, veinte y quatro dias. Las mares que herían por el costado al Patachuelo, eran grandes, y gruessas, causavan en él, y en nosotros todos grande inquietud. El General, que era muy practico en aquel viage, dezia, que eran unas corrientes que venian de las Californias. Y aunque tratando despues [p. 302] de este punto con persona, que se tiene por muy perita en el Arte Nautica, niega poder ser así. No obstante, yo digo lo que oí, a quien lo entendia, y me confirmo en ello, por la mala salida que dió el dicho, a lo que en contra de su parecer se le opuso. Lo que se vaciava en el Patache de botijas, y tinajas, luego se echava al mar; caxones de vizcocho, y gallineros, se quemavan en el fogon, para irnos desahogando un poco. De pie, aun casi no cabiamos. Debaxo de cubierta nadie pudo vivir, por ir todo ocupado del sustento, y generos que se llevavan. Todos iban al ayre, Sol, y Luna. Nosotros teníamos el Alcaçar, que era no pequeño alivio, la camara era muy pequeña, pero tambien aliviava mucho. A las ochocientas leguas dexamos a la parte del Norte la Isla de San Bartolome [Taongi], no la vimos; es, dize pequeña, y desamparada de todo. Otros ocho dias tuvimos de calma muerta. Los marineros, y soldados se echavan al mar, para refrescarse, sucedio a vezes bolver apresurados al Patache, por librarse de los Tiburones, que se descubrian. Un caso muy extraordinario, y al parecer milagroso, nos sucedió; baxaron un día por agua, para dar ración a todos, quando subieron arriva, muchos, y yo entre ellos notamos, que volvían blancos, como un papel, atribuimoslo al demasiado calor que ay debaxo de escotilla. Ellos disimularon, sin dar a entender cosa alguna de novedad, avía baxado con otros el Capitan de Infanteria Fulano Belastain, desembarcados supimos, como al ir a mirar con la vela el agua que tenia una pipa, dieron con una de polvora, donde se apagó la vela, sin pegar fuego. A la verdad, parece increíble, y es cosa constante, que si huviera pegado, sin darnos lugar a dezir Jesus, bolaríamos todos por el ayre, y acabaramos la vida. Ya que nosotros no velamos, velan

los Angeles de nuestra Guardia, y solícitos nos acuden en las necesidades. Cierto que cuando lo referían, aun libres ya del mar, se nos estremecían las carnes.

7. Otro suceso hubo también particular, pero no de peligro alguno. El Piloto era Portugués, Fulano Antunez, perito sin duda en su oficio, hacía sus cuentas cada día, y apuntava las leguas de cada singladura, conforme su fantasía, navegando de Leste a Oeste, no ay otro medio para ajustarlas. Es punto que ha desvelado a muchos, y no falta quien oy se desvele, para hallarse fixo en este rumbo de navegación; pero pienso, que en vano. Algunos, que dormían mas que el Piloto, alargaváanse en las leguas, con que dieron en dezir, que avíamos passado las Islas de los Ladrones (oy [1676] se llaman Marianas) hubo porfías, y apuestas, el Piloto se enfadó, y juró, que hasta el Domingo siguiente por la mañana, no se avían de ver. Todos lo tuvieron por arrogancia Portuguesa. Llegose el Domingo, que era el de la Santísima Trinidad, y al salir el Sol embió gente al tope, y dixo: Oy antes de las ocho, hemos de ver las Islas de los Ladrones. Fue cosa rara, a media hora que pasó, comenzó a dar voces el de arriba, diciendo: Tierra, tierra por la popa [sic].¹ Pasmados quedaron todos, y con mucha razón. Aquella tarde descubrieron quatro velas desde el tope. Causaron gran miedo. Fue engaño del Grumete. Una embarcacion pequeña nos aproó, esperamosla para tomar el refresco que traería, a trueque de clavos, y hierro viejo, que es lo que buscan aquellos Isleños. A las Ave Marias se nos desapareció por la popa. Como fue aquello, y quien venia en ella, se escribira en otra ocasión. A tres días despues, sobrevinieron unas grandes calmas, a que se siguió una valiente tormenta. Calaron masteleros, y el General quería se cortassen los arboles. Contradixolo el Contramaestre, que era gran hombre de mar, con la fuerza del viento mudamos del rumbo que llevavamos. Iba la proa al embocadero de San Bernardino, y tomamos la derrota para la Nueva Segovia. Vista la tierra de las Islas, la ibamos costeando, víamos a la parte de tierra Islotes, Farellones, y algunos Arrecifes. El Piloto dió su orden al Timonel, y echóse a dormir un poco. Ibanse descubriendo nuevas Islas, y Islotes por la proa, y el General mandava guiñar el Timonel para tierra. [p. 303] De repente subió arriba el escrivano del Navio, y dixo: Baxo por proa. Cambiaron el timon, y montamosle milagrosamente, roçando casi con él el Patache. Despertó el Piloto al ruido, enojóse cruelmente, sobravale razón, pues no se avía guardado el orden que él avía dado. Apartóse de la tierra, hasta ponerse en catorze grados y medio. De aquel modo llegamos seguros la Vigilia de San Juan a Casigura de Baler. Día siguiente fue gente a tierra aunque tarde, en que fue culpado el General.

...

1 Ed. note: An obvious typographical error for "proa".

Translation

Sources: A synopsis is given in B&R 37: 285-290. A full translation was made by Churchill, which has since been re-edited by John Cummins and published by the Hakluyt Society in 1962 (see Bibliography).

Notes: The title page of Fray Navarrete's work can be translated as: "Historical, political, ethical, and religious treatises on the monarchy of China... accompanied by a diffuse narrative of various events and singular things in other kingdoms, and various voyages..." Domingo Fernández Navarrete was born in Peñafiel in the diocese of Palencia on 8 December 1635. He studied at the college of Valladolid and became a teacher of philosophy there until he joined a missionary band of Dominicans. In the Philippines, he taught at the newly-created university of Santo Tomás. In 1658, he went to China from where he was expelled in 1665. He returned to Europe, and, in 1677, became bishop of Hispaniola Island. He died in 1689.

Synopsis by James A. Robertson.

Sixth Treatise on the voyages and navigations made by the author of this book.

[Chapter i relates the voyage from Spain to New Spain, in 1646, the ocean trip to Vera Cruz lasting 60 days. Thence journeying toward Mexico City (chapter ii), they reached the Dominican hospice of San Jacinto de Tacuba, outside the city walls. The last land journey, the one to Acapulco, was undertaken on 3 November 1647. In chapter iii Navarrete gives a description of Acapulco. Its houses are all low, "the best ones built of mud, and all thatched with straw. Notwithstanding, for ours they demanded from us 400 pieces-of-eight. This seems incredible; but for me, who paid the money, it is more than certain... The port is the best and safest in the world, as was daily asserted by those persons who had seen many other ports. Of all that I have seen, and those have not been few, there is not one that can equal it. The fort is excellent, and has a battery of 12 first-class pieces, so that it is impossible for any [enemy] ship to enter the port without being sent to the bottom. The climate is infernal, in accordance with the name that it bears."¹ After much delay a patache was finally secured which was going to carry the usual supplies to the Philippines, the religious (30 in number) embarking on 8 April 1648. The usual discomforts of the voyage were experienced, but the patache at last anchored at Lampon.]

Translation of the original text quoted above.

Treatise VI, Chapter III — About the stay at Acapulco, and the voyage to the Philippines.

1. Since the preceding year [1647] we had rented a house in Acapulco, to await the time of the voyage...

1 Near the end of the preceding chapter, our author states that the name Acapulco "means, in the language of that country, 'mouth of hell.'"

[While he was waiting for the galleon to arrive from the Philippines, in March 1648, a patache [i.e. the Buen Jesús] came in from Realejo [then in Panama, but now in Nicaragua] to take the Viceroy of New Spain to Peru where he had been transferred.]

[4.] ... There were difficulties, as to whether the Viceroy would go to Peru in that patache, or whether he would send help to the Philippines in it, given that two full years had passed without any ship coming from there. Peru was not at peace either. A council meeting was called; they decided that it would be proper to send help to the Islands. The truth is, that they did not relish the thought that the Bishop of Campeche would take over the government; this bishop has been in Mexico for some time waiting for this to happen. What the council had decided was carried out. The patache was acquired on behalf of His Majesty for the sum of 36,000 pieces-of-eight. In the East Indies, there is no doubt that this sum would be sufficient to purchase four ships, twice the size of the said patache.

5. With it, our voyage became firm. I began with new vigor to collect the provisions of food, and also of water, which is more important. There were plenty of them to be had, and without measure, so that just to load them all cost me 36 pesos. The negros have a [stevedoring] monopoly, and one must do their bidding. The patache was small; the people, the merchandise, the goods that the King sent along, the food, water, wine, etc. were so much that it seemed impossible to fit everything in it. In fact, they took out many bundles, for lack of space. The General was a friend;¹ so, he accommodated us as best he could, and we were certainly more comfortable than in the first voyage [from Spain to New Spain]. We thirty priests embarked on Palm Sunday, 8 April 1648.² One royal official kept the dozen chicken which I had lent to him; I had not held any receipt for them, since he did nothing for us, and we had had absolutely no dealing, either with him or with his colleagues. The Father Guardian received six [of these] chicken in alms, and these he gave to me as payment for a sermon I preached on St. Joseph's Day. At the moment of embarkation, a letter was received from the Lord Bishop Palafox addressed to our Vicar,³ in which he said that he had received news from Spain to the effect that the Islands were in the hands of the Dutch, who cruise in that neighborhood. The news was made public (I have no doubt that it had some effect, as I will mention below). Although this news was sufficient to dishearten anyone, no-one became discouraged in the least; rather, we were all intrepid, saying that we wished to ascertain the truth with our own eyes. On second thought, this attitude was somewhat foolish, looking at it from the human point of view; however, it appears that Our Lord had something to do with it. The desire to go was great, so, we did not pay attention to the news...

1 Ed. note: His name was Cristobal Romero, who had experience in the Philippines and had been detained in Mexico, according to the historian Fray Santa Cruz (see B&R 37: 81).

2 Ed. note: The names of the 30 Dominicans are given by Santa Cruz (see B&R 37: 85). Fray Felipe Pardo, who was to cause so many troubles to the Philippine government, was among them. Another soon-to-be-famous Dominican, Fray Vittorio Ricci, was also aboard.

3 Ed. note: The band leader was father Fray Juan Bautista de Morales (see B&R 37: 84).

6. On Palm Sunday, we ate aboard the patache what our housekeeper sent to us... We left the port in a very happy state and, although the land which we were leaving behind is rather high, we lost sight of it that afternoon. For eight days we were becalmed waiting for the wind. The heat which accompanied that calm weather was extraordinary. At Easter, one mass was said. There was no room aboard the patache to celebrate that supreme mystery, so that this mass was the first, and last. The rosary, the litanies, and the *Te Deum* always took place at daybreak. To those were added some exercises, and spiritual discourses. The wind found us that day, and it lasted us for 24 days straight, with no need to lower the sails one moment. The seas that struck the side of our little patache were heavy ones; they caused it some damage and in us much worry. The General, who had much practical knowledge of that voyage, was saying that the heavy seas were caused by some currents that run off the Californias. Although I later talked about this point with someone who is regarded as expert in the nautical arts, he denied that it could be so. Nevertheless, I repeat what I heard, to whomever can understand; my own understanding was confirmed by the bad outcome that befell the said General, preferring to believe the contrary opinion. Whenever some bottles, or jars, became empty, they were then thrown overboard; the [empty] biscuit crates, and the chicken coops were burned in the fire-place, in order to make us breathe a little. Even while standing, there was hardly enough room. No-one could stay below deck, because the space was all taken by the food and the goods that were carried aboard. Everybody was living in the open air, day and night. As for us, we had the quarterdeck, which was no little advantage; the cabin was very small, but that was also of some relief. After some 800 leagues, we passed the Island of San Bartolomé [Taongi] which lied north of us, but we did not see it. They say that it is a small island, deprived of everything. We had another eight days of dead calm. The sailors and soldiers would throw themselves into the sea to cool themselves. Sometimes, they would return to the patache hurriedly, to escape the sharks that were spotted. An extraordinary thing happened, one that seemed miraculous. One day, they went down to get some water, in order to give a ration to everyone. When they returned on deck, many, including myself, noticed that they had become pale like a piece of paper. We attributed this to the extreme heat below the hatch. They kept their peace, and said not one thing about this. The Captain of Infantry, a certain Belastain, had gone down with others. After we had disembarked, we learned that they had gone down with a candle to look for water stored in a barrel; as they came to one containing gun-powder, the candle went out. Truly, this seems incredible. What is certain is that, if the powder had caught fire, it would have made us fly through the air, without the time to say Jesus, and our life would have been over. Whenever we do not watch over ourselves, our guardian angels do it for us and come whenever we have a need for them. One thing for sure is that, whenever we mentioned it, although we were then away from the sea, our spines would tingle.

7. Another thing took place also, but not so dangerous. The Pilot was a certain Portuguese, named Antunez, who was certainly expert at his profession. He made his estimates every day, and put down the number of leagues in each [daily] run, in accordance

with his judgment, as we sailed from east to west, since there is no other method of estimating them [i.e. longitudes]. This point, that is how to tell one's position along that course of navigation, has kept many awake, and no doubt there is someone today worrying about it, but I think it is in vain. Some people, who would sleep more than the pilot, would make their leagues longer, so that they came to be saying that we had passed the Islands of the Ladrones (called today [1676] the Marianas). There were some bets, offered and accepted. The pilot became annoyed. He swore that they would not be sighted until the morning of the following Sunday. Everyone accused him of being an arrogant Portuguese. Sunday arrived (it was Trinity Sunday). When the sun arose, he sent people to the topmast, and said: "Today, before 8 o'clock, we will sight the **Ladrones Islands.**" Something unusual happened; half an hour had not passed when the man above began to shout: "Land, land ahead." We all were aghast, and rightfully so. That afternoon they sighted four sails from the top. They caused a great fear.¹ The ship's boy had made a mistake. A small craft came alongside, as we waited for it to take the refreshment that it brought us, in exchange for nails, and old iron that is what those islanders are looking for. By the time of the *Ave Maria*, we had lost sight of it behind us. **About what happened beforehand, and who had come aboard her, I will write on another occasion.**² Three days later, there came some great calms, that were followed by a great storm. They took down the topmasts. The General wished to cut the masts themselves, but the boatswain, who was a great seaman, objected to it. With the strength of the wind, we had to change our heading. We had been heading for the Strait of San Bernardino, and we now headed toward New Segovia.³ Upon sighting the land of the Islands, we were following it, going past some small islands, rocks, and some reefs. The pilot gave an order to the man at the bar, and went off to sleep a little. More islands, and islets, appeared dead ahead. That is when the General ordered to tack toward the land. Suddenly, the ship's clerk came up and said: "Shoal ahead." The rudder was moved, and the shoal miraculously avoided, as it almost grazed the patache. The noise made caused the pilot to wake up. He got cruelly vexed, much beyond reason, because his order had not been followed. The patache was taken offshore, until

1 Ed. note: The Dutch had indeed come cruising off the Marianas three years earlier (see Doc. 1645A), and the sighting implied a four-masted ship.

2 Ed. note: I searched the book as I could for a later reference to this incident, but found none. Chapter 11 contains "some things added relating to what has already been writ" but nothing more about the Guam incident, unfortunately. My guess is that the men who visited the ship on this occasion were some Chinese whose champan had jut arrived in distress at those islands. It is even possible that the ship's boy had sighted the ship from the top-mast. If so, the anchorage of Choco's champan, or large junk, would have been in Guam, or Rota, rather than in Saipan, as was later believed. The reason why Fray Navarrete postponed the narration of this incident (and later forgot) was that he may have intended to mention it in connection with his later involvement with the Chinese, at Manila and in China.

3 Ed. note: I.e. the Cagayan Province, north of Luzon Island.

the latitude of 14 degrees and a half was reached. Finally, we arrived safe on the eve of St. John's Day at Casigura de Baler. The next day some people went ashore, although late, and the General was blamed for this...

[Later on, two Filipino coastal pilots took the patache to Lampon. The passengers walked from there to Manila. Meanwhile, the prowling Dutch found the anchorage of the patache and were about to attack, but the Spanish deliberately set fire to it.]¹

1 Ed. note: On page 459 of the original edition, the author says that he crossed the Pacific in 1646, but this is a typographical error.

Document 1648B

Letter from Governor Fajardo, dated Manila 31 July 1649

Source: AGI Fil. 9-1-6, pp. 1-4.

Note: He says that it was providential that the relief patache Buen Jesús did not fall into the hands of the Dutch enemy and that he sends to New Spain the galleon Encarnación that was built in the dry-docks in Manila.

The patache Buen Jesús of 1648, etc.

Original text in Spanish.

*Aviendo manifestado a V. Magd. en mis despachos de los años de 46 y 47 que fueron el pasado de 48, y en otros por via del Reyno de Macazar que ya abran llegado a sus Reales manos, las grandes neçesidades con que oy se halla la Caxa de V. Magd. en estas islas y lo arruynado que estan por las grandes inbaçiones que el enemigo Olandes (que no çessa visitarlas con gruessas armadas) haze; quedame solo Señor por representar a V. Magd. las que quedan padeçiendo al presente, por que si en el tiempo de los tres antecedenes eran mayores, oy lo son mucho mas por la falta de socorros que de Nueva España a avido, que aunque **me vino uno el año passado de 48 en un patache ymbiado por el Virrey** de aquel Reyno Conde de Salvatierra fue mas su despacho por ver el estado destas Islas si estavan por de V. Magd. o del Olandes que socorrerlas, por que no remitió mas de çient mill pesos en Reales, y 107 hombres de mar y guerra, y al respeto algunas armas y municiones que aun no remedió parte de las miserias con que esto se halla, ni menos fue lo bastante para socorrer los Presidios que de aqui se proveen; causa que se deja conoçer que aviendolas grandes antes, oy lo son mucho mayores, y adeudada esta Real Caxa en mas de quinientas mill pessos de prestamos que le an hecho sin lo que ymporta el valor de los bastimentos y municiones que se an pedido al Reyno de Macazar, y destas Provincias conducido para el Proveymiento de los puntos de Therrenate...*

...

El patache en que este socorro vino que fue providencia de Dios no dar en manos del enemigo antes que tomasse puerto por que se hallava con gruesa armada en las Islas infestandolas, lo quemó la persona que venia por cavo del, despues de averse sacado la plata de V. Magd. y parte de algunas munijones que traya, causado de su poca prevençion, fulto de valor y ninguna experiençia en la milijia, por no aver militado ni tenido nunca otro exercicio en la Nueva España, y en estas partes, el tiempo que aqui estuvo que ser mercader, y no obligado del Olandes que sabido del paraje donde estava intento tomarlo con solas dos lanchas en que yva alguna ynfanteria por no serle possible (segun la parte donde estava por ser estrecho y de muy poco fondo) hazerlo con otros bajeles de porte que siendo reconoçido por ellas y disparadole algunos tiros de arcabuz, y el respondidoles con otros sin muerte de persona alguna de una parte a otra, se retiraron a sus Naos; y presumiendo, segun su juzgar que bolveria con mas pujança yadvertido que de qualquiera que obrara se pudo defender por aversele socorrido de aqui con bastante ynfanteria, y ordenadole antiçipadamente (luego que llevo a dar fondo) hiziesse todas las prevençiones neçessarias para su defensa y ofensa, que lo pudo executar con façilidad ympidiendo el paso del estero donde estava para entrarle con cantidad de Indios que se dispuso le asistieran, y con la ynfanteria que se le remittio (que todo escuso por estar embaraçado en poner en cobro la plata, y otras mercaderias que trajo fuera de registro para su trato) determinó a pegarle fuego estando todavia en el, parte de algunas munijones que quedavan por desembarcar a oras de las ocho de la noche, acçion tan fea como murmurada de diferentes naciones que an llegado a saberla, que a ser el dho Cavo persona de valor y experiençia en la milijia pudo tener un muy buen suçesso, y hazer particular serviçio a V. Magd. segun la parte y ocaçion en que se hallava; sobre cuyo suçesso que ynformo (para que si se alegare en esse Real Consejo esta çircunstançia por serviçio particular) provea V. Magd. del remedio conveniente que da presso y dho sobre el causa, y embargo de sus bienes.

...

*El Galeon que assimismo hé avisado a V. Mgd. se fabricó en el Real Astillero[,] nombrado **Nuestra Señora de Guía** que impedio el Olandes su viaje a Nueva España el año de 47. Luego que le dejó libre el passo de la navegacion para esta çiudad se vino, y es el que va este año a aquel Reyno, prevenido de lo neçessario aunque no con la abundançia de marineros y otros offiziales que requiere tan largo y dilatado viaje por los pocos que ay aqui deste Arte, falta tan considerable por que si neçessario fuesse despachar dos Galeones que oy tiene la ribera de Cavite para oponerse a qualquiera ymbaçion del enemigo Olandes que no cessa años à de venir a estas Islas con gruesas Armadas, como al pressente queda en el Embocadero dellas con diez Galeones segun nuevas que se me an dado, a impedir su disinio [=diseño], ademas de no tener plata esta Real Caxa de que poderlos aviar, ni de donde valerme por estar estos miserables vezinos tan faltos della por las perdidas y ruynas grandes que an tenido, me atajara qualquiera disposiçion que mire a esto la falta de Marineros para este avio porque con la salida deste Galeon que despacho a Nueva España los mas que quedan deste Arte son los viejos e ympedidos de poder acudir a qualquiera facçion.*

...
*Guarde Dios la Catholica Persona de V. Mgd. como la Cristiandad ha menester.
Manila y Jullio 31 de 649 años.
Don Diego Fajardo*

Translation.

Having represented to Y.M., in my despatches of the years 46 and 47, mailed in 48, and in others sent by way of the Kingdom of Macassar, that would have arrived in your royal hands by now, the great needs in which the Treasury of Y.M. in these Islands finds itself nowadays, and the ruin done to it on account of the great invasions that the Dutch enemy (who does not cease to visit them with large fleets). The only thing left for me to do, Sire, is to represent to Y.M. the present needs, because, if during the terms of the three previous [governors] they were great, today they are much greater, for lack of succors from New Spain. Although **one succor came to me this past year of 48 in a patache sent by the Viceroy** of that Kingdom, the Count of Salvatierra, it was sent, more to find out the condition of these Islands, whether they were still in Y.M.'s control or that of the Dutch, than to relieve them, because he did not remit more than 100,000 pesos in reals, and 107 seamen and soldiers, and a few weapons and ammunition for them, which provided but a small relief from the miseries we are going through, and even less to reinforce the garrisons that are maintained here. The obvious end result is that, if the needs were great before, today they are much greater, and this Royal Treasury is in debt by over 500,000 pesos in loans done to it, not counting the value of the food supplies and ammunitions that have been ordered from the Kingdom of Macassar, and carried from these Provinces to the relief of the posts of Ternate...

...
The patache [Buen Jesús] that brought this succor was saved by God's providence from falling into the hands of the enemy, before it took port, because the enemy was then infesting the Islands with a large armed fleet. It was burned by the person who came in charge of it, after the silver of Y.M. had been unloaded and part of some ammunition that it carried, on account of his little foresight, lack of valor and no experience of any kind in the militia, as he had not held any military post nor any other functions in New Spain; not in these parts either, for while he was here he was a trader, and not knowledgeable about the Dutch. The Dutch, having learned of his whereabouts, tried to capture him with only two launches, manned by a few gunners, as it was impossible for them to do so with other larger vessels (the place where he was, being narrow and not very deep). When they encountered him, he fired a few musket shots at them, and they answered the same way, with no death occurring on either side; they withdrew to their galleons. So, presuming, according to his judgment, that they would return with more fire-power, not paying attention to his possible defence, since he had been provided with enough soldiers from here, and been ordered (after he had anchored) to take all necessary preventive measures for his defence and offence, which he could have carried out easily by blocking the entrance of the river, through which they were

about to attack him, with a quantity of Indians who had been recruited to help him, and with the soldiers sent to him (which he did not do, giving as a reason the need to unload the silver, and other merchandise that he had brought unregistered for his trading), he decided to set the patache on fire, when part of some ammunition was still on board, at 8 p.m. This act caused some rumors to be circulated by people of different nationalities when they heard about it. Had the said Commander been a person of valor and experience in things military, he could have had some success, and rendered Y.M. a special service, given the part and opportunity he had. I inform about this event (in case he should credit himself with a special service upon this circumstance before your Royal Council) so that Y.M. may provide a proper remedy by ordering his detention and a legal charge, and an embargo of his property.

...

About the galleon named **Nuestra Señora de Guía**, I have notified Y.M. that it was built at the royal shipyard, and that the Dutch had prevented its voyage to New Spain in the year 47. Well, as soon as the way was open for it to sail to this city, it did so, and it is the one going to that kingdom [of New Spain] this year, supplied with everything necessary, although not with as many seamen and other officers as required for such a long and lengthy voyage, for there are few qualified seamen here. In fact, the lack of them is considerable, because, if it were necessary to despatch the two galleons now in the bay of Cavite to oppose any invasion by Dutch enemies, who have been pestering these Islands with large fleets of late, as they do at present, being stationed in the Embocadero with 10 galleons, according to news given to me. To defeat their plan, in addition to this Royal Treasury being without silver to allow me to supply them [i.e. the two galleons], I cannot find another source of funds, the poor residents being so short of cash on account of the great losses and ruin they have had, I will have my hands tied, as far as the lack of seamen is concerned, being unable to man them properly, after the departure of the galleon being despatched to New Spain, there remaining only old and sick seamen who would not be able to fill any post whatever.

...

May God keep the Catholic person of Your Majesty, as Christendom needs.

Manila, 31 July 1649.

Don Diego Fajardo¹

1 Ed. note: This letter was reviewed in the Council of the Indies on 6 May 165 [sic].

Document 1649A

Letter from Governor Fajardo to the King, dated Manila 4 August 1650

Source: AGI Fil. 9-1-13, pp. 1-7.

Note: The Encarnación was diverted to Mindanao and was later lost in Camarines.

The shipwreck of the galleon Encarnación in Camarines in 1649

Original text in Spanish.

*Nº 1. La Nao **Encarnación** que el año passado de seis çientos y quarenta y ocho ymbie a Nueva España y aguardava el de quarenta y nueve y en el buen socorro segun he manifestado al Conde de Salvatierra que governava aquel Reyno desde que llegue a estas Islas las grandes neçesidades que padezian por los cortisimos socorros que à ynbiado como en mis despachos è dado quenta a V. Magd. de buelta tomó puerto en uno de los de la Provincia de Caraga que esta çiento y ochenta leguas de esta çiudad donde dispusse llegara porque no diera con el enemigo olandes que de conoçido la avia de aguardar en el embocadero de estas islas de buelta (prevençion que hubiera escussado a hallarme con Galeones de armada para comboyarla y venir de via recta a esta çiudad) haçiendo su viaje para ella le sobrevino un tan gran temporal dentro del embocadero que a ssido el mayor que à avido en estas partes que se perdio en la playa de Psula(?) juridiçion de Camarines setenta leguas de aqui, que solamente se salvaron los çiento y seis mill nueve çientos y ochenta y dos pesos y quatro tomines y la poca ynfanteria que traya malograndose todos los generos y demas municiones, que fue gran misericordia de Dios el que se salvase plata y gente.*

...
Guarde Dios la catolica y Real persona de V. Magd. como la Cristiandad ha menester.

Manila y agosto 4 de 1650 años.

Don Diego Fajardo

Translation.

Nº 1. The galleon **Encarnación** that I sent to New Spain last year 1648, and was waiting for 1649 to return with the good succor that I had represented as very necessary to the Count of Salvatierra who governed that Kingdom, since I arrived at these Islands, telling him of the great needs they were in, on account of the very short supplies he had sent, about which I had informed Y.M. in my despatches. She made port in one of those of the Province of Caraga [Mindanao], which is 180 leagues from this city. That is where I had ordered her to go, to prevent the Dutch enemy from meeting with her, as it was taken for granted that they would wait for her in the Embocadero of these Islands on her return trip; I would not have planned it this way, if I had fleet-class galleons to convoy her and come directly to this city. Continuing her voyage to this city, she had hit by such a great storm within the Embocadero—one the worst one that has been seen in these parts—that she was lost on the beach at Psula(?), within the jurisdiction of Camarines, 70 leagues from here. There were saved only the 106,982 pesos and 4 tomins, and the few soldiers on board, with damage being done to all the merchandise and the rest of the ammunition. It was through God's great mercy that the silver and the people were saved.¹

...

May God keep the Catholic and Royal person of Your Majesty, as Christiendom needs.

Manila, 4 August 1650.

Don Diego Fajardo

¹ Ed. note: He adds that the galleon **San Diego**, which had turned back, was then being despatched once more in 1650. He deplores at length the lack of galleons, so that two could be sent every year.

Document 1655A

The voyage of the San Francisco in 1655

Royal decree regarding the legal case resulting from the shipwreck of the galleon San Francisco Xavier in 1655, dated Madrid 2 December 1661

Source: AGI Fil. 330, libro 6, pp. 99-101.

Original text in Spanish.

*A la Real Audiencia de Philipinas, remita al Consejo todos los autos, que se fulminaron por ella y por Don Francisco Samaniego, su oydor sobre el comiso de 65,000 pesos y los que se hicieron contra el General y demas cavos del Galeon **San Francisco Xavier** que fue a las Islas con el socorro de N^a España, y Informe, en que se an combertido los dhos 65,000 pesos.*

El Rey

Presidente y oydores de mi Real Audiencia Real de la Ciudad de Manila, de las Islas Philipinas.

*En carta que Don Francisco Samaniego Tuesta oydor de esa mi Audiencia, escrivio, en diez y seis de Julio de mil y seis cientos y cinquenta y ocho refiere que el Galeon **San Francisco Xavier** que llebaba el socorro desde la Nueva España, à estas Islas, se perdio, en diez y nuebe de octubre, de mil y seisçientos y cinquenta y cinco en la bahia, que llaman, de Boronga antes de embocar y que fue con comision para conoçer de su perdida, y culpados en ella y que en su virtud dio por descaminados sesenta y cinco mil pesos y que haviendose visto los autos en esa mi Audiencia los declarasteis por nulos y mandasteis reçivir la causa à prueba y que por enfermedad del fiscal de esa Audiencia, fue nombrado el dho Don Francisco de Samaniego en interin y que hallando los autos vistos para revista y puestos al memorial los pidio, para informaros en derecho, **imprimir** el que me remitio.*

Y haviendose visto en mi Consejo Real de las Indias juntamente con la carta que sobre ello me escrivio Don Saviniano Manrique de Lara mi Governor y Capitan General de esas Islas y Presidente de mi Real Audiencia de ellas en quinze de Julio de

*seisçientos y çinquenta ay seis con lo que sobre todo dixo, y pidio, mi fiscal del, he tenido por bien de dar la presente por la qual os mando, que luego que reçivais esta mi çedula remitareis al dho mi Consejo los autos que en razon del descamino de los dhos sesenta y çinco mil pesos se hiçiesen y dio por decomiso, el dho Don Francisco Samaniego, en virtud de la comision que tubo para yr al dho Puerto de Boronga a conoçer de los fraudes que se havian cometido en el Buçeo que se hizo de la plata, que yba à esas Islas en el dho galeon **San Francisco Xavier** desde la Nueva España, con mas de un millon mio y de particulares y ansimismo me remitareis los demas Autos que despues se autuaron, en esa mi Audiencia donde acudieron las partes, interesadas, y se revocaron los decomisos dados por el dho oydor admitiendo esa Audiencia la prueba ofrecida por las partes y tambien me imbiareis los autos de la visita y residencia que el dho oydor tomo à Don Lorenço de Orella y Ugalde general que era del dho galeon y demas ministros y ofiziales del y me informareis muy particularmente en lo que se an convertido y consumido los dhos sesenta y çinco mil pesos que por auto, del dho Juez, se dieron por decomiso, y se mandaron llevar à los ofiziales de mi Real hazienda de esa çiudad de Manila, para reintregarlos en mis casas reales de ella y uno y otro me lo remitireis con brevedad en la primera ocasion que se ofrezca a manos de mi Infraescripto Secretario, para que visto por los del dho mi Consejo, se provea lo que se hallare, por derecho, y justiçia.*

Fha en Madrid à dos de Diziembre de mil y seis y sesenta y un años.

Yo el Rey

Por mandado del Rey nuestro Señor,

Don Geronimo de Ortega, y señalado del Consejo.

Translation.

[Endorsement:] To the Royal Audiencia of the Philippines, [saying that he is] remitting to the Council [of the Indies] the whole file about the case that it, and its member, Don Francisco Samaniego, threw out, regarding the confiscation of 65,000 pesos and the case opened against the General and the other officers of the galleon **San Francisco Xavier** that went to the Islands with the subsidy from New Spain, and the Report into what happened to the 65,000 pesos.

[From] the King.

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

In a letter, dated 6 July 1658, that Don Francisco Samaniego Tuesta, member of my Audiencia there, wrote, he refers to the galleon **San Francisco Xavier** that was carrying the subsidy from New Spain to those Islands was lost on 19 October 1655 in the bay that they call Boronga before reaching the Embocadero, and that he had gone there with a commission to find out how the loss had happened, and whose fault it was, and that, by virtue of his capacity, he seized 65,000 pesos, and that, after the charges were read in my Audiencia there, you were asked to declare them null and void, and to order the case to be kept open, and that, on account of the sickness of the Fiscal of that Audi-

encia, the said Don Francisco de Samaniego was appointed interim [fiscal], and that, when he saw that the case file was open for review and that it was attached to the memorial, he called for them and, in order to inform us formally, he had the memorial **printed** and a copy sent to us.¹

This having been seen in my Royal Council of the Indies, along with the letter written to me about this by Don Sabianiano Manrique de Lara, my Governor and Captain General of those Islands and President of my Royal Audiencia there, on 15 July 1656, in addition to what my Fiscal there said, and requested, I have decided to send you the present by which I order you that, as soon as you receive this my decree, to remit to the said my Council the case file regarding the seizure of the said 65,000 pesos that the said Don Francisco Samaniego declared confiscated, by virtue of the commission that he had to go to the said port of Boronga to find out the frauds that were committed in the salvage of the silver that was going to those Islands aboard the galleon **San Francisco Xavier** from New Spain, with over one million belonging to me and to private persons. In addition, you are to remit the other case files that were afterwards opened in that my Audiencia where the interested parties appealed, and in which the amounts confiscated by the said member were repealed, the Audiencia having accepted the proof provided by the parties. You are also to send me the case file of the visitation and residencia [i.e. management audit] that the said member took to Don Lorenzo de Orella y Ugalde, who was General of the said galleon and to her other ministers and officers, and you shall inform me in minute details of what happened to the 65,000 pesos that the said Judge has declared confiscated in law, how they were converted and spent, when they were ordered taken to the officials of my Royal Treasury of that city of Manila, there to join the general funds. You shall send me both as soon as possible by the first occasion that presents itself, care of the undersigned my Secretary, for them to be seen by those of the said my Council, for them to take the appropriate actions, in accordance with law, and justice.

Made at Madrid on the 2nd of December of 1661.

I the King.

By order of the King our Lord,

Don Geronimo de Ortega, and subscribed by the Council.

Lost narrative of Francisco Samaniego y Tuesta

Note: A manuscript entitled "Relación de su Viage, con vn Indice puntual de todas las Islas que se comprehenden en el Nombre de Filipinas, tan cierto, que dice que puede servir de Derrotero, a falta de Carta de Marear" used to exist; cited in B&R 53: 319. Present location unknown; used to be in the library of Gonzalez Barcia (ref. his Epitome, Madrid 1737-38, ii, col. 632). Not seen at BNM. It is presumed lost.

1 Ed. note: The printed report is not to be found with this document in the AGI file.



Portrait of Blessed Fr. Diego Luis de Sanvitores, 1627-1672. *This portrait was made in 1660 before his departure for the Philippines, at the request of his father, Don Gerónimo de San Vitores. At the death of the latter, the portrait passed on to his other son, then Marquis of La Rambla, whose heirs have kept it to this day. (Photo taken from Fr. Risco's book: *The Apostle of the Marianas*).*

Document 1659A

A short biography of Fr. Sanvitores, by Fr. Juan Ledesma

Source: Fr. Juan Ledesma's The Cause of Beatification of Ven. Diego Luis San Vitores (see bibliography), pp. 2-8, 14.

Biographical profile of the servant of God

Among those who excelled in sanctity in the 17th century Assistance of the Society of Jesus in Spain, and of whom there remained a pleasant memory not only in the areas where they lived, but generally in the history of the Society, the one who stands out is the Venerable Diego Luis de San Vitores. What gave him special fame was the Mission of the Mariana Islands of which he was the founder, and the glorious martyrdom with which in the end he crowned his apostolic labors. It must, however, be noted that before he left for this difficult enterprise he had sanctified with his virtues the Jesuit Provinces of Toledo in Spain, of Mexico and of the Philippines.

In view of these countries where the Servant of God gave evidence of his sanctity, we will develop according to their order the profile of his biography.

In Spain.

The Servant of God was born in the city of Burgos, Spain on 12 November 1627.¹ He was baptized [Diego Jerónimo] in the parish of San Gil of the same city on the 19th of the same month. His parents were Don Jerónimo de San Vitores and Doña Francisca de Maluenda. Due to his devotion to Saint Louis de Gonzaga, with eventual paternal permission, the name Luis was adopted by the same Servant of God.²

1 Ed. note: Archives of the Parish of San Gil, Burgos: "Libro tercero de los bautizados... comenzado en 26 de Julio de 1610 años. Acaba en 10 Abril de 1652."

2 Ed. note: He changed his middle name to Luis only in 1640, after he entered the novitiate, according to the testimony of his confessor, Fr. Diego Ramirez. He did it to show his admiration for then-Blessed Luis de Gonzaga.

Very soon, in 1638, the family had to transfer its residence to the capital city of Madrid, where his father, Don Jerónimo, was made Procurator for Burgos for whatever business there may be for that city in Madrid. Thus, at the age of 11, we see Diego taking grammar courses in the Imperial College, which was administered by the Society of Jesus. In addition, thanks to his exemplary conduct, by election of his own companions, he was made Prefect of the Sodality of Mary.

In spite of strong paternal objections he begged and was granted admission at the age of 13 into the Society of Jesus. But he did not pronounce his first vows until the canonical age of 16.

He completed his novitiate in 1643. Then at the College of Alcalá de Henares he passed on to study Arts for 3 years and Theology for 4 years, excelling in both courses, to the extent even of crowning them with the Public Defense. His priestly ordination took place in the same city at the age of 24 on 23 December 1651.

Then he made his 3rd year of probation in the novitiate of Villarejo de Fuentes where he had made his first year.

Then began his apostolic life after this painstaking intellectual and religious formation. First he taught grammar in the College of Oropesa in 1653, then theology for a year in Madrid, and lastly, until 1660, philosophy at the University of Alcalá. But his zeal could not be confined solely to the classroom. From the very beginning of his teaching years his free time, particularly during the summer months, was given to the sick and the poor in the hospitals, and, especially to the giving of missions in the surrounding villages, where he preached with extraordinary fervor and apostolic spirit the Doctrine [catechism] and the Act of Contrition.

Over and over again he offered himself to the Superiors, and begged to be assigned to the missions in the Indies, where he yearned to shed his blood for Christ. On 12 November 1657, at the age of 30, he crowned these ardent desires with a special vow to employ the rest of his days in the missions. Finally he wrote a long and fervent letter to his Father General, Gosvino Nickel, dated 2 July 1659 [see Doc. 1659B]. In it he revealed the favors God made to him until then, to which he wished to correspond by giving himself up in sacrifice for the good of souls in pagan lands.

Fr. General was so impressed by this letter that he wrote to his Provincial [Doc. 1659C], telling him that he would gravely fail in his obligation and his conscience if he did not destine Fr. San Vitores to the mission of the Indies which he so justly desired, although with the proper religious indifference. Accordingly, the Servant of God was assigned to the Philippines.

In Mexico.

His trip towards the port of departure became a veritable missionary journey since he preached so many missions on the way. On 14 May 1660 he embarked in Cadiz, and arrived at the port of Veracruz in New Spain on the following July 28. But he had a

forced delay of not less than 2 years in the capital city of Mexico for lack of a vessel to continue his journey. The historian Fr. Francisco Javier Alegre,¹ writing on this delay, says that the Servant of God, in search for a relief to his zeal, used to preach continuous and fervent popular missions. And to make the fruit of these last, he applied himself especially to the promotion of the Sodality of St. Francis Xavier. Such was the success of his labors that Fr. Francisco Solano, who eventually became his companion in the Marianas, assures us that the esteem he won in Mexico was not less than that which they had in Goa for St. Francis Xavier.

At long last, on 5 April 1662, he was able to set sail from the port of Acapulco on his way to the Philippines, God in his eternal designs saw to it that he had to get there by way of the then-called Ladrones Islands. And that was precisely how God provided for the evangelization of those islands and for the glorification of our Servant of God. According to Astraín,² he took cognizance of the nature of those islanders. And when he learned that no-one until then had preached the gospel to them he felt internally moved to procure such blessing for them.

In the Philippines.

He arrived in the Philippines on 10 July 1662. In due course he was appointed Master of Novices, Prefect of Studies and Professor of Theology in the College of Manila, Prefect of the Sodality of Mary for the Spaniards and Minister for the natives. However, he had first to study the Tagalog language. This he did in the Residence of Taytay. There in a short while he mastered the language and was able to preach in it, giving missions within and around the capital city of Manila, but particularly in the island of Mindoro.

Never, however, in the midst of this apostolic activity did he forget his Ladrones Islands. He appealed to his Superiors, to the Archbishop, and lastly to the King himself, Philip IV [Doc. 1663B]. Fruit of these efforts was the Royal Cedula, which was digned on 24 June 1665 [Doc. 1665D]. It ordered the evangelization of those islands.

But there was need to go there by way of Mexico to solicit material help. He arrived there on January 1668, and obtaining in a short time what he was after, by March of the same year he was already on his way to the Marianas, accompanied by 4 priests, 1 scholastic and 30 auxiliaries, the latter almost all Filipinos.

In the Mariana Islands.

That archipelago's most memorable date is 16 June 1668, when the missionaries disembarked on Guam, the principal and largest of the islands. The day following was Sunday. The first Mass was celebrated, in which the Servant of God preached in the natives' language, for during the voyage, even before, he had been learning it. The suc-

1 Ed. note: "Historia de la Compañía de Jesús en Nueva España" (Rome, 1959).

2 Ed. note: "Historia de la Compañía de Jesús en la Asistencia de España" (Madrid, 1908-1925).

cess was beyond expectations. For, adding together the baptized on the island of Guam with those of the other islands, it was realized that from 16 June 1668 to 21 April 1669, the resulting total of those who had been baptized was 13,289.¹ Remarks Fr. Astráin: "Rarely has there been a mission to the infidels begun with such prosperity and received with such good will."

Greater was the fruit of this Mariana Mission at the beginning of the 3rd year and the second to the last of the work in it of the Servant of God. He had already visited by himself the first 13 islands. Those baptized were 30,000.² Add to them the multitude of catechumens, five properly built churches where divine services were held with full solemnity. There was also a college for boys, named San Juan de Letrán, whose students cared for the service of the church, sang daily in two choirs the Christian doctrine, and bell in hand went along the streets to summon other children to the catechism class. They served too as catechists and interpreters. For this and for another college for girls the Servant of God eventually obtained the assignment by the Queen of 3,000 yearly ducats [rather pesos].

Such fruit could only be harvested at a cost of much labor and sacrifice, of perilous crossings of stormy seas, in the midst of fratricidal quarrels between rival towns. In fine, such labor had to deal with natives who were uncivilized, savage, barbaric and superstitious. But above all, there was the opposition of two principal adversaries, a Chinaman by the name of Choco and the *Macanas*. The former spread the calumny that the Fathers killed the children with the baptismal waters, and the sick with the holy oils. The *Macanas* played the part of prophets, promising through the skulls which were kept in the homes such goods as water, cures, fish. Together they were the principal causes for the uprisings of the natives against the Fathers, including the deaths, like those of Fr. Luis de Medina and several catechists, particularly those that occurred up before the martyrdom of the Servant of God on 31 March and 1 April 1672.

In view of the massacres of these two last days, the Servant of God, who at the time was building a church some distance away, ordered that all should proceed to the central Residence of San Ignacio, whereto he himself would be on his way. Passing through the village of Tumon he learned of the recent birth of the daughter of a certain Matapang. He asked him to let him baptize her. The child's father, who had already apostatized from the faith given him in baptism, refused and, even uttering blasphemies, threatened the Father with death. This he actually inflicted on him with the thrust of a lance into his chest, while a pagan fellow native, who had been incited by him, parted his head with a cutlass. Meanwhile the Father was begging God to forgive his assassins, Matapang climaxed his crime by snatching from the Father, his holy crucifix, and stepped on it amid calumnies and blasphemies.

1 Ed. note: Yes, but the addition was done wrong, as the numbr for Guam was counted twice.

2 Ed. note: Fr. Sanvitores visited 10 islands at most. The number 30,000 is also a mistake; this was an estimate of 13,000, but the official report was badly translated into Latin, as the word "triginta" was wrongly used to traslate 13.

The Servant of God died on the morning of 2 April 1672, at the age of 44. His death was held as a true martyrdom, signs of which are the Mass and *Te Deum* which, when the news arrived, were celebrated in Manila, Mexico and Madrid. These signs are further confirmed by the Processes of Guam (1673), Manila (1676-77), Mexico (1676-79), and Toledo (1688-89). This reputation for martyrdom or *fama martyrii* is also established by much that has been written on it until our days.

...

However, for reasons, not easy to specify, the Process of Toledo was [then], as far as we know, the last official act for continuing the Cause of his beatification.

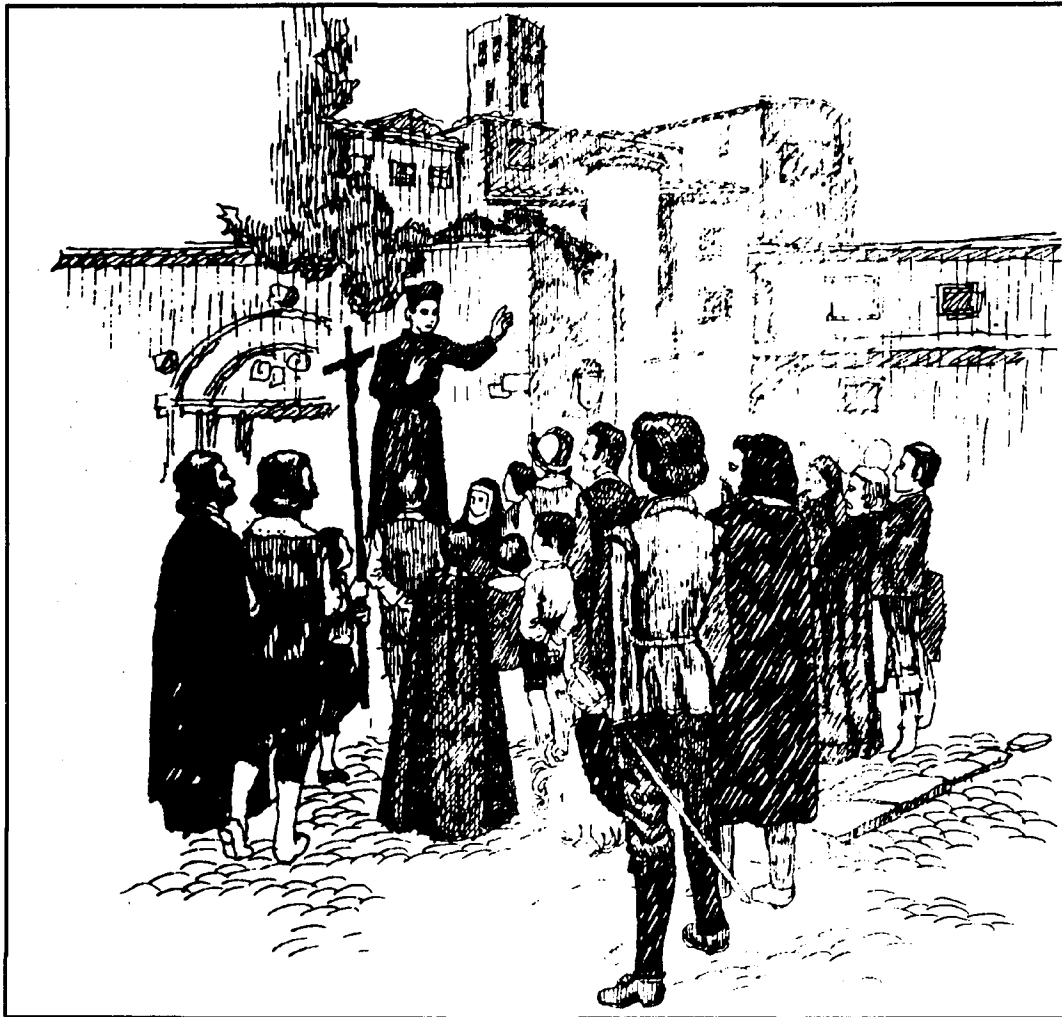
Reasons for delay in the Cause of the beatification.

At the outset we can say that these reasons were not intrinsic to the merits of the Cause, but purely extrinsic. Witness is the history of those centuries, especially the 18th and 19th. They were most difficult for the whole Society of Jesus, due in particular to the persecution of the Bourbonic Courts and Jansenists who were in power in Spain.

The same should be said of the persecution of Tombal in Portugal and of the royal Ministers in France, all of whom were instigated by the Jansenists and the Masons, sworn enemies of the Society and of the Papacy. The climax of these persecutions was the suppression of the Society of Jesus in the 18th century, first by the Kings in Spain and Portugal and their dominions, and then by the Pope in 1773 in the universal church, although the decree of the suppression was not promulgated in the kingdoms of Russia and Prussia.

No less should be said about the 19th century. The Society of Jesus was hardly restored by Pius VII in 1814, when the expulsion of the Jesuits took place in Spain in the years 1820, 1835, 1854 and 1868, and in Naples and the Sicilies and the greater part of Central Italy in the years 1859 and 1860, in Venice in 1866, in Germany in 1872, in Rome in 1873, in France in 1880. Although the times of the 20th century were not so disastrous for the Society of Jesus, there we have the two world wars...¹

1 Ed. note: Fr. Sanvitores, the Apostle of the Marianas, was finally beatified only in 1985.



Brother Sanvitores preaching in Arganda when a teenager. *When on the way to the Jesuit novitiate of Villarejo, southeast of Madrid, Brother Sanvitores stopped to rest at the half-way town of Arganda, where he practiced preaching to an impromptu crowd. (From Fr. Risco's *The Apostle of the Marianas*, Manila, 1970).*

Document 1659B

Letter from Fr. Sanvitores to the Fr. General of the Jesuits, asking him to be sent to the Indies

Sources: ARSI Fil. 13, fol. 105v +; in the Process of Toledo (1689), fol. 529-545; partial copy in AGI Ultramar 562; translated by Fr. Juan Ledesma (op. cit. pp. 172-173).

Note: Fr. Goswino Nickel was General of the Jesuits from 1652 to 1661, at which time he was replaced by Fr. Juan Pablo Oliva.

Introductory note, by Fr. Ledesma.

This letter is not a mere copy of the one that reached the hands of Father General. What he wrote to Fr. General was written **in Latin**, of which we find some fragments in the *Narratio Historica* signed by six Fathers of the Marianas on the occasion of the Martyrdom.¹ This is the translation made by the same Servant of God [i.e. Fr. Sanvitores himself] and given to his father by order of the Superior, as we know it from the document itself and from the book of Fr. Francisco Garcia.²

We have not been able to find in the archives the original Latin text nor the complete copy of it. As regards the [full] Spanish version which we translate here, it was in the possession of Don Joseph San Vitores, brother of the Servant of God. The Process of Toledo required an authentic copy (fol. 528v), demanded witnesses of its authenticity; these witnesses were Fr. José de Alcaraz, S.J., and Pedro de Espinar, S.J. Having accomplished this the Judge Delegate declared the document authentic and ordered it to be included in the minutes of the Process.

1 Ed. note: See Doc. 1673L. It was also reproduced, in Spanish, in Doc. 1673K (see next page).

2 Ed. note: In Chapter 11. (see Bibliography, under 1665-1681); cited y Astráin, VI, p. 807.

Draft of the Spanish version made by Fr. Sanvitores himself.

Source: AGI Ultramar 562; inserted in one of the annual reports for 1672-73 (Doc. 1673K).

Reverendísimo Padre Nuestro.

Mis Padres espirituales me habian mandado hasta hoy me contentase con comunicar á los Padres Provinciales la materia de esta Carta, pero me dicen ya que para mayor gloria de Dios debo representarle y proponerle á Vuestra Paternidad; lo cual hago trasladando el primer exemplar que habia comenzado, y añadiendo de nuevo lo que diré abajo.

Desde los años de mi infancia que puedo acordarme me ocupó totalmente el deseo, segun y aun quiza mas de lo que era capaz á aquella edad, de la conversion de las almas, especialmente de los infieles, y del martirio: á los 12 años de mi edad por la gran misericordia de Dios, y de la Beatísima Virgen, fui llamado á la Compañía con tal ardor y sentimiento en la dilacion, que aunque hubo primero algun yerro en la edad conocido finalmente antes de entrar en la Compañía, que no tenia cumplidos los 13 años no fué embarazo para admitirme dispensando despues nuestro Padre Musio, á lo cual quizas le movió lo que aconteció entonces á mi madre.

*Como determinase mi madre embiarme de Madrid donde yo e[stuve en?] la compañía de [mi] Padre que asistia en Sevilla; temiendo yo por lo menos una larga detencion, elejí por mas segura la fuga al lugar de mi refugio, que era el Colegio de la Comp^a. Luego que supo esto mi madre acometio impetuosa á nuestro Colegio, cual tigre, a quien le habian quitado sus cochorrillos, buscandome y juntamente al Padre Provincial (que era el Padre Francisco Aguado) el cual le habia dado palabra de no recibirme en la Compañía sin su beneplacito: estando pues brotando llamas y amenazas esperando la respuesta delante de la puerta comun y antigua de nuestro Colegio Imperial: le parecio que por una ventana proxima á la puerta correspondiente al coche en que esperaba, miraba á Nuestro Padre S. Ygnacio, que tras sí me guiaba de la mano, vestido yo con la ropa de la Comp^a (que realmente aun no tenia) y con tales veras se persuadió que al punto mandó apretadamente á los criados me cogiesen clamando en alta voz **veis allí á mi hijo:***

*Que mientras los criados miran lo interior de la ventana, sin oír, ni ver cosa alguna: fixando mi madre mas intensamente la vista en la representacion mia que miraba, la vio rociada de sangre y señalada con insignia de martirio, y juntamente le pareció que oía á N.P. San Ygnacio que con distinta y clara voz decia estas palabras **dexale en la Compañía por que ha de ser martir:** estas (palabras) cosas y sucesso de tal suerte mudaron el animo de la muger por su natural propension y por la ocasion gravemente airada que oyendo decir que el Padre Provincial, estaba en la visita de la Casa profesa, sin preguntar mas por si se fué á verle, y declarandole como debaxo de sacramental sigillo todo el caso, prometio que jamas resistiria mi entrada en la Comp^a sino que con todas sus fuerzas lo fomentaria. Y esto mismo contó y prometió en confesion al Padre Diego Ramirez, mi amantísimo Padre espiritual, y al Padre Luis de la Palma, y (si no me engaño) al Padre Andres de Rada, ministro entonces del Colegio Imperial, y otros Padres de los mas graves. De tal suerte cumplió lo prometido, que habiendo un tio mio her-*

Letter from Fr. Sanvitores to Fr. Gosvino Nickel, dated Alcalá de Henares, 2 July 1659

Jesus, Mary, Joseph
Ignatius, Francis

Translation into Spanish of the letter which I wrote to our Father General, which I leave by order of the Superiors to my twice father and Lord because of the blessing he gave me in order to comply with my vow and obedience for the greater glory of our crucified Lord Jesus Christ.

Our Very Reverend Father.

May the Peace of Christ be with you. My spiritual Fathers had up to the present commanded me to content myself in communicating the matter of this letter to the Fathers Provincial. Now they seriously advice me that, for the greater glory of God, I ought to give an account of it all to your Paternity, which I am doing now, by transcribing from the first draft which I had begun, and adding yet what I will say below.

From the years that I can remember of my boyhood, I was all full of desires for the conversion of souls, especially of the infidels, as well as of dying a martyr, as far as or, perhaps beyond what I could think of at that age. When I reached the age of twelve through the great mercy of God and of His holy Mother, I was called to the Society with much fervor and urgency. At the beginning there was an error in my age. At last it was known that I had not yet completed 13 years, which became no obstacle for my admission, since later the dispensation of our Fr. Muzio¹ intervened. Perhaps this was motivated by what happened then to my mother.

Because when my mother tried to send me to Seville where my father was, (who had me called to examine my vocation), fearing that my desires might be at least delayed, I decided it more safe to flee from the place where I was detained, to the College of the Society. As soon as my mother learned about this she left with great annoyance in search of me. She also looked for Father Provincial, who was then Father Francisco Aguado, and had given his word to my mother that I would not be received without her consent. As my mother then was waiting in the old porter's lodge of our Imperial College, through a small window which was near that gate and overlooked the room of the porter and which was on a level with the coach where my mother was staying, it seemed to her that she saw me, and so clearly, that she cried out to the servants to get me, saying in a loud voice: "There goes my son."

But while the servants were looking through the window and neither saw nor heard anything, my mother looking at me more intently seemed to realize that I was dressed in the habit of the Society, (which I had not yet received, and I was quite a distance away in the farthest part of the house). At the same time it seemed to her that I was bathed in blood and with the marks of martyrdom, and that our Fr. St. Ignatius was

1 Ed. note: Fr. Muzio Vittelleschi, General of the Society from 1615 to 1640.

mano de mi Padre alcanzado del nuncio apostólico cartas para que (como dicen) me pusiesen en mi libertad, mi madre bien á deshora de la noche se fué al Padre Provincial, y le aviso eran contra su sentir tales cartas rogandole que á la presencia de un notario diese testimonio de dho contrario parecer y que luego me admitiese en la Compañía, segun mi ardiente deseo y ruegos; y finalmente ella misma sosegado el ánimo sin que la retardase el dolor y ausencia de mi Padre proveyó todo lo necesario para la entrada, y camino á la Casa de provacion de Villagarcía [sic]; lo cual de tal suerte admiró á los que la conocian, que sin saber cosa de la vision dha juzgaron habia intervenido algo sobrenatural, y los que supieron la vision le dieron por la novedad de su mudanza, y maravilloso suceso no poco credito.

*Sucedió otra cosa digna de notar, por que viniendo mi madre despues de la vision dha á verme y hablarme á la Yglesia de la Compañía, ella misma me llevó á la Capilla de N.P. S. Ygnacio, y poniendome delante de el altar entre las lagrimas (á que por lo magnanimo, y varonil de su natural, no estaba acostumbrada) dixo estas palabras: **Santo Padre Ygnacio este hijo te doy para que con sus ruegos me alcances de Dios la salud eterna.** Esto dixo jueves 19 de Julio de 1640 y el mismo día jueves (por que buelbe la misma letra dominical) 19 de Julio de 1657 salió de esta vida no sin manifiestos indicios de su eterna salud, como de la misericordia de Dios, y intercesion de nuestro Padre San Ygnacio confiamos.*

No olvidandome yo de modo alguno de estas cosas, y lo mas cierto faboreciendome la interior gracia, y vocacion de Dios (que por tal la conocieron muchos Padres espirituales que escudriñaban los senos de mi conciencia) creció en mi cada día aquel innato deseo, ó por decirlo asi aquel deseo nacido fuera de lo que el orden natural pedia, de llevar y guiar á Cristo las almas principalmente de los infieles, y derramar por esta causa la sangre sin que jamas pudiese divertirse el -?- ni conseguir de mi otra cosa sino la resignacion en la obediencia, y paciencia en la dilacion, que cada dia como sacrificio de mi voluntad é inclinacion entre tanto ofrezco á Dios por espacio de 19 años: no refiero varias visiones en sueños &c. por que ni durmiendo ni despierto tenia otra cosa que mas frecuente pensase. Muchas veces declaré á los Padres Provinciales mi deseo, aunque no me acuerdo haver manifestado á alguno fuera de los que la sabian dha vision de mi madre; ya por alguna verguenza del animo, que conocia corresponder tan tibiamente en la observancia y costumbres, á tal cual fué aquella muestra de Dios; y porque esperaba conseguir mi deseado fin, solo con la interior y constante vocacion aprovada por los Superiores; aunque no pocas veces sintiendo la repulsa y tardanza, confieso deseé, y pedí si fuera mayor gloria de Dios se diese tambien á los Superiores alguna señal de la voluntad Divina; como embiandome alguna grave enfermedad que me apretase á hacer alguna promesa, y á los Superiores aceptarlas lo cual por la gran misericordia de Dios, finalmente lo conseguí.

Por que el año de 1657, por le mes de Noviembre me sobrevino una fiebre maligna (que para mi fué benignisima) y el mismo dia que los medicos de el cuerpo y de el alma me mandaron disponer Sacramentos, y hora yo casi ya persuadido que por mis meritos era desechado de otro mas precioso genero de muerte, á que con todas mis fuerzas y deseo me preparaba, me leyeron una carta de el Cardenal de Toledo, escrita el mismo

leading me after him by the hand, and that the same was saying in a clear voice: "Leave him, for he will become a Martyr." This transformed her so notably that she immediately quieted down, although previously she was so greatly annoyed and opposed my entrance into the Society, (at least until I should see my father and obtain his consent, which she on her knees had begged of me).

She stopped looking for me, and having heard that Fr. Provincial was in the professed house on a visitation, she immediately went to him and told him as if in confession what she had seen and heard. She promised him not to impede my entrance into the Society but would rather help me to enter with all her might. And she promised the same thing to Father Diego Ramirez, my very dear spiritual Father, to whom she reported in confession all that had happened. She also gave the same account to Fr. Luis de la Palma and other grave Fathers.

She kept her word in such manner that when my uncle obtained a written order from the [Papal] Nuncio to set me free, she herself went far into the night to Fr. Provincial to inform him that she had nothing to do with the Nuncio's letter. She begged him to write a reply to that letter before the notary public, and asked him to receive me immediately into the Society. Finally stirring it all up she ordered everything necessary for my reception and my journey to the novitiate of Villarejo, taking no account of the absence and feelings that my father might have, without waiting for his reply and consent.

Something else worthy of notice happened here. It was that, soon after my mother saw that vision, she spoke to me in the church of the Society, took me herself to the chapel of St. Ignatius and placing me before the altar (before I was received into the Society) she said: "Holy Fr. Ignatius, I give you my son, so that you may obtain from God my salvation." She said this on Thursday, 19 July 1640, and on the same day, also a Thursday (becausew it bears the same dominical letter), on 19 July 1657, she departed from this life, not without great signs of her salvation, as we hope from the mercy of God and the intercession of our Holy Father.

Although I tried in vain not to take this event so much into account, with the grace of God and my vocation made internally more certain which was known as such by many spiritual men who fathomed my conscience, there grew in me everyday that innate desire to bring to Christ especially the souls of the infidels and for that purpose to shed my blood, without ever having been able to turn my mind to any other direction, nor to gain for me anything else but to be resigned to obey and be patient in the delay, which I meanwhile offered to God since 19 years ago as a sacrifice of my will and inclination. I expressed my desires several times to the Fathers Provincial, although I do not recall having told to any one outside those who knew it already what happened to my mother, because of the embarrassment and confusion that I felt in being so different in my customs and with such bad correspondence to that manifestation of God. Also because I expected that with only the internal divine vocation, approved by the Superiors I could obtain the desired end. Although I have seen myself rejected many times and I resented the delay, I admit that I desired and begged our Lord to give also

dia en que me dió la enfermedad, en ella con ocasion de una mision me exortaba con santas y graves palabras, me diese todo el Ministerio de las Misiones por que para este me llamaba el Señor &c.

Estas palabras de tal suerte inmutaron mi animo, que en adelante, casi nada pensase en la cercana y deseada muerte; antes bolviendo á pensar en las Misiones con gran confianza me persuadí que Dios me habia de prorrogar la vida p^a emplearme y conseguir hasta el fin este mi deseado exercicio: rogué con mucha instancia, me truxesen unas cartas de S. Francisco Xavier firmadas de su propia mano, y juntamente otras del V.P. Marcelo Mastrilli que yo tenia guardadas, y comunicando el negocio con mi confesor y con el R.P. Rector alcancé grata licencia para hacer voto: por que luego que lo dixo á los de la Casa concibió grandes esperanzas de que me fuese prorrogada la vida.

*Con que para mayor honrra de Dios, y gloria de la Beatissima Virgen y de N.P. San Ygnacio, y por la materia de el voto singularmente debaxo de el Patrocinio de S. Francisco Xavier, y de el Venerable Marcelo, hize delante del Santisimo Sacramento que inmediatamente recibí este voto: es á saber **que en adelante habia de emplear toda mi vida y fuerzas en el Ministerio principalmente entre los infieles...***

[Part missing. Lost by Fr. Sanvitores himself]

[Lo que seguia de la carta que por lo menos es un folio entero [no] ha sido posible hallarlo, y la acababa pidiendo ansioso la mision de Filipinas para ayudar á los Padres que en ellas trabajan, con sus palabras.]

...y para amparar á las vecinas naciones si Dios diere ocasion ofrecirme á Vuestra Paternidad, para que qualquiera de estas Misiones de Filipinas, para lo cual por ventura hay ahora oportunidad, puesto que el Procurador de Filipinas trata ahora con Vuestra Paternidad de los Compañeros que se an de embiar; mas ruego á V.P. mire estas cosas no tanto como peticion como cuanto cuenta de conciencia, que en materia tan grave doy como a nuestro comun Padre a Vuestra Paternidad por que recelo no sea que siendo tan inutil me ingiera yo mismo en negocios tan arduos; pero me avisaron los Padres arriba dhos inmediatos Directores de mi conciencia me rezelase tambien que con un inprudente silencio y omision en las diligencias, no desagradase á Dios N.S. por lo cual obedeciendoles escribo, y obediente aguardo la voz de V.P. como voz de mi Señor Jesucristo cuya gloria y honrra solamente, y el logro y fruto de su precioso sangre en todos sus redimidos es el unico blanco de mis deseos y ansias que motiban estos ruegos y cartas.

Ojala mirando solo á Dios, y con obras de su agrado lo conseguia por su inmaculada Madre Virgen, y por nuestro bienaventurado Padre S. Ygnacio, y por los Patronos que son de mi devotos Xavier, con Marcelo, Borja, y todos los bienaventurados, por los cuales dirige N.S. á Vuestra Paternidad, y nos le guarde como deseamos y hemos menester para bien de nuestra Compañia y de tantas almas.

Alcala 2 de Julio de 1659.

Diego Luis de S. Vitores.

my Superiors some sign of his will, for instance a grave illness given me that would force me to make a vow and to have the Superiors approve it. This I obtained from the mercy of God.

Because in the first place around November of last year (1657), our Lord sent me a malignant fever, which for me was rather mild. The day came when the corporal and spiritual physicians informed me of the time to receive the last sacraments. I was almost convinced that because of my sins God was denying me another more precious kind of death. It was then that a letter from [the] Cardinal [of] Toledo, written on the same day that I fell ill, was read to me. In it I was being exhorted with holy and grave words, on the occasion of a mission, that I give myself completely to the ministry of the missions, for this was God's call for me.

This letter changed my attitude in such manner that since then I did not think anymore about the death which I so desired and was so near. Instead I turned my attention completely to the missions and asked that I be brought a signature of St. Francis Xavier and another which I had of the Venerable martyr Marcelo Mastrilli.¹ And, after consulting my confessor and Father Rector, I obtained permission to make a vow. This permission was willingly granted me by Father Rector because, as he told those of the house, he felt from it great hope that I would live.

Finally for the greater glory of God, honor of the blessed Virgin and of our Father St. Ignatius, and because of the matter of the vow, especially under the patronage of St. Francis Xavier and the Venerable Martyr Marcelo, I made this vow: **that from then on I would employ all my life and strength in the ministry of the missions, first-ly among the infidels, and while this is not yet permissible, among the faithful according to the mind of the Superiors and of the Institute of the Society of Jesus.**

I made this vow in the 30th year of my birth in Christ through the holy baptism. Because of this vow and of the call of my St. Francis Xavier I immediately began to feel better. And without any delay, I convalesced so well and in such short time that soon after, on the same day of St. Francis Xavier the physician decided that I could get up. For this reason those of the house and elsewhere attributed piously all this to the vow of the missions and to the merits of St. Francis Xavier.

As soon as Father Provincial came to know of my vow he approved it by letter and assigned me later to a mission. But this and another mission were up to the present not carried out because of my position as lecturer of Arts, in which I have been occupied

1 Ed. note: Fr. Marcelo Francisco Mastrilli was born at Naples in September 1603 and entered upon his novitiate in March 1618. In obedience to the command of an apparition of St. Francis Xavier which he believed he had seen (that saint also miraculously curing him of a dangerous wound), he asked for the missions of Japan. He left for his field in 1635, arrived at Manila (by way of India) in July 1606. At the request of Governor Corcuera, Fr. Mastrilli accompanied him in the expedition against Mindanao; soon after the governor's triumphant return therefrom, Mastrilli went to Japan, where he was almost immediately imprisoned and tortured. Finally, on 17 October 1637, he was beheaded at Nagasaki (B&R 27: 253).

for the past five years, obeying with good will, but not without pain, for I hardly have the time of vacations to give missions. I even have some fear, not in vain perhaps, of what I was told by that saintly man Fr. Jerónimo Lopez, who died in Valencia recently with great renown for sanctity, that I would lose the health God had given me for the Missions, should I not employ it in them. He also predicted in a letter written before his happy death that I would go to the Indies.

Our Lord seems to have deigned to confirm this through the following events. Before that last serious illness, in 17 years in the Society I hardly ever had even a day's fever. This past year of 1658, around September, I suffered certain serious malarial fevers, though not without signs also of the divine mercy. Because, after I had them for one month without improvement from the medications given, such as five bleedings etc., I received a letter, also about Missions, to which, and especially to the new Mission of the Kingdom of Arda, Fr. Alonso de Andrade was inviting me. Soon after, I received with the letter a great confidence that the following malarial fever would not recur.

This confidence was strengthened by the following. I noticed that the day for the first malarial fever to come would be on the feast of St. Francis Borgia. I prayed to the Saint that, since he was an especial advocate in these malarial fevers and, when he was General of the Society,¹ had instituted so many missions and offered to God the blood of so many sons, he would now obtain from God that on his feast-day and from then on the malarial fever would not recur anymore, if God had chosen me for the Missions. My first movement lead me to this, although I rejected what in the petition would be less agreeable to the Lord. In making this petition, I paid homage to a signature of the Blessed Francis Borgia, and as a special act of veneration of him I renewed the vow of the Missions, and I particularly promised to volunteer for the Mission of Arda. Besides this, in honor of St. Borgia and for the good of the sick I offered to keep in a reliquary the signature of the Saint.

My hopes were not in vain. Because while the last malarial fever had come with all that goes with it that is sufficiently painful, the one that would occur on the feast of St. Francis Borgia did not return without the intervention of any medicine. And it never returned again, except for the quality of the malarial fever of that time, which, although perhaps they erred, afflicted in Alcalá throughout the whole autumn and winter both interns and externs. For which reason with great consolation for me I was bound by my vow, according to the opinion not only of Fr. Andrés Junio, who was then my immediate and present Superior, but also of other teachers of this College, who with especial concern took care of me.

Your Paternity can see what enthusiasm, what fervor or fire were enkindled in me when I could believe that those our three saintly Fathers, Ignatius, Xavier with Marcelo (I shall add later what God added through them) and Borgia had approved my vow and desires; what courage I had for acknowledging and correcting my weakness, etc. what hopes for overcoming all the difficulties.

1 Ed. note: Francisco de Borgia was the 3rd General of the Jesuits, from 1565 to 1572.

Concerning the difficulty about the usefulness that can be imagined about me for certain positions in this Province: one is common to others who are sent; the other perhaps would vanish in my case who am well considered useless for many things: I would perhaps have died for one or other serious illness, of which I was cured through the vow of the Missions and the intercession of St. Francis Xavier, as is piously believed, and even now the hand of God is raised as that saintly man Jerónimo Lopez informed me. The only difficulty peculiar to my case is the opposition of my father to a mission outside Spain. I have heard this excuse several times, that the Superiors refuse to send me away against the will of my father...

The most merciful Lord who changed the mind of my mother, previously so opposed, and angry, and now so gentle and favorable to my entrance, could he not and would he not change in the same manner the resolution of my father?

That is what I hoped; this is what I wrote; or I had not yet finished the letter, since the Lord wished out of his goodness as it may be conjectured, to perfect it with his own hands. Because when my father at that time called me to Madrid to see a sick brother of mine the Lord visited me with a malignant fever which for me was no less benign than the first and second already mentioned above. For the physicians gave me scarce hopes to live. When I was about to receive the holy Viaticum God inspired me, as I believed, to talk to my father who was much afflicted, and carefully I told him: that if he wanted me to live he should consecrate totally my life for the service of God and of the souls in whatever place God would wish me to be through the Superiors of the Society.

My father soon agreed and promised that he would in no way oppose any disposition of the Superiors in my regard. With this promise I became absolutely pleased and full of hope that I would be saved from that danger for other greater ones for the glory of God and the good of souls.

Our Lord seemed later to confirm this most benevolently. Because I received the Blessed Sacrament and renewed the vows of the Missions with the greatest love that was burning in me. And by a happy coincidence ... I was carrying with me a signature of St. Francis Xavier and another of the Martyr Marcelo. It was in this handwriting of his own that the vow and prayers were signed and written. They were dictated by St. Francis. Through them he had consecrated himself to the Missions of India and renounced his country and parents. I heard this read with great consolation, and it remained deeply impressed in my heart.

Finally having received close to five hours later the Viaticum, in a dream ... which filled me with great comfort, I seemed to see my two patrons St. Francis Xavier and Fr. Marcelo assisting me and helping me in a manner I could not perceive well. And I seemed also to hear a voice which I did not know wherefrom it came, but it was as from a third party sent by the two. It seemed to come between the bed and the wall where the signatures of my two advocates were hanging.

And this voice seemed to me to say: "You are now cured," in such manner that this voice woke me up. Then I took my pulse as if to verify the truth of the voice, which I repeated within me: "I am already cured, I am already cured." At the beginning I seemed

to wonder and doubt; then the doubt passed, for I felt from the pulse and well feeling of my body and heart, that the fever had completely left me. I found myself as if I had gone through a very copious bath, and in time I realized it was the sweat that had covered me during my sleep.

One Brother heard me exclaim: "I am already cured," and that I should be brought a shirt to replace the one that was soaked in sweat. That Brother and the Fathers who soon came and the physicians found no trace of the fever, nor any aftermath of the sickness. This did not return, and I convalesced perfectly and fast.

I took this occasion as a sign from the hand of God that I could speak with Fr. Provincial and give him an account of the things that had happened to me and to my mother. No more of that embarrassment I felt before, whereby I dared not speak about them. I realized then my lack of gratitude and good manners that become a son of the Society. I told him how I felt interiorly that those sicknesses so often repeated within so short a time, and following my previous constant well being, seemed to be clear signs of God which urged the fulfillment of my vow, and that this last sickness seemed to have been sent to me in Madrid to be seen by my father, so that I might more easily obtain his permission to leave Spain.

Father Provincial listened to me with kindness and gave me great hopes that there were now in Europe Procurators from the Indies, and that I might perhaps be chosen, etc. At last, after reporting everything to Fr. Rodrigo Deza, to whom I had made my general confession before receiving the Viaticum, and to Fr. Alonso de Andrade, and here in Alcalá to Fr. Tomás de Rueda, my old confessor, and to Fr. Andrés Junio who, being the Vice Rector was my immediate Superior before the present one, all of these seriously advised me to give a complete account to Your Paternity.

For the love and blood of Jesus Christ I humbly beg you, that should you see it conducive to the greater glory of God you order that this little holocaust for the souls, those principally who are most deprived of the means for enjoying the Redemption, be offered to the same Lord who was offered on the Cross for all men; I mean this exceedingly small holocaust, which the Lord, overcoming with his infinite goodness my unworthiness, has deigned to reveal as acceptable to him, in so far as it may at least be permitted to conclude from the signs already mentioned above. Beyond this is the desire that has been of so long standing and so constant, insistent, and burning, that consuming fire which only our Lord God can enkindle in this heart of stone or iron, or, what is worse, of flesh.

Here I am, most beloved Father. Send me to any region of Barbarians whom Christ with his precious blood has also redeemed. I try to put myself in the hands of Your Paternity, totally indifferent as to what kind of Mission and nation you may decide. Because just as I would not take anything out of my own choice and free will, from which I do not trust there can be any good outcome, so also I will embrace with assurance any decision of the divine will and any disposition made by holy obedience, from which I have no reason to fear anything wrong.

But in order to reveal sincerely to Your Paternity all the movements of my soul, I admit that, while there is no possible entry of Ours into the Mission of Arda (to which in this vow that I made I had especially promised to offer myself, as I do it through this letter), I confess that, primarily because of St. Francis Xavier, the Japanese attract my sympathies. And many times it gives me great sorrow that the faith of that nation is considered to be such a desperate one. Their holy apostle Xavier, with so many words and labors, deserved great hopes for its promotion and great development. About which St. Xavier stated in the first letter among those which are in the hands of Fr. Mafeo: "I have great hope that if our sins do not stop God from favoring what has been begun, there shall be added to the body of the Church a great multitude of the Japanese people."¹

And further down, as if anticipating and dissipating the fears and manner of thinking of our time, he says: "Many times I have the fear that those who seem to be the more learned in the Society, if it should happen that any of them is sent to these parts, they would think that it is a reckless enterprise, and that it is like tempting God to put themselves in such manifest dangers. But later they were freed from this suspicion, because I hope that the indwelling Spirit of the Lord presides at the teaching of doctrines and lectures of our Society. And I remember many times what I perhaps heard from our B. Fr. Ignatius that all those who live in the Society should try with great study and effort to expel from themselves the various fears and all other things that are usually an impediment for placing all our trust in God."

All this was said by the Saint while on earth. But now that he is in Heaven how much does he promote this trust and the cause of the Japanese! He tries that at least with the shedding of blood the seed of the gospel may grow, that seed that was planted by the Saint and his companions and once sprouted, dried up through the dryness of the earth. Well was it demonstrated in Fr. Marcelo.

Also for the same reason the Chinese move me and attract me. And not without a special movement of the heart and regret I heard from Fr. Magino Sola (who now is in Madrid, having arrived recently from the Philippines) how the Chinese are with great desire and shortage of workers. They asked the Fathers of the Philippine Province, who refused because of their own shortage which is also prevalent in the Philippines.

While, therefore, there appears no other closer route (through my own fault) to that terminal, which in reality or apparently at least has been proposed to my desires, that is to shed my blood for the name of Christ and the salvation of the more abandoned souls, (regarding which, in spite of all of it, I do not feel inclined in such manner that for the palm of martyrdom I should desire the Missions but for the Missions I would not fear any labor or kind of death, ready to postpone not the life only, but also the most beautiful kind of death for one soul that I may gain for Christ and for only one

1 Ed. note: This quote was probably taken from one of the editions of Fr. Giovanni Pietro Maffei's book: *Historiarum Indicarum*, first published in 1588.

further degree of greater charity towards God and neighbors). If I were therefore to be of some usefulness to the Japanese or to the Chinese, by at least adding to the number of those working in the Philippines who are ready also¹ to help the neighboring countries, if God should offer an opportunity for this especial Mission of the Philippines, I would offer myself to Your Paternity. For which perhaps there is now an opportunity, since the Procurator of the Philippines is asking for volunteers from Your Paternity. However, may Your Paternity not consider what has been said above as a request, rather than as an account of conscience given in such a grave matter to our common Father. Because I am afraid to engage myself in any manner in such arduous matters, since I am so unworthy and absolutely useless. But my already-mentioned spiritual Fathers and immediate directors of my conscience have also advised me that I should fear lest an imprudent silence and omission of the proper diligence, I should give displeasure to our God. Wherefore in obedience to them I have written to Your Paternity and obediently I await the voice of Your Paternity as the voice of my Lord Jesus Christ whose only honor and glory and the efficacy of his precious blood is the only reason for my vows and desires and for the petition enclosed in this letter.

May I be able to obtain it with the heart intent directly towards the pleasure of God, and may my labors be pleasing to his Majesty through the Immaculate Virgin Mother, and our Fr. St. Ignatius and the patrons of my vows: Xavier with Marcelo and Borgia and all the Saints. May the Lord through them guide Your Paternity and may He preserve you for us for many years as we desire and have need of, for the good of our Society and so many souls.

Alcalá, 2 July 1659.

Diego Luis de San Vitores

[P.S.]

I wrote this letter through the most Blessed Virgin, on the day of her Visitation. And I received the reply on the most joyful day of the Expectation of the same Holy Mother, 18 December 1659. This reply and the letter of our Father to Father Provincial was written on 12 October, while I was making the spiritual exercises of our Father St. Ignatius, begging our Lord with great insistence that I might be given an answer that would be for his greater glory and the greater good of my soul and those of the most abandoned ones. Finally thanks to the great goodness of God and mercy of the Blessed Virgin I received the most happy decision of the Provincial and the blessing of my two times father and Lord on 2 January, Friday, the octave of the glorious Protomartyr Saint Stephen, 1660. May God and his Blessed Mother forbid that I spoil it all with my sins. Against this I ask my father and Lord Don Jerónimo, to whom by virtue of holy obedience I leave this paper, that he intercede intently for me before Our Lord Jesus Christ crucified and the Blessed Virgin so that his holy will may be fulfilled in me in conformity with his greater glory, the good of our souls and of our fellow-men.

1 Ed. note: Place in text marking the end of the lost folio of the draft copy.

Document 1659C

Letter from Fr. General to Fr. Provincial, dated Rome 12 October 1659

Sources: Fr. Francisco García's book, vol. 1, chap. XIII, p. 79; translated by Fr. Juan Ledesma, as part of Fr. Risco's book: The Apostle of the Marianas, and also in the Cause of Beatification. The original copy of Fr. Sanvitores' vow, in Latin, is from Fr. Murillo Velarde's History of the Philippines.

Introductory note by Fr. Ledesma.

The result of the letter of Fr. Sanvitores' letter to Father General were two letters from His Paternity, one to him, giving him the permission he was asking for, and the other to Father Provincial (reproduced below).

The letter to Fr. General was dated 2 July 1659, on the feast of the Visitation of our Lady, as Fr. Sanvitores explicitly tells us. The letters of the General to him and to Father Provincial were sent on October 12 of the same year. The one addressed to Fr. Sanvitores was received by him on the following December 18, Feast of the Expectation of our Lady as he himself added to the translation of his letter to Father General which he gave to his father (Doc. 1659B).

Nowhere have we seen the letter of Father General to the Servant of God. Part of its content is contained in the letter to Father Provincial: "To the Father I write and I grant him this grace, and that I am informing you so that he may be sent with the first ones who shall make the trip to the Philippines."

Neither have we found the original letter sent to Father Provincial. It is the following, and its substance is expressed in the last words: "I beg Your Reverence not to put any obstacles, because that is what it should be, and you may not desist from putting it into execution."

Letter from Fr. Nickel to Fr. Provincial

Reverend Father Provincial: Pax Christi.

I have just received a letter from Father Diego Luís de San Vitores which gives me no less admiration than consolation. In it he refers to his vocation and admission into the Society, the desires he always had to go to the Indies and to work for the conversion of the infidels, the **vow** which he made with permission, the health that he so many times recovered in the manner Your Reverence knows. I have considered with particular attention in the presence of our Lord the vocation of this Father and I have judged that I would fail seriously in the obligation of my office and in my conscience if I did not grant to the said Fr. San Vitores the Mission of the Indies which he justly, but with great indifference desires and asks for.

It is God's will that he go there. And so in any case let Your Reverence send him to the Philippines. I am not giving this order with greater insistence because I am convinced that there is no need for it. I am writing to the Father that this grace is granted him, and that I am informing Your Reverence so that he may be sent with the first who may make the trip to the Philippines.

I am resolved not to change my decision, nor to desist until it is executed. If I know that he is a gifted subject and could be very useful to that Province, St. Francis Xavier was also so gifted and useful, as well as others who have gone. If God wants it that way we cannot oppose His will, I beg Your Reverence not to put up any obstacles, for that is what should be; you may not desist from putting it into execution.

Of Your Reverence,
Gosvino Nickel

The vow of 12 November 1657

Note: According to Fr. Murillo Velarde, who had the original in his possession, this vow was written on the back of a picture of St. Francis Xavier.

For the greater glory of God and the honor of the Blessed Virgin Mary and of our holy Father Ignatius, under the patronage of Saint Francis Xavier and the Venerable Marcelo Mastrilli and of the Blessed Father Francis Borgia, **I promise to Your Divine Majesty to employ all my life and strength in the ministry of the missions, specially among the infidels, or among the faithful, should the former be impossible, understanding all this according to the prescriptions of the Superiors and the spirit of the Institute of the Society.**

Of you, Father I.B. Davila, I humbly beg before God and the Blessed Mother of Good Counsel that, as during my sickness you fired my trust in the efficacy of this vow and, having made it, you helped me with the relics of the Saints and of Father Mastrilli, so also that you see to it that my sins will not be an impediment to the fulfillment of the will of God for His greater glory and my salvation as well as of the most helpless souls. Although I am not worthy I will do the same in your regard.

Diego Luis de San Vitores.

Document 1659D

Letter from Fr. General to Fr. Sanvitores, dated Rome 8 May 1660

Source: Jesuit archives of the Province of Toledo, Alcalá de Henares, Spain: legajo 1273, n° 4, fol. 1; translated by Fr. Juan Ledesma.

Introductory note, by Fr. Ledesma.

With the letter of Father General on 12 October to Fr. Provincial ordering him to send Fr. Sanvitores to the Indies, the latter received also a direct permission from Fr. General. This was on 18 December of the same year, as we indicated in the preceding document.

After some time Fr. Provincial gave his permission to Fr. Sanvitores. He in turn, on 15 February of the following year 1660, wrote once more to Fr. General. We know this from the reply which was sent him on May 8, some six days before he embarked in Cadiz, on 14 May, for the Philippines (reproduced below).

As regard the second letter of Fr. Sanvitores we have not found a copy of it, much less the original. Its content is surmised from the reply of Fr. General. It expresses the consolation received from the permission given to go to the Indies, the difficulties that had been overcome, which are a sign “that God had intervened in this matter.” It also informs Fr. General about the Act of Contrition.

Fr. Sanvitores is allowed to become a missionary overseas

Pax Christi.

The letter of Your Reverence was dated February 15. I received it with particular consolation seeing that you have received the permission to go to the Province of the Philippines. All that Your Reverence remarks about the circumstance that intervened in this matter and about the difficulties that without violence have been overcome, indicate that God has intervened here, and that he has chosen Your Reverence for the conversion of many souls and to suffer much for his love.

I shall take care to enjoin Your Superior not to let the zeal and goodwill of Your Reverence remain idle, specially when some door is open for the conversion of the Gentiles. When you arrive in that Province Your Reverence can write to me, giving me an account of your voyage, of your health and of the missions that may be discovered there and your inclination to embark in them.

And be sure that as much as I can, I will always help Your Reverence for your consolation, without overlooking the greater glory of God our Lord whom I beg to bless you and to fill Your Reverence with his divine spirit, and that he make you a great apostle of the Indies.

I already knew about the practice of the **Act of Contrition**, which Fr. Jerónimo Lopez¹ of pious memory has introduced in those Provinces. And I shall see that it is translated into Latin so that it may be shared with the others, for I know that it is a very effective means to save the souls from sin. I am grateful to Your Reverence for having sent me a copy of it.

I pray our Lord to keep you.

Commending myself to your holy sacrifices and prayers.

Rome, 8 May 1660.

G. Nickel

1 Ed. note: Fr. Lopez was born in Gandia, Spain, in 1590, and died at Valencia in 1658 (ref. Sommervogel IV, col. 1952-53). Some printed copies of his *Acto de Contrición* are given in Fr. Uriarte's "Catálogo Razonado de Obras Anónimas y Seudónimas de autores de la C. de J.," vol. 1, Madrid, 1904, p. 14: "Acto de Contrición con exortación. En 4º, 2 hojas" There were then many copies in the library and archives of the College of Loyola. There were at least 2 editions, with various printings each. One copy was also available at BNM.

Document 1660A

Letter from Fr. Sanvitores to a Father Domingo, dated Mexico 21 August 1660

Source: Original now at ARSI, formerly in Martyr's Museum, Nagasaki; bad photocopy in Fr. Ledesma's The Cause of Beatification, p. 382.

Notes: What was Fr. Domingo's last name? I have searched for the name of a would-be missionary in ARSI and was led to find the following: Fr. Domingo Langa, who was, like Fr. Sanvitores and Fr. Tirso Gonzalez, also involved with itinerant missions and a special form of the Act of Contrition (ref. ARSI Aragon, Mission. varia 27I, fol. 30-31). Fr. Langa is not listed in Sommervogel.

Original text in Spanish

Pax Xpi &a

Ya P[adr]e mio y commilito¹ chariss^o

Se pasaron las dos mil leguas de la primera embarcacion, con la prosperidad que VR^a vera por la relacion mas extensa que escribe el Hermano Solano (q. ha salido famoso indiano de San Francisco Xavier) a Alcala y yo le pido al Pe. Guillen la remita a VR^a. Yo de mi [parte] no tengo q. decir sino q. aun no me a fiado el buen Señor los achaques y penalidades q. an sentido lo mas los mas valientes de nuestra mission, aunque al presente todos estan buenos, y bien contentos. Todavia me hallo con mas fuerças y salud[.] quiera el q. murio por nosotros darnos despues a probar algo de su caliz en los trabaxos que fuesen de su mayor gloria y bien de las almas. por las nuevas q. van en dicha relacion de Philipinas, China y Japon y regiones adjacentes q. claman por ministros[.] sabra VR^a q. aun no se a pasado el tiempo de su vocacion q. con la debida indiferencia sera bien proponerla a los superiores, y mas en la oracion q. espero avra presto de nuevo Procurador de Philipinas q. creo llegara a España el año q. viene. todo a de ser lo que Dios dispusiese por medio de la obediencia: pero es bien informar de todo al q. nos gobierna, y del titulo que VR^a tiene y la mision de Filipinas a VR^a, pues segun me escrivio el Pe. Visitador solo por la apretura del tiempo no se le dio a VR^a el aviso para que viniese a cumplir el numero señalado de los de su prov[inci]a y suplir

1 Ed. note: A Latin word meaning "comrade-in-arms".

por el Pe. Castillo como deseaba y avia ofricido el P[adr]e Visitador. Dios sobre todo y la V[irgen] SS^a. S. Ignacio y S. Francisco Xavier. hacer entretanto lo que se pudiese por las almas que redimio Jesu Xpo.[.] Misiones y Actos de contricion etc. por aca se va disponiendo en esta Prov^a oraciones de buenos que aun desde España los oie Dios para Indias, podran mucho y supliran por las obras que no se permitieren. Adios adios, q. me g[uar]de a VR^a con mucho amor suio etc.

Mexico y Agosto 21 de 1660

A nos [=Nos ha] llevado N[uestro] S[eñ]or al Pe. Juan de Ribera. desde la Veracruz a Mexico le dio la enfermedad de q. murio[.] [h]aranos gran falta por bien compañero, pero sin duda le avra premiado N[uestro] S[eñ]or aunque a la mitad del viage segun el fervor con que se avia dedicado a esta mision. hagase en todo la voluntad del Señor. y mittat operar[arii] in messem suam etc.

Commilito y siervo de VR^a en Xpo.

+

+ Diego Luis S. Vitores +

[Address:] Al Pe. Domingo [... de]

la Comp^a de J[esus]

por Mad[rid]

Translation

Peace of Christ, etc.

Now then, dearest Father and comrade-in-arms.

The 2,000 leagues of the first navigation were spent with the success that Y[our] R[everence] will see by the longer account written by Brother Solano (who has turned out to be a famous Indian [missionary] like St. Francis Xavier) and sent to Alcala; I have asked Fr. Guillén¹ to forward it to you. As for me, I have nothing to say, other than the good Lord has not yet trusted me with the indispositions and sufferings that have befallen the more courageous ones in our mission [band], although at present they are all well and rather happy. Every day I find myself with more strength and more health. May He who died for us deign to test us later on with something from His chalice, in our labors, which hopefully will be for His greater glory and the good of souls. According to the news contained in the said Report from the Philippines, [it seems that] China, Japan and neighboring regions clamor for missionaries. Y.R. should know that the time for your vocation has not yet expired, that you should take it up again with the superiors, with due indifference, of course, the more so, given the new request that will be made, I hope very soon, by the Procurator of the Philippines, whom I believe will get to Spain during the coming year. Everything will happen the way God will decide, through [holy] obedience, but you should nevertheless inform those who govern us, about the permission which Y.R. already has, and about the mission [band] for the

¹ Ed. note: Father Juan Gabriel Guillén (see Doc. 1663D).

Philippines. For instance, according to the letter I received from the Fr. Visitor, it was only for lack of time that Y.R. was not warned in time to join the number of those selected from your Province and to substitute for Fr. Castillo, as you wished and as the Fr. Visitor had suggested. God above all and the Most Holy Virgin, St. Ignatius and St. Francis Xavier [will support you]. In the meantime, better do what you can for the souls that Jesus Christ redeemed, with missions and Acts of contrition, etc. Overhere, in this Province, some prayers are being made for good men who are yet to come from Spain. May God hear such prayers and send them to the Indies. They would be able to do much good in works that would otherwise not be possible.

Good-bye. May God keep Y.R. with His love, etc.

Mexico, 21 August 1660.

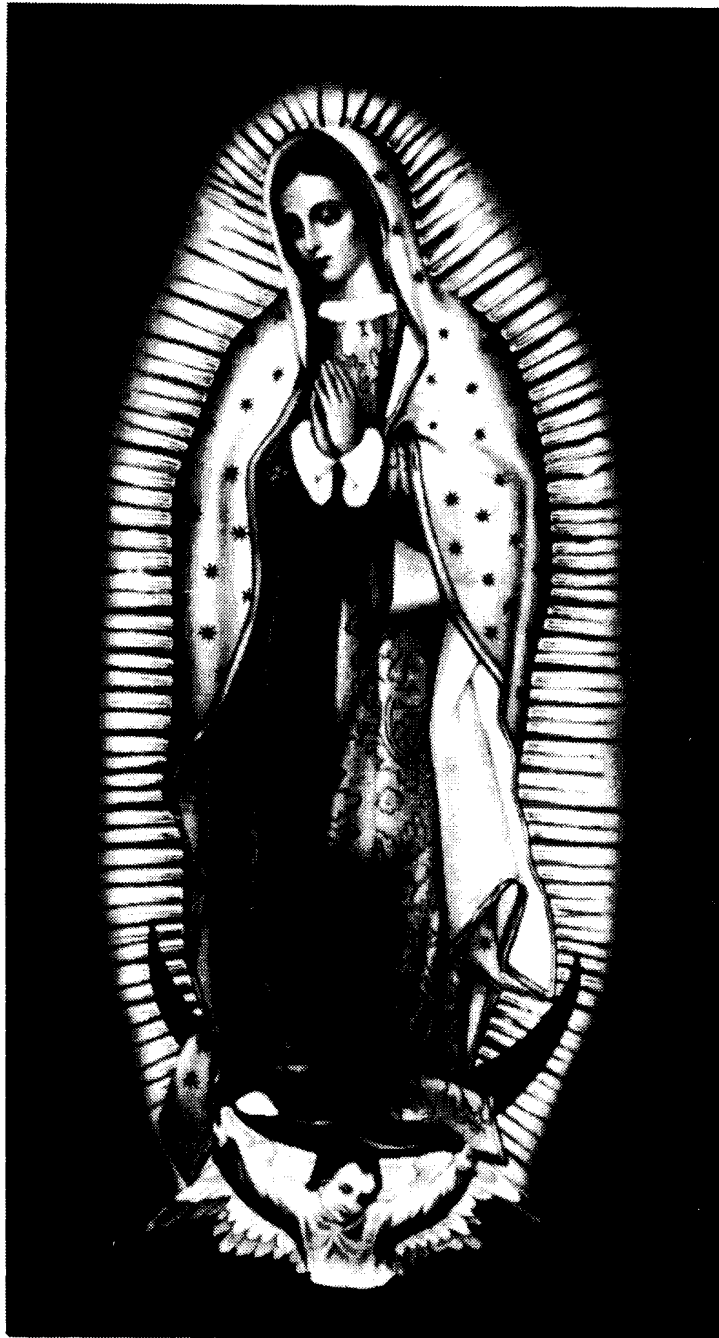
Our Lord has taken from us Fr. Juan de Ribera. He gave him the illness that killed him during the trip from Veracruz to Mexico. We will sorely miss this good companion, but no doubt our Lord will have rewarded him, though half-way along, in tune with the fervor with which he had dedicated himself to this Mission. May God's will be done in everything. May He send many more workers to reap His harvest, etc.

Y.R.'s comrade-in-arms and servant in Christ,

+

+ Diego Luis S. Vitores +

[Address:] To Fr. Domingo [... of] the Society of J[esus], via Madrid.



Our Lady of Guadalupe in Mexico City.

Documents 1660B

Two letters that Fr. Sanvitores sent to his father from Mexico in 1660

B1. Letter dated 22 September 1660, about Our Lady of Guadalupe

Sources: Fr. García's biography, p. 94; Chapter 27 of Fr. Francisco de Florencia's book entitled: La Estrella del Norte de México; various editions: 1688, 1741; Madrid, 1785 and also Guadalajara (Mexico), 1895.

Note: Fr. Sanvitores describes his visit to the shrine of Our Lady of Guadalupe in Mexico.

Original text in Fr. Florencia's book, 1895 edition.

Capítulo xxvii.

Escríbese una Aparición milagrosa en las Islas Marianas, que refiere el mismo Venerable P. Diego Luis de S. Vitores, fundador de la Cristiandad de ellas.

El V.P. Diego Luis de S. Vitores, Apostol de las Islas Marianas, cuya vida escribió el P. Francisco García, de nuestra Compañía, y se imprimió el año de 1,683, y de ella consta que fué otro S. Francisco Javier en los prodigios, y se le aventajó en el martirio, desde que pasó á la Nueva España para ir á las Islas Filipinas, tuvo tanta devoción y cariñoso afecto á esta milagrosa Imagen, que habiéndola visitado pasando del noviciado de Tepoztlán á México por su Santuario, dice de ella así en carta de 22 de septiembre, al Sr. D. Jerónimo de San Vitores, su padre:

“Mucho me voy consolado viendo en esta tierra, donde apenas ha ciento y cincuenta años que toda era una selva inculta de gentilidad y de idolatrías, está ya tan plantada la fé y piedad cristiana, con tan insignes Templos y demostraciones de religión. Y particularmente me consolé mucho ayer, viendo la milagrosa Imagen de Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe, que está á una legua de México, y es un retrato y apoyo celestial del misterio de la Purísima Concepción. Allí me detuve algún rato, recorriendo con la Santísima Virgen la memoria de mis obligaciones, y consolándome con que al mismo tiempo quizá habría quien se acordase de este pecador, en la fiesta de la Santa Imagen del Buen Consejo, ó en la de la Almudena, y no es pequeño consuelo de ausentes, que es

la misma Señora y Madre Santísima á quien nos presentamos en tan distintas imágenes, á tratar nuestros negocios y obligaciones.”

Hasta aquí este insigne varón, el cual sacó de estas y otras visitas que en los dos años que estuvo en México hizo á esta venerable Imagen, la entrañable devoción que toda su vida le tuvo, y la amorosa protección con que en la empresa de las Marianas lo amparó y ayudó, de que es argumento infalible el suceso siguiente, que escribió el mismo Padre, y para más fé lo pondré aquí con las formales palabras que lo refiere:

“No hacemos tanto caso (dice después de haber contado algunos milagros que hizo Dios en confirmación de la fé) de varias apariciones que refieren los indios, aunque el mismo referirlas no es mala prueba, á lo menos de afecto á las cosas de Nuestra Santa Fe.”

“Unas son de sus Anitis y malos espíritus, que bien contra su intento alientan á estos pobres en la cristiandad con sus mismos terrores y malos tratamientos, de que se han librado por medio del Santo Bautismo, y de la Santa Cruz, y Santos Nombres de JESUS y MARÍA, y S. Ignacio, y S. Francisco Javier, escritos en las cruces que se ponen dentro de sus casas con muy buenos efectos.”

“Otras refieren de buenos espíritus, y de la Santísima Virgen, entre las cuales hemos hallado más fundamentos en una, que con especial reparo y examen, una y otra vez oímos de boca de un indio llamado Ignacio Ipaga, natural del pueblo de Sunharón, que se intitula de la Inmaculada Concepción en la isla de Buena vista, que nos la hacen verisímil las circunstancias que intervinieron, y son de más larga relación. En sueños, pues, ó despierto, (como él dice) se le apareció la Santísima Virgen la noche 17 de agosto, tres días después de la lanzada que recibió el P. Luis de Morales, detestando la Buena Madre con el rostro y voz que dice oyó este indio, la dicha maldad de Saipán. La forma con que se le apareció, dice que era la misma en que se venera la Imagen de Guadalupe de México, que en un Oratorio tenían los Padres colocada; sólo se añadía, que en vez de tener las manos juntas, como Imagen de la Concepción, tenía dos niños que traían como alimentándolos á sus sagrados pechos. Venían otros ocho niños mayorcitos, que con un cordel de ocho ramales, traían á los pies de la Virgen un perro atado, no obstante su resistencia y ladridos. Lo cual todo, verdaderamente no desdice, ni de las maternales obras, ni de las antiguas victorias de la Santísima Virgen, que renovadas al presente en estas sus Islas por medio de los inocentes que se bautizan é instruyen en Nuestra Santa Fe, no obstante los ladridos del Cervero infernal y su ministro el Choco, entonces todavía idólatra; que cuando más victorioso y suelto andaba con la herida del Padre en Saipán, y muerte de los compañeros seglares en el mar, junto á Tinian, parece fué mandado atar por orden de la Santísima Virgen y ruegos de los niños marianos que estaban en el Cielo, ó en la escuela de la doctrina cristiana. A lo menos, el efecto que se reparó después, fué que el dicho idólatra, origen de esta persecución, se vino á dar por rendido y pedir para sí el santo bautismo que impugnaba en los otros.”

Hasta aquí el V.P. Luis de S. Vitores, á cuya devoción á esta Santa Imagen de Guadalupe, podemos atribuir, fuera del cariño que por ella ha mostrado siempre la Señora

ra á los indios, esta victoria tan insigne de la fe contra el demonio y la idolatría, muy propia de esta milagrosa Imagen, en México y en toda la Nueva España.

Acuerdo aquí lo que dije ya en otro capítulo, que es tradición que al respeto y veneración de esta poderosa Imagen de MARÍA Santísima de Guadalupe, debe todo este Reino el tener el demonio atadas las manos para no molestar y endemoniar á los hombres, como en otras partes lo hace. Y si en las Islas de los Ladrones, la Imagen copia de la milagrosa de Guadalupe, que puso y colocó el P. San Vitores en un Oratorio en el pueblo de Sunharón, tuvo tanta virtud para atar y aprisionar al demonio y desterrar la idolatría de aquellas Islas; ¿qué poder no tendrá el milagroso Original de la Sagrada Imagen, que pintó la misma Madre de Dios en México, y mandó colocar en su Santuario de Guadalupe, para ahuyentar de allí y de todo el Reino á los príncipes del infierno, que eran adorados en el infame idolo de la fingida madre de los dioses? ¿Qué confianza no debemos tener en este precioso y eficaz antídoto de las idolatrías, en este contra veneno de los tóxicos de las culpas? ¡Tú eres, Soberana Señora, la que, como afirma la Iglesia, quebraste la erg(u)ida cabeza á la hidra de las heregias de todo el mundo! ¡Y tú, milagrosa Imagen de Guadalupe, la que ataste al demonio, y ahogaste en todo este Nuevo Mundo Mexicano, el Dragón de siete cabezas: la idolatría! ¿Pero qué mucho si tú eres, Señora, también, la que al mismo Dios le atas las manos para que no descargue su ira contra nosotros, que tan merecida la tenemos por nuestras culpas?

Translation.

Chapter 27.—Description of a miraculous Apparition in the Mariana Islands, referred to by the Venerable Fr. Diego Luis de S. Vitores himself, founder of the Christian community there.

Ven. Fr. Diego Luis de S. Vitores, Apostle of the Mariana Islands, whose biography, written by Fr. Francisco García of our Society and printed in 1683, says that he was another St. Francisco Xavier in the prodigies, and the martyrdom that crowned them, from the time he travelled to New Spain in order to go to the Philippine Islands, he held such a devotion and tender affection to this miraculous Image that, having visited it in her shrine when going from the Novitiate of Tepotzlán to Mexico City, he says the following about her in a letter, dated 22 September, to Don Jerónimo de San Vitores, his father:

“I get more and more consolation from seeing in this country, where hardly 150 years ago there was but an uncultivated jungle of heathenism and idol worship, that the faith and Christian piety are already so well planted, with remarkable churches and evidence of religion. In particular, I was much consoled yesterday in seeing the miraculous Image of Our Lady of Guadalupe which is at one league from Mexico, and is a portrait with heavenly background of the Immaculate Conception herself. There I remained for a while, going over the list of my obligations in my mind with the Most Blessed Virgin,

and consoling myself at the same time thinking that there should be someone remembering this sinner, on the feast-day of the holy Image of the Good Counsel, or the one in the Church of the Almudena,¹ and it is no small consolation [to think] that those who are far away can present themselves before so many different images of the same Lady and Blessed Mother, to discuss our affairs and obligations.”

Here ends the quotation from this remarkable man, who derived from this, and other, visits that he made to this venerable Image during the two years that he was in Mexico the deep-rooted devotion that he held for her for the rest of his life, and the loving protection and assistance that she granted to the enterprise of the Marianas. Hence the infallible reasoning behind the following incident that the same Father has himself described. For greater emphasis, here are the formal words that he used:

“We do not pay much attention (says he, after having narrated some miracles that God did to confirm the faith) to various apparitions reported by Indians, although it does not hurt to mention them, at least as a proof of their affection for the things of our holy Faith.”

“Some apparitions are by their Aniti and their bad spirits, that, much contrary to their intention, encourage these poor people toward christianity with their frightful and evil doings, from which they have been delivered by means of Holy Baptism, the Holy Cross, the Holy Names of JESUS and MARY, of St. Ignatius, of St. Francis Xavier, written upon the crosses that are placed inside their homes to very great effects.”

“Other apparitions refer to good spirits, and the Blessed Virgin. We have found more reasons to believe one in particular which, with special observation and examination, we heard on two separate occasions from an Indian, named Ignacio Ipaga [rather Ipapa?], a native of the town of Sunharon, which bears the title of the Immaculate Conception of the Island of Buenavista [i.e. Tinian]. The circumstances surrounding it (they would make for a much longer account) make us believe it is probable. Well then, in dreams, or while awake (as he says) the Blessed Virgin appeared to him on the evening of 17 August [1668], three days after the lance thrust that Fr. Luis de Morales received in Saipan. The Good Mother showed in her face and voice, which this Indian says that he heard, that she did not like the said crime. He says that the form under which she appeared to him is the same as the Image of Guadalupe venerated in Mexico which the Fathers had placed inside a [road-side] Chapel, with the difference that, instead of holding her hands joined, as in the Image of the Conception, she held two infants that appeared to feed at her sacred breasts. There came 8 other bigger children who, with a cord made up of 8 cordlets, dragged at the feet of the Virgin a dog tied to it, despite its resistance and barking. All of this is truly not against, either the motherly deeds, or the ancient victories of the Blessed Virgin, that have been renewed at present in these her islands, through the innocent children that have been baptized and instructed in our holy Faith, in spite of the barking of the infernal Cerberus and its minister, Choco, who

1 Ed. note: A famous church in Madrid, recently rebuilt, next to the Royal Palace, and declared the new Cathedral of Madrid, in replacement of the former Jesuit church of San Isidro.

was then an idolater still. When this Cerberus had just scored a victory and was going around loose, with the wounding of the Father in Saipan and the death of two secular companions at sea, next to Tinian, it seems that he was ordered tied up by an order from the Blessed Virgin, at the request of the Mariano children who were in Heaven, or in the school of the Christian doctrine. At least, the effect that was noticed later on, was that the said idolater, the source of that persecution, came to surrender and ask for himself the holy baptism that he contested in others.”

So far the words of the Ven. Fr. Luis de S. Vitores, to whose devotion to this holy Image of Guadalupe we can attribute, besides the affection that the Lady has always shown to Indians, this remarkable victory of the faith over the devil and idol worship, which was very similar to what this miraculous Image has done in Mexico and in the whole of New Spain.

I repeat here what I said in another chapter, that there is a tradition regarding the respect and veneration of this powerful Image of the Blessed Virgin MARY of Guadalupe, and that is that she must keep the hands of the devil tied so that he will not bother and bedevil the men of this Kingdom, as he does in other places. If in the Ladrones Islands, a copy of the Image of the miraculous Lady of Guadalupe, which Fr. San Vitores had placed in a chapel in the town of Sunharon, was shown to have enough power to tie and hold captive the devil and rout idol worship from those Islands, what power would not the miraculous Original of the sacred Image hold? The image that the Mother of God herself painted in Mexico, and ordered to be placed in her Shrine of Guadalupe, to chase from there and from the whole Kingdom the princes of Hell, who were worshipping the infamous idol of the supposed mother of the gods? What trust must we hold in this precious and efficient antidote to idol worship, in this means to destroy the toxic effects of sins? Sovereign Lady, you are indeed the one, as the Church says, to break the raised head of Hydra, the heresies of the whole world! And you, miraculous Image of Guadalupe, who has tied the devil, and has drowned all over this New Mexican World the dragon with the seven heads—idol worship—are you not also, Lady, the one whose hands God keep tied so that you will not discharge your anger against us, who deserve it so much on account of our sins?

B2. Letter dated 3 December 1660

Source: Fr. García's biography of Fr. Sanvitores, p. 108.

Original extract in Spanish.

Buelvo à escribir oy felicissimo dia de nuestro glorioso Santo Xavier, Patron, y Padre mio muy singularmente oy, en que ha sido nuestro Señor servido de admitirme, no obstante mi indignidad, y muchas culpas, à la santa Profession de los quatro votos de la Compañia de Jesus. Doy parte à V. Merced para que me ayude à dar las gracias, que yo no acierto, à nuestro Señor Jesu Christo, y à su Santissima Madre, y Padres nuestros Ignacio, y Xavier, pidiendoles por la Santissima Cruz, y Passion del Señor, que yo

acierta à cumplir lo que professo, y acabe de ser en las obras verdadero hijo de la Compañia santissima de Jesus, que con esso lo serè como devo tambien de quien quiso la Divina Magestad fuesse Padre mio dos vezes, y tantas mas quantas de nuevo me ofreciere al promptissimo cumplimiento de el divino beneplacito, y me recabare yo le cumpla con todas mis fuerças, vida, y alma, y los trabajos que se sirviere embiarme por su amor.

Translation.

Once again I write, on this very lucky feast-day of our glorious Saint Xavier, my patron and father, specially on this day, in which our Lord has been pleased to admit me, in spite of my being undeserving and my many sins, to the holy Profession of the four vows of the Society of Jesus. I inform your Grace, so that you may help me to give thanks, mine not being enough, to our Lord Jesus Christ, to His Blessed Mother, and our Fathers Ignatius and Xavier, asking them through the Holy Cross and Passion of the Lord to make me succeed in the accomplishment of what I profess, and end up a true son of the most holy Society of Jesus in my works. In this manner, I will also become, as I must, the son of one whom the Divine Majesty has wished to make my Father twice, and as many times yet as I will have occasions to comply readily with the divine pleasure, and I will endeavor to comply with all my strengths, life, and soul, and the labors that He should be pleased to send me, out of love for me.

Documents 1660C

The mission band led by Fr. Sola, of which Fr. Sanvitores was a member

Sources: AGI ex-45-2-7/10; copy in Colección Pastells, Fil. 16, fol. 4 et sequitur.

C1. Presentation of 5 April 1660

Original text in Spanish.

1660—Misiones de Jesuitas a las Islas Philipinas.—Nº XV — 39 — 1660.

Por parte del Padre Jacinto Perez de la Compañia de Jesus y su Procurador General en esta Corte, por las Provincias de las Indias, se ha presentado en el Consejo un Memorial en que refiere que por Cédulas de 22 de Octubre y 10 de Noviembre del año pasado de 1658 fue Su Magestad servido de conceder se llevasen a la Provincia de Filipinas veinte y nueve Religiosos de su Orden incluso en ellos Francisco Vello, Religioso lego, que vino en años pasados de ella, para asistirles en el viaxe, y porque estan ya todos juntos en esa Ciudad y dispuestos para embarcarse en la flota que se esta aprestando para la Nueva España, y que por haver de preceder aprovacion de Su Magestad de estos Religiosos antes de hacer el viaxe a presentado la nomina dellos en el Consexo que son los siguientes:

— Diego Luis de San Vitores, Sacerdote Theologo, Predicador, natural de Madrid [sic], de hedad de 33 años.

...

— Francisco Salgado, natural de Grixos, del Obispado de Orense, de 30 años, Sacerdote theologo, Predicador.

...

— Hermano Balthasar de Mansilla, natural de Villagarcia, filosofo, de hedad de 22 años.

...

— Hermano Isidro Claret[fe], natural de la Villa de Ager, Arciprestado de Ager, en el Reyno de Aragon, filosofo canonista, de hedad de 34 años.

...

— *Hermano Francisco Vello, que buelve a dicha Provincia de Filipinas, asistiendo a estos Religiosos.*

Y a suplicado a Su Magestad el dicho Jacinto Perez, los mande aprobar y darle para ello el despacho que se acostumbra; y haviendose visto en el Consejo, a acordado que V.S. y esos Señores se le den en la forma ordinaria, dexen hacer su viaxe al dicho Francisco Vello con los veinte y ocho religiosos referidos, que se le concedieron para la dicha Provincia de Philipinas, en conformidad de los despachos de Su Magestad que se an dado, para llevarlos a ella.

Guarde Dios a V.S. y esos Señores como deseo.

Madrid 5 de Abril de 1660.

Juan de Subica.

Translation.

1660—Missions of Jesuits to the Philippine Islands.—N° XV—39—1660.

On behalf of Father Jacinto Perez of the Society of Jesus and their Procurator General at this Court, for the Provinces of the Indies, a Memorial had been presented in this Council in which reference is made to the royal decrees of 22 October and 10 November of the past year 1658, by which his Majesty was pleased to grant permission for 29 Religious of their Order to pass to the Province of the Philippines, including Brother Francisco Vello, who had come some years previous, to assist them with the voyage, and because they are now all present in that City and ready to embark aboard the fleet that is being made ready for New Spain, and, since previous approval of these Religious by His Majesty is required before they can make the voyage, the roll of their particulars was presented to this Council, as follows:

—**Diego Luis de San Vitores, priest, theology graduate, preacher, native of Madrid [sic], 33 years old.**

...

—Francisco Salgado, native of Grixos, in the Diocese of Orense, 30 years old, priest, theology graduate, preacher.

...

—Brother Balthasar de Mansilla, native of Villagarcia, philosophy student, 22 years old.

...

—Brother Isidro Claret[e], native of the town of Ager, Archdiocese of Ager, Kingdom of Aragon, philosophy student and canon, 34 years old.

—Brother Francisco Vello, who is returning to the said Province of the Philippines, assisting these Religious.

The said Jacinto Perez has begged His Majesty to have them approved and that the usual despatch be issued to him.

The matter having been seen in the Council, it was decided that Your Lordship and those Gentlemen should give it to him in the usual way, to let the said Francisco Vello make the voyage with the 28 Religious in question, who were conceded to the said Prov-

ince of the Philippines, in accordance with the despatches of His Majesty that gave permission for them to go there.

May God keep Your Lordship and those Gentlemen, as is my wish.

Madrid, 5 April 1660.

Juan de Subica.

C2. Physical inspection of the missionaries before boarding

Original text in Spanish.

En la Ciudad de Sevilla a diez y seis dias del mes de Abril de mill y seiscientos y sesenta años, el Padre [sic] Francisco Vello de la Compañia de Jesus Procurador de la Mission de los veinte y nueve religiosos en que se comprehende su persona an de yr a las Yslas Philipinas en conformidad de la Real Cedula de Su Magestad y auto desta otra parte presente el Señor Joseph de Veitia Linage Thesorero Juez Oficial de la Casa de la Contratacion se hizo reseña de los Religiosos de la dicha Mission en la forma siguientes.

+ El Padre Magino Sola, Sacerdote theologo, que va por Superior de los Religiosos de esta Mision, natural de la ciudad de Barcelona, de hedad de cinquenta y cinco años, de buen cuerpo, cano.

+ El Padre Diego Luis de San Victores, Sacerdote Theologo, Predicador, natural de Madrid [sic], de hedad de treinta y tres años.

+ El Padre Francisco Salgado, Sacerdote theologo, natural de Grijos, Obispado de Orense, de treinta años, de buen cuerpo, delgado, pelicastaño obscuro.

...

+ El Padre Balthasar de Mansilla, de Ordenes menores, natural de Villagarcia, estudiante filosofo, de hedad de veinte y dos años, de buen cuerpo, delgado.

...

+ El Padre Isidro Claret[e], estudiante filosofo, canonista de ordenes menores, natural de la Villa de Ager, en el Principado de Cataluña, de hedad de treinta y quatro años, de buen cuerpo, rehecho, pelo negro.

...

+ El dicho Padre [sic] Francisco Vello, que buelve asistiendo a los dichos Religiosos a la dicha Provincia de Filipinas, de hedad de cinquenta y cinco años, de buen cuerpo, delgado, entrecano.

Con que se acavo la dicha reseña porque los tres religiosos que faltan cumplimiento a los dichos veinte y nueve, estan en la ciudad de Cadiz, donde se an de reseñar en conformidad de lo que por el dicho autto se manda y lo firmo el dicho señor Thesoro.

Joseph de Veitia Linage.

Translation.

In the City of Seville, on 16 April 1660, Father [sic]¹ Francisco Vello of the Society of Jesus, Procurator of the Mission of 29 religious, including himself, who are on their way to the Philippine Islands, in accordance with the Royal Decree of His Majesty and the certification of the other party, in the presence of Mr. Joseph de Veitia Linage, Treasurer and Official Judge of the House of Trade, a physical inspection of the Religious of the said Mission band was made and recorded, as follows:

+ Father Magino Sola, priest and theology graduate, who goes as Superior of the Religious of this Mission, native of the city of Barcelona, 55 years old, well-built, grey hair.

+ **Father Diego Luis de San Victores, priest and theology graduate, preacher, native of Madrid [sic], 33 years old.**²

+ Father Francisco Salgado, priest and theology graduate, native of Grijos, Diocese of Orense, 30 years old, well-built, slim, dark brown hair.

...

+ Father Balthasar de Mansilla, of minor orders, native of Villagarcia, philosophy student, 22 years old, well-built, slim.

+ Father Isidro Claret[e], philosophy student, deacon of minor orders, native of the town of Ager, in the Principality of Cataluña, 34 years old, well-built, recovered, black hair.

...

+ The said Father [sic] Francisco Vello, who is returning and assisting the said Religious to the said Province of the Philippines, 55 years old, well-built, slim, greying hair.

This completes the said physical inspection, because the three religious who are missing from the list of 29, are at the city of Cadiz, where they will have to be inspected, in accordance with the orders in the said declaration, and I, the said Treasurer, have signed my name.

Joseph de Veitia Linage.

1 Ed. note: This Jesuit brother never became a priest, but he was a good administrator, one whom Fr. Sanvitores trusted implicitly. In Mexico in 1668, he was to be very useful to the new Mariana Mission, by taking care of logistics for it.

2 Ed. note: Unfortunately, his physical description is not given.

Document 1662A

The galleon route from Acapulco to Manila, by Fray Letona

Source: A pamphlet written by Fray Bartolomé de Letona, O.S.F., entitled: "Descripción de Filipinas" published at Puebla, Mexico, in 1662; it is bound in with Letona's "Perfecta religiosa" (Puebla, 1662) in the copy formerly owned by Graiño y Martínez, Madrid. Translated in B&R 36: 189-190.

Description of the Philippines, 1662

...

2. ... The voyage from Acapulco to Manila is more than 2,500 leagues in length...

3. Acapulco, in Mexico, which is the eastern port for the South Sea and for navigations from New Spain to the Philippines, is in 16°30' of latitude. If in voyaging from Acapulco to the Philippines the ships were to sail in a straight line from the rising sun toward the setting sun, from east to west, without change of latitude, they would arrive at Baler,¹ a village in the northern part of the opposite [i.e. east] coast of Manila Island, which is in the same latitude as Acapulco. But usually, as soon as they set sail from Acapulco, they descend to the 11th or 12th parallel in order to find the winds with which they can navigate; then they again go northward and follow their former course to a point 500 leagues from Manila, and 100 from the Ladrone Islands—among which they pass, in a latitude of 15 [rather 13] degrees—on which line is the Embocadero [Entrance channel] of San Bernardino, 100 leagues from Manila.

Thence the voyage is made between that same island of Manila—which extends as far as the Embocadero, and remains on the right hand—and other islands which lie on the left, to the port of Cavite which is 2 leagues from Manila. Ordinarily this voyage is made in 3 months, although the return trip is usually much longer—sometimes requiring more than 7 months; while in this year, 1662, it lasted 8 months.

...

1 Ed. note: Baler is a town in the Quezon Province; its latitude is 15°40' North.

Document 1662B

Note on the patache San Damian that took Fr. Sanvitores to Manila

Source: AGI Fil. 23-2-4, pp. 57-63.

Note: The non arrival at Acapulco of the Manila galleon for two years in a row (1660 & 1661) was the reason why Fr. Sanvitores remained in Mexico City for two years (1660-62).

Letter from the Viceroy to the King, dated Mexico 4 November 1662

Original text in Spanish.

El Virrey de la Nueva España da quenta a V. Magd. del socorro que remitió a las Islas Philipinas con el navio que hizo conducir desde el puerto del Realejo al de Acapulco el año de 1661, y como el de 1662 vino Nao de aquellas Islas y del socorro que se previene para que el vaya el año de 1663 con su Governador, &c.

Señor

En carta que escrivi a V. Magd en 8 de Abril del año pasado de 1661, en la flota que salio deste Reyno a cargo del Almirante Don Juan Antonio Vizentelo di quenta a V. Magd. como en el año referido no vino a este Reino ninguna nao de las Islas Filipinas, para poder ymbiar el situado y demas socorro de jente a ellas que es de mi obligacion. Y como V. Magd me lo tiene mandado por diferentes Çedulas, y que en execucion de la de 14 del febrero del año pasado de 1660—en que es servido V. Magd. de mandarme disponga el tener en el Puerto de Acapulco bajeles de menor porte para que en casso que no bengan Naos de Filipinas en los tiempos que se acostumbra, ymbiase con estos vajeles á aquellas Islas los situados y socorros que se pudiesse, y para que asimismo sirviessen de Aviso en saver la caussa de su dilacion, y estado en q. se hallavan.

Y como con acuerdo de Junta General de hacienda Resolvi escribir a Don Martín Carlós de Menez Presidente de la Real Audiencia de Guatemala pusiese todo su cuidado y diligencia haciendola muy particular para que se buscase en los puertos del Realejo y Sonsonate un Navio de hasta 300 toneladas que es el porte que pareçio ser nezesario para este efecto; y que esta prevençion la hiçe por el mes de Nobiembre del

año de 1660 para que huviese tiempo de conduçirla al Puerto de Acapulco para Março de 1661—Considerando que es en el que se deve despachar el socorro a las Islas, y que faltando navio dellas (como falto) era muy combeniente al servizio de V. Magd. esta disposiçion, aunque tambien la hizo a deber adbirtiendo al dho Presidente para que en casso que no faltase dispusiese con el dueño del navio que se avia de prevenir que por sus mismas combeniencias, y con ocasion de vender algunas mercadurias y fruto de aquella tierra en que se le dispensaria y haria buen pasaje, pasase al Puerto de Acapulco, y que no biniendo las naos o nao de las Islas que se estaban esperando se le compraría el navio y que biniendo se bolveria a hazer viaje a donde fuese su combeniencias, procurando con esta forma escusar gastos a la Real hacienda de V. Magd. y que en esto no se combirtiese parte del situado de las Islas, si bien conoçiendo lo mucho que ymportava al Real servizio el que por ninguna caussa dejase de haver navio en el puerto de Acapulco para despacharlo a las Islas por el mes de Mayo en la forma que es estilo, tambien le previene que en casso de no poder hallar navio que viniese en las condiçiones referidas detubiese y embargase qualquiera que hallase en aquellos puertos del porte que le tenia dho, y me diese aviso dello para resolver lo que mas combiniere.

Y haviendolo echo por su carta de 13 de diziembre de 1660, diçiendome como havia hallado dos naos que qualquiera della pareçia ser muy aproposita para el efecto que se pedia, y que assi por esto como por las diligencias que havia hecho, me asegurava tendria navio en el Puerto de Acapulco para el tiempo que se le pedia. Le respondi a 30 del dho mes dandole las graçias por el cuidado que en esto havia puesto, y pidiendole debajo de los presupuestos que le tenia escriptos que por ninguna caussa dejase de continuar muy vivas diligencias para que uno de los dos navios que me referia, el que mexor y mas aproposito le pareçiese se despachase en el tiempo que ofreçia con los mas marineros y artilleros que se pudiese, para que estubiese en el puerto de Acapulco muy en tiempo, en cuya considerazion me pareçio prevenir el despacho, pues podia suponer con alguna certeza que uno destos dos navios o nao de las Islas no podian faltar en aquel año, para despacharle; y hallandome con la nezesaria para poder remitir el socorro con la puntualidad que V. Magd. me manda, me faltaron entrambos navios, pues uno que salio de las Islas Filipinas bolvio a arribar a aquellos puertos, y el vajel que Don Martin Carlos tenia prevenido en el del Realexo, no lo pudo remitir a Acapulco por falta de piloto y marineros como lo aviso por su carta de 13 de febrero de 1661. Y yo tengo dada quenta a V. Magd. por la referida de 8 de Abril del dho año.

Y aora lo hago en esta ocasion diçiendo a V. Magd. que fue de mayor cuidado para mi obligacion biendo el casso subzedido el aplicar quantas disposiçiones me fuesen posibles para que este navio que se hallava en el Puerto del Realexo se condujese al de Acapulco, pues sabiendo por las cartas antezedentes del estado que tenian aquellas yslas, y haviendo faltado nao dellas sin saver por entonzes la caussa que havia aber para ello, pareze que ynstava mucho la providencia de V. Magd. para que en todo casso se previeniese navio para despacharle el año siguiente assi para remitir con el el mayor socorro que fuese posible como para solicitar las noticias, pues podia tambien subçeder faltar nao dellas, y hallarse V. Magd. con mayores cuidados. Y assi con el que pide mi obli-

gación y con acuerdo de Junta General, dispuse el embiar por este navio vençiendo las dificultades que se ofreçian por hallarse el Puerto del Realexo distante desta çidad poco menos de 400 leguas de tierra que andar, despache en 14 de septiembre 1661, el Capitan y Piloto mayor Françisco Palomino, juntamente con veinte marineros con horden que fuesen al Puerto del Realexo, y condujesen al de Acapulco la Nao que se hallava prevenida por Don Martin Carlos de Menez, escriviendole para que ayudase a esta diligençia por lo que ymportava al serviçio de V. Magd. como se esperaba de sus obligaciones, y que todo lo que fuese nezesario para su buen logro lo gastase de la Real hacienda procurando su mayor ahorro en los gastos que se ofreçiesen, y que dellos se remitiese raxon a los ofiziales Reales desta Corte para que se restituyese della en la primera ocasion que huviere de haçerse despacho y embio a esos Reinos.

*Y habiendo sido Nuestro Señor servido de que lo que previnomidés estubiese el buen subçeso que soliqito mi cuidado, llego esta Nao nombrada **San Damian** al Puerto de Acapulco en primero de Março deste año habiendo gastado en su viaje desde el Realejo çinquenta y dos dias, y luego que tube notiçia de su llegada di horden para que se reconoçiese el porte della, y si nezesitava de algunos reparos para haçer el viaje a las Islas, y que tambien se armase con la Artilleria que se pudiese por haverme escripto Don Martin Carlos era capaz para ello, en cuya execuçion me remitieron, los ministros de V. Magd. que se hallavan en aquel puerto las diligençias que sobre ello hiçieron, y dellas consta por diferentes declaraciones de personas practicas que el porte deste navio era de hasta doçientas y treinta toneladas, y que la jente que se podia embarcar a lo summo serian çiento y quarenta personas en que entravan marineros y grumetes, y que no era capaz de ninguna suerte para poderse armar alguna artilleria porque con la carga siempre yria dentro del agua, y que tambien nezesitava de muchos adereços, y en particular echarle el arbol mayor, baupres, y todos las velas, todo lo qual se dispusso con la brevedad que pedia caso de tanta ymportançia, atendiendo mas mi consideraçion a que a este tiempo me hallava sin nao de aquellas Islas, y con atençion de que ya havian faltado dos años con que con toda brevedad y cuidado dispuse que desde el Puerto de la Veracruz, y desde esta Çidad se condujesen 2200 bas. [vergas? = yards] de lona y cotenze y todo lo demas nezesario para los adereços referidos y estos generos con los que se havian de embarcar para haçer su viaje con la gente, realez, vizcocho y demas matalotaje sin embargo de que se conduçen de ochenta y çien leguas del puerto de Acapulco, pudo mi desseo obrar con tan buen logro que se halló todo tan pronto en dho Puerto que no hiço falta cossa alguna, y con horden expressa para que se hiziese a la vela a veinte y çinco de Março dia de la Encarnaçion de nuestro Señor; y que de toda la jente que se havia conduçido a aquel puerto para remitir de socorro á aquellas Islas se escojiese la mexor, y mas combeniente, y se embarcase toda la que cupiese en el navio sin que se embarcase ningun forçado y que toda la Infanteria que sobrase se metiese en el Castillo, para disponer della lo que mas combiniese. Pues todavia tenia algunas esperanzas de que no havia de faltar en este año, nao de aquellas Islas.*

Y con esta disposiçion y horden se hiço esta nao a la vela el día çinco de Abril deste presente año habiendose embarcado en ella cien y quarenta personas, y entre ellos

quinze Religiosos de la Compañia de Jesus, y uno de la de San Augustin descalço, llevando muy buenos Pilotos y practicos desta Mar y de aquellas Islas, çirujano y capellan con toda la prevençion nezesaria para hazer su viaje, y por no saver el estado en que se hallavan aquellas Islas por haver faltado en dos años naos dellas, se le dio horden al General a cuya horden iba esta, tomase el Puerto del Lampon que pareçio ser el mas aproposito assi para reconoçer lo que mas conviniesse como por estar seguro en el del riesgo de enemigos, dandole sobretodo la Instruçion cuya copia con la de la carta que escrivi a Don Sabiniano Manrrique Governador de aquellas Islas, y los demas papeles que justifican este despacho ymbio con esta a manos de V. Magd., y por la çertifiçacion que va en ellos de ofiziales Reales desta corte consta que el socorro que remiti en este Navio a las Islas, y lo gastado por quenta de su situado importa 383,890 pesos 5 reales y quatro granos, que añadiendo a esto 9,880 pesos que gastaron ofiziales Reales de la Nueva Veracruz en lo que se previno de aquella çiudad y los 42,926 pesos que parece tubo de costa la nao que se condujo de el Realexo, importa todo 435,854 pesos, sin comprehenderse en esta cantidad otros gastos que se hizieron en diferentes çiudades, villas, y lugares de este Reyno en la conduçion de los soldados y otras prevençiones, procurando en todo el mayor ahorro de la Real hazienda de V. Magd. como lo manifiestan los papeles que remito previniendo mi cuidado que para los generos que ese remitieron a las Islas, no se hiziese por el exemplar que havia de lo que remitian mis antezesores sino por lo que constase se pedia de las Islas en otras ocasiones respeto de la quexa que tiene su Governador de que se remitian generos de que no se nezesitava en aquella tierra, y que se gastava el situado sin su utilidad:

Con todo este socorro salio el navio del Puerto de Acapulco con muy buen tiempo y espero en nuestro Señor se le a de haver continuado dandole feliz viaje para que aquellas islas tengan el consuelo que la piedad de V. Magd. les solicita tan a costa de la Real haçienda:

Y haviendo salido esta nao del Puerto de Acapulco el dia çinco de Abril, y estado sin esperanças de que en este año biniese ninguna de las Islas de que es çierto me hallava con grande consuelo, me dio notiçia el Alcalde mayor de la Villa de Colima, cuya provinçia confina con la mar del Sur como el dia 13 de dho mes havian visto pasar por aquella costa un navio que llevaba su derrota al Puerto de Acapulco, y en su porte parezia ser nao de las Islas Filipinas y con admiraçion particular por ser el tiempo tan adelante, pareziendome la nezesidad con que benia grande, despache luego al puerto de Acapulco para que se le diese todo socorro y ayuda para que entrase en el en cuya execuçion salieron treinta hombres a reçivirle y remolcarlo.

*Y fueron tan precisos para las faenas nezesarias que sin ellos no se consiguiera su entrada sin mucho riesgo **por haver muerto en el viaje mas de çien personas del mal de Loanda** y traer la demas gente que venia en ella muy enferma con cuya prevençion dio fondo esta Nao en el Puerto de Acapulco el dia veinte de Abril haviendo salido de la Isla de Camarines çien leguas de Manila en 26 de Agosto del año pasado de 1661, con que gasto en el viaje ocho meses.*

Y lo que el Governador escribe en lo tocante a aquellas Islas es lo que contienen el traslado de la carta que remito a manos de V. Magd. y no imbio en este aviso los cajones de pliegos que vinieron en la nao referida para V. Magd. por no arriesgarlos y no haver duplicados para remitirles en la flota que oy esta surta en el Puerto de la Veracruz con quien los remitire dando quenta a V. Magd. de todo lo demas que se ofreciere.

*Las noticias que de aquellas Islas da el General Francisco del Fresno cavo mayor de esta nao son en quanto al estado en que se hallan que es tan miserable como pondera en su carta el Governador y la çiudad de Manila por los cortos socorros que a venido de este Reyno en los años antecedenentes refiriendo tantas particularidades sobre esto, que me hallo con mucho consuelo del fomento que puse el año pasado para el despacho del que imbie por juzgarle tan del serviçio de V. Magd. que se tiene por çierto puede haver importado la conservaçion de aquellas Islas; refiere asimismo la arribada que hizo el año de 1660 la nao **Nuestra Señora de la Concepcion** despues de tres meses de viaje. Y que esta mesma nao se bolvio a despachar el año de 1661, y salio del puerto de Cavite en 8 de Agosto del, con que no haviendo llegado al puerto de Acapulco, ni a otro ninguno destes Reynos se tiene por çierto bolvio segunda vez á arribar á aquellas Islas[.] Dios le aya dado feliz subzesos y que no aya sido con descalabro ni perdida considerable.*

*En la flota que a llegado a este Reyno a cargo del General Don Nicolas Fernandez de Cordova vino el Maestre de Campo Don Diego de Salçedo a quien V. Magd. a hecho merçed de aquel gobierno, y oy se halla en esta çiudad previniendo su viaje con la Nao **San Joseph** que esta surta en el puerto de Acapulco y quedo soliçitando su despacho para que salga en todo el mes de Henero en que pongo muy particulares diligencias para imbiar con ella el mayor socorro que sea posible y tengo por çierto que con las disposiçiones dadas a todos los Alcaldes mayores del Reyno, y a esta sala del crimen, y Audiencia de Guadalaxara para que se prenda la jente pernicioso y escandaloso a la Republica, y otras personas de artes que a soliçitado y soliçita mi cuidado para que pasen voluntarios se a de haçer un grande socorro de jente a aquellas Islas si bien para todo haze mucho daño la estreches general de aqueste Reyno y Real hacienda de V. Magd. por la falta de azogues, y tener tan de proximo el despacho de la flota, que tan de mi obligaçion es el acudir a el con el imbio que desea mi cuidado donde dare quenta a V. Magd. del de esta Nao **San Joseph** y de todo el socorro que en ella remitiere.*

Guarde nuestro Señor la catholica Real Persona de V. Magd. como la christiandad a menester.

Mexico 4 Noviembre de 1662.

JL el Marques Conde de Baños.

Translation.

The Viceroy of New Spain informs Y.M. of the subsidy that he remitted to the Philippine Islands aboard the ship that he had transferred from the port of Realejo to that of Acapulco in 1661, and how in 1662 there came a galleon from those Islands and about the subsidy that was being arranged to go out in 1663 with their Governor, etc.

Sire:

In a letter which I wrote to Y.M. on 8 April of the past year of 1661, aboard the fleet that left this Kingdom in charge of Admiral Don Juan Antonio Vizentelo,¹ I informed Y.M. how in the year in question no galleon at all came to this Kingdom from the Philippine Islands, that would have taken the subsidy and the rest of the succor of people there, as is my duty to send in accordance with various decrees of Y.M., and that, in compliance with the decree of 14 February 1660—in which Y.M. was pleased to order me to arrange for vessels of minor capacity to be kept at the port of Acapulco, so that, in case galleons do not come from the Philippines at the accustomed times, they may be sent to those Islands with as many subsidies and succors as possible, and also to serve as advice boats to go and find out the cause of their delays, and the conditions of the Islands.

As it happens, with the agreement of the general meeting of the Treasury Council, I decided to write to Don Martín Carlos de Meneoz, President of the Royal Audiencia of Guatemala, asking him to make every effort and take very special care to send people to the ports of Realejo and Sonsonate to look for a ship of up to 300 tons, which is the size that seemed appropriate for the purpose intended. I took this preventive measure during the month of November of 1660, to allow sufficient time for the conveying of this ship to the port of Acapulco by March 1661, considering that it is the best month during which the succor to the Islands must be despatched, and that, should there be failure of a ship from there (as there was) this measure was very proper for the service of Y.M., and I did not fail to mention to the said President that, even though the galleon were not to fail, he was to arrange with the owner of the ship being sought to take at his convenience this opportunity to carry some merchandise and products of that country (upon which he would not be charged duties, and would receive good revenue from fares) for sale at the port of Acapulco; if the expected galleon or galleons did not come from the Islands, his ship would be bought from him, otherwise he could return or go wherever he wished, thus hoping to save expenses to the Royal Treasury of Y.M. and not have to deduct part of the subsidy for the Islands for that purpose. In any case, he was to keep in mind how important it was for the royal service not to fail to have a ship in the port of Acapulco, to be sent to the Islands by the month of May in the usual manner. Furthermore, he was warned, that in case of not finding a ship that could come under the above-mentioned conditions, he was to seize and hold any ship of the said size that might be found in those ports, and advise me about it, so that I could decide the best thing to do.

He did advise me, in a letter dated 13 December 1660, that he had found two galleons, either of which looked very suitable for the purpose intended and, for this reason and on account of steps he had taken, he assured me that there would be a ship at

1 Ed. note: Vicentelo had replaced General Adrian Pulido Pareja who had died. The Count of Baños (the author) had arrived aboard that fleet, which took his predecessor, the Duke of Albuquerque, home. The fleet departed Veracruz on 15 May 1661.

the port of Acapulco at the required date. I answered him on the 30th of the said month, thanking him for the care he had taken in this matter, and asking him, within the budget that was attached, not to give up in his efforts under any circumstances, so that one of the two ships in question—the one he thought was the better one—would be despatched within the time limit he had mentioned with as many seamen and gunners as possible, to be in the port of Acapulco in sufficient time. To that effect, it seemed to me that I should make preparations to send the despatch, since it could be supposed with some certainty that one of those two ships or a galleon from the Islands could not possibly fail to be despatched that year [1661]. Finding myself with the need of a ship to send the subsidy with the timeliness demanded by Y.M., both ships failed me; in fact, one of those that left the Philippine Islands turned back to those ports, and the vessel that Don Martín Carlos had arranged in the port of Realejo could not be sent to Acapulco for lack of a pilot and seamen, as he advised me in his letter dated 13 February 1661, about which I have already informed Y.M. in my above-mentioned letter of 8 April of the said year.

The present is to advise Y.M. that I did the best I could to fulfil my obligation under the above circumstances, by taking as many measures as possible to make sure that this ship that was found in the port of Realejo be taken to that of Acapulco. Indeed, knowing of the condition of those Islands from previous letters, and of the failure of their galleon (though the cause was then unknown), it seemed urgent in any case to carry out the provision of Y.M. for a ship to be despatched the following year, not only to send the largest subsidy possible but also to seek news, given that the next galleon could also fail to arrive, and Y.M. would be given cause for major concerns. So, out of my duty and with the agreement of the general meeting, I arranged for this ship to be despatched, overcoming the difficulties that came up, as the port of Realejo is located at an overland walking [sic] distance of no less than 400 leagues from this city. On 14 September 1661, I despatched Captain and Pilot Major Francisco Palomino, together with 20 seamen, with an order to go to the port of Realejo and to take to the port of Acapulco the galleon that they would find there, reserved by Don Martín Carlos de Menezes. I wrote to him so that he would assist this effort, given its importance to the service of Y.M., as could be expected from his obligations, and that he was to spend whatever was necessary from the Royal Treasury to ensure its success, but trying to minimize the expenses concerned, and that he was to send a list of these expenses to the Royal officials at this Court, in order for it to pay them back at the first opportunity offered to make a despatch to those Kingdoms.

Our Lord having been pleased to let what had been planned through my care succeed, this galleon named **San Damian** arrived at the port of Acapulco on 1 March of this year, after having spent 52 days in her voyage from Realejo. As soon as I heard of her arrival, I gave order to have her capacity checked, and if she required some repairs before making her voyage to the Islands, and that she should also be armed with as many guns as possible, as Don Martín Carlos had written to me that she was able to carry guns. In this connection, the ministers of Y.M. who were then in that port have

informed me of the steps they took. It appears, from various declarations made by experts, that the capacity of this ship is up to 230 tons, and that the number of people she can carry would be at most 150, including seamen and ship's boys, and that she was totally unfit to carry guns, because the freight alone would make her sink below the water line. Also she needed many repairs, specially the replacement of the main mast, bowsprit, and all the sails. Decisions were made to obtain these items as soon as possible, given the importance of the matter, the more so because I was then concerned with the non arrival of a galleon from those Islands and that two years had passed without one. So, with all speed and care, I arranged for the despatch of the following supplies from the port of Veracruz, and from this City: 2,200 yards of hemp-type and cotton-based canvas, and all the other necessities for the above-mentioned repairs and the supplies that must be taken on board for the voyage, men, money, biscuits and other food supplies, bought from within a radius of 80 or even 100 leagues from the port of Acapulco, if necessary. I was able to see my wish come true so successfully that everything was found at the said port as quickly as possible, and absolutely nothing was missing. An express order was given for her to sail on 25 March, the feast-day of the Anunciacion, and to select the best men out of those who had been taken to that port to send as reinforcement to those Islands, and more specifically, to embark as many as could fit aboard the ship, at the exclusion of any convict soldiers, and that all the infantry that was left over be placed in the Fort [of Acapulco], to dispose later as would be seen fit. In fact, there were still some hopes that a galleon had to come from those Islands this year.

As a result of this arrangement and order, this galleon set sail on 5 April of the present year, taking along 140 persons, and among them **15 Religious of the Society of Jesus, and one discalced Augustinian**, in charge of very good pilots and experts in this Sea and of those Islands, a surgeon and a chaplain, with all the necessary preparations to make her voyage. As the state of those Islands was not known, after two years without a galleon, the General was given an order to make port in Lampon, which seems like the most appropriate, not only for safety reason and from which to learn if there was any risk from enemies, not to forget the Instruction whose copy I have enclosed for the eyes of Y.M., along with the letter that I wrote to Don Sabiniano Manrique, Governor of those Islands, and other papers that justify this despatch. In particular, it can be seen from the certifications by the Royal officials of this court that the succor remitted aboard this ship to the Islands, which was deducted from the subsidy account, amounts to a total of 383,890 pesos, 5 reals and 4 grains; adding 9,880 pesos to this, which is what the Royal officials of New Veracruz spent in what was ordered from that city, and the 42,926 pesos that it seems were the costs incurred by the galleon that was taken from Realejo, the total sum is 435,854 pesos. Not included in this total are other expenses made in various cities, towns, and places of this Kingdom in the recruitment of the soldiers and other preparations. Every effort was made in everything to save as much as much as possible to the Royal Treasury of Y.M., as can be seen in the papers that I am sending. In sending goods to the Islands, I took care not to repeat what my

predecessors did; rather, I followed what the Islands had asked for on other occasions, not forgetting the complaint made by their Governor to the effect that goods were being sent that were not required in that country, and that the subsidy money was not being spent effectively.

Well then, with this succor, the ship left the port of Acapulco with very good weather, and I hope that our Lord continued to give them good weather for them to pursue the voyage successfully, to bring to those Islands the consolation that the piety of Y.M. wishes them to have, at such great cost to the Royal Treasury.

After this galleon had left the port of Acapulco on 5 April, I was not entertaining any hope of any galleon arriving from the islands this year, something that would have given me great consolation, when I received news from the Mayor of the Town of Colima, whose province lies on the South Sea, to the effect that on the 13th of the said month, a ship had been spotted passing by that coast and she seemed on her way to the port of Acapulco, and her size seemed to be that of the Manila galleon.¹ Surprised as I was, because the time was so advanced, it seemed to me that she must be suffering great difficulties. So, I despatched 30 men to the port of Acapulco to give her immediate assistance and to bring her in.

It turns out that they were indeed necessary for the task; without them, she would have been unable to come into the harbor without great risk, as **over 100 persons had died of the Luanda disease during the voyage,**² and the rest of the people aboard were very sick. Thanks to this disposition, this galleon anchored in the port of Acapulco on 20 April, having left from the Island [sic] of Camarines 100 leagues from Manila on 26 August of last year 1661, so that her voyage lasted 8 months.

What the Governor wrote regarding those Islands is contained in the copy of his letter that I enclose for the eyes of Y.M. but I am not sending aboard this advice boat the crates of correspondence that came aboard the galleon in question addressed to Y.M., so as not to put them at risk and because there are no duplicate copies to send aboard the fleet that is today anchored in the port of Veracruz, and I intend to send them aboard said fleet. At that time I hope to be able to inform Y.M. about all other matters that may come up.

The news brought from those Islands by General Francisco del Fresno, commander of this galleon, are bad regarding the condition of the Islands. They are as miserable as they are made out to be by the Governor in his letter. The city of Manila also, on account of the short succors that have been sent from this Kingdom in the previous years. So many special examples of this were mentioned that I find myself very happy to have made many efforts last year in order to despatch the one ship, having judged that to have been for the service of Y.M., as it may be that such action has saved those Islands from ruin. He also mentioned the return in distress in 1660 of the galleon **Nuestra**

1 Ed. note: This was the galleon San José (see below).

2 Ed. note: This disease was probably the same as beriberi, according to B&R 54: 294 (see under Diseases).

Señora de la Concepción after a three-month voyage. This same galleon was despatched in 1661, and left the port of Cavite on 8 August, but since she has not arrived at the port of Acapulco, nor at any other port of these Kingdoms, it is taken for certain that she turned back a second time to those Islands. May God have sped her on her way, and let us hope that there has not been any misfortune or considerable loss.¹

Aboard the fleet that has arrived at this Kingdom in charge of General Don Nicolas Fernandez de Cordova came Master-of-camp Don Diego de Salcedo to whom Y.M. has favored with that government. Today he is found in this city, preparing his voyage aboard the galleon **San José** that is anchored in the port of Acapulco and he has requested his despatch to take place during the whole month of January. I am making special efforts to send with it the best reinforcement possible and I am sure that, given the arrangements made with all the mayors of the Kingdom, and with this criminal court, and Audiencia of Guatemala, for the arrest of men pernicious and scandalous to the common good, and other tradesmen that I have foreseen and do foresee to send as volunteers, they will constitute a large reinforcement of men for those Islands. This was done in spite of the great shortages throughout this Kingdom and in the Royal Treasury of Y.M., on account of the lack of quicksilver,² and the time left for the despatch of the fleet is so short,³ and its despatch is also part of my obligations. In it, I will inform Y.M. about the despatch of the galleon **San José** and about the whole succor sent aboard her.

May our Lord keep the Catholic Royal Person of Y.M., as Christendom needs.
Mexico, November 1662.

J.L., Marquis Count of Baños.⁴

Comments by the Fiscal of the Council of the Indies.

The Fiscal says that regarding what this letter says about the ship **San Damian** that was brought from the Port of Realejo to send the subsidy to the Philippines at the cost of the Royal Treasury of over 42,000 pesos, and the tricks used on the people who were remitted there:

The Royal Officials and the Bishop of Nicaragua have written, saying that the fiscal has asked that a restitution of over 150,000 pesos be made to the Royal Treasury, as they have been consumed in frauds against the Royal Treasury in the purchase of the said ship which was not more than 230 tons. And the appointments of the Captain-General and Admiral, all against what is determined in the Royal Decrees.

He begs that action be taken, as per that [draft] of the answer, in which the Viceroy is ordered the following: As far as the sending of the people and subsidy, that is referred

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- 1 Ed. note: The Concepción tried a third time in 1662, and made it to Acapulco on 9 April 1663 (see Doc. 1663A).
 - 2 Ed. note: To make silver out of silver ores.
 - 3 Ed. note: The quicksilver fleet had arrived at Veracruz on 12 September 1662, but did not leave until 13 July 1663.
 - 4 Ed. note: The initials J.L. represents his name: Juan de Leyva.

therein, the Viceroy and the Royal Officials should remit a very detailed list of the people and goods, which they should have sent last January, including the prices [paid], and what costs were imputed to the Royal Treasury, and in view of all this protest, to ask the Royal Fiscal for his opinion.

Madrid, 22 July 1663.

Document 1663A

Letter from the Viceroy to the King, dated Mexico 20 May 1663

Source: AGI Fil. 23-2-4, pp. 243-246, and enclosures summarized on pp. 293-296.

Original text in Spanish

El Virrey de la nueva España da cuenta a V. Mgd. los socorros que a remitido a Phili-pinas y de como llego a aquellas islas el que ymbio el año de 1662, en la Nao que hizo conducir del Realejo.

Señor

*En carta de quatro de Nobiembre deste año que imbie con un abisso que salio de la Ciudad de la nueva Veracruz en 19 de febrero del, cuyo duplicado remito en esta ocasion doy cuenta a V. Mgd. como la Nao nombrade **San Damian** que hiço conducir desde el Puerto del Realejo al de Acapulco salio de dicho puerto para las islas Philipinas el dia çinco de Abrill del año pasado de 1662. Y del socorro que remiti con ellos á aquellas islas, y que el dia veinte deste mes [de abril] dio fondo en dicho puerto la Nao nombrada **San Joseph** despues de ocho meses de viaje trayendo por nuebas el miserable estado en que quedavan por los cortos socorros que avian tenido los años antecedentes, y que assi por estas notiçias como por dar entero cumplimiento a las Reales hordenes de V. Mgd. quedava solicitando su despacho con todo cuydado para remitir con ello el mayor socorro que me fuese posible, en que avia de passar su Governador Don Diego de Salçedo y aora lo hago en primer lugar de como Dios fue survido de que se me lograrse mi deseo y solicitud con tanta ventaja, que puedo asegurar a V. Mgd. que á mas de quarenta años no se ha remitido tan grande socorro á aquellas islas como el que ymbie en dicha Nao, la qual salio del Puerto de Acapulco el día veinte y çinco de Março con muy buen tiempo, y con todo el abio de Pilotos, y demas neçessario para su viaje: **Embarcaronse en ella mas de setecientas personas con sesenta y nueve Religiosos.** El Governador, y dos oydores llamados Don Françisco Coloma, y Don Françisco de Montemayor, y Mançilla, el uno que vino en la flota del cargo de Don Nicolas Fernandez de Cordova, y otro a quien V. Mgd. hiço merçed de esta plaça siendo Relator desta Real Audiencia:*

*La gente que llebo dicha Nao se compone de muchos y buenos Marineros y Artilleros, muy buena gente de Milicia, y algunos forçados, que con el desvelo que ponen en mi oblicacion las hordenes de V. Magd. pudo mi cuydado conseguir el que se juntase tanta gente, nunca visto, ni oydo, y menos ymajinado en tiempos tan estrechos, de lo que ymporto todo este socorro **remito testimonio**, que con lo pagado al Governador y Ministros por quenta de su sueldo, y otros gastos que se hiçieron en diferentes lugares deste Reyno para las lebas, y conduçiones de soldados, importara todo mas de seicientos mill pesos, que esta cantidad tan considerable y las demas que se han gastado en los socorros de las islas de Barlovento, han hecho mucha falta para el ymbio de la flota, y mas que todo la que ay de azoguez, de que muy individualmente doy quenta a V. Mgd. haviendo salido esta Nao del Puerto de Acapulco el dia 25 de Março deste año, como llebo referido, a nueve de Abrill siguiente dio fondo en aquel Puerto la Nao nombrada **Nuestra Señora de la Concepcion**, que pareçe salio de Cabite en 7 de Jullio del año pasado de 1662, con que tardo en su viaje nueve meses.*

*Las nuebas que ha traído son de que la Nao **San Damian** en que remiti el socorro el año passado de 1662 llego al Puerto de Lampon seis dias antes que esta saliese de Cabite con feliz suçesso, y viaje, sin haver peresido persona alguna de las que se embarcaron en Acapulco, ni malogradosse cossa de todo el socorro que en ella remitia, y que con el se hallava la gente de aquellas islas muy consolada y tanto que me escribe Don Sabiniano Manrique su Governador[,] el Arçobispo, y Çiudad de Manila, y otras personas de quenta, y Religiosos, que devo repressentar a V. Mgd. que este socorro puede ser caussa de su conserbaçion respecto del estado miserable en que se hallavan, assi por la falta de socorros y arribadas de las Naos que se avían despachado a este Reyno, como por las amenazas que les haçia un Barbaro y poderosso llamado El Cogsong, llegando a ymajinar su tirania el que se le pagase tributo, y otras cossas, de que es çierto se dara quenta a V. Mgd. muy en particular por los despachos que remite su Governador, que todos los que han venido de aquellas islas van en esta ocassion registrados en Capitana, y Almiranta, y yo doy muchas graçias a Dios nuestro Señor de que aya logrado en el serviçio de V. Mgd. el cuydado que puse en conducir la Nao del Realejo, y de remitir con ella socorro tan considerable, y tan a tiempo, y espero en su Magd. Divina a de tener tan feliz suçesso el que ha despachado en este año, que siendo tan grande como llevo referido, y que no se â visto otro como el en aquellas islas a de poner orror a los enemigos Barbaros, y animo a los vasallos de V. Mgd. que asisten en ellas, para castigar sus tiranias, y conserbar en el Real nombre de V. Mgd. la christiandad, y Religion que se fixo en ellas tan a costa de la Real haçienda, y patrimonio Real de V. Mgd.*

En la Nao que oy esta en el Puerto de Acapulco, remitire el socorro que sea posible para que salga a haçer su viaje en todo el mes de febrero del año que viene, que es factible lleve noticias de la llegada de qualquier Nao que se despache de aquellas Islas en este año.

Guarde nuestro Señor la Catholica Real Persona de V. Mgd. como la christiandad, ha menester.

Mexico y Mayo 20 de 1663 años.

JL el Marqués Conde de Baños.

[Note to file:] *Viose en el Consejo esta Relacion y cartas en 24 de Noviembre de 1663 y se mando lo viese el Señor Fiscal; cuya respuesta es la que viene cossida con esta relacion.*

Translation

The Viceroy of New Spain informs Y.M. of the succors he sent to the Philippines and how the one he sent in 1662, aboard the galleon that he had obtained from Realejo, made it to those Islands.

Sire:

In a letter dated 4 November of this [past] year which I sent with an advice boat that left the City of New Veracruz on 19 February last, whose duplicate is enclosed, I inform Y.M. about the galleon named **San Damian**, whose transfer from the port of Realejo to that of Acapulco I had arranged, left the said port bound for the Philippine Islands on 5 April of last year 1662, and also about the succor that I sent with them to those Islands, and that on the 20th of the same month there anchored in the said port the galleon named **San José** at the end of 8 months of navigation, bringing the news of the miserable state affecting them, on account of the shortages in the succors that they had received in previous years; furthermore, as much as a result of such news as to comply entirely with the Royal orders of Y.M., I was making every effort to despatch the best succor possible, with their [new] Governor, Don Diego de Salcedo. Now, firstly, I would like to say how God was pleased to let me have my wish and request so successfully that I can assure Y.M. that in over 40 years no greater succor had been sent to those Islands than the one I sent aboard the said galleon, which left the port of Acapulco on 25 March with very good weather, and a complete outfit of pilots, and other necessities for the voyage. **Over 700 persons with 69 Religious embarked aboard her**, including the Governor, and two members of the Audiencia, Don Francisco Coloma and Don Francisco de Montemayor y Mansilla, one of whom came with the fleet in charge of Don Nicolas Fernandez de Cordova, and the other to whom Y.M. favored with that post, being then Reporter of this Royal Audiencia.

The men carried by the said galleon consists of many good seamen and gunners, very good soldiers, and a few convicts, in accordance with the attention and duty imposed upon me by the orders of Y.M. Through my personal attention, I was able to obtain this large number of people, never before seen or heard of, much less imagined in times so rough. **I enclose a full record** of what this succor amounts to, including what was paid to the Governor and Ministers as part of their salaries, and other expenses that were made in various places of this Kingdom for the recruitments, and conveyances of the soldiers; the whole thing would amount to over 600,000 pesos, a considerable sum. Taking into account what has been spent in the succors sent to the Windward Islands, the result was a shortage towards the despatch of the fleet, above all the quicksilver fleet. I inform Y.M. of all of these expenses in detail. This galleon left the port of Acapulco on 25 March of this year, as I have said. On the following 9 April, the galleon

named **Nuestra Señora de la Concepción** anchored in that port.¹ It seems that she had left Cavite on 7 July of last year 1662; therefore, her voyage took 9 months.

The news that she brought is that the galleon **San Damian**, aboard which I sent the succor last year 1662, arrived at the port of Lampon six days before this one left Cavite, and had a prosperous voyage, not a single person having perished among those who had boarded her at Acapulco, nor a single thing in the succor that was sent on board her being damaged. The people of those Islands were very happy, so much so that Don Sabiniano Manrique, their Governor, wrote, as well as the Archbishop, and the City of Manila, and other persons of rank, and Religious, that I should write to Y.M. that the succor in question may be the cause of their conservation, considering the miserable condition in which they were found, not only for lack of succors and the returns in distress of galleons that had been despatched to this Kingdom, but also for the threats made by a Barbarian and powerful man named Cogsong, whose tyranny had led him to imagine that he could extort tribute, and other things, about which it is certain that a detailed report will be given to Y.M. among the despatches sent by their Governor, all of which that came from those Islands in this occasion came registered in the flagship and almiranta,² and I give many thanks to God our Lord for the success obtained as a result of my efforts in the service of Y.M. to get that galleon from Realejo, and in sending aboard her such a considerable and timely succor. I hope that His Divine Majesty will give as much success to the one despatched this year; it is so huge, as I have said already, that no other like it has ever been seen in those Islands, and it has to terrify the enemy Barbarians [read Chinese], and has to encourage the vassals of Y.M. who reside there, in order to punish their tyrannies, and preserve on behalf of Y.M. the Christianity and Religion that have been implanted there at such a great cost to the Royal Treasury and Royal patronage of Y.M.

Aboard the galleon that is now in the port of Acapulco, I will send as much succor as possible, for her to go out sometime during the month of February of next year,³ and it is possible that she might carry news of the arrival [at Acapulco] of some galleon that is being despatched from those Islands this year.

May our Lord keep the Catholic Royal Person of Y.M., as Christendom needs.

Mexico, 20 May 1663.

J.L., Marquis Count of Baños.

[Note to file:]

This narrative and letters were seen in the Council on 24 November 1663, and the Fiscal was to see it; his answer is that which comes sewn to this narrative.

1 Ed. note: Her full name was Nuestra Señora de la Limpia Concepción, according to her commander, Estevan Ramos (see Doc. 1665A).

2 Ed. note: The Concepción and San Damian respectively.

3 Ed. note: Only the Concepción returned to Manila in 1664.

Document 1663B

Letter from Fr. Sanvitores to his father, dated [Taytay] 18 July 1663

Introductory note, by Fr. Ledesma

Passing through the Ladrone Islands.

The Servant of God had arrived in Mexico on 28 July 1660. Two years had elapsed and the vessel for the Philippines, his destination, was still to arrive. At last it presented itself in the port of Acapulco some weeks before the month of April 1662. It was a patache named **San Damian**. Notwithstanding its size, he obtained the Viceroy of New Spain's permission for its use for the voyage to the Philippines. He embarked then on April 5 of the same year of 1662 with 14 missionaries consisting of Jesuit priests and scholastics, of whom he was appointed the Superior. Spiritually-speaking, the voyage was a repetition of the one he had made from Alcalá to Veracruz.

The ordinary route to the Philippines at that time was by way of the Islands of the Ladrone, where the galleons used to stop for their provision of water and fresh food. After three months' sailing, around the end of June they sighted these islands, some 300 leagues distant from the Philippines. They were met by the islanders in their canoes laden with fruits to barter for pieces of iron and other trinkets.

The heart of the Father was moved to pity when he saw their spiritual neglect of almost a century and a half since the Christian galleons passed through them on their way to the Philippines. And he understood then the true meaning of those words which he mysteriously heard in his last sickness in Madrid: "*Evangelizare pauperibus misi te.*" [I sent you to preach the Gospel to the poor]. He understood that the poor to whom God had sent him were the ones whom he had before him. He felt then the ardent desire to dedicate his life to the evangelization of these Islands, and to ask his superiors to be sent eventually to them.

First assignment in the Philippines.

Continuing its voyage the ship **San Damian** arrived at the port of Lampon in the Philippines on 10 July 1662. The missionaries disembarked here, and made by land the

long and perilous journey to Manila, where, after singing the *Te Deum* in thanksgiving for their safe arrival, and having made the spiritual exercises, they received their respective apostolic assignments in the Province of the Society of Jesus in the Philippines.

The Servant of God was assigned to the Mission of Taytay, which depended on the Residence of Antipolo. Here the House Minister was Fr. Miguel Solana, who had been Provincial of the Philippine Province. The Father had to learn the Tagalog language in this Rural Mission, which was distant from Manila by some seven leagues. His Master in the language was Br. Marcos de la Cruz. The Father gave himself to this study with his habitual zeal for the salvation of souls, and with such diligence that he could already speak it with fluency in three months.

...

On 22 July 1663, he wrote to Fr. General from Taytay (see Doc. 1663D) describing the pain he had at seeing those islands deprived of all spiritual help and he recommended their evangelization with wise and well-founded reasons.

Four days earlier, he had signed another letter addressed to his father (see below), in which he asked him to make himself a procurator before the King. In order to reinforce this personal appeal of his father to the King, he enclosed with his letter another addressed to the same King (see Doc. 1663C) but which began with a copy of a letter or memorial which St. Francis Xavier had written to Fr. Simon Rodriguez, begging him to appeal to King John III of Portugal whose confessor he was. His father was expected to present this memorial of St. Francis Xavier to the King (of Spain) Philip IV, so that this sovereign may apply it to himself and be advised on his royal obligations towards the souls of his kingdom. This letter to the King was dated Manila, 18 July 1664. This means that the letter addressed to his father (dated Taytay 18 July 1663) could not have been actually sent until one year later.¹

...

What all this means is that the founding of the Mariana Mission is due to the early action of the Servant of God in 1663-1664. He did act and write no little in Manila in 1665 for the Mariana foundation, notice of which could not reach Madrid until 1666. But the Royal Decree was signed on 24 June 1665 and reached Manila in the vessel **Concepción** on 24 June 1666 the year after its signing by the King.

One year later, on 7 August 1667 the Servant of God was on his way to the Marianas, although he had to make a brief stopover in Mexico. The King had died. But the Mission remained in the hands of Mariana de Austria, the Queen Regent, and of her confessor, Fr. Everard Nithard.

A while later on December 20 of the same year of 1667, the ex-governor of the Philippines, Don Sabiniano Manrique de Lara was expounding vigorously his opposition to the enterprise (see Doc. 1667G), but the Servant of God had already won the victory.

1 Ed. note: The same delay may have affected all his letters dated Taytay 1663.

Fr. Sanvitores protests the abandonment of Ternate and Zamboanga, among other things

Source: AHN Diversos, Documentos de Indias, legajo 385. Since his arrival in the Philippines in 1662, Fr. Sanvitores had written several letters to his father. But as far as we know this is the first one to be preserved since then.

Original text in Spanish.

En otras cartas que escribo por otras vias doy parte a V[uestra] M[erced] de los sucesos del viage asta estas Islas Philipinas, y de la salud que Nuestro Señor se a servido darme constante siempre en tanta variedad de temples, y caminos de mar y tierra desde la enfermedad de Madrid el Abril de 1659, en que la bondad Divina nos dispuso para esta Mission. Esta Carta es para que V.M. me ayude a lograr esta salud en el fin para que Dios nos la dio, y nos truxo a estas partes ultimas de la Tierra.

El dia que V.M. me dedico de su parte con tan buena voluntad y amor de Dios a que le viniese a servir con mi vida y sangre, y ayudar a ir al cielo a estas pobres almas redimidos con la sangre de N.S. J.x., se obligò V.M., y creo que Nuestro Señor tambien se dio por obligado a concurrir con su buen affecto de V.M., y aiudarme en todo lo que conduxiese a cumplir lo que N.S. queria de mi. Assi lo he experimentado desde el primer passo, pues a V.M. tomò N.S. por instrumento para que yo consiguiese el beneplacito de los Superiores inmediatos y que no se pusiesen dificultades al orden y Mission de N.P. General, y hasta aora apenas he dado passo en que no aya sentido lo mismo de que V.M. (Oper [=ó por] respecto suyo las personas de quienes a dependido nuestro viage hasta el Señor Virrey de la Nueva España Conde de Baños, que nos dispuso Navio particular para el socorro que tan a tiempo embio a estas Islas, como ya escrivi:) en todos los pasos, digo a concurrido V.M. u otras por su respecto, y assi espero a de ser en adelante, y que ya que vamos de Compañia en las obras que el Señor se sirviere hazer por este vil instrumento, el caudal que V.M. pone a de ser quiza el mayor aun para lo inmediato de la conversion de las almas.—

*En vano es el aver venido a estas Islas despues de tan largo viage, y dificultades, que se sirvio vencer N.S.; y despues de tanto gasto y limosna de su Magestad (Dios le guarde) si no conseguimos el fin a que venimos, que es la Conservacion, y aumento de la Christianidad en estas tierras. Y en vano sera intentar esto los Religiosos, si falta el amparo de su Magestad y de sus Ministros, **sin cuya ayuda y autoridad se pierde tiempo**, como dexo escrito S. Francisco Xavier, en essa carta que traslado en esse papel aparte como Memorial eficassimo para el remedio de los daños que padeçe esta Christianidad, en la ocasion pressente en que aviendo Dios N.S. por su mesericordia, quitado ya la vida al Pumpuan Chino, que con una insolente Carta, ocasiono el desamparo de las fuerzas de Terrenate, y Samboangan, prosigue aun, y se aumenta cada dia el daño gravissimo que resulto de ay [=allí] a esta Christianidad, no solo en las almas desamparadas, que pertenecian inmediatamente a dichas fuerzas, sino en las de casi todas las Islas, que todas estan a peligro de perderse faltando el freno de la fuerza de Sanboan-*

gan, y el temor al nombre y valor Español, pues dizen ya aquellos Barbaros Moros, que no temen a los Españoles, pues los Españoles temen a unas mugeres con abanicos, (que assi entienden a [los] Chinos por cuyo temor se retiraron a Manila los soldados de aquellos presidios);

Y lo peor es que lo dizen mejor con las obras, pues sin temor ni verguenza andan robando por estos Mares [y] Islas, quemando las Iglesias, y robando y ultrajando los ornamentos sagrados, persiguiendo a los [po]bres Indios christianos, y a los Saçerdotes, que los adminis[tran], que uno de los de la Compañia que [pa-] [fol. 1v] -saron conmigo en este ultimo socorro, esta ya padeciendo durissimo cautiverio presso de los Moros [----] a la doctrina que la obediencia le avia señalado. Al fin no ay Padre seguro, no Indios que puedan ser [----] porque andan haviendo por los montes desde que se quito esta fuerza y freno de Sanboangan por lo [---] de una Junta apresurada en la ocasion de las amenazas del Impio Pumpuan; y por unos votos que no [----] noticia de la Importancia de aquella fuerza, ni prevenian los daños, que se avian de originar. No se trata] de culpar a nadie, y puede ser que nadie tuviesse culpa, quando se tomo semejante resolucion en aquel[las cir-]cunstançias; lo que se puede asegurar es que si se supieran entonces las insolencias que an dicho y hech[avan los] infames Moros, no hubiera español de noble y Catholico pecho, que no diera su vida primero, que dar [l---] que ocasionase tales insolencias contra el nombre Christiano y Español y tal menoscabo del servicio divino y [---] N.S. a quien no puede menos de causar grave sentimiento, que siendo el unico motivo de santos ga-[---] y solicitud en la conquista y conservacion destas Islas, la conservacion y aumento de la Christiandad des[tos] naturales (que por lo que toca a los Españoles con mejor Christiandad vivieran dentro de España no zel[an]do aqui la defensa y aumento de Nuestra S. Fee) no solo no se trate de aumentar esta Christiandad con nuevas conversiones y conquistas, sino que se pierdan las ya asentadas, y fortalecidas con tanta costa, desamparando tantas almas, dexando a casi cierto peligro de Apostatar tantos Christianos, y entregando a los dientes del Lo[bo] tantos Corderillos de N.S. J.x. niños innocentes acabados de bautizar, como no an de clamar al cielo e ymplorar el Patrocinio que su Magestad les ha ofrecido, y el que merece la fidelidad, con que le an servido estos [po]bres vasallos Indios, y pagado su tributo, y aun crecidole sobre la tassa ordinaria para ayuda de los gastos de [la] fuerza, aunque estos y muchos mas tiene su Magestad por muy bien empleados a trueque de que se logre el inf[inito] precio de la sangre de N.S. Jesu Chro. en aquellas almas.

Piden pues los validos destas ovejas y corderillos de Christiandad N.S. el remedio de la pieda[d de su] Magestad en la restitution de la defensa y amparo que tenian con la fuerza de Samboangan de donde depende la conservacion de casi toda la Christiandad destas Islas, y que para adelante se sirva de mandar poner el remedio que mas convenga para que se logre el zelo y piedad de su Magestad y se satisfaga a la obligacion que tomò sobre su Real conciencia en la conquista destas Islas, y la que el Vicario de Christo N.S. le impuso en este Real Patronato, que viene a ser no menor obligacion que la de los Obispos y Pastores, pues ni Obispos, ni Parochos ni Religiosos se mueven aqui a nada sino segun la disposicion del Real patronato, y segun essa asisten o desamparen

las ovejas quando les parece a los Governadores destas Islas, como a sucedido aora en Terrenate, y Samboangan. A cuia cuenta pues a de ir el no cumplirse el oficio de buen Pastor de no huir ni desamparar las ovejas hasta dar la vida por ellas?

*Fuera desto porque el zelo de su Magestad no se estrecha a conservar sola la Christiandad ya plantada, sino a dilatar lo mas que pudiere el imperio de N.S. J.x., y a esto an anhelado todos sus Projenitores, espeçialmente desde que Dios, y su Vicario el Sumo Pontifice fiaron a su ardiente zelo estas conquistas, convendria repressentar a su Magestad, que faltan aun muchas tierras destas partes, que perteceçen a su Real Patronato, y no se trata de traerlas al conocimiento de N.S. J.x. como la gran Isla de **Burney** (de donde se dize vinieron los indios destas Islas Tagalos[,] Bisayas &c. y las que llaman de los **Ladrones**, que nos causaron grande lastima, quando los vimos trecientas leguas antes de llegar a estas Islas, que salen ellos a rescarta [sic = rescatar] [h]ierro con sus cocos y refresco que traen a nuestras Naos, y parece gente apacible y docil, y de buena disposicion &c. Y pasamos todos los años de yda y buelta destas Islas a la Nueva España, con que los socorros, y la comunicacion seran mas faciles, y estando aquella libre de los enemigos Moros, y libres los naturales aun desta infame secta de Mahoma, (que es harta confusion nuestra, y harto daño; se nos hubiese adelantado en las mas de las Islas deste Archipiélago) se pudiera con gran facilidad conseguir esta empresa, que segun el numero copioso de almas, que dizen ay, puede ser de tanto servicio a N. Señor como qualquiera otra aun de las de Europa de mas policia, pues Dios no es acceptador de personas, ni policias, y la experienzia nos muestra [que] estos Indios sencillos bien doctrinados viven con mas Christiandad, que los muy entendidos Europeos, que no [pa]rece les falta abilidad a estos de los Ladrones segun las embarcaciones [que] vimos y algunos ge- [fol. 2] -neros de curiosidad de texidos de sus palmas, y los ardidés que usan en sus tratillos quando vienen a nuestras Naos, por lo qual les llamaron los Ladrones aunque siempre estan de paz &^a*

Y podia ser que el zelo desta conquista fuese el total remedio, que solo puede venir del cielo para que se aseguro esta carrera de las perdidas, y arribadas de Naos que tantas veçes suceden por malos temporales cerca destas Islas de los Ladrones que parecen voces de Dios, y de los Angeles que guardan aquellas almas quexosos del descuido, que ay de su conversion, y que devieran ser oidos, mejor que los de los que alegan en contra de la reduccion destas Islas de los Ladrones, el que no ay oro en aquella tierra, ni otros generos de precio temporal: razon bien axena de lo que el Rey N.S. tiene por servicio mayor suyo: No se cierto como ay quien se atreve a imaginar, que en su real y Catholico pecho, pese mas el precio del oro que el de la sangre de N.S. J.x. que se pierde en estas pobres almas, a cuenta parece de la Corona de España pues a ninguna otra a encomendado Dios la dilatacion de la S. fee, en todas estas tierras, sino la del Rey N.S. y verdaderamente que con ninguna demostracion mejor, que la de tan desinteresada empresa se podria deshacer la calumnia de los Hereges, y enemigos de la Corona de España que para deslustrar la Justificazion destas conquistas, dizen que lo que busca España en ellas no es dilatar la fee de Christo sino sacar oro, y otros intereces temporales. Calumnia que la sacan de lo que ellos hacen, que nunca an venido a las Indias

por zelo de Religion ni tratan de [e]so como ellos confiesan, (aunque de camino hacen el daño que pueden a la fee de Christo por mas que se precian de Christianos tambien los Hereges). Destos daños y hostilidades estuvieran mas seguras las tierras que tubieren menos intereces temporales, y assi son mas apetezibles al zelo Catholico de su Magestad quanto mas a proposito para conservarse en ellas la fee Catholica con mas permanencia, que la que an vido en muchas tierras de la India Oriental por averlas apetezido, y ocupado ya los enemigos de Nuestra S. fee por las utilidades que hallan para sus mercaderias y tratos.

No a faltado por cierto este Catholico zelo en el Real pecho de su Magestad pues ay Cedula antigua (segun he oido) para que se trato de la conversion de las Indias de los Ladrones, aunque esta tan olvidada que av[r]ja de venir muy de nuevo para que se disponga con eficacia la Mission de Ministros Evangelicos, que planten nuestra santa fee en dichas Islas, y que quando van, y buelven las naos de Philipinas a la Nueva España se disponga lo necesario para que tenga efecto aquella conversion. Y es bien de creer que si su Magestad supiera que en tantos años del descubrimiento destas Islas no se a dado cumplimiento a su Catolico zelo y Real Cedula hubiera puesto ya el eficaz remedio. Pero como estos pobres no tienen procurador no debe de aver quien avise desto, que esto mismo viene a obligar almas minimo particular a que se haga procurador de estos miserables, de cosa que estan del servicio de Dios y del Rey N.S. como lo sera tambien la conversion de las dem[as] tierras que faltan por reducir en este Archipiélago, con el modo que fuere mas conveniente para cada una com[o] embaxadas u otros medios politicas para los que guardan policia, y fuera gran medio el que su Magestad ma[n]dase se le diese aviso todos los años de que tierras son las que faltan de reducirse a la fe de N.S.[J.x.] y que medios se ponen para su reduccion, y que perseverancia ay en los medios, aunque no surtan efecto [una] vez, quasi esto huviera de hazer desistir y alzar la mano de la conversion de los Infieles, qual estuviera España que resistio a los principios no poco. Los corazones de los hombres se mudan, y mas entrando la diestra del Altissimo como entra para la vocacion de los gentes a su Santa Fe, por medio del zelo de nuestros Ca[tho]licos Reyes, y aun los mismos hombres no perseveran unos en otros tiempos, y no se porque se a de des(a)viar de la luz del Evangelio a unos, porque otros aunque sean de la misma nacion no la admitieron, [por] que no se les proponia suficientemente.

Al fin lo bueno que tienen estas materias es que ningun medio ni diligencia es ociosa [ni] sobrada, y assi me he alentado yo a no omitir esta tan remota de mi parte, quiera N.S. se haga en [V.M.] proxima y eficaz haciendose no ya solo consejero de su Magestad en lo temporal de su hazienda, sino [procura]-dor en lo mas precioso de sus haberes que son estas almas que N.S. Jesu Christo compro con su [sangre] y las fio al amparo y proteccion de Catolicos Reyes. Hablando a esos Señores del Co[nsejo] de las Indias, por cuyo consejo corre la administracion y cobro desta hacienda tan preciosa de las [---] que provea su Magestad el mas conveniente y eficaz remedio en materia tan grave. Y ya saben [---] que es menester que desde alla venga con muchisima eficacia, para que en la distancia de aca llegue [al]guna y no se desvanesca en demandas y respuestas de

tanta dilacion y mas en materia que aunque d[es]precio y subidos quilates, son quilates de oro de fee, que no se ve ni se toca con las manos, y assi [cos]tara mucho el reducirlo de alguna manera a oro que se vea y se toque en la execucion de la o[rden?] y juramento Real que aconseja S. Francisco Xavier en su carta; [Note in margin, in the handwriting of Fr. Sanvitores himself: Las palabras del Santo son las que an de dar vida a mis muertas raçones, y assi suplico a V.M. no dexede mostrar la carta inclusa] inclusa a esas Señores. Y sobre todo [---] a N.S. de la eficacia con su gracia Santissima para que se tome y execute el consejo de su mayor [gloria] y bien destas pobres almas.

Su Magestad guarde a V.M. con muchos aumentos de su amor en Compañia de mis hermanos y sobrinos a quienes me encomiendo, y pido me encomienden a N.S. &a. Ta[yltay] y Julio 18 de 1663.

[Postscript added by Sanvitores himself:] *Porque no cueste tanto leer mi mala letra va esta de mano de uno destes inocentes Indios. S. Francisco Xavier la guiava.*

Su mas humilde hijo de V.M. dos veces

+

+ Diego Luis S. Vitores +

Translation.

In other letters that I am sending by other routes, I informed Your Grace about my voyage to these Philippine Islands and the health our Lord has deigned to give me always, in spite of a variety of climates, ever since that sickness I had in Madrid in April of 1659, in which the divine kindness predisposed us for this Mission. The purpose of this letter is to ask Your Grace to help me obtain this health for the purpose that God intended, by taking us to the ends of the World.

On the day that Your Grace consented on your part, with such good will and love of God, to let me come and serve Him with my life and blood, and help these poor souls redeemed by the blood of our Lord J. C. to get to Heaven, Your Grace obliged yourself to help me in whatever way be conducive towards the fulfilment of what our Lord wanted from me. Such has been my experience from the very first day, for our Lord made use of Your Grace as an instrument for obtaining the goodwill of my immediate superiors, so that they would not make difficulties in obeying the order and mission of our Fr. General. And up to the present I have hardly taken any steps in which I did not feel the same for Your Grace (or other persons who, for your sake were responsible for this voyage, including the Viceroy of New Spain, Count of Baños, who provided us the special ship with which to send the very timely help for these islands, as I have already written) in all the steps, I repeat, Your Grace, or others on your behalf, have given your cooperation. I hope that such will be the case in the future, and that, now that together we will undertake good works, the Lord may deign to use this vile instrument, and the contribution of Your Grace ought to be perhaps the best yet for what concerns the conversion of souls in the near future.

It would be in vain to have come to these Islands after such a long voyage, and difficulties that our Lord was pleased to [let us] overcome; and afterwards, with so much

expense and alms of His Majesty (may God keep him), if we do not accomplish the purpose for which we came, which is the preservation and progress of the Christian religion in these lands. And in vain would the Religious attempt this now, without the support of His Majesty and of his ministers; **without their help and authority time is being lost**, as St. Francis Xavier wrote, in that letter which has been copied in that separate paper, by way of a very efficient Memorial for the remedy of the damages which this Christian community suffers, at the present time in which God our Lord, through His mercy, has already taken away the life of Pumpuan, the Chinese [pirate] who, with an insolent letter, caused the abandonment of the forces of Ternate and Zamboanga. The very serious damage that this Christian community suffered as a result of this still persists, and increases every day, not only for the neglected souls in the districts under the said forts, but in those of almost all the islands. All are in danger of being lost through the removal of the curb that the fort of Zamboanga and of the fear that the Spanish name and valor represented. Those Moro barbarians already say that they no longer fear the Spaniards, since the Spaniards fear some women with fans (for that is how they consider the Chinese, because in their fear of them the soldiers of those garrisons retreated to Manila).

And what is worse, they back their words with deeds, for without fear or shame they roam all over these seas and islands stealing the sacred ornaments, persecuting the poor Christian natives and the priests who minister to them, to the extent that one of the Society who arrived with me in this last trip, is already suffering a most cruel captivity, as prisoner of the Moros. [He had gone] to the station that obedience had assigned him. In conclusion, there is no Father who is safe, no Indians who can be [free] because they wander through the bush since the garrison was removed from the fort and curb of Zamboanga, by a decision of a General Council, pressed for time on the occasion of the threats made by the impious Pumpuan, and by a few votes that did not take note of the importance of that fortress, nor foresaw the damages that would result. It is not for me to blame anyone, as it may not be the fault of any one person, specially when this type of decision is taken under duress. What can be declared is that, if the insolent words that the infamous Moros were saying and inventing had been known then, there would not have been any Spaniard of noble and Catholic blood who would not have given his life first, rather than give them an opportunity to insult the Christian and Spanish name, to such a detriment to the divine service and God our Lord, who has to be sadly affected, as it is the only motive of holy gains(?) and application in the conquest and preservation of these Islands, the preservation and increase of the Christian community of these natives (by the way, the Spanish might live in a more Christian way inside Spain, if they were not required to watch over the defence and increase of our holy Faith here). It is not just a question of increasing this Christian community with new conversions and conquests, but not to lose those already formed, and fortified at such great costs, abandoning so many souls, leaving so many Christians in an almost certain danger of apostatizing, and delivering into the mouth of the Wolf so many little Lambs of our Lord J. C., innocent children recently baptized, who are sure to clamor

to heaven and beg for the protection that His Majesty had promised. This protection is owed them because of the faithfulness with which these poor Indian vassals have served him, and paid their tribute, even at an extraordinary rate to finance the fortress, although such expenses are considered by His Majesty to be money well spent in exchange for the success gained by the infinite price of the blood of our Lord J. C. in those souls.

The bleats, therefore, of these sheep and little lambs of Christ our Lord plead from the piety of His Majesty for the remedy, which is to restore the defence and protection they had with the fortress of Zamboanga, upon which depends the preservation of almost the whole Christian community of these Islands, and in future for the zeal and piety of His Majesty to be pleased to order the best remedy to satisfy the obligation that his royal conscience undertook by the conquest of these Islands, and that the Vicar of Christ our Lord has placed upon him by this royal patronage, which turns out to be an obligation no smaller than that for Bishops and Pastors, since neither Bishops, nor Curates or Religious can do anything here, unless it be in accordance with the royal patronage, and it is in accordance with it that they take care of or abandon the lambs as the Governors of these Islands see fit, for example, in the case of Ternate, and Zamboanga. What has happened then to the obligation of the Good Shepherd, of not fleeing or abandoning his sheep, even at the cost of his life for them?

Over and above this, since the zeal of His Majesty is not restricted to the preservation of the already-established Christian community but also to spread as much as possible the reign of our Lord J. C., and this has been the desire of many kings, specially since God and His Vicar the Pope have entrusted these conquests to their ardent zeal, it would be convenient to represent to His Majesty that there still remains much territory in these parts which belongs to his Royal Patronage, and nothing is done to bring to them the knowledge of our Lord J. C., such as the big Island of **Borneo** (from which, they say, the Tagalog, Visayan, etc. Indians of these Islands come from). Another example are the Islands called **Ladrones**. These gave us great pity when we saw them some 300 leagues before our arrival at these Islands. They come out to our galleons to trade their coconuts and refreshments for iron. They seem to be peaceful and docile people, and of good disposition, etc. Vessels come and go every year from these Islands to New Spain, so that the succors and communication would be easier. The route being free from the inimical Moros, the natives there even being free of this infamous sect of Mahomet (which caused much confusion, and real harm in our expansion in the Islands of this archipelago), this enterprise could succeed with great facility. Given the large number of souls that they say exist there, it can be of great service to our Lord like any other enterprise even in more civilized Europe, for God is not moved by jealousy regarding persons and civic conditions. Our experience shows that these simple natives, when well instructed, live better Christian lives than the more educated Europeans. To these inhabitants of the Ladrones no ability seems to be wanting, if one considers the canoes that we saw and other kinds of woven handicraft woven from palm leaves, and

the clever means they use in dealing with us when they come to our ships, for which reason they were called Ladrones [i.e. Thieves], although they are always peaceful, etc.

It could be that the total remedy should be the zeal in carrying out this conquest, which remedy can only come from Heaven, in order to avoid for this run the losses and the returns in distress of the galleons that so many times have occurred on account of bad weather near these Islands of the Ladrones. Their voices remind one that God and the Angels watch over those souls that complain of the lack of care, regarding their conversion, and that they should be heard, louder than the voices raised against the reduction of these Islands of the Ladrones, given that there is no gold in that country, nor other things of material value—a reasoning that is so foreign to what the King our Lord regards as befitting his service. I am not sure that there is any one who dares to imagine that in the royal and Catholic heart of His Majesty the price of gold weighs more than the blood of our Lord J. C., which is wasted in these poor souls, dependents, it seems, of the Crown of Spain, since God has not entrusted the propagation of the holy Faith in all of these countries to anyone else but the King our Lord. And indeed there can be no proof better than this most unselfish enterprise to dispell a calumny of the heretics and enemies of the Spanish Crown, who in order to refute the justification of this conquest say that what Spain is after in them is not the spread of the faith of Jesus Christ, but the search for gold and other temporal advantages. They got this calumny out of their own practice, since they have never come to the Indies out of religious zeal, and they admit that they themselves do nothing of the sort (although along the way they do as much damage as they can to the Faith of Christ when these Heretics also claim to be Christians). Such damages and hostilities would have affected less the countries with fewer material worth, the very quality that would have made them more attractive to the Catholic zeal of His Majesty, as well as make them more apt for the Catholic Faith to be preserved in them on a more permanent basis than the many countries of the East Indies that the enemies of our holy Faith coveted and have already invaded, to find a market there for their merchandise and commerce.

Certainly this catholic zeal has not been wanting in the royal breast of His Majesty, for there is an old decree (according to what I heard) dealing with the conversion of the Ladrone Islands,¹ although it has been so forgotten that a new one would be required in order to establish efficiently the Mission of the Gospel Ministers, who would plant our holy Faith in the said Islands, and, when the galleons go back and forth between the Philippines and New Spain, the necessary measures for that conversion could be arranged. And we may well believe that, if His Majesty had known that in so many years after the discovery of these Islands his Royal Decree was not fulfilled, he would have already applied effective remedy. But since these poor peoples have no Procurator, there can be no-one to call attention to this. This very fact should move the least individual to make himself a Procurator of these miserable souls, something that would be in the service of God and the King our Lord, like the conversion of the remaining countries

1 Ed. note: See Doc. 1602B.

that have not yet been reduced in this Archipelago. It would be well if a way could be found to send some embassies or other political means to keep them more civilized; this would be a great reason for His Majesty to order that he be informed every year about which lands have not yet been reduced to the faith of our Lord, and what measures are taken for their reduction, and what perseverance are there in [applying] such measures, even though success may not come the first time, as if one failure should be reason enough to desist from converting the infidels; what would indeed have happened if Spain had not resisted so well at the beginning? The hearts of men can change, the more so when the right hand of the Almighty moves them, the same way that the vocation of the people to his holy Faith, through the zeal of our Catholic Kings, and even if the same men did not persevere in other times, I do not see why the light of the Gospel should bypass some, when others of the same race do not admit it, because it was not proposed to them sufficiently.

At any rate this much good we find in these matters: that no means nor diligent effort is wasted nor superfluous. Hence I have been encouraged not to spare this most remote effort on my part. May it please the Lord that through Your Grace it may become closer and more efficient, if you should become not only a counselor of His Majesty in his temporal affairs, but also a procurator in what is more important of his possessions which are these souls that our Lord J. C. bought with his blood and entrusted them to the protection of the Catholic Kings. While speaking to those gentlemen of the Council of the Indies, who are in charge of the administration and collection of these precious funds, let His Majesty make the most convenient provisions and efficient remedy in such a serious matter. They would already know that the remedy should come from there with the greatest effectiveness, and time not wasted along the way in petitions and replies, the more so since we are dealing here, not just with gold ingots, but also with ingots of the gold which is the faith that cannot be seen or touched with the hands. However, the reduction will indeed cost much in gold that can be seen and touched, regarding the implementation of the order and royal vow that St. Francis Xavier recommended in his letter [Note in margin: The words of the Saint should give life to my dead reasoning. And so I beg Your Grace not to neglect to show the enclosed letter]¹ to those Gentlemen. And above all may our Lord provide the effectiveness with his holy grace so that the advice is taken and executed for the greater glory and good of these poor souls.

May His Majesty keep Your Grace and increase greatly his love in the company of my brothers and nephews to whom I commend myself and whom I beg to pray for me to our Lord, etc.

From Taytay, 18 July 1663.

1 Ed. note: The copyist had forgotten to copy these words which Sanvitores added in his own handwriting.

[Postscript added in Fr. Sanvitores' own handwriting:] Lest my bad handwriting be hard to read, this letter is copied by the hand of one of these innocent natives. St. Francis Xavier was guiding it.

Twice the most humble son of Your Grace,

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+ Diego Luis de San Vitores +

Document 1663C

Fr. Sanvitores applies for permission to open a mission in the Ladrones Islands

Sources: AHN Diversos, legajo 385; Process of Mexico, fol. 99; AGI Fil. 82x; Fr. García's book, Book II, Chap XIII, pp. 167-168; copy in RAH 9/2676 part of doc. n° 11. translated by Fr. Juan Ledesma.

Introductory note, by Fr. Ledesma.

The “enclosed letter” mentioned above is the Brief or Memorial of St. Francis Xavier to Fr. Simon Rodriguez, confessor of the King John III of Portugal “to unburden the conscience of the King.” Evidently Fr. Sanvitores wishes, with the presentation of this Memorial to King Philip IV, “to unburden also his conscience” regarding his subjects both of the Philippines and of the Marianas. In fact the copy of the said Memorial is followed by words addressed to the same King Philip IV. Since the Memorial was enclosed in the letter to his father dated 18 July 1663, and the date of the Memorial was 1664, while its arrival at Madrid was in the following year of 1665, it is to be supposed that the letter of 1663 to his father could not leave with the vessel (of 1663) and had to wait one year to make the voyage. Perhaps it was because (a copy of St. Francis’) Memorial was not yet ready in 1663. Be it noted too that the Memorial was dated in Manila where the Servant of God was transferred to only in 1664.

Letter from Fr. Sanvitores to King Philip IV, dated Manila 18 July 1664

Original text in Spanish.

[Endorsement:] *Copia de carta de S. Francisco Xavier escrita desde las Indias Orientales al Padre Mestro Simon Rodriguez de la Compañia de Jhs residente entonces en la çiudad de Lisboa, y confesor que era del Rey D. Juan el Segundo de Portugal.—Y dicha carta hiço copiar el Padre Diego Luys de Sanvitores de la misma Compañia de Jhs de un chino de hedad de 70 años el qual acompaño al Benerable martir Marçelo*

Mastrillo, y aora este chino enseña la lengua a dicho Padre Sanvitores, para que vaya predicar, y convertir aquellos gentiles.

Esta copia la remitio dicho Padre Sanvitores de las islas Filipinas a su Padre el Señor D. Geronimo de S. Victores con carta y es la fecha en la Ciudad de Manila a 18 de Julio de 1664 años.

El Apostol de las Indias S. Francisco Xavier escribiendo al P. Simon Rodriguez uno tambien de los primeros Compañeros de S. Ignacio, que governaba la Compañia de Jesus en Portugal, dize assi.

[Note in margin:] Epistola de S. Francisco Xavier Ap. Epit. del Apost. de las Ind. Div. 5. n. 111.

*“Tiempo es ya Charissimo Hermano Maestre Simon de dar un desengaño al Rey, pues esta mas cerca de lo que piensa la hora en que Dios N.Sr. le a de llamar a dar cuenta, diciendo: **Redde rationem villicationis tuæ.** Por lo qual hazed que provea a la India de fundamentos espirituales, porque me parece, y quiera Dios que me engañe, que se a de hallar el buen Principe a la hora de la muerte mui alcançado. Temo que en el Cielo Dios N.Sor. hablando sobre el con los Santos dice assi: El Rey muestra buenos deseos por cartas para que se aumente mi honrra en la India, y con raçon pues no cumplen las tales cartas y mandatos, prendiendo y castigando a los que da cargo de su hacienda, sino procuran, como deben sus provechos, y acrecentamientos della.”*

“Solo un camino hallo (segun el uso y experiencia que tengo destas cosas) para pro-pagar nuestra santa Fe en la India, y es que el Rey a todos sus Ministros y Governadores les notifique, que de nadie se da por tan servido en la India quanto de los que con todo cuidado procuran que se estienda la Fe de Christo, y por tanto encarga y manda que procuren la conversion de la Isla de Zeylan, y el aumento de nueueos Christianos en el Cabo de Comorin, y para esto se busquen de todas partes personas Religiosas, y se valgan del trabajo, y Ministerio de los de nuestra Compañia, y de los demas, que pareciere para aumento del divino servicio. Y si a caso sus Ministros fueren en esto negligentes, los amance, y asegure con juramento, (y sera de gran servicio de Dios haver este Juramento, y de mayor el cumplirlo) que sino descargaren su Real Conciencia, aumentando quanto posible fuere la Christiandad de la India, luego que vuelvan a Portugal an de ser castigados con perdimiento de sus bienes, y largas prisiones. He os dicho lo que siento: callo lo demas, solo añado que si se hiciere, esto que propongo, y deseo grandemente, entonces se librarian de las injurias y opresiones que padecen los pobres Indios nuevamente reducidos a nuestra Santa Fe, y se reduciran los demas sin dificultad alguna, porque si en esta falta la ayuda y authoridad del Rey, y del Governador, verdaderamente se pierde tiempo. Creed me que hablo con mas experiencia de la que convenia: porque sucede asi, yo bien lo se; pero no es menester decirlo.”

“Esto os escribo Hermano M. Simon para descargo de la conciencia del Rey, a quien toda nuestra Compañia tanto debe. Y si yo estuviera cierto, que su Alteça lo estaba del grande, y desengañado amor, que le tengo, pedirle ia una merced, para servirle con ella y es que todos los dias se ocupe un quarto de hora en pedir a Dios N. Sor. le de bien à

*entender, y mejor a sentir dentro de su alma aquellas palabras de Christo: **Quid prodest homini si universum mundum lucretur animæ vero suæ detrimentum patiatur?***

Hasta aqui S. Francisco Xavier: previniendo tambien el remedio eficaz, que piden las cosas de la Christiandad de las Indias en estos tiempos, singularmente las que tocan a Terrenate, y a Samboangan fuerça del Rey nuestro Sor. en la Isla de Mindanao (que son las partes, en que se sabe de cierto predico S. Francisco Xavier en lo que toca a este Gobierno de Filipinas) y fuerças ambas desamparadas oy con gravissimo daño de la Christiandad de estas Islas, que esta a gran riesgo de perderse en la mayor parte dellas por falta singularmente del presidio de Samboangan.

*La propagacion de la Fe que pide el Santo a las Islas donde no aya llegado, es de la que se neessita tambien en estas Islas, y tierras cercanas, como la gran Isla de **Burney &c.** y sinngularmente las Islas que llaman de los **Ladrones** que despues de tantos años y tan buena ocasion de las Naos de su Magestad que dan vista a ellas todos los años, no se les a dado aun la luz del Evangelio, que Dios N. Sor. a embiado a estos ultimos fines de la tierra por medio del zelo de nuestros Catholicos Reyes, cuya Real Cedula (que diçen ay) para que se procure la conversion destas Islas **de los Ladrones** esta totalmente olvidada, con gravissimo perjuicio de estas pobres almas mas necesitadas aunque las del Purgatorio, pues estan en extrema necesidad de lo necessario para su salvacion, en que se les pudiera socorrer sin mucha dificultad, y con no poca esperança del fruto, especialmente antes que las inficione la infame secta de Mahoma que es arta confusion nuestra, y no pequeño estorvo del Santo Evangelio, el que se nos aya adelantado en las mas de las Islas deste Archipelago.*

Por las almas pues destos pobres Gentiles pide S. Francisco Xavier y lo que mas es, por ellas clama la sangre de N. Sor. Jesu Christo y en su nombre debe clamar qualquiera de sus Ministros, y el minimo de todos.

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+ Diego Luis S. Vitores +

Translation.

[Endorsement:] Copy of the letter that St. Francis Xavier wrote from the East Indies to Father Master Simon Rodriguez of the Society of Jesus, then living in the city of Lisbon, and confessor to King John II of Portugal.—Father Diego Luis de Sanvitores of the same Society of Jesus has had this same letter copied by a 70-year-old Chinaman who had accompanied the Venerable martyr Marcelo Mastrillo [to Japan], and at present this Chinaman is teaching the [Japanese] language to the said Father Sanvitores, so that he may be able to go and preach, and convert those gentiles.

This copy was sent by the said Father Sanvitores from the Philippine Islands to his father, Don Gerónimo de S. Vitores, with a letter which is dated Manila, 18 July 1664.

The Apostle of the Indies St. Francis Xavier writing to Fr. Master Simon Rodriguez, who was also one of the first companions of St. Ignatius, and was governing the Society of Jesus in Portugal, says the following:

[Note in margin:] Letters of St. Francis Xavier, Ap. Epit. del Apost. de las Ind. Div. 5. n. 111.

“It is time, most beloved brother Master Simon to admonish the King that the hour is much closer than he thinks in which God our Lord will call him to give an account of his administration saying: *Redde rationem villicationis tuae* (Give an account of your administration of the vineyard). Therefore, see to it that he provide for the spiritual foundation of the Indies. Because it seems to me, and may God grant that I am wrong, that the good Prince will find himself very much hard up in his death-bed. I fear that God our Lord speaking about him with the Saints in Heaven says the following: *The King shows through his letters good desires for the increase of my honor in the Indies and rightly so, for it is for this purpose that he possesses them. But he does not punish those who do not carry out his decrees and mandates; he does not apprehend and punish those to whom he commits the care of his possessions when they do not as they should see to their improvement and growth.*”

“I see only one way (according to the practice and experience I have in these matters) for the propagation of our holy faith in the Indies; it is that the King assure all his Ministers and Governors that he does not consider himself served well in the Indies except by those who with great care work for the propagation of the faith of Christ. Consequently he orders and commands that they work for the conversion of the Island of Ceylon and the increase of the new Christians at Cape Comorin. For this purpose he orders that a search be made all over of Religious persons, and that advantage be taken of the work and ministry of the members of our Society and of others they may believe useful for the promotion of the divine service. And if perhaps their Ministers should be negligent in this, let them threaten them and assure them under oath (and it will be of great service to God to make this oath and even of greater service to fulfill it) that if they do not comply with the demands of his royal conscience by promoting as much as possible the increase of the Christians in India, they will be punished, upon their return to Portugal, with the loss of their properties and with long periods in jail. I have told you what I feel in this regard, and am keeping to myself the rest. I only add that if what I propose and greatly desire is carried out, then the poor natives of India, newly converted to our holy faith, will be spared the abuses and oppression they are suffering, and that all the others will be converted without any difficulty. Because we would be truly wasting time if in this matter we do not have the help and authority of the King and of the Governor. Believe me: I am speaking with more than the necessary experience, for I know well what is going on. But there is no need to mention it.

I write this to you, Brother Master Simon to unburden the King’s conscience, to whom our Society owes so much. And if I were sure that His Highness were aware of the great and plainly true love I have for him, I would ask for a favor by which I would do him good and that is that everyday he give a quarter of an hour to prayer, asking God our Lord to let him understand well, and even better to make him realize intimately those words of Christ: *What does it profit a man if he should gain the whole world, but suffer the loss of his own soul?*”

Thus far are the words of St. Francis Xavier, who also foresees the efficient remedy demanded at this time by Christianity in the Indies, specially that of Ternate and Zamboanga, the fort of the King our Lord in the Island of Mindanao (which are in the area under the Philippine government where it is known for certain that St. Francis Xavier preached). Both of these forts are abandoned today, at the greatest of harm to the Christian community of these Islands, most of which are at great risk of being lost, precisely for the lack of a garrison at Zamboanga.

The propagation of the faith which the Saint begs for the Islands he has arrived at, is what is also needed in these Philippine Islands and in neighboring lands such as the great Island of Borneo and others, particularly the Islands called **Ladrones**. After so many years and with such good opportunity through the galleons of His Majesty which visit them every year, these islands have not received yet the light of the Gospel which, through the zeal of our Catholic Kings God our Lord has sent to these remotest regions of the earth. It is said that there is a Royal Decree for the conversion of these **Ladron Islands**. But it is totally forgotten, resulting in very grave harm for these poor souls, which are in even more need than those in purgatory, for they are in extreme need of what is necessary for their salvation. They could be helped without much difficulty and with no little hope of success, especially since they have not yet been infected by Mahomet's infernal sect, a source of much confusion for us and obstacle to the Holy Gospel, that has not made progress in most of the Islands of this Archipelago.

St. Francis Xavier, therefore, begs for the souls of these poor gentiles, and what is more the blood of our Lord Jesus Christ clamors for them and in his name ought all his Ministers to do likewise; and the least of all,

+
+ Diego Luis de San Vitores +¹

¹ Ed. note: The end result of this application by Fr. Sanvitores was the issuance of the royal decree of 24 June 1665 (see Doc. 1665D). A copy of this memorial was also copied by Fr. Sanvitores off the coast of Navidad on 2 January 1668 and attached to his letter to the Viceroy (Doc. 1668A).

Document 1663D

Letter from Fr. Sanvitores to Fr. General, dated Taytay 22 July 1663

Source: ARSI Phil. 14, fol. 56-59.

Note: The titles heading the paragraphs are the marginal ones found in the original, some of which, at least, correspond to the consultation Father General had made with him.

Original text in Spanish

Pax Christi

Desde el Puerto de Lampong escrivi a V.P. el Julio pasado de 1662. La felicidad con que N. Señor se servio traernos a estas Islas Philipinas a los 16 de la Compania, y en pretendiente, que se recibio luego aca, quedando en Mexico otros tantos de nuestra Mision que aun aguardamos este año.

De los sugetos desta varcada.

Fuimos recibidos con la acostumbrada caridad desta Santa Provincia; los que avian acabado, o cesado en los estudios por dedicarse mas presto a los Ministerios, y aver de tener mas dificultad en pasar todos sus cursos (que estos fueron dos) se repartieron a aprender lengua, y empezar a servir en los Ministerios, y a tres que fueron a Bisayas les siguieron los Moros enemigos que infestan estas Islas, el Padre Juan Blas de Mura, y Padre Juan Bautista Gil escaparon aunque con grandes trabajos en todo el viaje.

Cautivo.

El Padre Andres Bentura de Barrera de la Provincia de Castilla de mui buenas prendas, quedo cautivo de los Moros Joloes, el Padre Provincial a echo y prosigue en las diligencias de su rescate con toda eficacia: asta aora, no sabemos mas que la mucha paciencia del cautivo.

Despedido.

Al Hermano Alonso Escos despidio el Padre Provincial por causas inconsultables, como escrivira su R^a: esse y el que quedo para despedirse en Mexico ambos de la Provincia de Andalucía, y los que nos encarecian por de mas prendas muestran bien lo que escrivi desde Mexico de lo poco que se repara en las Provincias en las ordenes repeti-

das de Roma de que no se embien a Indias los que no tienen mui segura vocaçion y virtud por el grave daño temporal y espiritual, y cierto que para el bien comun de los Provincias y de los mismos sugetos. No tengo duda que valiera mas traer la terçera parte de sugetos de segura virtud y acabados, o dexados los estudios por dedicarse al Ministerio destas almas mas presto, que otras dos partes mas, de niños sin acabar ni aun las artes, que alla pueden ser exercitados, y enseñados y servir mas a la Religion, y no venir aca a gravissimo peligro de perderse aqui, o en el viaje, espeçialmente, si es largo, y con la quiebra de estudios en dos navegaciones, etc.

Estudios.

Desto de los Estudios el año de 1660 en que llegamos a Mexico pararon todos nuestros estudiantes a los cursos superiores sin examen del curso antecedente, y avia de todos cursos de Artes y Theologia: en Mexico no se reparo esto y mas con la poca firmeça que hubo de estudiar en el Collegio de Mexico, o de la Puebla que todo fue a medias, y el Padre Magino Sola que venia por superior de la Mision no hablo en que se examinasen, por venir cansados, y estar cerca el nuevo curso, que por nuestros estudiantes no se avia de detener: y fuera desto que fue comun a todos desde el curso del Padre Andres Bentura, y Padre Gerardo Bas que entraron en 4º año de Artes. Hubo particular en el Padre Diego de las Navas que se le conto por 1º año de Theologia el tiempo que curso en Sevilla Theologia que no se si fueron dos o tres meses con otros dos poco mas o menos que estudio en la navegacion (en que verdaderamente avia liçiones y conferencias con todo rigor por la comodidad de [fol. 56v] Navio que truximos asta la Nueva España) y este curso se penetro con el ultimo año de Artes aunque se avia ya examinado antes de empear la Theologia pero al fin los siete cursos de Artes y Theologia se cortaron en seis años hordinarios, y el 2º de Theologia fue de la calidad que e dicho sin examen. El Padre Juan Blas de Mura que vino del Collegio Romano examinado de Artes, conto tambien desde entonçes que fue por Abril de 659 su primer curso de Theologia y dize que estudio en Jesus del Monte donde nuestros estudiantes del Collegio de Alcalá pasan el verano una materia de Theologia en conferencias; yo estube en aquel tiempo ausente en una Mision con que del hecho no puedo deçir, solo que el estudio que ay en Jesus del Monte no se reputa por curso por alla, y este curso penetrado tambien con el ultimo año de Artes, como el del Padre Nabas, y sin examen se conto por 1º año de Theologia; En Mexico se hizo en esto algun reparo al tiempo del examen para la Profession, pero con lo que el Padre alego alli, y aqui, y con la suposicion de bolvera cursar otro año, si en Roma no se pasase, se tolero el que acabase sus estudios desta suerte: anse [=se han] alegado exemplares semejantes de otros varcadas, y el Padre Magino Sola que informo de los cursos en Mexico y va con alguna latitud en esto por la que devia de aver antes en los viajes de Indias. V.P. ordenara lo que mas convenga a lo menos para adelante, aunque creo ay ya bastantes ordenes, que conveniera llevase espresos en la instruccion el Procurador o Superior de la Mision y que esta se diese al que quedase en su lugar, quando sucede aver variedad (que no haze ningun pro verbo a la Mision) y que el tal superior tenga alguna Autoridad para hazer executar estas y

otras cosas que tocan a los sugetos de la Mision aunque esten en Mexico; y no que aun consultado no es en muchas cosas.

Acto de contrición.

Veniendo a mi. Luego que lleguè me aplico el Padre Provinçial à aprender esta lengua Tagala que es la que hablan los Indios de Manila y dizen es la mas difficultosa de las Islas, y en verdad que al principio me lo parecia, asta que la faliçitò el Señor por medio del Acto de contrición en la forma del Padre Geronimo Lopes de piadosa memoria, que me escrivio V.P. en carta de 8 de Mayo de 1660. Avia mandado se traduxese en Latin para comunicarle a todas las Provinçias. e importara mucho que se estendiese tambien el orden general a todas las Provinçias de Indias; yo tomè aqui mi exerciçio de lengua en hazerle traducir y aprenderle, de suerte que en breve le pude practicar con la expediçion que en Castilla, y con esso me actue para aprender luego lo de mas neçessario a la enseñanza destes pobres Indios: deste acto de contrición en Tagalo y otros mas quotidianos que se an impreso aqui embio copia en pliego del Padre Juan Marin por si es de algun consuelo el ver en Roma estos papeles en esta lengua tan remota y en la misma carta digo tambien de la Moçion con que se practica entre los Indios este Santo Exerciçio puntualmente como esta en la formula del Padre Geronimo Lopez de pia memoria y del fruto con que se hizo en lengua española en Manila y en Cavite, que es a donde se reduçen casi todos los Españoles destas Islas.—

Salud.

En lo que toca a mi salud y fuerzas de que V.P. me mandò le avisare en su carta de 8 de Mayo de 1600, no se que dezir sino que desde la enfermedad de Madrid del Abril de 59 no e sentido un dolor de caveza, gracias a N.Señor[,] ni de templança alguna en tanta variedad de temples de mar y tierra, como la an sentido todos mis compañeros aun los mas fuertes, por la prueba comun de la nueva tierra, y prueba de Nuestro Señor que aun no la a fiado de mi, hagase en todo su SSma. voluntad, y sea para emplear la salud y fuerzas, que me da en otros trabajos de su Mayor serviçio.—

Misiones.

Las Misiones de por aca (que es otro punto de que V.P. me mandole informase) se reduçen a doctrinar los [fol. 57] pueblos que estan a nuestro cargo por modo de Offiçio de Curas de que V.P. estará ya informado, y yo no puedo aun dezir lo que siento, porque quiza me falta alguna mas experiència de las cosas de aca para corregir la disonancia que me hazen algunas cosas. Con todo esse aviendo de cuidar de pueblos en esta forma, hecho menos el que no se execute lo que e oido al Padre Miguel Solana, que dispuso Nuestro Padre Claudio [Aqua viva] de Santa Memoria quando fundo esta Provinçia de que se admitiesen las doctrinas de los pueblos de suerte que se doctrinasen de assiento no mas que por unas 20 años cada pueblo asta que estubiesen bien asentadas las cosas de Nuestra Santa Fe y costumbres Christianos, y que despues se entregasen al Señor Arzobispo y pasasemos nosotros a entablar otras doctrinas de la misma suerte o restituir las que se hubiesen perdido, con que fuera de acudir assi a la mayor neçessidad se obviarían algunos inconvenientes de los Curatos fixos en pueblos que estan ya como los de España, y que en algunos aun tienen los Padres menos tarea de almas que

algunos Curas de por alla; y al presente nos ofreçia ocasion desto el Señor Arzobispo pues dize que, dará a la Compañia el partido de Mindoro que son Doctrinas de mas trabajo y menos asentadas, y que creo ay aun algunos Gentiles, con que le demos la doctrina de Silang çerca de Manila de gente bien doctrinada y de mas comodidades para sus Clerigos. Pero este como otros, pareçe punto proprio del Padre Visitador que dizen se a pedido desta Provinçia a V.P.

De gentiles.

De misiones a las Islas Vezinas de Gentiles y Moros para estender Nuestra Santa Fe, me pareçe que se trata mui poco en estos tiempos, o porque los seglares no se les da mucho desto, o porque no ay muchos como S. Francisco Xavier entre los Religiosos, que con su santidad zelo, y prudencia avivaba a los seglares que gobernaban, y disponia las embajadas, y de mas medios para que el imperio y nombre de N.S. Jesu Christo se estendiese. Los Religiosos particulares no se dan por entendidos desto, o no les dan mano para esto los que gobiernan, y los mas estan atados a sus Curatos &c. Los Superiores deben de tener mucho que entender en el gobierno de sus subditos y administracion de sus pueblos de que cuidan los Provinciales al modo de los Obispos sobre los Curatos particulares y aun con mas immediaçion a menudencias, con que no se les debe de impresionar tanto la lastima de que despues de tantos años del descubrimiento destas Islas se este sin predicar el Santo Evangelio en tierras tan vezinas como la gran Isla de Burney (de donde se dize vinieron los Indios destas Islas Tagalos y Bisayas, etc.

Ladrones.

Y las de los Ladrones que nos causaron grande lastima quando los vimos antes de llegar a estas Islas treçientas leguas que salen ellos a rescatar ierro con sus cocos y refresco que traen a nuestra Nao, y pareçe gente apacible y doçil, y pasando todas las Naos de ida y buelta destas Islas a la Nueva España cada año (con que los socorros a los Ministros y la comunicacion eran mas façiles) y estando aquello libre de los enemigos Moros que son los que aca persiguen nuestras doctrinas, y libres los naturales aun desta infame secta de Mahoma (que es asta confusion nuestra y arto daño se nos aya adelantado en las mas de las Islas deste Archipelago) se pudiera esperar mui buen efecto de una Mision a esta Islas de Ladrones que se tomase de proposito, que asta aora aunque una u otra vez de las Naos que se an perdido an entrado algunos Españoles, y aun Religiosos, pero no se a tomado lo del plantar la Santa Fe de proposito, y a lo menos de la Compañia, no a entrado ninguno a quien puede ser que tenga N. Señor guardada esta conquista, que segun el numero que dizen ay de almas, puede ser tan accepta a N. Señor como qualquiera otra Provinçia aun de las de Europa de mas polición, pues Dios no es acceptador de personas, y policias, y la esperiencia nos muestra que estos Indios sençillos bien doctrinados, viven [fol. 54v] con mejor Christiandad que los mui entendidos Europeos.—

Al fin intentando una y otra vez la Mision a estas Islas, o a otras, alguna vez se encontrará con el tiempo del divino beneplaçito y vocacion destas gentes; que no emos de desmayar por lo que dizen que se a intentado en otras partes y no a salido: que sino fuera por instar y repetir una y otra vez, quales estuvieran otras muchas naçiones aun

*en Europa que resistieron tanto a los principios: los corazones de los hombres se mudan, y mas con la diestra del Altissimo y aun los hombres son diversos en diversos tiempos, y no se porque se a de desauçar [sic = desaviar? desviar?] de la predicacion del Evangelio a unos porque otros aunque sean de la misma naçion no le admitieron, quiza quando no se les proponia sufiçientemente, ni se a de desmayar porque en algunas [h]aya entrado ya la secta de Mahoma, que tambien en estas Islas avia entrado, y se desterro con la graçia del Señor, y fervor con que insistieron los Ministros, y a lo menos donde no a entrado, como no a entrado en los **Ladrones**, es lastima que perdamos la ocasion antes que entre y se dificulte mas la conversion de aquellos pobres almas: y quando en los ya envegeçidos en sus viçios, y barbaria no asentase tambien la fe; los niños a lo menos que se fueren criando con la doctrina, y costumbres Christianos seran mejores que sus Padres, y vendran a ser mui buenos Christianos, como dezia S. Francisco Xavier, y se experimenta en estas tierras; y el que una ves no arraygue la Christiandad en algunas tierras con mucha firmeza y perseverança, no es temor que nos a de arredrar como no arredro a los Santos Apostoles, ni a S. Francisco Xavier a que con tantos trabajos procurasen plantar la fe en qualquiera parte, que podian, o la restaurasen (aunque en algunos duro bien poco) porque una por una se cogen los escogidos que Dios tiene en cada parte, y la cosecha de los niños que mueren con la graçia bautismal es mui estimable como la estimaba S. Francisco Xavier mas que todo lo de mas de los Adultos, de que deçia se salvaban entonces en aquellas tierras mui pocos, y al fin la divina providencia dispone asi que nunca falte en que exerçitar el zelo de estender su Santa Fe. Plantandose de nuevo, y restaurandose donde se perdiere.—*

Escusa.

*La escusa de la falta de Ministros se desvia mucho con no alegarnos a las doctrinas de asiento mas de lo que deçia N.R.P. Claudio, y pidiere la neçesidad preçisa de los ya Christianos; y que anduviesen por lo menos algunos sugetos discurriendo por varias partes como lo hazia S. Francisco Xavier, que hizo mas el solo que muchos Ministros Juntos, y no lo pudiera a ver echo estandose en una parte sola de asiento, quien duda que ofreciendose la ocasion de embiar Missioneros a los **Ladrones** o **Burney** o a la **Gran China**, de que despues diré, sin hacer tanta falta a esta Christiandad se pudieran embiar de la Compañia que quando entonces se dexasen algunas doctrinas que tenemos, y las apeteçe el Señor Arzobispo para sus Clerigos, era mas conforme a la Ordenada Caridad y reglas de preferir unos Ministerios a otros, que nos pone Nuestro Santo Padre en las constituciones el acudir a la mas preçisa neçesidad de los que no tienen ningun Ministro, aunque se dexen otras almas, que al fin tendran alguna asistencia de otros Ministros: y aun de los nuestros nunca faltaran Ancianos y achacosos que puedan asistir a algunos de estos pueblos de menos trabajo y desocupar para las Misiones trabajosos a los de mejor edad y salud que pueden acudir a la mayor neçesidad: qual sino esta maior neçesidad es la que nos sacá de Europa donde avia tanto que hazer? Si esto no valiera aun los Curatos de España fuera bueno pretender, quanto mas los obispos, por si acaso estarian mejor administrados de nosotros, que de sacerdotes seculares y perder el cuidado de las Misiones por varias partes y de la conversion de los*

*Infieles, y conservacion de los Christianos que no tienen ningun Ministro, y al fin si nosotros acudieremos segun la mayor caridad y necesidad de las almas, y no segun nuestra mayor comodidad, o conveniencias temporal, no a de faltar la Providencia de Dios en traer mas Ministros, o a los pocos hazer que valgan [fol. 55] por muchos como a echo siempre desde el principio de la Iglesia y a buen seguro que valieramos por mas, si estubieramos menos atados a nuestro curato y hogar cada uno. Claro es que con primer lugar se a de procurar conservar los que ya son Christianos, y assi cuidaban tambien los Santos Apostoles y S. Francisco Xavier, procurando quedase quien las instruyese aunque fuese de los mismos Indios los que el Santo llamaba **Canacapoles** y andando en perpetua visita de pueblo en pueblo; pero dexar de convertir otros, por darlos a aquellos mas asistencia personal, no juzgaron era necessario, pues no lo hazian los Santos.—*

No desamparar.

*Lo que fuera si de gran sentimiento es si se desamparasen del todo los ya Christianos, dexandolos a peligro de Apostatar, y que sean presa de los enemigos de Cristo, que es lo que oy nos tiene clavado el corazon en estas Islas con el desamparo de la fuerza de Samboangan, de que escribira à V.P. el Padre Provincial, y çierto que e oido hablar a algunos de los Padres con espeçial sentimiento de que aunque los Españoles dexasen la fuerza no aya quedado con ellos alguno de los Padres, que les pudiese administrar y alentar a la constancia en la Fe y paciencias de los trabajos y persecucion de los Moros, porque fuera de que un Padre pudiera andar en cubierto aunque los enemigos se apoderasen de la tierra, y los Indios le guarderan escondido para su consuelo, como aconteçia en la primitiva Iglesia, y en Japon algun tiempo: y demos que el peligro de la muerte o cautiverio fuera çierto, que mayor dicha que padeçirlo por no desamparar las ovejas de Jesu Christo que alli no estavan a cargo de otro que de los de la Compañia? quando podrá dar el buen Pastor la vida por sus ovejas, sino quando por no huir, y desampararlas se queda a peligro de su vida? en tiempo de peste obligan los Theologos al Pastor a no huir, aunque quede a peligro çierto de su vida por administrar los sacramentos neçessarios a los que mueren, pues que sera no solo dexar sin sacramentos a los que mueren de aquellos Pobres Indios, sino a peligro casi çierto de Apostatar de la fe; y dexar como en los dientes del lobo aquellos corderillos de Jesu Christo niños ynocentes acabados de bautiçar? S. Francisco Xavier solo porque en la Isla del Moro avian quedado desamparados de otros saçerдotes algunos Christianos se hallò obligado a entrarse por tantos peligros. **Omnino terra periculorum plenissima est** (dize el Santo ap. Turte. lib.2.ep.3.) **et advenis maxime infesta, propter gentis immanitatem insignem &c. ego igitur animadvertens quanta necessitate urgeantiur, quos nemo doceat, no mo [sic] expiet sacramentis inanimum induxi meum debere me yel(?) cum capitis periculo consulere illorum saluti, quo circa quam primum eo me conferre statui, et caput meum indiscrimen offerre, e quidem omnem in Deo spem locatam habeo, cupio que quantum in me erit Christo Domino obtemperare admonenti: qui voluerit animam suam facere perdet eam &c.** Esto dixo y executo el Santo, cuya vida en verdad era mas necessaria para el bien comun de la Chris-*

tiandad que la de qualquiera de nosotros. Bien me parece que el Padre Provincial avrá considerado estas y otras razones, y yo aunque nuevo se las e propuesto, no se si se a consultado la materia, solo e oido à otros Padres, y uno dellos el Padre Miguel Solana, que les haze mucha disonançia se desamparen del todo aquellos pobres Indios, y verdaderamente no parece se puede dudar que la asistencia y Mision en estas tierras y peligros a donde no van otros sacerdotes ya de infieles ya mas aun de Christianos que estan a peligro de Apostatar son las que a de apeteçer la compania y las que segun nuestro instituto y buen Orden de caridad an de ser preferidas, a las demas.—

Al ultimo punto que V.P. me manda responder, de a quales Misiones me inclino? Digo que fuera destas que aqui se an desamparado, que parece instan mas inmediatamente y yo me [e] ofrecido ya al Padre Provincial, aunque por aver otros muchos Padres que saben ya aquella lengua, y tienen mas experiençia de aquella [fol. 55v] tierra, creo que quando ayan de ir algunos, no sere el yo el imbiado.

Inclinacion a Japon.

*Persevera siempre en mi la 1ª inclinacion, que propuse a V.P. quando le di cuenta de mi vocacion en carta de dos de Julio de 1659, que es a la Mision del Japon, y aora me e entendido mas en estos desseos con las notiçias ciertas de que ay aun muchos Christianos en Japon, y ya por reducir los que an apostatado, ya por conservar los que fuere posible de los que no an prevariçado [sic] aun, si quiera con el exemplo de los sacerdotes que por esta causa se ponen a tantos peligros; parece nos toca singularmente a los de la Compañia (a quien a significado N. Señor le tiene encordada si[n]gularmente aquella Christiandad) el no desamparla del todo, y volver a embiar de quando en quando Ministros que al fin **duodecim sunt horem Diei**, alguna hora sera lo que nuestro Señor tiene dispuesta para cumplir su SSma. voluntad en aquella tierra, y las ansias, y ruegos de S. Francisco Xavier y del Padre Marçelo [Mastrilli] y demas gloriosos Martires de aquella Christiandad, que parece quiere Nuestro Señor vaya por los pasos de la primitiva Iglesia, quando no dexaban los sacerdotes de buscar y fortalecer los Christianos escondiendose como podian entre ellos, por mas que al fin les cogiese el impetu de los Tiranos; al fin en provar varias vezes no se pierde mas que la vida de uno u otro, que la gana perdiendola, y que año mas o menos le a de perder en un naufragio destas Islas, ò en un Ayre u otra causa que no sea de tanta gloria de N. Señor y al fin la sentençia de San Francisco Xavier que puse ya, parece aprieta aun mas para Japon que para la Isla del Moro y en lo de Japon lo mostró el no solo con palabras y obras quando vivia, sino ya glorioso en el çielo, pues vino a embiar al Padre Marçelo a Japon, sabiendo que en la misma puerta le aguardaba la muerte, porque al fin esta muerte, y estas instancias en restaurar aquella Christiandad es actual y continua defensa de la Fe y aliento para los Christianos que ay alla, y estimulo para que se vuelban a Dios los que an retroçedido. El peligro solo digno de temerle cada particular, y yo mas que nadie por lo poco que tengo obligado a N. Señor es el de ponerse en el peligro espiritual tan grave: por eso yo no me atrevo a poner me en el por mi voluntad: y assi lo que e dicho no es para pedir esta Mision, sino para obedecer a V.P. diziendo llanamente a lo que mas me inclina el afecto y razones, que e propuesto.—*

Con esta Inclinación, y probabilidad que me parece tengo de aver al fin de pasar a Japon que aun no se me representa tan dificultoso como antes el salir de España que al fin vençio N. Señor tan suavemente, [h]e deseado aplicar me à aprender algo de lengua Japona, pero porque la obediencia inmediata del Padre Provincial me aplico a la lengua Tagala, asta aora no e emprendido la de Japon, ya graçias a Dios sé de la Tagala lo bastante para guiar estos pobres Indios a su salvación, y servir en esta Provincia el tiempo que si dilatare otra Mision mas necessaria, que con que sea asta que venga la re[fs]puesta desta sera mas tiempo que el que an servido otros muchos que vienen al principio de sus estudios, y si sin impedirlo que me mandaren los superiores inmediatos pudiera aprender algo de Japon, me parece sera esto conforme al gusto de N. Señor y de V.P.—

Los Ladrones.

Despues de lo de Japon me inclino a la Mision de las Islas de los Ladrones y como fueron los primeros gentiles que e visto se me clavo en el corazon su desdichada suerte en tanta oportunidad como parece ay para acudirles con las Naos que van y buelven de Nueva España y acordandome que S. Francisco Xavier no paro asta que embio Padres a los de Socotora que fueron los primeros que le deparo N. Señor en el viaje desamparados de Ministros, propuse de hazerlo asi del modo que yo pudiese y assi escribo a Madrid o persona que pueda solicitar,¹ que el Rey N. Señor mande con aprieto se ponga en execuçion una çedula real, que dizen ay, y la tienen olvidada en el [fol. 59] gobierno, para que se disponga la conversion destes pobres almas, si se ofrèciere, oportunidad para esto primero que para Japon, y yo fuese a proposito, no e de perder de mi parte la ocasion de cumplir el voto que tengo echo de emplear en la conversion de los Infieles toda mi vida y fuerzas siempre que se me permitiere, el qual voto me trujo a estas partes, juscando V.P. que N. Señor avia declarado bastantemente su voluntad de que yo viniese a cumplir mi voto, por lo qual en 3º lugar me inclino a la 1ª Mision de Infieles que se pudiese, y a solicitar con los que gobiernan por el Rey Nuestro Señor que se estienda Nuestra Santa Fe en las tierras vezinas a donde no [h]a llegado como Burney &c. Y entre tanto cumplire del modo que se me permitiere la 2ª parte de mi voto de las Misiones entre Catholicos, aunque aqui ay mui poca ocasion de exerçitar esto porque no ay mas Ministerio fuera de Manila que el de curas asistentes a sus pueblos con algunas visitas, y en esta lengua de Tagalos son mui pocas y no tan neçesarias como fueran en otras partes como la gran China &c.

China.

Desto de la China, ya me parece que se abra propuesto a V.P. de parte de los mismos Padres que estan en China (y creo que de aqui tambien) quan conveniente fuera se dividieran las Provincias de China aplicando alguna parte a los Padres desta Provincia de Filipinas, pues por via de la India Oriental no pueden venir tantos sacerdotes como son menester para aquellas tan dilatadas tierras, y de aqui es mas façil el paso, y socorro como le tienen los Padres de Santo Domingo que acuden desde aqui a sus Misiones

1 Ed. note: A reference to his own father, who was a member of the Treasury Council.

de China, y de aqui se puede llevar aprendida la lengua a la qual yo tambien me aplicara si fuera gusto de los superiores, aunque confieso me inclino mas a la Mision y lengua de Japon, para responder con la puridad que debo a lo que me manda V.P. a quien N. Señor Guarde para su Mayor gloria y bien de Nuestra Compañia abraçando tambien mui inmediatamente con su Santa direccion, y Oraçiones y Sacrifiçios a estos sus hijos en esta extremidad del Mundo.

Taytay (Junto a Manila) a 22 de Julio de 1663.—

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+ Diego Luis S. Vitores +

[Potscript:] Ya gracias a N. Señor llevo aviso de que a 8 deste mes tomaron puerto destas Islas el Padre Gerardo Basf,] P. Francisco Solano y unos doce compañeros que avian quedado el año pasado en Mexico. No an llegado aun las cartas. Y dan prisa para el despacho desta otra Nao.

Translation of this letter, partly by Fr. Juan Ledesma

Peace of Christ.

From the port of Lampon I wrote to Your Paternity last July of 1662 about the happy voyage with which our Lord deigned to bring the 16 of us belonging to our Society, after some begging [on my part], to these Philippine Islands, who were then made welcome here. Just as many of our mission band had to remain behind in Mexico this year.

On the individuals aboard this galleon.

We were received with the usual charity of this holy Province. Those who had finished or interrupted their studies in order to dedicated themselves more readily to the ministries, and had had some difficulty in passing all their courses (there were two of this latter category) were dispersed to learn the language, and to begin their ministries. Three of them who had gone to the Visayas were followed by enemy Moros who infest these Islands. Father Juan Blas de Mura, and Father Juan Bautista Gil escaped, although with great labors in the whole voyage.

Captive.

Father Andrés Ventura de Barrena of the Province of [old] Castile, a man of very good qualities, became a captive of the Moros of Jolo. Father Provincial with all the efficiency possible has tried and continues to try to obtain his rescue. Up to the present all we know is about his patience in captivity.

Dismissed.

Father Provincial for reasons which, as his Reverence will write, were not open for consultation, dismissed Brother Alonso Escos.

This man and the one who remained for dismissal in Mexico, both from the Province of Andalusia, and those whose talents have been overrated to us, prove well what I have written from Mexico about the neglect in the Provinces of countless orders issued by Rome, that no-one should be sent to the Indies unless there is assurance of his vocation and virtue, because of the great danger, temporal and spiritual, and certainly

for the common good of the Provinces and of the individuals themselves. I have no doubt that it would be better to bring only a third as many subjects of known virtue and who have finished, or given up, their studies to dedicate themselves to the ministry of these souls more readily, than to bring the other two thirds, mere children who have not finished even the Arts courses. Overthere, they should be exercised and educated, and serve the cause of Religion more, and not come here and run the risk of losing themselves here, or during the voyage, specially if it is a long one, and with the break in their studies during two voyages, etc.

Studies.

[Synopsis: He informs on the lamentable tendency to be lax in the matter of studies of the Brother Students. He says that the scholastics who came with him to the Philippines were promoted to the following scholastic year without the usual examinations. And this was done even though the previous course was held in a haphazard manner during the trip from Spain to Mexico, for only some weeks in Mexico, and rather incompletely during the trip across the Pacific to the Philippines. The reason given was that the poor young men were exhausted and arrived at their destination when the school year was about to begin. This reason does not appear to be cogent for him].

The Act of Contrition.

Regarding myself. As soon as I arrived, Fr. Provincial assigned me to learn the Tagalog language, which is the one the natives of Manila speak. It is said to be the most difficult in the Islands, and truly at the beginning it seemed to me to be so, until the Lord made it easier for me through the Act of Contrition made in the manner of Father Jerónimo Lopez of pious memory. Y.P. wrote to me about it in your letter dated 8 May 1660.¹ You said that you had ordered it to be translated [from Spanish] into Latin, in order for it to be communicated to all the Provinces. It would be much useful that this general order be applied also to all the provinces of the Indies. As for me here, I made it an exercise in my language learning, having it translated and learning it, so that I was able within a short time to put it into practice, as I did with the travelling mission in Spain. In this manner, beginning with this Act of Contrition in Tagalog, I managed to learn the basics of teaching to these poor Indians, and then other more frequent prayers which have been printed here. I am sending a copy inserted in the letter of Father Julio Marín, should it be of some consolation to see in Rome these papers printed in such a remote language. In the same letter I also mention with what fervor this holy practice is exercised by the natives, according to the formula of Father Jerónimo Lopez of pious memory. I mention also the fruit from the same exercise made in the Spanish language in Manila and in Cavite, where most of the Spaniards in the Islands reside.

Health.

In regards to my health and strength about which your Paternity in your letter of 8 May 1660 ordered me to keep you informed, I cannot but say that since my sickness in Madrid in April 1659, I have not felt any headache, thank God, or any indisposition

¹ Ed. note: See Doc. 1659D).

in spite of a variety of climates on land or sea, as has been felt by all my companions, even the strongest ones, as is normal for those arriving in a new country. This is a proof that our Lord has not yet decided to test me with sickness. May His most holy will be done in everything; and whatever health and strength He may give me let it be for His greater service.

Missions.

The missions hereabouts (which is another point about which Y.P. asked me to inform you) do not go beyond the teaching of the Christian doctrine in the towns which are under our care as regular curates; Y.P. would have already been informed of this. As for me, I cannot yet state what I feel, because perhaps I am still missing some experience of local practices, enough to allow me to see clearly through some that seem to me to be at odds. Regarding this manner of caring for the towns, I too (like Father Miguel Solana) miss the execution of what our Father [General] Claudio [Aquaviva] of holy memory ordained when he founded this Province, that the doctrinal administration of the towns be accepted in such manner that it does not last more than 20 years for each town until they are well established in our holy faith and Christian customs. And that later they be returned to the Lord Archbishop, so that in the same manner, we pass on to the doctrinal administration of other towns or employ ourselves in the restitution of others that had been lost. In this fashion, we would attend to the larger needs, and we would avoid the disadvantages associated with being permanent Curates in towns that have become already like those of Spain, where some of the Fathers have even fewer souls to take care of than some curates overthere. Right now, the Lord Archbishop has offered us the opportunity for the Society to take over the missions of Mindoro [Island], that are parishes requiring more labor and less established, and where I believe there are even a few heathens, and this would be in exchange for the parish of Silang near Manila where the people are well instructed and would be better for his clergymen. However, this point seems to be more in the purview of the Father Visitor, the one that this province has requested from Y.P.

On Gentiles.

It seems to me that very little is discussed at this time on the mission for spreading our holy faith in the neighboring islands of Gentiles and Moros, either because the secular clergy is not much interested in this or because there are not many among the Religious who are like St. Francis Xavier, he whose holiness, zeal, and prudence animated the secular clergy whom he administered, arranged the embassies, and other means so that the dominion and name of our Lord J. C. be propagated. Individual Religious either do not understand this system, or are not given the required leeway by those who govern them; most of them remain attached to their parishes, etc. The Superiors have much to do in the government of their subjects and the administration of their towns, which are taken care of by the Provincials in the same manner that the Bishops care for the particular parishes, and even with more immediate attention to small matters, so that they must not be much impressed by the pitiful fact that after so many years since the discovery of these Islands the Gospel has not yet been preached in lands in the immedi-

ate vicinity, such as the big Island of Borneo (from where they say the Indians of these Islands, Tagalogs, Visayans, etc. have come).

Ladrones.

We felt greatly sorry when we first saw the **Ladrones** upon coming here, some 300 leagues before these Islands. They came out to our galleon to trade iron for their coconuts and refreshment. They have all the appearances of being a peaceful and docile people. Since every year all the ships on their departure from these Islands and return to New Spain have to pass by them (so that the help for the Ministers and the communication with them become all the more easy) and since those Islands are free from the inimical Moros (who are those who cause much confusion here and do much harm to the progress of the cause in most of the Islands of this Archipelago) much good could be expected from them if a mission were purposely established in these Islands of the Ladrones. Once or twice before, on the occasion of galleons being lost there, a few Spaniards, and even some Religious, were there, but never with the intention of planting the Faith on purpose. At least not one of the Society has landed there to whom our Lord may have reserved their conquest. Given the number of souls that are supposed to be there, such conquest can be as pleasing to our Lord as in any other province, even those more civilized of Europe, for God is not a jealous chooser of persons and systems of government. We have had experience that the simple natives if well instructed in the Christian Doctrine, live better Christian lives than those well-educated Europeans.

Finally, whenever a new Mission is attempted in these Islands, no matter how many times, their turn comes in accordance with divine pleasure and the vocation of these people. We should not be discouraged by rumors that attempts were made in other places and failed. For were it not for repeated efforts, what would be the fate of many other nations, even of Europe, which at the beginning offered so much resistance? The hearts of men can change, and more so with the right hand of the Almighty; men are even different in different times, and I do not see why the preaching of the Gospel should bypass some, when others of the same race did not admit it, perhaps because it was not proposed to them sufficiently. Nor should we despair because the sect of Mahomet has already penetrated some places, for it has also invaded these Islands and it was expelled therefrom with the Lord's grace and the fervent resistance of the Ministers. At least where it has not yet entered, as in these Islands of the **Ladrones**, it is a pity that we are losing the opportunity before it enters, and the conversion of these poor souls becomes more difficult. There would be some who grow stronger in their vices, and barbarity is not so suitable to establish the Faith in. The children at least could be raised with the Christian doctrine and customs, and become better than their parents; in time, they would become good Christians, as St. Francis Xavier used to say, and experience in these countries. If Christianity does not take root in some lands with much solidity and perseverance, it is no reason to frighten us; such a thing did not frighten the holy Apostles, nor St. Francis Xavier, who endeavored so much to plant the Faith everywhere they could, or to restore it (although in some places it did not last much) because those whom God has chosen in each place are selected one at a time, and the harvest of dying child-

ren through the grace of baptism is very noble. St. Francis Xavier used to esteem it above all else, specially above the baptism of adults, about which he used to say that very few such baptisms could be made in those lands. Finally, [he said] that divine providence arranges matters thus, so that the zeal to extend the holy Faith is never lacking, be it in planting it anew, and restoring it where it had become lost.

Excuse.

The excuse regarding the lack of Ministers would be banished considerably if we do not attach ourselves to the parishes more than what our Reverend Father Claudio had said and the need ... of those who are already Christians demand and if at least some of our subjects should go from place to place as St. Francis Xavier was wont to do. Alone he did more than new Ministers together, and he would not have accomplished it if he had remained permanently in one place...

Not to abandon.

What would indeed be of great distress is the complete abandonment of those who are already Christians, leaving them in the danger of apostatizing and to be at the mercy of the enemies of Christ which is what has our heart nailed in these Islands with the desertion of the fortress of Zamboanga, about which Father Procurator will write to Y.R. And indeed I heard some Fathers say with especial sorrow that, although the Spaniards had to abandon that fortress, not one of the Fathers remained with them to administer to them the sacraments and to encourage them to persevere in the faith and be patient in the hardships and persecution of the Moros...

Let us grant that the danger of death or captivity is certain; what greater joy than to suffer it so as not to abandon the sheep of Jesus Christ, for they will be there in charge of no other than one of the Fathers of the Society!

Regarding the last point Y.P. asked me to inform you, to which of the Missions I am inclined. I answer that, besides those that have been abandoned here, which seem to me to represent a more urgent need, and for which I have volunteered my services to the Father Provincial, although there are other Fathers who know that language better than I, and have more experience of that land, I believe that when the time comes to send some, I will not be of their number.

Inclination for Japan.

The first inclination that I proposed to Your Paternity when I gave you an account of my vocation in my letter of 2 July 1659,¹ is still always that of the Mission of Japan... With this inclination and the probability that I believe there is that I may at last go to Japan ... I have desired to give myself to some study of the Japanese language. However, because of the immediate assignment of Father Provincial that I apply myself to the Tagalog language, I have so far not attended to that of Japan ...

The Ladrões.

After Japan my inclination is for the Mission of the Ladrões Islands. Being the first gentiles that I have come across, it touched deeply my heart to see their unfortunate

1 Ed. note: See Doc. 1659B.

fate in the midst of such opportunity that there seems to be to help them with the vessels that come and go to New Spain. Remembering that St. Francis Xavier did not desist until he could send Fathers to the Island of Socotra which were the first our Lord had arranged for him to see devoid of ministers during his voyage, I planned to do the same as best I could. Thus I have written to Madrid or to a person who may recommend to the King our Lord that he strongly order the execution of the Royal Decree which it is said there is for the conversion of those poor souls, but which the government has forgotten. If the opportunity should offer itself for this Mission ahead of Japan, and I am apt for it, I shall not on my part neglect the opportunity of fulfilling the vow I made of giving my whole life and strength as long as I am permitted for the conversion of the infidels. Consequently, I am in the third place inclined for the first Mission to the infidels that should offer itself... Meanwhile I shall fulfill in the manner permitted to me the second part of my vow which is for the Mission among Catholics although there are very few occasions to carry it out here, because there is no pastoral ministry outside Manila except that of the assistant pastors in towns where there are some outlying chapels, and the occasions for the use of the Tagalog language are very few and not so necessary. The occasions for the pastoral ministry in other places, as in great China, are more frequent and necessary.

China.

Concerning China I believe that it has been proposed to Y.P. by the Fathers themselves in China (and I believe by those from here also) how convenient it would be to divide the Provinces of China by using some of the Fathers of this Philippine Province, since not so many priests so necessary for those vast lands, can come by way of the East Indies, whereas the passage and remittance of help from here is easier. This is the experience of the Dominican Fathers who go from here to their Missions in China; and the language can well be learned here, a thing I would also do if I were allowed by my Superiors. However, to respond with clarity to what Y.P. has asked me, I confess that I am more inclined for the Mission and language of Japan.

May the Lord preserve Your Paternity for his greater glory and the good of the Society. Along with your holy guidance, prayers and sacrifices, give also your warm embrace to these your sons who are in these remotest parts of the world.

Taytay (near Manila), 22 July 1663.

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+ Diego Luis de San Vitores +

[Postscript:]

Thanks be to our Lord! News has been received that on the 8th of this month, there arrived at a port in these Islands Father Gerardo Bas, Fr. Francisco Solano and some 12 companions who had remained behind last year in Mexico. The mail has not yet arrived. They are making haste to despatch this other galleon.

Document 1663E

Letter from Fr. Sanvitores to Fr. Juan Gabriel Guillén, dated Taytay 22 July 1663

*Sources: ARSI Phil. 13, fol. 1-4; copy in the 26 Martyrs' Museum, Nagasaki, Japan.
Note: Fr. Guillén was then teaching theology at the Jesuit College in Salamanca.*

Original in Spanish

Copia de una carta del Pe. Diego Luis de Sanvitores escrita en Philippinas a 22 de Julio de 1663.

Por la que escribí el mes de Julio pasado de 62 desde el Puerto de Lampong destas islas Philipinas, savria V.R^a la felicidad, con que se servio N.Sr. (por su Santissima M[adr]e, y S[an]tos P[adr]es n[uestr]os Ignacio, Francisco Xavier, y Luis Gonzaga, quien tambien fue Patron del viaje, por cogernos su fiesta en el mar) traernos a estas islas. En todos fue de gran consuelo el socorro no esperado en desquite del que se esperaba, y no llego de la nao, que avia salido destas Islas para la Nueva España, como suele, y no se sabe aun della sobre la arribada de otros dos años antes, con que estaban estas Islas en suma apretura, y necesidad de todo socorro, y mas con la insolente amenaza del Pumpuan Chino. En nuestros Padres fue singular la alegria por el nuevo socorro de compañeros, que ayudassen a la mucha mies de almas, que nuestros esperaba; a pocos dias tuvimos en el Puerto al Pe. Procurador General de la Provincia con un muy buen refresco, y muchas demostraciones de caridad, y no fué la menor el trabajo que tuvo en salir a recibirnos hasta aquel puerto con tres dias de camino a pie por riscos, y lodaçales insondables en aquel tiempo de aguas (que esto especial tienen los que entran en estas islas por este Puerto de Lampong, a donde aportamos por mas seguro de enemigos, que la 1^a entrada es una subida del Cielo): al fin con la buena guia del Padre Procurador, y dulce consideracion, de quienes ibamos en seguimiento de las ovejas de Xpo nro. Sr., que especialmente en esta tierra se nos huyen a los montes, pasamos los tres dias de camino sin ningun azar, hasta una laguna celebre en estas islas cercada de pue-

*blos de Indios Tagalos administrados por la mayor parte de Padres Descalzos de S. Francisco: y en una destas dotrinas tuvimos el primer recebimiento con notable agasajo, y caridad destes Santos Reliligosos [sic], y demostraciones de alegria en los Indios de sus danças, y musicas, p^a lo qual tienen especial gracia, y pueden competir en voz, y destreza con los buenos musicos de España, y cantan en español sin entender lo que cantan con tanta claridad, y sentido, como si fueran Castellanos; pero lo que da especial devocion es oirles cantar en su lengua una Salve, que siempre que la oigo me acuerdo no sin especial dulçura de la Profecia de la Santissima Virgen. **Ecce est beatam me dicent omnes generationes.***

*En la laguna, y rio de Manila fue el principal recebimiento de innumerables embarcaciones de todos los pueblos, todos de fiestas, musica, y parabienes, que en verdad aprovecha el acordarnos dello para no desdecir en los progresos del fruto de las almas, que nos anunciaban aquellas primeras aclamaciones. En Manila fuimos recibidos con el **Te Deum laudamus** ayudandonos todos a dar las devidas gracias a N.Sr. de tan feliz viaje. Llegamos buenos, y sanos todos los 15 que aviamos salido de Mexico. La dificultad del camino por tierra desde el puerto la desconto N.Sr. con el havernos librado del riesgo en la entrada de las islas por mar hasta el puerto principal de Cavite, que padecio poco despues el navio **S. Damian**, en que veniamos: por que quiriendo llevarle desde el puerto de Lampong [fol. 1 verso] al de Cavite se perdio con un mal temporal entre las Islas cerca de Cavite, aunque no murio sino una persona de los pobres marineros que solos iban ya en el. Gracias a N.Sr.*

Despues de reparados en Manila corporal, y espiritualmente con unos fervorosos exercicios, han ido prosiguido sus estudios los que no los avian acabado. Los demas se repartieron en breve por varias dotrinas, o pueblos p^a aprender lengua, y empezar a dotrinar estos pobres Indios. Los que fueron a Pintados, o Prov^a de Bisayas tuvieron luego buen estreno de su fervor con un muy trabajoso viaje de temporal, y de enemigos Moros, que infestan estas Islas. Nuestro buen P. Juan Blas de Mura, y otro compañero Valenciano Juan Baut^a Gil se dieron buena maña, y con el favor de Dios, y sus pies escaparon por aquellos montes, y tambien otro Padre mas antiguo. El que dio en manos de los enemigos fue un Angelito de la Prov^a de Castilla[:] Andres Bentura de Barrera, cautivaronle los Moros de Jolo. Ha causado grande ternura una carta, que escribe en un pedazo de papel colorado significando no menos la conformidad, y aliento, que Nro. Sr. le da en su cautiverio que lo duro, y lastimoso del, tratase con todo calor del rescate con la mucha caridad del Padre Provincial y demas Padres y esperamos nos le bolvera Dios, a que logre sus fervores con mas fruto de las almas; que aora como no sabe aun la lengua no puede aun lo poco, que le dieran lugar en su cautiverio: pero despues de todo esto no falta quien le embidia, el que sea el primero, que ha probado este dulce fruto de los prisiones por ir a predicar la fe de Nro. Sr. Jesu Xpo, de los 15 que venimos.

Yo hasta aora estoy en lo mas seguro, y a proposito p^a aprender lengua, en este pueblo de Taytay de Indios (que aca sino es en Manila no se hallan Españoles). Esta seys leguas de Manila: es Ministro aqui el Padre Miguel Solana, que aca no tienen otro

descanso los que han sido Provinciales, y servido mucho, sino servir mas, y trabajar muy bien en la enseñanza destos pobres Indios. El mismo Padre me pidió por compañero para que aprendiesse lengua, que es la mayor caridad, que se puede hacer a un nuevo, para que exercite luego el fin a que Dios le trae. Y assi lo va disponiendo Nro. Sr. con su acostumbrada suavidad, y eficacia contra la comun persuasion, que temian todos, quando llegue a Manila, de que me avian de ocupar en leer &c: que aunque este ministerio tambien es muy de las almas en esta tierra: pues no tiene otro resplandor, que el de la gloria de Nro. Sr. en acabar de abilitar p^a los ministerios a los nuestros, y algunos seglares, que puedan ayudar a los Religiosos, que son todos muy pocos p^a las muchas almas que ay: pero aun quando la obediencia ocupe en esto importa mucho tener ya lengua p^a ayudar a los Indios, que, aun en Manila, son siempre la principal cosecha. Al fin Nro. Sr. hace lo que quiere, y con esta oportunidad deste pueblo de Taytay se ha dispuesto lindamente el objeto de atribucion de todas estas idas, y venidas (que ya estamos, en que es el Acto de contricion, y amor deste Buen Dios).

Apenas empeze a estudiar los nominativos desta lengua Tagala (que es la principal de estas Islas) quando por exercicio de lengua hice traducir a unos Indios ladinos el Acto de contricion en la forma del Venerable P. Geronimo Lopez con todas sus sentencias, y Ave Marias, y despues se enmendo de buenas lenguas de los nuestros: y ha sido el total modo de aprender yo la lengua: porque siendo assi, que al principio me estaba suma dificultad el decorar [sic],¹ me tome con mi Acto de contricion de suerte, que en cosa de un mes le aprende y le predique en este pueblo con todos sus tonos, y sentencias; cierto que con mas expedicion, que en Alcalá el Español, sin leer el papel, porque la cortedad de la vista no me impida el efecto (aunque las mas vezes llevo el papel, porque se animen otros, que leen bien, como lo hacia el Padre Geronimo Lopez) y la correspondencia de vocablos en la traduccion, que despues he ajustado yo, ha sido mi principal estudio: y assi atribuyo al Acto de contricion la facilidad, que Nro. Sr. me dio luego, para que antes de tres meses de lengua pudiesse confessar corrientemente y predicar, o platicar especialmente en lo que toca a contricion y confession, doctrina Xpiana, y demas materias de mission, en que insistimos singularmente por el voto [fol. 2] que nos trujo a estas tierras. En el ablar ordinario con los Indios va Dios dando con el uso lo que es menester, y quando me allo atajado de palabras me voy a mi Acto de contricion, en que no nos podemos perder. Y en estas tierras especialmente por mas que se repita, y encargue, y instruyan los naturales en como le han de hazer, nada sobra por la mucha importancia porque como ay tanta falta de sacerdotes el remedio de la confession no esta tan a mano, y assi todo el bien destos pobres se ha de librar en un buen Acto de contricion. Atendiendo a esto ha ordenado aora el Padre Provincial que en todas nuestras doctrinas se platique todos los domingos, y se les intruya, y afervorize a los Indios, para que le hagan como le hazen todos juntos en alta voz, guiandolos el

1 Ed. note: The copy in Nagasaki, which has some very small differences in the text (mostly a word added here and there), had an addition here, which reads as follows: "que es forçoso decorar algo para aprender bien lengua."

Padre. Y lo mismo ha ordenado el Sr. Arçobispo en las dotrinas de sus Ministros, y ha mandado imprimir p^a Españoles; y Tagalas la formula con los 40 dias de indulgencia que ha concedido a imitacion del Sr. Card[enal] de Toledo cuya concesion con su firma me truxe entre mis papeles, y se me ha quedado con ella el Sr. Arçobispo por devocion al Sr. Cardenal.

Lo del Acto de contricion por las calles ha salido mejor, que yo pudiera pensar, que mucho si lo traza otro, que sabe mas que yo, y gusta mas que yo, de que se emprenda este fuego divino de su amor, y se dexa grangear de las Ave Marias del Padre Geronimo Lopez que no cessa alla en el cielo &c. Con los exemplares de España, y Nueva España, que con los que aqui se atienden mas, y el fruto dellos, que se divulgo luego por Manila en el librito de Casos raros, (que impreso en Mexico, y añadido con estos nuevos exemplares paso tambien aca por la mejor mercaderia conforme a la instruccion como Profética que me dio el Padre Geronimo Lopez como V.R^a sabe, y no es decible, ni p^a V.R^a nuevo el fruto que ha hecho en Españoles, e Indios tambien, que ya andan algunos buenos casos traducidos) con este medio pues no fue menester gastar muchos memoriales, aunque el brevecito y sustancial del Padre Geronimo Lopez p^a su Em[inen-]ci] importo mucho aqui p^a los Padres y se persuadieron facilmente assi los de casa como los de fuera, singularmente el Sr. Arçobispo, y el Sr. Governador, que aqui es el primer moble [sic] de qualquiera cosa publica, que era cosa muy santa, y importante, pero despues de todo esto no se huviera conseguido tan a prisa, y con tanta eficacia, y suavidad, a no haver la Providencia de Nro. Sr. dispuesto, que las amenazas insolentes del Pumpuan Chino nos hiciessen acoger al divino socorro.

*Hizose un novenario tomando por Patron deste guerra al gloriossimo Principe S. Miguel especial devocion del Sr. Governador, y del Sr. Arçobispo D. Miguel Poblete, y devocion comun de todos, y p^a los devotos de Nro. Santo Apostol de las Indias muy encargada del Santo especialmente p^a estas Islas en una de las quales sucedio lo del terremoto, y favor del Santo Archangel, que el Santo escribe. Dio luego el Sr. la inspiracion, de que la 1^a batalla avia de ser contra los mayores enemigos dentro de la Ciudad, y que el principal asalto avia de ser por las calles, disparando la pieza de batir corazones, y las balas del artilleria del Arcangel, que fuessen hechando rayos por todas partes, y llevandolo todo a fuego, y a sangre **quien como Dios p^a temido, quien como Dios p^a amado**, y era un juicio de Dios. Las sentencias que salieron con el zelo de los Padres que todos se alentaron a entonarlas, y hacerlas &c. Al fin hizose la 1^a noche del octavario con todas las circunstancias, y forma del Padre Geronimo Lopez, y aunque algunos rezelaban al principio las tinieblas de la noche en Plaça de armas, y de tanta diversidad de naciones se resolvieron a que convenia no omitir esta circuntancia [fol. 2 verso] de la noche (que aunque como escrivi a V.R^a desde Mexico es bueno de día, quando no se puede mas con los que gobierna &a pero siempre que se pueda de noche se añade mucha mocion). No faltó ahora aquella noche de Generales, y Cabos de militia. El Principal de los Generales empezó llevando el Santo Xpo. en nombre de S. Miguel y luego se fueron remudando, y las hachas tambien semejantes personajes. El Sr. Governador embio ocho hachas, y su Señoria creo que assistio en cubierto. El Sr. Arçobis-*

*po nos aguardo en su iglesia, y salio acompañando algun trecho, aunque por haver de predicar en la octava, y ser dañosos estos serenos le obligaron a que se recogiesse a su casa. La mocion no ay que decir pues es **ex opere operato** la que V.R^a sabe en todas partes, que seria con las circunstancias &c. Como salio tan bien la 1^a noche que fue 17 de enero quedaron todos muy animados a repetir (que antes no dexaba de haver sus miedos, y siempre ay prudentes, que por mas exemplares, que aya de otras partes hallan disparidades de tierras: claro es que el Demonio no gusta nada, de que alcancen a tantas partes remedios tan poderosos, que deshagan el poder de sus tinieblas, y pecados, que estiende el por todas partes). Estuvo casi resuelto, que se repitiese en la misma forma todas las noches de aquel octavario; pero al fin se medio mas proporcionadamente, y se resolvió que saliesse tres noches p^a los Españoles dentro de Manila, y las noches de en medio se hiciesse dentro de nuestra iglesia, solamente con un exemplo, que se vino a convertir en platica propria de mission: y el remate del Acto de contricion era una diciplina, que hicieron todos con gran fervor, assistiendo siempre el Sr. Governador (con que sin querer hubo cumplida mission, que por ser tiempo tan ocupado de prevenciones de guerra no avian salido a ello). Otros tres dias se hizo a los Indios en su lengua en los pueblos, que estan al rededor de la Ciudad, y no es creible lo bien que les ha asentado a los Indios aquel modo de procession, y penetrantes voces, y tonos, que todo se hace puntualmente como en la lengua española.*

*Acabada en Manila la mission del Acto de contricion, que assi la llaman, por instancia de los Señores Governador y Arçobispo se dispuso de la misma suerte en Cavite (que es el puerto principal, y unica poblacion de Españoles en esta Isla fuera de Manila). Salio con la misma mocion, y aun se preciaban los Padres de alla, que avia sido con mas señaladas circunstancias, que en Manila: porque hicimos un cuerpo todas las religiones, que alli ay, Padres Dominicos, Franciscos, Augustinos Recoletos, y de S. Juan de Dios, y todos hechaban sentencias entreverados con nosotros, y hacian su exhortacion quando les tocaba. Señalaronse en el fervor, y gusto, con que le abraçaron los Padres de Santo Domingo, y el Padre Vicario Provincial que se allo allí, era el que mas fuego pegaba con sus saetas de admirable voz, y espiritu: iban leyendo por el papel impreso (que aun duraban los de Alcalá) y este Padre y otro muy docto, y siervo de Dios, Regente de sus estudios de Santo Thomas de Manila hicieron el Acto de contricion Apostolicamente. El Santo Xpo le llevo siempre, que no quiso dexarle el Castellano de aquella fuerza. Hizose tres dias: por la noche dentro de los muros, y otra vez a los Indios extra muros. Han quedado todos muy aficionados a este santo exercicio: y esta resuelto se haga una noche cada semana de quaresma, si por las continuas aguas, que apenas dexan andar las calles sino en aquel tiempo, o cerca de quaresma, no se puede hazer entre año. Y lo buen de la suavidad de Dios es que todo esto se origino de una arma falsa: por que el Pumpuan Chino a esta façon ya avia muerto **per modum meriti in spe**, no se si se me han olvidado los terminillos: y aplacado el Buen Señor con tales rogativas detuvo al hijo, que no prosiguiesse en los intentos de su Padre. Antes ha embiado embaxador de paz, y se esta ajustando. Nro. Sr. lo lleve adelante.*

Todos los Padres de aca han tomado con gran fervor esto del Acto de contricion. El Padre Provincial Ignacio Zapata lo solicito instantemente. El Padre Rector Rafael de Bonafe lo dispuso inmediatamente todo, y canto sus sentencias y llevo la campanilla, y lo mismo el Padre Rector de Cavite Luis Espineli, que le hizo con mucho espiritu. El Padre Nicolas Cani hombre Apostolico se muere de Santa embidia de que no avia [fol. 3] él visto esta traça. El Padre Xavier Riquelme de nuestra Provincia de Tol^o se señalo mucho, y el Padre Francisco Combes (uno y otro Maestros de 1^a de esta universidad, antecesor y presente) y el Padre Combes en todos los sermones que hizo la quaresma remato siempre con Acto de contricion muy fervorosamente. A todo esto ayudan los exemplares de los Maestros de Alcalá, y Salamanca. Gracias a Dios, que ya que no pueden venir por aca, ni estar en tantas partes, a quantas les lleva el amor de N.Sr. Jesu Xpo, y de las almas, que redimio, haciendo lo que pueden en las partes donde estan alcançan a otras muchas con su exemplo: digale V.R^a a nro. Maestro el Padre Rivadanera que Santa Barbara, que Santa Ines lo hacen muy bien por aca, y espero no se descuidan por alla en ayudarnos a cumplir nuestro concierto, y voto. Y por lo que dixere de Santa Ines, la devocion que el Padre Rivadanera me pego, me ha hecho mirar con especiales ojos una mission, que esta dedicada a esta Santa aqui en estos montes, donde andan muchos Indios Gentiles, huyendo de los Españoles, y me estoy ya disponiendo p^a salir unos dias a caça, quando me lo mandaren, que me han insinuado sera presto, y voy con grande aliento en la intercession de la Santa Pastora, que era trayendo estas ovejas al aprisco del Buen Pastor &c. No ay sino proseguir por alla con oraciones, y exemplos, consejos, y cartas de lo que se hace de misiones, y Acto de contricion, y obra pia de S. Ignacio y S. Xavier, que ya he dicho que todo ayuda aun a los muy distantes. El empleo de por aca es todo en la doctrina destes pobres Indios: con Españoles ay algo tambien, y lo que ay es bien importante p^a que no desayuden ellos a la doctrina de los Indios con sus exemplos.

*Assi nuestros Padres que ay muy fervorosos trabajan lindamente a todas manos, en cuya ayuda pasaremos con nuestros Actos de contricion, y misiones que Dios dispone hasta que se sirva su Magestad de otra cosa. Hasta aora me tienen muy en descanso y seguridad de peligros, que ay no pocos en las doctrinas que llaman de Bisayas, y fuera del Padre mi compañero, que dixere nos cautivaron, han robado estos dias a muchos de nuestros Padres, quemadoles las Iglesias, y uno dellos es el Padre Francisco Fernandez (que aqui llaman Francisco Manuel) dicipulo del Padre Rivadanera de Artes, y siempre un Angel. Es de gran ternura una carta que escribe del destrozo de su pueblo, e iglesia é injurias de un Santo Crucifixo, que le quebraron, y ultrajaron los Moros, que son solos los enemigos, que ay por aca, fuera del Chino, queria romper aora guerra, y Dios le mato rabiendo, y mordiendose las manos, de que se le atajassen sus intentos. Misericordia le hizo Dios en embiarle al infierno antes que tuviesse mas que pagar, aunque no sera poco. Este Chino no es el Emperador de la China, que esse es Tartaro, el otro es hijo de uno de aquellos Ladrones, que escribe el Padre Martin Martinez en su **Bello Tartarico** y quito la Isla Hermosa a los Olandeses, y con otras Islas, y Chinos que se le juntaron cobro el poder, y soberbia, que mostro en la carta que escribió a Manila pi-*

diendo tributo y amenazando, como se verra alla en las cartas, que fueron de estas Islas el año pasado. Al fin Dios confunde a los sobervios. El consuelo que ay en estas guerras destas Islas es, que todas son contra los enemigos de Dios, y los peligros que se padecen son por conservar esta Xpiandad.

[Description of the Philippines]

*De las calidades de estas Islas se dice mucho en las Historias. Lo que yo puedo decir de mi experiencia hasta aora es, que el sustento, y socorros temporales son los que bastan por tener salud, y fuerzas en el divino servicio: y aun mis dientes se acomodan mejor [fol. 3 verso] con el pan desta tierra, que es arroz hecho **Morisqueta** (que llaman) cocido con solo agua, que se consume, hasta que da como un arroz con leche muy espeso. Vino de uvas es reliquia para las misas, pero no le hechan menos los que beben el de la tierra[,] de palmas o cocos; y menos los que se hacen a beber solo agua, que no es muy dificultoso. Los **Babuis**, o puercos de la tierra, y bacas, que han traído los Españoles suplen bastantemente por el carnero. El temple no es tan caluroso como yo le avia imaginado: pues estoy en que el mayor calor de aqui no llega al ordinario del verano de Sevilla, ni al de los caniculares de Madrid, y el mas ordinario temple es como el de un verano templado de España, aunque se suda mas por la humedad: tal vez hace frio pero no mucho. Los recién venidos suelen padecer la prueba de la tierra, y assi todos mis compañeros han tenido esta prueba; solo de mi dicen que soy el valiente, que hemos de hacer gracias a Dios, que desde aquella enfermedad del Abril de 59 en Madrid, no se que es un dolor de cabeza, ni accidente de mudanças de mar ni tierra en tan largo viaje: sino ay otras pruebas despues poco nos fian. Pero desto de temples, y comodidades, no ay que decir, sino que por mas que se alabe esto, quien viniere aca por ellas se hallara burlado y a quien no las buscasen le sobrarian, y solo se allara con consuelo el que se pusiese en hacer sola la voluntad de Dios por medio de la santa obediencia y ayudar siquiera a que se conserve esta Xpriandad, y el cuerpo de la Religion que tanto fruto hace en estas almas, con el ministerio que le mandasen, aunque sea de ser Ministro (como lo es aora, aunque de prestado el Padre Francisco Salgado, un sugeto de grandes prendas que vino con nosotros de la Provincia de Castilla) o Maestro de Gramatica que tambien le ay en Manila, pero solo en Manila ay Ministro y Maestros, y estos mismos en aprendiendo lengua tienen buen empleo de Indios. Catanas, y Martyrios nos se hallan luego, ni nos hemos de poner en ellos hasta que el Sr. nos ponga, y regarle que sea despues de llevarle muchas almas al cielo, p^a que se augmente mas de gloria, que es la unica laureola, digna de todo deseo.*

Lo que toca a los naturales desta tierra se dicen que se aplican muy bien a las cossas de nuestra santa fe, y costumbres Christianas: En el entendimiento y modo de aprenderlas hacen ventaxa a lo ordinario de la gente de los pueblos pequeños de Castilla, y en la voluntad y devocion tambien les hacen ventaxa los que estan asistidos continuamente de los Padres, como los que yo he comunicado en estas dotrinas de Tagalos: que es para dar mil vendiciones a Dios ver que lo que no aun cien años que era una selva inculta de gentilidad y campo de cosechas del Demonio, este echo un paraisso de

tantas plantas y miesses que es que el Señor cada dia para su gloria: al fin tantas almas que se fueran al infierno se salvan por la piedad de nuestros Catolicos Reyes que con tantos gastos de solicitud &a ban embiado tantos ministros del evangelio a estas tierras, assi pudieran venir mas para que pudieran asistir mexor a estas almas tan preciosas en los ojos de Dios como las que nacen en España, y para que se pudiessen estender a otras innumerables almas que se pierden en estas tierras vecinas de gentiles y moros redimidos tambien con la sangre de nuestro Señor Jesu Christo. Fuera tambien del socorro de obreros porque claman en la gran China y de la ysla Hermossa piden aora tambien, y no hai para repartir por la falta que aqui se hace y de Japon no faltan esperanças [sic], lo menos dicen que admiten ia que vuelban los Christianos naturales de Japon que estaban desterrados aunque con la poca comunicacion y falta de comercio con los estrangeros Catolicos no se save aun nada de cierto, pero al fin sin duda se ha dejar Dios vencer de las ancias y ruegos de S. Francisco Xavier [fol. 4] que han de poder mas que nuestros pecados que no deven de acer poca g[u]jerra[.] ojala se vençan y cessen estos primero y no sea que alguno de los que vinieron en este ultimo socorro lo hechemos a perder &a.

[Prayers in Tagalog]

Porque sera consuelo de los devotos del Acto de contricion, remito esse traslado en la forma que se ha echo en la lengua Tagala y lo que toca a la exortacion es traduccion puntual del del Benerable Padre Geronimo Lopez y muchas de las sentencias tambien: Otras son particulares para lo particular de los Indios: tienen todas su metro que tambien le usaban estos tagolas [sic], y aunque algunas de las asonancias coinciden con los versos Castellanos, pero ellas tienen su especial asonancia propia esta lengua. Ba en caracteres españoles, ya los usan los mismos Tagalos, porque los suios propios aun para ellos son mui escabrossos de leer, porque son al modo de los [h]ebreos que una misma diction tiene varias liciones [=lecciones], aun despues de los puntos de que tambien usan, la lengua es verdaderamente dificultossa sin parentesco alguno con las de Europa; pero las de aca convienen en mucho entressi [=entre sí], solo a la [h]ebrea se parece algo pero pues yo con mi poca habilidad puedo ia administrar corrientemente, y ablar todo lo que es menester para la salvacion destes pobres quien no se alentara con la gracia de Nro Señor y [el] Acto de contricion: no es convidar esto al que Dios no llamare sin quitar el estorvo que puede ofrecersse alguno de aprender nuevas lenguas, pero claro es que si Dios llama otros maiores estorvos sabra quitar. Fuera de que aun en nuestras dotrinas ai otra lengua, que llaman Visaya que viene a ser esta tagala quitadas las impertinencias a esta, a la qual han recurrido los que no han podido salir con la Tagala. Al fin viniendo con vocacion de Dios esto es con unico desseo de haçer su santissima voluntad declarada con la segurissima vos de la santa obediencia informado el Superior de los impulsos e inspiraciones interiores de todas las dificultades saldra bien y con ganancia: Pues la voluntad de Dios suavissima y eficacissima claro es que ha de sacar bien de todo, y convertir todos los males en maior bien: pero es bien tener assentado que no todos les desseos de Indias los da Dios para que se cumplan en Indias, que

muchos son para que se hagan Indias los ministerios de Europa, como dixo y executo mexor el Sancto Padre Carrafa nuestro general[.] la lastima fuera que el que dessea estas Indias que no tiene malogre las que tiene entre manos y que pudiera lograr con tanto fructo de misiones, Actos de contricion y demas ministerios de la Comp^a y verdaderamente para las proprias misiones de pueblo en pueblo mas ocassion ay aun en Europa, de que les servira esta ocassion al que por su culpa y falta [fol. 4 verso] de celo de las almas no la logra ni dispone que la logren otros pudiendo; pero los de aca con mas necesarias por la maior falta de sacerdotes, y aun puede ser que el Acto de contricion, que es el medio y fin de todo, facilite aca tambien las misiones aun fuera de los pueblos de nuestros dotrinas; que ya sin reparo de los religiosos sino con mucho gusto suio, se ha echo en pueblos de sus dotrinas como de padres Franciscos y Recoletos &a. Al fin la voluntad de Dios que quiere a unos aqui y a otros ay [=allí] y que es dueño de toda la viña es la que ha de determinar a unas v otras Misiones por los medios que nos dexo en la santa Religion, vendita sea, para conocerla con seguridad. Oxala enteramente la cumplamos.¹

En lo demas me remito a las cartas de Nro Santo Xavier, que estan de mejor letra. Aun no ha llegado la nao en que esperamos a nuestros compañeros. El Sr. los traiga con bien, y guarde a V.R^a abrasado en su amor, que nos abraze a todos.

Taytay junto a Manila Julio 22 de 1663.

Siervo de V.R^a

+

+ Diego Luis de Sanvitores +

[Endorsement, in Latin:] Philippinarum 1663. Exemplar literarum P. Didaci Aloysij de San Vitores. Refert suum, sociorum que navigatorum, et in Philippinas adventum.

1 Ed. note: The Nagasaki copy has one additional paragraph here, as follows: “Tambien embio esos papeles que se an impreso aqui para el familiar uso deste divino exercicio de contricion; por los que van en español se conocera lo que continen los de lengua Tagala que viene a ser la misma substancia, y en los pequeñitos con añadido, oraciones a la Virgen Santissima, a S. Ignacio, y S. [Francisco] Xavier. La de la Virgen Santissima es el mismo remate del Acto de contricion del Padre Geronimo Lopez: *Virgen Santissima pedid que me quite la vida*, etc. que se a aplicado tambien p^a decirla todos los Domingos en la Iglesia con el Acto de contricion breve. Las de S. Ignacio, y S. Xavier son las mismas de la Iglesia: *Deus, qui ad mayorem y Deus, qui glorificastis*. Adios, remitome a la otra carta que va con esta p^a lo particular etc. y encomiendas, y mas a las cartas de Nuestro Santo Xavier...”

Translation

Copy of a letter from Fr. Diego Luis de Sanvitores written in the Philippines on 22 July 1663.

From the letter which I wrote in July 1662 from the port of Lampong of these Philippine Islands, Y.R. would have learned the success that our Lord (through His Blessed Mother, our Saintly Fathers Ignatius, Francisco Xavier and Luis Gonzaga, who was also a patron saint of the voyage, as his feast-day found us at sea) was pleased to give to our voyage to the Philippine Islands. The unexpected succor, compared to the one that had been expected, was a great consolation for everyone; it was not brought by the galleon that had left these Islands for New Spain, as usual, and she has not yet been heard from, to add to the return in distress of the previous two years. So, these Islands were in great fix, and need of succor, specially on account of the insolent threat of Pampuan, the Chinese. Our Fathers were particularly pleased with the new succor of companions, to help with the large harvest of souls that our people hope. Within a few days we had among us at the port the Fr. Procurator General of the Province in person, with a very good refreshment, and many demonstrations of charity. The hardship that he went through to come to that port to welcome us was not small; it takes three days on foot through rocky areas and unfathomable muddy spots in that rainy season (that is what those who come in through the port of Lampong must face, and we made port there because it was safe from enemies, whereas the first entrance channel would have meant a direct ascent to Heaven). Finally, with the Fr. Procurator as our good guide, and his sweet disposition, we all followed him like the sheep of Christ our Lord. We spent three days on the road without any danger, since the people of this land flee from us to the bush. Then we came to a lake that is famous in these Islands [i.e. Laguna de Bay], which is surrounded by towns of Tagalog Indians who are administered for the most part by discolored Franciscan Fathers. In one of these mission stations we were received with singular treatment, and charity on the part of these holy Religious, and with demonstrations of joy on the part of the Indians with their dances and music, for which they are specially graceful and can compete in singing and dexterity with good musicians in Europe. They sing in Spanish without understanding what they sing with such clarity, and feeling, as if they were Spaniards. However, what is specially moving is to hear them sing a Salve in their language; every time I hear it, I remember with singular tenderness the Prophecy of the Blessed Virgin: *Ecce est beatam me dicent omnes generationes*. [All generations will tell me: Here is the blessed one].

In the lake and river of Manila we met with the main welcoming celebrations, with numberless boats from all the towns, all the feasts, music, and congratulations. In truth, it is sufficient for us to remember this in order not to be out of harmony with the progress of the fruit in souls that those first acclamations made us hope for. In Manila we were received with the *Te Deum laudamus* as everyone helped us to give thanks to our Lord for our prosperous voyage. All 15 of us who had left Mexico arrived in good health. Our Lord took into account the difficulty of the route overland from the port,

as He delivered us from the risk of coming into the islands by sea as far as the main port of Cavite, a risk that was run afterwards by the ship **San Damian** aboard which we had come; as they were taking it from the port of Lampong to that of Cavite, it was lost during a bad storm among the islands that are near Cavite, although only one person died among the poor seamen aboard. Thanks to the Lord!

After a corporal rest in Manila, and a spiritual rest with some fervent exercises, those who had not finished their studies went on to pursue them. The rest were soon distributed among various mission stations, or towns, to learn the language, and begin to instruct these poor Indians. Those who were sent to the Visayas, or Province of the Pintados, soon had their fervor put through its first performance when they went through a very difficult journey, on account of a storm and enemy Moros who infest these Islands. Our good Fr. Juan Blas de Mura, and another companion from Valencia, Juan Bautista Gil, managed, with God's help, to escape on foot through those interior hills, along with another older Father. The one who fell into the hands of the enemies was a young angel from the Province of Castile: Andrés Ventura de Barrena; he was captured by Moros from Jolo. One letter, which he wrote on a piece of colored paper, has caused great sympathy. In it he mentions the acceptance and courage that our Lord gave him during his captivity. Feeling sorry for him, the charitable Fr. Provincial and other Fathers are trying very hard to rescue him. We hope that God will bring him back to us, in the interest of more fruit of souls, because now, as he does not know the language yet, he cannot do much of anything, even if his status as a captive allowed it; however, after all of this there is no lack of others to envy him, for being the first who has tasted this sweet fruit of captivity as a result of preaching the faith of our Lord Jesus Christ, among the 15 of us in our band.

As for myself, I am now in the safest, and most appropriate, place to learn the language, in this Indian town of Taytay (unlike Manila where Spaniards are to be found). It is 6 leagues from Manila. The Fr. Minister here is Fr. Miguel Solana; the former Provincials here, even in retirement after a long service, have to serve more, and work at teaching these poor Indians. The Father himself asked me to become his companion in order to learn the language; this is the most charitable act that can be done to a newcomer, to give him a chance to practice what God has brought him for. Thus our Lord is arranging things with His usual sweetness and effectiveness, against the common belief that we all shared, upon arriving at Manila, that we would be assigned some studies, etc., although the ministry in this country is very much oriented toward the souls. In fact, it has no other brilliant purpose than the glory of our Lord, that is, to make our people completely ready for the ministries, along with a few secular companions, being trained to assist the Religious, who are too few to take care of so many souls. However, even when obedience intervenes in this, it is important to have knowledge of the language to be able to help the Indians, who, even in Manila, are always the main harvest. In the end, our Lord does what He wishes, and with this opportunity of this town of Taytay, it fits prettily into the purpose of attribution of all these comings and goings

(in which we found ourselves already, with the Act of Contrition, and the love of this good Lord).

I had hardly begun to study the words of this Tagalog language (which is the main one of these Islands) when, as an exercise of language, I asked some bilingual Indians to translate the Act of Contrition, in the form introduced by the Venerable Fr. Gerónimo Lopez, with all its sentences, and Hail Marys, and then the text was improved by our people. It became a complete way for me to learn the language, because, at the beginning, as I was having a great difficulty with memorizing,¹ I undertook to memorize my Act of Contrition, so well that within one month I knew it and preached it in this town with all its intonations, and sentences; I did it with even better delivery than I did with the Spanish version in Alcalá, without reading the text, as my short-sightedness would have prevented the effect (although I carried the paper with me most of the time, in case others, who read well, might be willing to read it, as Father Gerónimo Lopez used to do). I made it the subject of my study to match the words in the translation with those of the original, and later on I made some [minor] adjustments. That is why I attribute to the Act of Contrition the ease which our Lord gave me later, since, in less than 3 months, I was able to hear confessions regularly and to preach, or give lessons, specially regarding matters related to contrition and confession, the Christian doctrine, and other missionary subject matters, upon which we place much emphasis on account of the vow that brought us to these countries. Regarding the ordinary conversation with the Indians, God is giving me the usage that is necessary, and when I find myself tonguetied, I go back to my Act of Contrition, so that we cannot get lost. It is specially true in these countries that, no matter how many times the natives are told, urged, and taught what to do, nothing survives no matter how important, because the remedy of confession is not so handy for the great lack of priests, so, nothing but good can come to these poor peoples if they can get deliverance through a good Act of Contrition. In this connection, Father Provincial has now ordered that in all our mission stations the Indians are to receive explanations, instructions, and exhortations [about it] every Sunday, and to have them repeat it together aloud, as they do, under the guidance of the Father. The Lord Archbishop has ordered the same thing to be done in the mission stations under his Ministers, and he has ordered printed for Spaniards, and for Tagalogs the formula with the 40 days of indulgence granted in imitation of the Lord Cardinal of Toledo, whose concession, signed by him, I had brought among my papers, and the Lord Archbishop has honored me with it, as he is devoted to the Lord Cardinal.

With regards to the Act of Contrition through the streets, the practice has had better results that I had expected. Someone else who knows it better, and likes it better, could write better about the divine fire that is set by his love, as can be gauged by the Hail Marys of Father Gerónimo Lopez who does not cease there in Heaven, etc. Using the examples from Spain, and New Spain, which are those mostly used here, and the

1 Ed. note: The copy in Nagasaki adds the following phrase: "Some memorization is necessary for one to learn a language well."

fruit from them, resulting from the publication throughout Manila of the booklet of Rare Cases (printed in Mexico, with additions of these new examples, it was received here also as the best merchandise, in accordance with the prophetic-like instruction given to me by Father Gerónimo Lopez, as Y.R. knows, and I cannot tell you enough about the new fruit gathered among Spaniards, and Indians alike, now that a few translated cases are in circulation). Indeed, this way it was not necessary to waste time with many memorials, although the small but substantial brief by Father Gerónimo Lopez that had much to do to convince his Eminence had the same effect here with the Fathers; they were easily convinced, not only those at home, but also those outside, specially the Archbishop, and the Governor who is the prime mover of anything public here. It was something very sacred, and important, but after all, it would not have been obtained so quickly, and with such effectiveness and sweetness, had not the providence of our Lord arranged for the insolent threats of Pumpuan the Chinese to make us have recourse to divine help.

A novena was made and the most glorious Prince St. Michael was taken as patron saint in this war. He is a special devotion of the Governor, and of the Archbishop, Don Miguel Poblete, and a common devotion of everyone, and for the devotees of our holy Apostle of the Indies, there was a sign from the saint, one of special significance for these Islands, that of an earthquake, and a favor received from the holy Archangel, about which the Saint has written. Afterwards, the Lord gave the inspiration that the first battle should be fought against the bigger enemies within the City, and that the first assault ought to take place in the streets, by firing the field-piece to ram the hearts, and the balls of the artillery of the Archangel, that were to blast everything and set everything on fire, and bloody: **He who learns to fear God, learns to love God**, and it was a judgment of God. Everyone breathed out the sentences voiced by the Fathers in their zeal, and did them, etc. In short, the first night of the novena took place with all the circumstances, and form used by Father Gerónimo Lopez, and although a few at the beginning were distrustful of the darkness of the night in the main square, and the great diversity of nationalities, they decided that it was convenient to take this circumstance of the night in stride (which, although it is good in the daytime, as I wrote Y.R. from Mexico, when one cannot do otherwise with those in charge, etc. but always, whenever it is possible at night, there is always a procession). On the night in question, there were no lack of Generals, and officers of the militia. The top General began by carrying the cross on behalf of St. Michael, and then they were relaying themselves at it, and similar persons did the same with the candles. The Governor sent 8 candles, and I believe that His Lordship attended undercover. The Archbishop waited for us in his church, and came out to accompany us for a short distance, although, since he had to preach during the novena and these damp airs are harmful, they forced him to retire to his house. I do not have to describe the procession, since Y.R. knows from personal experiences what happens everywhere under similar circumstances, etc. Since the first night, which was 17 January [1663], came out so well, everyone was left excited and looking forward to the next (beforehand, there were some who had their fears, there

are always some cautious ones, no matter how many examples can be taken from other places, they find external factors such as different countries: it is clear that the Devil likes nothing that might bring such powerful remedies to so many places, and undo the power of his darkness, and the sins which he spreads all over the place). It was also agreed that the exercise should be repeated every night of that eight-day period the same way, but in the end it was judged more appropriate to go out three nights for the Spaniards within Manila, and on in-between nights to have it inside our church, only with one example, which eventually was converted into a proper missionary sermon, and the end of the Act of Contrition was a discipline, which everyone did with great fervor, the Governor being always in attendance (the involuntary result being a full-fledged mission, one that they would not otherwise have had time to attend, on account of the preparations for war that were going on). On three other days, it took place among the Indians in their language and in their towns, that surround the City, complete with penetrating voices, and chants, exactly the same as is done in the Spanish language.

Once the mission of the Act of Contrition, as they called it, was over in Manila, as a result of requests made by both the Governor and the Archbishop, it was arranged the same way for Cavite (which is the main port, and the only colony of Spaniards in this Island outside of Manila). It went out with the same procession, and the Fathers overthere even boasted that it was done under more splendid circumstances than in Manila, because all the Religious formed a single body: Dominicans, Franciscans, Augustinian Recollects, and those of St. John of God, and all of them gave out sentences mixed with ours, and gave their exhortations when it was their turn to do so. The Dominican Fathers stood out by their fervor and the pleasure with which they took part. Their Father Vicar Provincial, who happened to be there, was the one who urged them on with his darts, his wonderful voice, and his spirit. They were reading from the printed paper (those from Alcalá were still available then) not just this Father but also another one who is very learned, and a servant of God, the Regent of their studies at [the college of] Santo Tomás of Manila. They did the Act of Contrition in an apostolic manner. Jesus Christ always carries the day. Not even the Commander of that fort was absent. It was done on three days; at night within the walls, and on other occasion among the Indians outside the walls. Everyone was left very fond of this holy exercise, and it was decided that it should be done one night each week during Lent. If it cannot be done at that time, on account of the heavy rains that hardly leave the streets passable, or near Lent, it can be done during the rest of the year. What makes it so sweet from God, is that the whole thing originated from a false premise; indeed, at the time Pumpuan the Chinese was already dead, and *per modum meriti in spe* [he had died in a manner worthy of his crime] (I forget the exact wording of the expression). The good Lord was thus placated and such prayers detained the son [of Pumpuan] so that

he would not pursue the intentions of his father. Instead, he sent a peace ambassador. Our Lord has it in hand.

All the Fathers here have taken to the Act of Contrition with great fervor. The Father Provincial, Ignacio Zapata,¹ requested it insistently. The Rector [of the College of Manila], Fr. Rafael de Bonafé, arranged it all immediately, and sang his sentences and carried the small bell, while the other Rector of Cavite, Fr. Luis Espineli, did the same with much spirit. Father Nicolas Cani, an apostolic man, was dying of holy envy that the plan had not come from him. Father Xavier Riquelme, from our Province of Toledo² stood out, and Father Francisco Combés in all the sermons that he gave during Lent always ended them with a very fervent Act of Contrition. The examples set by the Masters of Alcalá, and Salamanca, have helped in all of this. Thank God that, since they cannot come here or be in as many places as their love of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the love of souls to be redeemed, would take them, many others do it in their place by following their examples in parts that they cannot reach themselves. Please Y.R. tell our Master, Father Rivadeneira, that Saint Barbara, and Saint Inés do very well over here, and I hope that they take care overthere to help us to fulfill our agreement, and vow. Regarding what I said about Saint Inés, the devotion that Father Rivadeneira instilled in me, has made me take a close look at a mission station dedicated to her in these mountains here, where there are many Indian heathens, fleeing at the sight of Spaniards, and I am getting ready to go out one of these days to hunt for them, whenever they order me to do it, and I have been told that it might be soon.³ and I am going with a great hope in the intervention of the holy Shepherdess, who was bringing these sheep to the fold of the Good Shepherd, etc. There remains for me to go there with prayers, and examples, counsels, and letters written about such missions, and the Act of Contrition, and the pious works of St. Ignatius and St. Xavier, who, as I have said, help even those in the most faraway places. The practice here is centered upon the indoctrination [with catechism] of these poor Indians; some of it applies to Spaniards as well, and what is done with them is very important, so that they will not undo what we do in the indoctrination of the Indians with their [bad] examples.

- 1 Ed. note: He served as Provincial twice: 1661-63 and 1665-66. Fr. Rafael de Bonafé served in-between those dates, and was in charge when Fr. Sanvitores was sent to Mindoro.
- 2 Ed. note: The former Jesuit Province of Toledo, run from Alcalá de Henares (not the modern Toledo), corresponded roughly to the province of Castilla la Nueva.
- 3 Ed. note: Fr. Murillo Velarde, in his book "Historia de Filipinas" (Manila, 1749) says the following: "A mission was conducted in the mountains of Santa Inez of Lanating, a visita of Antipolo. One of the missionaries was the same Father Diego Luis de San Vitores, and in seven days he gathered a very abundant harvest; for in that short time 24,000 heathens, Aetas or Cimarrons [i.e. runaways], were baptized, and many others were prepared for the rite, who received baptisms afterward." The author goes on to describe several of these conversions; he also cites various entries of special interest from "the books of the old mission of Santa Ines, which I have before me." Many of these baptisms were made by Fr. San Vitores, but "this mission was cared for by a devout Indian named Don Juan Estevan, who afterward was a donado [i.e. oblate], and in the absence of the minister instructed and baptized them—as did the Canacopoles [i.e. catechists], whom St. Xavier chose in India." (B&R 44: 101-102).

Thus, our Fathers, who are among the most zealous, work splendidly hand in hand, and with their help we will march with our Acts of Contrition, and the missions that God will arrange until His Majesty is pleased to arrange otherwise. Right now, I am kept at rest and out of dangers, such as can be found in the missions of the Visayas, and besides the Father my [former] companion who, as I said, was captured, they have robbed many of our Fathers these days, burning their churches, and one of them is Father Francisco Fernandez (who is called Francisco Manuel here), one of Father Rivadeneira's Arts student, and always an angel. The letter he wrote is quite moving; they have destroyed his town, and church, and attacked the holy crucifix, breaking it, and offending it. This was done by the Moros, who are the only enemies we have here (besides the Chinaman who wanted to make war, but God killed him, striking him with rage, and he died biting his own hands, so that his intentions were frustrated). God actually took pity on him, by sending him to Hell before he earned even more punishment, though it be not small. This Chinaman was not the Emperor of China, who is a Tartar. This other man was the son of one of those pirates that Father Martin Martinez wrote about in his book: *Bello Tartarico* [The Tartar War], the one who captured the Island of Formosa from the Dutch, and with other islands, and other Chinese who joined him, grabbed power and gained the arrogance which he displayed in the letter he wrote to Manila requesting tribute and threatening, as will be seen overthere in the letters that went out of these Islands last year. Finally, God has confused the arrogant ones. The consolation that comes out of these wars in these Islands is that the people here all are against the enemies of God, and the risks that are run are for the conservation of this Christian community.

[Description of the Philippines]

Regarding the characteristics of these Islands much has been said in history books. What I can say, based on my experience so far is that the food, and material succors are enough to remain healthy and strong in the divine service; even my teeth find the bread of this land easy to chew, because it is rice cooked as *Morisqueta* (so called), that is cooked with only water, until it becomes like a thick "arroz con leche" [rice pudding]. Wine from grapes is preserved for masses, but it is not missed by those who drink the local wine, derived from coconut palms, and it is missed even less by those who drink only water, in which case it is no hardship. The *Baboy*, or local pigs, and the cows that have been brought by the Spanish, take the place of sheep quite well. The climate is not so hot as I had imagined; in fact, I am of the opinion that the warmest temperature here does not reach the ordinary temperature of the summer in Seville, nor that of the dog days in Madrid. The usual temperature is like a temperate summer day in Spain, although one sweats more on account of the humidity. Sometimes it is cold, but not much. All the new arrivals suffer from the "local test", and so, all my companions suffered from this test.¹ As for me, they called me "the tough one". We must give

1 Ed. note: He refers to diarrhea.

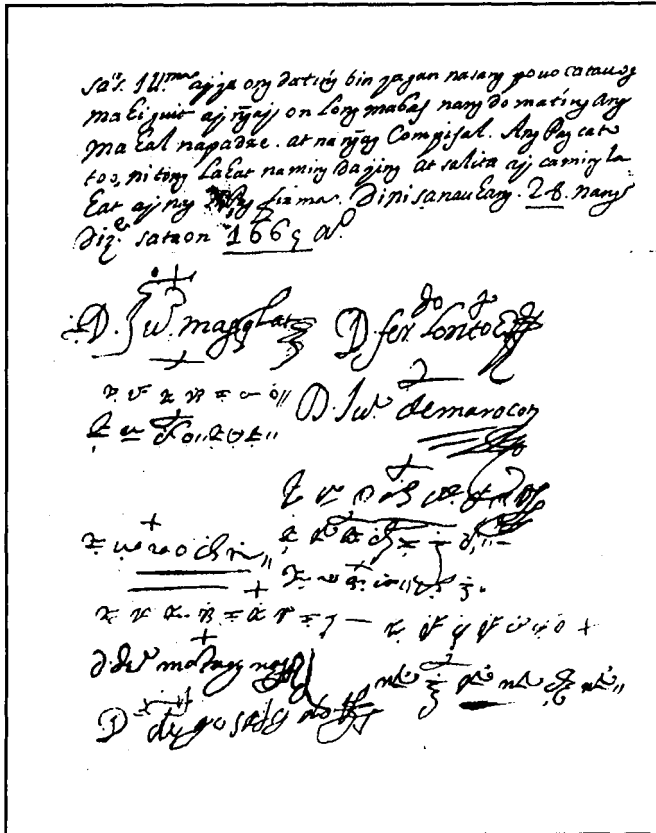
thanks to God, because, since that illness of April 1659 in Madrid, I have not known what is a headache, not even felt motion sickness, either at sea or on land, during such a long voyage, unless there are more tests in the offing. However, regarding the weather, and the [material] comforts, I have nothing to say except that much praise has been wasted on this subject; anyone who would come here for this reason would soon find that he has been had, and anyone who did not expect anything would be pleasantly surprised, and would find only consolation in doing God's will by means of holy obedience, and in helping in some way to preserve this Christian community, and the body of the Religious order that does so many good things for these souls, in the ministries assigned to him, even if it be that of Minister¹ (like Father Francisco Salgado, an individual with great talents, who came with us from the Province of Castile and is now a Minister, though only by interim) or a Master of Grammar, a post that also exists in Manila, but there are [posts of] Minister and Masters only in Manila, and they too, while learning the language, have contact with Indians. Swords and martyrdoms await us later on, and we need not worry about those until the Lord decides, and we should beg Him to postpone it until many souls have been despatched to Heaven, so that His glory be increased thus, which is the single crown worthy of all desire.²

Regarding the natives of this country, they say that they apply themselves very well to the things of our holy Faith, and Christian customs. When it comes to teaching them, experience with ordinary people in the small towns of Spain would be an advantage, and in matters concerning will and devotion, it would be better also if they were attended continuously by the Fathers, as the Tagalog people I have had contact with in these mission stations. It is worthy of giving a thousand thanks to God, to see that what was not even 100 years ago an uncultivated jungle of heathenism and a field of harvest for the Devil has become a paradise with so many plants and harvests worthy of God's glory every day. Finally, so many souls that would have ended up in Hell are being saved on account of the piety of our Catholic Kings, who at the cost of much application, etc., have sent so many Gospel ministers to these lands. Similarly, more of them should come, in order to attend better these souls that are as precious in the eyes of God as those born in Spain, and in order to extend the endeavor to other numberless souls that are being lost in the neighboring countries of gentiles and Moros, also redeemed by the blood of our Lord Jesus Christ. Furthermore, there is also [need of] the succor of workers in demand in Great China and the Island of Formosa; the demand cannot be met now, as there are not enough to send there, for lack of workers here, and for Japan too. There are still hopes for Japan; at least, they say that the Christians who are natives of Japan, who had been exiled, can return, although nothing is for certain, as contact and trade with Catholic foreigners is very small. However, in the end God will no doubt let the anxious prayers of St. Francis Xavier convince Him, more so than our

1 Ed. note: The post of house minister was an administrative job.

2 Ed. note: His mention of swords seems to be prophetic; he was to suffer his martyrdom partly by the sword.

sins that must block this initiative. Firstly, let us hope that our sins will cease, and let us take as a lesson the sins of the man who came with this last mission band whom we had to expulse, etc.



Old Tagalog script, 1665. At the time of Fr. Sanvitores, many literate Filipinos had not yet learned how to use the Spanish alphabet. This sample is taken from Jesuit papers in RAH. It represents a request made to a bishop for confirmation, the undersigned having already received baptisms, and gone to confession, etc.

[Prayers in Tagalog]

Because it will be a consolation to the devotees of the Act of Contrition, I enclose this copy in the form that was made in the Tagalog language¹ and that concerning the exhortation is a literal translation of that of the Venerable Father Gerónimo Lopez and many of the sentences as well. Others are specific to the particularities of the Indians. All of them, however, are set in regular verses, as these Tagalogs also use poetry; although some of the rhymes coincide with those of the Spanish verses, nevertheless, they carry the special pronunciation of this native tongue. They are written with Spanish letters, since the Tagalogs themselves now use them, because to read texts using their own alphabet is a rough business, even for them, because it is like the Hebrew alphabet, with one symbol representing various readings, even after they have added the [diacritical] points which they also use. The language is truly difficult, without parallel with any of the European languages, but the languages used overhere are very similar among them-

¹ Ed. note: No longer found with this letter in the ARSI file.

selves. It looks somewhat like Hebrew, but what can I say, with my little fluency, I can only do ordinary ministries, and talk only enough for the basic tasks for the salvation of these poor peoples. Anyone can achieve this state with the grace of God and the Act of Contrition. This is not wishful thinking; if God can call one, He can also remove the obstacles that one can meet in learning new languages, but it is true that if God calls, He will know how to remove even greater obstacles.

Besides this language, there is yet another one in our mission stations. They call it Visayan, and it turns out that it is this Tagalog, minus its troublesomeness.¹ In fact, those who could not master Tagalog have turned to Visayan. In short, if someone comes with God's calling, that is with the single desire to do His holiest will, made manifest through holy obedience, once the Superior is informed of one's interior impulses and inspirations concerning all the difficulties, he will come out alright, and with something gained. Indeed, God's will is very sweet and very effective. True it is that something positive will come out in the end, as He can only convert all the bad things into something better. However, one must keep firmly in mind that not all the desires regarding the Indies are granted by God to be fulfilled in the Indies, but that many are granted by turning the ministries in Europe into Indian ones, as the saintly Father Carrafa, our General,² said and did: it is a pity that one who desires these Indies that he does not have, botches those [missions] that he does have at hand, in which he could succeed with so much fruit, [travelling] missions, Acts of Contrition, and other ministries of the Society. Indeed, there are truly more opportunities in Europe for going on missions from town to town. One can make use of this type of opportunities, given the required amount of determination and zeal for souls, if he wants to, because others have done it. On the other hand, such missions are not always possible here, on account of the greater lack of priests, although perhaps with the Act of Contrition, which is the means and objective to everything, might make missions easier here also, even outside of the

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- 1 Ed. note: He seems to think that the two levels of formal Tagalog (polite versus common expressions) were a bother to differentiate and master. However, this was good training for him, and no doubt helped him to learn the related Mariano, or Chamorro, language quickly later on.
 - 2 Ed. note: Vincenzo Carrafa was Jesuit General from 1646 to 1649.

towns assigned to us as mission stations; already, with the willing cooperation of [other] Religious orders, they are been carried out in towns belonging to their mission stations, for instance, those of the Franciscan and Recollect Fathers, etc. Finally, the will of God, who wants some overhere and some overthere, and who is the owner of the whole vineyard, is the one who must determine which missions are assigned to which holy Religious order. Blessed be His will, for letting us know with certainty. God grant that we carry it out in full.¹

I refer you also to the letters of our St. Xavier, that are better writing. The galleon that is to bring our companions has not arrived yet. May the Lord bring them in good condition, and may He keep Y.R. burning with His love, which should be burning in all of us.

Taytay, near Manila, 22 July 1663.

Y.R.'s servant,

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+ Diego Luis de Sanvitores +

[Endorsement:] Letters from the Philippines, 1663.—Copy of a letter of Fr. Diego Luis de San Vitores. He refers to his arrival at the Philippines and that of his travelling companions.

1 Ed. note: The Nagasaki copy has one additional paragraph here, as follows: "I am also sending those papers that have been printed here for the regular use of this divine exercise of contrition. By looking at those printed in Spanish, one will understand what is contained in those printed in the Tagalog language, which is essentially the same material. The small ones with a postscript are prayers to the Blessed Virgin, to St. Ignatius, and St. [Francis] Xavier. The prayer to the Blessed Virgin is the same text as the ending of the Act of Contrition by Father Gerónimo Lopez [which in Latin is]: *Virgen Santissima pedid que me quite la vida*, etc. which has been applied also to be said every Sunday in the church with the short version of the Act of Contrition. The prayers to St. Ignatius and St. Xavier are the same as the official ones [which in Latin are]: *Deus, qui ad maiorem* and *Deus, qui glorificastis*. Goodbye, I refer you to the other letter that goes with this one for specific news, etc. and requests, and also to the letters of our St. Xavier..."

Ed. comment: There is some confusion here, because the second official prayer, that to St. Francis Xavier, is not the one he quotes; it should begin with the Latin phrase: "Deus, qui Indiarum gentes..."

Documents 1664A

Letters from Governor Salcedo regarding his voyage from Acapulco to the Philippines in 1663

A1. Letter to the King, dated Manila 16 June 1664

Source: AGI Fil. 9-3-43, pp. 1-6.

The galleon San José with two commanding generals

Original text in Spanish.

Da Quenta a V.M. el Governador de Philipinas de los procedimientos de Don Andres de Medina y Avila, a quien en contrabención de Real cedula, nombro el Virrey Conde de Vaños, por General de la Nao S. Joseph que havia ydo a cargo del General Francisco García del Fresno, a quien se le restituyo; remite diferentes autos para su comprovazion.

Señor

En las de Gobierno, Hacienda, Justicia, y Guerra he dado quenta a V.M. de lo tocante a estas materias y en esta lo hago de como en contrabención de la Real Cedula de 4 de Mayo de 635 por la qual se declara y manda que subcediendo muerte, de General o almirante de las Naos que vayan de estas Islas a la Nueva España presisamente en lugar del muerto buelba gobernando el que fuese nombrado por los gobernadores de ellas. Y por Cedula de la misma fecha, se ordeno al Marques de Cadereita siendo Virrey de la Nueva España que el nombramiento que por el o los que le subcedieren hizieron en contrario se anulo y de ningun efecto ni lleven sueldo alguno el Conde de Baños siendo Virrey de ella.

Haviendo llegado al Puerto de Acapulco el año de 62 la nao S. Joseph que venia a cargo del General Francisco García del Fresno, sin citaçion ni diligencia alguna que con el se hiziese ni haver dado caussa para que se le quitasse dha Nao, si obrado bien en haver la metido en aquel Puerto en tiempo muy iregular despues de grandes tempo-

rales y trabajos que benzio para conseguirlo le despojo y en su lugar nombro a Don Andres de Medina y Avila vesino de Mexico para que biniessse por General de ella y se hizo tanto empeño en esto por el Virrey y algunos ministros de aquella Audiencia que aunque reconociendo la injusticia que se hazia en tal y los grandes inconbenientes que de ello se seguian a estas islas y su Comercio por el mal exemplar que seria para lo en adelante, sobre que hize los esfuerzos que me fueron posibles para que no se inoban ni contrabiniessse a la voluntad de V.M. no lo pude conseguir.

Y habiendo llegado al Puerto de Acapulco para embarcarme el Castellano del en virtud del nombramiento del Virrey dio la posesion del Galeon referido a dicho D. Andres de Medina donde el General Francisco Garcia del Fresno reclamo y protexto los daños para que no le parase perjuicio en nada ni al pleito omenaje que tenia echo lo que de hecho y con violencia y sin ser oydo. Se havia hecho y hazia. Y porque estando tan adelante como estava el tiempo que van ya los 20 de Março y qualquier ora de dilacion era abenturar y perder el viage y nao, y hazer como hazia el Castellano retencion del dinero y socorro que se embiava, a estas islas hasta dar entero cumplimiento al despacho del Virrey en que le comunicava con grande multa si no lo ponía en execucion por que no se atrasase el servicio de V.M. y despacho de dicha nao se hisso assi y a la vela y por General de ella, dho D. Andres de Medina que luego que salio y puesto en alta mar contra la Instrucion que en Mexico se le dio para que en el viage siguiera la derota ordinaria sin extrabiarse de ella llevado de su fantazia quiso inovar y con efecto dio orden al Piloto para que hechase por nuevos Incognitos y no acostumbrados rumbos a quantos an navegado esta carrera sin haverlo echo el jamas cossa que causso Junta impresion y alteracion en todos que alli benia. Como yo benia allí subcediera muy mal y para quietar el tumulto y clamor con que todos acudieron a pedir me el remedio y que se restituyera para la seguridad del viage al General Francisco Garcia del Fresno al exercicio de su plaza sobre que dio pericion exsibiendo sus papeles y titulos por donde le tocaba legitimamente el gobierno de dha nao me halle obligado por ser el negocio y riesgo de tanta ymportancia y por no haver otro recurssso a probeer en forma de gobierno con parecer de los oydores D. Francisco Coloma y D. Francisco de Montemayor y Mansilla a quienes nombré por acesores que se diessse traslado de lo que se pedia a D. Andres de Medina y con su citacion se reziviese informacion de lo referido y que si quisiese hazerla de su parte y exsivir sus titulos lo hiziesse dentro de cierto termino que se le señalo y habiendosele notificado y passado sin dezir ni hazer de su parte cossa alguna que le aprovechasse con vista de lo que el General Francisco Garcia dixo papeles que presento y imformacion que se rezivio con parecer de los dhos acesores hize restituir a su exercicio y gobierno de dicha Nao al General Francisco Garcia y que D. Andres de Medina sobreseyese en el con lo qual la gente y tumulto se aquieto y conssolo, y se prosiguo el viage y como quiera que en el discurso del dho Don Andres de Medina arastrado de la inchazon y arrogancia de su natural cabiloso [=cabaloso] y que presume del mayor marinero procurasse inquietar demasiado y traer a su parsialidad sequito y devoçion algunas perssonas y preprovar todo lo que se hazia y obrava en las faenas del viage en gran daño del servicio de V. Magd. in quietud y desconsuelo de

todos para hazer experiençia juiçio y prueba de la suficiençia e inteligençia de uno y otro sujeto del Piloto Mayor hize que diesen puntos por escrito y declarasen segun la fantazia experiençia o conocimiento especulativo de sol y estrellas el dia en que se descubriera tierra de Ladrones yslas que distan cosa de 300 leguas de estas y haviendole dado los dos no lo hizo dicho D. Andres aun que quando se le intimó respondio lo haria y haviendose descubierto tierra y dho el General Francisco García era una de las islas de Ladrones Don Andres de Medina dixo publicamente y en altas voses que no era tal por que segun su observaçion se hallava de ellas mas de 300 leguas y en esta negativa pertinamente estuvo aquel dia hasta que el siguiente de las mismas islas salieron a la nao muchas embarcaciones de Indios de ellas como lo suelen hazer de ordinario quando pasan naos de Filipinas y con esta prueba Real el quedo conbensido de su error y yo con la obligazion de representar esto a V. Magd. para que noticiesse del sujeto se tenga conosido y que el servicio de V. Mgd. no peligre con la persuasiba y colores retoricos y aparentes con que en todos parece pretende ser tenido por el mayor argonauta en esta profession mayormente que este sugeto es muy peligrasso cavilosso [=cabaloso] y amigo de novedades y introducir cismas donde quiera que llega y esta se à experimentado en muchas ocaçiones particularmente en este viage y en que llevado de su mal natural luego que llego la nao al Puerto de Cavite y que se desembarco acaudillo y atrajo assi algunas dies perssonas que benian en sueldo y entre ellos un piloto un maestro de fabricas y el Capitan Andres Garcia maestre de ella y sin haver dado quenta de los Reales y general de su cargo fletando una embarcaçion con pretexto de que era para venir a esta Ciudad que dista dos leguas de aquel puerto mañosamente embarco bastimentos y armas y llevandose gran suma de pesos dho Capitan y Maestre le fueron engañando al arreez¹ de la embarcaçion y haviendose hechado menos toda esta gente.

Luego que tuve notia despache en su busca un champan con orden para que los trajesen y la mesma di en todas las provinçias y escribi a los Reyes sircunvezinos para que si llegasen a qualquiera parte los apresasen y remitiesen y hasta aora no ha avido rastro de ellos como todo consta por los papeles que van con esta para que si aportaren por allá como se presume se haga con ellos la demonstraçion que combenga y merese tan grave delito y de tan mal exemplar como le à echo de irse de esta suerte sin lizençia y con unos hombres tan necessarios en parte donde tanto se careze de ellos y los que ay que no desean otra cossa que salir de aqui yntentaran hazer lo mesmo sin ser fazil el repararlo por los muchos y dilatados puertos que ay en estas islas[.] todos estos incombinientes se escussaran Señor si se guardaran las cedula de V. Mgd. a quien creo no hago pequeño servicio en dar noticia de esto assi para que tales sujetos sean conosidos y castigados con el exemplar que materia tan grave pide y solizita como para que sirviendose V.M. mande que los Virreyes de Nueva España no contravengan a lo que por Real[es] Cedula les esta prohibido con que se cortaran semejantes incomvenientes otros mayores que pueden seguirse.

1 Ed. note: Word of Arabic origin, normally referring to the captain or master of a Moorish ship.

Dios guarde la catholica Real Persona de V. Magd. muchos años como la christianidad dessea y a menester.

Manila y Julio 16 de 1664 años.

D. Diego Salcedo

Translation.

The Governor of the Philippines informs Y.M. of the proceedings of Don Andrés de Medina y Avila, whom the Viceroy, Count of Baños, had appointed, in contravention of royal decree, as General of the galleon **San José** that had gone out [of Manila] in charge of General Francisco García del Fresno, to whom it was restored; he encloses various declarations as a proof.

Sire:

Under separate covers, I have informed Y.M. about matters regarding Government, Finance, Justice, and War. In the present, I wish to point out the occurrence of a contravention of the Royal Decree of 4 May 1635, in which it is declared and ordered that, upon the death of the General, or admiral, of the galleons travelling from these Islands to New Spain, the place of the deceased must precisely be taken over by a person appointed by their governors. And by Decree of same date, the Marquis of Cadereita, who was Viceroy of New Spain, was ordered that the appointment made by him or by his successors to the contrary be annulled and made void, and that the Count of Baños was to serve without a salary.

Y Ley xxxxiij. Que el Virrey de Nueva España no haga novedad en el nombramiento de Oficiales de las Naos de Filipinas.

Los Gobernadores de Filipinas nombran General, Almirante, y Oficiales de las Naos, que vienen á Nueva España, y para en caso de muerte, ó ausencia, en conformidad de las vias, hazen nombramiento en otras personas. Y porque así conviene, ordenamos á los Virreyes de Nueva España, que guarden, y hagan guardar en esto lo ordenado, y la costumbre, que siempre se ha observado, sin hazer novedad.

D. Felipe
IV. Rey de España
y de las Indias
de Fe-
brero de
1635

Law 43, Title 45, Book 9 of the Code of the Indies.
This law was quite specific. It was based on a decree issued 3 months earlier, on 5 February 1635.

The galleon **San José** had arrived at the port of Acapulco in 1662 in charge of General Francisco García del Fresno. Without any summons issued to him, or legal action undertaken against him, and without him having given any cause for the command of the said galleon to be taken from him—rather, he had served well in taking her to that port at a very irregular time of the year, having overcome great storms and hardships to accomplish it—he [i.e. the Viceroy] despoiled him and in his place appointed Don Andrés de Medina y Avila, a resident of Mexico, to come as her General. The Viceroy and some ministers of that Audiencia made so many efforts in this, although they recognized the injustice made in it and the great disadvantages that would result from it to these Islands and their commerce, on account of the bad example set for the future. I did my best to point out to them that they should make no innovations and should not contravene the will of Y.M. but did not succeed in convincing them.

When I arrived at the port of Acapulco to board the galleon, the Commander of the Fort, by virtue of the appointment made by the Viceroy, gave command of her to the said Don Andrés de Medina, whereupon General Francisco García del Fresno put in his claim and protested so that he would not suffer prejudice in anything, including the oath of allegiance he had taken, that he had in fact suffered prejudice, that violence had been done, and he had not been heard. However, since the time to leave was so advanced, it being the 20th of March already, and since any delay might mean to run the risk of losing the voyage and the galleon, and since the Fort Commander was in fact withholding the money and the succor that were being sent to these Islands until the despatch of the Viceroy was entirely satisfied (wherein he had been threatened with a heavy fine if he did not execute it), in order not to delay the service of Y.M. and the despatch of the said galleon, it was done that way. The galleon sailed in charge of the said Don Andrés de Medina as her General. Then, once she was on the high seas, against the Instruction that he had been given in Mexico, to the effect that in the voyage he was to follow the ordinary route without any deviation from it, carried away by his fantasy, he decided to innovate and indeed he gave an order to the Pilot to follow new headings, unusual when compared to the regular ones that have been followed on this run without anything [bad] ever happening. So, this change made a deep impression and alteration in everyone on board. As I was also aboard, the outcome appearing bad, and in order to calm the commotion and general outcry making everyone beg me for a remedy and, for the safety of the voyage, they asked me to restore General Francisco García del Fresno to the exercise of his command for the safety of the voyage—regarding which he gave expert advice and exhibited his papers and titles by which the command of the said galleon was his prerogative—I found myself obliged, since this was a risky business, so important, and since there was no other recourse but to provide for a formal command, with the opinions of the members of the Audiencia, Don Francisco Coloma and Don Francisco de Montemayor y Mansilla, whom I appointed as my legal counsels, to have a record made of what was being asked of Don Andrés de Medina. A summons was to be issued to him, and then an inquiry opened about this affair. He was invited to represent his side and to exhibit his titles within a fixed time period. He

was notified and for his part he did nothing in his own favor within the said time period. Given that General Francisco García had presented his papers and report, receipt of them was acknowledged and, with the opinion of the said legal counsels, I ordered that his exercise and command of the said galleon be restored to General Francisco García and that Don Andrés de Medina desist from it. Consequently, the men became calm and consoled, the commotion stopped, and the voyage proceeded. However, the said Don Andrés de Medina used language rendered mean by conceit and arrogance. He has a bent for intrigues and presumed himself to be the best mariner around. So, he managed to cause too much trouble and to urge a few persons to side with him and join his following, and to check into everything that was going on regarding the tasks of the voyage, at a great harm to the service of Y.M. by causing disquiet and disconsolateness in everyone. He challenged the experience, judgment, and asked for proof of the skill and intelligence of the Pilot Major's mates. He asked them to write down and declare their knowledge on specific points of navigation, estimates of position, observations of the Sun and stars, and to state when the Islands of the Ladrones, that are distant 300 leagues from these Islands, would be sighted. Both of them did so, but the said Don Andrés did not. Even when he was asked, he said he would do so, but upon sighting land, General Francisco García having said that it was one of the Islands of the Ladrones, Don Andrés de Medina said publicly and loudly that it was not so, because, according to his observation he found himself over 300 leagues from them. He stubbornly hung to this negative opinion the whole of that day, but the next day many Indian canoes came out to the galleon from them, as they usually do when galleons from the Philippines pass by. With this real proof, he was convinced of his error and I saw myself with the obligation to inform Y.M. of this, so that you may take cognizance of this individual and he may not jeopardize the service of Y.M. again, with his persuasive and colorful rethoric and pretensions with which everywhere it seems he boasts of being the best argonaut in this profession. More importantly, this individual is very dangerous, scheming, and fond of novelty and of introducing schisms wherever he goes; this was experienced on many occasions, specially during this voyage. Carried off by his bad character, once the galleon had arrived at the port of Cavite, he convinced about 10 salaried persons to follow his lead, among whom were a master ship-builder and Captain Andrés García, her Master. Without giving an account of the Reals [of the subsidy] and goods in his care, he chartered a boat, under pretext of coming to this City which is two leagues distant from that port, he craftily loaded supplies and weapons, the said Captain and Master having taking a large sum of pesos, using it on his behalf to deceive the native master of the boat and throw out all these men.

Afterward, when I learned about this, I despatched a champan after them with orders to bring them back, and I had the same orders published in all the provinces and I wrote to the Kings of the neighboring countries, so that, if they showed up anywhere, they would be seized and sent back. Until now there has not been any trace of them, as can be seen from the papers that are enclosed herewith, the purpose being that, if they ever show up overthere as it is supposed, a demonstration can be done with them, one

that befits such a serious crime and such a bad example that he set, by going away in this manner without permission and with a few men of the type that is so necessary here. The mariners who are here, who wish nothing else than getting away from here, may try to do the same. It would not be easy to prevent it, given the many and faraway ports that exist in these Islands. All these inconveniences could have been avoided, Sire, if the decrees of Y.M. had been followed. I believe that I am doing Y.M. a great service by informing on this matter, so that such individuals become known and be punished in the exemplary manner that such a grave matter requires, and that Y.M. be pleased to order the Viceroy of New Spain not to contravene what they have been forbidden to do by royal decrees, in order for such inconveniences, and other greater ones that might follow, to cease.

May God keep the Catholic Royal Person of Y.M. for many years, as Christendom wishes and needs.

Manila, 16 July 1664.

Don Diego Salcedo¹

A2. Notes from the inquiry as a result of a protest against General Andrés de Medina

Source: AGI Fil. 9-3-43, pp. 17 et seq.

Notes: This general had been appointed by the Viceroy, against royal orders and regulations, although the galleon already had a commander, General García del Fresno. Leandro Coello was then pilot major of the San José on this swing voyage. The Marianas were seen on 6 June 1663. It seems ironic now, but had General Medina had his way, and the ship been taken on a more northerly course across the Pacific, the Hawaiian Islands might have been discovered by Europeans in 1663, some 110 years before Captain Cook.

Original text in Spanish.

1. Decree of Governor Salcedo to record navigational predictions.

*Estando en el galeon capitana de Philipinas **San Joseph**, y en alta mar en veinte y cinco dias del mes de mayo de seis çientos y sesenta y tres años su Señoria el Señor Don Diego de Salcedo Governador y Capitan General de dhas yslas y pressidente de la rreal Audiencia quen ellas reçide:*

...
En dho dia mez y año yo el presente escrivano de dho Galeon hize notorio a Leandro Cuello piloto mayor de dho galeon la orden citada aparte y rrespondio diçiendo que a su tiempo avisara en la forma que se le ordena y lo firmo en pressencia de dhos testigos.

Leandro Coello.

Nicolas Fernandez escrivano.

¹ Ed. note: One year later, Governor Salcedo still had not received any news of the whereabouts of this Andrés de Medina (see note on page 229).

*Estando en dho galeon capitana **San Joseph** en siete de Junio de seis çientos y sesenta y tres años su Señoria el Señor Governador: Dixo que por quanto ayer que se contaron seis deste presente mes a cossa de las dos de la tarde poco mas o menos se descubrio y vio tierra y se dixo publicamente ser las Islas de los Ladrones y havindose continuado el viaxe en su derechura oy a cossa de medio dia poco mas o menos se enpareho con ellas con que se reconocio con evidenciã ser dichas Islas y para que conste de ello y de la ora y dia que se descubrieron mando su Señoria se rresiva ynformazion al thenor de lo rreferido y que atento en virtud de la orden y decreto de su Señoria de los veinte y çinco del mez passado el General Francisco García del Fresno y Leandro Cuello Piloto mayor de este galeon tienen dados papeles çerrados y sellados insinuando el punto y parahe en que se hallavan y yban y su Señoria reservo el abrirlos para quando se descubriesen dichas Islas y los mando depositar como con efecto se depositaron en el Padre Fray Francisco de San Joseph, comisario de los padres de San Francisco Descalzos que ban en esta dha nao para que assi sellados y serrados los tuviese en deposito hasta que llegase la ocazion de abrirlos en este paraje y porque combiene hazerlo y que sea en presençia de dho Padre commissario y demas padres commissarios de la orden de San Augustin Calsados y Descalzos y Padres Jesuitas mando que el presente escrivano les de recau[ç]do para que se hallen en la camara con su Señoria para abrir y ver que contienen dhos papeles y que fechos se ponga por diligenciã y a continuazion de estos autos.*

...

2. Prediction of Francisco García del Fresno.

El General Francisco García del Fresno en cumplimiento del orden que rrezivi de Vss^a de veinte y cinco deste pressente mes: Digo que me hallo oy dia de la fha norte-sur con las Islas de San Bartholome por altura de treçe grados y dies minutos leste-veste con la Isla de Goan cordillera de los Ladrones al este de dhas Yslas dosçientas y ochenta leguas. Hago dello aviso como lo hare un dia antes que me halle por mi fantaçia con la dha Isla de Goan que es lo que observan todos los pilotos y enseña el arte nautico.

Fecho en el galeon capitana San Joseph navegando en veinte y ocho de Mayo, de mill seis çientos y sesenta y tres años.

Francisco García del Fresno.

...

3. Deposition of Father Fray Juan Gutierrez.

*En dho Galeon dia mes y año de arriva para mas ynformazion de lo contenido en el auto de suso su Señoria dicho Señor Governador rezivio Juramento del Padre Fray Juan Gutierrez de Reboleño Religioso de la orden de San Augustin Calzado que lo hizo **imbervo saserdotis** [sic] preguntado al thenor de dho auto: Dixo que el a venido en este Galeon donde a pocos dias de haver salido del puerto de Acapulco tubo entendido y se diçe publicamente que Don Andres de Medina a otra dia de como salio de dho puerto governando esta nao avia dho al piloto mayor que girase a la buelta del norueste para dejando el camino que se a traido y ha çido y es el ordinario segun el sentir de todos los marineros que aqui vienen se fuese por camino nuevo por cuya caussa y otras*

que de justicia y gobierno moverian el animo del Señor Governador save le sobreseer al susodicho en el desta dha nao y le puso en el cuydado del General Francisco García del Fresno que ha venido haziendo officio de tal general. Y a caussa de aver sentido dicho Don Andrez de Medina diferentemente del rumbo de este viaxe y de su açierto diçiendo en diferentes ocaziones yba errado se an ocasionado y podido ocasionar considerables yncombenientes disturbios y desserviçios de su Magestad, y para ajustar mas vien la suficiencia tiene entendido y assido notorio que su Señoria algunos dias antes de llegar a las Islas de los Ladrones hizo notificar a los dichos Francisco García del Fresno[,] Leandro Cuello piloto mayor y Don Andrez de Medina diesen punto y declarazen el dia antes que se hallazen con dhas yslas de los Ladrones que en virtud de dha orden los dhos Francisco García del Fresno y piloto mayor dieron dicho punto y no save que dho Don Andres de Medina lo aya dado antes vien zave y es notorio que aviendo descubierto ayer tierra y dichose que era las yslas de los Ladrones el dho Don Andrez de Medina: Dixo que no era possible lo fuesen porque el se hallava tresçientas leguas antes de llegar a ellas y esto de las tres çientas leguas lo dijo el susodicho a este testigo y hasta que con efecto oy se enparejo con una de dhas Islas de los Ladrones y llegaron los Indios de ellas a esta nao como lo tienen de costumbre no fue posible apartase de su dictamen erroneo el dicho Don Andres de el qual error pudieran haver seguidose muchos daños e yncombenientes a no haverse governado el Señor Governador con la blandura y espera como se a experimentado y ubieran sido mayores si se le hubiera dado lugar a que fuese por el rumbo que queria y assido muy del serviçio de su Magestad el que se ubiera hecho del esta experiència por tener como tenia el susodho persuadido a los conçejos y ministros mayores era muy çientifico en el arte nautico[.] esto dixo saver por las razones dhas ser la verdad en que se afirmo y firmo y ser de hedad de sesenta años.

Y le señalo su Señoria.

Fray Juan Gutierrez de Revoleño.

Nicolas Fernandez escrivano.

...

4. Deposition of Juan Diego, seaman.

...

Ayer seis de este presente mes a cossa de las tres de la tarde poco mas o menos desde la gavia se rreconoció tierra y luego: Dixo el dho General Francisco García del Fresno y los demas pilotos y marineros que era una de las Islas de los Ladrones llamada la Sarpana a la banda del norte y tanto mas se aseguro esto con que luego se descubrio a la del sur otra Isla llamada Guan y sin embargo de que se beyan dichas Islas el dicho Don Andres de Medina deçia publicamente no eran Islas de los Ladrones y que el ponía a ello su caveza y pondria çierto que tubiesse de lo qual admirado este testigo le Dixo como es poçible que V.Md. niegue y egnore presseandose tanto como se apresiado y preçia de çientifico en el arte nautica lo que se esta viendo y el suso dho le Respondio que todos los que deçian lo contrario se engañavan y no entendian la matheria porque

el se hallava por su çiençia y arte sobre la Isla de San Bartholome que dista de las de los Ladrones y antes de llegar a ellas mas de tres çientas leguas y en este dictamen tan erroneo estubo firme el suso dicho hasta que oy dicho dia se enparejo con dhas Islas de Ladrones y de ellas salieron en canoas muchos indios a rrescatar hierro a este galeon y estubieron en el como lo suelen hazer siempre que pasan naos a China con que se acavo de persuadir y enterar toda la gente que venia en esta nao de como dhas islas descubiertas eran las de los Ladrones y de la poca pericia y practica del dho Don Andres de Medina en el arte nautico pues aun lo que vey a se tocava ignorava y negava cossa que no podia hazer ningun hombre de uso de razon y tiene por çierto este testigo que si este galeon ubiera venido al gobierno de dicho Don Andres se hubiera perdido sin remedio y todo el socorro de gente y dineros que lleva para las Islas Philipinas...

Dixo ser la verdad publica y notoria en que se afirmo y rratifico y no firmo por no saver y ser de hedad de treinta años.

Y lo señalo su Señoria.

Nicolas Fernandez escrivano.

Translation.

1. Decree of Governor Salcedo to record navigational predictions.

While aboard the Philippine flagship **San José** and on the high sea, on 25 May 1663, his Lordship Don Diego de Salcedo, Governor and Captain General of the said Islands and President of the Royal Audiencia that resides there:

...

On the said date, I the present notary of the said galleon made the said order manifest to Leandro Coello, pilot major of the said galleon, and he answered saying that in due course he would give me a formal response to the order, and he signed in the presence of the said witnesses.

Leandro Coello.

Nicolas Fernandez, notary.

While aboard the said flagship galleon **San José**, on 7 June 1663, his Lordship the Governor declared that yesterday, 6 June, at about 2 p.m. more or less, land was sighted and it was said publicly that it belonged to the Islands of the Ladrones. Having pursued the voyage straight ahead, today at about noon more or less, we came up to them and it became clear that they were indeed the said islands. In witness thereof, his Lordship ordered that the time and date that they were sighted be recorded officially, in the manner contained herein, and by virtue of the order and decree of his Lordship dated 25th of the past month, General Francisco Garcia del Fresno and Leandro Coello, Pilot major of this galleon, have deposited sealed papers insinuating the point they had reached and the vicinity [i.e. date] in which the Islands would be found, and his Lordship delayed the opening of them until the said Islands would be sighted, and he ordered them deposited, as they were, for safe-keeping with Father Fray Francisco de San José, commissioner of the Discalced Franciscan Fathers who are aboard this galleon for them to remain sealed until the occasion came to open them in this vicinity. Because

it is proper to do so in the presence of the said Father commissioner and other Fathers commissioners of the Calced and Discalced Augustinians, and the Jesuit Fathers, he [i.e. the Governor] ordered the present notary to warn them to come to his Lordship's cabin to open and see what the said papers contain and, this done, they be recorded in continuation of these sworn statements.¹

...

2. Prediction of Francisco García del Fresno.

In compliance with the order that I received from Your Lordship on 25 of the present month, I, General Francisco García del Fresno, declares: that I find myself today north-south with the Islands of San Bartolomé² at a latitude of 13°10' east-west with the Island of Goan in the chain of the Ladrones and east of the said Islands by 280 leagues. I make this declaration, and I will similarly declare one day before I find myself at my estimated position for the said Island of Goan which is the position given by all the pilots and taught by the art of navigation.

Made aboard of the flagship galleon San José at sea on 28 May 1663.

Francisco García del Fresno.

[Other depositions were taken, even those of able seamen, and that of priests who had witnessed the blackballing of Medina by Governor Salcedo and others. Two typical depositions follow.]

...

3. Deposition of Father Fray Juan Gutierrez.

In the above-said galleon and date, to add more information to the inquiry decreed by his Lordship, the said Governor, Father Fray Juan Gutierrez de Reboleño, calced Religious of the order of St. Augustin, was a sworn declaration *in verbo sacerdotis*.³ When asked to give his answer to the said inquiry, he said: That, while he was aboard this galleon, a few days out of the port of Acapulco he heard it said publicly that Don Andrés de Medina, on another day after he had left the said port and being in command of this galleon, he had told the Pilot Major to head northwest, which means to leave the route that was being followed and that is the usual route, according to the opinion of all the seamen aboard, and to follow a new route. For this reason, and others, the Governor, moved by justice and command, told the above-said to desist from command of the said galleon and he placed her under the care of General Francisco García del Fresno who had come [from Manila] filling the same post of General. And, because the said Don Andrés de Medina had felt differently about the heading of this voyage and in his asserting openly on many occasions that he [i.e. the Pilot Major] was making mistakes, considerable inconveniences, disturbances and disservice to His Majesty have taken place and could take place. Consequently, to adjust things correctly, I

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- 1 Ed. note: The discussion had to do with proving that, although General Medina was taking navigational readings, his longitude estimates were so bad that he had predicted that the arrival at the Ladrones was to take place "many days" after the date predicted by the other pilots.
 - 2 Ed. note: Meaning at the same longitude as Taongi Island, in the Marshall Islands.
 - 3 Ed. note: Latin phrase meaning: "being the word of a priest".

understand and it has been notorious that his Lordship, a few days before arriving at the Islands of the Ladrones, had notifications served upon the said Francisco García del Fresno, Leandro Coello, Pilot Major, and Don Andrés de Medina, for them to declare their estimated position and declare one day before they found themselves with the said Islands of the Ladrones. That, by virtue of the said order the said Francisco García del Fresno and the Pilot Major gave the said position and I do not know whether Don Andrés de Medina has given his or not. Rather, what I know and is notorious is that, when land was sighted yesterday and was said to be the Islands of the Ladrones, the said Don Andrés de Medina declared: That it was not possible for it to be so, because he found himself 300 leagues before arriving at them, and this business of the 300 leagues is what the above-said told this witness. Until today, when we indeed came up with one of the said Islands of the Ladrones and their Indians came from them to this galleon as they usually do, it was not possible for the said Don Andrés to disavow his erroneous opinion, and many damages and inconveniences could have resulted from that error, if the Governor had not been guided by the calm and serene approach as he was and if they would have been greater if this man had been allowed to take the galleon along the route he wanted. It was in the interest of His Majesty's service to go through this experience, because the above-said man had persuaded the senior ministers in council that he was very scientific in the nautical art. This I state for the said reasons to be the truth, which I affirm and sign, and I am 60 years old.

Subscribed by his Lordship.

Fray Juan Gutierrez de Revoleño.

Nicolas Fernandez, notary.

...

[Similarly, Fray Eugenio de los Sanctos gave a deposition. Fr. Gerardo Raez [=Baz], the Jesuit band leader, was also a witness to the events. All witnesses mentioned that the natives of the Ladrones had come to the galleon to barter for iron that very morning that the depositions were taken, that General Medina blamed the bad chart for his having badly estimated the arrival time at the Ladrones.]

4. Deposition of Juan Diego, seaman.

... Yesterday, 6th of the present month, at about 3 p.m. more or less, land was sighted from the topmast and then the said General García del Fresno and the other pilots and seamen said that it was one of the Islands of the Ladrones called Zarpana toward the north and, as more of this island appeared and soon the other island called Guan toward the south was sighted, then, in spite of the fact that the said islands were in sight, the said Don Andrés de Medina said publicly that they were not the Islands of the Ladrones and that he was going to figure out what they were for certain. Therefore, this witness was amazed and told him: How is it possible for your Grace to deny and ignore what can be seen with the eyes, when you judge yourself to be as great a scientist in the nautical art as you say you are. The above-mentioned answered that all those who said the opposite were fooling themselves and did not understand the subject matter, because, according to his science and art, he was finding himself with the Island of San

Bartolomé that is over 300 leagues distant from the Ladrones and before getting to them. The above-mentioned remained firm in this erroneous judgment until today when we came up to the said Islands of the Ladrones and from them many Indians came out in canoes to trade for iron at this galleon and they were in her as they usually do whenever the China galleons pass by. This happening finished convincing all the people aboard this galleon, that is that the said islands in sight were the Ladrones and that the expertise of the said Don Andrés de Medina in the nautical art was little, given that he ignored and denied something that could be seen and touched, something that no reasonable man would do. This witness thinks that it is a foregone conclusion that if this galleon had come under the command of the said Don Andrés she would have become lost without remedy along with the whole succor of men and money that she carried to the Philippine Islands...

I say this to be public and notorious truth, which I affirm and ratify and I do not sign because I do not know how, and I am 30 years old.

And his Lordship signed on his behalf.

Nicolas Fernandez, notary.

A3. Letter to the King, dated Manila 16 July 1664

Source: AGI Fil. 9-3-40.

Note: There is a note added to this document stating that this letter was seen in the Council of the Indies on 1 October 1666.

Extracts regarding his voyage from Acapulco to the Philippines

Original text in Spanish.

Gobierno N^o 1.—Da quenta el Governador de Philipinas de su viaje desde Acapulco a ellas, de haver arivado la nao a un puerto 150 leguas distante de Manila, y como dispuso la conduçion de la Infanteria y hasta a aquella çiudad.

Señor

*Desde Mexico y puerto de Acapulco de la Nueva España di quenta a V.Mgd. de todo lo subcedido hasta el dia que me hiçe a la vela en el Galeon **San Joseph** que fue a los 25 de Março del año passado de 63 en que tambien benian los oydores Don Francisco Coloma y Don Françisco de Montemayor y Mançilla. Y prosiguiendo mi viaje a estas Islas, fue Dios servido darmele bueno hasta llegar a reconoçer el Cabo de Espiritu Santo que es el embocadero para el puerto de Caviteff[,] el mas proximo a esta çiudad y que dista dos leguas de ella, en cuyo paraje sobrebino tan reçoio huracan de bendabal (ordinario en aquellas costas en semejante tiempo) que no se pudiendo bençer su continuacion y violencia, fue forçoosso por no arresgar el galeon y socorro, arribar y cojer el puerto que el tiempo dio lugar, como se hizo milagrossamente en el de Cavo de Engaño, Provinçia de Cagayan distante de esta çiudad 150 leguas.*

*Y habiendo tomado tierra a los 8 de Julio de aquel año, despache luego gentil hombre a mi antecessor con aviso de mi llegada y socorro que hay ya. Asegure alli la nao, desembarque la plata y gente, dejando en ella la neçessaria de mar y guerra a cargo de cabo de satisfazion para que aguardando tiempo favorable y teniendo orden de govierno la llevasse al puerto de Cavite, y echo lo rreferido dispuse la conduccion de la plata y gente por la gran importancia de la brevedad en que llegare quanto antes a esta çiudad, y se consiguio a fuerza de summos desvelos y trabajos, bençiendo a todo rriesgo las dificultades de los malos caminos, muchas aguas y falta de arros y bastimentos que havia en las Provinçias del trançito con el mayor alibio que pude de sus naturales que aun todavia estavan poco asegurados de los passados alborotos y lebantamientos, e yrritados de los açerbos castigos executados en tantos como por las ultimas que Don Saviniano Manrique de Lara mi antecessor en estos cargos abra dado quenta a V.M. que por no duplicar ni embaraçar habiendo arribado la nao **San Saviniano** en que yban estos despachos, me ha parecido bolverlos a rremittir aora, por donde con individualidad tendra V.M. notiçias de lo subçedido hasta aqui, y del miserable estado en que halle estas Islas.*

Habiendo llegado a esta çiudad tome pocession de estos cargos en 8 de Septiembre del año referido de 63 de que embio testimonio, y por no haver hallado dinero alguno en la Real caxa con que socorrer aquel mes este campo y puerto de Cavite, lo ube de hazer de mi dinero mientras llegava la plata...

...
 [Note in margin:] *Como la Nao San Saviniano arribo al cabo de 7 meses que havia salido para Nueva España, y que hizo Junta y fue resuelto quemarla por no estar capaz de adreço, y los grandes daños que se ocasiono su fabrica y arribada.*

*La Nao **San Saviniano** que mi antecessor despacho para la Nueva España por Agosto del año passado de 63, al cavo de 7 meses que andubo arando el mar sin que pudiesse desembocar, llegó de arribada al puerto de Cavite y tan maltratada, que respecto de la mala forma dispoçision de su fabrica que salio errada por haver de faltado la quenta que requiere el arte, me halle obligado a yr em persona a reconoçerla, llevando conmigo las mas curiales y practicas en este ministerio para que biesen esta Nao y diessen sus pareceres por escrito en razon de si estava capaz de adreço para hazer viaje, y havien-dola reconoçido toda, conbinieron en que no le tenia y ser mas conbeniente quemarla y aprovechar el fierro en otra Nao que sirva de reparo a tantos daños como se an originado a estas Islas de la fabrica de esta en que se tardaron mas de quatro años de corte de maderas y por ultima haver arribado, pues si ubiere echo viaje a la Nueva España con las nuebas que llevaba de que todabia estava esto por de V.Mgd., saldria el Virrey del cuidado con que estará hasta que llegue la que despacho aora, y todo será en el ynterin apriostos y con hojas de mi cuidado para sustentar y conservar estas Islas.*

[Note in margin:] *Que habiendo adereçado la Nao San Joseph, la despachava a la Nueva España, a cargo del General Zebrian Vaez.*

Hallandome sin nao que poder imbiar por el socorro ordinario, dispusse que la en que bine y havia quedado en el puerto de Cabo de Engaño passase al de Cavite, para que en el se adereçasse, y por Junta que hize para este efecto se acordó saliesse el dia 2

de la luna de Octubre por jugarse ser los tiempos oportunos, y haviendolo executado al cabo de ella, luego que salio le dio una tormenta que estuvo a conoçido riesgo de perdersse de perdesse [sic], y al cabo de muchos dias que no se supo de ella teniendome en gran confussion, aporto derotada a la Isla de Mindoro desarbolada y tan maltratada que para esforzar el que no se perdiera por la poca esperanza que havia sacarla del paraje en que se hallava, me bi en preçisa neçesidad de yr en persona bien falto de mi salud, de que resulto el efecto de debenir dha nao a Cavite donde tenia mas providençia dispuestas las maderas y materiales para su adreço que se consiguio con el mayor ahorro de la Real Hazienda y alibio de los naturales, con que sale con el favor divino para la Nueva España a cargo del General Zebrian Vaez.

...

En la Provincia de Camarines quede disponiendo la fabrica de un galeon que pueda yr el año que viene siendo Dios servido a la Nueva España previniendo la falta que ay de ellos, aunque el haver Real se halla oy tan atenuado que si V.Mgd. no es servido doliendose con su acostumbrada piedad y grandeza de esta christiandad, mandar dar orden con preçision para que los Virreyes de la Nueva España sean mas puntuales en inbiar todos los años secorros mas quantiosos assi de Reales como de gente y que el año que faltare nao de aca la prevenga de aquellos Reynos porque no falte...

La caussa de haverse perdido y arribado tantas Naos de algunos años a esta parte y hallarse este comerçio en la miseria en que esta, no es otra que despacharlas fuera de tiempo de la Nueva España, y haviendo mostrado la experiençia que el lograrse los viajes en el puerto de Cavite, estriba en que salgan las Naos del de Acapulco por febrero, no se ha podido ni puede conseguir que los Virreyes lo hagan, y las despachan ordinariamente por fines de Março, como a mi me subçedio de que se origino mi arribada en gran desserviçio de V.Mgd. y de este comerçio...

...

... lo que espero conseguir de la grandeza de V.Mgd. cuya C.R.P. guarde Dios muchos años como la christiandad dezea y ha menester.

Manila y Julio 16 de 1664.

Diego de Salcedo.

Translation.

Government N° 1.—The Governor of the Philippines reports about his voyage from Acapulco to the Islands, that the galleon arrived at a port 150 leagues from Manila, and that he arranged to have the infantry transferred as far as that city.

Sire:

From Mexico and from the port of Acapulco in New Spain, I informed Y.M. of everything that had occurred until the day that I sailed aboard the galleon **San José**, which was on 25 March of last year 1663. Also aboard were the members of the Audiencia Don Francisco Coloma and Don Francisco de Montemayor y Mansilla. And proceeding my voyage to these Islands, God was pleased to give me a good one until we

sighted the Cape of Espiritu Santo which is the Embocadero [i.e. entrance channel] for the port of Cavite, the closest port to this city that is two leagues distant from it. In those parts there came a sudden and so stiff hurricane of monsoon wind (regular in those coasts in that season) but it persisted so violent that we had to consider not risking the galleon and the succor, and to seek shelter in whatever port that the weather permitted. This was done miraculously in the port at the Cape of Engaño, in the Province of Cagayan distant 150 leagues from this city.¹

Having stepped ashore on 8 July of that year, I then despatched a royal mail courier to my predecessor with the advice of my arrival and that the succor was already in. There I made the galleon fast, unloaded the silver and the people, leaving a skeleton crew of sailors and soldiers on board under the command of a satisfactory officer, for him to await favorable weather when he had orders to take her to the port of Cavite. This done, I arranged the conveyance of the silver and people, keeping in mind the necessity of getting to this city as fast as possible, and this was accomplished at the cost of great worries and hardships, by overcoming no matter at what risk all the difficulties of the bad roads, the heavy rains, the lack of rice and food supplies in the provinces along the way, with the best relief I could give to their natives who are still a little upset after the past revolts and uprisings, and irritated at the harsh punishments imposed upon so many, for instance, the latest ones by Don Saviniano Manrique de Lara, my predecessor in this post. He would have informed Y.M., but in order not to repeat or meddle, since the galleon **San Saviniano** that was carrying these despatches has turned back, it seemed to me that I should once again forward them; hence, Y.M. will receive all the details of what has happened up to now, and of the miserable condition in which I found these Islands.

Having arrived at this city, I took possession of these functions on 8 September of the said year of 1663 (see certification, attached) and, since I did not find any money in the Royal Treasury to meet the salary payments to the garrison here and that of the port of Cavite, I had to do it with my own money, as the silver was still on the way...

...
 [Note in margin:] How the galleon San Saviniano that had left for New Spain turned back after 7 months at sea, and how he called a Meeting in which it was decided to burn her as she was not worth repairing, and the great damages occasioned by her construction and return in distress.

The galleon **San Saviniano** that my predecessor despatched to New Spain in the past month of August of 1663, after 7 months of plowing the sea without being able to come out of the Embocadero, turned back to the port of Cavite in such a battered condition, that, regarding the bad manner of her construction, she had sailed missing some of the elements provided by the art of ship-building. I found myself obliged to go in person to inspect her, taking along the most expert and practical men in this kind of

1 Ed. note: According to the Augustinian historian, Fr. Casimiro Díaz (B&R 37: 230), he landed at the small port of Pasipit, in the province of Cagayan.

work in order to go over this galleon and give me their opinions in writing, stating whether or not she was worth repairing to make the voyage. Having inspected her all over, they agreed that she was not worth it and that it was better to burn her and to make better use of her iron in another galleon that would make up for so many damages that were originated in these Islands by the construction of this one, in which they spent over four years in cutting wood for her and in the end she turned back. Well, if she had made it to New Spain, with the news that she carried, to the effect that all this was still in Y.M.'s possession, the Viceroy would have stopped worrying, as he will until the one I am despatching now has arrived. In the meantime, I will have to be on my toes and doubly concerned to sustain and preserve these Islands.

[Note in margin:] Having made the galleon **San José** ready, he despatched her to New Spain under the command of General Zebrian Vaez.

Finding myself without a galleon to send for the ordinary succor, I arranged for the galleon aboard which I came and that had remained in the port of Cape Engaño to be taken to that of Cavite, in order to be made ready, and in a Meeting that I called to this effect, it was decided that she should go out on the 2nd day of the October Moon, as this was judged to be the opportune time. This was done at the end of that time. Then, after she had left, she was hit by a storm and became in danger of foundering, and at the end of many days of confusion during which there was no information as to her whereabouts, she made port out of her way at the Island of Mindoro, dismasted and so battered that, in order to make efforts not to lose her, given the little hope of rescuing her from that place, I saw myself obliged to go in person, at the risk of my health. The result was a decision made to have the said galleon taken back to Cavite where there were more wood and materials available for repairs, at a greater saving to the Royal Treasury and relief of the natives. She is now bound for New Spain, with divine favor, under the command of General Zebrian Vaez.

...

[Ex-Governor Manrique boarded the galleon **San José** with two members of the Audiencia. The rest of the letter describes the situation of the commerce. He requests that some miners be sent to the Philippines to work in the iron mines.]

I have arranged for the construction of a galleon in the Province of Camarines, one that is to go out to New Spain next year, God willing, making up for the present shortage, although the Royal funds are so short, unless Y.M. is pleased to take pity on this Christian community with your usual piety and greatness, and give precise order for the Viceroys of New Spain to be more punctual in sending all the yearly succors, in ever greater amounts, not only of money but of people, and in a year when the galleon fails [to appear], to despatch one from those Kingdoms so that the succor will not fail...

The cause of so many galleons being lost and turning back to this part in some years, and this commerce finding itself in the ruined state that it is, is nothing other than [the result of] despatching them late from New Spain. Experience has shown that success in bringing the galleons from Acapulco [directly] to the port of Cavite is based on the premise that they should leave Acapulco in February. It has not been possible, and still

is not, to get the Viceroy to do it; they regularly despatch them at the end of March, as happened to me, hence my arrival in distress, to the great disservice of Y.M. and of this commerce...

...
This I hope to get from the greatness of Y.M., whose Catholic Royal person may God keep for many years to come, as Christendom wishes and needs.

Manila, 16 July 1664.

Diego de Salcedo.

A4. Letter to Francisco Izquierdo, dated Manila 16 July 1664

Source: Whereabouts presently unknown; copy in Ventura del Arco mss. in NLA Chicago, vol. ii, pp. 481-483; summarized in B&R 36: 261-263.

Note by Blair & Robertson.

Governor Salcedo gives information regarding the condition of the Philippine Islands at his arrival, and the measures that he has taken. He states therein that he set sail from the port of Acapulco on 25 March 1663 and, after a prosperous voyage, they sighted the Cape of Espiritu Santo. There a monsoon wind storm came against them, so violent that it carried them to Cape Engaño; and on 8 July he landed, made the ship secure, unloaded all the money sent for the subsidy, and made arrangements for its transport to Manila. He was gladly received there, and took possession of the government and the authority of captain-general, on 8 September 1663.

Footnote on Medina.

Sources: Díaz' Conquistas, part 2, book 3, chapter 24; translated in B&R 37: 229-234.

Governor Don Diego [Salcedo] ... deprived the commander Don Andrés de Medina of his office, which he restored to Francisco García... Don Andrés de Medina, being a wise and prudent man, made no resistance, except that he retired to the quarters of the boatswain, from which he did not emerge until the galleon after many months cast anchor at Cavite...

[Synopsis: Andrés de Medina, who had been deposed by the new governor on the high sea from his ill-gotten command, obtains permission from the latter after their arrival in the islands to go wherever he wishes, to secure treatment for the illness from which he is suffering. He has a ship prepared secretly, and goes first to Bolinao, "where he discharged and paid the rowers. With the aid of father Fray Juan de la Santísima Trinidad—a discalced Augustinian religious who was minister of that village, and afterward provincial of that province of San Nicolás—ship's stores and all else needed for the voyage were prepared, and they crossed the sea toward the west to the mainland of Cochin-china, where it appears that they arrived; and where the natives of that country murdered them for the sake of robbing them." Some of their merchandise, and some of the mathematical instruments belonging to Medina are afterward offered for sale to some Portuguese who go to Cochin-china.]

Document 1664B

The King accepts that some foreigners may join Spanish missions

Source: AGI Fil. 81, ramo 6, doc. n° 288 (formerly 68-1-39); cited in B&R 53: 289.

Royal decree of 10 December 1664

Original text in Spanish.

Decreto de S.M. para el paso de los Religiosos extranjeros.

A los Virreyes, Presidentes, Governadores, Corregidores, Arçobispos, y Obispos de las Indias, avisandoles como su Magd. ha venido en que en las misiones que la Comp^a de Jhs embiare a las que se refieren vaya la quarta parte de Religiosos extranjeros.

El Rey

Por quanto por cedula mia de quinze de Junio del año pasado de mil seiscientos y cinquenta y quatro, que generalmente mande despachar para mis virreyes, presidentes de las Audiencias, gobernadores, y corregidores, Arzobispos, y Obispos de las Indias sobre que se executasen los de mi patronazgo real, que en ella fueron insertas por lo que toca a las doctrinas, y particularmente en las reducciones, que los Religiosos de la Comp^a de Jhs tienen a su cargo les di noticia de que avia mandado advertir a su General en Roma, y aqui al Provincial, y a su Procurador que tiene en la corte, que no se avian de admitir en las Indias, ni embiar destos Reynos a ellas Religiosos estangeros con apercibimiento que si contra esto fuesen algunos, se daria orden general a todos las partes, y especialmente al governador de las Provincias del Paraguay, para que en rason de no admitirlos observasen los unos y los otros con particular cuydado, y desvelo, lo que esta dispuesto, por las cedulas, de la prohibicion, y que demas desto se usaria de todos los dhos medios que pareciesen convenientes para su cumplimiento:

Y aora Phelippe de Ossa de la Comp^a de Jhs como Provincial de Toledo y en nombre de Juan Paulo de Oliba Vicario general de su Religion por la que toca a las Provincias de Indias me ha representado, que para las doctrinas, y reducciones de Indias, que estan a cargo della en aquellas partes, se halla muy necessitada de sugetos de Europa y que sin estos es impossible se conserben particularmente despues que mande no

pasasen a ellas Religiosos extranjeros, porque las Provincias de España (que no son mas de quatro) han llegado ya a termino que no pueden socorrer dichas doctrinas como hasta aqui respecto de averlas reducido la calamidad de los tiempos que no les es factible sustentar aun los muy precisos para sus ministerios: y las Provinsias de extrangeros vasallos y afectos a mi Real Corona abundan de ellos y se hallan con el sentimiento y desconsuelo de aver sido privados de un ministerio tan apostolico y propio de su vocacion con detrimento de su reputazion y del amor y celo con que siempre me han servido y cuidado que han tenido de la reduccion de aquella gentilidad, y por estas razones y las que en su memorial y un papel impreso y carta del Vicario General que citaba se referian mas particularmente me suplicaron fuese servido dar licencia, para que puedan pasar religiosos extrangeros vassallos y afectos a mi corona Real a las dhas reducciones.

Y habiendose visto por los de mi Consejo de las Indias y consultadoseme sobre ello deseando aplicar todos los mayores medios para la conservacion de los Indios gentiles y propagacion de la Fee, y atendiendo a lo mucho que conbiene, que en las misiones del Paraguay, y las demas que tiene la Comp^a de Jhs en las Indias la tierra adentro aya Religiosos de las prendas que para este ministerio tan del serbicio de Dios se requieren he venido en que las misiones que la Comp^a embiare a las referidas vaya la quarta parte de Religiosos extrangeros con que sean vassallos mios y de los estados ereditarios de la cassa de Austria y aya de aprobar los su General y traer ellos patente suya en la qual expresse de que lugar son naturales, en que Colegios entraron y donde han residido, y que van ordenados de orden sacro, y les mande que aviendo venido a estos Reynos asistan un año en esta Provincia de Toledo antes de pasar a Indias, por que estando a la vista se reconozcan sus costumbres y procedimientos y informe de ellos el Provincial, y con estas noticias los apruebe el dho mi Consejo de que por la presente me ha parecido abisar a los dhos mis Virreyes[,] presidentes de mis Audiencias, Governadores, Corregidores, Arçobispos, y Obispos de las Indias para que lo tengan entendido, y cada uno en la parte que le toca cuyde del cumplimiento desta resolucion como lo ordeno, y encargo, que por otros despachos de la sha desta doy tambien noticia della al Governador del Paraguay, y a mis Presidente, y Juezes, oficiales de la Casa de Contratacion de Sevilla, y al General de la Comp^a de Jhs y Provincial de Toledo, para que hagan lo mismo executando lo que les pareciere.

Fecha en Madrid a diez diziembre de mil seiscientos y sesenta y quatro años.

Yo el Rey.

Por mandado del Rey N. Señor,

D. Juan del Solar.

Y señalada de los del Consejo.

Translation.

Decree of H.M. for the passage of foreign Religious.

To the Viceroys, Presidents, Governors, Town Magistrates, Archbishops, and Bishops of the Indies, informing them that H.M. has decided that one quarter of the

mission bands that the Society of Jesus may send there can be composed of foreign Religious.

[From] the King.

Whereas by my decree of 15 June of the past year 1654, which was ordered sent to all viceroys, presidents of Audiencias, governors, town magistrates, Archbishops and Bishops of the Indies regarding what they were to do about the decrees that were enclosed concerning my royal patronage touching on the mission stations, and specifically the reductions, that the Religious of the Society of Jesus have in their care, I had ordered that their General in Rome, their Provincial here, and their Procurator at court, be warned not to send from these Kingdoms to the Indies foreign Religious, notifying them that if some were sent contrarywise, a general order would be issued to all parts, and specially to the Governor of the Provinces of Paraguay, so that given their non admittance they were to observe every one of the dispositions of the [applicable] decrees of this prohibition with special care, and vigilance, and in addition, all the said means judged convenient could be used to carry them out.

Nevertheless, Felipe de Ossa of the Society of Jesus, in his capacity as Provincial of [the Province of] Toledo and on behalf of Juan Pablo de Oliva, Vicar General of his Religious order, as far as the Provinces of the Indies are concerned, has represented to me that mission stations and reductions that are in their care in some parts of the Indies are in great need of subjects from Europe and that without them it is impossible to preserve them, specially after it was ordered that foreign Religious should not pass to them, because the Provinces of Spain (which are not greater than 4) have already arrived at a point when they can no longer send support to the said mission stations as they have done in the past, and the bad times have forced a reduction in their number and the remaining ministries can hardly be sustained with the most basic services, whereas their Provinces of foreign vassals and those affiliated with my Royal Crown are full of them and they feel sorry and disconsolate in having been denied such an apostolic mission field, one that is appropriate to their vocation, much to the detriment of their reputation, and of their love and zeal with which they have always served me in caring for reductions among the gentiles. For these reasons and those that are contained in his memorial, in a printed paper and in the letter from the Vicar General which he quoted from, concerning more specifically a request made to me to give permission for foreign Religious who are vassals and attached to my Royal Crown to pass to the said reductions.

This having been considered by the members of my Council of the Indies, and consulting me about it, wishing to apply all the best means to preserve the gentile Indians and the propagation of the Faith, and recognizing that it would be of much benefit to the missions of Paraguay, and others that the Society of Jesus has among Indians farther inland, to have Religious go there who have the talents for this ministry which is so much in the service of God, I have decided that the mission bands that the Society might send to the above-mentioned could contain the fourth part of foreign Religious, provided they be my vassals and from states hereditary to the House of Austria and

have been approved by their General and each carry a patent stating their place of birth, the Colleges they first entered and where they have resided, and confirmation of their priestly status, and they be ordered that, once they have arrived in these Kingdoms, they are to spend one year in this Province of Toledo, before passing to the Indies, for the purpose of having their customs and proceedings observed, and once the Provincial has gotten to know them, and once the said my Council has been informed and has approved of them. The present is to advise the said my Viceroys, Presidents of my Audiencias, Governors, Town Magistrates, Archbishops, and Bishops of the Indies of same, for them to heed this and take care each in his own jurisdiction to comply with this resolution, as I order, and entrust them to do. In other despatches of this same date, I also notify the Governor of Paraguay about it, as well as my Presidents, and officials of the House of Trade , the General of the Society of Jesus and the Provincial of Toledo, in order for them to comply with what might concern them.

Made at Madrid on 10 December 1664.

I the King.

By order of the King our Lord,

Don Juan del Solar.

Subscribed by those of the Council.

Document 1664C

Letter from Fr. General Oliva to German Jesuits, dated Rome 29 November 1664

Sources: In German or Latin, in Anton Huonder's Deutsche Jesuiten-missionäre, p. 21; translated into Spanish in Vicente D. Sierra's Los Jesuitas Germanos en Hispano-América, pp. 105-106.

...

I have received from Spain such a happy news. It is going to be celebrated with music from trumpets. Missionaries will be able to go to Paraguay, Philippines, Mexico, Peru, Chile and New Granada. For years it was forbidden to whomever was not a Spaniard to go to these territories.¹ I have just received the news, by letter, that the Council of the Indies of His Majesty has lifted the previous dispositions, so that foreigners may now go to the missions in the Indies, with the new disposition which authorizes that the fourth part of each mission [band] may consist of subjects of the Catholic King and Queen, as well as those of the Emperor and some other prince of the House of Austria. In this permission are also included almost all those belonging to the [Jesuit] Province[s] of Austria, Bohemia, **Flandro-Belgium** and Gallo-Belgium, as well as some part of the Province of Upper Germany which is within the jurisdiction of the Austrian Prince of Innsbruck.

I was also advised that the permission is valid for the subjects of all the gentlemen who maintain friendship with the House of Austria. It would please me to have everyone share in this happiness, but only those who will be designated will be able to go,² because in those countries it is necessary to have healthy and strong people. So, those who cannot go should resign themselves to remain in their provinces.³

1 Ed. note: The Royal Decree dated Buen Retiro 1 June 1654 was the last one addressed to the Fr. General of the Jesuits forbidding the sending of foreign Jesuits to the Indies. Another decree even ordered the deportation of those already there, but the influence of Fr. Nithard, the German-Austrian confessor of Queen Mariana de Austria over an 18-year period (1648-1664), was responsible for the issue of the present decree.

2 Ed. note: In other words, no volunteers.

3 Ed. note: See Doc. 1674B for a even more generous decree in favor of foreign Jesuits.

Document 1664D

The 1664 paper discovery of the Caroline Islands by Fr. Francisco Miedes, S.J.

Sources: ARSI Phil. 13, fol. 190-193v; copy in AGI Fil. 215, which was used for the Colección Pastells, Fil. 4; published in AHSI 49 (1980): pp. 393-416.

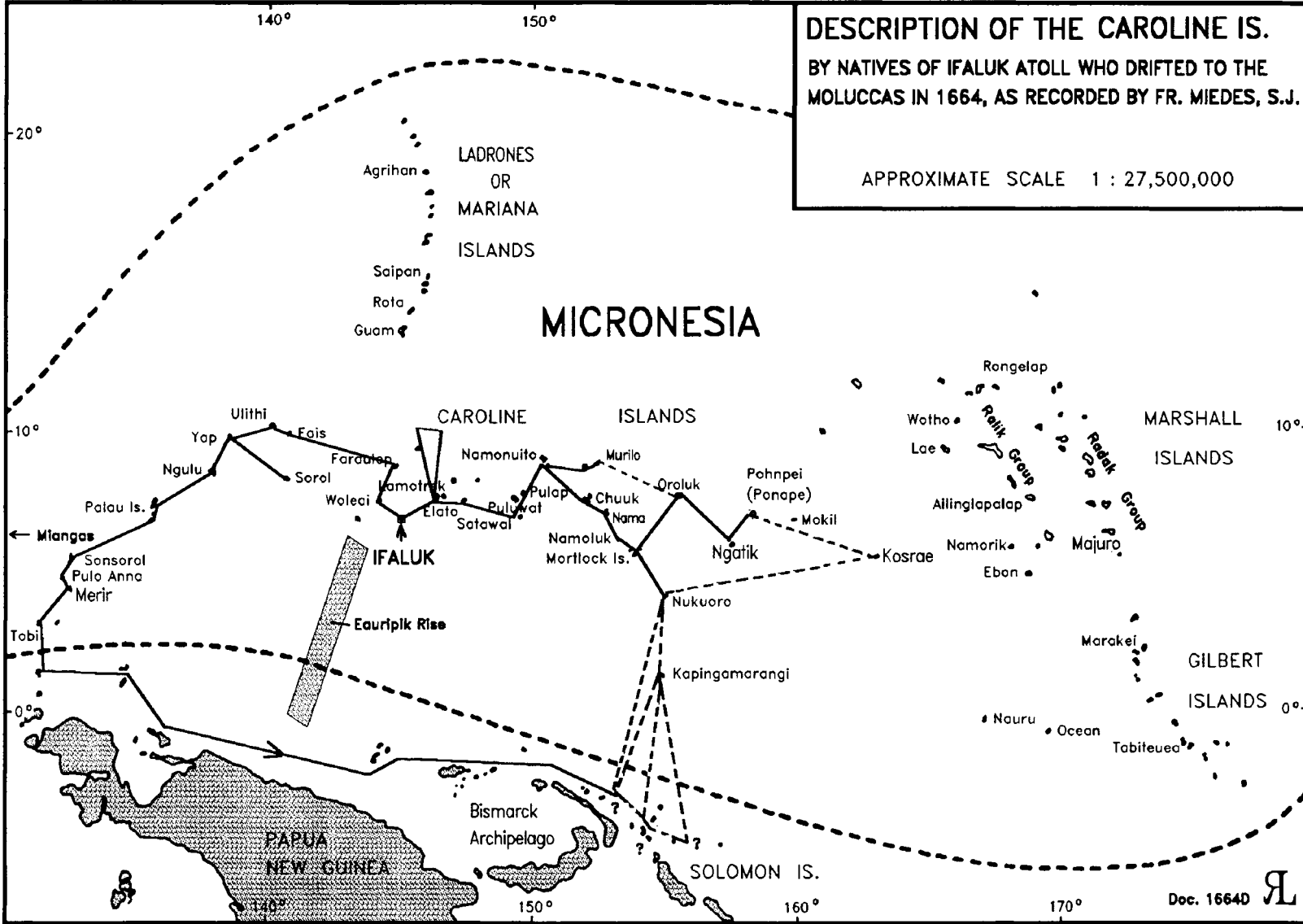
Introductory notes.

Fr. Miedes was born on 2 March 1622 at Alcalá de Henares¹ (east of Madrid), and admitted to the Society of Jesus in March 1643. He left for the Philippines in 1653, and must have crossed the Pacific aboard the galleon of 1654, because he taught at the college of Manila for a few months before he met the King of Siao—an island off the northern end of Sulawesi (Celebes). The king had come to Manila to ask for missionaries and during his stay was lodged at the Jesuit college. When the king went home at the beginning of 1655, four Jesuits went with him, including Fr. Miedes. Fr. Miedes first went to Ternate, where he worked until 1661, when he was transferred to Siao. He remained at Siao until 1673, when he returned to Manila. He died at Iloilo, on 29 June 1674.

It is while he was at Siao that he came in contact with four Carolinians who had drifted to the area in 1664. Apparently, **Fr. Miedes' informants came from Ifaluk Atoll**. After stopping by the Sarangani and Sangi Islands, the Carolinians tried to return, but were pushed to the Talaud Islands in the Molucca Passage. They were forced into slavery there, and the four who met Fr. Miedes did so after they were brought to Siao Island by their masters. Fr. Miedes met them in 1669, and after they were able to communicate in the local language, he wrote their story down in late 1669 and early 1670; he finalized this paper in 1673 when he returned to Manila to present it to his Provincial, Fr. Andrés de Ledesma. The latter unfortunately did not realize the importance of this paper discovery.

According to Fr. Hubert Jacobs, who brought attention to this interesting document in 1980, only copies remain. It seems that **the original report has been lost, and so**

1 Ed. note: Sources are 1) ARSI Phil. 2, fol. 302; 2) B&R 36: 58; 42: 122; 3) AHSI I (1932): 252).



too the accompanying map. The letter from Fr. Miedes was incorporated within a composite report for the Mariana Island Mission for the 1668-1676 period (see Doc. 1676A). It is reproduced there, without the usual salutations at the beginning or ending. The copyist, says he, “sometimes creates the impression that he has skipped some words or lines. At times he commits some mistakes in the orthography. In the punctuation he is extremely slovenly, often not even marking the beginning of a new sentence.” These remarks would be consistent with the work of a non-Spanish copyist, such as Fr. Coomans, who was at Manila from 1674 to 1676.¹

Letter from Fr. Francisco Miedes to his Provincial, dated Siau (Celebes) 24 April 1671

Original text in Spanish.²

Relacion de las Yslas de Piguilape que corren leste oeste desde Siao y otras de las Philipinas hecha por el Padre Francisco Miedes en carta que escrivio al Padre Provincial de la Compañia de Jesus de la Provincia de Philipinas.

1. *El año de mil seiscientos sesenta y quatro se derrotaron al poniente treinta embarcaciones de indios desnudos, en que havian más de trescientos de la isla de Piguilape,³ aviendo salido de allí para selebrar una boda en otra isla a su oriente, llama Tol o Tolo,⁴ [190v] distante doze⁵ días de navegación a vela (que estas gentes no saben bogar caracoas).*

2. *Dormían descuidados en el abrigo de una isla, quando se lebantó una colla de leste que sopló descomparadamente, y las más embarcaciones, sin poder resistir, fueron arrastradas del viento a alta mar y sin poder coger su tierra, que la tenian à sotabento se dieron à la vela⁶ al poniente sin saber adonde iban. Duróles la fuerza del viento muchos días, en los quales se sustentaron de cocos y poquísimo bastimento que acaso avían embarcado en su tierra, sin más prevención que la que pedía la poca distancia de su isla a la donde iban.*

3. *Acabados los bastimentos se hallaron unos a vista de Mindanao y Biclig. Saltaron tal vez y buscaron el bastimento que su miedo y necesidad les permitía. Otras vezes*

1 Ed. note: See the postscript below, mentioning Br. Díaz who left Manila in 1673, arriving at Guam in 1674. Fr. Coomans heard about this report as soon as he arrived at Manila, in 1674, and must have copied it right away, although he did not include it in his own composite report until 1676 when he left Manila to go back to Guam via Mexico.

2 Ed. note: Fr. Jacobs is responsible for the numbering of paragraphs, which is kept here, for reference purposes. Although the date is 1671, there is evidence that the author put the finishing touch to the document in 1673, when he was 51 years old.

3 Ed. note: Fr. Jacobs is also of the opinion that Piguilape corresponds to Ifaluk.

4 Ed. note: Transcribed Fol and Folo respectively, by Fr. Pastells.

5 Ed. note: Pastells has transcribed "six" days instead.

6 Ed. note: This line was skipped by Fr. Jacobs.

eran asaltados y perecian algunos. Porfiavan en bolverse à su tierra y el viento los echava a Siao y a Talocan; y antes à las isletas entre Sangil y Sarrangan. Allí se bieron acometidos de Talucas y muerto un compañero. Navegaron azi a oriente.

4. Y una embarcación, ya con solos seis, fue à parar à Talao(s), cuios naturales, gentiles también como los naufragos, los quisieron matar. Pero un principal lo estorvó, teniendo por más útil reservarlos para esclavos. Así se hizo y, por ser aquellos Talaos **de caberrua**¹ del Rey de Siao, han venido à parar à Siao, comprados quatro de estos Ladrones, aunque los Selebes los llaman Lalugas, nombre de sierta raiz de hojas maiores que **gabi**, bastimento que se da bien en la tierra de estos Ladrones.

5. Su disposición, estatura y traza, es grande, carnuda, fuerte y robusta; y aspecto más apasible y señoril; el color no tan atezado. Los naturales de todas aquellas islas dejan crecer la barba quanto quieren, y nunca se la quitan por dezir que pareserían mugeres. Estos son mui poblados de barba, mejor los llamaríamos Barbados [sic] como a los otros del Nuevo Mundo. Todos quatro están pintados: los dos poco en los muslos y piernas, y los dos eso mismo y más de la cintura arriba. Porque expresa su pintura un peto y espaldar con su gola tan perfectamente dibujado, que espanta como gentes que no conocieron hierro ni oro ni plata ayan podido pintar assí un cuerpo humano.

6. No usan más vestido, ni aun las mugeres, aunque nos dizen que ellas texen muchas mantas de abacá, y que se tapan sus verguenzas con alguna cascara ò [h]oja. Su dormir es en el suelo sobre un petate, y en tiempos fríos queman leña en el y después quitan el fuego a un lado y se acuestan sobre la tierra caliente.

7. Es raro su tesón en hazer caracoas y otros paraos de menos porte. No tienen ni conocen hierro ni otro metal: conchas quiebran de que hazen hachas, escoplos, barrenas y lo necessario para labrar tablas, que cosen unas con otras al modo que me dizen los Pampangos hazen las embarcaciones **en la Pampang hasta oy. Uno o dos labran la embarcación**,² y diez o doze aun no bastan para aguzarles las hachas que se embotan presto. Son hábiles en su esfera, i entre otras cosas lo muestran en hazer con tan malos instrumentos estas caracoas, en que se embarcan treinta, quarenta, cinquenta y sesenta personas. Su floxedad no les aplica al remo ni le usan, to- [191] -do es a vela, que se arriman à la latina assí triangulada.

8. El modo de república es, que dizen tienen Rey de Piguilape que domina las islas circumvezinas: nombre de Rey parece, no más, pues no tiene más dominio que la veneración de tal, sin más apremio que hazer cada uno de los suios lo que quiere. Con todo esso se junta[n] à hazerle una cassa baja, mui larga, para su palacio y havitación, con dos ò quatro mugeres que tiene. Los principales tienen à dos ò tres; los plebeyos se contentan con menos.

9. Esto havemos podido rastrear de estos quatro naufragos, que hablan [en lengua] Siao mal cortada. Preguntado de la distancia de sus islas à esta, no saben dar razón, y solo nos mostraron todos quatro (ya murieron los tres desde [el] Septiembre de seis-

1 Ed. note: Pastells could not decipher this word, and gives "vassallos?" as a possible meaning.

2 Ed. note: It was Fr. Pastells' turn to skip a line in his transcription.

cientos sesenta y nueve hasta el Julio de setenta) el sitio y disposición de su isla y todas las otras adonde se alarga su noticia y navegación.

10. *Esto iban demostrando en el suelo llano con las mazorcas desnudas de maiz, i poniéndolas en la distancia proporcionada según las oras ò días que gastan en navegar de unas à otras, y poniendo también su comparación en la distancia de Siao à Tagalanda, ò Sanguil à Talaos y otras islas de por acá que ellos an visto. Añadían las calidades de cada isla, sus frutos, vox, llanura, volcanes, lengua[s], dominio, animales, etc.*

11. *Dizen en general que no supieron jamás de arroz ni lo vieron, ni maiz, ni frijoles, batata[s], papayas, nancas [=jack- fruits], pajos, plá[n]tanos, naranjas, ni agrura[s], lanzones, durianes, bongas, vino, ni usan buyos. El tabaco lo comían, pensando era manjar la primera vez que lo vieron. Ultimamente de las frutas y frutos de por acá nada tienen sino gaves y cocos. Pero entre otras frutas y frutos de aquellas islas, los sustentan con grandíssima abundancia la fruta de un árbol, el más grande, como naranjas grandes, dulces. De estas da tanto su árbol, que los que maduran primero las cogen y entierran para provisión, y de las más tardías del mismo árbol van comiendo, dizen por medio año, y **acabadas esas comen los que antes avian guardado hasta que tenga nuevo fruto el arbol, de cuya espesie estan llenos los montes; y**¹ para comerlos, abundan los frutos que les sirven de pan.*

12. *Para vianda tien[e]n muchas gallinas, que no comen por asco, viéndolas comer tantas suciedades y inmundicias. Pero comen los huebos quando los hallan en el suelo en la espesura cerca de las casas; porque no les preparan cesto, no nidales, ni saben de chocarlos, ni cuidar de ellas. Otros animales terrestres no tienen ni conocen más que culebras chicas y grandes, y ratones. Puercos no ay, ni perros, ni gatos, no [ay] bacas, caballos, cabras, ovejas, ni venados, ni ningún otro animal.*

13. *Solo dizen ay en ciertas islas remotas ciertos animales (que no han visto estos), que sirven de carga, y sus dueños los matan para comer, como diré después quando llegue à nombrar las dichas islas. Porque para más claridad de este papel quise ir describiendo cada isla de por sí, expresando las distancias y situaciones que ellos hizieron con las mazorcas dichas.*

14. **Piguilape** es su patria, y de ella, como de centro, fueron tirando [191v] líneas a otras islas à su oriente, norte, poniente y mediodía. Pintan la de box como de veinte leguas, pero larga, y que acaba en punta casi a modo de guadaña. No tiene serranías, desigualdad, sí alguna de collados. Tiene Rey, como dixé, con poca authoridad; nunca castigan con pena de muerte, ni ay delitos. No pelean, ni en sus riñas² se sabe que cosa es matar a otro. Sus armas son garrotes largos y gruesos, y honda, en que son diestrísimos, y tiran piedras grandes más que las de los antiguos fundibularios.

15. *Los pueblos desta isla están en la casi media luna que mira al poniente, por ser costa brava la de el oriente llena de arrezifes y farellones, y su opuesta mui tratable³*

1 Ed. note: The ARSI copy, available to Fr. Jacobs, is obviously missing this line.

2 Ed. note: Pastells mistakenly says "vidas", instead of "riñas."

3 Ed. note: Pastells says "deleytable", instead of "tratable."

por originarse de allí una grande ensenada rodeada casi en circulo de veinte y siete isletas, y otro cerco más adentro de diez y seis farellones que la abrigan y cercan sin dar passo à [un] parao. Su fondo no pasa de seis brazas, en que se crían grande abundancia de pescado. Cóge[n]lo con varios géneros de nasas en que entra[n] mucho.

16. *Navegando al occidente de Piguilape, donde casi sierra la ensenada, ò rematan sus isleos, **Felalis**, grande como Siao, nueve leguas y más [de box], distante un día de navegación; y prosiguiendo el circulo **Aulupu**, dos días de navegación de Felalis. **Fais**, al noroeste de Piguilape, dista de los últimos isleos de su ensenada ocho días de navegación con buen viento; y un día à su poniente **Lamolulutu**, que es una de quinze isleta[s], que haze[n] un circulo perfecto, con su ensenada dentro de mucho fondo, y le ay de una à otra.*

17. **Yape**,¹ cinco días de navegación al poniente, circulo de isleos al sur de Yape está **Gugolug**[:] tres días de navegación **Sarol** y otras seis isletas casi en circulo, de lenguaje distinto de todos los circumbezinos. **Palu**,² pueblo de otra lengua, dista al oeste de Yape tres días de navegación. Desnudos in totum, sus naturales guerrear civilmente en dos parcialidades de las dos costas opuestas de su oriente y poniente, al que matan y cortan la caveza con la[s] uña[s] de el pulgar, que la[s] dexan crecer para eso disformemente, pero à los forasteros qualquiera recibe[n] con paz y agasajo. Usanlo así todos los naturales de aquellas islas.

18. *Desde Palu se desgaja [or desjaga] una rama de dies isletas hacia el sudueste y sur. Todas tienen sus nombres, pero no ay paciencia para escribirlos y gastar el tiempo inútilmente en eso. Están cerca y a vista unas de otras, de cuios naturales saben los de Piguilape que más al oeste ay otras islas, donde ai algunos campilanes y lancillas. Como también dizen lo mismo de otras islas que le[s] caen al norte y al noroeste de Piguilape. Y yo creo son las más cercanas à la Batachina de Therrenate, y de Talaos, de Sanguil y Siao la más occidental de estas, que son cinco ò seis tendidas de leste à oeste.*

19. **Sopi**, larga y no chica, tiene sagu que es un género de pan que se beneficia de una especie de palma. A la otra punta de esta isla al oriente está otro pueblo llamado **Mangas**. Dos caracoas de Piguilape[s] llegaron à esta isla antiguamente. Los que llegaron a Mangas fueron bien tratados y despedidos en paz, pero sus com-[192]-pañeros fueron todos muertos en Sopi, con que no [h]an buuelto allá más los de aquel pueblo. En esa isla me dicen los mardicas de Therrenate ay esclavos de el Maluco fugitivos. Y los Siaos yendo a Therrenate, dejando à Moratai à mano derecha, se desgaritaron allá, pero no saltaron en tierra poblada.

20. *Al sueste de Sopi dista seis días de navegación **Cafurur**, y a su sueste tres días está Fais, que ya dixé. A leste de Sopi está **Cilial**.³ tiene bolcan, llegan también allá campilanes y poco hierro. A leste de **Surha** y algo en triángulo con ella y **Ool**,⁴ estará cinco*

1 Ed. note: Pastells has transcribed this Yapa every time.

2 Ed. note: Could also have been transcribed as Palup, or Palug.

3 Ed. note: Could be transcribed Guilial, according to Pastells.

4 Ed. note: Pastells says "Yool".

*o seis días de camino **Faluele Ulape**, redonda; y al norte recto de Piguilape dista quatro días **Olimaraut**, dos días de esta **Faraulep**.*

21. *Por la parte del sur de Piguilape ay un ramo de islas mayores poco frequentadas y conocidas, porque sus naturales son crueles y porque las divide de las adjacentes à Piguilape un tablazón de mar larga de poniente à oriente, y al sur de este mar se estienen, como el de poniente à oriente, dichas islas. Dizen ser muy ancho este mar, de muchas calmas, mucho pescado. Nadan muchos maderos que, topándose unos con otros, sacan fuego (quien lo creerá?), de donde le tomaron unos Pigilapes derrotados y pescado que se cría en los mismos maderos.*

22. *Pasaron los derrotados à las islas de este mar y fueron mal recibidos. Vieron y hablaron à las mugeres de **Liseley**, donde no había hombres, y así lo dixeron ellas. La más occidental es **Pigiluil**, quizá es la que llaman los Therrenates **Pigilamau**,¹ adonde llegaron talvez los Malucos. Al oriente de esta está **Liselei**; dizen estos no ay en toda ella un hombre, que todas son mugeres. **Luol** está al oriente de **Liselei**, y así las que se siguen puestas casi en hilera.*

23. ***Gugotal** tiene bolcán, es grande. **Tagaiofisir** es mayor, larga y con bolcán en medio. **Lurra** pequeña; **Faluerser** pequeña; **Namolosit** mayorcilla y redonda, y à su oriente dista quatro ò cinco días **Tapeipei**² y al oriente desta **Moyao** redonda, **Laguria Tangun**,³ y à su norte **Lugumanos Peilau**⁴ grande, y à quatro leguas **Segeial**.⁵*

24. *Estas seis últimas son más frequentadas de los Piguilapes. Usan las seis una lengua. Saben pescar en mucho fondo con cordel. Hazen embarcaciones con arboles muy altos y les ponen cubiertas al modo de los blancos y lo explican estos diciendo que los de las seis islas ban embarcados dentro del agua.*

25. *A leste de **Segecial** [sic] dista dies y seis ò veinte días de navegación **Tugupia**, cuió Rey se llama **Fatia** [Tatio?]. Es como Piguilape, grande, algo larga; tiene bolcán y una laguna, y lengua distinta. Tres días à su oriente **Lupali** [Supali?] con bolcán de fuego; sus naturales son caribes. A su noroeste **Pigirran**. A su vista jaze **Tolufuri**, grande con bolcán; son caribes. A su vista **Itarao**, mayor; comen carne humana como los de las dos islas antecedentes.*

26. *Ya concluimos con las islas más al sur, pero entre sí, situadas en hilera derecha de oeste a leste estas, aunque más lejos, son más conocidas de los Piguilapes, por estar más cerca de otras que caen al oriente de Piguilape, adonde ellos se alargan haziendo escala de otras muchísimas [192v] intermedias de que está sembrado aquel mar como veremos.*

27. ***Ulor**, y **Toas** [Joas?] junto a ella, dista[n] dos días de navegación al leste de Piguilape. Un día de **Toas** más à leste **Freit**; más à leste **Pugubut**; **Lamosaq** grandecilla. Al norte desta[s] están sin gente **Pigilo** y **Faugeo** leste oeste entre sí; **Faugio** [Fuagio?]*

1 Ed. note: Pastells has this as Piguilosnan.

2 Ed. note: Perhaps Taperéy.

3 Ed. note: Perhaps Laguria Sanguk.

4 Ed. note: Perhaps also Lugumanes, Beilan.

5 Ed. note: Perhaps also Sigeias.

es llana, se cubre de aves muy grandes que escanban huevos de tortuga, que ay muchísimos. Son mansas, andan entre la gente que tal vez va allá i con sus graznidos no los dejan dormir.

28. *Sotoal* al oriente de *Lamosaq* un día, que usan la lengua de *Piguilape* y se acabá su dominio. A su nordeste se ve *Pigilot*, desierta. Al este de *Sotoal* se ve *Sauere*, grande como *Siao*. A su norte *Logiseng*, con tres isleos al rededor. A su nordeste se ve *Polet*. A su nordeste un día, *Oloul*; otro día dista *Macur*, y mediodía *Ulolu* [sic].

29. Al leste de *Oloul* tres días yase *Tolo* ò *Tol*, grande, redonda, con bolcán; su Rey se llama *Olep*. Ay allí otros reyes que pelean y guerrear entre sí. Despréndense de *Tolo* ò *Tol* dos como ramos de islas al nordeste y leste. Estas escribiré primero.

30. Yase[n] à su oriente dos días *Nemo*, y à quatro leguas se ve *Pisemol* [Pinsemo?], como *Siao* nueve leguas de box; à diez leguas *Namonus*. A dies y seis leguas *Etal* y de allí se ve *Cutug*, y à mediodía se ve *Morgorti*, y à semejante distancia *Oleapu*. Al sur de esta quatro leguas otra *Satoal* con Rey; no pelean. Y por un arrecife largo se continua al sur con *Togoo*, donde acaba el lenguaje de *Tolo*. Este *Togoo* tiene al sur cerca à *Segeial*, de qua supra.

31. En el otro ramo, al nordeste de *Tolo* dista de *Ololu* un día *Pisieral* ò *Picheral*. De este otro día al leste *Faugio*, que es isla de aves como el otro *Faugio*. Un día al leste *Namorl*, y quatro leguas al nordeste *Felalu*; quatro leguas a leste *Duefalu*, y quatro al sueste *Morilo*. Este dista quinze días de *Oleapu*. De esta al leste tres leguas se ve *Sabulumurot* grande, y al sur *Sabulorr*. Al norte de *Sabulumurot* tres días yase *Urralue*, y à su norte à vista *Tacailomol*, y à su leste hace triangulo con las dos *Pisemoyan*. En estas tres ay grande abundancia de comida y de pescado, mucha tortuga en los arrecifes.

32. Al sur de esta quatro días está *Ngerriq*, y tres días de esta al sudeste *Falupei* [Palupey?]. Es el término adonde llegan los *Piguilapes*; es mui grande, tienen bestias de carga (no nos saben dezir su figura ni tamaño). “Cutug” se llama la bestia, cómenla los Indios. Tres días al sur *Carrau* [Corran?], como *Siao* con bolcán, ay bestias de carga. A su occidental dista tres días *Loguior*, y à quatro leguas al sudeste *Pigirran*, de qua supra. *Carrau* tiene al sur dies leguas distante à *Itarro* [Ytarao], de quo supra en las de el sur.

33. De *Carrau* al nordeste dista cinco días *Metang*; de esta dies días al norte *Maquil*, larga, cinco días de navegación. Pelean entre sí y se comen sus naturales, y aun comen a los forasteros. Dies días de esta à leste está *Taligus* [Faligu?], grande; su Rey se llama *Tepire* [Sepire?]. Este navegó a *Piguilape*, à tratar amistad. [193] De *Taligus* al sur desta quatro leguas *Lamarris*, y de esta otras quatro al sur *Mire*; y otras quatro al sur *Pungomaive*, y al sur cerca *Sangisal* [Langisal?]. De este dies leguas *Itarrao* al sudeste, de quo supra en los caribes.

34. Con esto emos dado fin[al] à nuestra peregrinación y à las noticias que dan estes *Ladrones* ò *Lalugas*. Quíselas dar à la pluma para la admiración y pasmo de los juicios de Dios, que permite tantas almas en las tinieblas del gentilismo. Y aunque este motivo no es nuevo [sino general] à los que saben quantos se pierden en la Asia, Europa,

Africa y América, estas nuevas [y] individuales noticias causan más conmisericordia. Y au[n]que esa sola no me acabara de mover, pulsó la curiosidad y espoleó el deseo que ay en Manila de hallar camino para socorrer à los Padres Ministros que en los Ladrones com[fi]jensan à cultivar aquella viña del Señor, de cuya cordillera no dudo ser buena parte las islas aquí mencionadas. Y que si los Padres, como desde la de S. Juan aproaron al norte, ubieran aproado al sur, ya uvieran alcanzado noticia de algunas de estas que escrivo, como de Maquil ó las que le caen más al norte.

35. *Estas noticias no les serán desapacibles à los Padres de los Ladrones, ò quando de allí, ò de Manila se acabaren de resolver à intentar esa navegación para su socorro; si acaso los primeros vageles alguna vez se sotabentaren llevados de los nortes ò corrientes hacia el sur, no les pesará tener estas noticias de las islas que toparan, y estos pocos vocablos para pedir en ella lo necessario, y preguntar algo, y para saber, aunque à bulto, que à su oeste no dista mucho Talao[s], Sangil y Siao, y à susudueste Batachina, Maba, Beda [Mabonbeda?] y el Maluco.*¹

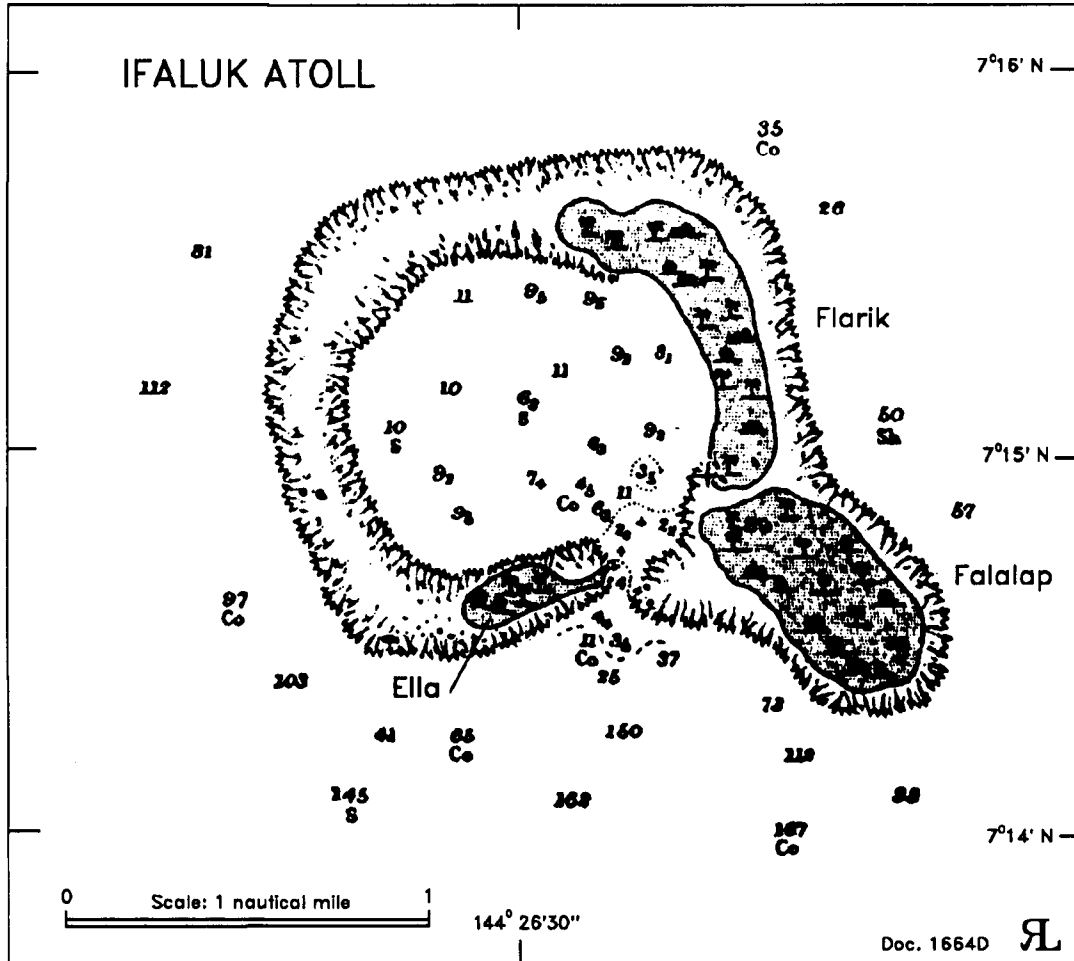
36. *Sirvirá mejor este papel para los que de Siao partieren à los Ladrones (si en Manila se resolviesen à socorrerlos desde Siao, como creo es más fácil). A muchos les parecerá paradoxa esta propuesta. Séalo ò no, yo ofrezco las razones que para ella me ocurren. Para navegar al oriente de regiones paralela[s] de leste a o[fe]ste se va à buscar altura y nortes, como de la Habana para España, de Manila à Acapulco. Si también se an de buscar de Manila para los Ladrones, esos vientos pueden ser también sures. Y el champán que trai socorro à Siao llega aquí a fin de las brizas; en abril ò a mediado [de mayo?] ya comienzan los sures, con ellos puede partir de Siao, que dista del equinocial dos grados y medio, como nos dizen los derroteros de Manila à Therrenate. Si la isla de Guahan está en treze grados, bastante barlovento tiene ganado un champán para navegar de segundo à treze.*

37. *Y yo que soy candidato de los Ladrones me embarcara en Siao (ya que me quieren sacar de el por inútil sin haverlo pedido), y navegara en dicho champán para los Ladrones. Y llevara en mi compañía el indio Laluga, de los quatro aquí referidos, para que me sirviera de mucho en las islas dichas ò en sus circumbezinas; y otro (que creo es de sus compañeros) que fue à parar à Manila y, bautizado ya, se llama Juan, pudiera servir también de guía y lengua. Si todos estos medios no parecieren entes de razón, yo estaré à lo prometido y nave- [193v] -garé à estudiar lengua fácil, que las difíciles ya se resisten à cinquenta y un años cumplidos.*

38. *Que esta navegación de Siao à la isla de Guahan sea fácil, lo tienen probado los olandeses, que tantas vezes partieron de Malayo allá en [sic] tiempos de guerra, para frecimiento se comunicara en Manila à personas de fuera, à pilotos y otros de la facultad, no había de parecer fantástico ò solo especulativo, sino práctico y executable.*

Siao, y Abril veinte y quatro de mil seiscientos setenta y uno.

1 Ed. note: The AGI-Pastells version stops here.



Ifaluk Atoll, the home of Father Miedes' informants. *The shape of the two major islands is unmistakably that of a sickle. Many natives from here drifted to Mindanao and the Moluccas in 1664. The former name of this atoll was Piguilap.*

Translation of the above text, by R. L.

...
 1. In the year 1664, thirty boats full of naked Indians were blown off to the west. They were more than 300 people from the island of **Piguilape**¹ who had left to go and celebrate a wedding in another island to the east, called **Tol** or **Tolo**,² at 12 days' sailing time (by the way, these people do not know how to sail *caracoas*).³

2. They were sleeping peacefully in the lee of an island, when a storm from the east blew in all directions,⁴ and most of the boats, unable to resist, were pulled by the wind to the high seas. They were unable to make a landfall, that was upwind, and they sailed westward without knowing where they would end up. The wind persisted for many days during which time they sustained themselves with coconuts and the few provisions that they had brought from their land for the purpose, not however for more distance than was necessary to reach the island where they were going.

3. When the provisions ran out, some of them were in sight of Mindanao and Bislig.⁵ They landed perhaps and looked for the provisions that their fear and need dictated. At other times, they were attacked and some perished. They persisted in trying to return to their island but the wind pushed them to **Siao** and **Talocan**, and before that to the islets between **Sangil** and **Sarrangan**.⁶ There they were overcome by *talucas*⁷ and one companion was killed. They sailed thus to the east.

4. One boat, with only 6 aboard, ended up in **Talaos**,⁸ whose natives, as heathens as the shipwrecked people [themselves], wanted to kill them. However, a chief hindered

1 Ed. note: Identifiable as Ifaluk, from internal evidence, although the old name is not recorded among the modern names for this atoll in Bryan's Place Names. Since *Pik* means island, and *Lap* means big, Fr. Miedes' informants may simply have described their own home as a big island. It cannot be linked with Pingelap, which is near Kosrae.

2 Ed. note: Tol, within the Chuuk [Truk] lagoon.

3 Ed. note: Caracoas are Moluccan double-outrigger canoes. The Trukese were not navigators.

4 Ed. note: A good description of a typhoon.

5 Ed. note: Transcription error for Bislig, a bay and town located on the east coast of Mindanao at 8°15' lat. N.

6 Ed. note: Siao is the island where Fr. Miedes lived, at 2°45' N. lat. Talocan could be a misprint for Taolandan, or Tahulandang, and island just south of Siao; the name of this island is misprinted Tagalanda in paragraph 10 below. Fr. Jacobs thinks it might correspond to Tawukang, a place on the east coast of Sangihe Island. Sarangani is north of Sangihe, but closer to the SE tip of Mindanao.

7 Ed. note: Word of unknown origin, unless it is the same as *laluga* below, or refers to the people of the Talaud Islands, east of Sangihe.

8 Ed. note: The Talaud Archipelago is NE of Sangihe and SE of Sarangani.

them, considering that it would be more useful to keep them as slaves. So it was done and, these Talaos being the subjects of the king of Siao, four of these Thieves¹ have ended up being sold in Siao, although [here] the Celebes people call them *laluga*, which is the name of a certain root vegetable with leaves larger than those of *gabi*, a food that grows well in these Islands of Thieves.²

5. Their disposition, height and appearance is tall, fleshy, strong and robust; their demeanor is more peaceful and lordly and their color is not so dark.³ The natives of all those islands let their beard grow as long as they wish, and they never cut it, so as not to appear like women. These [four] have such thick beards that we could call them the bearded ones, like those of Barbados in the New World. All four are tattooed, two of them a little on the thighs and legs, and the other two the same and also from the waist up. Moreover, their drawing of a breast-plate and pauldron with its gorget⁴ is so well done that it is amazing how people who know neither iron nor gold or silver could have decorated a human body in this fashion.

6. They do not wear any clothes, even their women, even though they say that the women weave many blankets from *abaca*,⁵ except that they cover their sex with some shell or leaf. They sleep upon the ground on a mat, and when it is cold they burn wood on the ground and, after shoving it aside, they lay down upon the warm earth.

7. Their tenacity in making *caracoas* or other proas of smaller size is unique. They do not have nor know of iron, or other metal. They break shells to make axes, chisels, gimlets and what is necessary to work boards that they [then] sew together in the way the people of Pampanga⁶ tell me they do it even now. One or two of them work on the boat, and it takes 10 or 12 of them at least to keep the axes sharp, because they become blunt quickly. They are skillful in this area, and they do show it by making, with such bad tools, these *caracoas* that can carry 30, 40, 50 or 60 persons. Their laziness makes them reject the use of the oar; everything is by sail, which they rig as a lateen sail, in triangular fashion.

8. Their sort of government is, they say, that they have a king in *Piguilape* who rules over the surrounding islands. He is just a king in name, because he does not command other than respect as such, without anyone pressured from doing whatever he pleases. However, they all gather together to build him a low and large house, as his palace and

1 Ed. note: As the word Carolinian had not been invented yet, Fr. Miedes use the word later restricted to the natives of the Ladrões, or Marianas.

2 Ed. note: Fr. Jacobs has found the word *dalugha* in a dictionary of the Sangi dialect. It means a kind of turnip. The idea used globally referred to the taro plant and, by extension, the people of Palau and other Caroline Islands.

3 Ed. note: As the Celebes people, supposedly.

4 Ed. note: A mental comparison with a suit of armor.

5 Ed. note: Word used in the Philippines for Manila hemp.

6 Ed. note: A Philippine province north of Manila. Fr. Miedes had Pampango assistants.

residence for his two or four wives. The chiefs have as many as two or three; the ordinary people have to be content with fewer.

9. This is all we have been able to get out of these four shipwrecked people, who talk the language of Siao not too well. When asked about the distance from their islands to this one, they cannot explain, as all four of them know only the location and layout of their island relative with all the others they know of within their [own] sailing area (three of them have since died between September 1669 and July 1670).

10. This is what they showed by laying out upon flat ground some corn cobs, without their kernels, and placing them at a relative distance according to how many hours or days it takes to sail from one [island] to another, and placing also as a means of comparison the distance from Siao to Tagalanda,¹ or from Sanguil to Talaos, and other islands near here that they have seen. They added the characteristics of every island, its products, circumference, flatness, volcanoes, language, dependence, animals, etc.

11. They all say that they had never known about **rice** nor ever seen it, the same with corn, beans, potatoes, papayas, jack-fruits, mangos, bananas, oranges either sweet or sour, durians, areca-palm [nuts], and wine. They do not use betel [nuts] either. When they first saw tobacco, they ate it, thinking that it was food. Finally, of the fruits and fruit trees from here, they have none except *gabi*² and coconut. However, from among the fruits and fruit trees of those islands, they get abundant food from the fruit of a tree, the largest being the size of large sweet oranges. That tree gives so many fruits that they pick the first ripe ones and bury them as provision, and they keep eating for half a year before the last fruits from the same tree give out. When such are gone, they eat those they had set aside before, until the tree gets new fruits. The woods are full of this tree which gives in abundance the fruits that they use as bread.³

12. As meat they have many chickens, but they do not eat them for nauseousness as they see them eat so many dirty things and garbage. However, they eat the eggs when they find them on the ground in the bushes near the houses, as they do not prepare baskets or nests for them; they do not know how to make them fight or how to take care of them.⁴ They do not have and do not know of any land animals except grass snakes, large and small, and rats. There are no pigs, dogs nor cats, no cows, horses, goats, sheep nor deer, and no other animal.

13. They say only that there are some animals (that they themselves have not seen) in some remote islands, that are used as beasts of burden, and that their owners kill for

1 Ed. note: The island of Tahulandang, just south of Siao. The inference here is that Fr. Miedes drew a map based on the sketch they made in the sand with corn cobs.

2 Ed. note: As I said before, this corresponds to taro, although the word in the Philippines refers more to a type of yam.

3 Ed. note: An obvious reference to the bread-fruit tree.

4 Ed. note: Fr. Jacobs thought, wrongly I think, that the Spanish word “chocarlos” [to have a cockfight] was a misprint for “cocerlos” [to cook them].

food, as will be mentioned when I get to enumerate the said islands.¹ In fact, to make this paper easier to understand, I will describe each island separately, mentioning the distances and [relative] positions that they indicated with the said corn cobs.

[Ifaluk was the Big Island, the center of their universe]

14. **Piguilape** is their island of origin, and from it they drew lines to other islands to the eastward, northward, westward and southward of it. They draw it with some 20 leagues of circumference, but elongated, ending in a point like a scythe.

They do not have mountains, but there is unevenness; some areas are hilly. They have a king, as I said, with little authority; they never use capital punishment, as they have no crimes. They do not fight in battle, and in their disputes they do not know what it is to kill another. Their weapons are large and thick cudgels, and slings that they use very skillfully; they throw stones bigger than those of the ancient catapults.

15. The villages on this island are situated on the inside of this half-moon shape that opens to the west. Its eastern coast is a rough one full of reefs and rocks whereas the opposite side is easier to deal with as a large lagoon begins there, bounded by a circle of 27 islets, and another enclosure within of 17 rocks that shelter it and enclose it without a passage even for a proa.² Its bottom is not more than 6 fathoms; in it grows an abundance of fish that they collect using various types of traps in which many get caught.³

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- 1 Ed. note: The Carolinians had heard of the presence of the dog in Pohnpei (see below). Since the Europeans did not import large animals into the Marianas until a decade later, they had not heard of them.
 - 2 Ed. note: There are no longer any islets on the reefs encircling the atoll, only three islands. Fr. Miedes may have misunderstood the explanations. There must always have been just one pass into the lagoon, although only one island was then approachable by canoe, the other two being entirely surrounded by reef.
 - 3 Ed. note: The Spanish word "nasa" [from the Latin "nassa"] is usually applied to wicker-type baskets, although it is sometimes used to refer to a net.

[The islands westward of Ifaluk]

16. By sailing west from Piguilape, where the lagoon is nearly enclosed¹ or where its islets terminate, [there is] **Felalis**, as big as Siao, 9 leagues or more [in circumference], distant one day of sailing.² Continuing, at two days' sail from Felalis is **Aulupu**.³ **Fais**, northwest of Piguilape, is at 8 days' sail with a good wind from the last islets of its lagoons.⁴ One day to the west is **Lamolulutu**, that is one of 15 islets that describe a complete circle, with a lagoon of much depth inside, as well as between one islet and another.⁵

17. **Yape**, 5 sailing days to the west, a circle of islands.⁶ South of Yape is **Gugolug**,⁷ [and] at 3 days of sailing **Sarol** with other 6 islets almost in a circle, and whose language is different from [that of] all the neighboring islands.⁸ **Palu**, with another language, is at 3 days' sail west from Yape.⁹ Completely naked, its natives are at civil war, with two factions, on opposite coasts, the east against the west.¹⁰ To those they kill, they cut the head off with the thumb nail that they let grow in a misshapen fashion for this purpose.¹¹ However, they received any foreigner in peace and kindness. All the natives of these islands have this as a custom.

18. From Palu, a string of 10 islets is spread out towards the southwest and south. All have their names, but there is not enough patience to write them down and waste time uselessly in this. They are near and in sight of one another.¹² Their inhabitants are said by Piguilape people to know other islands more to the west, where they have some *kampilan*-type swords and small lances;¹³ so they say also about other islands that lie

1 Ed. note: An obvious reference to the unique pass.

2 Ed. note: Felalis corresponds to an island of the Woleai Group, C34-14 in Bryan's Place Names.

3 Ed. note: This corresponds to Faraulep. So far the relative scale is 50 nautical miles per day of sailing.

4 Ed. note: Excellent bearing and distance, for a resultant vector line between Ifaluk and Fais, about 400 nm and therefore 8 days total.

5 Ed. note: A reasonable description of Lamol-ulutu or Ulithi Atoll.

6 Ed. note: Yap, of course, but it should take only 2 days. It is worth noting that no mention is made of the town of Gagil, the center of a trade empire (that included Ifaluk), or its chief; perhaps, it did not yet exist in the 1660s.

7 Ed. note: Recognizable as Ngolu, although Fr. Miedes had trouble with the pronunciation.

8 Ed. note: Indeed, Sorol is about 150 nm SE of Yap. The number of islands mentioned by Fr. Miedes' informants may have been the approximate number of **inhabited** islets in all cases.

9 Ed. note: Palau, of course, but it is SW of Yap. Also, it would have taken something like 5 days from Yap, but 3 days from Ngulu.

10 Ed. note: We learn here that the well-known rivalry between Palauan factions goes back a very long time.

11 Ed. note: Fact and fiction are here intertwined. The custom of long thumb nail may have had nothing to do with their form of capital punishment.

12 Ed. note: Unfortunately, there is no description. The islands in question would have included the southern islands in the Palau group (Peleliu and Angaur) in addition to the 2 Sonsorol islands, Pulo Ana, Meriere, Tobi, Helen Reef, Mapia, etc.

13 Ed. note: A reference to Mindanao and other Philippine Islands.

to the north and northeast of Piguilape.¹ I myself think that the westernmost of the said islands are closer to Batachina of Ternate [i.e. Halmehera] and to Talaos, to Sanguil and Siao than the distance between 5 or 6 of them in a line east to west.²

19. **Sopi**, long and big, has *sago* which is a type of bread obtained from a sort of palm. At the other end of this island, on the eastern side, there is another town called **Mangas**.³ Two caracoas full of Piguilape people travelled to this island a long time ago. Those who arrived at Mangas were well treated and sent off in peace, but their companions were all killed in Sopi, and for this reason those from that town [Mangas] have not gone there anymore. In that island, the freemen of Ternate tell me, there are Moluccan runaway slaves. Some Siao people on the way to Ternate, passing to the left of Morotai were blown off overthere, but they did not set foot in any inhabited land.

20. Southeast of Sopi at 6 days of sailing is **Cafurur**, and southeast of it another 3 days is **Fais**, already mentioned.⁴ East of Sopi is **Cilial**, with a volcano; some swords and a little iron arrive there as well.⁵

Surha and somewhat making a triangle with it and **Ool**, at 5 or 6 days of sailing, is **Falucle Ulape**, circular in shape; and directly north of Piguilape, at 4 days' distance, is **Olimaraut**, [and] 2 days from it is **Faraulep**.⁶

[Southward of Ifaluk, Melanesia]

21. Southward from Piguilape, there is a line of larger islands, little known or visited, because their natives are cruel and because they are separated from Piguilape by a large

1 Ed. note: A possible reference to the Ladrões or Marianas, where swords had been stolen from passing ships.

2 Ed. note: Fr. Miedes' assumption was remarkably accurate.

3 Ed. note: These names are not given a relative position. Fr. Jacobs thinks that the copyist may have omitted some text. The information is confused, but I think that the Ifaluk people have confused two separate islands, Tobi Island and Miangas Island; the former is east of Talaud at 3°, and the latter, called Palmas in Spanish times, is east of Sarangani.

4 Ed. note: As Fr. Miedes is convinced that Sopi lies eastward of Morotai, this must be another Fais, in the direction of New Guinea perhaps. Cafurur is unrecognizable.

5 Ed. note: Was the informant describing the Marianas, and Fr. Miedes thinking he was describing other islands? Now comes another jump, back to the central Carolines, apparently to islands northward of Ifaluk.

6 Ed. note: Working backward, Olimarao is recognizable, but it lies east of Ifaluk, not directly north. The rest of this paragraph is also confused. Since the line through Woleai and Faraulep had already been described summarily, the informant may only have been giving further details about what was to him a well-known neighborhood. For instance, Eauripik, south of Woleai, was not described the first time around. One of the corner islands of Eauripik is Oao; it is therefore possible that the other islets were then called something like Surha, Falucle, and/or Ulap. Finally, Eauripik would be 5-6 days of sailing, via Woleai.

swath of ocean [running] from west to east, and the said islands extend, from west to east. They say that this sea is very wide, and has many doldrums and much fish. Many trees float about, and by rubbing one against another, they make fire (who will believe this?),¹ that is how some waylaid Piguilape people did it, and there are some [shell-]fish growing on the said trees.

22. The waylaid people crossed over to the islands of this sea and they were badly received. They saw and talked to the women of **Liseles**, where there were no men; at least the women said so. The westernmost island is **Pigiluil**, perhaps it is the same island that the Ternate people call Pigilamau, visited by the Moluccans at one time. East of this one is Liselei, where they themselves say that there is not one man, as all are women.² **Luol** is east of Liselei, and those that follow also lie in that direction, almost in a [straight] line.

23. **Gugotal**³ has a volcano, and is big. **Tagaiofisir** is bigger, long and with a volcano in the center. **Lurra** is small; **Faluerser** is small; **Namolosit** is medium size and circular in shape. East of them, 4 or 5 days away is **Tapepei** and further east is **Moiao**, circular; **Laguria tangun**, and north of it **Lugumanes**, a big island, and 4 leagues away **Segeial**.

24. The latter six islands are often visited by Piguilapese. All six use the same language. They know about deep-sea fishing with a line. They make boats with very large trees and cover them with decks as the white people do. They [i.e. my informants] explain this by saying that those of the six islands ride the boats while inside the water.⁴

25. East of Segecial [sic] at 16 or 20 days of sailing is **Tugupia**, whose king is named Fatia. It is like Pigilape, big, somewhat elongated; it has a volcano, a lagoon and its own language. Three days further east is **Lupali**, with an active volcano. Its natives are

1 Ed. note: Obviously, Fr. Miedes confused two separate statements. The area north of New Guinea is known for its calms, and flotsam.

2 Ed. note: This seems like a repetition of a good story, about an island of amazons. I leave it to an expert on Melanesia to unscramble what follows, but I think that the Carolinian may have given their own names to the islands, just like the Europeans did, before and later.

3 Ed. note: Since Ngulu was transcribed as Gugolu, this should perhaps be the same as Ngutal.

4 Ed. note: Since the boats could not have been submarines, the inference is that the passengers were out of sight, below deck. Segeial will be described below as the closest point to Nukuoro in the eastern Carolines; therefore, we may assume that the six islands described in this paragraph lie in the Bismarck Archipelago.

cannibals. Northwest of it is **Pigirran**. In sight of the latter lies **Tolufuri**, big, with a volcano; they are cannibals. Within sight is **Ytarao**, bigger; they eat human flesh as on the two previous islands.¹

26. We have now finished with the islands in the south that are, however, located with respect to one another in a line from west to east. These islands, even though far away are better known by the Piguilapese because they are near others that lie to the east of Piguilape, and which they reach while making stopovers in many other intermediate islands, of which this sea is full as we shall see.

[Eastward of Ifaluk]

27. **Ulor**, and **Toas** near it, are 2 days of sailing time east of Piguilape.² One day to the east of Toas is **Freit**.³ Further east is **Pugubut**; **Lamosaq**, fairly big.⁴ North of them are the uninhabited [islands of] **Pigilo** and **Faugeo** lying east and west of each other.⁵ Faugio [sic] is flat, and covered with very large birds that excavate turtle eggs, that are very abundant. They are tame and walk among the people who chanced to go there and could not sleep because of the noise they make.

28. **Sotoal** [Satawal] is 1 day east of Lamosaq, where they use the language of Piguilape and is the last island under its influence. Northeast of it is **Pigilot** [sic], uninhabited.⁶ East of Sotoal, one can see **Sauere**, the size of Siao.⁷ North of it is **Logiseng** with 3 islets around it.⁸ Northeast of it can be seen **Polet** [Pulap]. One day further to the northeast is **Oloul**.⁹ Another day away is **Macur**,¹⁰ and half a day **Ulolu**.¹¹

1 Ed. note: This paragraph points to the existence of the archipelago now called Solomon Islands and Vanuatu, of which Tikopia is recognizable.

2 Ed. note: This refers to the Lamolior part of the Elato group. Ulor is Car. 29-6, and Toas is Car. 29-5 in Bryan's Place Names.

3 Ed. note: This has to be a misprint, since the "fr" sound does not exist in Carolinian. This corresponds to Flait, or Falaite, the westernmost islet of Lamotrek.

4 Ed. note: These two are the other corner islands in Lamotrek: Puge Car. 28-1 & Lamotrek 28-2.

5 Ed. note: The islands of Pikelot and Fayu. Riesenbergs has proven that these are now shown (wrongly) on modern maps as Gaferut and West Fayu respectively, Gaferut's real name being Fayu. Note the transcription error, Fauyo being written Faugio.

6 Ed. note: Riesenbergs says that the true native name is simply Pik (meaning Sand I.), but this informant seems to contradict him, and himself, as the true Pikelot lies north, rather NNW of Satawal.

7 Ed. note: There is nothing in sight of the lone island of Satawal. However, this may be a reference to the islet of Sau in Puluwat.

8 Ed. note: This should be another islet of Puluwat, but does not appear among modern names. There are, however, as stated, four more islets in this group. By the way, there is no mention of the lone island of Pulusuk, south of Puluwat.

9 Ed. note: Correct. Ulul is the westernmost island of the Namonuito group (Car. 17-11 in Bryan).

10 Ed. note: Magur is the at the north apex of this group (Car. 17-1).

11 Ed. note: Here, it is obvious to me that Fr. Miedes made a mistake; he meant to record the name of the islet in the east corner, which is now Pisaras, but recorded a variant of Ulol.

29. East of Oloul by 3 days lies **Tolo** or **Tol**, big, circular, with a volcano. One king is named Olep; there are also other kings who fight and make war among themselves. Tolo or Tol is the starting point for two other strings of islands, one to the northeast and the other to the [south-]east. I will mention the former first.

30. Two days to the [south-]east lies **Nemo** [Nama], and 4 leagues away **Pisemol** can be seen; it is like Siao 9 leagues in circumference.¹ Ten leagues away is **Namonus**.² Sixteen leagues further is **Etal**. From there can be seen **Cutug**, and to the south can be seen **Morgorti**, and at a similar distance **Oleapu**.³ Four leagues south of it is the other **Satoal** with a king; they do not fight.⁴ And through a large shoal area one can go on south to **Togoo**, which is the last island speaking the language of Tolo. This Togoo is not far north of the above-mentioned Segeial.⁵

31. Along the other line northeast of Tolo and one day from Ololu is **Pisieral** or **Picheral**.⁶ From this one, another day to the east, is **Faugio**, which is another bird island like the other Faugio.⁷ One day to the east is **Namorl**, and 4 leagues to the northeast is **Felalu**, 4 leagues eastward is **Duefalu**, and 4 to the southeast **Morilo**.⁸

1 Ed. note: Identifiable as Pis on Losap Island, although Laol is a bigger islet.

2 Ed. note: Namoluk, but it is about 25 leagues away.

3 Ed. note: The first two islands, Kutu and Mor, are part of Satawan atoll (Bryan's Car. 12-40 & -3); Oneap is a big islet of what is now called Lukuor atoll, from the name of another big islet.

4 Ed. note: Correct. Satawan is the largest islet of Satawan atoll.

5 Ed. note: Since there is not now another atoll beyond Satawan where they speak Trukese, one may conclude that Nukuoro (now inhabited by Polynesians) was then inhabited by Carolinians. Therefore, Togoo would be the former name for Nukuoro. Alternatively, Togoo could be a mispronunciation or misprint for Nukuor, and the language explanation was taken to be the reverse, that they did not speak Trukese there... There are only 150 miles (250 km) between Nukuoro and New Ireland in Melanesia, the area most likely to have contained Segeial.

6 Ed. note: The easternmost islet of Namonuito; however, it lies NW of the Chuuk lagoon.

7 Ed. note: This Fayu is sometimes called East Fayu, to differentiate it from the other Fayu.

8 Ed. note: This is a would-be description of the Hall Islands, consisting of 2 neighboring atolls: Nomwin and Murilo. Manorl and Felalu belong to Nomwin Atoll (Car. 15B-13 & -4); Duefalu and Morilo to Morilo Atoll (15A-5 & -4). Duefalu must be a misprint for Ruo Falu, or Ruo I.

This island is 15 days distant from Oleapu.¹ From it [i.e. Oneap], 3 leagues to the east, can be seen **Sabulomotot**, a big island, and to the south **Sabulorr**.² Three days north of Sabulomotot lies **Urralue**, and north of it within sight is **Tacailomol**, and east of it, making a triangle with both is **Pisemoian**. At these three islands [i.e. Oroluk] there is a great abundance of food and of fish, many turtles on the reefs.

[Pohnpei was known to natives of the Central Carolines]

32. Four days south of the latter is located **Ngerriq** [Ngatik], and 3 days southwest [rather northeast]³ is **Falupei**.⁴ This is the last island visited by the Pigilapese; it is very big, has beasts of burden (they cannot tell us their shape nor size). “Cutug” is the name of the beast, which is eaten by the Indians.⁵

[Kosrae was the eastern limit of the Carolines even then]

Three days southward is **Carrau**,⁶ like Siao with a volcano; there are beasts of burden.⁷ West of it, three days away, is **Loguior**,⁸ and 4 leagues to the southwest is **Pigirran**.⁹ Ten leagues south of Carrau is Ytarro,¹⁰ that was mentioned earlier as one of the southern islands.

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- 1 Ed. note: Oneap, i.e. Lukunor, could very well be 2 weeks away from Morilo by canoe. What follows is, I think, a description of such a voyage, from Oneap to Morilo, via Oroluk, although the names other than Oroluk are no longer recognizable today, probably because Oroluk has since become depopulated.
 - 2 Ed. note: If this is a description of Lukunor, these islets would be Supunor and Lukunor (Car. 12B-4 & -3).
 - 3 Ed. note: Fr. Miedes mistook the proper bearing, for this SW—NE vector.
 - 4 Ed. note: Pohnpei was often spelled Falupei and Falupet when it was recorded by Fr. Cantova in 1722. Falu-pei means Stone Island in Carolinian; the local natives prefer to call it Stone Altar, Pohn-pei.
 - 5 Ed. note: Kutu, or Kiti, means “dog” in the Pohnpeian language. It is evident that the Ifaluk people had come in contact with the Kiti tribe on the south side of the island. Kosrae Island is next described from hearsay.
 - 6 Ed. note: This is as good a rendering of Kosrae as the former spelling, Kusaie, in English.
 - 7 Ed. note: It must be clear by now that the word volcano simply meant mountain(s). The information about dogs in Kosrae may not have been accurate; there were none present when the first Europeans stopped there in 1824. However, other links between Kosrae and Pohnpei could have been mentioned: similar ruins, sakau or kava, etc.
 - 8 Ed. note: A reference to Nukuoro, rather than Lukunor, I think, from what follows.
 - 9 Ed. note: Kapingamarangi, the other Polynesian outlier, was still called Piguiram when it was described to Lütke in 1828. The estimate of distance is therefore wrong here, and in the next as well.
 - 10 Ed. note: Misprint for Ytarrao.

33. From Carrau, 5 days to the northeast is **Metang**; from it, 10 days to the north is **Moquil**, big, 5 days of sailing.¹ The natives of these two islands fight one another and eat one another; they even eat strangers. Ten days from it to the east is located **Taligus**, big; its king is called Tepire. The latter sailed as far as Pigilape to negotiate friendship.² South of Taligus, 4 leagues off is **Lamarris**, and 4 more leagues southward is **Mire**; 4 more southward **Pungomaive**, and nearby to the south **Sangisal**. From this, it is 10 leagues southwest to Ytarrao, one of the cannibal islands mentioned above.

34. With this we have finished our voyaging and the information given by these Ladrões, or Lalugas.³ I wanted to write it down for the admiration and wonder of the judgment of God, who allows so many souls [to remain] in the darkness of heathenism. Even if this motive is not new but general to those who know how many [souls] are being lost in Asia, Europe, Africa and America, these particular news cause much compassion. Even if this would not cease from moving me, [my] curiosity was aroused, in order to excite the desire they have in Manila to find a route to go to the assistance of the missionary Fathers who have recently begun to cultivate that vineyard of the Lord that are the Ladrões, whose chain of islands no doubt covers a great part of the above-mentioned islands.⁴ If the Fathers, who went up to the north of San Juan [Guam] in proas, had [instead] sailed south, they would by now have had notice of some of the islands I write about,⁵ for instance, about Maqil, or those north of it.

35. These notices will not be disagreeable to the Fathers in the Ladrões, when they should decide to try that route to bring relief to them, either from there or from Manila. Should the first vessels be pushed by the northerlies towards the south, they would not be sorry to have these notices about islands that they would encounter and these few words they could use to ask what is essential, and to ask for something, even though they would already have a clue that toward the west the islands of Talaos, Sangil and Siao are not far, and southwest of them lie Batachina, Maba, Beda and Maluco.⁶

36. This paper would be more useful to those who would set out from Siao (if in Manila they should decide to bring relief from Siao, as I believe it is easier). This proposal would seem paradoxical to many. Whether it be or not, I offer the reasons for it

- 1 Ed. note: A confused statement, or badly recorded. Mokil has been misplaced; it is west of Kosrae. In fact, northeast should read southwest instead, since the following islands are part of Melanesia.
- 2 Ed. note: If Melanesians travelled to the Central Carolines, would they have sailed directly and used signs provided by the shallower sea overlying the Eauripik Rise? This ridge separates the West Caroline Basin from the East Caroline Basin.
- 3 Ed. note: Literally, these "thieves" or "taro people".
- 4 Ed. note: Unfortunately not. His informants made no mention of the Ladrões.
- 5 Ed. note: This assumption was correct.
- 6 Ed. note: The first three are on the eastern side of Halmahera Island, the west side being part of the Moluccas. Beda, or Veda, is actually Weda.

that occur to me. To sail eastward along east-west parallels, one must look for higher latitude and northerly winds, as from Havana to Spain, from Manila to Acapulco. If also one wants to go from Manila to the Ladrones, these winds can also be southerlies. The champan¹ that brings relief to Siao arrives here at the end of the tradewind season; in April or in the middle of [May?], the southerlies begin already, and with them one could start from Siao, which is [north] of the equator by 2 and a half degrees, as the rutters from Manila to Ternate tell us. If the island of Guahan is in 13 degrees, a champan would get enough rear-wind to sail from the second degree to the thirteenth.

37. As I am a candidate for the Ladrones,² I would embark in Siao (since they want to withdraw me from here for being useless, without my having asked for it) and would sail in the said champan to the Ladrones. I would bring along the Laluga Indian, of the four whom I have mentioned,³ in order to help me much in the said islands or their neighbours. As for the other (whom I believe is his countryman) who ended up in Manila and, already baptized, is named Juan, he could also be used as a guide and interpreter. If all these means should be considered reasonable, I would be ready to go and learn the language even though it be difficult for one who is over 51 years old.

38. That the passage from Siao to the Island of Guahan is easy, it has been proven by the Dutch who so many times left from Malayo bound overthere in war times, in order to wait for and assault our galleons from [New] Spain.⁴ I believe that if this proposal will be communicated in Manila to people in authority, to pilots and others of their kind, it will not appear fantastic or only speculative, but practical and possible of execution.

Siao, 24 April 1671.

Postscript by the copyist, probably Fr. Coomans.

Fr. Miedes was most expert in everything concerning Moluccan affairs, having spent over 16 years there and in the islands of that sea, as a result of having lived 7-8 years in Ternate and almost 10 in the kingdom of Siao. He took pains to ascertain the notices that he describes.⁵

1 Ed. note: The word champan was then used by non-sailors to mean a small vessel, like a patache of about 100-ton capacity at most.

2 Ed. note: I have found no record of Fr. Miedes having been considered for a transfer to the Mariana Mission.

3 Ed. note: The only one who had survived, as of 1671.

4 Ed. note: Malayu was the site of the Dutch fort on Ternate. There is only one record of the Dutch having gone from the Moluccas to Guam (see Doc. 1645A).

5 Ed. note: After having transcribed Fr. Miedes' letter, the author of the composite report makes mention of an occurrence in Manila that proves that Fr. Miedes' informants had said the truth about their islands. Two other Jesuits, Fr. Francesco Messina, and Br. Pedro Díaz (who arrived at Guam in 1674), had been discussing the Carolines and Fr. Miedes' report, when they remembered a Carolinian, named Sagua, then living at Manila. They sent for him, then started reading out the names of the islands from the report. At the mention of many islands, but specially his own, Sagua became very emotional and cried out: "This is my island."

Document 1665A

Certification by Admiral Esteban Ramos about the Ladrone Islands, dated Manila 21 May 1665

Sources: AGI Fil. 82, ramo 2, doc. n° 12 (2 copies: original and duplicate), with another copy in 82-2-22; another copy in Rome in ARSI Phil. 14.

Note: This certification appears attached to at least three documents in the archives: 1) the letter sent by the Archbishop of Manila (see Doc. 1665B); 2) Fr. Sanvitores' proposal to the Queen for a mission, through his father (dated 26, instead of 21, May) (see Doc. 1665C); 3) the copy of the said proposal that went to Rome.

Admiral Ramos gives some information about the Ladrone Islands

Original text in Spanish.

*El Almirante Estevan Ramos vezino de la Ciudad de Manila en las Islas Philipinas. Certifico que por quanto tengo conocimiento y enteligencia de las Islas de los Ladrones por aver estado y vivido en ellas el año pasado de 1638 que naufragó la Nao **Nuestra Señora de la Concepcion** y aver comunicado muy despacio a sus naturales, assi en esta ocasion como en otros muchos viages que e hecho de estas Islas a la Nueva España en espeçial el año pasado de 664 que viniendo de dicha Nueva España en la Nao Capitana **Nuestra Señora de la Limpia Concepcion** de mi cargo rescate a quatro Indios naturales de esta Isla de Manila que avian naufragado en dicha ocasion, tengo por sin duda, que si tubieran Ministros del Santo Evangelio y algunos Españoles y naturales de estas Islas que las acompañasen para el exemplo, se reduxeran con facilidad a Nra. Sta. Fee Catholica por quanto los dichos Isleños son gente dosil y afable y que no tienen zeta [i.e. secta] ni ritos ni otros vezinos que se las enseñen, y sera empressa de muy poca costa, pues basta que con los Religiosos vayan cantidad de veinte Españoles y otros tantos Indios naturales de estas Islas para que den exemplo de Christianidad, y vean la sumiçion y reverençia que se deve a los Ministros del Santo Evangelio; sin ser menester otra escolta, ni presidio, por ser aquella gente muy pacifica y sin*

*borrachera*¹ y no aver enemigos ni çerca ni lexos, que se pueda temer vengan a dichas Islas, por ser tan pobres y faltas de las conveniençias, que ellos buscan, pues solo ay [la] de la conversion de aquellas almas desamparadas en tanto numero, que ay Isla de los que yo andube, y habite en la ocasion del naufragio, que tendra mas de veinte mill almas, y son diez y siete las Islas pobladas que se an descubierto en aquel parage. No ay duda que sera empresa de gran serviçio de Dios Nro. Señor y muy façil.

*Y assi lo siento, y de pedimiento del Reverendo Padre Diego Luis de San Vitores.*²

Fecho en Manila [a] veynte y uno de Mayo de mill y seis cientos y sesenta y cinco años.

Estevan Ramos.

[Copied by] *Nicolas de Herrera, Escribano Publico.*

Translation, by Fr. Juan Ledesma.

[From] Admiral Esteban Ramos resident of the City of Manila in the Philippine Islands:

According to my knowledge and understanding of the Islands of the Ladrones acquired for having stayed and lived there in the past year of 1638 when the vessel **Nuestra Señora de la Concepción** was shipwrecked, and for having dealt at length with the natives, as much on this occasion as in many other voyages which I made from these Islands to New Spain, especially in the past year of 1664, when sailing from the said New Spain in the flagship **Nuestra Señora de la Limpia Concepción** under my charge, I rescued four natives of this Island of Manila who had been shipwrecked on that occasion [1638], I certify that I have no doubt that if they had Ministers of the holy Gospel and some Spaniards and natives of these [Philippine] Islands who would accompany them and give good example to the natives, those Islanders would easily be converted to our Holy Catholic Faith.

They are a docile and affable people. They have no sects, nor rites, nor other neighbors to instruct them in this matter. And it will be an enterprise of very little cost, for it is enough that with the Religious there go some twenty Spaniards and as many natives from these Islands who would help introduce Christianity by their Christian example, and the submission and reverence that should be given to the ministers of the holy Gospel. No other escort will be needed nor garrison, for these people are most peaceful and of good disposition. And there are no enemies neither close nor far who

1 Ed. note: Instead of “sin borrachera”, the duplicate copy says “bien acondicionada”.

2 Ed. note: The duplicate copy, dated 26 May and attached to Don Geronimo San Vitores, says, instead of Diego de San Vitores, “Reverendo Padre Maestro Francisco Combes, Procurador General de la Comp^a de Jhs por estas Islas a la Corte del Rey Nuestro Señor doy la pressente.”

it might be feared would come to the said Islands, for they are so poor and lacking in the advantages that those enemies would look for.

The only advantage is the conversion of those abandoned souls of which there are so many that of the Islands where I went and lived on the occasion of the shipwreck, there is one that would have more than 20,000 souls,¹ and the inhabited Islands that were discovered in that region are 17 in all.² There is no doubt that this enterprise will be of great service to God our Lord and it is by no means difficult. Such is my belief.

I give the present Certification, done at Manila on 26 May 1665, at the request of the Reverend Fr. Master Francisco Combés, Procurator General of the Society of Jesus for these Islands at the Court of our Lord the King.

[Signed by:] Esteban Ramos in the presence of Nicolás de Herrera, notary public and witnessed by other notaries.³

1 Ed. note: Admiral Ramos here refers to Guam. His population estimate can be expected to be overstated; in any case, it was retained by Fr. Sanvitores in later reports.

2 Ed. note: To make up 17 islands, Ramos must have counted Cocos Island and the three islets of Maug as separate islands.

3 On the back of one copy of this Certification there is written: "It came with the letter of the Archbishop of Manila, dated 20 June 1665."

Document 1665B

Report by the Archbishop of Manila, dated Manila 20 June 1665

Sources: AGI Fil. 82-2-16 (2 copies: original and duplicate, formerly 68-1-40, n° 6); modern copy in Ultramar 562, Jesuit doc. n° 6; copy in Colección Pastells, Fil. 2, pp. 71-73. Translated by Fr. Ledesma in his translation of Fr. Risco's book, and in the Cause of the Beatification.

Recommendations made by Fray Miguel Millan de Poblete for the despatch of missionaries to the Ladrones

Original text in Spanish.

Informe del Arçobispo de Manila sobre que se embien Ministros Evangelicos a los naturales, que habitan las Islas de los Ladrones.

Señor

Manda V. Mgd. en repetidas, y diversas Zedulas sobre el cuidado, y vigilancia que se debe tener en la conservacion de los naturales reducidos a nuestra Santa Feé Catholica en estas Provincias de Philipinas, y en la reduccion, y conversion de los demas que habitan estas Islas, en que continuamente se a trabajado y trabaja por Vuestros Gobernadores, Arzobispo, y Obispos, Clerigos y Religiosos de las Sagradas Religiones, Sto. Domingo, S. Francisco, S. Augustin, calzados y descalços, y Compañia de Jhs que todos con fervor, y çelo trabajan en la conversion de los reducidos, y todos estan desseosos de reducir los mas que pudieren de los Infinitos, que habitan y rodean estas islas, Gentiles, y de natural simple, sin que aya entrado en algunos doctrina perversa, ni menos la nuestra christiana por falta de notiçia y de Predicadores, y Ministros, que los enseñen, y con su rudeça y cortedad nunca an tenido notiçia de la verdad y feé Catholica, y logro de la Sangre de Jesu Christo, y bien de sus almas, que sin ninguna repugnancia admitieran, si tubieran dicha de tener Ministros, que los instruyessen; y de tan buenos naturales, y condicion, que se baptizaran sin trabaxo, ni resistencia:

Destos son los naturales que llaman de los Ladrones, y que havitan aquellas Islas: asi me ha parecido representar a V. Mgd. la neçesidad que estos misserables tienen, y el mal logro de tantas almas como se pierden en dichas Islas, y que sea servido de compadeçerse y de estender su piedad y christiana çelo a estos misserables, que estan los mas immediatos a estas Islas y por ellas pasan las Naos, que ban, y vienen de Nueva España, cosa de trescientas leguas desta de Manila, que como las primeras el año de mill y quinientos y sesenta y cinco se dixo Missa en una dellas, y se tomo posesion por V. Mgd. de los primeros conquistadores y fue la primera de la conquista de Philipinas por el Adelantado Miguel Lopez de Legaspi, asegurandoles en nombre de V. Mgd. su amparo, y buelta a ellos.

Los motivos que me obligan a representarlo a V. Mgd. se contienen en el informe que ba con este, para que vistos, con su Santo Zelo, y piedad se compadezca de remediar los que habiendo sido la puerta, y escala para el descubrimiento de estas Islas, y que gozan de la vendicion de Dios y del amparo de V.M. estos de los Ladrones no han tenido dicha en un siglo que ha, que se descubrieron, empeñando a V. Mgd. los primeros conquistadores, siendo esta obra heroyca tanta gloria de Dios, y de la grandeza de V. Mgd. para confussion de los enemigos de la Real Corona de V. Mgd. que reconozcan que la piedad de V. Mgd. se estiende a estos desvalidos sin atencion a los frutos, y bienes temporales y que atiende solo el Sancto celo à V. Mgd. al bien de las almas.

V. Mgd. obrara lo que mas fuere servido, cuia Catholica, y Real Persona guarde Dios en mayores Reynos, y Señorios.

Manila, Junio 20 de 1665 años.

Miguel Arzobispo de Manila.

Translation.

Report of the Archbishop of Manila about sending Gospel Ministers to the natives who live in the Islands of the Ladrones.

Sire:

In repeated decrees Your Majesty gives orders on the care and vigilance to be observed in the conservation of the natives converted to our Catholic faith in these provinces of the Philippines and on the conversion of all the other inhabitants of these Islands, in which continually labor the governors, archbishops, bishops, secular priests and religious of the sacred Orders of St. Dominic, St. Francis, St. Augustine, both calced and discalced, and of the Society of Jesus, all of whom are with fervor and zeal laboring in the conversion of those already reduced, and who are all wishing to reduce most of the infinite number of gentiles inhabiting islands neighboring these Islands. Such gentiles are of simple character, and untouched by any perverse doctrine, and much less touched by our Christian doctrine. In their roughness and poverty they have never heard of the Catholic truth and faith, nor the gain to be made from the blood of Jesus Christ, and good of the souls, which they would receive without any repugnance, if only they had Ministers to teach them; their nature and condition are so good that they could be baptized without work, or resistance.

In this category are the natives who are called Ladrones, who inhabit those Islands. Thus it has seemed to me proper to represent to Y.M. the need that these miserable peoples have and the neglected gain of so many souls that are lost in the said Islands, and that you deign to have pity on them and to extend to them your piety and Christian zeal. They live close to these Islands, something like 300 leagues from this Island of Manila, and the vessels coming and going to New Spain stop over among them. They were the first islands to be visited in 1565 when mass was said in one of them and possession was taken of it for Y.M. by the first conquerors, and it was the first conquest made in the Philippines by the Adelantado [i.e. Frontier Governor] Miguel Lopez de Legazpi, who assured them on behalf of Y.M. that they would be protected, and that he would return to them.

The motives that oblige me to represent this to Y.M. are contained in the enclosed report, so that, after they are seen, your holy zeal and piety might be inclined to remedy them. Since they [i.e. the islands] have been the doorway and the ladder for the discovery of these Islands, and that they enjoyed the blessing of God and the protection of Y.M., these natives of the Ladrones have not been lucky, in one century already since they have been discovered, and the first conquerors have promised to give them Y.M.'s protection. This heroic enterprise is so much to the glory of God, the greatness of Y.M., and the confusion of the enemies of the Royal Crown of Y.M., that they recognize that the piety of Y.M. extends to these destitute peoples, notwithstanding the lack of material fruits and goods, and that the holy zeal of Y.M. only seeks the good of souls.

Your Majesty will decide what you think best. May God keep the Catholic, and Royal Person of Y.M. with an increase of Kingdoms, and Dominions.

Manila, 20 June 1665.

Miguel, Archbishop of Manila.

Documents 1665C

Proposal by Fr. Sanvitores for a mission to the Ladrone Islands, dated May-June 1665

C1. Warning to the reader

Source: AGI Fil. 82-2-41. Note: This proposal was transmitted through his father, then living at the court in Madrid.

Original text in Spanish.

Prevencion para el que viere estos papeles.

*Estos papeles, aunque tan prolixos, se escribieron con la prissa, e interrupcion de muchas ocupaciones: y por la misma apretura, no se han podido bolber a ver, y poner en mejor orden del que pedian, o sufrían las circunstancias, y dificultades, que se iban oponiendo en Manila al remedio de la extrema necessidad de las pobres almas de las Islas de los **Ladrones**, que ya despues de su dicha se llaman **Islas Marianas**, o por mejor decir, la dicha de los dispuso eficaz, y brevissimamente desde que se les dio este Santissimo nombre a honor de la Santissima Virgen Maria su primera Apostola, y reconocimiento de la Reyna nuestra Señora Doña Mariana de Austria su primera efectiva Patrona.*

La buena mano pues a donde llegaren les hara una buena obra en reducirlos a buen Orden, y mas compendioso, suave, y eficaz estilo de lengua vulgar, o latina, con que puede ser, que sirvan algo para semejantes ocasiones, fuera aun de la Cordillera de Islas Marianas, donde por muchos años aora bien en que entender, y donde se entienda la apretada obligacion que ay de socorrer a qualquier costa la extrema necessidad de las almas, que con su preciosa sangre redimio Nuestro Señor Jesu Christo.

Aprietasse con especialidad en algunos Parraphos a los operarios de Manila, y Philippinas para este socorro, porque en las circunstancias de entonçes les tocaba ellos especialmente el remedio, por no poder venir de otra parte, donde no avia aun noticias de su oportunidad; pero si aun a los de Manila les apretaba a dejar por esta las muchas, y graves necessidades, en que se halla generalmente toda la christiandad de Philippinas,

quanto mas apretara a los que aun sin dejar necesidades comunes destituidas del comun remedio, pueden venir, o embiar a otros al socorro de la extrema, y otras gravissimas necesidades de las almas destas Provincias: v. g. a muchos religiosos de España, que aunque ellos vengan a estas partes, no faltaran alla otros Religiosos, y a lo menos curas, y sacerdotes proporcionados al numero de almas de cada distrito, lo qual no ay en Philippinas, ni en otras Provincias de las Indias.

Y por mas que en algunas partes de España los Curas, y Pastores se descuiden, y las obejas anden descarriadas, y lejos del aprisco, y medios de su salvacion, y assi sean tan importantes para su reduccion las Misiones, y Ministerios de los Religiosos; empero necesidad, que sea extrema, rara vez la llegara a ver entre christianos antiguos, como noto el Doctissimo Navarro, que se alegara despues con los demas Authores en este discurso, comparando, y posponiendo dicha necesidad de Christianos a la de los Gentiles de tal ignorancia, y desamparo, como los que hallaba en sus Misiones el Apostol de las Nuevas Gentes S. Francisco Xavier, sobre cuio remedio, y encargo sobre el de conciencias, y pechos Catholicos escribio el Santo las cartas, que llegaron a manos del dicho Sapientissimo Doctor Navarro, y le dieron la nueva Authoridad, y exemplo, que alega en esta materia: y a que principalmente se debe con la intervencion de la Santissima Virgen Maria, la eficacia, y suavidad, con que se ha servido el Señor se persuada, y consiga el intento deste papel, que es la Mision a las dichas Islas de los Ladrones, ya felicissimamente Marianas, no obstante la ineptitud de los borriones, con que se escribio, que piden harta enmienda, y perdon de qualquier Docto, y piadoso, que los viere.

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+ Diego Luis S. Vitores +

Translation, partly by Fr. Ledesma.

Warning to the reader of these papers.

These papers, although they are quite long, were written in a hurry, amid many interruptions due to many other occupations. Because of this shortage of time, they were therefore not revised nor as well organized as they should have been, considering the circumstances and difficulties put up in Manila against the relief of the poor souls in the **Ladrone** Islands, which are now fortunately called the **Marianas**. In order words, they have become really fortunate very recently, as a result of their being named after this very glorious name in honor of the Most Holy Virgin Mary, their first apostle, and to give thanks to our Queen, Lady Mariana of Austria, who is their first effective patroness.

This is then how the good deed of their reduction came to be considered. A more elaborate, a sweeter or more efficient style, either in the vulgar or Latin language, that could be used on such an occasion, could be still used for the chain of the Mariana islands, where for many years this obligation of reducing them had been recognized, and where this obligation is more than ever urgent, in order to relieve at whatever cost the extreme necessity of the souls, that our Lord Jesus Christ has redeemed with His precious blood.

The urgent need for relief, as stated in these few paragraphs, should specially concern the [missionary] workers in Manila, and the Philippines, because under the previous circumstances it was their special responsibility to provide a remedy, as it could not have come from any other place where they would not even have heard of this opportunity. However, if even those in Manila were prepared to leave them alone, because the whole Christian community in the Philippines was itself generally in great and serious necessities, the more so it should seem obvious to them that, without removing the common and basic needs of the ones, they could have come to the relief of those in extreme need of it, or arranged for more workers to come to the relief of the very great needs of the souls of these provinces, for instance, many more religious from Spain; after all, even if such religious come to these parts, there would be no lack of other religious overthere, at least some curates and priests, in proportion to the number of souls in each district, but that is not the case in the Philippines, nor in other provinces in the Indies.

On the other hand, if in some parts of Spain, the curates and pastors do not take care and let their flock wander off, far from their fold, and the means to their salvation, so it is that the ministry of the religious orders is so important for the reduction of the missions; however, necessity, though it be extreme, is rarely seen among old Christians, as the very learned Dr. Navarro has noted. He, as well as other Authorities, have gone as far as to compare the said necessity of Christians and postponing it in favor of the necessity of Gentiles, on account of their ignorance, and abandonment, peoples such as those encountered in his Missions by the Apostel of the New Peoples, St. Francisco Xavier. The remedy to their necessity lies upon the conciences and Catholic breasts, said the Saint in his letters, seen by the said wise Doctor Navarro, and they provided him with the new Authority, and example, that he advances in this matter. From him is mainly drawn the effectiveness and sweetness of this paper, with the intervention of the Blessed Virgin Mary. May the Lord deign to grant and achieve the purpose of this paper, which is the Mission of the said Islands of the Ladrones, now luckily called Marianas, in spite of the clumsiness of the draft copies, used here, and that beg necessary improvement, and the forgiveness of any learned and pious person who would set their eyes upon them.

C2. Reasons why a mission to the Ladrones should no longer be delayed—Original version destined to the King

Sources: AGIFil. 82-2-15 & -37 & -42, and in Ultramar 562, Jesuit doc. n° 6 and n° 16, among others; copy in Colección Pastells, Fil. 2, pp. 73-79, repeated on pp. 279-285. This original version was attached to Archbishop Poblete's letter (Doc. 1665B).

Notes: The are various versions of this basic document, which was really the introductory chapter to his proposal. Some are dated Manila 29 May 1665, others 20 June (which is the date of the covering letter by Archbishop Poblete).

A WORD OF CAUTION: All the following information about the Ladrones was obtained by Fr. Sanvitores from one Spanish and 4 Filipino survivors of the Concepción shipwreck; therefore, it is a secondary account, one which turned out to be overly optimistic.

Original text in Spanish.

Motivos para no dilatar mas la reduccion y doctrina de las Islas de los Ladrones.

[Note in margin:] *Sola la progagacion de la fee ha sido el fin principal de du Magd. en la conquista de las Philipinas.*

La causa principal, y el fin unico que siempre movió á los Católicos Reyes de España, y singularmente á nuestro gran Monarca Felipe 4º el grande (que Dios guarde) asi para la conquista como para la conservacion de estas Islas Filipinas ha sido el zelo de la propagacion y dilatacion de nuestra Santa Fé Catolica, para que por medio de los Ministros evangelicos que á estas partes ha continuado embiar á costa de su Real Patrimonio lleguen las luces del Santo evangelio á alumbrar las gentes que habitan estas regiones en las tinieblas de su ceguedad y cautiverio del Demonio, teniendo por logro grande de su cuidado y gastos escesivos el dirigir almas al cielo sacandolas del Demonio, y restituyendoselas á su verdadero Principe y Señor á su Criador y Redentor. Este ha sido el celo, que á S.M. le ha movido y mueve á sustentar el exercito militar y eclesiastico que conserva á su costa en estas Islas, donde ha conseguido (aunque á costa de afanes) felicisimos logros de sus deseos, viendo reducidas estas Islas al conocimiento de su verdadero Dios y Señor premio glorioso, con que su divina Magestad ha gratificado su repetido celo declarado tantas veces en una proposicion llena de caridad apostólico: "que por sola una alma daria por bien empleado todo su Real haver de Indias, y otros mayores tesoros."

[Note in margin:] *Islas de los Ladrones pobladas de multitud de Indios sin genero de idolatria, vicio ni hostilidad, dociles y suave natural y condicion amigable.*

*Trescientas leguas de aqui de esta Ciudad de Manila por el viage que se hace de aqui á Nueva España estan en 14 y 15 grados un sin numero de Islas vecinas unas á otras que corren de Norte á Sur desde el Japon hasta el Perú y se dan las manos con las Molucas, y la tierra incognita á todas las cuales llaman Islas de los Ladrones las diez y siete de ellas que han reconocido los nuestros por habralas habitado son bien pobladas de gente, y pueblo de á ciento, doscientas, de á trescientas y quinientas casas de piedra y madera, y **en la una de estas Islas havitan mas de veinte mil almas**, toda gente sencilla y apacible sin idolos, religion ni secta alguna, ni adoran al sol ni á la luna, ni á otra cosa criada, solo se halla en ellos alguna reverencia y temor á sus difuntos. No usan mas que de una muger, ni son muy dados á la lascivia, ni á sus maldades, de hurtos[,] tiranias ni crueldades, ni conocen la embriaguez; abominando adulterio, el incesto: no permiten hurtos, temen al Demonio por los males que les hace, no tienen Rey ni cabeza, mas que la de cada familia, no tienen ritos ni agüeros ni sacerdotes; finalmente son los Indios mas dóciles, y suaves que se han hallado, y sobre todo los mas ignorantes y de mayor sencillez de todo este Archipiélago y sin hostilidad alguna, robustos y gruesos de cuerpos fornidos y de estatura mayor que los de estas Islas de Manila.*

Hallanse en estas Islas de los Ladrones, los frutos necesarios para la conservacion de la vida humana, el arroz en abundancia, gallinas, palmas, cocos, y pescados infinitos que cada dia cogen por ser la gente aplicada á la Pesqueria y la mayor parte del año gastan en labor de sus sementeras de donde cogen diversos frutos, y diversidades de plantanos y legumbres de semillas que las Naos al pasar les han dado para que siembren, y sin duda fueran mas los frutos que dieran, si llegaran á ellos las semillas, que á estas partes, donde á sus principios no se hallaban mas frutos, que los de arroz, y los demas de dhas Islas; puedense criar cabras[,] carneros y ganado vacuno, que se puede llevar á ellas.

Tienen dichas Islas surgideros en sus ensenadas donde pueden galeones de alto bordo tomar puerto, y abrigarse de tempestades, y rehacerse de algunos refrescos. Hay en ellas puertos buenos para patache, barcos, y navios pequeños.

A dichas Islas llegó el Adelantado Miguel Legaspi á 22 de Enero del año de 1565 viniendo en busca de estas Filipinas, y saltó en tierra y tomó posesion de ellas en nombre del Rey N.S. sin resistencia alguna de sus moradores, y se celebró el Santo Sacrificio de la misa. Despues acá han continuado las Naos pasar por dichas Islas haciendo viage de ida y buelta á la Nueva España, y en virtud de la amistad asentada por el Adelantado salen al encuentro á nuestras Naos los indios á porfia, rodeandolas, con mas de cincuenta y sesenta embarcaciones llenas de frutas y agua á trueque de algunos pedazos de hierro, suben á nuestras naos con toda llaneza y seguridad, y huyen de las del Holandes, que por alli ha pasado y surgido muchas veces.

*En el año de 1638 dió al traves en una de estas Islas la Nao **Nuestra Señora de la Concepcion** yendo de viage de esta Ciudad á la de Mexico, y en ella fueron agasajados todos los que salieron á tierra asi Españoles como negros, y demas gente que naufragó, y hallaron toda la acogida que pudo darles la cortedad y pobreza de la tierra para poderse conservar hasta el dia de hoy, y volverse en nuestras naos en diversas veces, y en diversos años algunos de los naufragados, y uno de ellos es el Almirante Esteban Ramos, que iba en dicha Nao (Capitana) Concepcion de quienes se han tenido todas las noticias referidas.*

Esto supuesto la extrema necesidad y precisa obligacion del remedio que pide la perdicion de tanta multitud de almas asi de los adultos como de los niños, que mueren antes del uso de la razon la facilidad de su combersion por no tener secta ni idolatria que lo resista, la docilidad y suavidad de los naturales, sus propiedades las mejores para abrazar la doctrina cristiana sin duda alguna claman y piden el pasto espiritual, de que carecen para salvarse; pues segun dice el Almirante Esteban Ramos, y los demas que de alli vienen, con solo que vayan Ministros del Evangelio, que los doctrinen mas aun con exemplo que con palabras haran todo cuanto vieren hacer, admitiran nuestra Santa fé, y se bautizaran con facilidad y cuanto el celo de S.M. ha conseguido con tantas glorias, la combersion de estas Islas inficionadas de la secta de Mahoma é idolatria á fuerza de afanes, y a costa de mucha sangre derramada, y gastos infinitos del Real haber, hoy que la facilidad halla las puertas francas y abiertas á la combersion, si se dexara

parece que fuera olvidar sus glorias y resistir el mayor logro de sus trabajos acometiendo empresas arduas, y omitiendo las mas faciles.

Para la conservacion de esta Cristiandad no se necesita de mucha costa y gastos, pues con solos quince ó veinte Indios Cristianos de los mas antiguos y temerosos de Dios de estas Islas y algunos de los que de allá han venido ladinos en su lenguaje (sin mas escolta ni presidio) que acompañen á los PP. y el socorro de trigo y vino para la Mision y los mantenimientos y vestidos, que fueren menester mientras no se sacaren de los frutos de la tierra se les puede dexar cuando pasan las Naos, que cada año vienen de Nueva España á Filipinas. Y cuando se embiase desde Manila algun patache á dhas Islas con algun socorro á los Padres Ministros, y hecha escala en dichas Islas partiese de ellas para Acapulco, cogiendo las primeras collas de los bendabales gozando del monzon del viaje, fuera bastante esta combeniencia sola para que se asegurara todos los años el socorro de estas Islas, y se escusara el desamparo, en que suelen verse dos y tres años con las arribadas de las Naos, incombeniente tan grave y pesado que cuando sucede padecen estas Islas con todo el cuerpo, quedando tan debilitado y flaco que apenas dexa esperanzas de poder bolver en si, antes bien mayores señales de querer acabar.

Ase experimentado cuan felices son los viages desde la Nueva España, y dificultosos desde allí á Manila, y de Manila á ellos; y ora sea la causa el no coger á tiempo el viaje, ora sea el Demonio que predomina aquellas regiones y conmuebe los aires contra las Naos por venir en ellas la semilla de la Fé, y temer no caiga en sus dominios, la continuacion de los viages que plantada la fé en aquellas partes se pueden hacer, facilitara el conocimiento de los tiempos, y ahuyentara al Demonio de toda aquella region, sino es que sea tanta detencion en tan breve distancia y con tan grandes huracanes á impedir los viages, y detener las Naos en aquel paraje querer Dios decirnos no pasemos de paso por aquellas pobres almas, que estan en el paso sin dejarlas algun rayo de luz del Santo Evangelio, pues siendo ellos los primeros que pudo la fé conquistar, y los primeros que acogieron en sus Islas á los Ministros de ella, los primeros que participaron de la posesion que tomó el Adelantado Legaspi, en nombre de S.M. los primeros á quienes se hizo la promesa, de que bolberian á ellos, los primeros amigos, y su tierra la primera en que se celebró el Santo Sacrificio de la Misa, estar ellos en el paso y pasar todos los años tantos Ministros, y veces barcadas de Predicadores y Apostoles á estas Islas mas remotas, saliendo ellos al encuentro á nuestras Naos á decirnos tacitamente el gran cargo, que se nos ha de hacer en dexarlos en su ceguedad los que vienen alumbrar las gentes y haber pasado cien años sin hacer caso de la mucha mies que de aquellas Islas se puede coger dexandose al Demonio en quieta y pacifica posesion á vista y consentimiento de toda esta Cristiandad y sus Ministros. Esta es (sin duda alguna) la causa por que nos castiga Dios con tanto malogramiento en nuestras Naos, tantas arribadas, y viajes tan dilatados.

Todo lo que se obvia con solo remitir Ministros á aquellas almas, y tan poca costa, que es sin comparacion mayor el fruto asi espiritual como temporal para los viages de Castilla. Y mas hoy que se ve esta Plaza sin los Presidios de Terrenate y Zamboanga, e Iligan cuyos gastos escesivos no miraban otro logro mas que la Cristiandad y comber-

sion de aquellas almas; con mayor razon y con mas atencion se debe hoy acometer esta empresa por lo facil seguro y de mayor servicio de ambas Magestades, y del mayor util á estas islas, y sus viages de Castilla, y de aderezo de las Naos, y socorro de ellas sirviendolas de escala para el viage, y para escusar las arribadas ordinarias que se hacen por esta falta.

Translation by Fr. Ledesma

[The document begins with several premises. Fr. Sanvitores says that the King's zeal has been greatly shown in the Christianization of the Philippines. Hardly some 300 hundred leagues away are the Islands of the Ladrones, well populated, whose inhabitants are of a docile disposition, and are very friendly with strangers; they are not yet infected by any religion, and are poor. But in spite of their being a possession of Spain they have been neglected for more than a century. He continues as follows.]

With this understanding, the extreme necessity and cogent duty to provide the remedy which is demanded by the loss of such a multitude of souls, as much of the adults as of the children who die before reaching the use of reason, the absence of the difficulty for their conversion, there being no sect nor idolatry to resist it, the docility and gentleness of the natives, their character being the most fitting for embracing the Christian Doctrine, all these undoubtedly clamor and beg for the spiritual nourishment which they do not have to save themselves. According to Admiral Esteban Ramos and the others who came from there, they will do whatever they will see done, they will accept our holy faith and be baptized easily if only Ministers of the Gospel should go to instruct them, more by their example than by their words.

And when the zeal of His Majesty has accomplished so gloriously the conversion of these Islands which are infected by the sect of Mohammed and by idolatry, at the cost of so much labor and so much blood and infinite expenses of the Royal treasury, if the conversion of the Islands of the Ladrones were avandoned, even though it is found so easy, the doors for it being wide open, it seems that it would be to forget his glories and to neglect the greater fruit of his labors, undertaking arduous enterprises and neglecting the easier ones.

For the preservation of Christianity in this land not much cost nor expense is needed... for the 15 or 20 native Christians among the older and God-fearing ones of these [Philippine] Islands, and some of those who have come from there who know well their language, without any added escort or garrison to accompany the Fathers. The supply of wine and wheat for the Masses, the food and clothing that would be necessary, if they are not taken from the fruits of the land, can be very easily provided them when the vessels pass by, those that every year come from [New] Spain to the Philippines. And when a supply vessel should be sent from Manila to the said Islands bringing some relief to the missionaries, only this convenience would assure every year these Islands with the necessary help... Such supply vessels would stop over in the said Islands, then proceed from there to Acapulco, catching up with the first tails of the strong winds and enjoying the monsoon of the voyage. The voyages from New Spain to the

Ladrone Islands and from here back to New Spain have been found to be most felicitous; but very difficult when they are made from there to Manila and from Manila to them, either because the trip is not begun on time or because it is the Devil who has full sway over those regions and stirs up the winds against the vessels which are loaded with the seeds of the faith and he fears lest this seed falls into the natives' household. Once the faith has been planted in those parts the continuation of the voyages that can be made will help to know the conditions of the weather there, and will expel the Devil from that whole region... unless in so short a distance there be too much delay which together with the great hurricanes would impede the voyages and detain the vessels in that area. This could be a sign from God telling us that we should not pass by those poor souls that are in the way without leaving with them some ray of the light of the Holy Gospel.

Without any doubt the cause why God punishes us with such ill fate for our vessels, so many returns in distress and delayed voyages is the fact that 100 years have passed without us being concerned with the great harvest which could be had from those Islands, leaving them in quiet and peaceful possession of the Devil at the sight and with the regrets of all this Christian country and its Ministers.

And yet they were the first that could have been conquered by the faith and the first who welcomed its ministers to these Islands, the first to take part in the possession made by the *Adelantado* Legazpi in the name of His Majesty, the first to whom the promise was made that their first friends would return to them and whose land was the first in which the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass was celebrated. Add to this that they are on the way for the passages every year of so many Ministers who actually pass through them, including several times shiploads of preachers and apostles who come to these more remote Islands. Besides they come out to meet our vessels, tacitly to tell us the grave charges which will be made against us for leaving them in their blindness, we who come to bring the light to the Gentiles.

...

C3. Version 2, dated 29 May 1665

Sources: Original copy in ARSI Phil. 14, fol. 60-63; printed copy in ARSI Fondo Jesuitico 849 n° 5; AGI Fil. 82-2- 15 and -42.

Note: This version is a more extensive presentation, more academic and religious in character. It fills 7-1/2 pages folio-size. To avoid repetition, only the first paragraph (quotation from a book) is quoted verbatim, as follows.

Original text in Spanish (1st paragraph only).

[Note in margin:] *Fr. Juan de Grixalva Coronica de S. Agustin de Nueva España. Edad 3ª cap. 4.*

Las Islas que llaman de los Ladrones, y se pasan en el viage de Nueva España a Philipinas por catorçe o quize grados, treçientas leguas antes de tomar la Isla de Manila, se descubrieron primeramente Sabado a 22 de Enero dia del Invictissimo Martyr Español

*S. Viçente del año de 1565 y Domingo a 23 dia del Gloriosissimo Capellan de la Virgen N. Sra. S. Ildefonso, se dixo missa en una dellas, y este dia, o el siguiente de N. Sra. de la Paz, se tomo la posesion bien pacifica sin resistencia alguna de sus moradores en nombre del Rey Nuestro Señor y fue la prima possession que se tomo en la directa conquista de Philipinas con la armada del adelantado Miguel Lopez de Legaspi, que avia salido del puerto de la Navidad de Nueva España a 21 de Noviembre dia de la Presentacion de Nra. Sra. del año de 1564 tan desde luego influyó la soberana estrella de la mar con los rayos de su Patrocinio en el viage, descubrimiento y posesion destas Islas; por lo qual debrian llamarse mas Islas de **Nuestra Señora** que de los Ladrones; sino que hasta el nombre tienen usurpado, y infamado con sus robos los unicos Ladrones de aquellas Islas que son los Príncipes de las Tinieblas, que tanto à las tienen tiranizadas, con proprissimo robo, pues prosiguen en su tirania cien años despues de tomada la legitima passeçion por la fee y Magd. Catholica con la Real y verdadera Assistençia de Christo Nro. Señor Sacramentado.*

...

Summary translation by Fr. Juan Ledesma

The Islands which they call Ladrones ... were first discovered [sic] on Saturday 22 January, the feast of the invincible Spanish martyr St. Vincent, in the year 1565,¹ and on Sunday 23, feast of the glorious Chaplain of the Blessed Virgin Mary, San Ildefonso, Mass was said in one of the Islands, and on this day or on the following, feast of Our Lady of Peace, the act of possession took place...² This was the act of possession that preceded the direct conquest of the Philippines with the fleet of the Frontier Governor Miguel Lopez de Legaspi... The influence of the sovereign Star of the Sea over this voyage towards these Islands, over their discovery and possession has been so effective that, instead of Ladrones, they should be called the Islands of Our Lady...

And the Blessed Virgin never ceased to maintain the possession made under her protection, for she continued it with repeated signs of her influence until this centennial year of the discovery..., which brought to us four of our natives who... have been in those Ladrones Islands..., because, from those who then remained there, both Spaniards and natives, who have been coming on several occasions, we already have full information of what can bind us more to deal effectively with their conversion.

Because in the **first place** the multitude of souls in those Islands is known, so that in only one Island of those that were visited by Admiral Estevan Ramos... there would be more than 20,000 souls... and the Islands... are 17 in all and well populated. And it is common opinion that they continue almost without number from Japan to Peru [sic] and they are also close to the Moluccas and the unknown territory...

1 Ed. note: Fr. Sanvitores did not obviously have access to any primary source document; all primary accounts (see Vol. 2) state that Legaspi re-discovered Guam on a Monday, 22 January 1565.

2 Ed. note: Mass was said on the same day that they took possession of the island, that is, on Friday 26 January, feast of St. Paula in Spain, and St. Polycarp elsewhere.

In the **second place** the need of these souls is to be considered. If in any place there is what the theologians call extreme necessity, which implies strict obligation to provide for its remedy at all cost of property or life, that necessity is certainly found in the said Islands, not only in the innumerable children who die before reaching the use of reason... but also in all the other adults who are in deep ignorance of the things necessary for their salvation...

Thirdly the facility of their conversion is such that it offers no resistance whatsoever neither temporal, nor spiritual or moral..., because, neither the accursed sect of Mohammed... has penetrated them nor do they have idols... They only invoke or fear their deceased, whereby they show that they know about the immortality of the soul, which does no harm to the instruction of Catholic truths.

They are monogamous, and are not given to other vices of extraordinary lust, thievery or inhumanity, etc. Rather they are a peaceful and approachable people... and the welcome they give to the shipwrecked has been such that, instead of enslaving them, as other nations do, they serve the Spaniards and the natives and the black people who accompany them...¹

But what is more to be admired... is that they have no knowledge of drunkenness... so that... they are free from what in the other uncivilized countries has done so much warfare against Christianity...

Except for the head of each family they have no king or ruler. Nor do they have bonzes² or priests... And they give proofs that although they are such barbarians or as much ignorant as uncivilized, they have at any rate some more decency than those who live like beasts in the mountains of the Philippines and other places.³ Finally they are so docile and gentle... that should only someone go to instruct them... they would accept our holy faith...

In the **fourth place** the very poverty of those Islands... is the principal or only reason for the lamentable neglect of their conversion... This defect then is... one of the principal reasons for favoring the cause of this poor people for the less materially useful they are known to be, the more the truth shines forth... as manifested so many times by His Majesty, that even for only one soul he would consider well employed all his royal wealth... Thus the calumny of the heretics will be better belied... when they say that the conquests of the Spaniards in the Indies are not so much motivated by religious zeal as by hunger for gold and silver...

In the **fifth place** this very absence of material advantages leads to another which is most considerable... for... it is greatly convenient not to have precious wealth that will attract the greed of other distant nations, Mohammedans and heretics, to come in

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- 1 Ed. note: The so-called black people were Lascar sailors, from southern India, who had survived the 1638 shipwreck of the **Concepción**. See also Fr. Pobre's account of 1602.
 - 2 Ed. note: Bonzes is not a correct translation of the Spanish word "agüeros", which means "auguries", i.e. fortune tellers.
 - 3 Ed. note: Fr. Sanvitores is careful not to mention the nudity of the Ladrone islanders, since this fact would have been contrary to his objective.

search of it, as has happened in the Moluccas and other Christian areas of the Indies... The land of the Ladrones, which, because of its poverty, no-one goes after, can be very easily preserved by those who look for it for the love of God and the price of their souls... And even taking into account or not despising the material advantage which God is wont to grant better to those who for his holy service search less for it, perhaps the expense will be saved and with good advantage, since in such Islands there is found some refuge or shelter for our vessels when they come or go to Castile and which may at least find there friendly Christians who could give them help and remedy in the destructive storms which they usually encounter close to those Islands...

And even perhaps the greater remedy and preventive of these disastrous events (let this be the **sixth reason**) would be the existence of Christianity there and churches and divine worship... in which the most pure Victim... is offered to God... from East to West according to the prophecy of the prophet Malachy...

Consequently (and let this be the **seventh reason** for not delaying any longer for these Islands the remedy so excessively forestalled), after one century since the King our Lord took possession of the said Islands the first obligation of the Royal Patronage and Lordship is about to be fulfilled as well as the Royal promise that was made to them to return and teach them the way to salvation..., for His Majesty has put them... in charge of the same first Governor... with the title given him of *Adelantado* of the Ladrones Islands, the one who is commonly called the *Adelantado* of the Philippines. The unfortunate thing that happened was the unexpected death of the *Adelantado* and the various preoccupations of the Governors who succeeded him...

For which reason and because of their very poverty and natural humility we may consider (and let this be the **eighth reason**) the extraordinary pleasure which in procuring the salvation of these souls is given to Jesus Christ our Lord. This pleasure is at least not less than in the salvation of other governments and rich nations of Europe and of Asia... The Son of God said that his eternal Father sent him to evangelize especially the poor. And he willed that the evangelization of the poor be the sign of his person and of his teaching. And he esteemed having chosen in the world the poor and the weak and the outcast in order to confound the strong and rich of the world...

From the preceding there arises the **ninth and last reason**, which is that the least instructed and civilized are these poor islanders the more difficult will it be to overcome their ignorance of the things necessary for their salvation. Hence the extreme necessity that they have for someone to instruct them is more undoubtedly certain. And on the part of the ministers the administration can more easily be carried out, for without so much waste of time, without a life of polished speech, letters, courtesies and compliments so necessary in other countries, they can soon come to these islands gathering a great harvest, even if they should be lacking in letters and in words, provided they are not devoid of good works and examples of a Christian life. For this there suffice only men of virtue and who are hard working, as the Apostle of the Indies begged for such countries and in the greater number possible...

With this goes the **Certification of the said Admiral Esteban Ramos**.¹ It certifies that this enterprise will be of great service to our Lord and how easy and of little expense it will be. But the Catholic heart will not consider wasted his whole blood in order that the infinite price of the blood of our Lord Jesus Christ may not be wasted in these so many souls. It is the blood of our Lord Jesus Christ that is clamoring and belling for these poor souls. And in lieu of him the least minister of the holy Gospel can and must beg for them. He has been informed on the disposition and the extreme necessity of these souls from the mouth of the Admiral himself, Don Esteban Ramos, and of the four natives who came from there in the past year of 1664, with whom I spoke at some length and in the Spanish language which they sufficiently know, and in their own native Tagalog language which they say has much similarity with that of the natives of the Ladrões, whose language they have learned very well during the 25 years they lived with them.²

This being the truth, I signed this letter in the College of the Society of Jesus in Manila on 29 May 1665.

Diego Luis de San Vitores

C4. Summary presentation of the various plans proposed by Fr. Sanvitores for the establishment of the Mariana Island Mission

Note: In AGI Fil. 82-2, the papers appear in disorder, and the original order can only be guessed at.

1. A paper entitled: “Apuntamientos para el modo de ir a Ladrões.”

[Points to consider before going to the Ladrões].

Source: AGI Fil. 82-2-43 (3-1/2 pages).

2. A paper entitled: “Preguntase quanta certidumbre aya de que es voluntad de Dios el que se embien Ministros Evangelicos a las Islas de los Ladrões quanto antes se pudiere.”

[The question should be asked as to why we can be sure that it is the will of God that Gospel Ministers be sent to the Ladrone Islands as soon as possible].

Source: AGI Fil. 82-2-44 (23 pages).

1 Ed. note: See Doc. 1665A.

2 Ed. note: One or more of these Filipino experts in the Chamorro language were recruited by Fr. Sanvitores later, to teach him all they knew, and even to accompany him to the Ladrões and become soldiers and catechists.

3. A paper entitled: “Difficultades, que se pueden oponer al socorro de la extrema necesidad de los Ladrones por medio de Ministros de la Compañia.”

[Difficulties that may appear to oppose the relief of the extreme necessity of the Ladrones by means of the Ministers of the Society].

Source: AGI Fil. 82-2-45 (19-1/2 pages), and -53 (35-1/2 pages).

Note: This particular paper has been split into two parts in the archive.

4. A paper entitled: “Algunos puntos en favor de los nuevos Christianos y conversion de los Infieles...”

[“A few points in favor of new Christians and conversion of Gentiles,” in which the exemption of tributes for 10 years is the main point].

Source: AGI 82-2-19.



Queen Maria Ana de Austria was Queen Regent of Spain as of 1665. She had a Jesuit, Fr. Nidhard, or Nithardo, as her confessor. Fr. Sanvitores renamed the Islands of the Ladrones after her, in a smart political move that won her patronage for this new mission. (Detail of a portrait by García Carrillo in the Prado Museum in Madrid).

Document 1665D

Royal decree of 24 June 1665 authorizing Fr. Sanvitores to open a new mission

Source: ARSI, Proceso de Toledo (1689), fol. 546-547v; translated by Fr. Juan Ledesma.

Introductory note, by Fr. Ledesma.

It should be noted that the royal order is for help to be given to Fr. Sanvitores to go to Japan, and there is no mention of the Marianas. However in the letter to his father from Taytay, dated 18 July 1663, the Marianas were principally the subject matter, although there was first mention of Japan... Whatever was the reason for mentioning Japan only in the Royal Decree, the fact is that it was understood to apply to the Marianas, which is proven by its execution.¹

Decree signed by King Philip IV at Buen Retiro (Madrid), 24 June 1665

The King

To Master-of-camp Don Diego Salcedo, my Governor and Captain General of the Philippine Islands and President of my Royal Audiencia in them, or to the person or persons in charge of its Government.

Fr. Diego Luis de San Vitores of the Society of Jesus reported to me that he went to those Islands in the company of 26 Religious of his Order in the year 1662. At that time he learned the language of the natives, so that he could already preach and hear confessions in that language; and that his principal purpose is to go to the Islands of **Japan** to bring the holy Gospel there. He begs me for permission that he may be able to do so with his companions and to proceed to the Provinces where it may be more convenient

1 Ed. note: Because this important decree was signed on 24 June, the feast-day of St. John the Baptist, it inspired Fr. Sanvitores to assign the name of San Juan to the island of Guam.

for the service of God our Lord and that for this purpose you provide him with the necessary vessel.

This has been submitted to the Royal Council of the Indies, and taking into account the holy purpose for which he makes the request I have deemed it good to grant the present Decree, in which I order you that provided the said Diego Luis de San Vitores has the permission of his Superiors to go to Japan with his companions, you allow him to go to that Kingdom in the manner proposed by him, granting him for that purpose the necessary vessel, so that he may carry out so religious an enterprise. Such is my will.

Made at Retiro, 24 June 1665.

I, the King.

By order of the King our Lord: Don Pedro de Medrano.

Subscribed by those of the Council.

Names of the Jesuit Provincials in Manila, 1665-1715

1665	Fr. Ignacio Zapata (2°)
1666	Fr. Domingo Ezquerria
1667	Fr. Rafael de Bonafé
1668	Fr. Miguel Solana
1670	Fr. Luis Pimentel (1°)
1671	Fr. Andrés de Ledesma
1675	Fr. Luis Pimentel (2°)
1675	Fr. Xavier Riquelme
1678	Fr. Juan Palavicino
1681	Fr. Tomás Andrade
1681	Fr. Francisco Mesina
1683	Fr. Francisco Salgado
1687	Fr. Luis Pimentel (3°)
1690	Fr. José Sanchez
1693	Fr. Magino Sola
1696	Fr. Antonino Tuccio (1°)
1699	Fr. Luis de Morales
1703	Fr. José Velasco (1°)
1707	Fr. Antonino Tuccio (2°)
1707	Fr. Pablo Clain [= Klein]
1710	Fr. Fr. Francisco Díaz
1715	Fr. José Velasco (2°)

Source: Adapted from Fr. Murillo Velarde's Historia de la Provincia de Philipinas de la Compañía de Jesús (Manila, 1716).

Document 1665E

Letter from Fr. Sanvitores to Fr. Provincial, dated 15 June 1665

*Sources: Original ms. kept in the Jesuit Novitiate at Loyola, Spain; partly quoted in Fr. Risco's book: *Apostle of the Marianas*.*

Notes: Fr. Risco says that this letter was, in 1935, kept under glass as a relic in one of the corridors of the Novitiate of Loyola. Fr. Sanvitores wrote it on the paper or envelope of another letter addressed to him. Fr. Risco says that the Provincial of the Jesuit Province of the Philippines was then Fr. Ezquerro, but he became Provincial only in 1666. Hence, the year of this letter could be 1666.

Letter to Fr. Domingo Ezquerro, dated Manila 15 June 1665

...

[In answer to a set of instructions, now lost, on how to administer the Mariana Mission, Fr. Sanvitores tells him that he will guide himself in accordance with the norms formulated by Fathers Acosta¹ and Montoya for the missions of Paraguay, and also...]

...The admonition which Your Reverence gives me in your letter, whose contents I keep and will keep by the grace of God. For this is the procedure I have seen followed also in the missions of Spain, that outside of the general instruction which is kind of public, private admonitions are enclosed in ordinary letters as does Your Reverence... in which you enjoin me that I take care of my health and that I now take charge of the temporal affairs of the Mission and that we do not move from one island to another until we have the faith well planted and rooted in the first.

...

¹ Ed. note: A reference to Fr. José de Acosta's book entitled "De procuranda Indorum salute" (see p. 390).

Document 1666A

Letter from Fr. Luis Medina to Fr. Cristóbal Pérez, dated Montilla 27 April 1666

Sources: (1) In Fr. Francisco García's Vida del Padre Luis de Medina (Madrid, 1673), pp. 139-142; (2) in Fr. Murillo Velarde's Historia (Manila, 1749), Lib. IV, cap. 6, n° 712; (3) in Fr. LeGobien's Histoire (Paris, 1700), pp. 129-132.

Note: Fr. Pérez was then Provincial of Andalusia.

Original text in Spanish

Pax Christi, &c.

Padre Provincial,

Yò me hallo con muchos escrúpulos; porque V.R. no me quiere confirmar la licencia, que tengo de N.P. General, para ir à las Philipinas; y porque, yò quede sin escrúpulos, y V.R. bien informado, determine, lo que fuere para mayor honra de Dios, propondrè à V.R. los motivos, que me mueven, para ir à Philipinas.

Un año antes de entrar en la Compañia, tube una muy grave enfermedad, y en ella mas me afligia el no poder entrar en la Compañia, que la misma enfermedad. Y estando con esta afliccion, un dia de Nuestra Señora de las Nieves, supliqué à la Santissima Virgen delante de una Imagen suya, me alcanzase de su hijo Santissimo salud, para que yò pudiesse entrar en la Compañia, y ir à las Indias, para predicar à los Indios el Santo Evangelio: y desde este dia con admiracion de los Medicos, tube salud, con la qual pude entrar en la Compañia. Y aviendo entrado en ella, en el Noviciado, me diò Dios nuestro Señor muy grandes, y eficazes deseos de ir à las Indias, y para mejor saber si era esto la voluntad de Dios, propuse ir à las Indias, si en acabando mis estudios, Dios nuestro Señor me conservaba los deseos, y estos en mi crecian cada dia.

Y aora cinco años, dia de S. Francisco Xavier, tube tan grandes deseos de ir à las Indias, que me obligaron à hazer un voto al Santo, y otro à la Santissima Virgen, para que me alcanzasen de su Magestad, me declarase su Divina voluntad, y me quitase estos deseos, sino era voluntad suya, que yò fuese à las Indias. Y por espacio de tres años estube pidiendo este mismo à Dios nuestro Señor, y haciendo muchas penitencias, hasta

*que al fin de ellos, el dia de nuestro Padre San Ignacio, dando gracias despues de la Comunión, rogando à Dios por intercesion del Santo, me declarase su voluntad; oí en mi corazon una voz, en que me decia nuestro Padre San Ignacio: **Que hiziera voto de ir à las Indias, en acabando mis estudios, que esta era la voluntad de Dios.** Mas yò todavia no me determinaba à hazerlo, y el dia de nuestra Señora de las Nieves, suplicando esto mismo à la Santisima Virgen, dando gracias despues de comulgar (como fue esto, yò no sè decirlo) lo que sè decir es, que yò oi interiormente estas voces, hablándome esta poderosisima Señora: **Hijo, haz voto de ir à las Indias; porque quiere mi Hijo Santisimo, que vayas à ellas, que para esto te dió salud este dia por mi intercesion.** Y aunque todavia no me determinaba à hazerlo, proseguí haciendo muchas penitencias, encomendandolo à Dios, hasta que en el dia de la Asumpcion de nuestra Señora, casi moralmente necesitado por las muchas consolaciones espirituales, que mi alma sentia, hize voto de ir à las Indias en acabando mis estudios, y desde este punto hasta oy tengo tan grandes deseos de poner este voto en ececucion, que no siente mi corazon mayor gusto, sino quando me imagino estar entre los Indios.*

*He escrito à V.R. con tanta extension; porque juzgo tener obligacion à hazerlo asi, para que V.R. informado de los motivos, que me mueven, para ir à las Indias, determine lo que fuere para mayor honra de Dios nuestro Señor. Y si V.R. **his non obstantibus**, no me dexare cumplir esta licencia, que tengo de nuestro Padre General, sepa V.R. que en el dia del juycio, quando Dios nuestro Señor me tomare cuenta, de lo que aqui he referido, la respuesta, que yò tengo de dar à su Divina Magestad, ha de ser la que V.R. me diere à esta carta, y con esta intencion me la ha de firmar V.R. para que yò me quede en esta Provincia sin escrupulos. Yò escribo à los quatro Consultores esto mismo, y asi me hará V.R. favor de consultarlo segunda vez, para que bien informados, determinen, lo que fuere para mayor honra de Dios, que me guarde à V.R. muchos años.*

Montilla, 27 de Abril de 1666.

Siervo de V.R.

Luys de Medina.

Translation

Peace of Christ.

Fr. Provincial,

I find myself with many scruples, because Y.R. does not wish to confirm the licence that I have from our Fr. General to go to the Philippines; and because, in order for me to get rid of my scruples, and for Y.R. to decide, after having been well informed, whatever is for the greater honor of God, I will place before Y.R. the reasons that incite me to go to the Philippines.

One year before I joined the Society, I fell very seriously ill; during this illness, I was more concerned with not being able to join the Society than about the illness itself. While I was so afflicted, one day, on the feast of Our Lady of the Snows, I beseeched the Most Holy Virgin before one of her images, to get health for me from her Most

Holy Son, so that I might join the Society, and go to the Indies to preach the Holy Gospel to the Indians. As of that day, to the surprise of the physicians, I regained my health, and so I was able to join the Society. Having joined the Society, in the Novitiate, God our Lord gave me very great and powerful desires to go to the Indies, and in order to know better if that was God's will, I promised to go to the Indies at the end of my studies, if God our Lord would keep these desires within me; the desires kept growing in me every day.

Five years later, on the feast of of St. Francis Xavier, I felt such great desires to go to the Indies, that they forced me to make a vow to the Saint, and another to the Most Holy Virgin, so that they would get for me from his Divine Majesty, or to remove those desires from me, unless it were His will that I went to the Indies. During three years I kept making the same prayer to God our Lord, and making many penances until we came to the feast of our Father St. Ignatius, when I was giving thanks after communion, begging God through the intercession of the Saint to let me know His will; I heard in my heart a voice, by which our Father St. Ignatius was telling me, that I should make a vow to go to the Indies at the end of my studies, that such was the will of God. However, I did not yet decide to do so, and on the day of Our Lady of the Snows, while I was begging the Most Holy Virgin for the same thing, while giving thanks after communion; what happened next, I do not know how, but what I know is that I heard these voices within me, and it was the voice of this most powerful Lady: "Son, make the vow to go to the Indies, because my Most Holy Son wishes you to go there, and it was the reason for which He gave you health that day through my intercession." Although I still did not decide myself to do so, I continued making many penances, commending the matter to God, until the feast day of the Assumption of our Lady, when I was almost morally forced by the many spiritual favors that I felt in my soul, and I did make the vow of going to the Indies at the end of my studies; from that point until now I have held such great desires to carry out this vow that my heart cannot conceive a better outcome than imagining myself among the Indians.

I have written to Y.R. so extensively, because I think I must do so, in order for Y.R. to be informed about the reasons that incite me to go to the Indies, and then decide what would be best for the honor of God our Lord. Nevertheless, would Y.R. have some objections, preventing me from carrying out the licence that I hold from our Fr. General, Y.R. should also know that on Judgment Day, when God our Lord will take my account of the matter referred to herein, the answer that I intend to give His Divine Majesty will be the one that Y.R. will give me in his letter, and that is what Y.R. should have in mind when writing it, so that I will be able to stay in this Province without scruples. I write the same thing to the four Consultants, and Y.R. will do me the favor of holding a second consultation, so that, being well informed, they will decide what will be for the greater honor of God, whom I beg to keep Y.R. alive for many more years.

Montilla, 27 April 1666.

Y.R.'s servant,
Luis de Medina.

Document 1666B

Report of Fr. Sanvitores' mission to Mindoro Island

Sources: Fr. Murillo Velarde's Historia de Filipinas, Manila, 1749; summary in B&R 44: 103-4.

Summary in Blair & Robertson.

In October of the same year [i.e. 1665], Father Diego Luis de San Vitores and some companions went to the island of Mindoro, then in charge of secular priests. On sea and on land they suffered great fatigues and hunger, heat and storms, toils and dangers; but all this they regarded as [time and strength] well spent, when they saw how the liberal hand of God was rewarding them with the consolation of beholding with their own eyes the fruit of their labors—not only in the old Christians, who had reformed their morals; but in the infidel Manguianes, many of whom were converted to [our] religion. They experienced a thousand tokens of the providence and kindness of God. Although there were several languages in the island, they easily gained a knowledge of what was necessary for instructing the natives, preaching to them, hearing their confessions, and settling their affairs. Sometimes a contrary wind obliged them to put back, directed by the hand of God, in order to relieve the necessity which demanded their cooperation in those hamlets. Sometimes the rivers overflowed their banks, and they found it necessary to travel to places in which they found sufficient occasion for the exercise of their charity. Many conversions of special interest were obtained, of both Christians and heathens; and remarkable among all of them was that of a Manguian woman, a heathen, married to a Christian man; and afterward they called her “the Samaritan,” on account of the many persons whom she brought to the knowledge of Christ, the ministers availing themselves of her aid for the conversion of many persons, not only heathens but Christians, with most happy results. Her husband was a Christian by baptism, but worse than a heathen in his life; he would not even accept the rosary of the blessed Virgin, and it was necessary for his wife to put it about his neck by force; and it had so much efficacy that from that time he undertook to be a Christian in his acts, as he was one by name. The fathers erected three churches for the converted Manguianes: the church of Our Lady, near Bongabon; that of San Ignacio, near Pola; and



The Tagalog Region

Scale in Km 0 25 50

that of San [Francis] Xavier, on the coast of Nauhan. Another was built, named for the holy Christ of Burgos, for the old Christians who were roaming about through the mountains.

Summary of Fr. Sanvitores' 1665-66 mission to Mindoro, by R.L.

Source: Chapters VIII, IX, X and XI of Fr. García's Vida (1683), pp. 133-162.

Chapter VIII. Mission that Fr. Sanvitores made in the Island of Mindoro, and the labors he suffered.

This was the most celebrated mission he did in the Philippines and a practice run for the Marianas. He wrote a Relation about it to his superiors, but a copy is no longer extant. Fr. García had it when he wrote the biography, as he says that the mix-up in dates and events contained in the original Relation had been deliberately done by Fr. Sanvitores, the better to hide the successes that could be attributed to himself alone.

At that time, there were about 20 settlements in the whole Island. The three main towns, and districts, were Baco, Naujan, and Calavite. The district of Naujan, which covered over half of the island, was in the hands of another priest. He describes the natives of Mindoro in the following terms:

“The heathens of this Island go about naked, covering only what nature demands with tree barks. Their life is more devoid of vices than could be judged from their nakedness, and barbarity. Generally, they are free of the vices more common with other nationalities, such as drunkenness, thievery, trickery, cruelty, and they do not even use weapons to defend themselves. Above all, they do not have a woman, unless she is their own wife; they marry with just one when they are still young, and they are scandalized much by such a vice in other nationalities. They live sometimes 12, and up to 20 persons in one, small, house...”

“The beliefs of most of them, is nothing much more than what they see, although it seems as if they think that a superior being is responsible for the heavens, and the earth; but few go on to discuss whether the Creator is One, or Many. They do not worship, or give a cult, to anyone; they only fear the devil, which they call Bucao, because he sometimes frightens them. They know that the souls live after leaving the body of the dead man, but they do not care to know where [they go], what they do, or suffer, although a few (and they show themselves more astute when they themselves, or they relatives or friends are sick) offer things to eat, and drink, to the souls of their forefathers, believing, as they do, that such ailments come to them because the others suffer from hunger, and warn them to send food in that way...”

“Regarding the creation of the world, they believe a few fables, such as those of the Deucalion, and Pirra, that have arisen in more advanced lands. They say that their land (they do not venture a guess about other lands) has been made by an uncle of theirs, and the rivers by his wife, and that is why, being a woman, she could not draw the courses of them straight, so that in their land, the rivers are meandering so much... In one of

the mountain areas... they said that the Creator of things was One, but that he was also Three persons, named: Ulaon, Ubai, and Caloni, who are Father, Mother, and Son..."

On this mission, Fr. Sanvitores had as his companions, another priest (unnamed), and a Filipino oblate brother (whose name is given later as Marcos de la Cruz). They first landed at the port of Naujan. Inland, he met not just with Tagalog-speaking natives, but also Visayans, and Manguians. In Manguian territory, he constituted three "visits" with their own chapels in Bongabun, Laguna, and Pula, which he left in the hands of old Manguian Christians, who had been Fiscals, or controllers. He raised another church next to the Angsalin River, for former Christians who had run away, and left there a portrait of the Santo Cristo de Burgos.

Chapter IX. Means used by the Servant of God to convert the heathens, and problems put in his way by the devil.

He used a method, which he later used constantly in the Marianas, which consisted in making comparisons with natural things to explain God's invisible things, speaking first of nature, land creatures, then moving on to the Creator. When preaching, he first showed images to the eyes of what they were about to believe through their ears. Baptisms were always celebrated with maximum pomp, and also the feast-days of St. Francis Xavier, Immaculate Conception, the Three Kings. In teaching the Doctrine, or catechism, his favorite instrument was the Act of Contrition. He also said that the law of God, best exemplified by the Ten Commandments, belonged to everyone, just like the light from the Sun. He referred to a comet that had been seen in the sky the year before, saying that sometimes extraordinary things happen; similarly, they could receive baptism, while their forefathers had not. Some examples of conversion are then given.

Chapter X. Special successes, and assistance given by God during the Mindoro Mission.

The first benefit mentioned by Fr. Sanvitores in his Relation was the health which he enjoyed throughout the mission. His companion priest also remained healthy, but the Filipino brother fell sick. One reason was the Manguians had remained mostly heathen was to avoid the contributions demanded by converted Tagalogs and Visayans inhabiting the coastal areas, who had been using them as virtual slaves. That is why each separate mission tour started in the former Christian towns, to remove abuses where they had existed, and to get alms from them, in order to distribute clothing to the Manguians. Many older Christians would serve as ambassadors, going ahead to arrange meetings, and as interpreters later on. They were also used as spies, and guides, to take the missionaries to the settlements of run-away former Christians.

Examples are given of individual conversions, such as that of Maria Catalina, who became of catechist. The Manguians of the hills adopted the custom of planting a cross in front of their houses, after they were baptized, with another smaller one inside their houses. New Christians also wore rosaries and medals around their necks, as so many precious necklaces.

Chapter XI. Miracles used by God to confirm the preaching of the Servant of God in Mindoro Island.

Fr. Sanvitores had gotten from his father, Don Jeronimo, some blessed soil from San Pedro, into which the cross of Santo Toribio was said to have been planted. When he mixed a bit of this blessed earth with some water and applied it to the sick, they were often cured. An example is given of a child brought in for baptism, whose arm was inflated from the bite of a poisonous animal. Once it is said that his poor eyesight caused him to fall into the water from a canoe, as it touched the shore of a river; he fell in, but upon coming out, his clothes were not wet. It seemed as if his Guardian Angel had carried him off.

Another miracle was retold years later by a soldier, named Juan de las Casas. After he obliged Fr. Sanvitores by taking him across a river upon his shoulders, they separated, the soldier being told that he would soon be rewarded for his charity. This soldier soon tried to go to Luban Island by canoe, but what shipwrecked upon a small desert island, where he was for 9 days without food or water, but saw Fr. Sanvitores as in a dream feeding him with some liquor that kept him alive.

Another miracle was a gift of languages, as Fr. Sanvitores met with as many as 6 different tongues in Mindoro. He was able to speak for hours in each of them, without having spent time to study any one of them, other than Tagalog. A gift of prophecy is also ascribed to Fr. Sanvitores, in the case of a curate, whom he had confessed shortly before he died. During a sermon he was giving, Fr. Sanvitores interrupted himself, to ask his listeners to say prayers for the soul of their curate, who has just died, and he had.

A few more marvels are reported, from hearsay, and were obviously part of the mission report submitted by Fr. Sanvitores.

Mi Padre Fr. Salgado

Pax xpi

De quantos reveses a de ir abadones vras.
 y de quantos generos a de ser esta re caidad. El p
 Si yo desearia y yo q' no somos dos diezos. agra
 desemos mucho a la re caidad y linora de los reveses y
 b'los y el mundo de los reveses y embistes. y
 no somos. El p'ncipal de los reveses q' esperamos por q' un
 amabilidad de re y aun en los reveses enagudestricos
 de inuidados. El p'ncipal de los reveses de reveses de reveses
 por una cantidad de pecado q' puede ir para adelante
 solo y al lado en los reveses si los hubiere ay, no
 en el mundo de los reveses donde se reveses. El reveses
 nuestro dicen reveses en todo reveses y por q' reveses el
 baston de reveses en la reveses q' reveses q' reveses de reveses
 y reveses con reveses, con uno reveses reveses en reveses
 de los reveses. y todo reveses ira a reveses causa de los
 reveses, qual reveses. el dia de los reveses reveses. y
 quien reveses reveses en los reveses q' ira a reveses de reveses
 de aquellos reveses. / o'

No es de solo el reves de los reveses de los reveses reveses.
 todo reveses reveses en reveses de los reveses reveses reveses.
 y reveses reveses reveses la reveses de los reveses.
 yo sospecho algo. y reveses reveses q' reveses reveses mi

Document 1667A

Letter from Fr. Sanvitores to Fr. Salgado, dated Ma[nila] 27 April 1667

Sources: Original ms. now at ARSI; copy in Martyrs' Museum, Nagasaki, Japan.

Note: There is a possibility that this letter was sent from Marigondon, not Manila.

Letter giving thanks for a gift of food supplies and announcing his departure for the Ladrones

Original text in Spanish.

Mi Padre Francisco Salgado

Pax Christi &a.

De quantas maneras [h]a de ir a Ladrones V[uestra] R[everenci]a! y de quantos generos [h]a de ser esta su caridad. El Padre Diego de Sanabria y yo que nosotros [no somos] dos Diegos agradecemos mucho a V. R^a la caridad y limosna de los ajos y cebollas y el cuidado de enviar por ellas y embiarlas, &c. y no menos el plantel de cañas que esperamos proseguira a su cuidado despues y aun añadimos en agradecimiento de buen dador, el que se sirva V. R^a de mandarsenos prevenga cantidad de pescado[,] que pueda ir para matalotaje[,] seco y aliñado en unas tinajas si las hubiere ay [=allí], sino en chinchotes [h]asta Cavite donde se acomodara. El viage nuestro dicen sera en todo Junio y assi a mediado [de] el, bastara que este en Cavite, con que aquel otro genero que V. R^a dice y a embiado otras veces, sera asta se pueda convenir en este del pescado. Y todo final[men]te ira a nuestra cuenta de Ladrones, qual sera ella! el dia del Juicio se vera. Y quien tubo mas parte en las almas que iran a gozar de Dios de aquellos pobres. &a.

No [h]a sido malo el susto de mudança de ministerio: todo creo que redunde en bien de Ladrones porque con tal ayuno y mortificacion es mui buena la oracion que V. R^a hace. Yo sospeche algo, y esperando saçon que aprovechese mi

mi casaca a grande collando auyf adin rogando a d'el modo,
 al fin me mandaron decir imponer sobre supropuesta de vna y dize
 q' se fencia (h d'no. con) no ementa decir mas acha. sino q' se fencia de vna
 dize q' de d'el modo y q' mandando la regla en el modo de proponer no
 faltara su fidelissima caridad por. Dize vna caridad mas acha q' de
 q' se fencia q' de vna. supra proponer a labores, tin bueno d'no q'
 hera q' aine en vigo q' habla y anda atento. El pe. Juan Melendez
 avia de estar en Mangaray y sus pueblos de Fogalos. con vna d'el modo
 pro q' dize quinien el casaca mandaron supra mejor yo entendi,
 aia q' supra supra no modo. y dize a d'el modo en p'udencia d'no
 y el pe. Juan de ir. y q' d'el modo casaca p'udencia. esp' de d'el modo
 aia d'el modo p'udencia (aia no es d'el modo d'el modo p'udencia. conda
 pero si esto no mortificare el d'no. no veremos q' a mejor en esta parte
 d'no falde a d'el modo y hera mas q' d'el modo p'udencia p'udencia
 no mas d'el modo p'udencia q' a d'el modo aia d'el modo d'el modo p'udencia
 su amor y q' d'el modo. Si hubiera oia d'el modo. remitir una
 petaca vna con vna, no p'udencia. no p'udencia q' d'el modo d'el modo
 in d'el modo y d'el modo en d'el modo. aquellos papales fogalos y algunos q' d'el modo
 de mi casaca de papales p'udencia y d'el modo p'udencia y un
 cicio de p'udencia q' a d'el modo. ambas casaca de vna. y q' d'el modo
 aia p'udencia. aia p'udencia p'udencia. Tal. Ma y Abril 27 de 1687

con los q'
 dexaron
 el pe. Sani-
 bria a vna

Juan de vna

+ Diego Luis S. vna

mi cucharada, aguarde callando aunque a Dios rogando de su mal modo. Al fin me mandaron decir mi parecer sobre su propuesta de V. R^a, y dixе lo que sentia in dro.[=derecho] con que no e[st] menester decir mas a V. R^a, sino que se fie de su Dios que obedeciendo y guardando la regla en el modo de proponer no faltara su fidelissima caridad &a.

Dixe a V. R^a en una destas malas cartas que experaba que V. R^a suplira por otro que fuesse a Ladrones, tan bueno es Dios que hara que acierte un ciego que habla y anda a tiento. El Padre Juan Melendes avia de estar en Marigondong y otros pueblos de Tagalos, con que V. R^a estara el tiempo que Dios quisiere este en estos ministerios suplira mejor que yo entendia, [h]asta que su Magd. disponga otro modo, y estamonos siempre en pura voluntad de Dios que es el perfecto modo de ir, y quedar en todas partes.

Espero que nos veremos antes de la partida, pues desde Cavite no es dificultoso dar un curso [tranco] por este convento pero si en esto nos mortificare el Sor. nos veremos quisa[s] mejor en otra parte[.] poco falta de aquel vida y hara menos quanto mas se dilatate para acompañar mas almas de pobres que alaben a nuestro buen Dios eternamente. El nos abraze en su amor y [guar]de a V. R^a, &a.

Si hubiese ocasion me puede V. R^a remitir una petaca vacia con llave, no para llevarla a Ladrones, sino porque yo pueda llevar las que tengo y dexar en la de V. R^a. aquellos papeles tagalos y algunos quisa de mis otras piezas de papeles (con los que dexara el Padre Sanabria a V. R^a) para si alguna vez volviese que los pueda leer, y con [un] cierto deposito que a Dios desee, estubiese en poder de V. R^a, y qual pense se avia perdido, a parecido para prendas &a.

Ma[ñila] y Abril 27 de 667.

Siervo de V. R^a

+

+ Diego Luis S. Vitores +

Translation.

My dear Father Salgado
Peace of Christ, etc.

One way or another, one must go to the Ladrones, your Reverence! and with how many **goods** can your charity show itself. Father Diego de Sanabria¹ and I, the two Diegos, we thank your Reverence's charity very much for the gift of garlicks and onions and for the care taken in sending for them and for sending them, etc., and no less the cane plantation² which we hope will continue in your care afterwards, and we even dare to thank you, the good giver, in advance for a quantity of fish that your Reverence should send to us, that could serve as food supplies for the voyage, dried and salted, inside some jars, if available there, otherwise in "chinchotes" as far as Cavite where it will

1 Ed. note: Fr. Sanabria was assigned to the residence of Silang, Philippines, in 1655, with three dependent villages: Silang, Indan, and Marigondon (B&R 36:54).

2 Ed. note: Perhaps a sugarcane field.

be taken care of. This our voyage will be [made ready] for the whole of June and thus by the middle [of the month] it will be OK for any other goods that your Reverence says he sent on other occasions, at one of which the fish question will be settled. Finally, everything will be charged to our Ladrone Island account, whatever that can be! We'll see on Judgment Day whom God will reward the most for the souls of those poor ones. &c.

The shock occasioned by the changes in the assignments of ministries has not been bad; all of that has to do with the good of the Ladrones, because with such a fast and mortification, your Reverence's request is a very good one. I suspected something, and hoping to get my own spoonful eventually, I keep quiet, although praying to God, about his bad proceeding. In the end, they asked me to give my opinion about the proposal of your Reverence. I said what I had a right to say. With that, it is not necessary to say more for now, except that you should trust in your God that, by obeying and following the standard procedure, your most faithful charity will not fail, etc.

I told Y.R. in one of those bad letters that I expected Y.R. to stand in for one who might be going to the Ladrones, God being so good as to let a blind man do the talking and the groping in the dark. Fr. Juan Melendes should be in Marigondon or some other Tagalog village;¹ and Y.R. with him, because God wishes him in those ministries [and] will find a replacement better than I can. And until His Majesty should arrange for it somehow, we are in the care of God's providence, which is the perfect way to go, and abide by anywhere.

I hope that we will see each other before the departure, since it is not difficult from Cavite to make a run to this convent, but if the Lord should mortify us in this, we shall meet perhaps better somewhere else. This life is short, but it would be no less acceptable alongside poor ones to praise our good Lord, so it is that we'll meet within his love and I wish for Y.R., etc.

If there should be an opportunity for Y.R. to send me an empty trunk with a padlock, not to take to the Ladrones, but in order to send it back to Y.R. with some papers in Tagalog and perhaps some other papers of mine (with those Y.R. will pass on to Fr. Sanabria), in case some may show up, as they might, along with a certain deposit (which I thought was lost) that I wish to God will end up in the hands of Y.R.; it could be used for clothing, etc.

Ma[nila], 27 April 1667.

Y.R.'s servant,

+

+ Diego Luis S. Vitores +

1 Ed. note: Fr. Juan Melendez was still ministering among the Tagalogs in 1698. He was then said to be very proficient in that language (B&R 42: 47).

Documents 1667B

Letters from Governor Salcedo, dated Manila 4 August 1667

B1. Letter to the King

Source: AGI Fil. 9-3-50, pp. 1, 18-20.

Note: This letter was seen in the Council of the Indies on 24 January 1669.

Original text in Spanish.

*Estado, Gobierno, y Hacienda, N^o 1: Da cuenta de la llegada de la Nao **Concepción**, y despacho de la nombrada **Nuestra Señora del Buen Socorro**.*

Señor

*En la Nao **San Joseph** que el Junio passado salio de estas Islas para Nueva España por el çitnado ordinario, di larga cuenta a V.M. de lo hasta allí ofrecido en todas materias de este Gobierno. Y continuando mi obligaçion, lo que se me ofrece en esta es decir que la Nao **Concepción** que el año de 65 despache a aquel Reyno, llevo por agosto del passado de 66 al Puerto de Palapa que dista 200 leguas de esta çiudad y por faltarle tiempo para enbocar ni llegar a esta de Cavite donde se pudiese adersar para que bolviese a hazer viaje; he dispuesto el que se acavasse la nombrada **Nuestra Señora del Buen Socorro** que mi puntualidad y diligencia previniendo se me des acçidentes havia prinçipiado fabricar en la Provincia de Catanduanes, que es la que este año haze viaje y la lleva a su cargo el general Diego de Arevalo.*

...

N^o 15: Buelbe arrepresentar el inconbeniente que tiene de que pasen Religiosos estrangeros a aquellas Islas, y algunos desterrados por delictos, con ocasion de dos Carmelitas descalzos que vinieron el año pasado de la Nueva España.

En la carta del año passado represente los inconbenientes de passar algunos Religiosos estrangeros a estas Islas en las miçiones que se remiten de España, y mayores de los que de nueva España se enbian condenados por delictos, y como quiera que en la Nao ultima que bino de aquel Reyno, binieron dos religiosos Carmelitas descalzos expulsos de su Religion, y luego que llegaron aqui dejaron sus abitos se puçieron y andan con liçençia del Arcobispo en el de clerigos, no sin gran novedad que ha echo a

los naturales de esta tierra; buelbo arrepresentarlo a V.M. para que sea servido mandar se ponga remfedi]o conbeniente, pues si estos dos no cupieron en un Reyno tan dilatado siendo Religiosos y estando enclausados bien se deja rreconocer, si cabran en la pequeñez de estas Islas viviendo de por si.

...

*Nº 17: Da quenta como llego la nao **San Josseph** de la Nueva España y tenue socorro que remite el Virrey de ella.*

*Estando para firmar este tube aviso de que la Nao **San Josseph** que estava aguardando de nueva España havia llegado al Embocadero de estas Islas, y aunque hasta agora no ha entrado en este puerto, ni benido los pliegos, por algunas cartas sueltas de aquel Reyno, sessabe que solo trahe de socorro 95,000 pesos cossa que me deja en el cuidado y desconsuelo que se puede conçiderar, de que me ha pareçido hazer este aviso a V.M. cuya C.R.P. guarde Dios los muchos y felizes años como la xptiandad desea y ha menester.*

Manila y agosto 4 de 667.

Diego Salcedo

Translation.

State, Government, and Treasury, Nº 1: He reports the arrival of the galleon **Concepción**, and the despatch of the galleon **Nuestra Señora del Buen Socorro**.

In the galleon **San José** that left these Islands last June for New Spain to get the ordinary subsidy, I gave a large report to Y.M. about what had happened up to that time in all matters of this Government. Continuing with my obligation, what I can report now is that the galleon **Concepción**, which I despatched in 1665 to that Kingdom, arrived iin August of last year 1666 at the port of Palapa which is 200 leagues distant from this city. Since there was not sufficient time for her to go through the entrance channel and come to this port of Cavite, where she could have been made ready to make another voyage, I arranged for the construction of the galleon named **Nuestra Señora del Buen Socorro** to be completed; the plans that I had made provided for such accidents, that is why I had begun to build her in the Province of Catanduanes. She is the one that will make the voyage this year, under the command of General Diego de Arévalo.

...

Nº 15: Once again he represents the inconvenience of letting foreign Religious come to those Islands, as well as some exiles who have committed crimes; the occasion for his saying this is the arrival of two discalced Carmelites from New Spain last year.

In my letter of last year, I represented the inconveniences of letting some foreign Religious come to these Islands in the mission bands sent from Spain, but worse is the case of those sent from New Spain after they have been condemned of crimes, such as happened with the last galleon, aboard which came two discalced Carmelite Religious who had been expelled from their Religious Order. After they arrived here, they removed their habits and put on those of secular priests, and they go about with permission from

the Archbishop. This novelty created quite a stir among the natives. Once again I represent this to Y.M. so that you will be pleased to order that a convenient remedy be applied, given that, if these two were not fit Religious in one faraway Kingdom, even within a cloister, anyone can recognize whether they will fit within the small confines of these Islands, living on their own.

...

Nº 17: He informs about the arrival of the galleon **San José** from New Spain and about the slim subsidy sent by its Viceroy.

As I was about to sign this report, I received advice of the arrival at the Embocadero of these Islands of the galleon **San José** that was expected from New Spain. Although she has not yet come into this port, nor have the official mail arrived, through a few loose letters from that Kingdom it was learned that she only brings 95,000 pesos in subsidy, something which leaves me worried and disenchanted, as one can imagine; consequently, it seemed to me that I should advise Y.M. about it.

May God keep the Catholic Royal Person of Y.M. for many happy years, as Christendom wishes and needs.

Manila, 4 August 1667.

Diego Salcedo

B2. Letter to the Viceroy

Source: RAH 9/2676, part of doc. nº11.

Note: In the same file, there is another letter to same, dated 25 June 1668, which is a summary of this first letter.

Original text in Spanish.

Ex[cententiss]mo Señor

Por la ynclusa, que es copia de la que escrivi a V.Exª en la nao que a la ora desta estava para dar a la vela en el puertto de Albae fuera del embocadero para haçer viaje a ese Reino por el socorro hordinario sera serçiorado V.Exª de todo lo que por aca se ofrezze aquel por no cansar me rremitto y asi solo servira esta de haçer saver a V.Exª como mis providençias y cuydado aunque en medio de ttanttos haogos [=ahogos] y neçesidades atendiendo al mayor serviçio de su Magd. y venefiçio destas yslas dispuse fabricar un pattache en el Puerto de Cavitte con mira de que supliese las conttingençias que pudiera y es verisimil tener aquella nao asi al tiempo del echarla a la agua como despues por no ser experimentada y porque asta agora por la gran distançia no se save de ziertto si a salido ni como por asegurar embarcaçion para que traiga el socorro del año que viene de que ttantto se neçesita en estas yslas e resuelto ynviar este pattache y en el en virtud de zedula de su Magd. al padre Diego de San Vitores que va fiado en que V.Exª le haviara y proveera de lo neçesario para bolver en el a las Yslas de los Ladrones, donde desea lograr el gran zelo que le assiste de plantar alli la Santta fee Catholica, reduçiendo aquellas almas al verdadero conoçimiento que como quiera que la estrechez de por aca no a dado ni da lugar a los gastos de que neçesitta esta funçion y

*que tengo por çiertto tendra V.Ex^a a buena suertte el entrar en la partte ó en el todo desta santa obra no e querido negarme a faziliarla quanto de la mia a estado como no me negare si que soliçittare siempre quantto fuere de di[s]gusto y buen nombre de V.Ex^a a quien rindo las devidas graçias que puedo y devo por la brevedad del despacho de la nao **San Joseph** que se [h]a ttenido nuevas[.] llego al Enbocadero aunque asta agora no a llegado ni los pliegos ni e visto cartta de V.Ex^a cossa que ttantto deseof[.] atribuyolo a la poca fortuna mia pues quando otros an reçivido muchas carttas de esse Reino a mi me falttan las que mas apreçio.*

El socorro se diçe es de nobentta y çinco mil pesos. Vien creo que para lo estrecho en que se halla esse reyno abra sido el ultimo empeño de la fineza de V.Ex^a que tengo muy en mi corason para agradecer la mas bolviendo los ojos a lo mucho que es preçi-so cada año para las obligaciones a que no es posible falttar puede considerar V.Ex^a como se puede passar en esto conservar pues en un aderezo o fabrica de nao y havia della se gasta poco menos cossa tan yndispensable como notoria y aqui no ay otra cosa a que recurrir.

Artto olgara que se bieran llegado los pliegos y carttas de V.Ex^a que me serian de gran consuelo como lo seran siempre que lleguan y podre rresponder a ellas pero ya que no a lugar este año lo are el siguiente cuyo socorro me prometto del gran zelo de V.Ex^a sera tal que supla por annos.

Dios me guarde a V.Ex^a muchos años como puede y desseo.

Manila y agosto quattro de seiscientos y sesentta y siette.

Translation.

Your Excellency:

In the enclosure, which is a copy of the one I wrote Y.E. for the galleon that is about to sail from the port of Albay, outside of the Embocadero, to make the voyage to that Kingdom for the ordinary succor, Y.E. will find out everything that has happened here, and I refer to it, so as not to tire you with repetitions. Therefore, the present is only to let Y.E. know how my careful planning, although in the midst of so many restrictions and lack of money, due care being given to the better service of His Majesty and the interest of these Islands, has led me to arrange the construction of a patache in the port of Cavite,¹ the idea being that, if there should be contingencies, such as might affect that galleon, not only at the time of her launch but also afterwards, as she will be yet unproven, and because until now, on account of the great distance, it is not known if she has left for sure, and how. In order to make sure that next year a ship will bring the subsidy, which is so necessary in these Islands, I have decided to send this patache, and aboard it, by virtue of a decree of His Majesty, Fr. Diego de San Vitores, who goes with the hope that Y.E. will outfit and supply him with necessities to return to the Islands of the Ladrones, where he wishes to achieve what his great zeal want, that is the implan-tation there of the holy Catholic Faith, by reducing those souls to the true knowledge.

1 Ed. note: The patache San Diego.

However, the shortage of funds here has not, and does not, give the possibility of spending what is necessary for this function, and I am sure that Y.E. will think it lucky to take some part in this holy endeavor, or in all of it. I did not wish to deny myself some participation in it, to the extent possible, but I must also appeal, though it be against my will, to the good name of Y.E., to whom I render the due thanks that I can, and must, on account of the timely despatch of the galleon **San José**, about which news has been received that she has arrived at the Embocadero, although until now I have not received the official mail, not even a letter from Y.E., something that I wish so much. I attribute this to my poor luck, given that others have received many letters from that Kingdom, and I am missing the ones that I most appreciate.

They say that the subsidy is 95,000 pesos. Well, I believe that the kindness of Y.E. could not do better because of the shortages that are found in that Kingdom. I hold Y.E. enough in my heart to be able to thank you the more, keeping in mind how very difficult it is every year to fulfill one's obligations, that simply cannot be forgotten. Y.E. must be making what you can to carry them out, since it is well known that for the preparation or construction and outfitting of the galleon not much less than these 95,000 pesos are indispensable, and there are no other source of funds here.

I will be glad to receive the official mail and letters of Y.E. that will no doubt be of great consolation to me, as long as they come and I am able to answer them, but since I do not have this opportunity this year, I will do so next year, when the subsidy I hope to get from the great zeal of Y.E. will be one that will be sufficient for years.

May God keep Y.E. for many years, as He can and I wish.

Manila, 4 August 1667.

Document 1667C

Letter from the Bishop of Cebu to Fr. Sanvitores, dated Cebu 24 May 1667

Source: AGI Fil. 82-2-21.

Note: Fray Juan Lopez, O.P., was Bishop of Cebu from 1665 to 1671. The Mariana Mission was to depend directly upon the diocese of Cebu.

Original text in Spanish

M. R. P. Diego Luis San Vitores.

No abia visto los Indios de las Islas de los Ladrones asta esta segunda vez que vine de España, y un dia entero que nos rodearon la Nao con sus embarcaciones se me fue en considerar los ocultos, y incomprehensibles juicios de Dios viendo aquellas criaturas racionales, en la natural tambien dispuestas, y tan sin repugnancia para reçivir la luz del Evangelio, ciegas con la ignorancia de su gentilidad, por falta de ministros y en-señança, despues tantos años que se tiene noticia de aquella gente: han pasado los obreros a otras eredades mas distantes, y dejada de cultivar aquella; Dios solo puede saver las causas. Por los efectos vemos no habia llegado el tiempo de la labor. Asta este en que su divina Magd. ha sido servido imbiar operarios y a V.P. [=Vuestra Paternidad] por mayoral suyo. Yo no dudo de que todo lo que en esta mission concurre es derigido por la divina disposicion, porque atendiendo a los tiempos en que nos hallamos no se podia esperar la consecucion de fin tan santo, y en si espero felices sucesos en la conversion de aquellas almas; imbio la licençia que V.P. me pide; y en todo lo que me to-care acudir, y solicitar obra tan del servicio de Dios lo are como debo y tengo obligacion y ofrezco pedir a su divina Magd. todos los dias en mis sacrificios y oraciones, labea [habra?] devida execuçion tan santos propositos, y a V.P. y a sus compañeros le de mucha salud y vida para que la ocupen en la exaltacion de su fe y aumento de su Yglesia.

Zibu Mayo 24 de 1667.

Sierbo de V.P.M.R. Q.L.M.V.

Fr. Juan Obispo del Santo Niño de Jesus

Translation, by Fr. Ledesma

Very Reverend Father Diego Luis de San Vitores.

I had not seen the natives of the Islands of the Ladrones until this second time in which I came from Spain. They surrounded our ship with their canoes for a whole day. I went some time considering the hidden and incomprehensible designs of God, when I saw those rational creatures, naturally so well disposed and with such absence of reluctance to receive the light of the Gospel. They are blind in the ignorance of their paganism through lack of Ministers and instruction after so many years that we know about those people: the workers of the vineyard have gone to other farther fields of work, and have neglected to cultivate that one.

God only knows why. The results show us that the time had not yet come for the labor of evangelization until the present in which his divine Majesty has deigned to send pastoral workers and Your Paternity as his principal envoy. I have no doubt that whatever leads to this Mission is guided by the divine will, for taking into account the present time one could not hope for the execution of such a holy purpose.

And so I wish that the conversion of those souls be happily successful. I am sending you the license Your Paternity asks for.

And whatever I can do to help and solicit for an enterprise so much for the service of God I will do it as I should, it being my obligation. And I offer myself to beg the divine Majesty every day in my sacrifices and prayers that He may bring to fruition such holy projects and that He give much health and life to Your Paternity and your companions, so that you may employ them in the exaltation of the faith and the progress of the Church.

Cebu, 24 May 1667.

Your Very Reverend Paternity's servant who kisses your hands,
Fray Juan [Lopez], Bishop of the Holy Name of Jesus.



Statue of Our Lady of Conception, in Sumay, Guam.
(From Fr. Repetti's book: "Pictorial Records...")

Document 1667D

The story of the statue of Our Lady of Conception which Fr. Sanvitores took to Guam

Extract from Fr. García's biography of Fr. Sanvitores.

...
[In 1671] the church and residence were surrounded by a stockade of tree [trunks] and branches. On the side toward the sea, on a point overlooking the beach, a tower was raised, which Fr. Sanvitores named *Castillo de Santa María y Santiago* [Castle of St. Mary and St. James], placing in it that which was to serve as *Castellana* [Warden] and guard of the castle, a **Statue of the Immaculate Conception**, blessed by the Archbishop [of Manila], which he had brought from Manila. He also placed there the gun that was salvaged from the **Concepción** [shipwreck].

On the side toward the mountain another tower was built, and was called *Castillo de San Francisco Xavier* [Castle of St. Francis Xavier], where the gun was placed which remained from the shipwreck [sic] that had cast Choco on these shores, the man who was the origin of all these wars and persecutions.¹

The soldiers, of whom there were 31 (12 Spaniards and 19 Filipinos) were assigned to their posts. They were armed, some with bows and arrows, others with firearms.

...

1 Ed. note: As for Choco's champan, it was not shipwrecked but arrived in distress, perhaps at Saipan (where Choco had relatives). At least one gun remained behind when the ship left. Choco simply deserted, because he had killed one of his countrymen and feared execution. The so-called gun must have been something small if it was taken from Saipan to Guam by canoe, the same as the other gun from the galleon **Concepción** which was just a blunderbus. Soon after the building of the first camp, in September 1671 in fact, a severe typhoon destroyed the original church and residence, but the images were saved from destruction. Both the statue of St. Francis Xavier and the statue of the Virgin seem to have been moved to the church at some time before the typhoon.

Editorial comments.

The editor of the Guam Recorder says that the statue in question was believed (in 1938) to be the one that was then in the church at Sumay and had been renamed the Virgin of Guadalupe. It had been placed in the church at Pago in 1680 and was then called *Nuestra Señora de la Purísima Concepción*; it remained in Pago for 70 years and when that village was swept by smallpox, which wiped out most of its population, the few remaining survivors fled the locality, taking with them the statue of the Virgin. A few of them settled in Agaña, others in Sumay, whither, possibly, they carried the statue. The following is a translation of a document which was in the archives of the Society of Jesus in Manila in 1938, and was loaned for the purpose of throwing some light on the matter.

Dedication of a statue of Our Lady, dated Manila 16 May 1667

Sources: Manuscript that was in the archives of the Society of Jesus in Manila; translated and published in the Guam Recorder, March 1938, pp. 12-13.

In the City of Manila, on the 16th day of the month of July 1667, His Illustrious Lordship, Don Manuel Poblete, being Metropolitan Archbishop of the Philippines, in the Pontifical vestments and having just said mass, there being on the altar of his oratory a statue of Our Lady, more than a yard in height, dressed in white with a blue mantle, with face and hands of ivory, [he] did bless this image with the title Our Lady of Conception, and granted 40 days indulgence to all the faithful who venerated or prayed before said Image, which Father Diego Luis de Sanvitores will soon carry to the Islands of the Ladrones, where he goes on a Mission and the conversion of those souls, with the help of the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin and in the name of the Holy Trinity.

To all of which I, the Secretary, have been present at the above-mentioned blessing, and to which I am a witness.

Fr. Francisco de Velasco, Secretary.

Documents 1667E

Report by Fr. Luis Pimentel about the Ladrones, dated Seville 8 November 1667

Sources: AGI Fil. 82-25 & -26 (formerly 68-1-1), cited in B&R 53: 304; copy of the report itself in ARSI Phil. 14, fol. 64-68.

E1. Covering letter

Original text in Spanish.

Con esta remito a V. Merced el informe, que fue servido el Real Consexo de Indias mandar que sease cerca de las conveniencias y inconvenientes que podran ocurrir en la introduccion de la reducion de nuestra Santa fee en las Islas de Ladrones y de los medios para facilitarlo, conveniendo el poderse como V. Merced sera servido de ver, no se me a ofrecido en la marca otro cosa.

Dios lo disponga si conueniere a su servicio[,] que de a V. Merced largos años de vida con la prosperidad que deseo.

Sevilla 8 de Nobiembre de 667.

De V. Merced Capellan que su mano vesa.

Luis Pimentel.

[A] Señor Secretario D. Alonso Fernandez de Lorca.

[Endorsement:] Secretaria 8 de Noviembre de 1667. Al Señor Don Alonso Fernandez de Lorca: El Padre Luis Pimentel, de la Comp^a de Jhs.—Remite el Informe que se le pidió, de las combeniençias, ó incombenientes, que se pueden seguir de reduzion a nuestra santa feé los naturales de las Islas de los Ladrones en Philipinas.

Translation.

Enclosed please find the report that the Royal Council of the Indies ordered done regarding the advantages and disadvantages that might occur in the introduction of the reduction of the Islands of the Ladrones to our holy Faith, and of the means to make

it feasible. Your Grace will deign to take into account that nothing outside of this framework was asked of me.

May God arrange for it, if it be convenient to His service, and may He grant Your Grace a long life with the prosperity that I wish.

Seville, 8 November 1667.

Luis Pimentel.

[To] the Lord Secretary, Don Alonso Fernandez de Lorca.

[Endorsement:] Secretariat, 8 November 1667. To Don Alonso Fernandez de Lorca: Father Luis Pimentel, of the Society of Jesus.—He remits the Report that was asked of him, regarding the advantages, and disadvantages, that might follow from the reduction to our holy Faith of the natives of the Ladrones in the Philippines [sic].

E2. The report itself

Original text in Spanish.

Informe del Padre Luis Pimentel Procurator de su Provincia de las Islas Filipinas de la Compañia de Jhs de las combeniencias é incombenientes que puede tener la reduçion à nuestra Santa fee Catholica de las Islas que llaman de los Ladrones.

Obedeçiendo a lo que V. Magd. a sido serbido mandar informe:

*Digo que todo lo que refieren el Padre Diego Luis de San Bitores de mi Religion y el Almirante Estevan Ramos en sus Informes de la doçilidad de los Indios de las Islas de Ladrones[,] la granda(?) falta de religion alguna y no de los viçios que en otras naciones de estas partes se exp[e]rimentan lo tengo por çierto y asi lo é oydo referir à otras personas que estuvieron en aquellas Islas con ocasion del naufragio de la nao **Conçeption** el año de treinta y ocho y no dudo de la façilidad en sugetarse al yugo del Santo evangelio y piedad de V. Magd. siendo de naturales tan paçíficos y afectos a la naçion Espa-ñola como lo muestran todos los años al pasar por alli las naos de aquella carrera y se experimento en la ocasion del naufragio pues no solo fueron dellos agasajados los Españoles sino que les dieron dos embarcaciones y el matalotaje que pudieron para pasar aquel golfo de trezientas y mas leguas asta Manila aczion que muestra la piedad natural de sus animos pues ni miedo ni interes les pudo mober a usarla.*

Por estas razones todos los subditos de V. Magd. y de todos estados que an pasado por aquellas Islas tienen cariño a estos Isleños y deseos de ver los Christianos; Y no obstante asta aora en espaçio de çien años no solo no se a puesto em practica pero ni tratadose de su reduçion quedandose solo en deseos. Y creo a sido por las raçones siguientes.

[1.] Por la suma pobreça de estas Islas y miseria que ni con que bestirse se tiene[,] su ordinario sustento es el pescado de la mar de que abundan. Y aunque siembran aroz[,] crian gallinas y cocos que se diçe les an dejado Españoles todo es con escaçes y poquedad por ser mas inclinados a la pesca que al cultivo de la tierra ni esta pareçe capaz para mucho por ser pequeñas las diez y siete Islas conoçidas de los Españoles, llenas de que-

bradas y barrancas y aunque en unas los montes son capaces del cultivo por no ser altos en otras ay volcanes y todas las abitadas tienen por las marinas sus poblaciones. No dudo que los granos frutas semillas algodón y cañamo de que se visten muchos Indios de las Filipinas y los animales que se crían en ellas darán todo allí con abundancia por ser aquellas Islas muy semejantes a las de Manila en clima y frecuencia de lluvias y que enseñados aquellos isleños de los Filipinos vinieran a tener abundancia de lo que allí carecen. Y aunque este motivo antes es más eficaz para mover a la clemencia de V. Magd. al amparo de estos pobres no se puede negar que la conservación de lo espiritual depende mucho de lo temporal. Ni dudo ser así lo que apunta el informe que si en ellas se allara el interés que lleva a muchos a las Indias que se vencerían todas las dificultades. Según la suma pobreza de estas Islas y noticias que ay de ellas no parece que de presente puede haber otra conveniencia ni para la monarquía ni para los súbditos de ella que la conversión al Santo evangelio de aquellas almas que se allan en extrema necesidad y tan fácil es de reducir.

La segunda razón a sido por no haberse descubierto hasta ahora en ellas puerto a donde puedan surgir vajeles de porte. Porque aunque ay según dicen abrigos ó caletas de tierras y ensenadas[,] estas ó no son fundables ó si pueden defender de un biento están descubiertas a otros con que no es posible dar fondo allí bagel algo grande sin manifiesto peligro de perderse.

La tercera por la dificultad de aquella navegación que ay desde Manila, a Ladrones de adonde es fuerza salir en el tiempo riguroso de los vendabales y vientos contrarios que suelen detener a las naos antes ó después de haber pasado estas Islas dos, tres, quatro y a veces cinco meses causa de ser tan trabajosa esta carrera de tantas muertes, arribadas a Manila y envernadas en Acapulco por llegar tarde y así con estas naos que salen por el situado a Mexico aunque quisieran no era factible haber asentado esta reducción ni menos conservarla porque van cargadas y en tiempos poco seguros de tormentas. Y como en aquellas Islas no faltan corrientes no todas las veces se pudieran arribar ni detenerse cerca de tierra sin grande riesgo, de más de que en la derrota no tienen a la yda rumbo fijo sino que van los pilotos no a donde quieren sino a donde el viento les tercia [sic] y así unos viages pasan las naos por doce grados de altura otros por catorce mudando rumbo cada año hasta llegar a pasar por treinta y tres grados de altura si bien quando acontece pasar de doce a diez y ocho grados si el tiempo está en bonanza salen los isleños con su refresco ordinario en trueque del yerro que les dan las naos.

Si la salud espiritual de estas almas moviere el pecho piadoso de V. Magd a que con efecto se entable esta reducción parece conveniente se diese principio desde Manila y no de Mejico porque habiendo de yr Indios con los Españoles ningunos más a propósito para el intento que los de Filipinas y en particular los Tagalos y Panpangos por ser buenos christianos sin rastro de idolatrias y en los naturales muy semejantes a estos Isleños según lo que dellos se refiere pues aun en las lenguas se asemejan causa de que los que an estado allí aian aprendido en brebe la lengua de aquellos naturales y como los de Manila de ordinario son ladinos en la Española pueden ser de grande ayuda a los

ministros para dotrinar à aquellos Indios y para ser sus maestros de aquella lengua. Tiene otra conbeniençia que entre los Indios de Manila se allaran todo genero de ofiçios de herreros tegedores carpinteros y los demas neçesarios, para el serviçio de los Españoles y para Maestros de aquellos Isleños tan ignorantes de todo que antes de haver comunicado los Españoles ni savian que con el fuego se domaba el yerro.

En tal caso no solo seria neçesario llevar Españoles Indios para el exemplo y enseñanza de politica como diçe el imforme sino tambien para presidiar una fuerça con armas de fuego porque aunque sean tan doçiles estos Isleño[s] como diçen son barbaros inconstantes y arraigados en las costumbres en que se crian que aunque no sean tan disonantes como las de otros gentiles no pueden dejar de tener algunas opuestas a la raçon teniendola tan obscureçida y de ordinario no es la que les gobierna sino el miedo y en fin usan de arco y flecha en fee de que se defenderan ofreciendoseles ocasion que seguridos puede haver de que entre los Españoles o Indios que fueren no aya algun desman ó enquentro con ellos[.] una cosa es dominarles[.] otra bibir entre ellos rendidos y a merçed si bien asta buena prueba fue en Indios de su buen natural no haver muerto à los Españoles ó echoles esclabos quando estubieron entre ellos con la ocasion del naufragio[.] accion que no pudo dictalles el miedo sino el cariño ó fuerça de bondad en sus naturales. Y porque puede ser que entre ellos aia echiçeros que an sido no pocas veçes instrumento del demonio para perturbar algunas christiandades. Y asi para todos estos acasos pareçiese ser neçesaria fuerça con armas a donde àsegurar las vidas los que fueren y las de los que se huvieren reduçido.

Para el embio de esta gente ministros y lo demas neçesario a donde todo falta pareçe era forçoso un patache que fuese à solo a eso. Porque aunque la navegacion de Malina [sic] a Ladrones es tan trabajosa por haver de ser de fuerça en tiempo de vendavales el mas tormentoso en aquellas partes tiene el patache una bentaja a las naos para haçer este viage que nabega con menos viento por menos pesado y el que fuera a dar prinçipio aquella reduçion por no llevar mucha carga fuera mas ligero y por esta causa podia salir de Manila un mes antes de la salida ordinaria de las naos que neçesitan de vientos mas frescos y fuertes con que antiçipara la llegada a Ladrones y diera resguardo a los temporales de Julio asta Enero ni podia tener tam buena suerte que en quinze dias y aun menos fondo que una nao y asi mas façilmente se podia asegurar[.] Supongo que para un patache ai abrigo seguro a todos vientos en aquellas Islas como lo da a entender el Almirante Estevan Ramos en façilitar la execucion de esta resoluçion en un patache porque de otra suerte ni fuera façil ni seguro porque no teniendo abrigo para los vendeales solo fuera perderse ó padeçer en el mar peleando con las olas y aunque los tiempos le diesen lugar de echar la gente en tierra y haçerse al mar fuera grande desconuelo para todos no dejarlos de todo asegurados y fortificados bolviendose sin notiçia del suceso.

Pero como el que a de executar los piadosos ordenes de V. Magd. en caso que llegue a execucion esta reduçion es el Governador de Manila y alli ai personas notiçiosas de estas Islas siempre remitira si allare ser posible el piloto mas à proposito a Isla determi-

nada y demas seguro abrigo adonde el patache pueda detenerse asta dejar asentados los cimientos de esta reducion con fuerza aunque sea de madera.

Introducida esta reducion sera facil a las naos que pasan por alli forçosamente de buelta de Acapulco dejarles armas ó trigo vino para misas a quenta del estipendio de los ministros y sueldo de los soldados que se les podia librar en Mexico para estos efectos y parte em plata para lo que neçesitasen traer de Manila y asimismo se podian mudar a su tiempo los soldados y Indios que alli estuviesen entrando en su lugar los que pasarían al socorro de Manila con que no le seria tam pesada la bibienda en aquellos desiertos con la esperança de poder salir y aun los ministros si les provasen mala tierra ó se allasen faltos de salud podian facilmente bolberse dejando otros en su lugar quando pasan las misiones o se podian remitir de Mejico quien les suçediese.

Y las veçes que a la ida [a] Acapulco pasan las naos por los rumbos de doçe hasta diez y ocho grados de àquellas Islas les podian dejar bestuario y ropa blanca y reçibir dellos refresco que muchas veçes no sera posible por la contingencia de no poder pasar por aquellas rumbos.

El gasto en conservar esto bastando como afirman por aora beynte Españoles treinta Indios y quatro ministros que me parece que bastavan de presente no podia ser mucho ni aunque los gastos fuesen a quenta del situado ordinario de Filipinas sin añadir de nuebo al Real haver pudiera ser de cargo esta reducion aquella republica libre oy de la de Terranati adonde sustentava al pie de mill y quinientas plaças entre Indios y Españoles y para el socorro de ordinario se armava cada año un patache con seis y aun ocho bajeles chinas y algunas veçes yvan las naos de la carrera conboiando al patache y a los vageles de China con mucha platta soldados viveres neçesarios bestuarios peltrechos de guerra municones y lo demas neçesario para aquellas plaças haviendo faltado esto con el retiro de aquellas fuerças y los ministros que alli havia a quien tambien se les dava estipendio de la caja Real no puede ser oy de mucha carga aquella republica un presidio de setenta hombres y quatro ministros la fuerza no puede tener costo pues la an de haçer los que fueron con ajuda de los Isleños que si les reçivieren con gusto sera facil a traerles a que aiuden con el.

El maior gasto sera el del patache y primer embio que podia ser en tal ocasion que antes fuera combeniencia el embiarle teniendo alli abrigo seguro por que aunque saliera de alli a prinçipios de Henero podia pasar por el situado a Mexico porque quando llegase a la altura es ya casi primavera y no tiempo de muchas tormentas en aquellas mares con que en breve y seguro llegara a Capulco esto pudiera ser de combeniencia en ocasion de arivada de invernada ó de falta de nao ó para llevar algun aviso de inportancia que si se allase seguridad de abrigo algunas veçes se remitiera con quieto y sin tanto reçelo haviendo alli Españoles.

Y si introducida esta reducion se esprimentasen nuevas dificultades ó imposibilidad en conservarla ó ser de ningun util a lo espiritual que es el prinçipal Intento en la primera nao que pasase con el situado se podian todos bolber a Manila sin que la retirada fuese de algun gasto del Real haver.

La conveniència que pudiera haver de esta reduçion una vez asentada con escolta de Españoles fuera en caso que se allara puerto en parte acomodada ó modo como ayudando el arte a la naturaleza se hiçiese en alguna ensenada o caleta de tierra adonde pudiesen surgir y dar fondo las naos de aquella carrera porque en biendo los pilotos entablado los bientos contrarios que de ordinario travajan a las naos antes y despues de estas Islas se podian recojer allí asta que abonase el tiempo con que se ebitaran la mortandad [sic] y travajos que se padeçen causado todo de la detencion[,] las arribadas otra vez a Manila y inbernadas en Acapulco por llegar tarde y aunque llegasen falta de bituallas y desarboladas introduçida esta reduçion no faltara con el tiempo provision para una y dos naos en tantas Islas ni jarçia y arboles siendo tan poblada dellos y no difiçiles de botar al agua y aun fabricas se podia benir hacer de navios.

Con esta escala si se allase posible que pareçe serlo en diez y siete Islas sin otras muchas açia el norte no savidas en cuyo paraje qualquiera puerto bueno fuera escala para las naos quando van, se aseguravan el serviçio de las naos los situados las ganancias de los mercaderes y los derechos reales todos los años sin quiebra ninguna porque en una arivada todo esto se pierde y en una invernada poco menos porque aunque no se pierden derechos Reales se añade el gasto de un año con la gente de mar en Acapulco porque haviendo escala segura en estas Islas aunque llegasen tarde [a] Acapulco podian salir de allí a mediado de Junio y detenerse en Ladrones hasta primero de Henero o mediado de Diziembre desde a donde por todo un mes podian entrar en Manila con toda seguridad de tormentas y a tiempo de poderse carenar para salir otra vez aquel año [a] Acapulco ó a Ladrones si fuese neçesario: si en estas Islas hubiera puerto para las naos de aquella carrera es comun sentir de todos que por solo esta conveniència estubiera ya presidiado de los Españoles porque de esta escala se siguieran para aquellas naos las conveniencias que tienen flotas y galeones de la de la Abana [sic].

Otra conveniència podia haver de la reduçion de estas Islas y es que desde ellas no es difiçil con un patache fuerte y armado penetrar viento a popa o con los contrastes de la altura los secretos del seno Mendocino que comienza desde la Tartaria oriental que esta sobre Japon, y remata en las costas de California que haze fronte a las Islas de Ladrones el qual intento se le imposibilitaron los vientos contrarios a Juan Vizcaino que con tres vageles, intento aberiguarlos suviendo y no pudiendo pasar de quarenta y dos grados de altura de la parte de la Merica [sic] se vio obligado a bolber al puerto donde havia salido cuio derrotero traen consigo los pilotos de Manila.

Y assi mismo dividiendo a la Asia de la Merica como el de Magallanes en el polo antartico la divide de la tierra incognita el padre Martin Martinez de la Compañia de Jhs en su adelante Sinico al fin del libro tratando de las Islas de los Ladrones a quien llama Tartaricas refiere que la primera dellas a la parte del norte esta en quarenta grados de altura y tan vezina al reyno de Yeso ultima tierra de Japon y continente con la tierra firme de la Tartaria que los isleños van con sus embarcaciones a comerçiar con los Japones del reyno de Yeso como lo vio un Padre de la Compañia residente en aquel reyno de Yeso antes de la persecucion.

*Segun esta relacion la ultima Isla de Ladrones no puede estar mui distante de la tierra firme de la Tartaria ni de Cavo que por aquella parte da principio el seno Mendocino en cuyo espacio ponen las Cartas de la carrera de Manila a Mexico dos Islas una en treinta o treinta y dos grados de altura treçientas leguas de Ladrones y otra en quarenta grados poco mas seiscientas leguas de aquellas islas con nonbres de **Rrica de Platta** por la abundancia que la fama a dibulgado ay en ellas destos metales pero no se el fundamento porque asta aora no ay notiçia que hombre aya puesto el pie en ellas.*

Las personas que yo tengo notiçia puedan informar de estas islas son Don Savinia-no Manrique de Lara[,] los PP. Definitores Frai Isidro Rodriguez Agustino y Fray Juan Polanco Dominico que am pasado por alli dos vezes y an visto estos Isleños.

Luis Pimentel.

Translation.

Report of Father Luis Pimentel, Procurator of his Province of the Philippine Islands of the Society of Jesus, about the advantages and disadvantages there may be with the reduction to our holy Catholic Faith of the Islands they call the Ladrones.

Obeying what Y.M. was pleased to order me to inform about:

I declare that everything that Father Diego Luis de San Vitores of my Order and Admiral Estevan Ramos in their Reports, concerning the docility of the Indians of the Islands of the Ladrones, the great lack of any religion, and lack of the vices that affect other nationalities in these parts, I attest them to be true and have heard them be told the same way by persons who were in those islands at the time of the shipwreck of the galleon **Concepción** in the year 1638, and I have no doubt of the ease of subjecting them to the yoke of the holy Gospel and piety of Y.M., as these natives are so peaceful and fond of Spaniards, as they have shown it every year when the galleons of that run pass by there, and as was experienced on the occasion of the shipwreck when the Spanish were not only well received but were given two canoes and the supplies to allow them to pass that expanse of sea of over 300 leagues as far as Manila, an act that demonstrates the natural mercy of their souls, since neither fear nor interest was at stake.

For these reasons all the subjects of Y.M. and of all the states that have passed by those Islands have an affection for these Islanders and wish to see them become Christians. And, notwithstanding the fact that in the last 100 years their reduction was never undertaken, and remained as wishful plans. I believe that such inaction was caused by the following reasons:

[1.] For the extreme poverty of these Islands and such misery that they do not even have anything with which to clothe themselves; their ordinary food is fish from the sea that abounds. And although they sow **rice**, raise chickens and coconuts [sic]¹ that, they

1 Ed. note: I think Fr. Pimentel was thinking about chicken eggs here, rather than coconuts. The origin of the word cocoa-nut, or coconut, in English are the Latin words "coco" and "cocum", and the Italian equivalent that Pigafetta made famous.

say, were given to them by the Spanish, everything is in small numbers and limited on account of their being more inclined to fishing than cultivating the land. Even arable land does not seem to amount to much, for the 17 [sic] islands known to the Spanish are small, full of ravines and gullies, and, although in some the inlands the low hills can be cultivated, in others there are volcanoes, and all the inhabited islands have their settlements upon the shores. I do not doubt that the grains, fruits, seeds, the cotton and hemp used by many Indians in the Philippines to make clothing, and the animals raised there [Philippines] will also produce abundantly there [Ladrones] as those islands are very similar to those of Manila in climate and frequency of the rains, and that once those islanders have been taught by the Filipinos they will be able to have in abundance what they lack today. And although the above reason is calculated more to move the clemency of Y.M. to offering protection to these poor peoples, one cannot deny that the conservation of spiritual things depends much on material things. I have no doubt either about the truth of what the report say to the effect that all the difficulties would be overcome, if only there could be found there the [material] gain that brings so many to the Indies. In accordance with the extreme poverty of these Islands, and the notices that have been obtained about them, there does not seem to be at present any convenience, either for the king or for his subjects, other than the conversion to the holy Gospel of those souls that are found in extreme necessity and easy to reduce.

The **second reason** has been that a port where large vessels can anchor has not yet been discovered there. Because, although some say that land shelters, inlets or coves exist, either they are not deep or else, if they can protect from one wind, they are open to others, therefore it is not possible to anchor there with a rather large vessel without manifest danger of getting lost.

The **third reason** is the difficulty of that [direct] navigation from Manila to the Ladrones, from where it is necessary to go out during the season of the monsoon winds and contrary winds that usually prevent the [outbund] galleons before or after having passed these Islands for two, three, four and sometimes five months, because this run is so laborious, with so many deaths, returns in distress to Manila and winterings in Acapulco for they arrive late. So, with these galleons that go out to Mexico for the subsidy, in spite of willingness to do so, it was not feasible to undertake this reduction, much less to preserve it, because they go fully loaded and at time periods when there is little safety from storms. And given that there is no lack of currents in those Islands, they could not always come close to them nor stop over near the land without great risk. Furthermore, on the way out, they do not follow a fixed route; rather, the pilots go not where they want but where the wind bends them. So, in some voyages the galleons pass by 12° of latitude, and in others by 14°, changing course from year to year, even passing as high as 38° of latitude, so much so that when it happens that they pass within the range of 12° to 18°, if the weather is favorable, the islanders do come out with their regular refreshment to trade for the iron given to them by the galleons.

If the spiritual salvation of these souls were to move the merciful breast of Y.M. to undertake this reduction, it seems proper that it originates from Manila and not from

Mexico, because, as some Indians must accompany the Spanish, none are more appropriate for the purpose than those of the Philippines, specially the Tagalogs and Pampangos, as they are good Christians without a trace of idol worship and with a character very similar to these Islanders, according to references made of them. Also, even the languages are similar, reason for which those who have been there have learned the language of those natives quickly, and as those of Manila are usually fluent in the Spanish language, they can be of great help to the ministers in indoctrinating those Indians and to teach them that language. There is yet another advantage; it is that among the Indians of Manila there can be found all sorts of tradesmen, such as blacksmiths, weavers, carpenters, and other necessary trades, for the service of the Spanish and to act as teachers of those Islanders so ignorant in everything that, before they had contact with Spaniards, they did not even know that with fire one could master iron.¹

In such a case, it would be necessary not only to take along Spanish and Indians to show an example and teach civilization, as the report says, but also to man a garrison with firearms, because, although these Islanders may be as docile as they say they are, they are barbarians, lack constancy, and are rooted in customs since childhood. Although their customs might not be so at odds with the customs of other heathens, they are bound to have some that are opposed to reason, which has become obscured in them. Ordinarily, they are not governed by reason, but by fear. In the end, they will make use of bow and arrow to defend themselves, if an opportunity is offered them without risk to themselves,² as it is possible that some mishap or encounter might take place among the Spanish, or Indians, themselves, or between them and the Islanders. It is one thing to dominate them; it is another to live among them, submissive, but at their mercy. However, until proof to the contrary, it was out of their good character that **the Indians did not kill the Spanish or make them slaves, when they resided among them as a result of the shipwreck** [of 1638], a deed that could not have been dictated by fear, but by affection or force of kindness in their characters. And, because it could be that there are **sorcerers** among them; it would not be the first time that the Devil uses such an instrument to perturb some Christian communities.³ Therefore, for all such eventualities an armed troop might be necessary to secure the lives of those who will go and the lives of those who will have been reduced.

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- 1 Ed. note: This statement is correct; some writers, however, misunderstood the idea and erred when they reported that the natives did not know about fire. Before the shipwreck of the *Concepción* in 1638, the Ladrones natives could not have seen a forge in operation. Even Choco, who arrived 10 years later, took up blacksmithing to earn a good living, working the iron that the natives kept getting from passing galleons.
 - 2 Ed. note: This statement obviously did not apply to the Ladrones, but to heathen Filipino tribes. The natives of the Marianas were never reported by eyewitnesses to have possessed bows and arrows. The author had meant to use the general word “weapons”.
 - 3 Ed. note: Fr. Pimentel’s knowledge of the related tribes of the Philippines led him to make an accurate forecast of events. The sorcerers of the Ladrones were called “macana” in the local language.

For the conveyance of these men, ministers and everything they will need, to a place where everything is missing, it seems that it was necessary to have a patache just for that purpose. Because, although the navigation from Manila to the Ladrones is so laborious, as it must necessarily be done during the moonsoon season, more stormy in those parts, the patache has one advantage over the galleons to make this voyage, as it can sail with a weak wind as it is lighter. The patache that would go to begin that reduction, as it will carry a light load will be even lighter, and for this reason it might go out from Manila one month earlier than the regular departure of the galleons that need fresher and stronger winds, so that it would arrive at the Ladrones earlier and thus avoid the stormy season that lasts from July to January. With luck it might make it in 15 days and, since it requires less depth than a galleon [to anchor], it might be made secure more easily. I suppose that there exists a shelter safe from all winds in those Islands for a patache, as Admiral Estevan Ramos leads us to believe that a patache would make the execution of this decision easier, because otherwise it would not be easy, and maybe not even safe, because the lack of shelter from the monsoon winds would mean a certain loss, or much suffering at sea fighting with the waves. Even though the weather might allow the disembarkation of the people, before pulling out to sea again, such an event would be a great discouragement for everyone, leaving them insecure and not yet fortified, and returning without news of their success.

However, the one who has to carry out the merciful orders of Y.M., in case you should agree to carry out this reduction, is the Governor of Manila and there are persons there who knew about these Islands. He should send there, if at all possible, the most appropriate pilot, to a specific Island and specific harbor, where the patache would be able to remain until the foundations of this reduction have been established, with a fort, though it be only made of wood.

Once this reduction has been introduced, it will be easy for the galleons that necessarily pass by there when they return from Acapulco to leave them weapons or flour, wine for masses on the account of the stipends of the ministers and salary of the soldiers, that could be drawn in Mexico for this purpose, and partly in silver for things that they must bring from Manila. Similarly, from time to time, new soldiers and Indians could replace those who have first entered there, and the latter would pass on to the succor of Manila; this way, life in those faraway places would not be so bothersome for them, and they could hope to leave one day. Even the ministers could leave, if the climate turned out to be bad for them, or they became sick; they could easily return to Manila, leaving others in their places when the mission bands pass, or their replacements could be sent from Mexico.

And on the occasions that the galleons are on their way to Acapulco and their route should take them within the range of 12° to 18° through those Islands, they could leave clothing and white cloth, and get refreshment in return, but many times it will not be possible, given the contingency of not being able to pass within that range.

The cost in preserving this, being sufficient for now as they affirm 20 Spanish, 30 Indians and 4 ministers, it seems to me that they could not at present cost that much, spec-

ially if the expenses are on the account of the ordinary subsidy of the Philippines without having to add something new to the Royal Treasury. This reduction could [also] be charged to that republic [of Manila] from the [former] account of Ternate (now available) where they maintained 1,500 active military positions, Indian and Spanish soldiers, and for their succor every year a patache was outfitted along with 6 and even as many as 8 Chinese vessels, and some times the galleons of the regular run went there to convoy the patache and the Chinese vessels, with much silver, soldiers, necessary food supplies, clothing, war supplies, ammunition, and other necessities for those fortresses, now that such things no longer exist as those fortresses have been abandoned and the ministers who were there, who were always getting their stipends from the Royal Treasury. A garrison of 60 men and 4 ministers cannot be much of a burden upon that republic. The [construction of the] fort cannot cost anything, given that they must do it with the help of the Islanders; if they receive them with pleasure, it will be easy to get them to help doing it.

The major expense will be that of the patache and the first despatch. It could be that on this occasion there may not yet be the convenience of a safe port for it, so that it could [be planned that it should] go out from there at the beginning of January in order to go and get the subsidy from Mexico, because when it reaches [maximum] latitude, it is already almost spring-time and not the season of many storms in those seas. Therefore, it could reach Acapulco quickly and safely. This could be convenient on the occasion of a return in distress in the winter-time also, or the failure of a galleon, or to carry some important advice. If a safe harbor can be found, some advice boats could be sent with calm and without worry, as Spaniards will be found there.

And if, once this reduction is done, new difficulties arise or it becomes impossible to maintain it, or it turns out to be of no spiritual use (which is the main objective), the first galleon to pass with the subsidy can carry off all of them and take them to Manila, without the withdrawal costing anything to the Royal Treasury.

One possible advantage of having this reduction, once it has been established with an escort of Spanish [soldiers], would be in case a port is found in a naturally-suitable bay or one is artificially built in a bay or inlet, where the galleons of that run could come in and anchor, because, when the pilots see that the contrary winds, that usually make the galleons wallow before and after having passed these Islands, have settled in, they could fall back there until the weather improves. This way the mortality and hardships that are suffered, all due to the detention, the returns in distress to Manila, and the winterings in Acapulco caused by late arrival. Although they might arrive without any food supplies left and dismayed, once this reduction has been established, in time there should be food enough for one or two galleons in so many Islands. There should also be found rigging and trees (there are plenty of those) and it would not be difficult to launch boats, and it might even become possible to establish some ship-building there.

With this port of call, if one is possible (which seems so) in the 17 Islands, not counting the many others lying more to the north, unknown ones,¹ in whose neighborhood a good port could become a port of call for the galleons on their way out, the service of the galleons would be made safer, thus ensuring the subsidies, and profits of the merchants and the royal duties every year without fail, because in just one return in distress all of these are lost, and in one wintering a little less, because, although the royal duties are not lost [in the latter case] there are the added costs of one year's salary for the sailors in Acapulco. Now, with a safe port of call in these Islands, although they may arrive late at Acapulco, they could go out from there in the middle of June and remain in the Ladrones until the first of January or middle of December, from where within one month they could make their entry into Manila in complete safety from storms and with sufficient time for careening the ships before going out again that year to Acapulco, or to the Ladrones, if need be. If there were a port for galleons of that run in these Islands, it is the common belief of everyone that for this advantage alone a Spanish garrison would have been established there already, because from this port of call would be derived for those galleons the advantages that the fleets and galleons find in the port of Havana.

Another advantage could result from the reduction of these Islands and it is that from there it is not difficult with a strong armed patache, either pushed by a wind from the poop, or with the sudden shifts in wind at [high] latitudes, to penetrate the secrets of the Gulf of Mendocino, which begins from eastern Tartaria (above Japan) and ends at the coasts of California that face the Islands of the Ladrones. Such an attempt was made by Juan Vizcaino with three ships² but the contrary winds prevented him from going higher than 42 degrees of latitude on the American side, and he was forced to return to the port [in Japan] from which he had sailed; the Manila pilots carry his rutter with them.

Also, there is a division between Asia and America similar to the Strait of Magellan which divides America from the Unknown Land at the Antarctic Pole. Father Martin Martinez of the Society of Jesus, at the end of his book, when he talks about Chinese progress,³ refers to the Islands of the Ladrones [sic] which he calls Tartaric Islands. He says that the first one at the northern end of the island chain is in 40 degrees of latitude and so close to the Kingdom of Yezo,⁴ the last land of Japan and continent with the mainland of Tartary that the Islanders go with their boats to trade with the Japanese

1 Ed. note: Unknown in this context simply means "seen, but not explored."

2 Ed. note: Three ships, but not at once. Sebastián, not Juan, Vizcaino (Vol. 3).

3 Ed. note: The title of the book was not "Adelante Sinico", as one could imply from this paper, but "Bello Tartarico", as Fr. Sanvitores says in his paper (see Doc. 1663E). The reference here must be to a chapter heading.

4 Ed. note: Yezo was the former name of the Island of Hokkaido, Japan.

of the Kingdom of Yeso, as seen by a Father of the Society residing in that Kingdom of Yeso before the persecution.¹

According to this relation, the last Island of the Ladrones cannot be very distant from the mainland of Tartary or from the cape that on that side marks the starting point of the Gulf of Mendocino, within which the Charts of the Manila-Acapulco run place two Islands, one in 30° or 32° of latitude at 300 leagues from the Ladrones, and the other in a little over 40° at 600 leagues from those Islands, with the names of **Rica de Plata** [and Rica de Oro] on account of the abundance that a rumor has spread regarding the existence in them of these metals, but I do not know upon what basis, because until now there is no notice of a man having stepped ashore in them.

The persons whom I know who might inform about these Islands are Don Saviniano Manrique de Lara, the Fathers Definitors Fray Isidro Rodriguez, Augustinian, and Fray Juan Polanco, Dominican, who have passed by there twice and have seen these Islanders.²

Luis Pimentel.

1 Ed. note: It is obvious by now that the name Ladrones is extended by Fr. Pimentel to apply also to all the islands north of the Marianas. However, Fr. Martinez had been talking about other islands beyond Hokkaido.

2 Ed. note: See Doc. 1667F & G.

Documents 1667F

Report by Fr. Polanco, O.P., about the Ladrones, dated Madrid 17 December 1667

Source: AGI Fil. 82-2-55.

Note: He submits the report that had been asked of him. Fr. Polanco had been in charge of bringing a band of about 36 Dominicans to the Philippines in 1658. He had belonged to the convent of San Pablo in Valladolid. He later became a bishop-elect and was sent to Rome as definitor in 1666, but he also acted as procurator for the Philippines at the Spanish court at Madrid.

F1. Covering letter

Original text in Spanish.

En cumplimiento del orden de el Consejo que V.M. fue servido de comunicarme su noticia, escrivi essos pliegos respondiendo a todos los puntos, segun mi corta capacidad, pero con toda verdad, sin omitir cossa alguna que alcançasse conducir a la materia de la conversion de las Islas de los Ladrones, sobre que se manda informar; la dilacion en responder no a sido culpa de mi obediencia i deseo, sino de la enfermedad que e padecido. Luego que pude execute el orden de el Consejo, i en el servicio de V.M. hare siempre como hago el officio de Cappellan que es lo que puedo, i devo encomendando siempre a su persona, vida, i aciertos a Dios nuestro Señor que guarde la V. Merced como conviene, i todos devemos desear, de esta Hospederia de la Passion.

Madrid i diciembre 17 de 1667.

Siervo, i cappellan de V.M. que s.m.v. [= su mano vesa].

Fr. Juan de Polanco.

[Al] Señor Secretario D. Alonso Fernandez de Lorca.

Translation.

In compliance with the order from the Council that Your Grace was pleased to make me aware of, I wrote those pages in response to all the points, to the best of my short ability, but in all truth, without omitting anything that might lead to the matter of the

conversion of the Islands of the Ladrones, regarding which I was ordered to report. The delay in answering was not failure to obey on my part, but due to the sickness that I suffered. As soon as I could, I carried out the order of the Council, and in the service of Y.G. I will always do my best, as I do now my function of Chaplain, and I must continue to commend your person, life, and successes to God our Lord.

May He keep Your Grace as convenient, and we must all wish to be so.

From this Hospice of the Passion, Madrid, 17 December 1667.

Fr. Juan de Polanco.

[To] the Lord Secretary, Don Alonso Fernandez de Lorca.

F2. The report itself

Original text in Spanish.

Informe que haze de orden del Consejo el Padre Fr. Juan de Polanco, Procurador General de la orden de Santo Domingo, de Filipinas, sobre la reduzion de la Isla de los Ladrones.

A tres puntos se reduce el informe que me manda haçer el Real, i supremo Consejo de las Indias en orden a la reduçion, i conversion a la Fee catholica de las Islas que llaman de los Ladrones, i que se trate con efecto de ella sin dilatar mas el tiempo.

El primer punto es, que diga mi parecer con vista de los motivos que propone el Padre Diego Luis de S. Vitores de la Compañia de Jessus; el segundo, que proponga las conveniençias o inconvenientes que de haçerse dicha conversion se pueden seguir al servicio de Dios, i de Su Magd. que Dios guarde; el tercero, que def[ni]jera los medios que se me ofreçen i que con mayor façilidad se pueden aplicar para el mejor logro de dicha conversion.

[Point 1]

Obedeçiendo con el rendimiento que devo el orden de el Consejo, dire lo que alcanço en todos tres puntos discurriendolos por su orden. En el primero, de que diga mi parecer, hallo el camino más llano para la resolucion, porque la materia de conversiones assi en todas las Indias como en Philipinas, segun la obligacion, i cargo con que Su Magd. que Dios guarde es Señor de ellas, tiene primer lugar entre todas las otras cosas de su gobierno, i ninguna se prefiere a la publicacion i ampliacion de la ley evangelica, las raçones que juntan los auctores tratando aun de la generalidad de las conversiones persuadir esta verdad, i los motivos que propone el Padre Diego Luis de S. Vitores convencen a que luego se apliquen todos los medios posibles para que con effecto se haga la de los Ladrones; los que a mi se me ofreçen proponer al Consejo son los siguientes:

El Doctor D. Juan de Solorçano en el tomo 2, cap. 16, numº 12, resuelve con otros auctores que tiene Su Magd. obligacion de rigurossa justiçia commutativa, a haçer nuevas conversiones en nuevas Provinçias de Gentiles en las Indias, fundandose en que con este cargo, pacto, i obligacion las conçeðieron los Romanos Pontifiçes a los Reyes Cath-

olicos, i siendo como es cierto este principio, se infiese claramente que es mas estrecha la obligacion para que se trate, i haga la conversion de las Islas de los Ladrones de que por henero de 1565 tomo posesion el Cappitan Miguel Lopez de Legaspi en nombre de el Señor Rey Phelipe Segundo que esta en gloria i Su Magd. la azepto haciendole adelantado de ellas.

A esta raçon atendia el zelo, i catholica determinacion de el Señor Rey Phelipe Segundo quando entre las otras ordenanças que dispusso para el Real Consejo de las Indias mando por puesto todo otro respecto de interes, i aprovechamiento para su corona, se tubiese por principal cuidado la conversion, i doctrina de los Indios, i que con todas fuerças, i entendimiento se ocupase el Consejo en proveer todos los medios neçesarios para que se convirtiesen el conocimiento de Dios, honrra, i alavança de su santo nombre, i en esta parte de tanta obligacion, dijo, cumplir con ella dejando al Consejo la satisfacion con quien descargava, i como descargo su conçiencia.

Es Su Magd. que Dios guarde Señor de las Islas de los Ladrones i sus moradores i siendo tan catholico que es su mayor blason, no dice bien que tenga vassallos gentiles pudiendolos sacar de su gentilidad, i como catholico deve dar ministros, i leyes catholicas a sus vassallos, por que la republica de su Rey Catholico se engrandeçe dentro de la iglessia, i no fuera de ella.

I haçe mas fuerça la raçon de el titulo porque es universal para todos, esso quiere decir catholico conforme a la religion i fee universal que professa i assi devida es al nombre, i religion de nuestro mundo si fuera posible, i ya que no alcança el poder a tanto, se deve extender a sus Reynos i vassallos.

Apuntare otros motivos que aun que no lleguen al rigor de justicia son decentissimos a la piedad, i grandeça de Su Magd. que Dios guarde:

El primero por agradeçido a Dios, pues al passo de los dones corre la obligacion de el agradeçimiento i aviendo dado Dios a su Magd. un imperio tan extendido que abraça de oriente a poniente haciendole señor de el por la conversion de las almas que es lo que Dios mas estima, obligado estas su Magd a que sus vassallos den culto, i veneracion a Dios bolviendole mejorada, i con ganancias la tierra que le entrego.

El segundo: por ser su Magd. tan superior miembro de la Iglessia, reverentissimo a su caveca Xpto deve imitarle en procurar ampliarla i extenderla como Xpto nuestro Redemptor dio la vida por ella derramando su sangre fuente perenne de sacramentos universales para todos, i despues de su muerte invio ministros de el evangelio para que le predicasen en todo el mundo, i le redugesen a la verdadera religion Xptiana; a imitacion suya, tiene obligacion su Magd. a haçer todo esfuerço con caudal, i ministros evangelicos para la conversion de los Gentiles, i expeçialmente de los que Dios le a encargado el cuidado, i dado el dominio, con que se aumentara la iglesia porque tanto trabajo Xpto.

El tercero: por piedad, i charidad, pues para que obliguen estas virtudes basta el ser la desdicha de los miserables de las Islas de los Ladrones la summa de las miserias que da voces a la compasion, i que se procure socorrer con enseñanza, i doctrina sacandolos de el miserable estado de su gentilidad.

El quarto por espeçial satisfaçion a Dios, pues en tiempos que esta corona a estado tan perseguida a echo nuestro Señor espeçiales favores a nuestros catholicos Reyes reprimiendo el orgullo de sus enemigos quando pareçe se desconfiava el de todos los medios humanos, i estos benefiçios no se satisfaçen mejor que con las conversiones de infieles que son summamente agradables a Dios; i para pedir su ajuda contra las amenazas de la corono i esperar buenos suçessos, no ai medio mas poderoso que dar almas a Dios, pues si el Rey de la tierra travaja en acreçentar el Reyno de el çielo, es cierto que el Rey de el çielo lo cuidara de augmentar i conservar los Reynos que a entregado à los Reyes de la tierra.

El quinto: porque la conquista de las Indias, i Philipinas con las otras tierras que caen dentro de la demarcaçion, la conçeçio Dios a los Reyes catholicos de España, como deduçen muchos auctores de la sagrada escritura, pareciendoles que por particular inspiraçion se la adjudico la Sanctidad de Alexandro Sexto, i que fue conforme a derecho natural, i Divino: i es cierto que el aver dado Dios a los Reyes catholicos de España el dominio de dichos Reynos no fue prinçipalmente por lo temporal de ellos, sino para que se ganasen almas sacando a aquellas gentes de la barbaridad, i horribles viçios que tenian, i tienen, convirtiendolas a la obediencia de el verdadero Dios, i religion xptiana. De que se deduçe que deve su Magd. como Rey catholico de España, i segun las leyes de obediencia a Dios executar su voluntad, seguir sus impulsos, i tratar de la conversion de aquellas almas que le encargo Dios, i deço por su quenta; i pareçe que los Reynos de las Indias se aseguran con las conversiones de infieles, pues con ellas se ganaron, i assi con ellas se deven conservar, i en faltando, se puede temer se acaven, i destruiian.

Ultimamente de mandar su Magd. se haga la conversion de las Islas de los Ladrones se le sigue, i añade una singular gloria, pues le escoge Dios para executar los medios de la predestinaçion eterna de los que tiene predestinados en aquellas Islas, que sin duda tendra muchos, i pareçe que a llegado el tiempo en que se execute i mejor pareçer en la corona Real almas ganadas para el çielo que las joyas mas preçiosas de la tierra.

I assi me pareçe que se deve ajudar a los buenos intentos del Padre Luis de S. Victores, i que les motivos que propone a su Magd. que Dios guarde los dicto con mucha charidad, verdad, i zelo, i que la instançia que haçe la ocasion pressente por aver piloto pratico, i algunos Indios que an estado en dichas Islas de los Ladrones, persuade a que no se dilate mas el inviar a ellas ministros que con fervor evangelico les lleven el nombre de Xpto, i les prodiguen su santa ley, con que se promete una abundante cosecha de almas para Dios, i basallos catholicos para su Magd., esto es lo que me pareçe en cumplimiento de el primer punto.

[Point 2].

En el segundo punto, de que diga las conveniencias, o inconvenientes, que de haçerse dicha mision, i conversion de los dichos Ladrones se pueden seguir al serviçio de Dios, i de su Magd; se me ofreçe dar muestra, i notiçia de dichas Islas, i sus moradores, con

una breve descripción formada por la experiencia, i noticias que e podido alcanzar de todo.

*Estan las Islas de los Ladrones treçientas leguas de la Ciudad de Manila, dos mil, i quinientas la distancia de unas a otras es mui corta, anse reconocido desde once grados a la parte de el norte, hasta treinta, i dos[.] navegando con el Almirante Esteban Ramos, nos obligaron los vientos a correr hasta mas de treinta i tres grados al norte, sin que en espacio de tres meses las pudiesemos montar para haçer viage a la N^a España. El temple es apaçible, i mas favorable para la vida, i salud que el de Manila, i sus Provincias, son mas, o menos calientes segun se arriman al norte, i se apartan de el sur[.] muchas de ellas son pequeñas de ocho, doçe, i catorçe leguas de vox, i menos; ai otras mayores, i la que llaman la Çarpana tiene mas de sesenta o setenta leguas[.] por la parte de el sur, no se a descubierto su prinçipio, por la de el norte se aveçindan con el Japon, i algunos diçen que confinan con la Tartaria, lo qual indica la barbaridad de sus Isleños que en costumbres, i religion son algo semejantes a los Tartaros que viven en quarenta i dos, i mas grados al norte fuera de el Reyno de la Gran China: tienen dichas Islas variedad de rios, lagos, i lagunas grandes, i hermosos montes que se registran por de fuera, hasta aora no se save si ai minas de oro, plata o otros metales. Lo cierto es que ai en los montes variedad de animales, pero no ai cavallos, ni bueyes, ni animales de çerda, ni otro genero de ganado domestico, tampoco ai trigo, pero si se lleva i siembra pareçe produçira con fertilidad[.] ai **arroz**, i si la sementera es abundante sera abundante la cosecha como en Philipinas pues son semejantes las influencias, i terreno; ai gallinas como las de España, mucho pescado, batatas, gengibre, muchos plantanos que es fruta mui agradable al gusto, i muchos cocos; ai çierto genero de que tuerçen hilo grueso, i cordeles mui fuertes los Indios, i con ellos atan sus embarcaçiones, i los pertrechos de cañas que ponen en ellas, i les sirven para otros usos: discurrese que abra cantidad de ambar como en otras Islas de Manila i pareçe que la çercania, i vatidero que el mar haçe en las de los Ladrones lo promete i que tambien abra mucha çera en los montes como en los de Manila, hasta aora no se puede asegurar con çerteça.*

[Description of the natives]

*La gente de dichas Islas es membruda, i mui robusta, mas blanca que la de las Islas Philipinas, en la facçion del rostro parecida a los Europeos, andan todos desnudos de pies a caveça asi hombres como mugeres, aunque algunas enseñadas de la verguença natural cubren los secretos de la honestidad con algunas hojas, o pedaços de cuero, i en una ocasion traia una de ellas una lamina que avia avido de el naufragio que tubo en dichas Islas la nao de la pura **Conçepcion** en el gobierno de D. Sebastian Hurtado de Corcuera, i con ella tapava el horror de su desnudes, i defendia su recato. Los hombres se afeitan a navaja todo el cuerpo, sin dejarse barvas, ni cavello, sino es en la coronilla, o cima de la caveça, i esse corto; las mugeres le traen largo, todo lo que les creçe, i tendido sin otro aliño mas que el que les dio la naturaleza.*

Los entendimientos no pareçen de boçales, porque quando salen a nuestras naos a trocar por hierro los generos que tienen conçiernan con raçon, muestranles de nuestras

naos un cuchillo, una hacha de partir leña, un puñal, o un pedaço de hierro, i ellos aviendo visto lo que es muestras desde sus envarcaciones, un poco de arroz, un obillo de hilo, un petate, o estera, un pescado, o otra cossa i si el Español se detiene en tirarle lo que les muestra, añaden mas a lo que antes ofreçian, i si el Español se detiene mas, i a ellos les parece conveniente añadir añaden, i si no dejan caer en la embarcacion lo que ofreçian, dando a entender que no daran mas, i con estas señas sin entenderse palabra se ajusta el conçierto, dandoles el Español lo que a vista de ojos les promete, primero que ellos suelten lo que dan en trueque, i porque suçede muchas veçes que no se dan por entendidos de la paga de lo que reçivieron, i se quedan con ella, les llamaron los Españoles los Ladrones, i se an quedado con este nombre hasta aora, i fuera bueno desterrar la infamia de el nombre de sus Islas i que no se llamasen de los Ladrones, sino con otro nombre de mejor calidad i nota, o con el de las Islas de las Velas como se llamaron por el Cappitan Magallanes que fue el primero que las descubrio, despues que por la vanda de el sur descubrio, i passo el famosso estrecho de su nombre.

En lo politico son barvaros[.] no tienen Rey, ni otra caveça sino la que lo es de una parentela ni tienen leyes algunas sino que cada uno vive como quiere[.] no tienen, ni usan moneda, haçen sus comerçios entre si, i las unas islas con otras a trueque de los generos que tienen[.] entre ellas suele aver algunas guerras; usan ondas por armas, i varas tostadas en que son diestros tiradores; no se si tambien usan de arco, i flecha[.] las cassas son altas con pilares de piedra en que exceden a las que tienen otros indios assi de la America, como de la Asia; usan para las camas unos petates, o esteras que labran con aseo i primor de ojas que parecen de palma, sin otra ropa que les cubra, i pueden servir para otros usos[.] tambien hacen de la misma materia unos sombrerillos con dos alas, atras, i adelante, i cubren la caveça con ellos aprietanlos por devajo de la barba con dos cordeles pendientes al lado derecho, i izquierdo[.] son mui dados a la pesca, i con ella se sustentan. para haçerla tienen unas embarcaciones de a doçe, diezi-seis, i viente pies de largo, i uno i medio de ancho, son de un madero las mas, i las que no, atan sus tablas con el hilo fuerte, que como digo, tienen; dan les un betun colorado mui vistosso, atraviesanles unas cañas i con ellas navegan sin peligro de hundirse, aunque a cada passo se llevan de agua.

No son borrachos, ni usan genero alguno de vino, no tienen mas que una muger, i la dejan, o ella se va por leves caussas, tienen unas cassas de comunidad adonde acuden las donçellas, i las que an dejados sus maridos antes de bolverse a cassar, i en viniendo de su pesca por las tardes, los solteros se van a dicha cassa, i en ella se juntan cada uno con la que escogef[.] i de alli salen cassados sin mas çeremonias, ni contrato que irse la muger con el varon a su cassa. tienen los mançebos señalado tiempo para casarse, i en el no solo pueden ir a dicha cassa de comunidad, sino que pueden entrar libremente en las otras cassas de los cassados, i estar con sus mugeres sin ser castigados, i con dejar una vara a la puerta, aunque sea el propio marido no puede entrar[.] no tienen otras riqueças, ni bienes mas que los frutos referidos entre los quales el mayor, i que mas estiman, i en que se ocupan es la pesca[.] estiman tambien mucho el hierro, assi labrado como por labrar; sirveles para fabricar sus embarcaciones, i cassas, i afeitar los cuer-

pos. son tambien aficionadas a cossas de cristal i de poco momento[.] el dote de las mugeres es una estera pequeña bien labrada, i una olla para cozer el pescado, i algunas iervas, i estos trastos buelve consigo quando se aparta de su marido; avorreçen mucho a los Olandeses por haver muerto a muchos, i maltratado a otros una nao que llevo a sus Islas, i echo gente en tierra para reconozer lo que avia en ellas, en ocasion que esperaba la nao de Philipinas de buelta de la N^a España para apresarla por ser tiempo de guerras: a los Españoles les aman con demostraciones de mucho amor por lo bien que lo haçen con ellos quando pasan por sus Islas. Luego que los Ladrones ven nuestras naos salen a reconozerlas, i distinguiendo por los corredores que traen que no son de Olandeses, levantan la voz con mucha algaçara, i alegria, i rrepite continuamente esta voz **morri** que significa amigo. Tambien an echo buen pasage, i acogida a los Españoles que por caussa de el naufragio estuvieron entre ellos, i en el desconçierto que tienen en su republica viven en paz como si fuera conçertada.

En la religion son mui poco, o nada dados a ella. Tres espeçies de idolatria refiere Marco Varron, distinguio S. Augustin, i explico Santo Tomas que an cundido por el mundo: a la primera llamaron natural, porque con ella se adoravan las cossas naturales como son el çielo, sol, luna, estrellas, elementos, montes, valles, arboles, piedras, i animales: a la segunda llamaron çivil por aver sido estableçida por las republicas, ciudades, i sus gobernadores que mandaron adorar a los idolos de oro, plata, metal, piedras, i madera: la terçera se llama fabulossa con que adoravan, i se adora a los hombres malos, i a los difuntos dandoles Divinidad, i privilegios de Dioses. En la Asia ai oi todas estas tres espeçies de idolatria, i en la gran China an creçido tanto que parece deposito de todos los errores, i con tener tantos los Chinos no llegan a los que tienen los Japones porque estos son mas inclinados a las Se[ç]tas. En las Islas de los Ladrones, no se an conoçido hasta oi las dos primeras espeçies de idolatria, ni templos de idolos, ni altares, ni idolos que adoren en los montes; en la terçer espeçie deve de aver algunos errores porque segun tengo notiçia temen muchos a sus difuntos, i juzgan que los pueden castigar, i se presume tendran echiçerias, i tratos con el demonio, pues parece çierto que para tenerlos sugetos, i rendidos como hasta aora los a tenido, se abra valido de las prisiones, i carceles de su tirania, i essas las fabrica quitando el culto devido a Dios, i usurpandole para si mismo.

Esto es lo que e podido saber hasta aora de las Islas de los Ladrones, i conforme a estas notiçias parece seran tan mayores las conveniençias que de haçerse esta mision se siguen al serviçio de Dios, i de su Magd. que los inconvenientes que puede aver: siguense las conveniençias al serviçio de Dios por lo dicho en el punto primero, i porque la gente de dichas Islas aunque no tiene çeremonias morales, no esta arraigada en idolatrias, i no estan boçal que con el exemplo, paçiençia, i doctrina de los ministros no se pueda reduçir a poliçia, i buena christiandad. La experiençia a enseñado que otras naçiones de peores costumbres, i de poco menor barbaridad estan oi sugetas al evangelio, i obediènçia de su Magd. assi en la N^a España como en Philipinas en donde los religiosos de Santo Domingo an reduçido parte de los barbaros indios que llaman Zambales, la Provincia de Pangasinan, i los Cagayanes, sin mas fuerça de armas que las de el Evange-

lio: estas empresas mas se miden con el poder i saver de Dios que se regulan por prudencia humana, i no es temeridad haçerlo assi pues tiene Dios asegurado su aiuda a los que por su serviçio tomaren este trabajo.

[Note in margin:] **3º Conbeniencias.**

A su Magd. se pueden seguir importantes conveniencias, aunque de antemano nada se puede asegurar hasta que la experiencia lo certifique, lo que parece se puede discurrir con la esperanza, es que en dichas Islas podra aver mucho trigo, i todo genero de animales que ai en las de Manila, sino ai descuido en passar alla su generacion, i que procuraran con mucho aumento porque las Islas parecen mui apropósito, i que abraçera al pressente en los montes i ambar en las riveras de el mar, i otros generos que ayuden al comerçio, i a pagar la costa que aora se hiçiere en inviar alla gente, i ministros, tambien puede ser se halle conveniencia de fabricar alli naos, pues ai buenos montes, i en algunas ocasiones las a fabricado Manila en el Reyno de Camboja que esta tan distante, por hallar conveniencias de menos gastos en ello: Y si se descubre buen puerto, es conveniencia tan importante que por solo ella se devian executar los intentos de esta conversion, porque los mayores daños, i menoscavos que se an seguido a la republica de Manila los an ocasionado las arribadas de naos que por la contrariedad de los vientos, despues de seis i ocho messes que an estado en el mar, no an podido haçer viage a la Nª España, i si hubiera puerto descubierto en las Islas de los Ladrones, siempre se pudieran abrigar en el, i esperar vientos favorables, con que en ningun año se dejare de haçer viage. Tambien, dichas naos, quando buelven de la Nª España, en demanda de las Islas de Manila suelen mui de ordinario no poder entrar en sus puertos, a causa de aver entrado los vientos vendabales que lo contradixen, i como no tienen a donde recurrir, forcejan, i se empeñan con mucho riesgo, i son mui pocas las veçes que no padeçen muchos daños, i se an perdido muchas, i siempre corre el riesgo de perderse en adelante: i si hubiera puerto en las Islas de los Ladrones le pudieran tomar siempre, i abrigarse en el hasta que pasasen los vendabales que tienen tiempos determinados en que vientan, i passados, pueden haçer su viage a Manila sin perdida, riesgo, ni peligro.

[Note in margin:] **Inconbenientes.**

Los inconvenientes que esto puede tener tanpoco se pueden asegurar, porque no sabemos fijamente si los de las Islas de los Ladrones reçiviran mal a los Españoles, i tomaran las armas que tienen contra ellos, i si aprovechara la predicacion con fruto considerable, i si la tierra tiene o no tiene otros frutos de mas provecho que los pocos que al pressente se conoçen, i quedan referidos.

El inconveniente de gastos neçesarios para que se haga aora esta conversion, no parece que la deve atrasar, porque para un patache que es neçessario veinte, i cinco Españoles, i veinte, i cinco indios de los de Manila, y haçer un fuerte pequeño de piedra, o madera que baste para la defenssa de el puerto, en casso que se halle, parece que tiene posibilidad Manila, sin añadir gastos a los que tenia, ni ser neçessario acreçentar el situado, i la raçon parece clara, porque antes, sustentava, i pagava las fuerças de Terrenate, en que avia por lo menos mas de quinientos soldados, i todos los años se les inviavan

de socorro, una nao, o patache de fabrica Española, i doçe o catorce navichuelos que llaman Champanes, i en lo grande son como pataches de a do[s]çientas toneladas, i mayores, aunque de diferente echura, i fortaleça mucho menor, i se les corria con nuevos soldados, dinero, arroz, i otros pertrechos, i aviendose demolido, i desamparado, como se demolieron, i dejaron las fuerças de Terrenate, i cessado sus gastos puede aver en Manila mas de lo neçesario para acudir a esta empresa, i conversion de los Ladrones, pues el gasto ni puede llegar a tanto, sino que sin comparacion deve ser mucho menor: i si los que mejor entienden esta materia juzgasen no ser neçesario haçer fuerça de asiento en dichas Islas, sino alguno de prestado i de madera, en quanto se entabla el asiento de la conversion, i que lleguen alli las naos, i tomen puerto, solo quedara el gasto de la primer ida, que no puede ser grande.

[Note in margin:] **Medios para el gasto.**

En el terçer punto, de que diga los medios que con mayor façilidad se pueden aplicar para el logro de esta conversion, por la obediencia que devo al Consejo dire los que se me ofrecen, i deseara escusarme oiendo a personas assi ecclesiasticas, como seculares que los alcançan mejor, de que abra muchas en Manila:

En el orden de los medios entran los ministros que an de ir para la predicacion, estos an de ser mui escogidos, de mucho espiritu, i experiencia en los trabajos de enseñar la fee, porque las nuevas conversiones tienen mucha dificultad, i los que se convierten mas son hijos de lagrimas, i oraciones que de la persuasion, i raçones de los ministros: i parece conviene que se escojan de todas las religiones que ai en Manila pues ai que haver para todas, i se podran informar enteramente de todo lo que uviere en dichas Islas, i dar quenta a su Magd. con la verdad neçesaria sin omitir cosa alguna, esto se asegura mejor con muchos que con pocos, i mas çierto sera el testimonio de diez, o doçe religiosos de çinco religiones diferentes, que no de tres o quatro de una religion, que aunque libres de sospecha por la profesion, i ministerio, por ser pocos no podran inquirir, i saver todo lo neçesario, i tambien se podran ajustar mejor las materias de la religion, i dogmas catholicos confiriendo entre todos lo que se puede permitir a los gentiles dentro de los terminos de la fee, i que medios seran mas a proposito para extirpar sus supersticiones, errores, i abussos, i establecer loables costumbres, de esta conferencia de religiosos de diferentes religiones se an experimentado en nuevas conversiones muchas conveniencias a la fee, i servicio de Dios, i su Magd. i de averlas fiado de una sola, se an reconoçido inconvenientes graves que an neçesitado de remedio; i assi tambien se podra acudir mejor con ministros porque llevando como llevan las çnco religiones que ai en Manila religiosos de España para sus ministerios, i conversiones, en diferentes tiempos, i ocasiones, siempre podra alguna de ellas dejar religiosos en las Islas de los Ladrones quando pasaren por ellas a Manila i suçede que los de una religion por la variedad de accidentes se retarden muchos años sin llevar religiosos, i si los que fueran a dichas Islas, fueran solo de la tal religion, era forçosso que faltasen en ellas ministros, lo qual no puede suçeder si van de todas, porque de unas, o otras siempre passan a Philipinas, i de camino pueden dejar algunos en dichas Islas de los Ladrones, i con esta alternacion, i suçesion entreverada de todas las çinco religiones nunca faltaran ministros

que enseñen a aquellos gentiles, i conserven en la fee catholica los que uvieren reducido a ella.

Al principio con dos de cada religion se puede intentar la conversion, i en casso que al principio sea neçessario que entren todos en una Isla la pueden repartir para el trabajo, i abraçar la por todas partes como sea echo en la Isla de Manila con mucho provecho assi espirital como temporal.

Al principio de esta conversion es conveniente, como dige, que se embien religiosos experimentados de los que ai en Philipinas, despues se les puede socorrer con otros de los que pasan de España a Philipinas, dejandolos alli al passar de la nao de la N^a España a Manila, con que se ahorran gastos, i se façilita la conservacion continuada de religiosos sin que sea neçessario recurrir por otros a Manila.

Tambien entran en el orden de los medios, los soldados que ubieren de ir, aquellos conviene que sean cuerdos, i moligerados [sic = moderados?] en las costumbres para que no ofendan a los Indios con palabras, obras, ni malos exemplos de suerte que con obras, i palabras les den a entender que solo ban alli por su bien, i no por otros gustos, ni interesses: el num^o parece que basta de veinte, i çinco Españoles, i veinte i çinco indios de Manila, un patache de treçientas toneladas en que vayan, veinte pieças de artilleria, las ocho, o diez para defenssa de el fuerte en casso que se funde, i las otras, para que con seguridad pueda bolver a Manila; para estas pieças, no parece neçessario haçer nueva fundiçion, porque se trageron muchas de Terrenate, i parece que ai para esto, i otros socorros, i en casso que no las aya echas, ai materiales en Manila para poderlas haçer, sin ser mucho el costo, i sera mucho menos en casso que se juzgue por conveniente el no haçer fuerte, ni detenerse el patache, i gente en los Ladrones mas de uno, o dos messes neçessarios para entablar la comunicacion con los Indios, i dejarles asentado algun conoçimiento con los religiosos que se an de quedar entre ellos, i aunque para resguardo de los que van a nuevas conversiones diçen algunos theologos que son convenientes las armas, todos confiessan que es de mayor perfeccion el no aprovecharse de ellas, i los de major sentir fundan con raçones de gravissimo pesso que el introducir el evangelio en los gentiles se a de haçer con total desnudez de humanos afectos, i armas corporales a imitacion de los Apostoles que fueron los primeros que predicaron a la gentilidad, i fueron constituidos por exemplares de todos los predicadores de el mundo, el fundamento sobre quien a de cargar el edifiçio de la fee en las conversiones, es, la sanctidad, i sabiduria de los ministros evangelicos, i siendo regla çierta confirmada con la experiençia, parece deshaçierto echar por otro camino, i se haçertara siguiendo las pisadas de los santos Apostoles tomando por modelo, i exemplar la traça que tubieron para fundar la primitiva iglesia, executandola segun las ordenes que Xpto les dio despues de su resurreccion, i antes les avia comunicado.

En casso que parezca neçessario dejar alli gente, i fuerça, se puede socorrer todo con las naos que buelven de la N^a España a Philipinas, sin que sea neçessario haçer nuevos gastos con viages desde Manila a dichas Islas de los Ladrones, i no sera de poca conveniençia tener en ellas cassi todo el sustento pues ai arroz, (i se puede sembrar mas)

gallinas, pescado, i plantanos, i lo que faltare de otras carnes, ni es preçisso para vivir, ni dificultosso de remediar con llevar desde Manila los animales para la procreaçion:

Otras raçones demas consideraçon, conveniençias, i inconvenientes, i medios proporcionados para la mejor expediçon, i logro de esta conversion sabran proponer personas de mejores notiçias, i capacidad, con la cortedad de la mia, por no faltar a la obediencia de el Consejo en quien reside el derecho de la saviduria, i açiertos[.] e dicho lo que alcanço procurando, i deseando açertar en materia tan grave, i gravissima como la conversion de las almas.

D. Sabiniano Manrique de Lara que a governado las Islas Philipinas, el Padre Isidro Rodriguez religioso Augustino que oi esta en el puerto de S. Lucar, i el Padre Luis Pimentel de la Comp^a de Jessus que esta en Sevilla, procuradores generales de sus Proviuçias de Philipinas son las personas que conozco pueden informar al Consejo con buenas notiçias porque todos an passado por las Islas de los Ladrones, i abran visto a sus naturales, i tenido relacion de todo lo que se a descubierto en ellas.

Fecha en esta Hospederia de la Passion orden de Predicadores, Madrid, i deçiembre diez, i siete de mil seisçientos i sesenta, i siete años.

Fr. Juan de Polanco.

[Endorsement:] *Madrid 17 de Dic. 1667. V.19. Al Sr. Secretario. Fr. Juan de Polanco, Procurador General de la orden de Santo Domingo de Filipinas: Remite el Informe que se le pidió, sobre la reduzion de las Islas de los Ladrones en Filipinas.*

Translation.

Report written at the order of the Council by Father Fray Juan de Polanco, Procurator General of the Order of St. Dominic, of the Philippines, regarding the reduction of the Island [sic] of the Ladrones.

The report that the Royal, and Supreme, Council of the Indies regarding the reduction, and conversion to the Catholic Faith of the Islands called the Ladrones, and their implementation without any further waste of time, can be reduced to three points.

The **first point** is that I should give my opinion about the motives proposed by Father Diego Luis de San Vitores of the Society of Jesus; the **second** is that I should propose the advantages and disadvantages of carrying out the said conversion for the service of God, and of His Majesty, whom may God keep; the **third** is that I should define the means that come to me that could be applied and could facilitate the greater success of the said conversion.

[Point 1].

Obeying with the submission that I owe to the order from the Council, I will say what I can come up with about all the three points, covering each one in turn. The first one, that I should give my opinion, is the easiest for me to resolve, because the matter of conversions, not only in all the Indies but in the Philippines, in accordance with the obligation and duty that His Majesty (whom God keep) who is their Lord, is foremost among all the other affairs of his government, and none can take precedence over the

propagation and extension of the law of the Gospel. The reasons put together by the authors treating even in general terms of conversions convince us of that. The motives proposed by Father Diego Luis de San Vitores convince us that all the possible means should then be applied effectively to the conversion of the Ladrones. My own reasons, that I propose to present to the Council, are as follows:

Doctor Don Juan de Solorzano in his Tome 2, chap. 16, n° 12,¹ stipulates with other authors that His Majesty has the rigorous obligation in commutative justice to make new conversions in new Provinces of Gentiles in the Indies, based upon the fact that this charge, pact, and obligation were granted by the Roman Pontiffs to the Catholic Kings, and since this principle is certain, it clearly implies that the obligation of dealing with, and making the conversion of the Islands of the Ladrones is more stringent, because in January 1565 Captain Miguel Lopez de Legazpi took possession of them in the name of King Philip II (may he rest in peace) and His Majesty accepted it and made him Adelantado of them.²

The zeal and Catholic determination of King Philip II was attending to this reasoning when, among other ordinances that he issued through the Royal Council of the Indies, he ordered that, among the many points of interest and profit for his Crown, the main one was the conversion and indoctrination of the Indians, and that the Council should make every efforts, and busy themselves to provide all the means necessary to have them converted to the knowledge and worship of God, and praise of His holy name; he told them that this part was such an obligation that he wished to have the Council give him the satisfaction of discharging his conscience.

Since His Majesty (God save him) is Lord of the Islands of the Ladrones and their inhabitants and being so Catholic that it is his best honor, one cannot speak well of him if he says that the king has heathen vassals who can be but are not taken out of their heathenism, because the republic of their Catholic King expands within the Church, and not outside of her.

The reasoning behind this law gathers more strength because it is universal knowledge that to be Catholic in the religious sense of the universal Faith implies that he professes and thus owes the [Catholic] name and religion from our world, so to speak, but since his power does not extend so much, at least it extends to his Kingdoms and vassals.

I will put down other motives that, although they are not couched in legal language, are very honorable when used with respect to the piety and greatness of His Majesty (God save him):

The **first**: to give thanks to God, since the granting of a gift brings with it the obligation of thankfulness, and as God has given to His Majesty such a large empire that it extends from east to west, making him lord of it for the conversion of souls, which is what God esteems above all; these obliged His Majesty to have his vassals render a cult,

1 Ed. note: I think this book was entitled: "Politica Indiana" (Madrid 1647).

2 Ed. note: See Doc. 1665Z & 1668C3.

and veneration, to God, thus giving back improved and with profits the land that He granted him.

The **second**: as His Majesty is such a superior member of the Church, most reverent to the head of the Church, Christ, he must imitate Him in trying to amplify and extend her, as Christ our Redeemer did by giving His life for her, shedding His blood, the perennial fountain of the universal sacraments for all, and after His death sent ministers of the Gospel to preach it to the whole world, and to reduce it to the true Christian religion. At His imitation, His Majesty has the obligation to make every effort with funds, and Gospel ministers, for the conversion of the Gentiles, and specially of those that God has entrusted him to care for, and given him dominion over, in order to extend the Church that Christ worked so hard to establish.

The **third**: out of piety, and charity. In order to implicate these virtues, suffice to say that the unfortunate condition of the miserable people of the Islands of the Ladrões is the worst kind of miseries that makes room for compassion, and that one tries to alleviate by instruction and indoctrination, thus taking them out of their miserable heathenism.

The **fourth**: to give special pleasure to God, since in times that this Crown has been so persecuted our Lord had made special favors to our Catholic Kings, by repressing the pride of their enemies, and these benefits are not satisfied better than by converting infidels, which is extremely pleasing to God...

The **fifth**: because God granted to the Catholic Kings of Spain the conquest of the Indies, and the Philippines with the other countries that fall within the demarkation...

Finally, by ordering that the conversion of the Islands of the Ladrões be done, His Majesty is therefore obtaining singular glory, since God has selected him to carry out the means of the eternal predestination of those whom He had predestined in those Islands. There is no doubt that there are many in that category and it seems that the time has come to carry this out and, it seems better to have the Crown gain souls for Heaven than to have more precious jewels here in earth.

...

[Point 2].

[Synopsis: The author then provides a standard geographical description of the Ladrone Islands, whose name he extends to the whole chain of islands all the way to Japan, and whose inhabitants, he says, share characteristics with Tartar people who live north of China [sic]. He thinks that wheat could possibly grow in the Ladrões. He also presumes that amber and wax may be found there.]

[Description of the natives]

The people of the said Islands are burly, and very strong, whiter than those of the Philippine Islands, with facial features similar to Europeans. They go about completely naked from head to foot, men as well as women, although a few women, taught by natural shame, do cover the secrets of their honesty with a few leaves, or pieces of

leather, and on one occasion one of these women came with a plate¹ that had come from the shipwreck in the said Islands of the galleon named after the Immaculate Conception during the term of Governor Sebastian Corcuera. With it, she was covering the horror of her nudity, and was defending her modesty. The men shave their whole body with a blade, without leaving beards, not even hair, except on the small crown, or top of the head, but it is short; the women keep their hair long, everything that grows on them, and loose without any dressing, other than what nature had provided them with.²

Agreements with them are not verbal, because when they go out to our galleons to barter for iron, the goods they have they arrange deals with reason; from our galleons they show them one knife, one axe to split wood, one dagger, or one piece of iron, and they, having seen what constitutes a sample, from their canoes [they show] a little rice, one ball of yarn [i.e. sinnet], one palm mat, one fish, or another thing, and if the Spaniard lingers in throwing to them what he shows them, they add more to what they were offering before, and if the Spaniard lingers more, and they think it proper to add more they add, and if they do not let fall into the canoe what they were offering, giving to understand that they will not give more, and with these signs they adjust the deal without the need for words, the Spaniard giving them what he had visually promised, only after they let go what they give in exchange. And because many times it happens that they do not give the payment that they had agreed to for what they received, and they keep it, the Spanish called them Ladrones [i.e. Thieves], and they have been stuck with this name until now, and it would be good to banish the infamy of the name of their Islands and that they no longer be called Ladrones, but another name of better quality or mark, or with the name of the Islands of [Lateen] Sails, as they were called by Captain Magellan³ who was the first person to discover them, after he had discovered in the southern part and passed through the famous strait that bears his name.

Politically they are barbarians. They have no King, nor any other leader, but only heads of families. They have no laws either, as everyone lives the way he likes. They have no money, and use no money; they trade among themselves, and some islands with other islands, by bartering the goods they have. From time to time they have wars between islands. For weapons they use slings, and fire-hardened lances which they throw with dexterity. I do not know whether they use bow and arrow.⁴ The houses are high upon stone pillars, in which they surpass those that other Indians have, not only in

1 Ed. note: "Lamina" in Spanish can mean various things (plate, sheet, strip, board, engraving, picture, etc.) which the context does not allow to clarify. This was possibly a ceramic dinner plate.

2 Ed. note: The first missionaries saw things differently than those aboard passing ships: for instance, no blade (the natives probably had little body hair to begin with), the knot of hair in men was a passing fashion, and the women dyed their teeth black and their hair white, etc. etc.

3 Ed. note: Here again, the myth that Magellan himself baptized the Marianas with the name of *Islas de las Velas* [Latinas] is perpetuated, whereas none of the primary documents of Magellan's voyage corroborates this. This wrong idea was invented by the historian Herrera, and repeated many times, but it still does not make it a historical fact. There was a good reason for them to be called *Ladrones*, because that was indeed the name given to them by Magellan.

4 Ed. note: They did not.

America but also in Asia. They use some mats for beds; they weave these mats artfully, out of the best leaves of what appears to be a palm tree, without any other clothes to cover them, and can be used for other purposes. Out of the same material, they also make some little hats with two wings, one behind and one in front, and they cover their head with them, fastening them under the beard with two cords hanging from the right and left side. They are very dedicated to fishing, and they sustain themselves with it. To go fishing they have some canoes anywhere from 12, 16, to 20 feet in length, and one and a half feet in width; they are made out of one tree trunk for the most part, and those that are not, their boards are tied with a strong cord, which I have already said they have. They paint and polish them very beautifully. There are a few rods that go cross-wise [i.e. outriggers] and with them they sail without the danger of foundering, although now and then they fill with water.

They are not drunkards; neither do they use any kind of wine. They have but one wife, but they leave her or she leaves for light reasons. They have some houses in common where the young women flock, and those who have left their husbands before the marry again. Upon returning from their fishing in the afternoon, the bachelors go to the said house, and there each one joins up with one he selects. From there they come out married without any ceremony or contract, other than the woman going to the house of the man. The young men have a specific time to get married, and during that time they not only can go to the said common house, but they can also enter freely the other houses of the married men and be with their wives without being punished, only by leaving a stick at the door; though it be the husband himself, he cannot come in. They have no other wealth, no properties other than the above-mentioned products, the most important of which, and the one they esteem the most and spend their time doing, is fishing. They also esteem iron very much, either already worked or in a rough state; they use it to build their canoes and their houses with, to shave their bodies. They are also fond of things made of glass, and of little value. The dowry of the wives is one small palm mat very well crafted, one pot to cook the fish, and a few herbs. Such utensils go with her when she leaves her husband. They hate the Dutch very much because one [Dutch] galleon that came to their Islands killed many of them and mistreated some others. This galleon put some men ashore to survey what there was in the islands, at a time when the Philippine galleon was expected to return from New Spain, to seize her, during the war.¹ They love the Spanish and give many demonstrations of their love, for the good that they do them when they pass by their Islands. As soon as the Ladrões see our galleons they go out to survey them, and distinguishing by the [poop] galleries that they are not Dutch, they raise their voice to show their joy and happiness, and they repeat continuously this word *motti* which means friend. They have also given hospitality and welcome to the Spanish who were shipwrecked among them, and even dur-

¹ Ed. note: The visit of this Dutch ship took place in about 1645, when the survivors of the 1638 shipwreck must have heard all about it (see Doc. 1645A).

ing periods of disagreement in their republic they live peacefully as if peace had been re-established.

In religion, they are very little, or not at all, dedicated to it. There are three types of idol worship that have spread throughout the world, as mentioned by Marco Varron, were distinguished by St. Agustin and explained by St. Thomas [de Aquino]. The first type they called natural, because with it there was worship of natural things, such as the sky, sun, moon, stars, elements, mountains, valleys, trees, stones, and animals. The second type they called civil, as it was established by republics, cities, and their governors who ordered the worship of gold, silver, metal, stones, and wood. The third type is called fabulous, by which worship is given to bad men, and to the dead, giving them Divinity, and the privileges of gods. In Asia today can be found all three types of idol worship, and in Great China they have grown so much that it seems the fountain of all the errors. Still, the Chinese do not come close to the Japanese, because the latter are very inclined to [religious] Sects. In the Ladrones, the first two types of idol worship have not been observed so far, no temples to idols, or altars, or idols worshipped in the mountains. There must be a few errors of the third type, because, according to what I heard, they very much fear their dead, and they think that the dead can punish them, and [therefore] it is presumed that they might have sorcerers, and dealings with the devil, simply because it seems certain that in order to keep them subjected and submissive as they have kept them so far, they would have made use of the shackles of their tyranny, and such are built by getting rid of the proper cult owed to God, and usurping it for themselves.

This is what I have been able to learn so far about the Islands of the Ladrones, and in accordance with these notices it seems as if the advantages of opening this mission will accrue to the service of God, and of His Majesty, and will outweigh the possible disadvantages...

[Synthesis: The author goes on to make a detailed list of the possible advantages and disadvantages, all of which have already been mentioned by Fr. Pimentel. Finally, he mentions a few possible sources of funds to cover the costs of the establishment of the new mission. However, this Dominican suggests that it be manned with 10-12 Religious from all 5 different Orders, rather than 3-4 missionaries from a single Order, mostly because he feared that the King will not be informed about everything, without omissions, in future.]

Other reasons of greater import, advantages and disadvantages, and means to a better expedition, and success of this conversion could be proposed by persons with greater knowledge, and ability, to supplement my own limited report, which I submit to obey the Council, in which resides the right to wisdom, and to make decision. I have said what I knew and was able to find out, wishing to ascertain everything in a matter so grave and very serious as the conversion of souls.

Don Sabiniano Manrique de Lara who governed the Philippine Islands, Father Isidor Rodriguez, Augustinian, who is now in the port of Sanlúcar [de Barrameda], and Father Luis Pimentel of the Society of Jesus who is in Seville, both procurators generals of their Provinces of the Philippines, are persons whom I know who can inform the Council with good notices, because they have all passed by the Islands of the Ladrones, and would have seen their natives, and read accounts of everything that has been discovered in them.

Made at this Hospice of the Passion, Order of Preachers, Madrid, 17 September 1667.

Fr. Juan de Polanco.

[Endorsement:] Madrid, 17 Dec. 1667. Rec'd on 19. To the Lord Secretary.—Fr. Juan de Polanco, Procurator General of the Order of St. Dominic of the Philippines. He remits the Report that was asked of him, regarding the reduction of the Islands of the Ladrones in the Philippines.

Document 1667G

Report by former Governor Manrique de Lara about the Ladrones, dated Alhaurín 20 December 1667

Sources: AGI Fil. 82-2-27 & -28 (formerly 68-1-40).

Note: The duplicate copy of this report (82-2-28) has a short postscript dated 3 January 1668. Alhaurín is a town in the province of Málaga, where ex-Governor Manrique was living in retirement.

Report made by Sabiniano Manrique de Lara to Alonso Fernández de Lorca

Original text in Spanish.

En carta de 14 de octubre me diçe V.S. que havindose visto en el Consejo una orden de Su Magd. y una carta del Padre Diego Luis de Sanvitores de la Compañia de Jesus, con un papel que vino en ella de los motivos que ay para no dilatar la Reduçon de las islas de los Ladrones en Filipinas (cuya copia me remitió V.S.) se acordó informe sobre esta matheria. Lo que se me ofreze es que el Padre Sanvitores es baron apostolico, mui çeloso del servicio de Dios y salud de las almas, y que con su doctrina a hecho mucho fruto en aquellas Islas, razones todas para que le arrebaten el espiritu y ardiente zelo a grandes cossas.

[Discovery of the Izu Islands by the Spanish in 1664]

*Las Islas que llaman de los Ladrones estan dos mill y cien leguas del puerto de Acapulco, y trescientas de Manila, son muchas y corren todas de Norte a Sur con poca diferencia, quando se ba de Acapulco para las Filipinas ordinariamente se pasa por entre ellas, y las mas vezes por entre la Sarpana y Iguana [sic] que estan de onze a treze grados. Quando hize viage de Filipinas al rreyno de la Nueva España que se ba a tomar altura de treinta y çinco a quarenta y dos grados hasta que se encuentran los Suduestes[,] oestes[,] noruestes, **descubrimos en treinta y quatro grados minutos mas o menos, siete islas que no se avian descubierto hasta entonzes, son pequeñas y***

medianas y a la primera le puso el piloto la Sabiniana, de donde se saca que el informe de que corren mas de mill y quinientas leguas de Norte a Sur es cierto.

[Description of the Ladrones, in 1653]

Quando pasan las naos de la Nueva España a las Filipinas, salen los Indios de sus Islas arriba dichas, en unas embarcaçionçillas pequeñuelas, de extraordinaria hechura, y tan ligeras que a la vela navegan por çinco quartas, que parece parten el viento, vienen en cada una tres y quatro Indios, y tal muger en alguna, estas tapadas con unas ojas las partes interiores, y aquellos en cueros. Son hombres corpulentos y forzudos, grandes buzos, en tanta manera que quando un golpe de mar trastorna un barquillo de aquellos, se echan al agua, y lo buelven à enderezar, aunque la mar este alterada, y rresisten temporales, por traer de una banda y otra unos cates de cañas, que salen del bordo mas de bara y media de popa à proa, y descanza en ellos el barco, y assi no es façil de zozobrar.

[The story of Esteban Ramos who lived in the Ladrones, 1638-1640]

*Todo su anhelo es por hierro, son brutos en todo, mas que todos los de aquel archipiélago; informeme del Piloto que iba en la nao donde yo pasè a Filipinas, de las costumbres de aquellos barbaros, por haver estado cautibo entre ellos mas de dos años; y el que me hizo fue de que viven como brutos, y que no adoran el Sol, Luna ni otra cosa mas que en sus embarcaçiones, querriendolas mas que a sus Padres y mugeres, todas las vezes que no estan en la mar, las estan mirando y limpiando, teniendolas en mejores chozas y mas limpias (chozas) que las suias, que son asquerossisimas. Sus cassas son mui altas fundadas en palos gruëssisimos, y rrematan a modo de Cocusucho, o pavelon, no tienen Rey, ni reconozen superior, sin orden ni conçierto; que esta Isla de la Sarpána y la de Iguana donde su amo lo llevó muchas vezes,¹ son esteriles de todo sustento, que lo que comen es pescado, y lo mas crudo, que ay muchos arrezifes, que no vio puerto, que ay rrestingas que salen mucho a la mar. Y despues de dos años con lizençia de su amo, con otros compañeros que escaparon de la nao **Conçepcion**, que naufrago alli, en tiempo que governava las Filipinas Don Sevastian Hurtado de Corcuera, se avia ido a Manila, entregandose a un golfo de trescientas leguas, en una embarcaçion de aquellas, de seis baras de largo, y bara y media de ancho, sin cubierta ni bastimentos, por no ser capaz para poderlos llevar por que no se mojaran, mas de los que pudieron amarrar arriba en el arbol, que les duró cinco dias, y los demas hasta treze fueron sin comer mas que algunas raizes que llevavan; y en tan breve tiempo como es el de dos años, yà con la continuacion de hablarles a los barbaros en su jerigonza casi no savian hablar.*

1 Ed. note: The duplicate copy says "algunas" instead of "muchas".

[Touching story of a Spaniard forcibly taken from the Ladrones after 14 years]

El año que yo passe que fue el de 1653, uno de los que se avian quedado del naufragio, se rreconoció por los de la nao era Español, pero tan desfigurado que no lo parecia, ni en la habla, por que ya se le avia olvidado, y por engaño lo subimos arriba con otros barbaros, y no consentimos se bolviese con ellos quando bajaron y porfiava por irse, y llegado a Manila dentro de breves dias se murio de sentimiento.

Algunas vezes se les suelen desgarritar algunas embarcaçiones suias con algun desgarron de viento lestes, nordestes y suestes, y ban a parar a la contracosta de Caraga, Isla çiento y cinquenta leguas de Manila donde asiste alcalde maior que los recoge y se mueren luego.

En lo que intenta el Padre San Vitores, se ofrezan algunas dificultades, como son el que para yr todos los años a llevar bastimentos, vino, azeite, harina y otras cosas neçesarias de que carezen aquellas islas, a de haver navio de alto bordo separado para esto, por quanto no pueden ir Champanes ni Joangas, (embarcaciones ordinarias de aquel archipiélago y con que se trajina y comerçia en el,) por ser golfo de trescientas leguas y mar bravo donde ay de continuo huracanes, que es la caussa por que las naciones de aquella çircumbalaçion no ban a contratar a aquellas Islas, siendo los vientos generales que corren Brisas, por proa para ir a ellas, en tanta manera que para benir las naos a la Nueva España aguardan los bendabales, que empiezan desde Jullio y saliendo con ellos no pueden hazer la navegacion derecha a la Nueva España por que no cala cien leguas, por cuiá rrazon ban a tomar altura de treze a treinta y cinco y quarenta grados y mas hasta que topan con los vientos suduestes uestes noruestes y nortes, como tengo dicho, y si las naos que ban a la Nueva España de su tornaviage an de llevar este socorro llegan a rreconozar aquellas Islas por los meses de Junio y Jullio, que es quando entran los bendavales con aspereza, con que no les daran lugar a dar fondo, ni detenerse para descargar lo que llevaren, y es de mucho peligro la detençion entre islas, por no ser limpias, sino sitiadas todas de arrezifes y se arriesgan a perder lo mas por lo menos; con que ademas de ser todo una confuçion, con este socorro por tenue que sea se limita el de la Nueva España por haverlo de hazer el Virrey y estar aquel Reino tan exsaudito de gente y plata, que los que haçe a las Filipinas de muchos años a esta parte son muy limitados.

Tambien es de gran incombeniente el remitir ministros doctrineros, por que de estos estan alcanzadas las provinçias de Filipinas que les faltan sujetos para las doctrinas que tienen a su cargo, y si se le añade esta combersion le va mucho maior la neçesidad que tengan de ellos, por haverse de ir rremitiendo a aquellas islas, y siendo estas tantas, seran neçesarios muchos; las islas de la Sarpana y Iguana son las dos (como tengo rreferido) con quien abemos tenido mas comunicaçion por pasar por ellas ordinariamente quando se ba a Filipinas, con que el padre y su compañero no pueden asistir mas que en una; dize que con veinte Españoles que bayan, basta. Mi parezer es muy opuesto al suyo, por el conocimiento que tengo de la façilidad de los Indios, pues aunque a los prinçipios los rezivan de paz, y les hagan agasajos, quando se les antoje, daran sobre ellos y los degollaran, como hizieron en Zibu con Magallanes y mas de çien soldados,

que en medio de los agasajos que le hazian, se la urdieron de manera que lo mataron a el, y a los demas, porque llevan, estos barbaros, mal el sujetarse a la rrazon y doctrina por estar acostumbrados a vivir como alarbes, sin orden ni conçierto, ni superior que les mande; y à carrera larga an de hazer de las suias; confirmando esta verdad lo que se vio en mi tiempo, que havindome pedido amistad y rreligiosos, el Rei de Mindanao, le remiti a el Padre Alexandro Lopez de la Compañia de Jesus y al Capitan Claudio de Rivera con doze Españoles, y havindolos rezivido, al parecer, amigablemente, los agasajaron hasta que los aseguraron y cojiendolos descuidados, los mataron a todos, y despues de algunos años me imbio la satisfacion diziendo que el Rey de Maquien y el de Buhayen, fueron los traidores que hiçieron la maldad; con que estos exemplares dificultan el intento, pues en qualquier fracaso de estos que les suçeda, no se les puede socorrer, por la distançia grande que ay, y la imposibilidad, de no hallarse con embarcaciones suficientes para hazerlo, con que perezera miserablemente.

Tambien se opone al zelo del Padre San Vitores, el hallarse aquellas Islas devilitadas de fuerzas, y repartidas sera mayor este achaque, y quando el poder es limitado sino esta unido, lo rromperan con façilidad. Esto es lo que se me ofreze.

Guarde Dios a V.S. muchos años.

Alhaurin y Diziembre 20 de 1667.

Sabiniano Manrique de Lara.

[A] *Señor Don Alonso Fernandez de Lorca.*

[Endorsement:] *Alhaurin 20 x 1667 v. 7 enero 1668. Al Sr. Secretario.—Don Sabiniano Manrique de Lara: Informa como se le mando sobre la reduzion de las Islas de los Ladrones en Filipinas.*

[Postscript added to the duplicate copy:] *Esta es copia de la que tengo escrito y solo se me ofreze dezir que no hallo que en España aya persona que con çierta çiencia pueda informar en esta matheria.*

Alhaurin y Henero 3 de 1668.

Translation.

In a letter dated 14 October, your Lordship tells me that, after there were seen in the Council an order from His Majesty and a letter from Father Diego Luis de Sanvitores of the Society of Jesus, with an enclosed paper giving the motives for not delaying the Reduction of the Islands of the Ladrones in the Philippines (whose copy your Lordship sent me), it was decided to consult on this matter. What I have to say is that Father Sanvitores is an apostolic man, very zealous of the service of God and salvation of souls, and he has done much fruit with his mission tours in those [Philippine] Islands, all of them are reasons for which his spirit and burning zeal would aspire to greater things.

[Discovery of the Izu Islands by the Spanish in 1664]

The Islands that are called Ladrones are 2,500 leagues from the port of Acapulco, and 300 from Manila. They are many and they are all aligned from North to South with little difference [in longitude]. When one goes from Acapulco to the Philippines, he

usually passes through them, and most of the time between Sarpana [Rota] and Iguana [Guam] that are between 11 and 13 degrees. When I made my voyage from the Philippines to the kingdom of New Spain,¹ during which they must go up to 35 and 42 degrees of latitude until they find winds blowing from SW, W, and NW, **we discovered in 34 degrees [...] minutes more or less, seven islands that had not been discovered before. They are small and average in size and the first one was given the name of Sabiniana Island by the pilot.** Therefore, the report to the effect that the island chain extends over 1,500 leagues from North to South is true.

[Description of the Ladrones, in 1653]

When the galleons pass by from New Spain to the Philippines, the Indians go out of their above-mentioned Islands in their very small canoes, of extraordinary manufacture, so light that they sail through five points of the compass; they seem to part the wind. Each one carries 3 to 4 Indians, even a woman in some. The women have their interior body parts covered with some leaves but the men are stark naked. The men are corpulent and husky, great divers, to such an extent that when a surge capsizes one of those canoes, they throw themselves into the water and turn it right side up again, although the sea might be running high. They are resistant to storms, as they come with a frame of some poles running across from one side **and** the other, which go off the side by over a yard and a half [halfway] from poop to bow, and the boat rests upon them, and so, it is not easy to founder.²

[The report of Esteban Ramos who lived in the Ladrones, 1638-1640]

What they covet above all is iron. They are brutes in everything, more than all the peoples of that archipelago. The Pilot who came aboard the galleon when I passed to the Philippines³ informed me about the customs of those barbarians, as he had been held captive among them for over two years. What he narrated to me is that they live like brutes, and that they do not worship the Sun, Moon or anything else, except perhaps their canoes, because they like them more than their parents and wives. Whenever they are not at sea, they look them over and clean them, keeping them in better and cleaner buildings than their own houses, which are very disgusting. Their houses are built high on top of very big poles, and their ends are like those of a *Cocusucho*, or pavillion. They have no King, they recognize no superior, without order or arrangement of things. He says that this Island of Sarpana and that of Iguana, where his master took

1 Ed. note: Aboard the galleon San José, under the command of General Zebrian Vaez, in 1664 (see Doc. 1664A3).

2 Ed. note: Despite appearances, Manrique is describing a single-outrigger canoe, the only type that ever existed in the Ladrones, or Marianas; below he repeats that the width of a canoe was a yard and a half, meaning the length of this outrigger. He is wrong, however, when he says that the canoe was not easy to capsize, because it was.

3 Ed. note: As he himself says below, this voyage occurred in 1653. The Pilot of the San Francisco Xavier was Esteban Ramos, the same man who was Fr. Sanvitores' main informant.

him a few times, are sterile when it comes to food products. All they eat is fish, and most of it raw. There are many reefs, and he did not see any port; there are barrier reefs that go far out to sea. And after two years from his shipwreck there, at the time that Don Sebastian Hurtado de Corcuera governed the Philippines, he had gone to Manila, entrusting his fate to a gulf that is 300 leagues in width, aboard a canoe from these Islands, six yards in length, and a yard and a half in width, without a deck or supplies, because he was not able to carry any without them getting wet; those they carried were tied high up on the mast, and they lasted five days, and the rest of the time, that is 13 days, they spent without food, other than a few roots they carried. And in the relatively brief period of two years that he spent with the barbarians, given that he continuously spoke to them in their jargon, they had almost forgotten how to speak [Spanish].

[Touching story of a Spaniard forcibly taken from the Ladrones after 14 years

The year that I passed by the Islands, in 1653, one of those who had remained from the shipwreck was recognized as a Spaniard by those aboard the galleon, but he was so disfigured that he did not seem so, no even in his speech, which he had forgotten. We tricked him aboard, along with other barbarians, but we did not let him leave with the others when they went off. He persisted in wanting to go. Once in Manila, within a few days, he died of a broken heart.

Sometimes they experience drift voyages when some of their canoes get caught in some blast of wind from the E, NE, and SE, and they end up on the coast opposite Caraga [in Mindanao], an Island 150 leagues from Manila, where they are picked up by the mayor and then they die.

Regarding the project of Father San Vitores, a few difficulties offer themselves. For instance, in order to go there every year to carry food supplies, wine, oil, flour and other necessities of which those Islands lack, a separate sea-going ship is required for this, given that neither Champans nor Junks (the usual trading ships within that [Philippine] archipelago) can go there, as it is an expanse of sea 300 leagues in width, a rough one, where there are continuous hurricanes, the main reason why the peoples of that neighborhood do not go to trade at those Islands. The general winds, that is the *Brisas* [i.e. tradewinds], blow as a headwind on the way there, in such a way that the galleons that come to New Spain wait for the *Bendabals* [i.e. monsoon winds], that begin in July. Going out with these, they cannot go straight to New Spain, because this wind does not extend beyond 100 leagues. That is why, they gain latitude, from 13 to 35, and even 40, degrees or more, until encountering the SW, W, NW, and N winds, as I have said, and if the galleons that go from New Spain must deliver this succor on their return voyage, they usually sight those Islands during the months of June and July, which is when the monsoon winds begin to blow strongly, reason for which there will be no time to anchor, or stop over to discharge what they had brought. A stopover among the islands is very dangerous, as they are not free of dangers, but completely surrounded by reefs, and they run the risk of getting lost more often than not. Furthermore, the whole thing is just one confusion, with this succor so tenuous, the one sent by New Spain, as the

Viceroy must send it and that Kingdom is so short of people and silver that those sent to the Philippines have been very limited for many years now.

Also, it is a great inconvenience to send Gospel ministers, because the provinces of the Philippines are running short of them and they lack subjects for the mission stations in their care. If this conversion is added, there will be an even greater need of them, as they will have to transfer some to those Islands, and there are so many islands that many ministers will be necessary. The Islands of Sarpana and Iguana are the two (as I have said) with which we have had more contact, as we usually pass by them as we go to the Philippines. Therefore, the Father and his companion will not be able to attend more than one. He says that taking along 20 Spaniards will be enough. My opinion is very opposed to his, based on the knowledge I have of the inconstancy of the Indians. Indeed, although at the beginning they receive them in peace, and treat them hospitably, but when they take a fancy to it, they will jump upon them and cut their throats, as they did in Cebu with Magellan and over 100 soldiers,¹ right in the middle of the hospitable receptions they held for them; they plotted it in such a way that they killed him, and the rest, because barbarians do not take well to being subjected to reason and doctrine, as they are accustomed to live like clowns, without order or discipline, without a superior to govern them. In the long run, they have to have their own ways. To confirm this truth, suffice to mention something that happened during my term. The King of Mindanao having asked me for friendship, and religious, I sent Father Alexandro Lopez² of the Society of Jesus and Captain Claudio de Rivera with 12 Spaniards. Having welcomed them amicably, it seems, they feasted them until they felt safe, and surprising them when they were off their guard, they killed them all. After a few years, he sent me the satisfaction, saying that it was the King of Maquien and the King of Buhayen who were the traitors who had done the evil deed. Consequently, such examples are what cause difficulties with the project. Indeed, if any disaster happens to them, no-one will be able to rescue them, on account of the great distance, and the impossibility of finding sufficient vessels to do it; so, they will perish miserably.

Another thing makes me oppose the zeal of Father San Vitores, and it is that those [Philippine] Islands are devoid of [military] strength, and once this strength is dispersed, this problem will be even greater; when power is limited, if it is not united, they will break it easily. This is what I had to say about the matter.

May God keep your Lordship for many years.

Alhaurín, 20 December 1667.

Sabiniano Manrique de Lara.

1 Ed. note: Rather 37 in all (see HM1: 182).

2 Ed. note: Fr. Alejandro Lopez, a native of Aragon, was born in July 1604. At the age of 19, he went to Mexico and spent several years in commercial pursuits, then passed to the Philippines. In August 1631, he entered the Jesuit novitiate at Manila. He accompanied Governor Corcuera in his campaigns, before becoming a missionary among the Moros. At various times, he acted as an envoy to their chiefs on behalf of the Spanish Governors. It was on one of these embassies that he met his death, being treacherously killed by Moros, in December 1655 (see B&R 25: 62).

[To] Don Alonso Fernandez de Lorca.

[Endorsement:] Alhaurin 20 Dec. 1667. Rec'd 7 January 1668. To the Lord Secretary.—Don Sabiniano Manrique de Lara: He sends the report that had been asked of him regarding the reduction of the Islands of the Ladrones in the Philippines.

[Postscript added to the duplicate copy:] This is a copy of the report I wrote. I had forgotten to say that I do not know of anyone here in Spain who could inform knowledgeably on this matter.

Alhaurín, 3 January 1668.

Documents 1667H

Fr. Sanvitores sends a Memorial to the Queen

Source: AGI Fil. 82-2-29 and others.

Note: The original papers in the archives are in poor condition. The edges of the covering letter are missing.

H1. Covering letter to the Queen, dated Manila [July] 1667

Original text in Spanish.

Señora

*Ya por la bondad de el Señor podemos dar a V. Magd. los pas--- de el buen logro de su catholico y real zelo en la converssion, que proximamente de la gran multitud de almas de pobres Gentiles, que havitan la estendida cordillera de Islas, que corren de Norte a Sur desde el Xapon hasta la tierra Austrial incognita quales quadrava hasta aora bien el nombre vulgar de Islas **de los Ladrones**, por [la] priçion en que las tenian los tyrranos Prinçipes de las tinieblas con propissimo vo[lundad de] N. Señor Jesuchristo, y al Rey N. Señor, despues de haverse tomado la [posesion] de ellas por la Santa Fee, y Magd. chatolica [sic] mas ha de çien años ha.*

*Mas ya se deberan restituir al dichosso nombre de Islas de M[aria ...] en el nombre habreviado llamarse **Islas Marianas**, pues por medio de la p[rovidencia de] V. Magd. se restituieron, o restituiran a la antigua y legitima posesion de la divina, y humana, en que entraron que los auspiçios, y espeçial amparo de la SS... Reina Madre de el Rey de el çielo, que fue la primera Apostolica ... Pobres, con cuiã apariçion se convirtio y murio reçien baptiçado el primer ... que sabemos de dichas Islas, como mas por extenso se refirio ya en el informe, que [a V. Ma-]gestad remiti por medio de el Padre Confessor junto con las otras; que en dias señal... la SSma Virgen en las Naos de su invocacion, y en otras muestras de su es[peçial pa-]troçinio ha dispuesto el Señor en orden a la conversion de estos Pobres.*

Effecto mui espeçial ha sido de la divina providenzia presente, el haver [prepa]-rado el Señor tal attividad, prudenzia y çelo de el serviçio de ambas Magestades en e[se] Capitan General, Presidente, y Governador actual de estas Islas D. Diego de Salzedo, que no contento con la universal paz de estas Islas, que ha conseguido en su Gobierno la mayor que se ha goçado en ellas hasta aora, pues no solo estan enfrenados, y quietos [los]enemigos forasteros, Chino, Tartaro, Japon, Jolo, Borney, y Mindanao con quien ultimamente se ajustaron las paçes, y esto sin mas ruido, y gasto de --- y gasto de real haver, que el ruido, que ha hecho la fama de el v[-]aloroso nom-]bre de D. Diego Salzedo; como tambien los Naturales y atributantes --est--- las tantas veçes en otros tiempos inquietos, y sublevados, y estan sin la menor inqu[-]ietud] no contento pues con esto el Governador soliqita con tantas veras el añadir, y paçificar [de] nuebo tantas otras naciones, ya por tierra en lo que llaman Igolotes, que dentro de[sta] Isla de Manila tenian lo mexor de ella, reveldes aun al suave iugo de Xto, e imp[er]io] de el Rey N. Señor a quien y se ban sujetado en grande numero, y --- [one line missing] --- Apostolica de la sagrada --- de estas Islas, y tierras; yra tambien por mar emprendiendo esta facçion --- Islas Marianas, pro medio de la qual se puede esperar tendra mui presto [puestos?] a los pies de N. Sr. Jesuchristo, y de el Rey N. Sr. tantas tierras [y] gentes, que segun las relaciones de los descubridores, de que ba copia en el informe, [e in-]formes, haçen otra quarta parte del Mundo todo, que esta aun en las sombras de la muerte, y summa ignorenzia de el que los crio, y redimio.

*Y socorros, Señora, no seran bien empleados en la prosecuçion de tales empresas, --- que demostraçiones del agrado de V. Magd. en obras tan dignas de su piedad, y g[ran]deça, para que reconozcan los demas Governadores, Virreyes, y Capitanes Generales del Rey N. Sr. quan de veras estima y premia los serviçios, que çeden en tan[to] ajujmento de Nuestra Santa Fee, y converssion de las almas, que Dios, y el Summo [Pon-]tifiçe han puesto debaxo del Real amparo, y protecçion suia, y dominio, y mas q[ue] se proçede con la attividad, y puntualidad que ha tenido el Governador y Capitan General D. Diego Salzedo en dar cumplimiento a la Real Zedula de esta Mission que a los dos años, que se despacho en Madrid, se vee ya en su entero cumplimiento en Manila, --- aun en materias mui corrientes es cossa rarissima quanto mas en esta tan ardua, --- espiritual, que neçessita de tantos medios temporales, que a no ser tan singular el animo y zelo, que ha dado el Sr. al Governador presente, y su attividad, y puntual[idad] tan grande para executar las ordenes de su Magd, pudiera haver tenido mas mo[ti]vos, que han tenido otros, para eludir, o retardar las reales zedulas, que açerca de es[ta] Mission ha despachado su Magd tan repetidamente, sin haverles dado cumplimien[to] en estos çien años, y se le da aora quando se halla tan falto el Governador de socorros, y me[dios] y ha sido menester poner la maior parte de su sueldo para suplir la falta de la caixa real en esta y otras empressas del divino y real serviçio de estas Islas; y hallandosse sin navio aproposito para este viage se empeño en haçer de nuebo el Galeon S. **Diego**, que a fuerça de su actividad, en tan breve tiempo ha salido extremadamente bueno para este y otros viages del serviçio de su Magd., sin cessar por esso*

la fabrica de la nao N. S^a del Buen Socorro, que ba por el de estas Islas este año a la Nueva España.

La divina Magd. augmente al Rei N. Señor muchos ministros de semejante zelo; que con sus Reynos augmenten el de N. Señor JesuXto, y a V. Magestad y a toda su real cassa de la felicidad, y larga vida de que neçessitan tantas almas, con muchos mereçimientos de la eterna, como instantemente supplicamos sus obligadissimos Capellanes, de este Collegio de la Compañia de JHS de Manila çerca ya de embarcarme en el Galeon S. Diego para las Islas Marianas, llamadas hasta aora bulgarmente de los Ladrones.

Manila y [blank] de 1667.

Serfenissim^a Señora.

B.l.m. de V.Magd.,

S. m. [v. su sie]rvo,

[Diego de San Vitores]

[Endorsement:] *Manila, sin fecha, 1667. V. 27 março 1669. Consexo. Sobre esto ay papeles antiguos y modernos en poder del Relator Valle: Pondera el grande fruto se a de dar a nuestro Señor con la reduçion de los Indios de las Islas de los Ladrones, (que ya se llaman Marianas) y la brevedad con que el Governador [Diego] de Salzedo, dió cumplimiento a la çedula, que sobre esto, se embio. Sin embargo del ---tos medios con que se han para cuyo efeto a suplido de su sueldo, la falta de la caxa Real, y a hecho hazer de nuevo el Galeon San Diego para el viaje y remite la memoria incluso en que da notizia de varias tierras y gentes que confinan estas Islas, y de algunos me[dios] para su conbersion abriendo se--- comercio de Filipinas con el Pe[fru].*

Translation.

My dear Lady:

Now through the kindness of the Lord we are able to give to Your Majesty the steps(?) to the good outcome of your Catholic and royal zeal in the conversion that will be made soon of the great multitude of souls of the poor heathens who inhabit the extended chain of Islands that run North to South from Japan as far as the unknown Austral Land, for which the common name of **Ladrones** was fitting very well up to now, on account of the imprisonment in which the tyrannical Princes of Darkness were keeping them, with the express permission of our Lord Jesus Christ, and that of the King our Lord, since possession was taken of them by the holy Faith, and his Catholic Majesty, over 100 years ago.

However, they will have to go back to the very lucky name of the Islands of Mary [Immaculate?], abbreviated to **Mariana Islands**, given that through the providence of your Majesty they have been restituted, or will be restituted, to the former and legitimate possession, divine and human, in which they were placed, under the auspices and special protection of the Blessed Queen Mother of the King of Heaven, who was the first Apostle of these poor people. Her apparition caused the first [native?] to be converted in the said Islands and he died recently baptized; more has been said about this

in the report that I have remitted to Y.M. through Father Confessor, along with the others.¹ In her day the Blessed Virgin showed, through the galleons bearing her name, and in other signs of her special patronage, that the Lord had arranged in order to achieve the conversion of these poor people.

A very special effect of divine providence at present has been for the Lord to have arranged for so much activity, prudence, and zeal in the service of both Majesties in the person of the present Captain General, President, and Governor of these Islands, Don Diego de Salcedo, who, not content with the global peace of these Islands which has been achieved during his government, the best that has been enjoyed in them until now, given that not only the foreign enemies are refrained and quiet, but also those in China, Tartary, Japan, Jolo, Borneo, and Mindanao with whom finally peace has been negotiated, and this without much fanfare, or waste of ... and cost to the Royal Treasury, other than the fame spread of the valorous name of Don Diego Salcedo. The natives and tributaries are also [quiet?]; so many times in the past they have been unruly, and revolted, and they are without the least disquiet. Not contented, then, with this, the Governor truly seeks to add, and pacify once more so many other nations, firstly on land, those they call Igorots who hold the best part of this Island of Manila, still rebellious against the sweet yoke of Christ, and the dominion of the King our Lord, to whom they are being subjected in great numbers, and ... [one line missing] ... Apostolic of the sacred ... of these Islands, and lands. There will also go by sea this conquest of the Mariana Islands, through which it is hoped will be obtained very quickly [by placing?] at the feet of our Lord Jesus Christ, and of the King our Lord, so many lands and people, that, according to the accounts of the discoverers (a copy of whose report, or reports, enclosed) they constitute a quarter of the whole World, which is still in the shadows of death, and in complete ignorance of He who has created them, and redeemed them.

As far as succors are concerned, dear Lady, they would not be well employed in the prosecution of such enterprises, [otherwise] than as demonstrations of the pleasure of Y.M. in works so worthy of your piety, and greatness, in order for the other Governors, Viceroy, and Captain Generals of the King our Lord who so much esteems and rewards services that result in such an increase of our holy Faith and conversion of souls that God and the Holy Pontiff have placed under the Royal patronage, and his protection, and dominion, may proceed with the activity, and punctuality that Governor and Captain General Don Diego Salcedo has shown in complying with the Royal Decree about this Mission. Two years after it was despatched from Madrid, it has already been complied with in Manila. Even in the usual material things [speed?] is very rare indeed, the more so with this hard, spiritual [endeavor?], which needs so many material means

1 Ed. note: The Queen's confessor was Fr. John Everard Nidhard (or Nidardo, sometimes Nitardo, in Spanish). Born in the castle of Falkenstein, Austria, in 1607, he went to Spain with the Queen when she married Philip IV. After his death in 1665, a party at court, led by Don Juan de Austria, plotted against him and his power. Fr. Nidhard went to Rome, as a sort of Spanish ambassador, then became a Cardinal in 1672. He died in Rome in 1681. Among other things, he actively supported the concept of the Immaculate Conception.

that, if the attention and zeal that the present Governor had not be so singular, and his activity and punctuality so great to carry out the orders of your Majesty, he could have found many excuses, as many other have found, to elude, or delay, the royal decrees that your Majesty has despatched regarding this Mission so repeatedly, without having complied with them over these 100 years. The Governor gives these succors now that he finds himself so short of succors and means, and he has found it necessary to place the greater part of his salary to make up the deficiency of the royal funds, in this and other enterprises of divine and royal service in these Islands. Finding himself without a suitable ship for this voyage, he undertook to overhaul the galleon **San Diego**,¹ at the cost of much of his time, in such a short time that she has come out extremely good for this and other voyages in the service of Y.M., and this without affecting the construction of the galleon **Nuestra Señora del Buen Socorro** which is scheduled to go this year from these Islands to New Spain.

May his divine Majesty bless the King our Lord with many ministers with a similar zeal. May his Kingdoms increase along with the Kingdom of our Lord Jesus Christ. May He give happiness to your whole royal House, and the long life that so many souls need, with the gain of much merit for the eternal life, as we, your much obliged Chaplains, earnestly beg.

From this College of the Society of Jesus in Manila, now ready to embark aboard the galleon **San Diego** for the Mariana Islands, called until now with the common name of Ladrones.

Manila, [blank]² 1667.

Most Serene Lady.

Your servant who kisses your hands,
[Diego de San Vitores].

[Endorsement:] Manila, no date, 1667. Rec'd on 27 March 1669. **Council.** Regarding this, there are old and modern papers in the hands of the Reporter Valle: He ponders over the great fruit that our Lord expects from the reduction of the Indians of the Islands of the Ladrones (which are now called Marianas) and the little time it took Governor [Diego] de Salcedo to comply with the Decree that was sent about this. In spite of the shortage of means available(?) in the royal funds for this purpose, he has complemented them with his salary, and has had the galleon **San Diego** built for this voyage and he remits the enclosed memorial in which he gives notice of various lands and peoples in the vicinity of these Islands, and of some means for their conversion, by opening up trade between the Philippines and Peru.³

1 Ed. note: This galleon was built from scratch, although Fr. Sanvitores uses the expression "to make anew".

2 Ed. note: From Doc. 1668A, it is known that the San Diego left Cavite on 7 August 1667.

3 Ed. note: On 30 March 1669, the Council decided to have this letter, the attached memorial, and the papers in the hands of the Reporter, handed over to the Fiscal for an opinion.

H2. Other papers that are supposed to have been attached to the above letter were as follows:

- 1. Report about the Ladrone Islands**
- 2. Difficulty about taking along a garrison**
- 3. Difficulties that may arise against the proposed succor for the Ladrones through the ministers of the Society¹**

¹ Ed. note: This paper seems to have been a rehash of Doc. 1665C4/3.

Document 1667I

The mission band led by Fr. Pimentel

Sources: AGI formerly 45-2-7/10; copies in Colección Pastells, Fil. 15, fol. 24-26v.

List of the missionaries, dated 1 July 1667

Jesuit mission bands to the Philippines.

Father Alonso Rodriguez, Rector of the College of San Hermenegildo of the Society of Jesus in Seville.

I certify to the Gentlemen President and Judges of the Royal House of Trade that, according to the record books of the Procure of the said College, where the Religious of the said Society who come from various places to go with permission of His Majesty to the Provinces of the Indies are registered, it seems that the Religious who arrived at this City to pass to the Province of the Philippines with Father Luis Pimentel, its Procurator General, are the following, who arrived on the following dates:

+ **Father Luis de Medina, came from the College of Montilla, and arrived at this City of Seville on 9 June 1667.**¹

+ **Father Luis de Morales, came from the College of Salamanca, and arrived at this City of Seville on the 3rd of the said month and year.**²

+ **Father Pedro de Casanova, came from the College of Plasencia, and arrived at this City of Seville on the 3rd of June.**³

1 Ed. note: The file contains a certificate issued by Fr. Juan Bautista de Algava, Rector of the College of Montilla.

2 Ed. note: The file contains a certificate issued by Fr. Gabriel de Henao, Vice-Rector of the College of Salamanca, giving his name as Luis **Martin** de Morales.

3 Ed. note: Fr. Casanova was then only a theology student; so says a certificate issued by Fr. de Quesada, Rector of the College of Plasencia, to be found in the same file at AGI. It appears that he was substituted at the last minute for another (see Doc. 1668J3).

+ Brother Juan de Tati, came from the College of Alcalá, and arrived at this City of Seville on the said 3 June.

+ Brother Gerónimo Marcelo **Ansaldo**, came from Tarragona y arrived at this City on 13th of said month.¹

+ Brother Mauricio Martínez Montañez, came from the same city of Tarragona y arrived at this City on said date 13 June.

+ Brother Pedro de Salazar, came from the same city of Tarragona y arrived at this city on said date of 13 June.²

+ **Brother Lorenzo Bustillo, came from Villarejo de Fuentes, and arrived at this city on 3rd day of same month of June.**

+ Brother Pedro Landa, came from Madrid y arrived at this City on 29th of said month of June.

+ Brother Domingo de Yraurguya, came from Zaragoza y arrived at this City on 15th of said month of June.

+ Brother Francisco **Palazuelos** who was in this city, is included in the same mission band, as of 30 June of this year.³

All of the above are assigned to go in the company of the said Father Procurator General, Luis Pimentel,⁴ who came of late from Madrid go lead this mission band, and arrived at this City on 15th of the said month of June, and in faith whereof I gave the present Certificate at the request of Father Juan de Rivadeneyra, Procurator General of the Provinces of the Indies.

Made at this College of San Hermenegildo, on the 1st of July of 1667.

Alonso Rodriguez.⁵

1 Ed. note: For Brother Ansaldo's account, see Doc. 1668K.

2 Ed. note: The file contains a certificate issued by Fr. Diego de Valdes, Rector of the Probation House at Villarejo de Fuentes.

3 Ed. note: For Brother Palazuelos' account, see Doc. 1668J2.

4 Ed. note: Fr. Pimentel was born in Portillo, near Valladolid, in May 1612, and joined the Jesuit order in 1632, and 11 years later joined the Philippine Mission. He taught at Manila for 2 years, and afterward was in charge of various residences, before he was sent to Europe as Procurator. He was three times Provincial (1670, 1675, 1687). He died at San Miguel on 5 July 1689 (B&R 39: 132).

5 Ed. note: The fleet, under the command of General Agustin de Odioste (or Yustigue), reached Veracruz on 23 September. Only 9 members of this band went on to Acapulco and beyond (see Doc. 1668K); at least 2 of the Brothers remained in Mexico.

Document 1668A

Letter from Fr. Sanvitores to the Viceroy of Mexico, dated off Salagua (near Acapulco) 3 January 1668

Source: RAH 9/2676 part of doc. n° 11.

Note: The eastward crossing of the Pacific by the galleon San Diego took only 5 months (7 August 1667 to 5 January 1668), a minimum time in those days.

Original text in Spanish.

Exmo. Señor

Aunque espero no desmerezer el favor de V.Ex^a por el que siempre a echo a las cosas de Don Jeronimo San Vitores mi Padre y de mi Conde de Cabra del Santto Christto mi hermano por quien es y espeçialmente por la Virtud y buen zelo de mi Padre que aunque con artta confusion mia no puedo menos de reconozar pareze sea servido la Divina bondad suplir lo mucho que a mi me faltta de ttodo para las misiones y ministerios que sea dignado encargarme pero la piedad de la enpressa presentte es tal que ella sola confio en nuestro Señor que vastara a enpeñar en su amparo el jeneroso corazon de V.Ex^a tan zeloso del Divino y Real serviçio y de los aumenttos de nuestra Santta fee.

*El ffin Señor deste Viaje es llevar la luz del Santto Evanjelio a las Yslas nombradas bulgarmentte los Ladrones que ya se llaman Yslas Marianas a [h]onor de la Santtissima Virgen Maria que refieren haverse apareçido en una de ellas que los nattuales llaman **Tinian** y los Esspañoles Buena Vista y que con tan buena vista de la Santissima Virgen se comienzo y murio reçien Baptizado el primero que se save de aquellos pobres nattuales y aora finalmente se Dispone la conversion de todos con el mismo amparo de la Santissima Virgen Maria por medio de la deboçion y piedad de la Reyna nuestra Señora Doña Mariana en buen logro del Santto zelo del Rey nuestro Señor Don Phe[lipe] quartto que este en gloria que asi lo dejo Dispuesto por Su rreal zedula ffecha en el Buen rretiro a Veyntte y quattro de Junio de mill y seisçientos y sesentta y çinco en que se sirvio mandar que a Diego Luis de San Vitores de la Compañia de Jesus se de la envarcacion neçesaria para la dicha mision y se le avie de suertte que consiga el ynttento de yntroduçir el Santto Evanjelio en dichas yslas y passar a las provincias que conviniere*

*al servicio y entrar finalmente si se pudiere en el Pasen(?) el y sus compañeros de la misma Compañía de Jesus que para esto tubieren licencia de sus Superiores &a. de todo tendra V.Ex^a cumplido ymforme en el Pliego del Señor Governador de ffilipinas Don Diego Salcedo a quien vien en dirixidas dichas zedulas en cuyo cumplimientto con singular punttualidad y zelo dedico su Señoria y consiguio en brevisimo tiempo la ffabrica y avio deste Bajel **San Diego** para esta mision que se espera a de ser principio de la rreduccion de toda aquella Cordillera de Yslas y tierras que corren de norte a sur y diçen que es otra quarta parte del mundo y que junttamente sera disposiçion para rrestaurar la fe tan lastimamente malograda en el Japon no por lo que para esto aya de servir y immediattamentte la mision y asignaçion deste tan ynutile yndigno Ministro aunque suele servirse el Señor a vezes de los mas ynutiles para que se conozca mexor que es todo suyo lo que se hiçiere sino por el espiritu y trabajo de los otros ministros de todas rrelixiones que una vez asentada la escala destes Viaxes por nuestras Yslas Marianas vendran sin dubda a pobrarlas de Christiandad y haçer que como buenos ladrones arevatten y escalen el çielo las ynumerables almas que havittan dicha cordillera tan estendida y [h]açia al sur y a azia el nortte por donde se continuan estas yslas con la que llaman caveza del Japon de donde ay nuevas que la persecuçion esta mas mittigada aunque por el camino mas andado desde Manila no se aguarda tan proxima y ffaçil entrada como por la dicha cordillera de los Ladrones o islas Marianas donde sin perder tiempo entrettantto, con ttan copiosa y dispuesta mies como el Señor tiene de parada en el passo se ira haciendo el camino para la entrada del Japon al tiempo del divino veneplazito asi con atencion junttamente al remedio de unas y otras almas a echo tanto empeño en el punttual cumplimientto de dichas Reales zedulas el Señor Governador Don Diego Salcedo y lo que en tiempos tan aprettados no se podia de la Real Caxa lo a suplido con gran liberalidad de limosna propia para poner a la vela este vaxel y aviarnos a mis compañeros y a mi con ttodo lo neçesario y aun superabundante para el regalo y alivio deste viaje pero en lo que mas a mostrado de su Señoria la eficaçia que pone en esta enpressa es en poner la ultimamente en manos de V.Ex^a encaminando este navio al puerto de Acapulco ademas de ser este el camino mas derecho para tomar determinadamente la isla de **Guan** que ya llamamos San Juan juntto a la Sarpana y Buena Bista que es la que se ttiene por mas aproposito y ara escala de todos estos viaxes y que podra ser muy util al comerçio desta Nueva España y Filipinas y muy ffaçil su socorro sin nuevos gastos de vaxeles ni avios mas que lo ordinario que se despacha para el socorro de Filipinas que se encamina siempre a la bueltta por dichas Yslas de Guan y Sarpana ó Buena Vista.*

Por lo qual desde las primeras zedulas en que su Magd tiene hordenado se de doctrina a las pobres yslas de los Ladrones se da por ynstruçion que al yr desde Nueva España a Manila se dejen en dichas yslas relijiosos que las dotrinen y en su compañia unos diez soldados ó los que pareçiere convenientte, mas para dar ejemplo de christiandad que para defenssa por ser aquellos naturales tan paçificos y aun entonçes no tan tratados como agora dichos Españoles y reconoçidos por ttan amigables y sin malas calidades que los perturben que ni tienen secta de Mahoma ni de ydolos ni usan vino ni

otra cosa que les pueda embriagar &a. Por ajustarse pues mas puntualmente a esta instruccion y tomar seguramentte la dicha ysla de Guan y encaminar desde el principio el viaje del modo que sea de continuar en adelante sin nuevos gastos de naos &a.

*Y principalmente es que la divina providencia a querido que esta mision logre la eficacia y zelo de V.Ex^a dispusso en fin el Señor Don Diego que este navio se encaminase a dicho puertto logrando de camino como tan prudentte y zelosso del buen comun de las Yslas de su gobierno la ocasion de asegurar el socorro de Filipinas que thema algun rriesgo este año por no haver podido salir con mas tiempo la nao **Nuestra Señora de Buen Socorro** ffabricada de nuevo y destinada para el viaje deste año para el qual fin que estava ya con ttodo el Navio aviso se havia echo a la bela desde las provincias de Vissayas donde se fabrico quando nossotros desenvocamos de las yslas que fue a veintte y quattro de agosto por lo qual y ser la nao demasiadamente grande es muy de ttemer no tubiese bastantes tiempos para el viaje deste año de una vez pues esperamos de nuestro Señor y la Santtissima Virgen por mano de V.Ex^a el cumplimiento de todo lo que al presentte podemos desear asi para el remedio de las ynumerables almas de dichas yslas Marianas que se hallan en la mas extrema neçesidad que puede haver juntto con la mas prossima disposiçion para rreçivir el Santo Evanjelio cuyos ministros an pedido por medio de unos como embajadores e ynterprettes que el Señor nos a depurado de los que quedaron alli desde el año de mill y seisçientos y treyntta y ocho con la nao **Nuestra Señora de la Concepcion** que se fue a perder en dichas yslas a trueque sin dubda de que se ganasen aquellas almas y traimos dos de ellos con nosotros con cuya ayuda nos a faboreçido Dios para poner en su lengua a los de la Dotrina christiana y disponer algun modo de arte o vocabulario de aquella lengua y por la escala de estos pobres que quantto mas pobres son mas apropositto para escalar el zielo y conseguir otras muchas empresas del divino y Real Serviçio esperamos tanvien el paso que deçiamos del Japon en el tiempo que el Señor save sera mas oporttuno para aquellas almas y de camino asegurar mas para en adelante los viajes y socorros de Filipinas dando vien principio agora para que sse bea quan util es aun en lo temporal para el bien comun de aquellas Provincias la misericordia espirittual con tales pobres almas que se dexavan ssin remedio en el camino pues les envia el Señor aora a los de Filipinas por mano de V.Ex^a tanvien socorro temporal como esperamos con el mismo vajel que lleva el socorro espirittual a los Ladrones para el qual determinadamentte en virtud de la Real zedula se fabrico y avio y a llegado a esta costa de Nueva España con ttan felix viaje y tal salud de los que en el nos embarcamos que no emos tenido asta aora difuntto ni enfermo alguno de peligro que la bondad Divina y protecçion de la Santtissima Virgen y nuestros Santtos patrones y esperamos bolver de la misma suertte a continuar nuestro viaxe favoreciendonos el Señor por medio de V.Ex^a con tan breve y buen despacho como se requiere para que los Santtos yntenttos de su Magd en la salvacion de las almas de su patronato y dominio en que sus zelosos ministros ponen tantta soliçitud no se malogren ni en una sola alma de una criatura que por alguna dilacion deste viaje se nos muera sin la graçia del Santto Baupntismo.*

Para esto Señor por lo que toca al socorro de Filipinas y de la gente que viene y a de ir en este navio es menester lo que V.Ex^a save mexor y lo que rrepresenttaran en sus cartas el Señor Governador Don Diego Salzedo y el Almirantte Bartolome Muñoz que tiene por cavo deste navio y no sabe explicar a V.Ex^a lo mucho que le devo y las buenas parttes que en el e rreconoçido de vilijançia[,] prudenciã y zelo en el serviçio de Dios y del Rey y vien de los pobres de nuestras Yslas Marianas de quienes tiene espeçial conoçimientto y hermandad a su modo asenttada con ellos en barias ocasiones &a. Por lo qual me prometto a de lograr la merced que el Governador D. Diego Salçedo le a echo fiando de su cuidado el biaje y asientto desta Mision y la que en orden a su entera execuçion esperamos le hara V.Ex^a a el Almirantte y a ttodos los de su cargo que todos an proçedido muy bien y con espeçial vijilançia y açiertto el capitan Anttonio de Azevedo que viene por pilotto mayor.

Por lo que toca de particular socorro de nuestras yslas Marianas sera menester añadir vien poco mas a lo hordinario de Filipinas para el Culto Divino y sustentto de quatro sazerdotes y otras doze personas seglares que llevamos en nuestra compañia y los que V.Ex^a gustare se añadan las quales a lo menos en esta primera entrada conviene que no solo no bayan forçados sino con enttera y pura bolunttad de ayudar a la conversion de aquellos pobres con sus buenos ejenplos de christiandad para lo qual ya que no ay otro tiempo nos servira de prueba el de la misma navegacion sirviendose V.Ex^a en conformidad de lo que el Señor D. Diego Salçedo dispusso en Manila de dar orden al Almirantte para que de la gente que trae de Manila y la que lleva aora de nuevo escorta para dexar con nosotros en dichas yslas Marianas la que con buena açeptacion dellos mismos y satisfacion nuestra le pareçiere mas convenientte para esta primer[a] enttrada que en adelante el tiempo yra mostrando que gente conbendra añadir.

Lo que a mi me rresta de añadir aora para alguna saçon del gusto de V.Ex^a en desquitte de lo prolijo desta cartta es la copia de un papel que mereçio ganar la primera graçia y zedula de su Magd para esta mision sin dubda por las clausulas que tiene del apostol de las Yndias San Françisco Javier que enpiezan [“]tiempo es ya de dar un desengaño al rrey pues esta mas çerca de lo que el piensa la hora en que Dios nuestro Señor le a de llamar a dar quentta &a.[”] y dispuso el Señor sin cuya probidenciã no se muebe una oja de marbol ni de un papel que llegase este tres meses antes del falleçimientto del Rey nuestro Señor Don Phelipe Quarto que este en gloria, y se diese por mano de mi Padre en la del Señor Presidentte de Yndias Conde de Peñaranda juntto con el memorial en que V.Ex^a presava tanvien lo del pasar ultimamentte al Japon para donde se haçia paso por dichas yslas de los Ladrones con que se enlaço uno y otro en el zelo y orden de su Magd. de que se ejecuttasse esta mision en esa forma. Otro papel fue el siguiente año dirijido a la Reyna nuestra Señora en pliego para su confesor el Padre Everardo Nitardo bien lejos de saverse en Filipinas el estado de cosas y gobierno que se alla en la cortte con que triay [=traza?] otra vez pareçe a junttado nuestro Señor las çircunstançias que pareçian mas conduçenttes al buen despacho que aunque nunca se podia temer malo en ttal caussa pero podian temerse las dilaciones que en otras las quales a querido evitar en esta la divina misericordia disponiendolo con la mayor breve-

dad segun diçen que se a visto en yda y buelta y execuzion de otros negoçios y zedulas Reales.

Porque sin dubda deve querer el Señor se desquitte ya la dilacion tan lastimosa de mas de çien años que a que se thomo posesion de dichas yslas de los Ladrones en nombre del Rey nuestro Señor por el adelantado Miguel Lopez de Legazpi y se dijo misa en ellas, y se dio aquellos naturales la Real palabra de bolver ellos y enseñarles el camino del çielo el qual an perdido tantos millares de almas cada año por cuenta de quien ubiere sido caussa de tan desgraçada dilacion sin haver aquellos pobres dado la menor muestra de resistencia ni haver otra cosa que dificulte el darles la luz del Santto Evangelio sino es que sea la pobreza de dichos naturales que segun el mismo Santto Ebanjelio antes devia conducir mas para esto pues para ebanjeliçar a los pobres diçe señaladamente Christo nuestro Señor que le envio su eterno Padre.

*El Ayudante Anttonio Bernal que lleva estas carttas dara a V.Ex^a cumplida relacion de nuestro viaxe y del buen aguante de nuestro navio **San Diego** y felicidad con que el Señor nos a traído en el que aunque de pequeño portte y solas dos cubierttas y no mas capacidad de gente que la que es menester para lo que se hiço que es llevar la luz de el Santto Ebanxelio a nuestras yslas Marianas la fabrica y fortaleza es de las buenas que se abran visto en estos mares y en este viaje a querido el Señor se aya experimentado con lo bien que se a mantenido con bien rreçios temporales ffaboreçendonos el Señor por la inbocacion de su Madre y de sus Santos espeçialmente de nuestros singulares Patrones San Diego titular de nuestro navio y nuestro Padre San Ygnaçio en cuyo día de su otava **siette de agosto nos hicimos a la bela** y despues nos salio en suerte entre las que se suelen echar en esta carrera para esexer el partticular abogado del viaje de cuya proteccion tiene dadas vien particulares muestras y no menos su Santto hixo y apostol y Padre nuestro San Francisco Xavier pattron ya de antes elejido por votto de Manila para todos estos viajes en cuyo día tanvien de su otava Savado diez de Diciembre bimos las señas de la tierra que tantto se desean en estos viaxes de Manila a Nueva España y fue acavando de zelebrar una misa del Santto y otra de la Ymaculada Concepcion con el boto de defender y benerar este Santto misterio que hiçieron nuestro Almirante y los offiçiales y demas gente deste navio en la misma forma y protesta de la ymittacion del Apostol de las Yndias San Francisco Xavier que usan y tienen puesta en su Epittome los hermanos de su Venerable Congregacion en Mexico de la qual y de su S. ynsignes obras de misericordia havemos ya quien singular protector es V.Ex^a que no añade pequeña constança para los progresos de nuestra mission.*

Al dicho Ayudante Anttonio Bernal quando no uviera sido señalado para la funcion de llevar el pliego en zircunstançias tan cordiales nuestras del despacho esta mision y de ttantto gusto de V.Ex^a, quantto de gloria de nuestro Señor Jesu Christo recenptor de aquellos pobres y de espeçial serviçio de la Reyna del çielo y de la ttierra le deviera yo al dicho Ayudante Anttonio Bernal toda atencion y espeçial memoria delante de V.Ex^a por lo que le deve nuestra mision y viaje asi en lo perttenezieinte al vien comun y execucion y logro de los hordenes y cuidado del Almirante en nuestra navegacion como al bien de los partticulares sanos y enfermos que a la buena mano y caridad del Ayudant-

te Anttonio Bernal se puede atribuir mucho el no haver peligrado ninguno por esto y por la neçesidad con que se halla dicho Ayudante Anttonio Bernal habiendo tomado estado con una pobre donçella guerfana solo por rremediarla me le prometto todo favor de V.Ex^a, asi en la merced de jinetta con que suelen honrrar los Señores Virreyes a los mensajeros del pliego como en lo que mas a menester que es el socorro mayor y mas adelantado que se le pudiere dar y las demas mercedes que sabra haçer mejor V.Ex^a que no son suplicarle asi para el dicho Ayudante como para los demas de nuestro navio aventtando siempre como por ttantos tittulos lo mereçe y no menos por la neçesidad y pocas comodidades con que se halla sobre sus enpeños y obligaciones de familia a nuestro Almirante Barttolome Muñoz.

El tiempo ya tan entrado y preçisso para proseguir nuestro viaje y conseguir el fin de nuestra mision me obligan a sacrificar a nuestro Señor el consuelo que tubiera llegando a essa ciudad y bessando en persona la mano a V.Ex^a y berdaderamente la corttedad de mi vista y poco desenvaraço de viajes de tierra por lo qual pareçe tiene mas naçido ó menos ynutil con la graçia del Señor para las misiones de yslas y viajes de mar no podian darme lugar a haçer dos viajes de yda y bueltta con la priesa que era menester que aun los correos y avios de las cosas neçesarias para el despacho abran menester vien la eficacia y ardor de V.Ex^a para que no se pierda el tiempo y monçon de nuestro viaje para la en ttodo en nuestras yslas Marianas y consecucion dexa que inportta no menos que la salvaçion de tantas almas como dice su Magd. en su Real zedula.

Lo poco que yo pudiera asistir en esa çidad para rreçivir el orden y merçed de V.Ex^a en nuestro despacho se mejora sin dubda con la asistencia de nuestro Procurador el Hermano Françisco Bello y demas Padres de nuestra Conpañia hermanos de la Congregaçion de San Françisco Xavier que serviran no poco al çelo de V.Ex^a en lo que se serviere hordenarles como a procuradores desta mision y obra tan propria del Apostol de las nuevas gentes San Francisco Xavier, ó por mejor deçir aunque con peor letra V.Ex^a mismo sera el mexor Procurador del Santto Apostol y agentte mas efficaz de la Santtissima Virgen en esta su enpressa mariana y obra de tanta misericordia y gloria del amorosissimo redemptor de aquellos pobres ysleños a quien V.Ex^a hara en el rremedio de sus almas y aplicaçion del que nuestro Señor Jesu Christo las dexo con su sangre y el Rey y Reina Señores les disponen ya eficazmente a quentta de su Real haver y zelo de los ministros que representan no menos que su persona su piedad y patrozinio de stos pobres que de tal eficacia y zelo tienen pendiente su salvacion en que hara V.Ex^a Digo a la Magd. Divina y humana un obsequio tan grande como digno de su grandeza y piedad dando no solo el horden que conviene sino poniendo tanvien assimismo para que sea ygual la eficacia y ejecucion necesaria en la brebada de nuestro despacho y a buen seguro que el Señor agradecidissimo de sus rredenptor de dichas pobres almas y la medianera y Madre Santtissima y el agentte en la corte del zielo y apostol de las nuevas gentes con los demas Santtos patrones y angeles de la guarda sus procuradores.

Correspondan en sus offiçios a los de V.Ex^a con la justa y creçida recompensa de muchos aumenttos de graçia y salud y los demas que comunieren a su Exma. persona

y familia como suplicamos en nuestros sacrificios y oraciones y las que el Señor oyra de muy buena gana de los pobres e ynocentes que se convertiran con su divino favor en nuestras yslas Marianas asi las dos misiones [rather los dos misioneros] que venimos de Manila como las tres o quatro que esperamos de essa çiudad y Provinçia en que nos remitemos a la caridad del Padre Provinçial, y demas Padres y de nuestro Procurador de Filipinas que dara a V.Ex^a quentta de los que uvieren de benir este y los siguientes años si aora no estuvieren a mano los que son menester vien tiene V.Ex^a que añadir de la boz perdonando los borrones que e añadido de mi lettra despues de haver dexado casi sin margenes el pliego con tan prolija cartta desquitteme la materia tan del gusto de la piedad de V.Ex^a y la copia del Memorial de San Francisco Xavier artto mas sustancial y breve que remito con esta.

Señor muy entrado esta el tiempo para que tengamos mas que dever a V.Ex^a en la brevedad de nuestro despacho que a lo menos el no coxer dia de março en Acapulco ynportta sumamente para el cumplido logro de nuestro viaxe y mision y de la merced que esperamos rreçiver de V.Ex^a a quien otra y mil veçes buelvo a rogar al Señor guarde con muchos augmenttos de su divino amor en compaña de mi Señora la Marquesa cuyas santtas oraçiones y las de ttoda la familia pido umildementte por el buen subçeso de nuestra mision y salvaçion de nuestros pobres Marianas[.] sirvase la verdad Divina nos beamos con millares della en el çielo a los pies de la santtissima Virgen[.] las visijtas en esta vida son buenas para sacrificadas a Nuestro Señor por mexor conseguir aquella avista vien abentturada[.]

*Desta Nao **San Diego** y paraje de Salagua a tres de henero de mill y seiscientos y sesentta y ocho.*

*Beso la mano de V.Ex^a su menor Capellan y Siervo,
Diego Luis San Vitores.*

Translation.

Your Excellency:

Although I hope to deserve the favor of Y.E., as you have always collaborated with Don Gerónimo San Vitores, my father, and with the Count of Cabra del Santo Cristo, my brother, for whom, but specially for the virtue and good zeal of my father, although much to my confusion, I cannot but recognize that it seems as if Divine kindness has deigned to make up for my deficiency in everything for the missions and ministries that He has deigned to entrust me with, but the piety of the present enterprise is such that I trust in our Lord it will be sufficient to engage the generous heart of Y.E. so zealous in the Divine and Royal service to take under your protection the propagation of our holy Faith.

Sir, the objective of this Voyage is to carry the light of the holy Gospel to the Islands commonly named Ladrones, which are already being called Mariana Islands, to honor the Blessed Virgin Mary who they say has appeared in one of them that the natives call **Tinian** and the Spanish Buena Vista and so, with such a good vision of the Blessed Virgin Mary it began, with the first of those poor natives, who died recently baptized. Now,

finally, the conversion of all has been arranged, with the same protection of the Blessed Virgin Mary through the devotion and piety of the Queen our Lady, Doña Mariana, to carry on the holy zeal of the King our Lord, Philip IV (may he rest in peace). He had so arranged by his Royal Decree dated Buen Retiro, 24 June 1665, in which he was pleased to order that Diego Luis de San Vitores of the Society of Jesus be given the necessary vessel for the said mission and to supply him so that he might succeed in the objective of introducing the holy Gospel in the said Islands and pass to the provinces that might be convenient and enter finally, if possible, in the present(?) he and his companions of the same Society of Jesus, who would have received permission from their Superiors, etc. Y.E. will be fully informed about this by the letter of the Governor of the Philippines, Don Diego Salcedo, to whom the said decrees were addressed. To comply with them His Lordship dedicated himself with singular rapidity and zeal and managed in a very short time to build and outfit this vessel **San Diego** for this mission which, it is hoped, will be the beginning of the reduction of that whole chain of Islands and lands that run north to south, and which they say form the fourth part of the world. This will be as well the way to restore the Faith which has so unfortunately suffered in Japan. I am not saying that this mission and assignment of this useless and unworthy Minister will be of direct use for this, although the Lord sometimes uses the most useless so that it may be recognized better that everything is His doing. However, given the spirit and labor of the other ministers of all religious orders who, once the stopover of these Voyages at our Mariana Islands has been established, will no doubt come to make a Christian community out of them, and give these good Thieves the opportunity to carry off something and see the numberless souls climb to Heaven, who presently inhabit the said chain so spread out, both southward and northward where these Islands continue as far as the head of Japan, from which news have been received that the persecution is more mitigated, although the more beaten path to make an entrance there from Manila is not expected to be as available and easy as through the said chain of the Ladrones, or Mariana islands, where in the meantime without wasting time such copious and ripe harvest that the Lord has made ready, little by little the way to make an entry into Japan can be followed, at a time to be chosen by divine pleasure. Thus, taking into account the remedy of these and those other souls, Governor Don Diego Salcedo has complied with the said Royal Decrees with so many efforts and so readily, and at a time when the Royal Treasury was so obligated that it could not provide all the funds, he supplemented it with a great liberality of alms from his own pocket, in order to have this vessel sail and to outfit us, my companions and myself, with everything necessary, that is, abundant food supplies and relief for this voyage. However, more importantly, His Lordship has shown the effectiveness that he places in this enterprise by placing it finally in the hands of Y.E., by routing this ship to the port of Acapulco. Besides, this route is the more direct one can take to go decidedly to the Island of **Guan** that we already call San Juan, next to Sarpana and Buena Vista, which is the one considered more appropriate and where the port of call will be for all these voyages, one that may become very useful to the commerce of this New Spain and the Philippines.

It will be easier to bring succor to it, without the need for more expenses in vessels or outfittings, other than the ordinary ship that is despatched for the succor of the Philippines that is always routed through the said Islands of Guan and Sarpana, or Buena Vista, on the return voyage.

To this effect, since the very first decrees by which His Majesty ordered that the poor people of the Islands of the Ladrones be indoctrinated, an instruction is given that, upon going from New Spain to Manila, religious personnel to indoctrinate them be left in the said Islands and in their company 10 soldiers or so, or whatever convenient number, more to set an example of Christian living than for defence, as those natives are so peaceful; even then when they were not so used to dealing with the said Spanish as they are now, they were recognized as so friendly and without evil characteristics to perturb them. Neither do they have the sect of Mahomet, nor idols, nor do they make use of wine or other thing that might make them drunk, etc. That is the way then to obey this instruction as closely as possible, and to land more securely at the said Island of Guan, and organize from the beginning the method to be followed in future without new expenses of galleons, etc.

The main thing is that divine Providence, in deciding that this mission will benefit from the effectiveness and zeal of Y.E., arranged for Don Diego to route this ship to the said port, and, ever prudent and zealous of the public good of the Islands under his government, succeeding by the same occasion in ascertaining the succor of the Philippines, which he fears may be running some risk this year, as the galleon **Nuestra Señora del Buen Socorro** had not yet been able to leave. This new galleon was built expressly for this year's voyage; to this effect, she was all ready and the ship was advised of her having set sail from the provinces of the Visayas where she was built when we were going through the Entrance channel of the Islands, and that was on 24 August. For this reason, and because the galleon is overly large, it is much to be feared that she may not get good enough weather to make the voyage the first time around, this year. So, we hope in our Lord and the Blessed Virgin, through the hand of Y.E., the accomplishment of everything that we can hope at present, not only for the remedy of numberless souls in the said Mariana Islands who are found in the most extreme necessity that can exist, but also with the most ready disposition to receive the holy Gospel, whose ministers they have asked for, through some persons acting as ambassadors and interpreters that the Lord has offered to us, from those who were left there since the year 1638 by the galleon **Nuestra Señora de la Concepción** that was lost in the said Islands, no doubt to make us gain those souls in exchange. We bring two of those persons with us, with whose help God has favored us to make a translation of the articles of the Christian doctrine into their language, and to arrange for some sort of grammar

or vocabulary of that language,¹ and to provide a “ladder” so that these poor people can climb to Heaven—the poorer the more appropriate—and to achieve many other enterprises of the divine and royal service.² We hope also to open the way to Japan, as we said, at a time that the Lord knows, when it will be more timely for those souls and by so doing made the voyages and succors sent to the Philippines more secure, giving a good beginning now so that it can be seen how useful it will be even in the material sense for the common good of those Provinces the spiritual mercy toward these poor souls that were being left without a remedy along the way; indeed, the Lord is now sending them to those in the Philippines through the hand of Y.E., not only material succor as we hope with the same vessel that is taking the spiritual succor to the Ladrones. It was expressly for the latter purpose that, by virtue of the Royal Decree, it was built and outfitted and has arrived at this coast of New Spain, with such a prosperous voyage and so much health that among those of us on board we have not suffered a single death and no dangerous sickness, thanks to Divine kindness and the protection of the Blessed Virgin, and our patron Saints. We hope to return with the same luck during the continuation of our voyage, with the Lord favoring us through Y.E. with a quick and good despatch, as required, so that the holy intentions of His Majesty regarding the salvation of souls under his patronage and dominion, toward which his zealous ministers put so much attention, will not be made worse, not even by losing the soul of a single baby who dies without the grace of baptism, as a result of some delay in this voyage.

For this, Sir, concerning the succor of the Philippines and the people on board who must go on aboard this ship, suffice what Y.E. knows better and what Governor Diego Salcedo and Admiral Bartolomé Muñoz, who is in command of this ship, will represent to Y.E. in their letters. As for me, I do not know what to say exactly to Y.E. but this I know, that I owe you very much, and I recognize the good parts you played in it, with vigilance, prudence and zeal in the service of God and of the King, and for the good of the poor people of our Mariana Islands, about which you already have some knowledge and in some way share a fraternity with them on various occasions, etc. Therefore, I am confident that the favor made to you by Governor Diego de Salcedo by entrusting the voyage and the establishment of this Mission to your care, will be carried out in full, and we hope that Y.E. will do a similar favor to the Admiral and all of those under his command who have behaved very well, specially Captain Antonio de Azevedo, the Pilot Major, who acted with special vigilance and accuracy.

As far as the particular succor required by our Mariana Islands, it will be necessary to add very little to the ordinary one of the Philippines for the Divine Cult and food

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- 1 Ed. note: Fr. Sanvitores has given us the name of these two Filipino interpreters who taught him the Mariano language before his arrival at the Mariana Islands. They were Francisco de Mendoza and Esteban Diaz (see Doc. 16678F).
 - 2 Ed. note: The Spanish word “escala” doubly means “port of call” and “ladder”, hence the figure of speech.

supplies of 4 priests and 12 other secular persons whom we bring in our company,¹ plus those Y.E. would like to add, but, at least in this first entry, it behooves us not to bring convicts, but everyone should have the pure mind of a volunteer to help with the conversion of those poor people with their good examples of Christian living. Concerning the latter helpers, now that there is not much time, the men who came aboard this last voyage with us could be used as a test. In accordance with what Don Diego Salcedo arranged in Manila, Y.E. will be served to order the Admiral to select some from among the men whom he brings from Manila and those whom he takes now as new escort, to leave with us in the said Mariana Islands, as long as they accept willingly themselves and are acceptable to us, as proposed by him for this first entry. Time will tell which type of men should be added in future.

What is left for me to add now, that might be somewhat more agreeable to Y.E., to make up for the length of this letter is the copy of a paper that won the first favor and decree of His Majesty for this mission, no doubt because of the quotation it contains from the Apostle of the Indies, St. Francis Xavier, which begins: "It is time to admonish the King that the hour is much closer than he thinks in which God our Lord will call him to give an account, etc."² The Lord, without whose providence not one marble slab or sheet of paper can be moved, arranged for this paper to reach the King our Lord, Philip IV (who is in glory) three months before he passed away. It was handed over by my father to the Count of Peñaranda, President of the [Council of the] Indies, together with the memorial, also known to Y.E., in which it is mentioned that eventually the opportunity of passing to Japan by way of the said Islands of the Ladrones.³ Thus, both papers affected the zeal and gave rise to the order of His Majesty that this mission should go ahead as planned. Another paper was sent the following year to the Queen our Lady,⁴ enclosed in a letter sent to her confessor, Father Everardo Nitardo, as I was far from knowing in the Philippines the state of affairs and government overthere at court, with what twist(?) it seems our Lord has arranged the circumstances that seemed more conducive to the good despatch, although no evil can ever be expected in such a cause, but delays could indeed be feared, as in other cases, but divine mercy wished to avoid delays in this one case, by arranging it all with the greatest speed, they say, that has ever been seen in the mail going back and forth and in the execution of other affairs and royal decrees.

Because no doubt the Lord must love to make up for the pitiful delay of over 100 years since possession was taken of the said Islands of the Ladrones in the name of the King our Lord by the Adelantado Miguel Lopez de Legazpi and mass was said there, and the royal promise was given to those natives that they were to return and teach them the way to Heaven. That is why the loss every year of so many thousands of souls

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- 1 Ed. note: There were a total of 15 Filipinos. Fr. Sanvitores is not counting the two women and the child (see Doc. 1668F).
 - 2 Ed. note: The full letter is Doc. 1663C.
 - 3 Ed. note: This is probably Doc. 1668E1.
 - 4 Ed. note: Doc. 1665C.

must be charged to the account of whoever caused such a disgraceful delay, since those poor people have never given the least sign of resistance, or done anything else that might have prevented their being given the light of the holy Gospel, except perhaps the poverty of the said natives that, according to the holy Gospel itself, should have caused the opposite effect; indeed, Christ our Lord says specifically that His eternal Father sent Him to evangelize the poor.

Adjutant Antonio Bernal, the bearer of these letters, will give Y.E. a complete account of our voyage and of the good endurance of our ship **San Diego** and the prosperity with which the Lord had brought us in her; although she is of small tonnage and has only two decks and no greater crew than what is essential for what was done, which is to carry the light of the holy Gospel to our Mariana Islands, her construction and strength are the best that have been seen in these seas and in this voyage the Lord wished to have her tested fully with a few stiff storms, during which the Lord favored us through the invocation of His Mother and of his Saints, specially our special patron saints, San Diego [i.e. St. James] whose name is born by our ship, and our Father St. Ignatius in whose octave day, **on 7 August we set sail**. Afterwards we encountered the heavy seas usually encountered along this run, the more to exercise him as the special advocate of the voyage whose protection was made very obvious, and not least that of his saintly son and apostle, our Father St. Francis Xavier, who had already been elected in a vote in Manila as patron saint of all of these voyages, in whose octave day also, Saturday 10 December [1667] we saw the signs of land [off California] that are sought after so much during these voyages from Manila to New Spain. It happened at the end of the celebration of a mass to the Saint and another to the Immaculate Conception with a vow to honor this holy mystery made by our Admiral, the officers, and the rest of the people aboard this ship in the same form and protestation used by the Apostle of the Indies, St. Francis Xavier, such as the brothers of his Venerable Sodality in Mexico use and have printed with his Epitome. In this sodality and in their famous pious works of mercy we have already in the person of Y.E. found a special protector who adds not a small [element of] certainty to the progress of our mission.

Even though the said Adjutant Antonio Bernal had not been chosen for the function of carrying the letter in circumstances so dear to our hearts, those of the despatch of this mission, as much pleasing to Y.E. as it is to the glory of our Lord Jesus Christ, Redemptor of those poor ones and of special service to the Queen of Heaven and Earth, I would nevertheless bring to the attention and special memory of Y.E. the said Adjutant Antonio Bernal, because our mission and voyage owe much to him, with regards to the common welfare and the successful execution of the orders and care of the Admiral during our navigation, for instance, by looking after individuals, healthy and sick. It is to the good hand and charity of Adjutant Antonio Bernal that one must attribute much of the result that no-one's life was endangered during the voyage in question. On account of the necessity in which the said Adjutant Antonio Bernal finds himself, hav-

ing married a poor orphan girl, only to help her out, I trust that Y.E. will do him the favor of a mount,¹ the usual favor granted by the Lord Viceroys to the mail couriers, in addition to something more necessary such as more salary and promotion that he can be given and other favors that Y.E. will know better how to do. This I beg, not just for the said Adjutant but also for the rest of the crew of our ship, by granting to our Admiral Bartolomé Muñoz the advantages that he has always deserved on so many counts, not the least of which is the need and few comforts in which he presently finds himself with his charges and family obligations.

The time which is already so advanced and urgent for us to pursue our voyage and achieve the purpose of our mission, obliges me to sacrifice to our Lord the consolation I would have of going up to that City and to kiss in person the hand of Y.E.² In truth, my shortsightedness and my little suitability for travels overland—for which it seems I am more suitable and less useless, thank God, for missions in islands and sea voyages—could not give me room to make a round trip with the speed that is required. Even for the correspondence and the supplies of necessary things for the despatch, the effectiveness and ardor of Y.E. are all that is necessary to expedite them, so that no time be lost and that we may take advantage of the monsoon [rather proper season] for our voyage to our Mariana Islands, given that the importance of this despatch is based on the fact that upon it depends no less than the salvation of so many souls, as His Majesty says in his royal decree.

The little that I could do in that city to assist in receiving the order and favor of Y.E. in our despatch will no doubt be improved with the assistance of our Procurator, Brother Francisco Bello, and the other Fathers of our Society, the brothers of the Sodality of St. Francis Xavier, who will no less serve the zeal of Y.E. in whatever you may order them to do in their capacity as procurators of this mission and pious work so appropriate to the Apostle of the new peoples, St. Francis Xavier. Or better said, Your Excellency, though it be with less flourish, will be the best Procurator of the holy Apostle and the more efficient agent of the Blessed Virgin in this her Marian enterprise and pious work of much mercy and glory of the most loving redeemer of those poor islanders, to whom Y.E. will give in the remedy of their souls and application of the one that our Lord Jesus Christ gave them with His blood and the King our Lord and the Queen our Lady arranged for them to have, efficiently already on the account of their Royal Treasury and zeal of the ministers who represent no less than their person, their piety and their patronage of those poor peoples, whose salvation is now pending in the efficient and zealous hands of Y.E. I say that Y.E. will give their Divine and human Majesties a gift so great as it is worthy of their greatness and mercy, by giving not only the convenient order but also by making sure also that it be executed efficiently and as fast as possible, in the light of the urgency of our despatch and the good guarantee offered

1 Ed. note: The exemption of paying for his own horses, between Acapulco and Mexico.

2 Ed. note: However, the Viceroy sent for him and he eventually had to go to Mexico City, on top of the horse loaned him by the Fort Warden of Acapulco, in spite of his avowed lack of horsemanship.

by the thankful Lord to the redeptor of these poor souls and the intermediary and Blessed Mother and agent in the heavenly court and Apostle of the new peoples with the rest of the patron saints and guardian angels their procurators.

The functions of Y.E. correspond to theirs, and so will the fair and ample reward, with many increases in grace and salvation, and more that will be communicated to your Excellent person and family, as we beseech in our sacrifices [of the mass] and prayers, as well as the prayers most pleasing to the Lord that will be made by the poor and innocent ones to be converted with His divine favor in our Mariana Islands, not only by the two of us missionaries who come from Manila but also be the three or four whom we hope from that city and Province, regarding whom we defer to the charity of the Father Provincial and other Fathers and our Procurator of the Philippines. They will inform Y.E. about those who are to come this year and in the following years, unless the necessary ones are available now. I still would have much to tell Y.E. verbally, and please forgive the draft copies and the additions I made with my handwriting,¹ after having left such a long letter with almost no margins. My excuse is the nature of the subject matter, so much to the taste of the piety of Y.E., and the copy of the Memorial of St. Francis Xavier, which is somewhat more substantial and brief, I enclose with the present.

Sir, the time is far advanced already for us to get our despatch with the urgency that we owe to Y.E. so that at least by picking a date in March for it to be at Acapulco. This is extremely important for the complete success of our voyage and mission, and it is a favor which we hope to receive from Y.E., whom once again and a thousand more times I beg the Lord to keep with many increases of His divine love in the company of my Lady, the Marquise, for whose saintly prayers and those of the whole family I humbly beg for the success of our mission and the salvation of our poor Marianos. May it please the divine Majesty to let us meet with thousands of them in Heaven at the feet of the Blessed Virgin. The [personal] visits in this life are good things to offer as sacrifices to our Lord, the better to obtain that final fortunate interview.

From this galleon **San Diego** and vicinity of Salagua, on 3 January 1668.

I, your minor Chaplain and servant, kiss the hand of Your Excellency,
Diego Luis San Vitores.

1 Ed. note: The main text of this letter was either dictated to or composed by Fr. Cardenoso, his companion aboard the San Diego.

Document 1668B

Letter from Admiral Muñoz to the Viceroy, dated Acapulco 11 January 1668

Source: RAH 9/2676 part of doc. n° 11.

Original text in Spanish

Exmo. Señor

*Y por la bondad de Dios tiene V.Ex^a en este puerto este bajel, y la nao Capitana **Nuestra Señora del Buen Socorro** no a llegado en que confirmo la desconfianza que tengo de que aya tenido los tiempos de que se rrequieren para esta navegacion desde veynte y quatro de agosto en que desenvoque yo de las yslas con el favor del Señor y vien poca ayuda de los vientos y para entonces no tenia el otro Galeon los que eran necesarios para salir del Puerto de Albay donde estava y por esta rraçon me hace dubdar llegue a tiempo de poder bolver este año a Manila con que esta nuestro buen despacho en el favor que esperamos de V.Ex^a no aya solo logro de fin prinçipal de nuestro viaje que es la yntroduçion y asiento en los Ladrones o yslas Marianas de la predicacion del Santo Evangelio por medio de la mision del Reverendo Padre Rector Diego Luis de San Vitores y sus compañeros sino tambien el socorro tan necessario para la conservacion de todas las Filipinas que se hallan muy faltas de gente y medios para sustentarse y mantener en su conservacion la de nuestra fee Catolica en tantos naturales vasallos de su Magestad.*

Este navio Señor aunque de mediano porte pues no tiene mas de dos cubiertas y es de treçientas toneladas con todo vastante para lo preçiso del socorro de Filipinas, sin estorvar la empresa evangelica desta mision antes ayudara della pues sirbiendose V.Ex^a de ynviar la mejor gente que se pudiere para Filipinas se podra escoxer mejor la que fuere conveniente dexar en compaña de los Padres en la ysla de Guan que es en la que se pretende haçer escala[.] de las demas fuera de la gente que viene en este navio es capaz y ara llevar ziem [=cien] [h]ombres de guerra y mar y la mayor neçesidad que ay en las Yslas es de marineros los que traigo son muy pocos y aunque por la misericordia de

Dios y de la Santissima Virgen no queda en el mar ninguno de los que se embarcaron en este navio an enfermado algunos en la navegacion y estan ynpedidos de poder servir plaza de presente. Tambien ay necesidad de officiales de carpintero y galafates y dos o tres buenos marineros que entiendan algo de pilotos porque à los Padres les queden perssonas que les hagan envarcaciones para pasar de unas yslas a otras[.] neçesariamente carezemos de un cirujano que no le traemos y ara la plata y generos hordinarios del socorro y bastimentos para la gente ay bastante capacidad y para los neçesarios para el viaje en la cantidad que V.Ex^a fuere servido[.] en lo que toca a rreligiosos y lo demas en orden a la mision me rremito a lo que escribe a V.Ex^a el Padre Rector.

Sobre la brevedad de nuestro despacho no quisiera ymportunar mas porque V.Ex^a a buen seguro mirara con mas zelo que yo el que no se malogre el cumplimiento de los Santos yntentos de su Magd. en esta mision y del socorro de Filipinas este año que todo esta pendiente de la brevedad y asi esperamos de la eficacia y zelo de V.Ex^a, que no nos a de cojer Dia de Março en este puerto como conviene para conseguir uno y otro fin mas seguramentef[.] en todo óbrara V.Ex^a dando las hordenes que fuere servido para mas servicio de su Magd. que Dios nuestro Señor que Guarde a V.Ex^a y a toda su Excelentissima familia en mayores aumentos[.]

De esta Almiranta y Acapulco onçe Henero de mill y seisçientos y sesenta y ocho años.

Exmo. Señor a los pies de V.Ex^a.

Beso su mano su menor criado,

Bartholome Muñoz

Translation

Your Excellency:

By the kindness of God Y.E. has in this port this vessel [San Diego]. The flagship **Nuestra Señora del Buen Socorro** has not yet arrived; this confirms the suspicion that I have that she might not have had the weather that she needed for this navigation, which began when I came out of the Embocadero on 24 August with God's help. At that time, the other galleon did not have sufficient wind to leave the port of Albay where she was. For this reason I have my doubts that she will arrive on time to be able to make the return voyage this year to Manila,¹ so that our despatch that Y.E. should favor us with should not only aim at the accomplishment of the main objective of our voyage, which is the introduction and establishment in the Ladrones or Mariana Islands of the preaching of the holy Gospel by means of the mission of Reverend Father Rector Diego Luis de San Vitores and their companions, but also the so necessary succor for the conservation of all of the Philippines where men and means of subsistence are lacking, for

1 Ed. note: However, the flagship did make it and returned to Manila the same year, just as the San Diego did.

the maintenance of our Catholic Faith there among so many native vassals of His Majesty.

This ship, Sir, although it is of average capacity, for instance, she has no more than two decks and is of 300 tons, is nevertheless enough to ferry the minimum succor to the Philippines, without inconveniencing the evangelical enterprise of this mission. To the contrary, it would help it by providing better men, whom Y.E. would be sending to the Philippines, from whom to choose the best and as many as necessary to leave in the company of the Fathers at the Island of Guan, where it is intended to make a port of call. As for the rest, besides the men brought by this ship, she is capable of taking 100 seamen and soldiers. The greatest need right now in the Islands is for seamen. Those I brought along are very few in number, and although, through the mercy of God and the Blessed Virgin, none of those who boarded this ship was left in the sea along the way, a few have fallen sick during the voyage and are unable to fill a post at present. There is also a need for officers, that is carpenters, caulkers and 2 or 3 good mariners who know something about navigation, because the Fathers will need to have persons able to build boats for them, in order to pass from some islands to others. We are in extreme need of a surgeon, as we did not bring one along, and then there will be enough room for the silver and the ordinary goods of the succor and food supplies for the people, and the necessities for the voyage in the quantity that Y.E. will be pleased to give. As far as the Religious are concerned and the other things of the mission, I defer to what the Father Rector is writing to Y.E.

Regarding the urgency of our despatch, I do not wish to bother Y.E. more about it, because I know that you will take care of making sure that the holy intentions of His Majesty will be complied with, with greater zeal than I would, about this mission and the succor of the Philippines for this year. Everything depends upon urgency, and so, we hope that the efficiency and zeal of Y.E. will fix things, so that not a single day in March will catch us still in this port, as this is proper to achieve both objectives more assuredly. In everything Y.E. will act by giving the orders that you will be pleased to give for the greater service of His Majesty.

May God our Lord keep Your Excellency, Her Excellency and the rest of your family, ever with increases, etc.

From this almiranta at Acapulco, 11 January 1668.

Your Excellency.

At the feet of Y.E.,

Your minor servant who kisses your hand,

Bartholomé Muñoz

Document 1668C

Council meeting held in Mexico in January 1668 to consider the despatch of the San Diego

Source: RAH 9/2676 part of doc. n° 11.

Original record in Spanish

Decreto del 14 de enero de 1668

Mexico catorce de henero de seis cientos y sesenta y ocho.

Al Señor Fiscal con las cartas del Señor Governador de Filipinas y la del Padre Diego Luis de S. Vitores y con lo que dixere se lleve a Junta General de Hacienda lunes diez y seis del corriente a las dies de la mañana.

Parecer del Fiscal.

Exmo. Señor

El fiscal a visto estas cartas en que parese que el Señor Presidente Governador y Capitan General de las Filipinas Dice [que] envia el Patache que a surjido en el puerto de Acapulco para que lleve el socorro de este año y porque el piloto ó Maestre ynforma tiene neçessidad de piloto, marineros, carpintero y galagates y cirujano sea de servir V.Ex^a de que en esta Junta General se confiera de donde ó como se podra suplir la dicha gente.

Y en quanto a la mission que en su carta Dice el Padre Diego Luis de San Vitores le esta encargada por zedula de su Magd dirigida al dicho Governador para que le acuda con lo neçesario y pretende exonerarse deste cuydado ymonriendole à V.Ex^a se a de servir V.Ex^a declar[ar] no tocarle su cumplimiento.

Mexico diez y seis de henero mill y seisçientos y sesenta y ocho.

Liçenciado D. Francisco de Barreda.

Junta general.

En la ciudad de Mexico a diez y seis de Henero de mill y seis çientos y sesenta y ocho años en la Junta general de Haçienda que el Exçelentissimo Señor Marques de Manzera Virrey Governador y Capitan General desta Nueva España y Presidente de la Real Audiencia tubo con los Señores Liçençiado Don Francisco Calderon y Romero, Doctor Don Andres Sanchez de Ocampo, Liçençiado Don Juan Françisco de Montemayor y Cuenca Oydores desta rreal Audiencia Don Juan de Garnica y Contreras y Don Juan Miguel de Agurto y Salçedo cavalleros de la horden de Alcantara Alcaldes del crimen della Don Martin de Rivera, Don Juan Cervantes Casaus de la horden de Santiago Don Andres del Rosal y Rios Don Jeronimo Pardo de Lago y Don Françisco de Castro y Prado Contadores del Tribunal de Qentas desta Nueva España Valerio Martinez de Veda Oreta Contador de la Real Haçienda, Don Antonio de la Vega y Norona Contador de tributos y açogues desta Nueva España y Don Perafan de Rivera y Alarcon Contador de las rreales alcavalas:

*Haviendo visto las cartas de el Señor Governador de las Yslas Filipinas y la del Almirante que vino en la nao **San Diego** surta en el puerto de Acapulco y otra del Padre Diego Luis de Sanvitores que va a la mission y conversion de los naturales de las yslas de los Ladrones que son las de las foxas antecedentes[,] tratado y conferido sobre ello: se resolvio de conformidad de todos que se levante gente en la forma que se a echo los años antecedentes y que los offiçiales reales desta corte carguen al situado de las Yslas Filipinas todo lo que deve y por quenta del sea suplido y pagado desta rreal caxa conforme las hordenes y çedulas que tienen de su Magd. y su E. Ex^a socorra al Governador con lo que pudiere a su prudente disposiçion conforme el estrecho estado de la rreal haçienda y en lo tocante a la mision del Padre Diego Luis de San Vitores se declara no tocar a esta Junta ni a este superior gobierno mientras no se presentaren çedulas de su Magestad dirigidas y que ablen con el como le pide el Señor Fiscal y que ocurra donde le convenga y se replique que para fin de febrero saldra la nao y assi lo rresolvieron y rubricaron con su Ex^a.*

Translation**Decree of 14 January 1668.**

Mexico 14 January 1668.

To the Fiscal with the letters from the Governor of the Philippines and that from Father Diego Luis de S. Vitores and, once he has given his opinion, the file is to be seen in a General Meeting of the Treasury on Monday 16th of this month at 10 a.m.

Opinion of the Fiscal.

Your Excellency:

The Fiscal has seen these letters in which it seems that the President, Governor and Captain General of the Philippines Declares: that he sends the patache that has

anchored in the port of Acapulco to get the succor for this year, and because the Pilot or Master reports that he needs a pilot, seamen, carpenter and caulkers, and a surgeon,¹ Y.E. will be pleased to have the General Meeting consider from where or how it will be possible to supply the said manpower.

With regards to the mission, in his letter Father Diego Luis de San Vitores Declares: that he was entrusted by a decree of His Majesty addressed to the said Governor to the effect that he should support him with necessities, but he pretends to exonerate himself from this care by imposing it upon Y.E. So, Y.E. will be pleased to declare that the execution of this decree is none of your business.

Mexico, 16 January 1668.

Licentiate Don Francisco de Barreda.

General Meeting.

In Mexico City, on 16 January 1668, in the General Meeting of the Treasury that His Excellency the Marquis of Mancera, Viceroy, Governor and Captain General of this New Spain and President of the Royal Audiencia, attended with the following Gentlemen: Licenciante Don Francisco Calderon y Romero, Doctor Don Andrés Sanchez de Ocampo, Licenciante Don Juan Francisco de Montemayor y Cuenca, the Members of this Royal Audiencia, Don Juan de Garnica y Contreras and Don Juan Miguel de Agurto y Salcedo, Gentlemen of the Order of Alcantara, the Judges of the criminal court, Don Martin de Rivera, Don Juan Cervantes Casaus of the Order of Santiago, Don Andres del Rosal y Rios, Don Gerónimo Pardo de Lago, and Don Francisco de Castro y Prado, Accountants of the Tribunal of Accounts of this New Spain, Valerio Martinez de Veda Oreta, Accountant of the Royal Audiencia, Don Antonio de la Vega y Norona, Accountant of tributes and quicksilver of this New Spain and Don Perasan de Rivera y Alarcon, Accountant of the royal excises:

Having seen the letters from the Governor of the Philippine Islands and that of the Admiral who came with the galleon **San Diego**, anchored in the port of Acapulco, and another letter from Father Diego Luis de Sanvitores who is on the way to the mission and conversion of the natives of the Islands of the Ladrones, as shown in the preceding folios, discussion was held on this matter: it was decided unanimously that men be recruited in the manner done for previous years and that the royal officials of this court charge to the subsidy of the Philippine Islands everything that must be charged, and on this specific account should be charged what is debited from the royal treasury, in accordance with the orders and decrees of His Majesty, and your Excellency should succor the Governor with what he can prudently arrange, considering the state of the royal treasury. Regarding the mission of Father Diego Luis de San Vitores, it is declared that

1 Ed. note: This means that Admiral Muñoz' letter, dated 11 January, was also in this file; therefore, it took at most 3 days to get from Acapulco to the hands of the Viceroy.

this matter is neither a business for this Meeting nor for this superior Government, in the absence of decrees from His Majesty addressed [to it], and that the Fiscal is to talk the matter over with Y.E. to see if something what can be done.¹ Also, it was declared that the galleon is to leave by the end of February, and thus they decided the matter and signed their names, along with Y.E.

1 Ed. note: They simply decided to send a message to Fr. Sanvitores, asking him to come up from Acapulco.

Documents 1668D

Memorial presented by Fr. Sanvitores on 12 February 1668

Source: RAH 9/2676 part of doc. n° 11.

Note: Fr. Sanvitores appeals that the spirit rather than the letter of the laws be applied in this religious project, and he posts performance bonds.

Memorial presented through his lawyer, and official reaction

Original texts in Spanish.

Exmo. Señor

Diego Luis de San Vitores, religioso de la Compañia de Jesus en los autos echos sobre la mision que pretende haçer a las Yslas que llaman de los Ladrones supuesta la determinaçion de la Junta General que V.Ex^a fue servido de haçer para la deste negoçio. Dice que V.Ex^a se a de servir de mandar que del situado del Señor Governador de las Yslas Filipinas se saque para el havió competente de quatro religiosos y veinte personas que estan dispuestas a yr a dichas yslas y para el gasto neçesario al culto divino dando el suplicante fianças seguras y abonadas a satisfaçion de V.Ex^a y de dicha Junta General de que si su Magestad no fuere servido de thener a vien esta disposiçion que solicita bolvera toda la cantidad que se le entregare por que la Real bolundad toda es el desear el aumento de Nuestra Santa fee catholica[,] Propagaçion y extension del nombre de Jesuchristo en todas las partes del mundo cuyo animo muchas veçes a manifestado con palabras vien piadosas y ponderosas dignas de su Catolico pecho diçiendo que por la salvaçion de una alma diera de buena gana sus ymperios con que sirviendose V.Ex^a de obrar en esta conformidad siempre lo aprovara pues aun conforme a derecho las con-jecturas irraçionales de las boluntades tienen tanta fuerça como las expresiones aun quando los actos que la ynducen no son tan manifestos como los que tiene ejecutorados la Catholica Corona en materia tan ymportante donde aun parece que los apiçes de el derecho y sus preçisiones se abian de templar por sobre salir tanto de consecuçion de que depende la conversion de tantas almas rredimidas con la sangre de Jesuchristo cuyo

logro esta oy en manos de V.Ex^a para que con su gran çelo se comunice su notiçia en aquellas yslas y V.Ex^a los partiçipe del bien que tan abundantamente goçan a Nuevas Españas hacçion que sera de mucho agrado a la Real Magestad pues aunque no aya venido la rreal zedula dirijida a este superior gobierno[,] pareçe que constando ser bo-luntad suya lo rreferido el emplearse en su ejecuçion sera de grande obsequio a su rreal persona que aunque el dicho Señor Governador solo atendiera a exson[er]arse deste cuydado por ser como es echo de un particular no puede ympedir un serviçio tan grande a las dos Magestades demas de que si V.Ex^a se sirve de que de su situado se haga dicho gasto no bendra a quedar exsonerado dicho Señor Governador y V.Ex^a consigue el ser ynstrumento de obra tan meritoria y agradable a los oxos de Dios que acordandose de V.Ex^a le truje a las manos semexante ocasion y como quiera que siempre a de salir el dicho gasto de la Real Hazienda no viene a haver mudança ó, contravençion alguna en la sustançia por darse en esta çiudad eso socorro ymmediatamente quando della se provee la de Filipinas y solo el modo de la distribuçion viene a haçer la diferençia por-que la mente de su Magestad no miro essençialmente mas de que se sacase de su Real hacienda el dicho gasto pues consta prevençion se excusa el travaxo de volver a las Yslas Filipinas peligros de la navegacion y dilacion del viaxe y rriesgo de aquellos miserables naturales que no resisten su remedio a que se añade no hallarse que peligre la Real Ha-cienda con las fianças que desde luego ofrece el suplicante tan seguras que en contin-gençia contraria enojara(?) le que rreçivere cuyo exsamen queda desde luego al arbitrio de V.Ex^a que en todo rrigor bendra a parar en que se buelva el dicho gasto en casso que no se aprueve y para verifiçacion de la dicha çedula que consta por las cartas pressen-tadas[,] hago demestracion [sic] de la patente en virtud de que me despacho à dichas Yslas el Padre Domingo de Esquerria Provinçial de la Compañia de Jesus de dicha çiudad de Manila.

A V.Ex^a pide y suplica se sirva de haviendo por demostrada dicha patente de man-dar haçer y determinar como en este scripto pide en que rreceviera merçced como lo es-pera de la grandeza de V.Ex^a.

Do[c]tor Joseph de la Llana

Diego Luis San Vitores

Decree of the Viceroy.

Mexico y febrero onze de mill y seisçientos y sesenta y ocho.

Al Señor Fiscal con la carta del Padre Diego de Sanvitores y la patente de su General.

Answer of the Fiscal.

Exmo. Señor.

El medio que ofreze el Padre Diego Luis de San Vitores dando fianças de que qui-tandose del situado de Filipinas el gasto que a menester para enpressa tan santa lo apro-vara por rreal çedula la Reina nuestra Señora vençe toda dificultad que a V.Ex^a y al Fiscal ponía en algun envaraço que como quiera que para toda dicha santa empresa[,] viage y assistençia a la predicacion vastaran dies mill pesos segun su Paternidad Diçe sea de servir V.Ex^a demandar quedando la fiança que ofrece se le den a su Paternidad desfalcandolo del que se envia por situado, aunque este se aumente proporcionalmente.

Mexico y febrero doce mill y seisçientos y sesenta y ocho.

Liçençado D. Françisco de Barreda.

Note by the Viceroy.

Mexico y febrero doce de seisçientos y sesenta y ocho.

Llevese a Junta General esta tarde a las quatro.

General Meeting.

En la Junta General de Haçienda extraordinaria de doce de febrero de mill y seisçientos y sesenta y ocho que el Exçelentissimo Señor Marques de Mançera Virrey y Governador y Capitan general desta Nueva España, etc.

Se vio sobre el socorro que pide el Padre Diego Luis de San Vitores para la mission de las Yslas de los Ladrones[.]

Se resolvio que se le entreguen al dicho Padre San Vitores por quenta del situado de Filipinas diez mill pesos con fianças a satisfaçion de los Juezes oficiales reales desta Corte de que dentro de tres dias que corran y se quenten desde la partença de la Primera flota ó despacho que se hiçieren a su Magestad traera su conformaçion como lo pide el Señor fiscal y en el despacho que se hiçiese se ynserte la carta que escrivio a su Exçelencia el Señor Governador de Filipinas y asi lo resolvieron.

[Firmas y rubricas]

Translation of the above texts.

Your Excellency:

Diego Luis de San Vitores, Religious of the Society of Jesus, in the declarations made concerning the mission that he pretends to take to the Islands called Ladrones, given the determination of the General Meeting that Y.E. was pleased to hold regarding this matter, Declares: that Y.E. should be pleased to order that [money] from the subsidy of the Governor of the Philippine Islands be taken for the competent outfitting of four Religious and 20 persons who are disposed to go to the said Islands and for the expense necessary for the divine cult, the suppliant offering safety bonds underwritten to the satisfaction of Y.E. and of the said General Meeting, to the effect that, if His Majesty is not pleased to approve this arrangement which he sollicits, the whole amount given to him will be refunded, because the Royal will is entirely in favor of extending our holy Catholic Faith, propagating and extending the name of Jesus Christ in all parts of the world, and the King has shown this spirit many times with pious and powerful words worthy of his Catholic breast, saying that for the salvation of one soul, he would willingly give his empires. Hence, Y.E. should be pleased to act in accordance with the idea that he will always approve. Indeed, in law, even irrational conjectures in last wills have force of law, as much as expressions, even if the deeds that induce it are not as manifest as those that the Catholic Crown has placed on record regarding such an important matter, from which it can be assumed that the spirit of the law is sufficient to bend the letter of the law, given the high relative importance of the consequence, that is, the conversion of so many souls redeemed by the blood of Jesus Christ, which project is today in the hands of Y.E., so that with your great zeal the good news can be communi-

cated in those Islands and Y.E. may bring to them the benefits that are enjoyed in the New Spains, a deed that will be of much pleasure to the Royal Majesty. Indeed, although the royal decree addressed to this superior government has not come, it seems that his will is stated clearly enough in this matter and that anything done to carry it out will be a personal favor to his royal person, and that even if the said Governor had tried to exonerate himself from this care, coming as it is from an individual, such cannot prevent [anyone else] from doing such a great service to both Majesties, besides the fact that if Y.E. were pleased to charge the costs to the subsidy the said Governor would not in fact be exonerated, and Y.E. would become the instrument of such a project so meritorious and agreeable in the eyes of God. Suffice for Y.E. to recall the precedent at hand, that inasmuch as the said expense must come out of the Royal Treasury one way or another, this does not constitute an innovation, or any contravention in substance, given that that succor to the Philippines must necessarily come out from this City, and only the method of distribution is at variant here, because the mind of His Majesty essentially did not go beyond stating that the said expense is to come out of his Royal Treasury. Indeed, account must be taken [otherwise] of the hardship of returning to the Philippine Islands, the risks of navigation and delay in the voyage and the risk to those miserable natives who do not resist their remedy, to which is added the fact that the Royal Treasury runs no risks with the bonds which the suppliant offers and are, of course, so secure that, if they were not, the person accepting them would be annoyed.¹ The resolution of this matter remains, of course, the judgment of Y.E.; in the strictest case, this could be that the funds be refunded in case they are not approved [by the Queen] and we present the said decree, made known in the letters already placed on record. I make the demonstration of the patent that Father Domingo de Ezquerro, Provincial of the Society of Jesus in the said city of Manila has given me, by virtue of my despatch to the said Islands.

He begs and beseeches Y.E. to please accept the said patent as deposited, and to order and resolve what he asks in this brief, in which he would be obligated, as he hopes to get from the greatness of Y.E.

Doctor José de la Llana

Diego Luis San Vitores

Decree of the Viceroy.

Mexico, 11 February 1668.

To the Fiscal with the letter from Father Diego de Sanvitores and the patent of his General [sic].

Answer of the Fiscal.

Your Excellency:

The means chosen by Father Diego Luis de San Vitores, that of posting bonds, [betting] that the deduction from the subsidy of the expense necessary for this holy enterprise will meet with the approval by royal decree of the Queen our Lady, removes all

1 Ed. note: In other words, if the bonds are not accepted, the underwriters will be upset.

difficulties that Y.E. and the Fiscal were placing by way of an obstruction. Given that in any case 10,000 pesos will be sufficient for the whole of this holy enterprise, the voyage and assistance to preaching, according to His Paternity, who Declares: that Y.E. should be pleased to ask that the guarantee offered by his Paternity be accepted, discounting the amount from the subsidy that is being sent, even though the subsidy be increased proportionally.

Mexico, 12 February 1668.

Licentiate Don Francisco de Barreda.

Note by the Viceroy.

Mexico, 12 February 1668.

Bring it up at the General Meeting this afternoon at 4.

General Meeting.

In the extraordinary General Meeting of the Treasury called by His Excellency the Marquis of Mancera, Viceroy, Governor and Captain General of this New Spain on 12 February 1668, etc.¹

This meeting was called to discuss the succor requested by Father Diego Luis de San Vitores for the mission of the Islands of the Ladrones.

It has been decided that 10,000 pesos be delivered to the said Father San Vitores on the account of the subsidy of the Philippines, with bonds to satisfy the royal officials of this Court within the next three days, and [if so] they are to run as of the date of departure of the first fleet or despatch made to His Majesty, as the Fiscal has specified, and in the despatch in question the letter written to His Excellency by the Governor of the Philippines is to be inserted, and so they have decided the matter.

[Signatures and rubrics]²

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- 1 Ed. note: This was indeed an extraordinary meeting, as it was held on a Sunday, Shrove Sunday (see Doc. 1668J3). The rest of the introduction as in the previous document. There were present: Calderon y Romero, Sanchez de Ocampo, Garnica y Contreras, Rivera, Cordova, Pardo, Castro y Prado, Salinas, Martinez de Vida [sic], Deça y Ulloa, and Perassan de Rivera.
 - 2 Ed. note: The fleet of General Agustin de Odioste (or Yustigue) had already left Veracruz on 22 January 1668. Therefore, this despatch must have gone by advice boat.

Documents 1668E

Book printed by the Sodality of St. Francis Xavier of Mexico

*Sources: Book entitled: "Memorial que el P. Diego Lvys de San Vitores, Religioso de la Compañía de Jesus, Rector de las Islas Marianas remitió á la Congregacion del glorioso Apostol de las Indias S. Francisco Xavier de la Ciudad de Mexico, pidiendo le ayuden, y socorran para la fundacion de la Mission de dichas Islas" [= Memorial presented by Fr. Sanvitores, Religious of the Society of Jesus, Rector of the Mariana Islands, to the Sodality of the glorious Apostle of the Indies, St. Francis Xavier, of Mexico City, asking for their help and relief in order to found the Mission in the said Islands]; printed by Francisco Rodriguez Lupercio, Mexico, 1669 (80 pages); copy in ARSI Fondos Jesuíticos 849, N° 5; cited in Medina's *La impronta en Mexico*, n° 1017 and in Sabin, 76901.¹*

Introductory note, by Fr. Ledesma.

Fr. Sanvitores hurried on from Acapulco to Mexico and presented himself to the Marquis of Mancera, Viceroy of New Spain. The latter did not hesitate to make known his difficulties, and the expense of 10,000 pesos requested of him for the new expedition seemed to have instantly terrified him. However, thanks to the intervention of his consort and principally to the backing of some people who offered to be guarantors for the Father and promised the Viceroy to reimburse to the Royal treasury the 10,000 pesos if within three years His Majesty did not approve the advance of that amount, the Viceroy ordered that the missionary's request be granted.

The generosity of the whole city of Mexico came also to the Father's assistance. The Sodalists of St. Francis Xavier alone collected 10,000 pesos for their old Prefect. Also an enormous amount of alms reached him in the form of vestments, chalices and cloth.

Having thus accomplished satisfactorily the purpose of his voyage to the Capital of New Spain, Fr. Sanvitores had nothing more to do than to say farewell to the world and to confine himself in that corner of the earth so dearly desired by his heart, not without asking, however, for the blessing of the Holy Father, His Holiness Clement IX, three days before his departure (see Doc. 1668G).

¹ Ed. note: The memorial itself takes up more than half the pages of this book, there being 9 other documents, 2 of which were also written by Fr. Sanvitores.

Description of the contents of Fr. Sanvitores' Memorial printed in Mexico.

Source: Maggs Bros. Cat. N° 491 (1927), n° 34, pp. 24-25.

The **first section** of this Memorial, which is divided into nine parts, contains 43 pages, and in it Father Luis de Sanvitores points out the advantages offered by the Mariana Islands as a stepping-stone to Australia, and states that he is appending the text of a memorial which the famous Pedro Fernandez de Quiros addressed to Philip III of Spain in 1610, in support of his opinion that Australia would be well worthy of conversion. He calls attention to the statement of Quiros that "the unknown land of Australia comprises one quarter of the globe's territory, inhabited by poor uncivilized heathen, without king or law, and free from the stumbling-blocks which have been placed in the path of our faith in other countries by the tyranny of Princes, the greed and craft of Indian Chiefs or Priests, the infernal sect of Mahomet, and diabolical superstition of idolatry and witchcraft; free, too, from the vices common to other peoples." Among other important matters, he mentions that the old name of the Islands, the Ladrones, was changed to that of the Marianas, both as a dedication to the Virgin Mary and in honor of the Spanish Queen, Maria Ana. He also refers to Japan, and to an offer he had received from a Portuguese Captain and some Chinese sailors, of a passage there.

The **second** section gives a short account of the various islands forming the Mariana group, "ranging as far as Japan."

The **third** section ... occupies 6 pages, and gives the account of the voyage of Alvaro de Mendaña de Neyra for the re-discovery of the Solomon Islands, telling how Mendaña left Callao on 9 April 1595, and of the various South Sea Islands discovered by the expedition, of the death of Mendaña at the Island of Santa Cruz near the New Hebrides [Vanuatu], and of the expedition's failure and the return of the survivors to Manila. Quiros accompanied this expedition as the chief-pilot.

The **fourth** section ... occupies 8 pages, and contains the famous eighth Memorial of Quiros, addressed to Philip III of Spain in 1610, "On the Colonization and Discovery of the fourth part of the World, Unknown Australia, its wealth and fertility." In this memorial Quiros pleads to be allowed to conduct another expedition for the discovery and conversion of Australia. In a series of 8 divisions he tells the King of his discoveries among the Islands of Australasia, describing their peoples and products, and their great extent. "In longitude they are about equal to all Europe, Asia Minor as far as the Caspian Sea and Persia, with all the Islands of the Mediterranean and those in the region of the Atlantic ocean, including England and Ireland. That unknown region represents a quarter of the globe, and has such possibilities that there may be twice the lands of which your Majesty is now lord." This memorial forms one of the most valuable and historical documents for the early history of the quest for the discovery of Australia. A

crude translation of it, omitting various passages, was published in Purchas in 1613. Dalrymple, in 1770-1, gave a complete translation, and another was published by the Hakluyt Society in 1904.¹

The **fifth** section occupies 8-1/2 pages, and is entitled: "Reasons for not delaying the conversion and education of the Ladronne Islands, which would lead to the conversion of innumerable souls throughout that group of islands and the unknown Austral land which is said to occupy one quarter of the globe, and which is as yet under the shadow of death without the light of the Gospel."

The **sixth** section deals with the practical means of establishing this mission.

The seventh section suggests an alternative proposition should the other method not meet the approval of the Spanish Government.

The **eighth** section describes various gifts given by the Jesuits in Mexico to Father San Vitores towards the foundation of this mission, and gives the text of his first letter dated from the Island of Guam, 18 June 1668, describing briefly his voyage, and initial success in the Marianas...

The **ninth**, and last, section contains a letter from another missionary who accompanied Father San Vitores.

Introduction of the book, translation by Fr. Juan Ledesma.²

Your Excellency.

This Brief of Father Diego Luis de San Vitores seeks in Your Excellency the pleasure which its author found and which he was assured with as many guarantees as were the singular favors which he received from Your Excellency. The continuing grant of their favors is something that gives glory to the Princes, because the last ones always enhance the first, and gives credit to the decision which began the following beneficence. Father Diego Luis de San Vitores owes to the generous beneficence of Your Excellency the spiritual enterprise of the Mariana Islands, which is a glorious objective of your apostolic zeal. But its execution was so difficult, as well as so heroic, that it could not be realized until it reached the prudent decision of Your Excellency. With your piety and liberality you were able to convert the difficulties into opportunities, for indeed they are such for the glory of Him who overcomes whatever difficulties there are in enterprises of such great service to both Majesties.

In this regard Your Excellency came to the rescue of the enterprise, in accordance with the orders of his Majesty the King, Don Felipe IV the Great (who is now in Heaven) with 10,000 pesos taken from the Royal treasury of Mexico. To this your Christian piety added great sums from your own property, so that what was generous on your

1 Ed. note: Carlos Sanz has published a facsimile reproduction of the original Madrid 1610 edition, at Madrid in 1963. There was another early English edition by Hodgetts at London in 1617.

2 Ed. note: Translation made by Fr. Ledesma, in *The Cause for Beatification*.

part would become a credit to the Christianity of His Majesty, and the example of Your Excellency a strong impulse for the imitation of the whole of Mexico.

In a special manner the Sodality of St. Francis Xavier, which regards Your Excellency as its protector, held you on this occasion as its ideal so that even on the human level our ambitious largesse could glory itself. For if in the opinion of Casiodorus even the wastefulness deserves the praise of virtue if in what it spends of its property it purchases and acquires applause and fame, what must it be when our expense was the price for the imitation of Your Excellency? And it will always be a precise pledge of your protection and help, never more needed than when the Sodality is greater in applause and esteem, and therefore more exposed to failures and insults. But it will always be safe, if as in divine things it enjoys the patronage of St. Francis Xavier, it also gains on the human level the protection of Your Excellency (with the event that so felicitously took place as has been verified through the news that the vessel of the Philippines brought us this year).

May Heaven grant us that your government last for many happy and long years.

Most Excellent Lord,

I kiss the hands of Your Excellency in the name of the Sodality of St. Francis Xavier, I who am

Your Precentor,

Doctor D. Diego Osorio y Peralta.¹

Other documents printed with the Memorial

Notice of the islands and lands neighboring the Ladrone Island Chain, already called the Mariana Islands, including the narrative [by Quirós] of the Voyage of the frontier Governor Alvaro de Mendaña de Neyra to the discovery of the Solomon Islands

[Document not reproduced here. See Doc. 1696C in Vol. 2.]

Narrative of a Memorial presented to H.M. by Captain Pedro Fernandez de Quirós, regarding the colonization and exploration of the fourth part of the world, the unknown Australia

[Document not reproduced here.]²

1 Ed. note: This is a pen-name used by Fr. Sanvitores.

2 Ed. note: See description of the book, above.

[Section 8, part 1:] List of what the members of the Sodality of our Father St. Francis Xavier gave to Father Diego Luis de Sanvitores, of the Society of Jesus, for the foundation of the New Church of the Mariana Islands.¹

[Section 8, part 2:] Letter written by Fr. Sanvitores at his arrival at the Mariana Islands, dated Island of San Juan, 18 June 1668

[Document reproduced as Doc. 1668J1 below.]

[Section 9:] Part of a letter from one of the Fathers who went with Fr. Sanvitores

[Document reproduced as Doc. 1668J2 below.]

Editor's note regarding the Sodality of St. Francis Xavier in Mexico

Sources: 1) Fr. Gérard Decorme's book: "La obra de los Jesuitas Mexicanos," vol. 1, Mexico, 1941; 2) Fr. Alegre's Historia, vol. 3.

In the middle of the 17th century, many prodigious events and miracles occurred throughout New Spain, and were ascribed to the intercession of St. Francis. The most famous of these was the sweating of a statue of the saint in the College of San Ildefonso in Mexico City, while Fr. José Vidal was Rector. The brother of this Rector, Fr. Cristóbal Vidal, was responsible for recruiting 8 other priests and together they founded the Sodality, attached to the church of Santa Veracruz. The sodality was approved by Archbishop Mateo Segue y Burgueiros in 1658.

The sodality grew rapidly, specially after the approval of Pope Alexander VII was obtained. Men as well as women were admitted; the more famous members at this time was the viceregal couple, the Duke and Duchess of Albuquerque. They year 1661 saw the presence of Fr. Sanvitores in Mexico City. He took a particular interest in this sodality, and preached many "missions" to it. It is claimed that Fr. Sanvitores had with him a chalice that had belonged to St. Francis Xavier himself; this he gave to the Sodality, and it was preserved there for many years. This act is what prompted the Sodality to make a generous gift to Fr. Sanvitores, so that he could purchase all the chalices and church ornaments he needed to found the Mariana Island Mission.

Three feast-days marked for special devotion by the Sodality were: 15 August, the Assumption of the Virgin Mary; 17 August, to commemorate the transfer from Malacca to Goa of the body of St. Francis Xavier; and a movable date in January, to honor

¹ Ed. note: The Majordomo of this Sodality was a secular priest, Cristóbal Xavier Vidal, the brother of the Jesuit Fr. José Vidal, then Procurator for the Philippines (see Doc. 1691A).

St. Francis, because his proper feast-day in December was occupied with the celebrations in honor of Our Lady of Guadalupe. The costs of the latter feast were underwritten by a fund set up by Don Fernando de Castilla y Velasco, Count of Santiago.

In 1669, the priests who were associated with this pious work agreed to say two masses per year, one for the living and one for the dead, a practice that soon spread throughout Mexico. Other practices included visits to jails and hospitals, the public Acts of contrition, during which a cross was carried through the streets of the city at night during Lent,¹ assistance to vagrant young women (who would otherwise prostitute themselves), to sick priests, and the poor in general.

By 1700, the Sodality had branches in many other cities in New Spain. In Veracruz, all the local priests and gentlemen were then members.

1 This practice has been introduced by Fr. Sanvitores, a fervent disciple of Fr. Jerónimo Lopez in this regard.

Document 1668F

Requirements of the mission to the Marianas, dictated by Fr. Sanvitores

Source: RAH 9/2676 doc. n° 4.

Note: Written in Acapulco, most likely in January or early February 1668, and addressed to Brother Francisco Bello, who was then Procurator of the Philippines in Mexico. However, it is clear that the lists themselves were probably carried to Mexico by Fr. Sanvitores himself and finalized there. Also the paper was meant for circulation among the members of the Sodality of St. Francis Xavier, including the Viceregal couple, who were also members.

Original text in Spanish

Las cossas que son menester para el viage hasta nuestras Islas Marianas respecto de la gente que traemos de Manila y de los compañeros de nuestra Comp^a que esperamos se nos añadiran aunque sean tres u quatro, se podran ajustar corriendo como hasta aqui por mano del Almirante Bartolome Muñoz a quien abremos de dar su devida satisfacion de lo que el Señor Virrey se sirviere darnos, y sino alcanzare lo de la caxa Real para satisfacion dha, y lo demas que es menester para el asiento de nuestra Mision en las Islas, abremos de suplirlo como se pudiere con limosnas o emprestidos, que fio en nuestro Señor y en la Santissima Virgen y S. Francisco Xavier nos sacaran bien de qualquier empeño.

Generos de Matalotage.

Biscocho.

Algun dulce de enfermos.

Anis comfitado y por comfitar.

Chocolate.

Azucar.

Platanos passados.

Aguas y Azeites de medicamentos.

Unguento, despadrapos para fuentes.

Ventosas.

Ayuda.
Romero, y algunas otras yerbas medicinales.
Azeite comun.
Vinagre.
Pescado seco.
Arros.
Lentejas. &a.

Para el culto divino en la Mission y otras alajas.

Trigo, y harina.
Vino de Missas.
Yerros para hazer hostias.
Ornamentos de varias colores. [o tela y recados para hacerlos y retacos de tafetan y damasco para remendar]
Calizes, y Misales medianos.
Breviarios, y Manuales Romanos.
Campanas por lo menos dos, u tres medianas.
Vinageras de vidrio.
Ampolletas o Relox de arena y de sol.
Espejos.
Abuxones para navegar y piedra yman para retocarlos.
Frasquera usual para vino de Missas.
Antojos para viejos de varios grados.
Estuches ordinarios y de çirurgia.
Navajas de barba.
Tijeras.
Cuchillos, de cortar plumas, y de mesa y cosina.
Piedras pequeñas de Amolar.
Pedernales, eslabones, y asufre para ençender.
Hilo blanco y azul de coser.
Agujas ordinarias y de vela.
Cordel de varios generos, para redes, &a.
Ansuelos grandes y pequeños.
Alfileres.
Alambres, delgados y gruessos.
Papel para escribir y de estraça.
Cañones de escrever.
Plumages vistosos.
Oropel y otras cosas deste genero que me piden los compañeros para contentar à aquellos Pobres i yo por no descontentarlos lo pongo aqui, v.g.
—Pitos—Cascabeles.
—Sonajas—Flautas.

- Gayta, o qualquier otro Instrumento façil de tocar.*
- Trompeta—Clarin, o chirimias. [Arpa, guitarra, cuerdas]*
- Atambor—Abalorios—Granates.*
- Cuentas de vidrio &a.*

Yerro [i.e. hierro] que es lo mas sustançial en aquella tierra, y azero de lo que llaman de Coronilla pueden venir dos o tres arrobas y algun Plomo.

Azadones—Hachas, y azuelas.

Sierras—Limas grandes y chicas.

Clavos grandes y pequeños—Tachuelas

Candados grandes y pequeños con sus armellas.

Gosnes para puertas y caxas.

Arados—Ajos, y sebollas.

Semillas, de Mays, Arros, lentejas, garbanços, y las demas que pareçiere embiar de frutas, legumbres ortalisa &a.

Animales varios, para criar y labrar la tierra.

Avez para lo mismo y algun papagayo que admiran mucho. Lo que desto pareçiere se hallara mejor en el puerto se puede dejar de embiar de Mexico y avisar en la primera ocaçion.

Ollas de Alambre y otras cosas necesarias para cozina.

Pucheros, jarros, porongos [porrones?], y demas cosas de barro que buenamente pudieren venir.

Remedios contra ratones aunque sea rehalgar.

Colores para pintar.

Paño, y lienzo de qualquier genero—Sombreros.

Cordoban, y suelas—Bandanas.

Çintas blancas y de colores—[medias, o de que hacerlas, mantas o fraçadas de Castilla]

Cruzes y si ay algunos cruçifixos pequeños.

Medallas, aunque sean de las que se han en Mexico.

Tierra de San Pablo &c.

Estampas, espeçialmente de los Misterios de nuestra Santa Fee, vida de nuestro Señor Jesuxpto. y la Santissima Virgen del juicio y demas Novissimos &a.

Cartillas de niños—Cathesismos.

Algunos Rossarios hechos, y algun torno, o Instrumento con que hazerlos, &a.

[Vida de Doña de Escobar; una pide nuestro Almirante. Otra(?) venga para nuestra Mission, y en manda[r] estimasan las que se les imbiaren.]

[Conquista espiritual del Paraguay por el Padre Antonio Ruiz.]

[Padre Joseph de Acosta De Procuranda Indorum Salute.]

[Politica Indiana de [Juan de] Solorçano, y los dos tomos de Indiarum Luce.]

[Left-hand column:]

Mas si para algun alivio de enfermos y pobres de la Nao y buena correspondencia con nuestro Almirante nos añadiere la providencia del Señor y piedad de sus siervos alguna limosna de Matalotage la tomaremos por el amor de Dios, fiando del mismo Señor la paga, espeçialmente en los generos que se apuntan en la coluna de enfrente. Y ssi de ellos sobrase para gastar alla en la tierra de nuestra Mision no hara daño, pues por algun tiempo conbiene estar alli como en el mar, sin que importunemos tan luego a los naturales por vastimentos, &a.

El avio de la demas gente que gustare su Excelencia añadir, claro es correra tambien por mano del Almirante como la eleccion de las personas entre los que trae y lleva despues de nuestra prueba &a. Como dezimos en la lista de las personas &a. Pero es menester que mi Hermano Francisco Vello solícite con su Excelencia y con los Señores oficiales Reales que se imbien con la brevedad possible los generos neçessarios de suerte que si quiera por el primer año mientras se pueda coger de propria sementera aya con que sustentarse el numero de gente que ubiere de quedar con nosotros, a lo menos de Biscocho, Arros, o mays, y algunos Animales y el vestido neçessario.

Fuera de esto pues, y de lo demas que se nos diere de la Caxa Real para el asiento de nuestra Mision, tomaremos tan bien todo lo que se nos diere de limosna. Lo primero para el culto divino[,] fabrica y dessencia de la Iglesia en ornamentos &a. En Manila se nos dio por quenta de su Magestad un calix con su patena y una Chrismera y una salvilla con sus vinageras de plata y un juego de Casullas de varios colores ya gastadas, que con la falta de comerzio de China no se hallava façilmente de que hazer hornamentos nuevos y assi nos remitio el Señor Governador en esto como en las demas cosas neçessarias para la Mision a lo que se nos daria en la Caxa de Mexico por quenta de Philipinas como me dixo a mi Su Señoria de palabra, y lo escribiera assi al Señor Virrey: con que aora se abra de añadir siquiera para cada sacerdote un recado para dezir Missa y que cada uno trayga tambien una Imagen para el altar de Xpto. nuestro Señor[,] la Santissima Virgen, S. Joseph, S. Joachin y Santa Ana, S. Juan Baptista[,] los Santos Apostoles[,] S. Miguel, S. Maria Magdalena, nuestros santos y las demas que nos dieren de limosna, que assi llevamos algunas, como tambien llevamos algunas Aras aunque no haran daño otras pequenas.

Lo segundo para la desencia del vestido preçiso de aquellos Pobres oy totalmente desnudos, y el de nuestros compañeros. Pero la ropa de mantas de Yndios (de lo qual como de otras cosas traemos ya algo que nos dieron de limosna en Manila aunque las limosnas de alla tubieron su cortesia a las de Mexico) si uvieren de comprarse, pareçeme se hallaran con mas comodidad aca en el puerto. Solo algunos sombreros para nuestro usso y de los Indios, y algun paño como para sobre Ropas que quando fuere menester se acomodara tambien à sotanas y vestidos de Pobres, que cordoban y suelas para zapatos, se abra de ymbiar de aí y algun lienzo para la Iglesia y para el usso interior y de la messa &a.

No digo las cantidades de estos generos y los demas, porque abran de ser al respecto no tanto aun del numero de los que van por nuestra quenta que seremos en todos

unos veinte y cinco entre Religiosos, oficiales y criados con las mugeres y niños, fuera de los que la Proviçion al rrespecto de la limosna que el Señor deparare a mi Hermano Francisco Vello, para emplear en semejantes generos que como ve, no son todos tan neçessarios.

Lo terçero para Alajas de casa y de los compañeros, y para cultivar la tierra y repartir entre aquellos Pobres, y pagarles en lo que sirvieren y nos dieren de alimentos, para lo qual lo mas neçessario es el Yerro y azero &a.

Lo quarto para cosas de devoçion, que repartir entre las Personas de obligaçion del Navio, y entre los compañeros y alla en la Mission.

Lo que de las cosas que ponemos en esta lista no se pudiere (por la prisa de nuestro despacho que importa sumamente) remitir aora, quedara para el primer viage siguiente, y entonces se embiaran tambien los Santos olios que de los consagrados este ultimo año ya llevamos de Manila, los quales y algun trigo y vino de Misas rogamos a mi Hermano Francisco Vello y aquel que Procurador nuestro y dichos Pobres se sirba de remitirnoslo en todos los viages encargando a los offiziales de las Naos de Philipinas lo lleben a mano para dejarlo en nuestras Islas Marianas, en Guan o S. Juan &c. que como no nos falte lo preciso para el Santo Sacrificio y administracion de sacramentos aunque no se nos imbiase otra cosa espero en Dios no nos haria guarde falta.

[Libros traemos algunos de Manila, y los Padres que fueren viniendo traeran los que les parecieren mas a proposito, si se hallasen oy los de enficase(?) los estimariamos.]

Las Personas.

Que vienen desde Manila destinadas para la Mission de las Yslas Marianas son:

—El Padre Diego Luis de Sambitores [sic] Saçerdote de la Compañia de Jesus.

—El Padre Thomas Cardeñoso Saçerdote de la misma Compañia.

Otros dos Sacerdotes, y un Hermano que se avian conçedido por el Gobierno, no vinieron de Manila por la falta que ay al pressente de sujetos de nuestra Comp^a en aquella Provincia y ser mas facil llevarlos aora desde Mexico.

*Bienen tambien en comp^a de los Padres para servir a Dios en esta Mision con sus officios los siguientes **naturales de Philipinas:***

—Don Francisco de Mendoza, Prinçipal Interprete muy ladino de la lengua de los Marianos con quienes a vivido çerca de veinte años.

—Estevan Dias, Interprete tambien de mas de veinte años de havitaçion en dichas Yslas.

—Don Juan de Santa Cruz[,] Panday maestro de yerro, que viene con su muger destinada para Maestra de las niñas. Y con una Hermana, y un Hijo niño de diesiseis meses familia de conoçido exemplo de Christiandad para aquellos Pobres, y para enseñarles otros muchos offizios que saben de texer, labrar la tierra &a.

—Don Felipe Sonsong, Panday maestro de obras de Iglesia y carpinteria. Y por oficiales o ayudantes:

—Juan de los Reyes.

—Domingo de la Cruz.

—*Domingo Mindoro.*

—*Pasqual Francisco[,] Texedor.*

—*Andres Ysson, Labrador.*

—*Juan de Santiago, Cantor.*

—*Felipe Tocsan, Cantor.*

—*Andres de la Cruz[,] niño Tiple. Los quales serviran tambien en la Sachristia.*

Para el avio de los quales y para los Instrumentos, y materiales de los offiçios[,] espeçialmente Yerro[,] se puede aplicar lo que se acostumbra a semejantes ofizios en otras ocaçiones por quenta de su Magestad y lo que su Excellencia fuere servido de Añadir, siquiera para ayuda de compensar en algo lo mucho que devemos al Almirante Bartolome Muñoz, de lo que despues de la liberalidad del Señor Governador Don Diego Salzedo y la piedad de otras personas de Manila a sido menester añadir de gasto y embarazo en tal viaje y tanta gente. Que aunque el Almirante proçede en todo con tanto desinteres, y caridad, esso mismo obliga a concurrir en lo que pudieremos al alivio de sus empeños ocasionados de tantas arribadas y viages en servicio de su Magestad en que siempre se a mostrado no menos incansable y atento al bien comun y de los Pobres que desinteresado en sus comodidades, dejando con bien pocas en Manila su honrrada familia &a.

*En orden a los demas que se uvieren de añadir en compañía nuestra por modo de escolta o por mejor dezir de exemplo de christiandad, que es la defença unica entre aquellos Pobres, viene nuestro Almirante encargado del Señor Governador de Philipinas, y lo yra tambien consiguientemente del Señor Virrey, que de la gente que trae de Manila y llevare aora de Mexico escoja los que le pareciere mas apropiado, y a satisfaçion nuestra, con la prueba siquiera de la voluntad, condiçion, y obras que mostraren en el viage: como las vamos reconoçiendo ya en algunos y singularmente en un marinero que se llama Domingo de Lastres de tierra de Galiçia, que se nos añadió de la Nao **S. Joseph**, quando le encontramos çerca del Embocadero de S. Bernardino: parece hombre de buena voluntad y que nos puede ayudar en algunos offizios y en los viages ordinarios de las Islas &a.*

Ya que para el viage de este año no puede aver personas prevenidas, para en adelante sera gran bien de nuestra Mission, si se pudiere tener habladas y reconoçidas algunas Familias, y personas de buen vivir que quieran ya apoblar en aquellas tierras y ayudar a que se pueble el çielo de aquellas pobres almas con su exemplo de christianidad y assi lo fiamos del cuydado de mi Hermano Francisco Vello, y de nuestros Padres, y de los Señores Hermanos de la Congregacion de San Francisco Xavier.

[Endorsement:] *Una Memoria o relacion de lo que se pide el [= al] H^o Francisco Bello, assi de Gente, como de varios generos para Marianas.*

Translation

The things that are needed for the voyage to our Mariana Islands.

Regarding the people we bring from Manila, and the companions of our Society whom we hope will join us, though they be only three or four, their number can be adjusted. Until here they have been under the charge of Admiral Bartolomé Muñoz,¹ to whom we will have to give due satisfaction from what the Viceroy will be pleased to give us, and in case what comes from the Royal funds is not enough for this purpose, and the rest that is necessary for the establishment of our Mission in the Islands, we will have to make up for it as best we can with alms, or loans, which I trust our Lord and the Blessed Virgin and St. Francis Xavier will get us out of whatever commitment.

Ship Stores.

Biscuit.
 Some sweets for the sick.
 Aniseeds, candied and for candying.
 Chocolate.
 Sugar.
 Sun-dried bananas.
 Medicinal waters and oils.
 Ointment, “despadrapos para fuentes.”²
 Cupping-glasses.³
 Enema [set].
 Rosemary, and some other medicinal herbs.
 Ordinary oil.
 Vinager.
 Dried fish.
 Rice.
 Lentils, etc.

For the Divine Cult in the Mission and other Precious Vessels.

Wheat, or flour.
 Mass wine.
 Irons to make hosts.

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- 1 Ed. note: The 12 Filipino assistants of Fr. Sanvitores were not simply passengers aboard the San Diego, but worked to pay their passage.
 2 Ed. note: Perhaps some syringes, to drain blisters, etc.
 3 Ed. note: To draw blood or puss to or through the skin by creating a partial vacuum.

Ornaments of various colors. [or the cloth and equipment to make them and scraps of taffeta and damask to mend them] ¹

Chalices, and average-size missals.

Breviaries, and Roman Manuals.

Bells, at least two or three, average-size.

Glass cruet stands. ²

Hour-glasses or sand glasses, and sundial.

Mirrors.

Compass needles for navigation and a lodestone to recharge them.

Set of the usual flasks for mass wine.

Eyeglasses for old people, various strengths.

Sets of instruments, ordinary and for surgery. ³

Razors, to shave.

Scissors.

Knives, to sharpen pens, and for the table and kitchen. ⁴

Small grindstones.

Flints, steels, and sulphur, for striking fire.

White and blue sewing thread.

Needles, ordinary and for sails.

Cord of various types, for nets, etc.

Fishhooks, big and small.

Pins.

Wires, slim and thick.

Paper, [white] for writing and brown.

Quills, for writing.

Decorative feathers.

Tinsel and other things of this kind that the companions are asking me, to make those poor people happy, and I, not wishing to displease them, am adding them here, for instance:

—Whistles and hawk's bells. ⁵

—Timbrels [rattles?] and flutes.

—Flageolet, or any other [musical] instrument easy to play. ⁶

1 Ed. note: The addition in brackets is in Fr. Sanvitores' own handwriting.

2 Ed. note: Bottles to hold vinegar for the table.

3 Ed. note: In other words, small tool kits, and surgical kits, including small scissors. The scissors mentioned below were likely of a large size, or were to be shears.

4 Ed. note: The pen-knives were to sharpen the tips of the goose feathers used as quills (see below).

5 Ed. note: The so-called whistles could perhaps be cheap noise-making horns, of the type usually given to children during celebrations.

6 Ed. note: In an old Spanish dictionary "gayta" is also described as a bap-pipe, or hand-organ.

- Trumpet and clarion, or hornpipes. [Harp, guitar, cords]¹
- Drum, baubles, [fake] precious stones.
- Glass beads, etc.

Iron, which is the most substantial in that country, and steel of the type called Coronilla (2-3 arrobas would be acceptable), and some lead.²

Hoes and axes, and hatchets.

Saws, and files, big and small.

Nails, big and small, and tacks.

Padlocks, big and small with their hasps [i.e. large staples].

Hinges, for doors and crates.

Plows—Garlics, and onions.

Seeds, of corn, rice, lentils, chickpeas, and other seeds that could also be sent, fruit seeds, garden vegetables, etc.

Various animals, to breed and to plow the earth.

Birds for the same purpose [i.e. chicken, ducks, and geese for breeding purposes] and some parrot, something they admire much. If it is thought that any of the above can be found better in the port [of Acapulco], it does not have to be sent from Mexico City and to advise by the first occasion.

Copper pots and other things necessary for the kitchen.

Clay pots, jars, pitchers, and other clay things that will be gladly received.

Rat poisons, even it is only realgar.³

Paint, of various colors.

Cloth, and linen of any type—Hats.

Leather, and sole leathers—Kerchiefs.

While and colored belts—[stockings, or material to make them, blankets or bed-sheets from Spain]⁴

Crosses and, if there are some, a few small crucifixes.

Medals, even if only those that can be had in Mexico.

St. Paul's earth, etc.⁵

Printed images, specially of the Mysteries of our holy Faith, life of our Lord Jesus Christ and the Blessed Virgin, of the [last] Judgment and other latest ones, etc.

1 Ed. note: Again, what appears in square brackets is an addition by Fr. Sanvitores himself].

2 Ed. note: Since coronilla means crown, it can be surmised that the steel plates in question bore the mark of a crown, to indicate the King's property.

3 Ed. note: Realgar is described in some dictionaries as a natural sulphur of arsenic, red in color.

4 Ed. note: Addition by Fr. Sanvitores himself.

5 Ed. note: The Spanish used not only holy water, but holy earth as well.

Small prayer books for children—Catechisms.

A few ready-made Rosaries, and some lathe, or tool to make some, etc.

[The Life of Doña de Escobar; one is wanted by our Admiral, but let us have another for our Mission, and in sending them estimate those that can be sent.]¹

[The “Conquista espiritual del Paraguay” of Father Antonio Ruiz.]

[“De Procuranda Indorum Salute” of Father José de Acosta.]

[“Politica Indiana” of (Juan) Solorzano, and the two tomes of “Indiarum Luce”.]

[Left-hand column:]

Furthermore, if for some relief of the sick and poor people aboard the galleon and good friendship with our Admiral could be given us what the providence of the Lord and the piety of His servants by way of alms for ship stores, we will take it for the love of God, trusting in the same Lord for the payment, specially when the articles in the right-hand column [i.e. see above list] are concerned. So, if a surplus of them can be got, that is no problem, as it will be used overthere in the land of our Mission; indeed, for some time it will be proper to live there as if we were at sea, so as not to bother the natives for food supplies, etc. for a while.

The outfitting of the other personnel that His Excellency wished to add, it is clear that it would also run through the hand of the Admiral, for instance, the selection of the persons from among those he brings and takes along, after a test on our part, etc. As we say in the list of persons, etc.² However, it is necessary for my Brother Francisco Bello to solicit His Excellency and the Royal Officials to send as soon as possible the necessary goods, at least for the first year until there might be some that can be got from our own plantations, to feed the number of people that are to stay with us, at least the Biscuit, Rice, or corn, and a few animals and the necessary clothing.

Besides those, then, and the rest to be given to us from the Royal Treasury for the establishment of our Mission, we will accept also everything that will be given to us by way of alms: firstly, for the divine cult, the construction and decoration of the Church in the form of ornaments, etc. In Manila, they gave us on the account of His Majesty one chalice with its paten, one phial for chrism, one salver with its silver cruets, and one set of chasubles of various colors, already worn out, the reason being that new ornaments could not be found easily on account of the lack of trade with China; so, the Governor deferred in these, and with the other necessary things as well for the Mission, to what the Mexican Treasury would give us, on the account of the Philippines, as His Lordship himself told me in person, that he would write to the Viceroy about it. Therefore, now there should be added, for each priest, one kit to say mass and every one of them should bring along one painting³ for the altar of Christ our Lord, the Blessed Vir-

1 Ed. note: The last part of this statement is confused. The bracketed additions are by Fr. Sanvitores himself.

2 Ed. note: See below.

3 Ed. note: The Spanish word “imagen” could also mean statue, but there seems to be too many listed here to carry that many statues; they must be paintings, at least in this case.

gin, St. Joseph, St. Joaquin and St. Ann, St. John the Baptist, the Holy Apostles, St. Miguel, St. Mary Magdalen, our [Jesuit] saints and others that will given as alms, some of which we have already, and we are also taking along a few altars, although other smaller ones would not hurt.

Secondly, basic clothes for the sake of decency of those poor people who are today totally naked, and those for our companions. However, regarding the Indian blankets (some of which we bring, as other things as well, given to us as alms in Manila, although the alms from there were also deferred to those of Mexico), if they must be bought, it seems that they could be bought more advantageously here in this port. Only a few hats for our use and that of the Indians, and some cloth, suitable to make exterior clothes with, and whenever necessary also some cassocks and clothes for poor people. The leather, and the sole leather for shoes, should be sent from there [i.e. Mexico] and some linen for the Church, for interior use and for the table, etc.

I do not mention the quantities of these articles and the others, because they will have to be not so much in relation with the number of those who are going on our account—that is, we will be all in all 25, counting the Religious, officers and servants, with the women and children,¹ besides those that the Provision regarding alms that the Lord will provide to my Brother Francisco Bello, to employ in similar goods that, as can be seen, are not all [equally] so necessary.

Thirdly, for the furnishing of the house and that of the companions, and for the cultivation of the land and to distribute among those poor people, and to pay them for what they might serve and give us by way of food, for that the most necessary is the iron and steel, etc.

Fourthly, for things of devotion, to be distributed among the people in charge of the ship, and among the companions and there in the Mission.

Concerning the things that we place on our list but that might not be remitted now (on account of the urgency of our despatch which is extremely important), they will be left for the next voyage, and at that time there should be sent also the holy oils (we already have some from Manila that were consecrated this past year), which we beg my Brother Francisco Bello, and the one who is our Procurator and that of the said poor people, to send to us every year, along with some wheat and mass wine, in all the voyages, entrusting the officers of the Philippine galleons with taking them in their care to leave them in our Mariana Islands, in Guan, or San Juan, etc. so that the basics for the holy Sacrifice and the administration of the sacraments will not lack. Even if nothing else is sent, I hope that God will take care that they will not be lacking.

[Books: We are bringing a few from Manila, and the Fathers who might come, should bring those they see fit; if they can find some from “enficase(?)”, they would be appreciated.]²

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- 1 Ed. note: This is an indication that there may have been more than one Filipino child. Maybe other children, belonging to the new recruits from Mexico, were expected to join the colony as well.
 2 Ed. note: This sentence is in Fr. Sanvitores' terrible handwriting. I could not decipher one word.

The Persons.

Those who come from Manila, destined for the Mission of the Mariana Islands, are:

—Father Diego Luis de Sanvitores, priest of the Society of Jesus.

—Father Tomás Cardeñoso, priest of the same Society.

Two other priests and one Brother who had been granted by the Government did not come for lack of personnel at present in our Society in that Province and as it is easier to bring them now from Mexico.

There are also coming in the company of the Fathers to serve God in this Mission with their trades the following **natives of the Philippines**:

—Don Francisco de Mendoza, main interpreter, very fluent in the language of the Marianos with whom he has lived for about 20 years.

—Estevan Diaz, interpreter, also over 20 years of residence in the said Islands.

—Don Juan de Santa Cruz, master blacksmith, who is coming with his wife destined to become teacher of girls, plus a sister, and a young child of 16 months—a family of known example of Christian conduct for those poor peoples, and to teach them many other trades that they know, such as weaving, plowing the land, etc.¹

—Don Felipe Sonsong, master blacksmith [sic] in church building and carpentry.²

For officers or adjutants:

—Juan de los Reyes.

—Domingo de la Cruz.

—Domingo Mindoro.

—Pascual Francisco, weaver.

—Andrés Ysson, farmer.

—Juan de Santiago, singer.

—Felipe Tocsan, singer.

—Andrés de la Cruz, boy soprano. The above will also serve in the sacristy.

For their outfitting and for the tools, and materials for the trades, specially iron, one can apply what is customary for similar trades in other occasions on the account of His Majesty, and what His Excellency will be pleased to add, even if it were just to help in compensating somewhat for the great deal we owe Admiral Bartolomé Muñoz, who, after the generosity of Governor Don Diego Salcedo and the piety of other persons in Manila, has seen fit to add the expense and bother of so many people in such a voyage. Although the Admiral proceeds in everything with so much disinterestedness, and charity, this fact itself obliges us, as much as we can, to come to the relief of his obligations occasioned by so many returns in distress and voyages in the service of His Majesty, in which he has always shown himself to be untiring and attentive to the common

1 Ed. note: Another, more important, trade known by Juan de Santa Cruz was soldiering. He deserves to be better known as the real Conquistador of the Marianas.

2 Ed. note: He came as a “donado”, i.e. volunteer missionary, or oblate Brother. His later employment became almost exclusively that of a tailor. See his eulogy, Doc. 1686H.

good and the good of the poor by carrying goods on their behalf, leaving his honored family in Manila with very few for themselves, etc.

Concerning the others who must be added to our company by way of an escort, or better said, to serve as examples of Christian living, which is the only defence among those poor peoples, our Admiral comes with a mandate from the Governor of the Philippines, and he will consequently come with one from the Viceroy as well, to select from the men he brings from Manila and those to be brought now from Mexico the most appropriate ones, to our satisfaction, based at least upon their show of goodwill, condition, and works during the voyage. For example, we have already begun to assess a few, specially one seaman who is named **Domingo de Lastres** from the land of Galicia, who joined us from the galleon **San Joseph**, when we met her near the Embocadero of San Bernardino; he seems to be a man of goodwill and able to help us in a few trades and in the ordinary voyages in the Islands, etc.¹

Given that there cannot be forewarned personnel for the voyage of this year, in future it would be very useful for our Mission, if talks could be held with a few families and with persons of good living, to assess them, who would volunteer to settle in those lands and to help us settle in Heaven some of those poor souls with their example of Christian living. So, we entrust it to the care of my Brother Francisco Bello, and of our Fathers, and of the Gentlemen Brothers of the Sodality of St. Francis Xavier.

[Endorsement:] A memorial or narrative of what is asked of Br. Francisco Bello, not only in personnel, but also in various goods for the Marianas.

1 Ed. note: There is no further mention of this man. He must have remained in Mexico.

Document 1668G

Letter from Fr. Sanvitores to the Pope, dated Acapulco 20 March 1668

Source: Jesuit archives of the Province of Toledo, Alcalá de Henares, Legajo 672, n° 39 (6 folios in Latin); translated by Fr. Juan Ledesma.

Note: The Pope did not answer this letter personally; one of his secretaries wrote back an ordinary acknowledgment (now lost), in Spanish, as was reported later by Fr. Bustillo (see Doc. 1681N).

Letter from Fr. Sanvitores to Pope Clement IX announcing his final departure for the Marianas

Most Holy Father.

I am one of Your Holiness' sons and the least of them, as well as the least of Society of Jesus. When I was still in my minor orders, in Madrid I had the extraordinary experience of the great clemency of Your Holiness. I was granted the faculty to preach and administer the sacraments for more easily and successfully giving missions; I could use this faculty not only in the district of Madrid and of the diocese of Toledo, but also in all the other cities and places that were under the jurisdiction of Your Holiness when you were then Apostolic Nuncio and Legate *a Latere* for the Kingdoms of Spain. You granted me this faculty through an autograph letter, which even now with due respect and reverence I keep with me.

Prostrate at the feet of Your Holiness, which I kiss with affectionate reverence, I come now for a new and bigger favor, your Apostolic blessing, which I humbly and confidently ask for in favor of my missionary work in the Indies, which are in greater need of it. I had been assigned by my Superiors nine years ago... to these Missions, moved by a mortal sickness that assailed me twice, from which I was saved by the merciful will of God after I had made a vow to spend my life in the missions...

...

When later... I was favored with very good health... I felt almost uninterruptedly the Divine help for the salvation of souls in various missions carried out under obedience, by land and sea, as much among Christians as among pagans and those who had abandoned their religion.

I made up for the scarcity of missionaries particularly in the mission to the Island they call Mindoro, of the diocese of Manila. In the space of five months from the month of November of the year 1665, more than 500 pagans... admirably attracted came forth freely to hear the word of God and to receive the sacraments; likewise 200 who had already been baptized but later apostatized were accepted to penance and to the faith.¹

Finally, after these labors, I am now sent by the same obedience to the Islands which... originally were called the "Ladrones" and now... "Mariana Islands" in honor of the Blessed... Virgin Mary. She... had such pity on these poor people, that the Islanders themselves attribute to her apparition and exhortation the first that we know of that generation to have happily died soon after receiving holy baptism, which was administered by a certain Spaniard called Marcos Fernandez. He had been some time before saved in those Islands from an auspicious shipwreck of the ship called **Nuestra Señora de la Concepción**.

Guided, therefore, by her who is truly the Star of the Seas and of peoples... we, 4 priests of the Society of Jesus set forth, together with some 30 laymen, who voluntarily offered themselves as our companions to help us in planting there the Christian faith and to be an example for the prospective Christians... Embarking at the port called Acapulco in New Spain, within our Lord's Passion week... we set sail directly for the aforesaid Mariana Islands...

This Marian name is now that of all... those islands and territories, which... widely extend from north to south, that is, from the Japanese Islands to the... southern unknown land, which... is still regarded as the fourth part of the whole world... Now this very good part of the world, Most Holy Father, lies still in darkness and under the shadow of death...

Having verified the excellent disposition of the inhabitants, especially of the Islands that deserve Mary's name and special protection,... an abundant and well-prepared harvest of souls awaits us, and we on our part are expecting any moment now to gather a most happy... fruit into the granaries of our Lord, unless we set an obstacle to it through our sins, principally my own.

Should the contrary happen... what would be its principal cause, our sins or theirs? That Your Holiness may decide and not excuse our spiritual tepidity and laziness which may Your Holiness avert through your prayers and blessing, it is necessary to know beforehand that those people were already discovered years ago and explored by many, whether Spaniard or others from the Indies who were already Christians. The latter on the occasion of shipwrecks or in ships passing through these islands, dealt with the former, and some of them lived for almost 30 years in the aforesaid Islands.

All of them unanimously declared that the country we call the Marianas is an excellent one and very well prepared for the seed of the Gospel; in other words, they assure us that the inhabitants are of an admirable disposition, docile, humble, courteous, kind

1 Ed. note: For more details about his mission in Mindoro, see Doc. 1666B.

towards their guests, to whom including the shipwrecked, they never inflicted the mark or even the name of slaves; rather they treated them as their children.

They are averse to vices, especially those that are common among the other peoples of the Indies, such as robberies, homicides, incests, adultery. They are monogamous; they know nothing of drunkennes, a principal obstacle to the fruits of the Gospel. What a rare ignorance in the Indies! They are completely averse to the juice of certain fruits, of which they do not lack, the substance of which juice is good or exceedingly bad when its use turns into a vice, as happens among the natives of the Philippines and others.

There are no temples of gods among them or any sects of idolaters, nor the Moham-
medan plague. Consequently, they have no *Caciques*¹ or the Devil's sworn ministers who have conspired under oath against our most holy faith. They worship neither the sun nor the moon nor any other creatures. They only honor and invoke the spirits of their ancestors for the good of their crops and the success of their fishing. This error perhaps comes from God's kindness, so that the said islanders may be illumined by the light of the Gospel. It will end up in a stronger faith in the immortality of the soul and easier assent to the things that they do not see.

I do not wish to annoy Your Holiness with the length of this letter. Our Procurator, Andrés de Ledesma by name, left the Philippine Islands. He is going to deal with Your Holiness personally. And may Your Holiness deign to listen to him and favor the causes which he will present to the Holy See for the common good of this people.

Besides, for the special information of Your Holiness and towards the increase of abundant graces in favor of this new plantation, our aforesaid Procurator will offer to Your Holiness in the name of our Admiral Bartolomé Muñoz... a humble brief. Through the same Admiral... the priests also of the Society, who are the missionaries of this Mission, together with the other companions and poor people of the Marianas, prostrate at the feet of Your Holiness humbly pour out our prayer and we beg from your clemency a generous blessing, as we fervently pray that the Lord, for the good of the Catholic Church and all mankind grant Your Holiness a long life.

From Acapulco, on 13 April [sic] 1668.

[P.S.] Another humble brief will be presented to Your Holiness in the name of the Sodality of St. Francis Xavier... In honor of the same Holy Apostle of the new nations, this Sodality accepted to support our Mission for the conversion of the new Marian nation. And it already supports it principally through its pious works and prayers and other deeds of charity, among which is the college or refuge for poor women, the only one that was missing in Mexico among its varied acts of piety. For this Sodality, therefore, and its pious works... with cordial trust and humility I beg for the clemency of Your Holiness.

1 Ed. note: A word of Caribbean origin meaning chief, but applied here to Moslem priests.

Most Holy Father: Prostrate at the feet of Your Holiness, humbly kissing them, the undersigned, together with his associates, humbly begs your holy blessing for this Marian Mission.

Diego Luis de San Vitores

Documents 1668H

Letters from Fr. Sanvitores to the Queen, February & March 1668

H1. Letter to the Queen, sent from Acapulco in March

Source: AGI Fil. 82-2-39 (formerly 68-1-40).

Notes: Letter from Fr. Diego Luis de Sanvitores to the Queen concerning the 10,000 pesos from the royal treasury, the congratulations due to the Marquis of Mancera, to Governor Diego Salcedo, and to Admiral Bartholomé Muñoz for their services, about the stopover of the galleons at Guam, and about more workers for the religious harvest. This letter was probably written in Acapulco on or before 20 March 1668.

Original text in Spanish.

Señora

*Diego Luis de S. Vitores de la Compañia de Jesus, que lleba a su cargo la Mision de las Islas Marianas, que corren de Norte a Sur desde el Japon hasta la tierra Austral antes incognita: para donde esta ya para hacerse a la vela en el Galeon **S. Diego**, desde el puerto de Acapulco, y espera que quando llegue este Memorial a las Reales manos de V.M. estara lo grande la piedad del Señor, y de V.M. en la piosissima mies de dichas Islas: dice,*

Que para el cumplido logro del santo zelo de V.M. en la conversion de tantas almas tan dispuestas, y tan desamparadas hasta aora, suponiendo lo que tiene representado mas por extenso, especialmente en carta, que dejó escrita en Mexico a 23 de Febrero de 1668, a V.M. pide, y suplica:

*lo **primero** que se sirva mandar se confirme la bassa [sic], y feliz principio, que se ha puesto a esta Mision de dichas Islas Marianas fundada en la piedad de V.M. **con los diez mil** pessos, que se **han dado** de Vuestra **Real Caja en Mexico**¹ a quenta del situado de Philippinas, los quales se den por bien dados, y empleados en obra de tanta misericordia con tantas almas, y tanto aumento de nuestra santa Fe, y satisfaccion de la*

¹ Ed. note: The bold words have been underlined in the original copy.

Real palabra dada a los Pobres Naturales de dichas Islas, que ha mas de ciento, y tres años, que son Vassallos de V.M. sin ser lo aun de Nuestro Señor Jesu Christo por la verdadera Fe, que aun no se les ha predicado despues de las repetidas zedulas despachadas para el cumplimiento de tan cordial empeño de Vuestra Catholica Magd, que oy nuebamente queda en el empeño de la fianza, que ofrecio dicho suplicante por medio de diez y nuebe personas abonadas, que le han fiado, confiados de la Piedad, y zelo de V.M. que se servira de mandar se de la dicha aprobacion de lo hecho.

Lo segundo, que de parte de V.M. se de la significacion, que fuere servida de agradecimiento en general a los que han cooperado a su Catholico zelo, y en particular al Virrey desta Nueva España Marques de Mancera, y al Governador de Philippinas el Maestre de Campo D. Diego Salcedo, y al Almirante Bartholome Muñoz immediato executor deste Real zelo de V.M. y conquista evangelica de las Islas Marianas, para que se alienten todos, y hagan el debido concepto de los servicios, que V.M. mas aprecia.

Lo tercero que se de orden para que los Maestres, y cabos de las Naos del socorro de Philippinas lleben, y dejen en la Isla de Guan (que ya se llama de S. Juan) o en otra de aquella Cordillera, donde hallaren algun Religioso desta Mision, o sus mensajeros, los generos, que de Manila, o Nueva España se remitieren para dhas Islas Marianas, y que assi mismo lleben en dichas Naos los Religiosos, y demas personas, que con licencia de sus Superiores, y de los dhos Virrey, o Governador passaren al efecto, y ajuda de dicha Mision.

*Lo quarto que se de orden para que el Governador de Philippinas despache quanto antes se pudiere, y abie al dho Almirante Bartholome Muñoz, y por falta suia, a persona de semejante confianza, y experiencia, con el Capitan Antonio de Azebedo su Piloto Maior, y algun par de Religiosos, que nombre el Provincial de Philippinas de la Compañia de Jhs para que vaian en Comp^a de dho Almirante, y vengán despues a quedarse por Compañeros desta Mision en dhas Islas Marianas, y que en el mismo Nabio **S. Diego**, que viene nacido para dhos viajes, u en otro a satisfaccion de dho Almirante, salgan a buen tiempo de Manila para dhas Islas Marianas, y corran su cordillera de Norte a Sur, averiguando los puertos, disposicion, y calidades, que pudieren saber de aquellas Islas, y de las confinantes del Japon para informar a V.M. y a sus Ministros e instruir a los Misioneros en lo que conviniere para la propagacion del santo Evangelio en dhas Islas.*

Lo quinto que se de orden para que con el Procurador de la Compañia de Jhs, que ba desde Philippinas a essa Corte de V.M. se embien los obreros, que V.M. fuere servida para el socorro de la extrema necesidad de las almas Marianas añadidos al numero ordinario, que suele concederse a dha Provincia de Philippinas sumamente necesitada de sugetos para los demas Misiones, y Ministerios, que tiene a su cargo.

Y que en el medio de las dilaciones, que suele aver en ida, y buelta de los Procuradores de Philippinas con los sugetos de Europa, se socorra la urgente necesidad de dhas Islas Marianas, embiando el Provincial de la Comp^a de Jhs de Nueva España los Religiosos, que V.M. ordenare de tanto a tanto tiempo, declarando V.M. que no es de su intencion, ni servicio el que se ponga impedimento para pasar de Nueva España a

dha Mision, ni a las otras de Philipinas, especialmente los que entraron en la Religion en Nueva España, teniendo el llamamiento, y prendas necessarias, como las tiene el que esta actualmente leyendo Theologia Moral, y expositiva en el Colegio de la Comp^a de Jhs de Mexico, por nombre Josseph Vidal, Hermano Maiordomo de la Congregacion de S. Francisco Xavier, que ha tomado a su quenta el socorro, y asistencias de dha Mision.

En todos los dhos puntos, que se proponen mas de proposito en dicha Carta, e informes, espera recibir toda Merced de V.M. por el amor, y honrra de N. Sor. Jesu Christo, y logro del nombre, y Patrocinio con que han sido amparadas dichas Pobres Islas de la Virgen Maria, y su Santissima Familia Mariana, junto con el Glorioso Precursor S. Juan Bautista, y los Santos Ignatio, y Francisco Xavier Apostol destas Nuevas Gentes, en cuio nombre humilmente suplica.

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+ *Diego Luis S. Vitores* +

Translation, partly by Fr. Juan Ledesma.

Madam:

Diego Luis de San Vitores of the Society of Jesus who is in charge of the Mission to the Mariana Islands, that run from North to South from Japan as far as the Austral Land, heretofore Unknown. He is about to set sail in the galleon **San Diego** from the port of Acapulco, and hoping that, when this Memorial gets to the Royal hands of Y.M., our Lord's mercy and yours will be great for the very pious harvest of the said Islands; Declares: That for the full attainment of the objectives of the holy zeal of Y.M. in the conversion of so many souls, so disposed and so abandoned until now, supposing what he has represented in more detail in a letter which he mailed in Mexico on 23 February 1668,¹ he begs and beseeches Your Majesty:

In the first place that you deign to confirm the basis, upon which this Mission of the said Mariana Islands happily began, founded as it is on the piety of Y.M., with the grant of **10,000 pesos given by the Royal treasury of Mexico**, on the account of the subsidy of the Philippines. This is money well spent, and employed in a project of so much mercy with so many souls, and such an increase of our holy Faith, and in fulfillment of the Royal word given to the poor natives of the said Islands over 103 years ago. They are vassals of Y.M. but are not yet vassals of our Lord Jesus Christ through the true Faith, which, although it has not yet been preached to them after the repeated royal decrees despatched for the fulfillment of such a hearty obligation of your Catholic Majesty, is today renewed in the guarantee which was given by the said petitioner through the subscription of 19 trustworthy persons who gave their pledge, with full trust in the piety and zeal of Your Majesty, who will be pleased to give approval of what was done.

In the second place may Y.M.'s gratitude be expressed, in giving general thanks to those who cooperated with your Catholic zeal, specially to the Marquis of Mancera,

¹ Ed. note: This letter is the one reproduced as H2 below.

Viceroy of New Spain, to the Governor of the Philippines, Master-of-Camp Diego Salcedo, and to Admiral Bartolomé Muñoz, immediate executor of this Royal zeal of Y.M. and religious conquest of the Mariana Islands, in order for everyone to be encouraged, and to impart to them due regard for what Y.M. most appreciates.

Thirdly that an order be given for the Masters and officers of the ships bringing relief to the Philippines, for them to transport to and unload at the Island of Guan (now called San Juan) or at another of that chain of Islands where there be some missionary belonging to this Mission, or to their messengers, the goods from Manila or from New Spain destined for the said Mariana Islands, and that likewise such galleons carry the religious, and other persons, who with permission of their Superiors, and of the said Viceroy, or Governor, may effectively pass to the help of the said Mission. should come over for the help of the said Mission.

In the fourth place that an order be given to the Governor of the Philippines to despatch and outfit as soon as possible the said Admiral Bartolomé Muñoz, or, if he should be not available, a person of similar trust and experience, with Captain Antonio de Azevedo, his Pilot Major, and a pair of Religious, to be appointed by the Provincial of the Philippines of the Society of Jesus, for them to go in the company of the said Admiral, and afterward remain as companions in this Mariana Island Mission. Aboard the same ship **San Diego**, which was made for such voyages, or in another to the satisfaction of the said Admiral, they should depart in good time from Manila for the said Mariana Islands, and run down this chain of Islands from North to South, surveying the ports, the layout, and characteristics, learning what they can from those Islands, and the neighborhood of Japan, in order to inform Y.M. and your Ministers, and for the instruction of the Missionaries in what is convenient for the propagation of the holy Gospel in the said Islands.

Fifthly that an order be given to the effect that, together with the Procurator of the Society of Jesus who travels from the Philippines to that Court of Y.M., as many workers as you wish be sent to the succor of the extreme necessity of the Marian souls, in addition to the ordinary number usually granted to the said Philippine Province, which is in great need of subjects for the other Missions, and Ministries, that it has in its care.

And that in the midst of the delays which usually occur in the round trip of the Procurators of the Philippines, in getting subjects from Europe, the urgent need of the said Mariana Islands be remedied by having the Provincial of the Society of Jesus in New Spain send the Religious whom Y.M. would order from time to time. Let Y.M. declare that it is not your intention, nor [in the interest of your] service, that any impediment be made for the passage from New Spain to the said Mission, or to other missions in the Philippines, specially for those who joined the Order in New Spain, provided they have the calling for it, and the necessaries qualifications. One such person is available now; his name is José Vidal, and he is reading moral and expositive Theology in the College of the Society of Jesus in Mexico. His brother is Majordomo of the Sodality of St. Francis Xavier, who has taken upon himself the succor and assistances of the said Mission.

Disposición del Gobernador de Filipinas en el viaje de la misión a las islas Marianas encaminado por la Nueva España.

Después de la que dexe escrita a V.M. en Manila por el mes de Julio deste año pasado de 1667 en el que daba noticias del viage que tenía ya cerca para cumplir el santo zelo de V.M. en la conversión de las Islas Marianas sucedió la disposición del viage en la forma que el Maestre de Campo Don Diego Salcedo vuestro Governador y Capitan General de Philipinas con acuerdo de los pilotos, y personas platicas tubo por necesario para coger seguramente dichas yslas y dar cumplimiento a las Reales cédulas de s-u conversión y especialmente a la última del Rey Nuestro Señor Phelipe quatro, que Dios tiene, fecha en el Buen Retiro, a 24 de Junio del año pasado de 1665 en orden a mi especial misión, que abarca dichas islas Marianas que antes se llamaban de los Ladrones, con las demas provincias, que convinieren al divino servicio y al paso para el Japon como se ha juzgado ser oy el más seguro por las dichas islas y en que menos se arriezgue aún de perdida de tiempo, el qual mientras se halla y se hace con el divino favor para entrar fructuosamente en lo interior de aquel Reyno se logrará muy bien en la conversión de tantas almas de aquellos pobres isleños que estan aún con mayor necesidad y disposición que los de dentro del Japon, y son demás inmediata obligación de la Real corona de V.M. y encargadas con más cédulas y aprieto de los Reyes nuestros señores.

*Dispuso pues el Gobernador de Philipinas esta misión en el Navio llamado **San Diego** que despachasse a este Reyno de Nueva España con mira de asegurar las contingencias con que venía otra nao muy grande, que a uno avía pedido salir de las islas a su ordinario tiempo para llebar el socorro que vuestra magestad se sirve de mandar embiar cada año a las islas Philippinas, para que viniendo en dicho Navio **San Diego** nuestra Misión a dichas islas Marianas, se excusasen al Real aver los especiales gastos de la embarcación, que la Real cedula disponía se me diese a mí y a mis compañeros que dice el Gobernador de Philipinas en su carta al Virrey de la Nueva España Marqués de Mancera le estorbaba el dar entero cumplimiento desde allá a dicha real voluntad y Misión.*

In all the said points, which were elaborated at greater length in the above-mentioned letter, and reports, the undersigned hopes to receive all grace from Y. M. for the love and honor of our Lord Jesus Christ, the glory of the name, and patronage with which the said poor Islands have been protected by the Virgin Mary, and her holy Marian family, together with th glorious Precursor St. John the Baptist, St. Ignatius, and St. Francis Xavier, Apostle of these New Peoples, in whose name he humbly begs.

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+ Diego Luis de San Vitores +

H2. Letter to the Queen, sent from Mexico in February

Source: AGI Fil. 82-2-54; cited in B&R 53: 302.

Notes: Enclosed was a copy of a paper which had been handed over to the Count of Peñaranda, President of the Council of the Indies, in June (or July) 1665 [by his father]. The Count's name was Don Gaspar de Bracamonte y Guzmán. Reference is also made to the royal decree of 24 June 1665 (see Doc. 1665D). This letter was mailed from Mexico City on 23 February (see H1 above).

Translation, by R.L.

[Note in margin:] **Decision made by the Governor of the Philippines about the itinerary of the mission to the Mariana Islands to take place via New Spain.**

After I wrote Y.M. from Manila in July of last year 1667, in which I announced the plans for the voyage which was then about to take place to accomplish the holy zeal of Y.M. for the conversion of the Mariana Islands, there happened the decision about the voyage in the manner stated by Master-of-Camp Diego Salcedo, your Governor and Captain General of the Philippines, who, with the agreement of the pilots, and other experts, so decided in order for the said islands to be reached more safely and to comply with the Royal orders for their conversion and specially with the last one by our Lord, King Philip IV (may God save him), dated Buen Retiro 24 June of the past year 1665 regarding my special mission, which comprises the Mariana Islands that were formerly called the Ladrones, with the other provinces that may agree with the divine service and lead to Japan, as it has been judged the safest route today for the said islands and in order not to run the risk of losing time. In the meantime, while we can make with divine help a successful entry into the interior of that Kingdom, there will be obtained the conversion of the many souls of those poor islanders who are perhaps in greater need and disposition than those in Japan, and furthermore they represent the immediate obligation of the royal crown of Y.M., as contained in the numerous decrees and pleasure of the Kings our lords.

The Governor of the Philippines decided to send this mission in the ship called **San Diego** to this Kingdom of New Spain for the purpose of securing such contingencies as the despatch of another larger ship, such as the one that is sent regularly to the islands to carry the subsidies that Your Majesty is pleased to send every year to the Philippines. Hence, by having our mission come with the said ship **San Diego** bound for

A lo qual mis compañeros y yo nos [h]allanamos en la divina promtitud; aunque el viage que antes era de 300 leguas, se venía a hazer de 3,000 y de lo más rigido de climas, tiempos y mares que navegan las naos de V.M. pero claro es que debiamos tener en muy poco cualesquier trabajos y riesgos por que no se malograrse el santo zelo de V.M. en tantas almas de la suma necesidad y disposición para recibir el santo evangelio que [h]ara ya constado a V.M. por los informes del arzobispo de Manila y otros que se an remitido a vuestra Real Consejo de Indias.

Real Instrucción y cedula acerca de dar doctrina a las islas de los Ladrones y desde donde?

Y se dispuso también en dicha forma el viage; por ser assí más ajustado a la Real instrucción dada a los Governadores de Philipinas desde antes de los años de 1600 a la qual se remiten las demás cedulas desde la que se despachó en Zamora a 16 de febrero de 1602 para que la Doctrina, y ministros para las islas de los Ladrones se lleben en las naos que ban a las islas Philipinas a la yda desde la Nueva España por ser la yda derecho, y seguro, totalmente el viage para tomar las dichas islas de los Ladrones, y especialmente la Isla de Guam, que ya se llama de San Juan, y es la más apropósito para ser escala de las mas islas, y de los viages desta carrera de Philipinas de la qual isla de San Juan esta tomada la Real posesión y en ella de las demás de su cordillera, desde el año de 1569 [sic] por el adelantado Miguel López de Legaspi que por medio de interprete propuso a aquellos naturales el derecho e intentos del Rey Nuestro Señor y su Real palabra en orden a la predicación del santo Evangelio a lo qual todos vinieron promptamente aquellos naturales dando la obediencia y vasallaje al Rey nuestro señor como consta de las historias destos de San Agustín desta Nueva España por el maestro Fray Juan de Grijalva en la edad tercera acapitulado 4 y como en virtud de lo dicho dió su Magestad titulo de adelantado de las islas de los Ladrones al que comunmente se llama Adelantado de Philipinas.

Perseverancia dellos en la amistad y petición de la Santa Virgen.

Y después acá han proseguido dichos naturales en la amistad esperança y petición de Ministros por medio de interpretes, y embajadores que han emviado movidos de especiales milagros, que refieren y aparición de la Santíssima Virgen y especiales demonstraciones de una hechura de un niño Jesús que tienen de que ya se ha hecho relación a V.M. en los informes dichos.

the Mariana Islands, the royal treasury will not have to make special expenditures for the boat that the Royal decree stipulated be given to me and my companions, the Governor of the Philippines saying in his letter to the Viceroy of New Spain, the Marquis of Mancera, that he was unable to give full compliance to the said royal decree from overthere.

Consequently, my companions and I found ourselves ready to do God's will, even though the voyage which was before one of 300 leagues, was now one of 3,000 leagues and through the most severe of climates, weather and seas, such as lie in the way of Y.M.'s ships, but we obviously had to look upon such hardships and risks as not important in order not to damage the holy zeal of Y.M. toward so many souls in extreme need and disposed to receive the holy gospel, about which Y.M. must have been informed through the reports of the Archbishop of Manila and the others that have been remitted to your Royal Council of the Indies.

[Note in margin:] **Royal Instruction and decree regarding the evangelization of the Ladrone Islands and from where.**

The voyage was decided in the said manner, because it was the best way to comply with the Royal Instruction given to the Governors of the Philippines as long ago as the first decade 1600s when the other decrees were issued, beginning with the one despatched from Zamora on 16 February 1602 in which the evangelization and the ministers for the Ladrone Islands are to go aboard the Manila galleons from New Spain as it is the most direct, safest and effective route to touch at the said Ladrone Islands, and specially the Island of Guam, which is now called San Juan, and is the most suitable one of the islands for a port of call for the galleons that make the regular run to the Philippines.

[Note in margin:] **Possession of the said Islands taken. And their obedience to His Majesty.**

This island of San Juan has been taken possession of, as it is the one where, as of the year 1569 [sic] the frontier Governor Miguel López de Legaspi, through an interpreter, proposed to those natives the right and intentions of the King our lord and his royal promise with regards to the preaching of the holy gospel, upon which all those natives came forward to pledge obedience and servitude to the King our lord, as it is narrated in their histories published here in New Spain by [Fr.] San Agustín and by Master Fray Juan de Grijalva in his Decade 3, Chapter 4. By virtue of what is said there, His Majesty gave the title of Adelantado [frontier or military governor] of the Ladrone Islands to the one commonly appointed Adelantado of the Philippines.

[Note in margin:] **They have remained friends and the request of the Holy Virgin.**

After this, the said natives have maintained their friendship, hope, and request for ministers through interpreters, and ambassadors they have sent as a result of special miracles, such as the apparition of the Blessed Virgin and special demonstrations from

Perseverencia de su magestad en mandarseles de doctrina ora desde Philipinas ora desde Nueva España.

Y no menos ha proseguido el real y cathólico zelo de los Reyes Nuestrros señores despachando varias zedulas para el entero cumplimiento de tan cordial obligación y palabra de su Magestad y con tal meneo y resolución como se ve en la ya alegada de Zamora a 16 de febrero de 1602, y parece escrita en la ocasión presente a lo menos nos obliga a tenerla por renovada en estas circunstancias el siempre constante y bien heredado zelo de la exaltación de nuestra Santa Fe, que vive siempre y reyna en los cathólicos pechos de todas los Reyes Nuestrros señores sin mudarse, sino antes renovarse y avivarse cada nuevo sucesor y heredero.

En dicha cedula pues dirigida al Governador de Philipinas, el qual para no aver executado el orden que ya tenía de su Magestad de dar doctrina a dichas islas de los Ladrones daba por escusa el aver escrito al Virrey desta Nueva España para que desde aquí se embiasen los Ministros del Santo Evangelio a dichas islas, le dice su Magestad que si el Virey no lo ha hecho lo haga en todo caso el dicho governador como cosa que no importa menos que la salvación de tantas almas a lo qual se reconoce mirar siempre únicamente la Magestad cathólica de los Reyes nuestros señores y que se execute luego por qualquier medio o camino que sea ora desde Philipinas ora desde esta Nueva España.

Las quales zedulas y los demás ordenes Reales que todos son siempre en la misma constante conformidad de tan cathólico zelo aunque constan en Philipinas a donde se han dirigido por ser esta empresa la primera de aquellas islas ha permitido Nuestro Señor para más merecimiento segun parece de los que concurren a la execución desta Santa obra y para mas apoyo del concepto que tienen los Ministros, y vasallos de V.M. de su Real y cathólico animo en la propagación de Nuestra Santa Fe, que no aya por donde conste al presente en esta Nueva España en original, ó autentico traslado, ninguna de las dichas Reales zedulas, de las quales yo no cuyde tanto el sacar traslado quando crey iba allí yr disponiendo el passo para el Japon segun la dicha Real zedula última de 24 de Junio de 1665.

Ase [=Se ha] obrado en virtud de la carta del Governador.

Y quando se publicó el viage para este Reyno, por el peligro que tenía la otra nao del socorro fué tan limitado el tiempo y tan embaraçado con la enfermedad, que sobrevinó al Governador y con el nuevo avio de la gente, y familias que yo sacaba de Manila, con los quales he proseguido hasta este Reyno, que no tuve lugar para más que fiarme del secretario del Governador de Philipinas, que me dijo se embiarían todos los recaudos necesarios a este Gobierno de Nueva España los quales vienen reducidos a sola la carta del Governador que se remite a nuestro Real Consejo de las Indias.

a statue of a child Jesus that they have, a narrative of which has been made to Y.M. in the said reports.¹

[Note in margin:] **Persistence of His Majesty in issuing orders for the their evangelization, either from the Philippines or from New Spain.**

The royal and catholic zeal of the Kings our lords has not been inactive either, witness the despatch of various decrees for the entire compliance of such a cordial obligation and word of H.M., with such a hustling and determination as has been seen in the above-mentioned decree of Zamora, dated 16 February 1602, which seems to have been written for the present situation. At least it forces us to consider it timely under the present circumstances for the everlasting and well-inherited zeal to exalt our holy Faith, one that lives forever in the catholic bosoms of their Catholic Majesties our sovereigns, unchanging except perhaps to be renewed and revived with each new successor and heir.

For instance, in every decree sent to the Governor of the Philippines (the latter, not having executed the order received from H.M. to evangelize the said Ladronne Islands, was giving as an excuse his having written to the Viceroy of New Spain suggesting that the Ministers of the Holy Gospel should be sent from here to the said islands) he was told by H.M. that if the Viceroy had not sent them the said governor should in any case do so because there is nothing less [rather more] important than the salvation of so many souls, something which is recognized as always uniquely valuable by their Majesties the Kings our lords and to be executed by whatever means or route, be it from the Philippines or from New Spain.

[Note in margin:] **[Copies of] the said decrees exist in the Philippines, but not in New Spain.**

The decrees in question and the other royal orders that all reflect the same great catholic zeal, although they are on file in the Philippines where they have been sent (since this enterprise was mostly one belonging to those islands), our Lord has willed that, in order to give more merit, it seems, to those who undertake this holy project, and to add importance to the concept of the propagation of the faith held by the Ministers and by the vassals of your Royal Catholic Majesty, it should happen that no copies, whether original or authenticated copies, of any of the said Royal decrees be found here in New Spain. I myself had not thought it necessary to have authentic copies made, as I believed that it was within their purview there to decide what to do respecting voyages to Japan, in accordance with the said royal decree of 24 June 1665.

[Note in margin:] **Actions were in accordance with the letter from the Governor.**

When it was published that the voyage was to take place by way of this Kingdom, given the danger of [losing] the relief of the other ship, the [preparation] time was so limited and impeded with illnesses, that the Governor intervened with a new supply of

1 Ed. note: It is not entirely clear what Fr. Sanvitores, or his editor, is referring to here. The first part may have to do with an event that took place in Tinian, following which some Chamorros travelled to Manila with the survivors of the Concepción shipwreck, but the second part may simply refer to the image of the Holy Child found by Legazpi in Cebu.

Y suposición de la real voluntad.

Y assí Señora ha sido bien menester que el Virey Marqués de Mancera represente no sólo la real persona sino la especial piedad de V.M. y zelo de nuestra Santa Fe para que assí suponiendo sin duda ser voluntad de V.M. el que después de tantas diligencias, y pasos tan peligrosos dados en virtud de las Reales cédulas, y confianza de la piedad de V.M. no se malogre su santo zelo con perdida irreparable de las muchas almas de aquellos pobres que por qualquier dilación parecieren con harto dolor sin duda de V.M.

Y con acuerdo de Junta General se an dado para esta misión 10,000 pesos a cuenta del situado de Philipinas.

Y que por tanto se aya resuelto con la junta general que para esto se ha hecho de concurrir a los gastos necesarios del viage de quatro sacerdotes y 20 seglares que llebo en mi compañía y para los materiales, instrumentos y generos tocantes al culto divino, y asiento de nuestra Misión en dichas islas Marianas con la cantidad de 10,000 pesos que se han dado desta Real caxa a cuenta del situado de Philippinas.

Y parecía no ser menester más para esto que las ordenes y zedulas generales con la carta del Governador y venida de dichos misioneros con familias de Manila, etc.

Y aunque algunos de dicha junta general de hacienda les parecía no era menester más seguridad y fianza de la voluntad, y aprovación de Vuestra Magestad aunque no constase de otras zedulas, ni ordenes más que los generales que estan dados con tanta piedad, y lo necesario a los gastos de la conservación y aumentos de nuestra Santa Fe en las islas Philipinas, entre las cuales deben de tener muy principal lugar las dichas islas de los Ladrones ya Marianas, por la primacia del sitio y posesión tomada primero que en Manila por el primer Governador de Philipinas el adelantado Miguel López de Legazpi con el Santo Sacrificio de la Missa, que allí se celebró, y con la Real palabra de volver allí a predicar el santo evangelio, y por la lastimosa dilación de su cumplimiento hasta aora, y extrema necesidad y suma disposición de aquellas almas con nueva petición de Padres y nuevas demostraciones del patrocínio de la Santíssima Virgen, que constan por los dichos informes que también he presentado en este gobierno. Pertenecen al presente dichas islas unas al obispo más cercano y la patente de mi Provincial para dicha Misión en que se suponen las dichas reales zedulas y motivos, y que assi como se dan varias cantidades desta misma real caxa a cuenta de dicho situado de Philipinas a Marineros, y otras personas que vienen de dichas islas con solo las libranças que traen por donde conste ser deuda de su Magestad o qualquiera otro gasto necesario de aquellas islas, y se provee todo lo demas de aquel socorro segun lo pide o

personnel, and the families that I was taking from Manila, with whom the voyage was pursued as far as this Kingdom, that I had no choice but to trust the word of the Governor's secretary, who told me that he would prepare all the necessary despatches to the Government here in New Spain. In the end, all he sent was the one letter from the Governor which is addressed to our Royal Council of the Indies.

[Note in margin:] **Interpretation of the royal will.**

So it is, Madam, that it has been necessary for the Viceroy, the Marquis of Mancera, to represent not only the royal person but the special piety of Y.M. and the zeal of our holy Faith in order to interpret with no doubt the royal will of Y.M. This was done in line with the many provisions already made by virtue of the royal decrees, and the trust placed in the piety of Y.M. to the effect that it should not suffer disrepute with the irreparable loss of the many souls of those poor ones, and that any delay would no doubt cause pain to Y.M.

[Note in margin:] **A General Meeting decided to provide the mission with 10,000 pesos to be charged against the Philippine subsidy.**

It was therefore decided during a meeting of the General Council that the necessary expenditures for the voyage of four priests and 20 civilians who accompany me, for the materials, the instruments and goods connected with the divine cult, and the settlement of our Mission in the said Mariana Islands, in the amount of 10,000 pesos that were taken from the Royal treasury here and charged to the account of the Philippine subsidy.

[Note in margin:] **Therefore, it seemed unnecessary to have anything other than the general orders and decrees with the letter from the Governor and the coming of the said missionaries and families from Manila, etc.**

Although some of the people who attended the general treasury meeting did not think that more proof of the will and approval of Your Majesty was necessary, even though there were no decrees or orders other than the general ones that were given with such piety in support of the expenses made for the conservation and propagation of our holy Faith in the Philippine Islands, among which must be counted at the top of the list the said Ladrones, now Mariana, Islands, on account of the site having been discovered and taken possession first, before Manila, by the first Governor of the Philippines, the military governor Miguel López de Legazpi, with the holy sacrifice of the Mass celebrated there, and the royal promise to return there to preach the holy Gospel, and on account of the deplorable delay in complying with it until now, and the extreme need and superb disposition of those souls, the new petition from the Fathers and the new signs of the patronage of the Blessed Virgin, all of which have been recorded in the said reports that have been presented to this government. The said islands now belong to the nearest bishop and the patent for the said Mission being held by my Provincial is supposedly based on the said royal decrees and motives. Furthermore, since various amounts from the same royal treasury are paid out of the account of the said Philippine subsidy to sailors and other persons who come from the said islands with just the permits they carry, and this is charged to his Majesty, as well as any other expenditure

representa por necesario el Governador de dichas islas en sus cartas: assi tambien bastaba para dar el abio de dicha Mission a quenta del dicho situado la dicha carta del Governador y el remitir de hecho mi persona aún que tan inutil y los compañeros y familias seglares ya referidas con tan largo y peligroso viage para solo el efecto de que de aquí se abiase la dicha Misión.

Pero se ofrecieron y admitieron fianzas de la Provación dentro de tres años.

No obstante para más abundamiento y seguridad o para demostración de que no sólo los Ministros mayores y más señalados vasallos de V.M. sino qualesquiera otros tienen la misma confianza de su cathólico zelo y piedad ofrecí fianzas y se me admitieron en la junta, dadas por 19 personas abonadas que en un breve tiempo me deparó el señor por mano de la Santíssima Virgen y de San Francisco Xavier entre sus devotos, que con muy entera voluntad se cargaron de la obligación que tanto suele rehusarse en fianzas del Real aver obligandose a enterar la dicha cantidad de los 10,000 pesos en esta Real caxa si dentro de tres años no viniese aprovación de V. Magd. acerca de lo hecho.

Sin temor ni duda de la dicha aprovación.

En lo qual no he tenido ni llebo rastro de temor; por que el amor del Señor, y del proximo extremadamente necesitado del qual se han movido los que han hecho esta fianza, hecha fuera toda desconfianza y temor: Además de que juzgo incurriera grave crimen, ofensa de vuestra Cathólica Magestad y piedad y desdixera grandemente de las obligaciones con que quisó Dios que naciese de hijo de Fiel vasallo y Ministro de V.M. las quales no he perdido sino antes aumentado por ser aunque indigno religioso, y sacerdote professo de la compañía de Jesús faltara digo a mis padres y a mi Madre la compañía si me retirara de la empresa, que se puso a mi cargo de no menor importancia que la salvación de tantas almas como dijo el rey nuestro señor en la real zedula ya alegada poniendo duda en la constancia del zelo de V. Magestad acerca de la exaltación de nuestras Santa Fe, del qual siempre ha de emanar semejantes demostraciones con que se conveça [sic] la blasfema calumnia de los herejes que se han atrevido a decir que los gastos que nuestros cathólicos Reyes hacen en las conquistas de los Indias no son por el aumento de Nuestra Santa Fe, y quieren alegar para esto, el que no se hacen dichos gastos, y conquistas en tierras donde no ay oro, y otros intereses temporales.

Y se establece en las obras el docma de la universal redempción de nuestro Señor Jesucristo.

Con que mejor pues se dementira esta calumnia, que con las expensas del Real aver tan presente y en tales tiempos aplicados para la conquista de las islas de los Ladrones ya Marianas, riquísimas sí de almas grandemente dispuestas para el santo evangelio pero probrísimas de todos los demás generos, o intereses temporales, como les consta

necessary for those islands, and given that this is done as everything else concerning that subsidy in accordance with what is represented as necessary by the Governor of the said islands in his letters, so it is also proper for him to dispatch my person, so undeserving, and my companions and the above-mentioned civilian families along such a lengthy and dangerous route, for the sole purpose of forwarding the said Mission from here.

[Note in margin:] **But some performance bonds for three years were offered and accepted.**

Nevertheless, in order to add trust and security and to demonstrate that not just the Ministers but others from among Y.M.'s most distinguished vassals and any others who wished to show the same trust in your catholic zeal and piety, I offered bonds and they were accepted by the council. Such bonds were underwritten by 19 persons whom the hand of the Most Holy Virgin made manifest to me within a short time from among the devotees of St. Francis Xavier. Of their entire free will they accepted the obligation to repay treasury bills, such as the ones that are normally refused, obliging themselves to repay the amount of 10,000 pesos to this royal treasury, if the expenditure for the stated purpose does not meet the approval of Y.M. within three years.

[Note in margin:] **No fear or doubt regarding the said approval. Hence, the calumny of the heretics is defeated.**

About which there is not the least trace of fear, because of the love of the Lord and the real urgent need that prompted them to post such a bond, without any possible distrust or fear. Furthermore, I told them that some serious injury and offence would be done to the honor and piety of your Catholic Majesty, should my obligations be reneged, God having willed to have me born as the son of a faithful vassal and minister of Y.M.¹ Far from decreasing, my obligations have been augmented by the fact that I became a religious, though unworthy of the honor, and a professed priest of the Society of Jesus. I would therefore fail in my obligations to my parents and the patroness of our Society if I were to abandon the enterprise that what placed in my care, one that is no less important than the salvation of so many souls, as the King our lord has said in the above-mentioned royal decree; doing so would damage the reputation of the zeal of Y.M. regarding the propagation of our holy Faith, and would provide an example such as those that are pointed out by the blasphemous calumnies of heretics when they pretend that the expenditures made by our catholic sovereigns are made for the conquest of the Indies and not for the propagation of our holy Faith, and they use as a proof [of their allegation] that there are no such expenditures made in lands where there is no gold, or other material benefit.

[Note in margin:] **In these good works lie the proof of the universal redemption by our Lord Jesus Christ.**

This calumny cannot be better proved wrong than by making expenditures from the royal treasury in favor of such cases as the conquest of the Ladrone, now Mariana, Is-

1 Ed. note: Fr. Sanvitores' father was a member of the Treasury Council at the court in Madrid.

bien a los herejes, que ya las han explorado, y desechado. Voy pues Señora con gran consuelo y no creo que he hecho nada en venderme o cautivarme con dicha fianza, o dejar cautivos a mis fiadores por amor del Señor y de las almas por quien su Majestad se dejó vender y crucificar entre Ladrones, y más quando no tanto me han fiado a mí, como al universal, y dulcísimo fiador, nuestro christo Jesús en credito del docma de nuestra santa fee siempre constante, y en estos tiempos nuevamente declarados por la santidad de Alexandro Séptimo, de que ninguna criatura humana se ha de dar por excluida de la universalíssima y abundantíssima redempción de nuestro señor Jesuscristo que derramó su sangre no menos por los pobres de la Islas de los Ladrones que por las demás naciones del mundo, y que no es aceptador de personas ni excluye de su evangelio a los pobres como pretendían algunos se excluiesen estos por serlo, siendo así que dió por especiales señas nuestro señor Jesucristo de quien era y de quien le enviaba, el que era enviado a evangelizar a los pobres.

Propria gloria de la real corona el que no se dude ni se dilate con tanto perjuicio de almas.

A quien pues le toca volver por esta honra de Nuestro Señor Jesucristo y de su evangelica predicación y especialmente en las tierras que su divina Magestad ha encomendado a los reyes Cathólicos Nuestros Señores con especial encargo y descargo de la Sede Apostolica quien puede dudar que esta propísima honra y gloria de Vuestra Agustíssima Catholíssima Corona, y que sería ofensa suya muy grave el dudar que avia de salir menos bien de su fianza los que la han hecho fiandose V.M. y piedad, y en ocasión tan urgente en cuya dilación no se perderían los gastos ya hechos de vuestro real aver en Manila por el despacho desta Misión desde allá y al viage y passos de tanto peligro de los religiosos y seglares vasallos de V.M. sino el número innumerables de almas que en cada año de dilación se pierden irreparable en dichas islas, y aora con más lástima quanto es mayor su disposición y el malogro en la dilación, sobre 103 años, que ha que son vasallos de V.M. aquellos pobres, sin serlo aún de nuestro Señor Jesucristo por medio del Sancto Bautismo, cuya administración aún se les ha dispuesto en tantos años de su espera, y petición.

Facilidad de la Conservación sin ser menester presidio con que se escusan muchos inconvenientes especialmente en las primeras entradas.

Y puesta una vez esta primer piedra de la cristiandad en dichas islas Marianas con tan buena zanja de la piedad y expensas de V.M. es sin duda que en ninguna parte se podra conservar y aumentar más facilmente nuestra santa fe, y con menos gastos que en dichas Islas, por que lo primero es cierto que no es menester presidio de soldados en que intervinieran tantos gastos, e inconvenientes y 31 de diziembre de 1608 en que dispusó el rey Nuestro Señor que queriendo los religiosos hacer entradas y conquistas

lands, very rich in souls exceedingly ready to receive the holy gospel but very poor in all other goods, or material interests, a fact which is well known to the heretics who have already explored them and rejected them.¹ I go ahead with complete confidence, Madam, and I do not think that I have gotten myself into a trap by posting such a bond or gotten my underwriters into trouble for the love of God and the souls for which our Majesty let Himself be sold and crucified among thieves, specially when they did not place their trust so much in me as in the universal, and the sweetest of guarantors, our Christ Jesus, to the credit of a dogma of our holy faith, forever firm, and formul-ated anew in recent times by His Holiness Pope Alexander VII, to the effect that no human creature is to be considered excluded from the most universal and limitless redemption of our Lord Jesus Christ who shed His blood no less for the poor people of the Ladrone Islands than for the other nations of the world. This [guarantee] is not selective nor does it exclude poor people from being evangelized, as some people have pretended based on this criterion; to the contrary, our Lord Jesus Christ made a special mention of who He was, and who sent Him, He who was sent to evangelize the poor.

[Note in margin:] **The glory of the royal crown itself depends upon no doubt being placed upon it and upon not causing prejudice to the souls.**

Therefore, it behooves whoever is responsible for this honor made by our Lord Jesus Christ and the preaching of his gospel, specially in the countries that his divine Majesty has entrusted the Catholic Kings our lords with, something that was sanctioned by the Holy See. Who can doubt that such a most appropriate honor and glory belongs to Your Most August Catholic Crown, and that it would be a verious serious offence for the underwriters to doubt the happy outcome resulting from this bond as they have done so trusting in Y.M.'s piety, and under such an urgent circumstance whose postponement would lead to the waste of the expenditures already made from the royal treasury in Manila for the despatch of the said Mission whose voyage from there costs the religious and civilian vassals of Y.M. such risk already, only for the benefit of innumerable souls that would be irreparably lost with each year of delay. Now more than ever, when they are better disposed, they would be harmed, considering that for the past 103 years that they have been vassals of Y.M., those poor people do not yet belong to our Lord Jesus Christ for lack of holy baptism, whose administration has not yet been effected during so many years of waiting, and asking for it.

[Note in margin:] **Their conservation would be easy, without a garrison, an unnecessary disadvantage, specially in newly-opened mission fields.**

Once the first stone of this new Christian community has been laid in the said Mariana Islands with such a good foundation as the piety and monies from Y.M., there is no doubt that nowhere else our holy faith will be preserved and increased more easily and with fewer expenses than in the said islands. First of all, it is certain that there is no need for a garrison of soldiers that would occasion so many expenses, and disadvantages; also there is the disposition from the King our lord, dated 31 December 1608,

1 Ed. note: Sanvitores refers to the Dutch ships that had visited Guam and Rota.

evangelicas a naciones que no esten declaradas por enemigas, no lleben consigo soldados, ni levanten fuerças en dichas tie[rras] aunque las instrucciones antiguas lo permitían; por que la experiencia ha mostrado que los soldados no se contentan con atender a la defensa de los predicadores; sino a otros desmanes, etc. Los quales inconvenientes aún son mayores en las primeras entradas en las quales el menor ruydo de armas por mas que sea a título de anticipada defensa le tienen por ilícito, y contrario al modo de predicar Nuestro Señor Jesucristo ordenó el Angelico doctor Santo Thomás y los interpretes y theologos, que se alegan en otro papel más por extenso, entre los quales podra V.M., servirse de mandar ver el eximio doctor Suarez (ref. tomo de fid. de 18 Se 1 n l).

Quedando con lo bueno de los presidios por el sitio y calidades de aquellas tierras.

Sin soldados pues; sino con los compañeros solos que llebamos para el exemplo de christiandad, vendremos a tener, sin los inconvenientes dichos todo lo bueno de los presidios, ya por el exemplo y trato pacifico de dichos compañeros de quienes nos tememos lo que sólo se pudiera temer humanamente entre aquellos pobres, que es la irritación de algun mal tratamiento o especie de hostilidad, que los alterase, ya por la docilidad y humanidad de aquellos naturales tan conocida, y experimentada por tantos años de los Españoles e yndios de Philipinas que han vivido entre ellos con ocasión de los naufragios, y por los que pasan cada año por aquellas islas, ya por carecer del vicio, que ha ocasionado más tumultos y alteraciones en otras christiandades bien antiguas y presidadas, que el vicio de la embriaguez al qual, [sic] ni cosa que le pueda ocasionar no lo conozen ni arrostran estos pobres, quando se lo ofrecen otros estraños, que es lo más singular que se ha hallado en naciones de Indios, y gentiles, ya por que el justo temor que tendran y se les puede poner siendo necesario de que pasando por allí las naos de V.M. con los soldados y socorros de Philipinas a qualquier desmán, que hizieren han de temer sobre sí todos los años el justo castigo y que seran asoladas sus tierras, sementeras, y frutos, y llevados por esclavos, etc. y quando no fuerasse más que por no perder la amistad y correspondencia tan entablada, y tan provechosa para ellos el paso de nuestras Naos de las quales únicamente se proveen del hierro, y otros generos necesarios, es cierto estarán más fortificados en el buen tratamiento de los religiosos, y personas de su compañía que con ningunos otros presidios.

Único impedimiento que se ponía a esta misión des[h]echo.

Raçon que ha armado mucho assí al Governador de Philippinas como al Virey desta Nueva España, y a los demás Ministros destos gobiernos por lo qual han desistido del impedimiento que ponían a esta Misión, diciendo ser necesario para ella presidio para cuyos gastos no les parecía aver posibilidad en estos tiempos.

which says that the religious are to make their entries and religious conquests of nations that are not declared enemies, without taking soldiers along with them and without raising fortifications in the said countries, despite the fact that former instructions allowed them, because experience has shown that soldiers do not content themselves with the defence of the preachers but commit depredations, etc. Such disadvantages tend to be greater at the beginning of new missions when the least noise made by firearms, though it be in the name of averting attacks, can only be judged illicit and contrary to the spirit of proclaiming the gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ, according to the Angelic Doctor St. Thomas [of Aquino] and other interpreters and theologians, cited extensively in another paper; Y.M. will be pleased to order that the opinion of one of those, the distinguished Doctor Suarez (ref. tome fid. 18 Se l n l), be brought to your attention.

[Note in margin:] **The site is nevertheless good for garrisons. The qualities of those lands.**

Without soldiers then, exception made of the companions taken along to show how Christians live, we will eventually gain the advantage of the presence of garrisons without the said disadvantages, through the example and peaceful behavior of the said companions, at least we do not fear anything other than may humanly be expected among those poor people, that is their irksome reaction in the form of mistreatment and some kind of hostility that would make them change their behavior, either on account of the well-known docility and humanity of those natives such as was experienced over many years by Spaniards and Filipino Indians alike who have lived among them as a result of shipwrecks and by those who pass by those islands every year, or on account of their lacking a vice that has occasioned much trouble and changes in behavior in other older Christian communities with garrisons, that is the vice of drunkenness which these poor people have never heard of, much less how to achieve it. On the other hand, they have other quirks such as a most singular one which is not found among other Indian nations, or gentile ones, and that is that in passing there the ships of Y.M. with soldiers and the Philippine subsidies can instill a just fear into them if necessary in case of any mishap caused by them; every year they would come under a just punishment and have their lands, sown fields and productions destroyed, and be taken as slaves, etc. Even if it were no more that [the risk of] the loss of the well-established friendship and trade with our galleons, their sole source of iron and other necessary goods, it is certain that the good treatment of the religious and persons in their company would be better assured this way than with any garrison.

[Note in margin:] **The sole objection to this mission is removed.**

The reason put forward not only by the Governor of the Philippines but by the Viceroy here in New Spain as well, and by other ministers in their organizations for not supporting this Mission has been removed; they had said that a garrison was necessary and that they could not see how they could meet such expenses at this time.

La misma imposibilidad del presidio convence no ser necesario.

La qual última razón que antes se oponía en contrario es oy de la más poderosas para persuadir, que no se requirere tal presidio; pues no pudiendose este poner sin los gastos que se reputan imposibles humanamente en la apretura destos tiempos toca a la Providencia de Nuestro universalíssimo redemptor el que no sea menester tal presidio humanamente posible para aplicar los medios aquellos pobres y assí nos devemos persuadir que de los modos dichos, y de otros que deparará la suave y admirable providencia de nuestro Redemptor se a de suplir la dicha falta de Presidios, que para la conservación de la christiandad en otras naciones de diferentes calidades, y sitio se han juzgado nuevas y es cierto que ay otras muchas provincias e islas, y en el mismo Gobierno de Philipinas donde no ay semejante defensa en medio de enemigos naturales y forasteros que hacen muy ordinarias invasiones y daños en aquellas provincias por que por mas presidios y soldados, que aya en algunas cabeceras quando quieren acudir con el remedio y resistencia a los enemigos, que se levantan o entran en las provincias, ya este hecho sin remedio el daño y el ir a remediarlo con las armadillas y gente de los presidios que salen ya bien tarde, quando llegan las nuebas del enemigo, no es sino hacer gasto sin fruto real aver, y doblar el daño de los pobres indios vasallos de V.M. con los desmanes y remediables de los soldados, que pasan por sus tierras, etc.

Semejante en la isla de Socotora en tiempo de San Francisco Xavier.

Assí que tierra donde sin gastos de V.M. en armadillas, ni presidios, tentan todos los años sobre sí tantos soldados, y con tan buena prevención y avio para que no se ocasionen desmanes, como se consigue en las Naos del socorro ordinario de Philipinas que pasan derechamente por dichas islas, no creo que ay en toda la estendidíssima Monarquía de V.M., como la que se le ofrece en sus Islas Marianas; sino es la que avía semejante en tiempo de San Francisco Xavier en la isla de Socotora, que es también en el paso y viage de la India 300 leguas antes de Goa, donde pusó el santo quatro compañeros suyos sin mas prevención ni ofensa que la del paso de las naos y no defensa para los religiosos, que nunca la pidio el santo para sí, ni sus compañeros dando antes gracias al señor de que en las tierras donde andaban “Præter Divinez præsidium præsidii haberent nihil”, sino para los nuevos christianos de dicha tierra, que eran infestados gravemente de los Moros, de la qual infestación y otra qualquier de enemigos estraños, estan muy libres, y lo han estado siempre los naturales de los Ladrones por el sitio donde el Señor les puso tan remoto, e inaccesible por los grandes mares a las embarcaciones de los Moros, y corsarios de Philipinas, y tampoco apetecible por la falta de generos de intereses temporales a qualquiera otra nación, que no tenta la ocasión del paso forzoso por las dichas islas como la tienen las Naos de V.M. y la conveniencia del único empleo de aquellas tierras que es el trato y ganancia de las almas para el cielo.

[Note in margin:] **The garrison objection turns out to be an argument against it being necessary. Hence, there is a better defence than at other places where they do have garrisons.**

This last reason that used to be an objection is now the most powerful argument in favor of the idea that a garrison is not necessary. Indeed, not installing one means that the expenditures that are said to be not humanly possible under the present economic situation are not necessary. It turns out that by divine Providence of the most universal Redeemer such a garrison is not necessary to apply the means to those poor people as humanly as possible, and so we must persuade ourselves that the said procedures, and others that the sweet and admirable providence of our Redeemer will provide, will make up for the lack of a garrison, which has been [necessary] to preserve christianity in other nations with different characteristics, and sites judged to be new. It is true that there are many other provinces and islands, even in the same territory of the Philippines where there is no such defence among natural enemies and foreigners who periodically invade and caused damages to those provinces where there are no garrisons or soldiers, except posted in a few capital towns when they wish to provide a remedy and resist the enemies; in such cases, they get ready and go into the provinces but after the damage has been done, and they provide this remedy with little fleets and people from the garrisons going out when it is already too late, when the news of the enemy presence is received; that is just wasting money without any real outcome, without mentioning the damage suffered by the Indians, vassals of Y.M., as a result of the misdeeds of the soldiers when passing through their territories, etc.

[Note in margin:] **The same thing happened on Socotra Island at the time of St. Francisco Xavier.**

So, in a land where Y.M. will not spend on little fleets, or on garrisons, they will experience every year the presence of so many soldiers, and with such a good preparation and provision against misdeeds, as would be gotten with the galleons that usually bring the Philippine subsidy and that pass directly by the said islands, I do not think that there exists in the whole of the most extensive territories belonging to Y.M. such a situation as in the Mariana Islands, with the exception that, at the time of St. Francis Xavier at Socotra Island, which is located on the route to India some 300 leagues before Goa, where the saint left four of his companions without any other provision or means of offence as the passage of ships and no defence provided to the religious; the saint never asked for such a defence either for himself or for his companions, but rather used to give thanks to the Lord because in the countries where he was "*Præter Divinez præsidium præsidii haberent nihil*",¹ with one difference, which was that the new Christians of the said land were affected seriously by Moslems that infested it.

1 Ed. note: Latin phrase meaning: "They were to have no protection other than that God's protection."

Socorro ordinario sin gastos del real haver.

Lo necesario para el culto Divino y sustento de los religiosos y demás gente que queda en su compañía no ha de costar ya nada al real aver por que lo preciso que es menester venga de fuera que es el vino y trigo para las misas, los santos olios y alguna ropa para vestido, lo esperamos tener todos sin falta todos los años de limosnas de perfundada de San Francisco Xavier, que es uno de los frutos de la providencia del Señor en avernos traído a entablar nuestra misión desde esta Nueva España que ha tomado muy por su quenta esta gran obra de misericordia, como la principal y Nuestro santo Apostol de la Nuevas Gentes ordenaron la Instrucción desta Congregación de que se da razón en libro impreso desto con las circunstancias y titulos acerca de nuestra Misión Mariana, que se fiere en otro papel particular.

Embarcación también sin costas, y las contingencias se pueden prevenir llevando adelantado.

El modo de llevar lo dicho y lo demás que fuere necesario y los religiosos y personas seglares que hubieren de ir a la propagación de nuestra Santa Fe en dichas Islas, sera también sin costa alguna de la embarcación yendo en las naos del socorro de Philipinas, que a lo menos quando van desta Nueva España pasan derechamente por las Islas de Guam y la Zarpana [Rota], y Buenavista [Tinian], que son las principales de nuestra Misión y de donde como hasta aora salían los naturales a recevir nuestras naos y hacer su feria y rescates por hierro y otros generos que saldrán no menos de aquí adelante con la gente que nos acompaña a recibir el socorro que se nos enviare, y nosotros saldremos con las vanderas de la Santa Cruz a recibir y reconocer las de vuestras reales Naos, y ofrecerles algun refresco, y especialmente de la fruta, que sera más suave al cathólico gusto de los vasallos de V.M. que son los frutos que verán de nuestra Santa Fe entre aquellos pobres tan lamentados antes por su extremo desamparo, con que no abra tierra, y christiandad alguna en este Nuevo Mundo que con más facilidad y menos gastos socorra: y aunque parezca que esta lejos de México viene a estar muy cerca, pues la cercanía, y más en viages de mar se computa por la facilidad y poca costa del viage, el qual en razón de facil es como navegar por un rio desde la Nueva España a la Isla de Guam, o San Juan cabecera que el de la embarcación en las mismas naos de Philipinas, de otros presidios de vuestra magestad que estan mucho mas lejos en orden al so-

[Note in margin:] **The Ladrone Islands free from the said enemies.**

The natives of the Ladrone are absolutely free from such an infestation, even from foreign enemies, on account of the most remote site where the Lord has placed them, inaccessible to Moslem boats and Filipino pirates on account of the wide seas and not appetizing either for their lack of material attractions to any other nation that does not experience the obligatory passage by the said islands such as the ships of Y.M. The only usefulness of such lands is the commerce that can be made there by acquiring the souls for heaven.

[Note in margin:] **Ordinary relief without [additional] costs to the treasury. On account of the piety of the City of Mexico and its Sodality of St. Francis Xavier.**

What is necessary for the divine cult and the food supplies of the religious and the rest of the people in their company should not cost anything to the royal treasury, except for what must necessarily come from outside, that is the wine and wheat [flour] for the masses, the holy oils and some clothing. All of this we expect to receive every year without fail out of the funds set asides by the Sodality of St. Francis Xavier, which is one of the fruits provided by the Lord's providence when we came here to New Spain to prepare for our mission; they have taken charge of this great benevolent endeavor as their main one. This Sodality was organized along the lines proposed by our saintly Apostle of the New Nations, as can be judged from a printed book, where the special interest and titles regarding our Mariana Mission are mentioned, something which will be the subject of another paper.

[Note in margin:] **No expenditures either for a boat, and contingencies can be taken care of by taking along an advance supply.**

The manner of carrying this out and anything else that may be necessary, the religious and the civilian persons who are to go to propagate our holy Faith in the said Islands, will also take place without the expenditure of any funds for a boat, by going aboard the ships that carry the subsidy to the Philippines and must pass directly by the islands of Guam and Zarpana [Rota], and Buenavista [Tinian], when they go from New Spain. Those three islands are the main ones in our Mission field and from them it is customary for the natives to come out with their canoes to welcome the ships and to trade for iron and other goods. It can be expected that they will continue to go out with the people who accompany us in order to receive the subsidy sent to us; as for us, we will go out with the banners of the Holy Cross to welcome and recognize our royal ships and to offer them some refreshment, specially that of a fruit that will be sweeter to the catholic taste of the vassals of Y.M. and that is the fruits they will see from our holy Faith upon those poor people, so lamentable before on account of their abandonment. There will not be a land and Christian community anywhere in this New World kept going with fewer expenditures being made. Although it seems far from Mexico, it turns out that it is very near, since proximity, and even more so in sea voyages, is measured in terms of accessibility and low cost of the voyage; this voyage is so easy that it is like sailing in a river from New Spain to the island of Guam, or San Juan the capital. Suf-

corro y comunicación, pues no le pueden tener más seguro y facil todos los años como nuestras islas Marianas.

Y las contingencias se pueden prevenir llevando adelantado.

Y quando aconteciese lo que abra acontecido una vez en 20 años yendo sin cuydado de la comunicación con dichas islas que se pasasen las naos sin reconocerlas con inmediata vista y comunicación no puede esto hacernos falta considerable, pues lo preciso para la vida humana no faltará dentro de dichas islas con el favor divino, y para que no falte lo necessario para el culto divino sirve la prevención de llevar adelantado para dos y tres años, como llevamos aora para más de 4 y al fin estas contingencias son menores en dichas islas que en otra parte alguna de las que no estan tan derechamente al paso de las naos del socorro de Philipinas que tienen harto más riesgo de no llegar desde Ladrones a Manila, que desde Nueva España a Ladrones.

Salida fácil de dichas islas.

La salida de dichas islas Marianas en los religiosos, o seglares que hubieren menester mudarse estan bien muy fácil pasando desde allí a Philipinas en las mismas Naos del socorro y la respuesta de las cartas irá también por la misma carrera, y volverá con no mas dilación que la que suele aver desde Philipinas, y lo que se enviará de Philipinas llegará a nuestras islas Marianas a lo menos antes de un año a la vuelta de las naos, que como digo ay partes en Philipinas donde no llega tan a prisa, y tan seguramente lo que se envia de Manila: y esto es en estos primeros años, por que extendiendose nuestra Santa Fe, como lo esperamos muy presto con la divina gracia, desde la isla de Guam hasta las del Norte, por donde pasan las Naos a la venida de Philipinas abra más fácil y breve comunicación de una y otra parte, y mucho más quando se reconozcan las islas que dicen los mismos naturales se van continuando en las 300 leguas desde Ladrones a Manila [sic], por las cuales embarcaciones se podrán comunicar todas aquellas islas con la de Manila, y reconociendose puerto, que defienda también de los vendavales que hasta aora no se sabe fijamente sino el de la isla de Guam que defiende en tiempo de brisas, se podrá venir derechamente desde Manila en bajeles grandes o pequeños a dicho puerto y será de grande utilidad esta carrera de la Nueva España para escusar las arribadas tan frecuentes y perniciosas a estas tierras, y a las Philipinas. Esto se irá reconociendo con el discurso del tiempo en assentando el pie en dicha isla de Guam y pasando de unas en otras a las demás de aquel paraje.

Que venga el Almirante Bartolomé Muñoz a reconocer las islas y puertos de norte a sur.

Y para hacerse esto más brevemente y conseguir otros muchos y eternos bienes de aquella christiandad que ya miramos copiosissima como consabra [consagrada?] al nombre y amparo de la santíssima Virgen ya devoción suya al de V.M. sería medio muy

fice to embark aboard the galleons of the Philippines. There are garrisons of Your Majesty that are much farther to relieve and communicate with, but none can be reached more safely and easily every year as our Mariana Islands.

[Note in margin:] **As to contingencies, they can be taken care of by taking along an advance supply.**

Whenever it should happen, perhaps once every 20 years, that contact and communication with the said islands cannot take place, due to galleons passing without sighting the islands, something that would considerably affect us, well then, what is necessary to preserve human life would not lack in the said islands, God permitting, and, in order to prevent the lack of what is necessary for the divine cult, it is sufficient to plan to bring an advance supply for two or three years, such as the one we are now taking with us, to last for over 4 years. Finally, such contingencies are smaller in the said islands than in any other part not so well connected with the passing of Philippine galleons carrying the subsidy; such ships run a far greater risk of not making it between the Ladrones and Manila than between New Spain and the Ladrones.

[Note in margin:] **It is easy to leave the said islands. From now on, there will be more ship visits and communication.**

Departure from the said Mariana Islands of the religious, or the civilians who may have to be transferred, can be accomplished easily by boarding the same galleons carrying the subsidy to the Philippines. Mail will be despatched the same way, and should not be delayed any more than correspondence sent from the Philippines. Mail sent from the Philippines to our Mariana Islands would take one year at most to come by returning ships; as I have said, there are places within the Philippines where it takes longer to arrive. It would be as secure as what is despatched from the Philippines. This is what would take place during the first few years only, because it is the understanding that, once our holy Faith has been extended, as we hope to achieve through divine grace, from the island of Guam to the northern islands, where the galleons pass on their eastward crossing, communication will be easier and take less time in either direction, and even more so after the discovery of the islands which the natives say lie in the intervening 300 leagues between the Ladrones and Manila [sic]; it would then be possible to cover this distance aboard boats, seeking a port that would provide protection during the monsoon season. For now, the only route known with certainty is the [direct] one from the island of Guam when the tradewinds blow. It would then be possible to come from Manila with large or small vessels, looking for such a port which would also serve this navigation route to New Spain, to prevent the so frequent and pernicious returns in distress to these lands and to the Philippines. This [archipelago] will be explored gradually in the course of time, using the said island of Guam as the starting point, and passing from one to another in those seas.

[Note in margin:] **Admiral Bartolomé Muñoz should come and explore the islands and the ports from north to south. And also obtain notices of Japan.**

In order to carry this out more speedily and to obtain many other eternal benefits for this Christian community that we already foresee as very prosperous given that it

*efectivo el mandar V.M. que el mismo almirante Bartolomé Muñoz de quien su cargo fió el maestro de campo Don Diego Salcedo vuestro governador de Philipinas el viage y asiento de la Missión haciendole V.M. la merced y honra que fuere servida, aunque él me certifica no la desea mayor, que el servir a V. Mgd. en empresa tan honrada como la de la salvación de las almas de suerte que venga, si es posible con el Piloto Mayor, que ha traído, que es el capitan Antonio de Azevedo muy semejante al Almirante en el cuidado y partes necesarias para esta empresa y en el mismo Navio llamado **San Diego** y fabricado para esta Misión y grandemente apropósito para lo que al presente propongo que es que se reconozcan las Islas de Norte a Sur y se exploren sus puertos, y calidades y aún se podran tomar noticias inmediatas del Japon y saber la disposición en que se hallan los christianos que dicen estan retirados en una ciudad no lejos de la que llaman cabeça del Japon confinante con la cordillera de los Ladrones para ver el modo más suave, que se podra tomar de socorrer tan valerosos soldados de Christo y hacer por medio dellos la más segura entrada que se puede hacer en el Japon, que oy se tiene por muy cerradas las demás, pues aunque se han abierto algunos resquicios, y esperanças de facilitarse el trato de aquel Reyno con Manila, esa misma abertura cierra más el paso que algunos ministros del Santo Evangelio tuvieron en otro tiempo por Manila para Japon por que la primera condición que pide aquella nación para el comercio temporal es el que no se permita el espiritual y evangelico con que por la astucia del Demo-nio se cierra más para lo que importa más la puerta, que parecía abrirse. Y la contramina desta astucia es la que va disponiendo la altísima providencia del Señor por el camino contrario de no buscar nada temporal sino sólo la salvación de las almas que el Señor tiene escogidas en unas y otras provincias y que por el paso que hallaremos más facilmente entre los pobres de las islas de los Ladrones y bien lograda espera entre tanto en su conversión se halla la más fácil y fructuosa entrada par la restauración de nuestra Santa Fe en aquellos reynos, disponiendose el camino para el Japon en la forma que San Francisco Xavier hizo se propusiese al señor Emperador Carlos quinto como se contiene en la epistola séptima del libro quarto que es haciendo primero pie en Islas y puertos amigables cercanos al Japon quales son sobre todos apropósito los de nuestras islas confinantes de los Ladrones y más en las circunstancias dichas del retiro de los christianos del Japon hacia esta parte de nuestras islas.*

No se necesita de armas.

Esta empresa no necesita de soldados, ni armas, como dice San Francisco Xavier en la epistola alegada; sino de la piedad y experiencia, de algunos pocos españoles, como el dicho Almirante Bartolomé Muñoz que corran esta cordillera, la qual sabe ser de gente de mucha sinceridad y pocas armas, aún los mismos del Japon hacia esta parte son rusticos, y pobres pescadores, como nos informaron los de su misma nación que comunicamos en Manila y que con las noticias que en dicha excursión adquieren, abran el camino a los soldados evangelicos los quales son los que conviene sean el mayor número que pudiere ser, pues al paso sólo del número de los Ministros, será el de los

has been placed under the sacred protection of the Blessed Virgin, Y.M.'s personal devotion, one of the most effective means would be to send Admiral Bartolomé Muñoz in person, the man whom Master-of-Camp Diego Salcedo, your Governor of the Philippines, has appointed to make the voyage and settlement of the Mission. Y.M. could offer him favor and honor as you please, although he has assured me that he does not wish more than to serve Y.M. in so honorable enterprise as that of the salvation of souls. If possible, he should come with the Pilot Major whom he brought along, i.e. Captain Antonio de Azevedo, who is as careful as the Admiral himself, aboard the same ship named **San Diego** that was built for this Mission and fulfills the requirements for this enterprise. I therefore now propose that the Islands be explored from north to south and also their ports and their qualities. Perhaps some immediate news of Japan could be gathered, in which case we would learn what happened to the Christians who are said to have retired to a city not far from the one they call the head of Japan¹ which is at the [northern] limit of the Ladrone Island Chain, in order to find out what desirable means could be taken to come to the relief of such valiant soldiers of Christ and to gain a safer access to Japan through them, as other routes are now quite closed; indeed, although a few cracks have been opened, with the hope that some trade can be established between that Kingdom and Manila, that same opening restricts even more the passage to some Gospel workers who used to go from Manila to Japan that way in the past, because the first condition requested by that nation before material trade can resume is that the spiritual and evangelical trade not be permitted. Hence this trick from the Devil has resulted in the door closing itself more to what is important, rather than becoming open. The obverse of this trick is the one set by the most high providence of the Lord which is the contrary way, consisting in not seeking anything material but only the salvation of souls that the Lord has chosen in these and other provinces. By passing more easily among the poor people of the Ladrone Islands and getting our hopes fulfilled by their conversion there in the meantime we may expect to find an easier and more successful access to restore our holy Faith in those kingdoms in the manner that St. Francis Xavier had proposed to the Emperor Charles V, as contained in his Letter N° 7, Book 4, that is, by first stepping ashore at friendly islands and ports close to Japan; our islands are quite suitable for this purpose as indeed the Ladrones and Japan share a common boundary, and even more so the part where the said Christians of Japan have retired to, which is facing our islands.

[Notes in margin:] **There is no need of weapons. Only missionary workers, and as many as possible. Countless souls in the Mariana Islands.**

This enterprise does not require soldiers, or weapons, as St. Francis Xavier says in the above-mentioned letter, but only the piety and experience of a few Spaniards, such as the said Admiral Bartolomé Muñoz, to follow this chain of islands, known to contain a very sincere and lightly-armed population; even that of Japan in this part as well

1 Ed. note: A reference to the Kanto region of Japan, and perhaps also to its new capital city of Yedo, or Edo, now Tokyo.

millares de almas que se yran reduciendo, sin dificultad alguna a la Fe, y amor de Nuestro Señor Jesucristo entre los pobres de nuestras Islas Marianas los quales son innumerales; pues sólo en el parage de la Isla de Guam o San Juan que es la que se ha escogido por cabecera y en ella sólo ay más de 30,000 almas se cuentan más de 50 islas cercanas unas de otras y todas muy pobladas aunque pequeñas que es lo mejor para abarcarse y doctrinarse más fácilmente y parar sin inconveniente en la que no se pudiere más por falta de Ministros.

Obligación de remedio de la extrema necesidad (ref. Navarro en Manuali, cap. 24 n° 10).

Aunque qualquiera dellas que se quedare sin luz del Santo Evangelio constando su disposición y facilidad para recibirla será de grande lástima para V.M. y puede ser de grave escrupulo para los Ministros evangelicos, que estando en su mano dejasen de venir o enviar a otros tocandoles el remedio destas pobres almas no obstante los Ministerios, y Misiones que se emplean en Europa los religiosos que por grande que sea la necesidad entre antiguos cathólicos, rara vez llega a ser extrema como noto el doctíssimo Navarro comparandola con la necesidad de los gentiles con ocasión de las Misiones de San Francisco Xavier, y del cargo, y escrupulo que ponía el Santo en sus epistolas a los que no correspondían al llamamiento Divino, y obligación de dichas conversiones de gentiles a donde no ha llegado la luz del Santo evangelio y más en los más rusticos, e incultos, y que ni aún tienen trato, y pasaje a tierras y naciones politicas por donde se les comuniquen alguna luz de christiandad, que les ayude si quiera a dudar e inquirir su medio, como la tienen oy generalmente los Chinos, Japoneses, Tartaros, y otras naciones semejantes, pero los pobres de nuestras islas Marianas, con toda su cordillera de Norte a Sur y los que habitan la tierra confinante austral antes incognita, es cierto estan oy en la suma ignorancia falta de luz, e imposibilidad humana de tenerla por otra parte, que por las Misiones que vuestra magestad les enviase, y que al presente se hallan en la extrema necesidad de los medios para la salvación que según todos los theologos se deve preferir a las otras necessidades y obliga gravemente a su remedio a costa de qualesquiera medios y riesgos, aún de la vida y que sólo se excusan los que estan en Europa de venir a cumplir esta obligación quando se persuaden que viene ya otros que tienen la obligación misma y basten al socorro de dicha extrema necesidad como hablando en nuestros propios términos de nuevas conversiones dicen los doctores Bonacina, Puente Hurtado, Trullent, Castro Pallao, y los demás que tocan este punto y hablando en términos generales de extrema necesidad que se deba preferir a las demás, y socorrer a qualquier costa lo dicen todos los doctores cathólicos con San Agustín y San Thomás en los lugares, que bien prolixamente se alegan en otro papel que se pondra en las manos y examen que V.M. mandare.

Medios para traer obreros.

Así que los más ministros que fuere posible serán bien menester para el socorro de la necesidad muchas conversiones de dichas Islas Marianas extremadamente necessida-

is made up of rustic and poor fisherfolk, as we have been informed by other Japanese we contacted in Manila. Also with the information gathered in the said excursion, the way would be opened to the evangelical workers. It would be best to send the maximum number of such workers, given that it is only by increasing the number of Ministers that thousands of souls can be reduced without difficulty to the Faith and love of our Lord Jesus Christ among the poor people of our Mariana Islands who are numberless; for instance, **in the vicinity of the island of Guam, or San Juan, which is the one chosen for the capital, there are over 30,000 souls there, [and] one can count over 50 islands close together and all very populated despite their small size:**¹ that [concentration] is best when few ministers are available because they can be covered and evangelized more easily with less inconvenience.

[Note in margin:] **Obligation to remedy a case of extreme necessity (ref. Navarro en Manuali, chap. 24, n° 10).**

Even if any of these islands remain without the light of the holy Gospel despite their readiness to receive it and their easy access, it would be a shame for Y.M. and could be a serious scandal for evangelical workers in view of the fact that in spite of their handiness they are ignored by those responsible for these poor souls and do not send other workers; that happens while in Europe the religious are employed in ministries and missions where need, no matter how great among established Catholics, cannot be as extreme as that stated by the eminent Doctor Navarro, who had an occasion to point out the need of gentiles regarding the Missions of St. Francis Xavier, and the admonition made by the saint in his letters to those who would not respond to the divine calling and the obligation of the said conversion of the gentiles who live where the light of the holy Gospel has not reached, even more so in the case of the most rustic and uncivilized who have not yet had any dealings or contacts with other civilized countries or nations from which they might have received the light of Christianity, which would help them if they wish to investigate and doubt their own ways, such as the Chinese, Japanese, Tartars, and other similar nations we know of. However, in the case of the poor people of our Mariana Islands, with their whole chain of islands from north to south, as well as those inhabiting their neighborhood to the south, before unknown, it is certain that they are today in complete ignorance for lack of light, and the impossibility to reach them from anywhere else than through the Missions that Y.M. could send them, and that they are at present in extreme need of the means to their salvation. This, according to all theologians, must get precedence over other needs and must necessarily be remedied at whatever cost and by whatever means, even at the risk of lives. Those in Europe who excuse themselves from complying with this obligation persuade themselves that others have already gone to satisfy that same obligation and to satisfy the said extreme need, one that was also mentioned in the same terms, as new

¹ Ed. note: Emphasis mine. It seems clear that Fr. Sanvitores was expecting to find a population in Guam exceeding 30,000 inhabitants. It took him a year or two to realize that the actual population was a third as many.

das, y sumamente dispuestas para el Santo evangelio a donde vamos aora sólo quatro sacerdotes de la compañía de Jesús.

Con el procurador electo de Filipinas y fuera del número ordinario para aquella provincias.

Aunque es de singular consuelo para esto el avernos el Señor deparado al mismo de fundarse nuestra Misión el que tengamos Procurador que solicite los obreros, que es el procurador electo de Nuestra Provincia de Philipinas para nuestra congregación general en Roma y los demás negocios el qual va en esta misma ocasión a la corte de V.M. y es muy experimentado Ministro y antiguo professo de nuestra compañía por nombre Andrés de Ledesma, hijo de esa provincia y reyno de Toledo, que [h]a más de 30 años que pasó a estas partes los quales a empleado con muchos frutos de las almas del cargo de V.M. en varias misiones, ministerios y gobiernos de dicha provincia de Philipinas, y así podra Vuestra Magestad informarse de él cumplidamente acerca destas cristiandades, y nuevas conversaciones: y servirse de mandar venir en su compañía los que Nuestro Señor llamare para la nueva conversión y labor de dichas almas Marianas en el mayor número que se pudiere, y aumentados al número que se suele conceder para dichas provincias de Philipinas sumamente necessitada de obreros para las demás misiones, y ministerios, y que asimismo se entable de aquí adelante con los demás procuradores que van por sujetos para dicha provincia de Philipinas, el que se denguerá [denegará?] del número ordinario los que vuestra magestad fuere servida para sus islas Marianas.

Y entre tanto pasando de la Nueva España a lo menos los que se reciben acá.

Y en el medio de las dilaciones y contingencias de ir, y volver dichos procuradores con los asuntos de España se representa por medio para socorrer más a mano la necesidad más urgentíssima de dichas almas de nuestra misión y con los menores gastos de Vuestro Real aver que viennen ya a reducirse a la conducción de dichos sujetos, el que V.M. se sirva de dar orden al provincial de Nuestra Compañía de Nueva España para que envíe a dichas islas Marianas tal número de sujetos de tanto a tanto tiempo o quando tuviere aviso de especial necesidad en dicha Misión los quales con mucha facilidad y conveniencia se podrán enviar de los que entran en la compañía en esta provincia de Nueva España en quienes no milita la razón que propone por escusa el provincial desta provincia de que no les es permitido dar para las misiones de Philipinas los sujetos, que Vuestra Magestad envia para esta provincia de la Nueva España, pues fuera de el orden que dicen ay no parece que habla con los que se reciben acá, pues antes para mayor servicio de V.M. y escusa de gastos conviniera pasasen tan bien destos religiosos a las Misiones de Philipinas y para el bien y fervor de los religiosos misioneros conviniera mucho no tener cerrada la puerta y cortadas las alas de su espíritu para desterrarse de su Patria por amor de Dios; pues aunque tenga acá misiones, al fin es dicho evangelico que “nemo propheta in Patria sua”; y la experiencia muestra que estos árboles trasplanta-

conversions by Doctors Bonacina, Puente Hurtado, Trullent, Castro Pallao, and others who have touched upon this point. All the Catholic Doctors, such as St. Augustine and St. Thomas, who have spoken in general terms about this extreme need have said that it must be preferred to other needs and relieved at any cost; these references are stated at length in another paper that I can send to Y.M. if you wish me to do so.

[Note in margin:] **The means to bring [more] workers.**

Since as many ministers as possible are to come to the relief of the extreme need of the many conversions in the said Mariana Islands, very well disposed to receive the holy Gospel, for now only 4 priests of the Society of Jesus are going there.

[Note in margin:] **With the Procurator-elect of the Philippines and beyond the usual number for that province.**

Although it is singularly consoling that the Lord has provided us as helper to found our Mission the same man we have as Procurator to solicit workers, in the person of the procurator-elect of our Philippine Province, is on the way to Rome to attend our general congregation and to other business; he will also visit the court of Y.M. by the same occasion. He is a very experienced Minister and old professor of our Society whose name is Andrés de Ledesma, born in that province and kingdom of Toledo. More than 30 years ago, he passed to these parts and he spent those years working productively to save souls in various missions supported by Y.M., so Your Majesty will be able to get full information from him about these Christian communities and the new conversions. and to order that those who are called to the new conversion and salvation of the said souls in the Marianas should come in his company, as many as possible, the number being increased beyond the usual number send to the said provinces of the Philippines to satisfy the extreme need of workers for the other missions and ministries; such a procedure should also be adopted by the other procurators who go and get more subjects for the said Philippine province in future, and from the usual number would be discounted the number that Y.M. will be pleased to send to the Mariana Islands.

[Note in margin:] **In the meantime, they could be taken from those received here in New Spain. It would be proper for the Religious of New Spain not to be blocked from the said Mission and those in the Philippines.**

To offset the delays and contingencies occasioned by the two-way voyages of the said procurators to carry out business in Spain, it is proposed, the better to relieve the most urgent need of the said souls in our mission and to keep the costs to Y.M.'s treasury to a minimum for sending those subjects who have already come, that Y.M. be pleased to order the provincial of our Society in New Spain to send to the said Mariana Islands such a number of subjects as come from time to time or whenever he is advised of a special need in the said Mission; it would be much easier and practical to send those who have joined the Society in this province of New Spain, who are exempt from the reasoning used as an excuse to the effect that the provincial of this province is not allowed to send to the Philippine missions the subjects sent by Y.M. to this province of New Spain. Rather, in order to better serve Y.M. and reduce costs, it would be proper to let those religious pass to the Philippine missions and not keep the door closed and

dos dan más generosos frutos y al fin no merecen por nacer acá, que se les quitó el aliento con que se crían los que nacen en Europa de los espíritus y esperanzas de la Misiones de Japon y otras semejantes que aunque no llegan a ejecutarlas todos los que las desean, les sirven sus deseos de mucho merecimiento, de que dispuestos para mayor trabajos abracen con más fervor los que Dios les enviare en los ministerios presentes como se experimenta en los que con verdadero espíritu desean dichas misiones en Europa.

Especial conveniencia en pasar a dicha misión sujetos de especial respecto y afecto de la congregación de San Francisco Xavier qual es un sacerdote profeso de la compañía por nombre Joseph Vidal.

Y al presente ay otra conveniencia de pasar sujetos desta Nueva España a nuestras Islas Marianas que es el aver tomado a su cargo la congregación de San Francisco Xavier de México el acudir con lo que hubiere de especial respecto y afecto de dicha Congregación y ciudad, qual fuera singularmente un sacerdote profeso de nuestra compañía que esta aora leyendo Theología Moral y sagra escritura en nuestros estudios de México que se llama Joseph Vidal, y es hermano del Mayordomo perpetuo de dicha Congregación, licenciado Christoval Vidal, principal instrumento, que Dios ha tomado para las obras desta piadosa congregación. Fuera de lo qual concurren en dicho religioso todas las buenas prendas que pueden desearse para los principios y progresos de nuestra nueva Misión y una vocación y llamamiento muy fundado que por costarme así de muy inmediata comunicación le he propuesto así nuestros prelados para esta empresa, y por que dan la dicha de ser contra orden o servicio de Vuestra Magestad el que pasen de Nueva España a las Misiones de Philipinas le represente aquí para que V.M. se sirva de declarar no ser de su intención y servicio el que se ponga tal impedimento a lo menos a los que entran en la religión en dicha Provincia de Nueva España.

Que los que vinieren de provincias remotas de Europa para islas Marianas pasen a tener el año de espera en Nueva España.

Y de lo que Dios llamare de las provincias de España y Vuestra Magestad enviare a la Nueva España sería quiza en favor también de la dicha provincia de Nueva España el que a lo menos aviendo servido algun tiempo en dicha provincia se les diese licencia para pasar a la dicha misión y otras de Philipinas, y aún los de las provincias más remotas de España [rather Europa] que siendo de vasallos de V.M. o del señor Emperador se sirve V.M. de conceder pasen a Indias como asistan primero un año en España se les podía conceder que como viniesen para la misión de las islas Marianas pudiesen pasar inmediatamente a Nueva España y emplearse por el espacio de dicho año, o de los que V.M. ordenare en los ministerios de dicha provincia de Nueva España, por que la detención y prueba equivale mucho a la de España y una vez pasados a Indias y más con la esperanza y orden de proseguir después de tal tiempo y pasar a dicha misión de islas Marianas, y otra de Philipinas estarán y proseguirán con mas consuelo, y fervor en los ministerios que entre tanto se les encargaren.

cut the wings off the spirit of those who wish to exile themselves for the love of God; true, there are missions here as well, but it is also said in the Gospel that "*nemo propheta in Patria sua*".¹ Experience has shown that such transplanted plants give more fruits; finally, they do not deserve simply because they were born here to have the breath of their spirit and hopes of going to missions in Japan and elsewhere taken away from them, to favor those who were born in Spain. Although it may not come to pass that all those who wish to may have their wishes fulfilled, they would get more merit and such a disposition would help them to serve with more fervor in whatever other ministry to which God may send them for the time being; the same spirit is seen to be present in those serving in Europe who wish to go to the said mission fields.

[Note in margin:] **Special convenience to send to the said mission subjects with a special respect and affection from the Sodality of St. Francis Xavier, such as the professed priest of the Society named Joseph Vidal.**

At present there is another convenience for subjects from New Spain to go on to our Mariana Islands who have had the supervision of the Sodality of St. Francis Xavier in Mexico to bring along with them the special respect and affection of the said Sodality and City. This would be best accomplished by a professed priest of our Society who is now reading Moral Theology and sacred scriptures in our colleges in Mexico. His name is Joseph Vidal and he is the brother of the Majordomo for life of the said Sodality, Licentiate Christobal Vidal, the main instrument chosen by God for the pious works of this sodality. Besides the fact that the said religious possesses all the good talents that can be desired for the foundation and progress of our new Mission, a vocation and well-founded calling, his immediate availability has made me suggest to our prelates to add his name to this enterprise. Because they have objected, saying that it is against the order or service of Your Majesty to send someone from New Spain to the Philippine Missions, I bring it up here so that Y.M. may be pleased to declare that it is not your intention or [in the interest of] your service to place such an impediment at least for those who have become religious in the said Province of New Spain.

[Note in margin:] **Those bound for the Mariana Islands who come from remote provinces in Europe should spend their year of waiting in New Spain.**

For those whom God may call from the Spanish provinces and Your Majesty may send to New Spain, it might perhaps be of benefit to the said province of New Spain that, after having served at least some time in the said province, they be given permission to go to the said mission and other Philippine missions, even for those who are from more remote provinces of Europe, as long as they are vassals of Y.M. or of the Emperor, Y.M. may be pleased to concede their passage to the Indies and, in the same manner as they presently spend a year in Spain, given that they are bound to the Mariana Island Mission they be allowed to pass immediately to the ministries in New Spain and be employed there for that one year, or whatever time Y.M. may order, since the delay and proof is much equivalent to that of Spain, and given that, once they have

1 Ed. note: A Latin phrase meaning: "No-one is a prophet in his own country."

V. Magestad ordenare en todo lo que fuere de su mayor servicio que es el de Dios Nuestro Señor y bien de las almas que la divina Magestad a fiado de su Real y Cathólico zelo: en cuya asistencia imploramos humildamente al Divino favor por medio de los especiales patronos de nuestros pobres que estan singularmente amparados del nombre de la Santíssima Virgen Maria y de su familia Marianas y de San Juan Bautista, y San Ignacio Nuestro Padre y San Francisco Xavier nuestro apostol de las Nuevas Gentes que por medio de la piedad y zelo de V.M. esperamos han de ser conducidos a la eterna Bienaventuranza y alabanza de Nuestro Comun Criador, y redemptor y que el aviso de San Francisco Xavier dirigido al señor emperador Carlos quinto en orden al paso del Japon que ya alegamos y los demás que el santo de en orden a las nuevas conversiones de que dimos una breve copia, quando la Magestad del Rey nuestro señor Phelippe quatro (que Dios tiene), se sirvió de mandar despachar la cedula de mi especial misión a los 24 de Junio de 1665 y la volvemos a repetir aora a juntar con estos informes los hemos de ver logrados en los tiempos de Nuestro Segundo Carlos, y feliz gobierno de V.M. a semejanza también del que logro viviendo San Francisco Xavier en la señora Reyna de Portugal Doña Catalina de Austria, hermana del Señor Emperador Carlos quinto que hasta con sus chapines, o el Tributo que llamaban el Chapin de la Reyna, verificando como notó el obispo Ossorio y no menos hemos de reconocer todos se verifica en V. Magd. la prophesia del capítulo 49 de Isaias Propiissima de la conquista Evangelica, y tierras Marianas de Norte a Sur a donde se encamina nuestra Misión como en papel más prolixo se declara con la Autoridad de buenos interpretes pero no necesita demás interpretación que la feliz y presente experiencia, lo que toca a Vuestra Magestad en dicha prophesia y en la qual ofrece el señor al pueblo y rebaño nuevo de los pobres indios e isleños de lejos que se extienden desde el Aquilón, y sus mares hasta la tierra Austral que "erunt reges nutricii tui et reginæ nutrices tuæ": esto es que a los que el Hijo de Dios no se dedigna de tener por Hermanos se dignará así mismo de darles por amos reyes y por amas reynas que los crien a los pechos de su Fe y charidad expensas reales y amoroso cuidado.

Con que ya no dudamos de que nos dará V. Magestad licencia de abrazar y estimar a nuestros pobres Marianos por Hermanos, de Leche, o participes en la feliz tutela del Rey Nuestro Señor Don Carlos que Dios guarde, como confiamos grandemente le guardará con tan buena guarda de nuevo añadida de los Angeles de nuestros pobres en cuya bien lograda custodia se hallarán tan obligados de Vuestra Magestad y de los angelicos niños recién bautizados que volarán al cielo con las alas de vuestra Real tutela y cathólico zelo que prospere la Magestad Divina por muchos años para bien universal de sus Reynos y aumentos de nuestra sancta Fe, como los humildes capellanes de sus islas Marianas continuamente suplicaremos.

Sacra católica real magestad.

A los pies de Vuestra Magestad

B.S.R.M.

El más humilde capellan de sus islas Marianas,

Diego Luis S. Vitores.

passed to the Indies and the more so with the hope and permit to proceed later on to the said Mariana Island Mission, or another in the Philippines, they would exercise with better consolation and fervor the ministries assigned to them in the interim.

[Note in margin:] **Patrons of the Mariana Islands. The prophecy of Isaias is realized in the King's patronage toward our poor people.**

Your Majesty may arrange everything to your better service, which is the same as given by God our Lord, for the good of the souls that the Divine Majesty has entrusted to your Royal and Catholic zeal. To this end, we humbly beg the divine favor through the special patrons of our poor people who are singularly protected by the Most Holy Name of the Virgin Mary and her Marian family, by St. John the Baptist, our father St. Ignatius, and St. Francis Xavier our apostle of the New Peoples who, through the piety and zeal of Y.M., we all hope must necessarily lead to the eternal good fortune and praise of our common Creator, and Redemptor. Such was the message directed to Emperor Charles V by St. Francis Xavier regarding his above-mentioned entry into Japan, and the others that the saint wrote about new conversions of which we gave a brief copy, when His Majesty our King Philip IV (may God save him) was pleased to order the despatch of the decree regarding my special mission and dated 24 June 1665. We annex a copy of this decree here with other reports which we hope to see fulfilled during the times of our [King] Charles II, and the happy administration of Y.M., in the same manner as St. Francis Xavier saw fulfilled in his lifetime thanks to the Queen of Portugal, Lady Catalina de Austria, sister of Emperor Charles V. She referred to them as her slippers, i.e. the tribute was called the Queen's Slipper, as can be checked through a note written by Bishop Ossorio. We expect to see no less realized through Y.M. the prophecy of Chapter 49 of Isaias which is most appropriate to the religious conquest of the Marianas (stretched from north to south) where our mission takes place; this is further explained in a longer paper in which the authorities of good interpreters are quoted, hence it is not necessary to give further interpretation here other than to say that the present happy experience of the said prophecy applies to Your Majesty, in which the Lord offers a new population and flock made up of poor Indians from islands stretching from the Northern Seas as far as the Austral land that "*erunt reges nutricii tui et reginæ nutrices tuæ.*"¹ This is what the Son of God says to those whom he does not disdain from calling Brothers and will be pleased to provide them as well with kings and queens to bring them up in his Faith and charity, at royal expense and with loving care.

Therefore, we have no doubt that Your Majesty will give us permission to embrace and love our poor Marianos as blood Brothers, to benefit jointly from the lucky patronage of Charles our King. May God save him, the way we greatly trust he will be saved, with the additional protection of the many little angels from among our poor people by whom he will be guarded; indeed, the angelic children recently-baptized who

1 Ed. note: Latin phrase meaning: "Thou shalt have kings to foster them, queens to nurse them for thee." [Isaias 49:23]

will go to Heaven will be so thankful to Your Majesty that they will fly to Heaven with the wings provided by your Royal patronage and Catholic zeal. May the Divine Majesty make them prosper for many years to come for the universal good of your Kingdoms and the propagation of our holy Faith, as we, your humble chaplains of your Mariana Islands will forever pray for.

Sacred Catholic and Royal Majesty.

At Your Majesty's feet, kissing your royal hands,
The humblest chaplain in your Mariana Islands,

+

+ Diego Luis S. Vitores +

Documents 1668I

Fr. Sanvitores' Mariano grammar and catechism

Main source: A 45-folio manuscript book in ARSI, called Opera Nostrorum 352.

II. Article by Fr. Pastor de Arráyoz

Source: Guam Recorder, June 1938, pp. 7-9, 36.

Historic Documents—An Ancient Book.

The Guam Recorder announces the discovery of an ancient book upon the Chamorro language. In the oldest books concerning the early history of Guam¹ are mentioned some writings upon the language of the Marianos, written by the first Jesuit missionaries who landed in Guam, in 1668. Father García mentions "Explanations upon points of religion in the native language," a "Vocabulary," and "The Art of the Mariano Language," attributed in some instances to Sanvitores and in others to some of his companions. These books are stated to have been copied and some copies were sent to Manila so that new Jesuit missionaries assigned to the Marianas might study them.

It seems logical that these works upon the Mariano language might be found in the archives of the Society of Jesus in Rome, and it is there that one of them has been located. In reply to an inquiry, the Archivist General of the Society of Jesus, Father José Solá, has forwarded the following letter [translated]:

*Rome (113), 2 October 1937.
Borgo S. Spirito, 5. Tel. 50.993.
Rev. Father Pastor de Arráyoz,
Guam, Guam.
Pax Christi.
Rev. Father:*

¹ Ed. note: See bibliography, under García, and Murillo Velarde.

I received your kind letter of July 22nd and I was greatly interested in the historic data which it contained, especially the information that you had succeeded in establishing the location of the place where Father Sanvitores was martyred...

Today I can answer your questions upon the whereabouts of the primitive writings upon the "Mariano Language". They are at least, in part—I do not know if they are all that you are looking for—in our General Archives, under the designation Opera Nostrorum, N° 352, in the city of Rome.

There are also in the Archives other documents about Guam. Concerning documents of the time of the expulsion by Carlos III of Spain we have a file with considerable biographical data on the members of the Order in the Province of the Philippines at that time.¹

Of possible service to you there is also a catalogue of the German missionaries of the 17th and 18th centuries by Father A. Huonder, Freiburg, Breisgau, (Switzerland) 1899. 220 pages.

This is as much as I can furnish today in response to your inquiries...

José Solá, S.J.

As indicated in the **enclosure** to the above letter, there exists in Rome a volume (described below) bound in leather with title in gold: *Lingua Mariana* (Mariano Language), written entirely by hand in Latin and containing many interesting and, in certain parts, amusing things regarding Guam.

Perhaps this may be the only remaining document upon the *Lingua Mariana* of those remote times. We do not know whether or not any others exist, but we would be very glad to hear from any of our readers regarding any other ancient documents upon the primitive language of Guam, i.e. of the Marianas.

The contents of the book are described as follows by Father Solá in the enclosure with his letter:

Designation OPP. NN. 352.

The book is bound in leather. Its size is 150 x 205 mm. The title, *Lingua Mariana*, is in gold. It is a manuscript of 44 folios and one insert (fol. 13), and thus contains 45 leaves or folios.

Contents:

I. [Announcing a] Grammar of the Mariano language (folio 3).

¹ Ed. note: He was probably referring to the documents contained mostly in ARSI Philipinas 13.

II. The name and origin of these islanders (fol. 3-9).

III. *Deprecatio ad Patres Romanæ præsertim Societatis*¹ (fol. 10-17.)

IV. Some testimony regarding the Egyptian [sic] origin of the inhabitants of the Lardones, according to tradition (fol. 17- 25).²

V. Introduction to the study of the Mariano Language (fol. 26-35): 1) the Noun (fol. 27); 2) the Pronoun (fol. 28); 3) the Verb (fol. 29); 4) the Prepositions (fol. 32); 5) the Adverb (fol. 32v); 6) The Interjection (fol. 34v); 7) the Conjunction (fol. 34v); folios 36-37 are blank.

[VI.] Then follow three chapters [of a phrase book and catechism]:

Chapter 1. The method of salutation, for example: *Mati hao na umorin*: Hail, Sir! *Mati hamio manga magarahi*! Hail, Principals (Chieftains, or lords)! (folios 38-39).

Chapter 2: Various questions on Christian Doctrine, for example: the formula for interrogating one who is to be baptized: *Chiroho (Cheluhō), muto hao tumigbini?* My brother, are you determined to be baptized?

Chapter 3: Formula for questions and answers in portions of the Catechism. And finally are given the precepts of the decalogue [10 Commandments]: *Sinaña Nidios adyin [fino] na monotay*: (1) *Adyin na mina*, etc., followed by the “Our Father” and the “Hail Mary” or Angelic Salutation.

Some notes regarding the Chamorro terms mentioned above.

The word *mati*, used to denote respect, has been lost or fallen into disuse. It may be the same as the word *ati* found in the biography of Sanvitores, which states that the Chamorros were very courteous and upon passing in front of one another would say: “*Ati arin[g]mo (adeñgmo)*,” which means “Permit me to kiss your foot.”

Umorin is not used today, the above book says that it means: “Sir (Señor).”

Mati hamio manga magarahi: Hail your Lordships! *Hamio* today is said *hamyo* and *magarahi* has become *magalahe*, which signifies “supreme chief”; it is so used in

1 This passage in Latin could not be exactly translated. [Ed. comment: It means an “Urgent request to the Fathers in Rome, specially those of the Society.”]

2 The above parts (I to IV) are concluded with the statement: “Written in Agaña, called San Ignacio de Agaña, in the Island of Guam which is now called San Juan, in the Marianas, on 18 June 1668. In the name of the Mission of the Marianas. Your humble servant, Diego Luis San Vitores.” Father Sanvitores signs his name “San Vitores”. This manuscript is probably a copy made by Father Luis de Morales of an original manuscript. [Ed. comment: The copy could not have been made by Fr. Morales, as he stayed behind in Guam. See the section Description of the manuscript, in I2 below.]

referring to His Excellency the Governor of Guam. The word *magalahe* come from *magas* (great) and *lahe* (man).¹

Chiroho has become *cheluho* (my brother). *Muto* is used today for “Are you determined”, or “Wilt thou?”

Tumigbini corresponds to the present form *tumagpañge* which signifies “to be baptized.”

Sinañgaña Nidios² adyin fino na monotay: (1) Adyin na mina... “That which God said, these precepts (are) ten: (1) This is the first...” *Adyin* (now *ayin*) means “this”; *fino* means “word” (precept); *na*, in this case, means “that”; *monotay* (now *manutay*) is the numeral “ten”, for counting inanimate things.

We hope to be able to publish other interesting notes concerning this old volume. The copy described is the only one known at this time. It is preserved in Rome as a valuable historic relic of the earliest days of the Christianization of the Mariana Islands.

[Note by the translator: This article is a summary of a longer article in Spanish by Father Pastor de Arráyo, who has given us permission to publish it.—Paul F. Dugan, Translator.]

I2. Reprint of an article by Fr. E.J. Burrus, S.J.

Source: *Anthropos (Freiburg)* vol. 49 (1954): 934-34-960.

Sanvitores' Grammar and Catechism in the Mariano (Chamorro) Language (1668), by E.J. Burrus, S.J.

Contents:

Introduction

*Grammaticæ Institutiones Marianæ Linguae*³

1. *Marianæ Linguae Institutionum Præludium*⁴

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- 1 Ed. note: This word “lahi” means race, or lineage, in Tagalog, i.e. in the native language of Fr. Sanvitores' informant (“lalaki” being the ordinary word for “man”). The ordinary word for “man” in Chamorro, and in Tagalog, is “tao”. In Tagalog, *Mga lahi* would simply have meant: “Gentlemen!” Also, as a generalization, one can say that in the Filipino (and Chamorro) languages, the vowel sounds “E” and “I” are often interchangeable, as well as “O” and “U”, and sometimes also the consonants “D” (or L) and “R”.
 - 2 Ed. note: This seems to me that it should have been transcribed “ni Dios” in the first place. It means “of God” in Tagalog, the word for God having been borrowed from Spanish, of course.
 - 3 Ed. note: Latin phrase meaning: “Basics (or principles) of the grammar of the Mariano language.”
 - 4 Ed. note; Latin phrase meaning: “Introduction to the Mariano language.”

*2. Marianæ Linguae Exercitationes e quibus et Institutiones catecheticae licebit pronunc efformari*¹

Introduction

Brief as are the Grammar and Catechism by Father Diego Luis de Sanvitores, they have the distinction of being the first to be composed in Chamorro. Further, they represent its earliest written expression. Yet it was not until 1668 that their author penned them. For despite the discovery of the Marianas in 1521 by Magellan, and the solemn possession of them by Legazpi in the name of the Spanish Monarch in 1565, still no permanent settlement was attempted, nor was any effort made to establish a mission there until Sanvitores, Superior of a small mission band and 30 lay catechists, introduced Christianity in 1668. It was he, too, who built the first schools and churches in the islands.

Diego Luis de Sanvitores was born in Burgos, Spain, on 12 November 1627 and entered at the unusually early age of 13 the Jesuit Order in Villarejo de Fuentes.² Twenty years later he volunteered and was accepted for the Philippine mission. The ordinary route in those days was via Mexico—by ship to Veracruz, overland to Acapulco on the West coast and by Manila Galleon across the Pacific. While in Mexico (1660-1662) en route to his ultimate destination, he devoted himself to successful ministry there and is, in consequence, claimed by Mexican historians and bibliographers as their own.

As the ship carrying Sanvitores stopped at the Marianas early in July of 1662, natives swarmed about it offering fresh supplies in exchange for knives, spears, fishing gear, cooking utensils and other articles.³ The missionary learned to his amazement that no-one had yet attempted to preach the Gospel to them.⁴ It was then that he resolved to return at the first opportunity. This was not to come until six years later.

He first resided at Taytay on the north coast of Palawan Island in the Philippines.⁵ He soon mastered Tagalog so perfectly that legend had it that more than human aid

1 Ed. note: Latin phrase whose loose translation is: "Exercises [phrases] in the Mariano language, to explain the fundamentals of the catechism, for the time being, to be amended(?)." The last word, in Latin, does not exist, and could have been wrongly transcribed; it is possibly *efferrari*, which would render the second half of the sentence more understandable as: "...it is permissible to take it away (and/or publish it) for now."

2 ARSI Toletana 24, fol. 57.

3 Ed. note: There is no document to prove that anything other than the usual iron articles would have been given to the natives.

4 Ed. note: He learned this by hearsay, or, in view of what happened later, from at least 5 survivors of the 1638 Concepción shipwreck who were picked up between 1658 and 1662.

5 Ed. note: This is an error. Taytay is not in Palawan, but in the vicinity of Manila, east of it, not far from the source of the Pasig River as it flows from Laguna de Bay.

intervened.¹ His main efforts, however, were expended in evangelizing the island of Mindoro and in forming its natives to a more civilized way of life. But the Marianas were not forgotten. In 1665 he presented a memorial to the authorities at Manila to establish a mission in those islands. During the six years of ministry in the Philippines, he appealed to his religious superiors, to Miguel Poblete (Archbishop of Manila), to Diego Salcedo (Governor of the Philippines), to the King and Court at Madrid and from here to the Supreme Council of the Indies through the efforts of Don Jerónimo, his father, and to Clement IX, all on behalf of the Marianas.

As authorization in the form of a royal decree signed by Philip IV on 24 June 1665 did not bring with it the funds needed to finance the mission, Sanvitores obtained permission to go back to Mexico on a begging tour 1667-1668. He recruited at the same time his mission band: Fathers Tomás Cardeñoso, Luis de Medina, Pedro de Casanova, Luis Morales, and a student for the priesthood, Lorenzo Bustillo; besides these, 30 laymen were enlisted to act as catechists.²

Because of the favorable answer to his plea, Sanvitores renamed the islands—hitherto called the *Ladrones*—the Marianas in honor of Mariana, Regent of Spain during the minority of Charles II.

The missionaries set sail from Acapulco on 23 March 1668 and reached Guam in the Marianas on June 16th of that same year. Sanvitores immediately began to preach and to instruct the natives in their own language. His companions had a slight working knowledge of it and could soon leave to take care of other islands on their own. How was this possible? **Sanvitores had composed the Grammar and translated the Catechism before he reached the islands.** En route from Mexico he practised the language even composing hymns in it. *“As I write this aboard ship, I am setting down the oral explanation of an interpreter—a Tagalog both by nationality and by language. The man is intelligent enough and knows how to express himself, but can not write even in Spanish letters. He luckily escaped from the shipwrecked Concepción and remained in the Marianas 17 years living and dealing with the natives...”*³

Before the Spanish Galleon continued **two days later** its voyage from Guam to Manila, he entrusted to one of his fellow Jesuits a copy of his *Grammaticæ Institutiones Marianæ Linguæ*, so that future missionaries to the Marianas might come prepared even better than he.

Accompanying the treatise was a lengthy **letter** (fol. 1-25v) to his brothers in Manila and Rome. [I.] He explains the nature of the treatise, how and why he composed it, how he intended to add to it and to perfect it. He had not intended to send any copy of

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- 1 Murillo Velarde, fol. 330, and Ortiz' [translation of Garcia], p. 140. More interesting and important than such legends is the sound method that he employed in acquiring a new language; a native instructor to give him the correct pronunciation and vocabulary; a systematic study of the language accompanied by a comparison with a similar one (Ortiz, 104 and the information given in his Grammar and Catechism).
 - 2 Ed. note: Half of the civilians had come with him from the Philippines.
 - 3 See fol. 26v below of Sanvitores' Grammar and Catechism.

it until he could correct it in the light of long experience in the ministry among the natives, but upon seeing how much even such a rudimentary manual had assisted him in instructing them, he decided to let others benefit by it, inasmuch as with it on hand he has been able to receive 16 adults and 34 children of Catechumens into the Faith. Thus, he felt that its practical worth had already been demonstrated.

[II.] He stresses the isolation and poverty, both temporal and spiritual, of the Islanders; yet, he insists, all are well disposed towards the Christian Faith and long to embrace it. He pleads for more missionaries.

[III.] He reminds his confrères in Rome that he has already written them at great length on the history of the islands, their geographical position and the origin of the inhabitants. But, inasmuch as he is not certain that they received these letters, he will briefly summarize their contents. He held with Francisco Colín, S.J., that already Marco Polo was referring to the Marianas when he wrote that there were numerous inhabited islands stretching eastward from Japan; Colín himself believed, however, that the Marianas belonged to the Philippine archipelago rather than to Japan.¹ He recalls the opinion of Father João Rodrigues that these islands are a continuation of the Japanese group, that commerce had long been carried on between them and that even many of the inhabitants of the northern Mariana Islands were of Japanese origin.² This opinion leads him to consider the origin of the people in the southern Marianas. He quotes Gómara to the effect that an interpreter assured Magellan that these natives had come long ago from Egypt.³ This statement strengthens Sanvitores in his opinion that the 18th chapter of Isaias applies to the Marianas. He then quotes Grijalva for a description of their houses and political organization.⁴ He raises the number of the Islands from 13 as given by Grijalva to 38, which form part of an archipelago that includes the Solomon Islands and stretches on to “Terra Australis”; this entire vast chain deserves, as much as the Marianas, to be evangelized immediately, as he has recently written to Clement IX.⁵

[IV.] After a lengthy commentary (fol. 11-22), a mixture of scriptural exegesis and of historical data—so characteristic of the time—on the prophecy of the 18th chapter

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- 1 Francisco Colín, S.J. (1692-1660) was a Spanish missionary in the Philippines; he became Rector of the College of Manila and Provincial of the Philippines. His most important publication is *Labor evangélica* (Madrid, 1663), the history of his Province; a new edition (Barcelona, 1900-02) was edited with great care and considerably enlarged by Pablo Pastells, S.J. Less important but quoted frequently by Sanvitores is his *India sacra, hoc est suppetiæ sacræ ex utraque India in Europam pro interpretatione facili ac genuina* (Madrid, 1666).
 - 2 João Rodrigues, S.J., was a Portuguese missionary in Japan from 1558 until his death in 1633; Sommervogel, VI, col. 1970 ff., lists numerous annual reports drawn up by him.
 - 3 Francisco López de Gómara, whose *Historia General de Indias* (Zaragoza, 1553) is quoted by Sanvitores, was born 1510 in Seville and died after 1557.
 - 4 Juan de Grijalva, O.S.A., was born in Colima, Mexico in 1559 and died after 1627; his work quoted by Sanvitores is *Crónica de la Orden de N.P.S. Augustin en las provincias de la Nueva España. En quatro edades* (Mexico, 1624).
 - 5 Ed. note: See Doc. 1668G.

of Isaias which he applies to the Marianas since he believes that they have come ultimately from Egypt and now inhabit the outermost bounds to which the Prophet refers, he returns to straight-forward history by recounting his interest in the conversion of the islanders and the few but impressive contacts of the natives with the Faith. He brings his long missive to a close with a plea to his Jesuit brothers that they come to his assistance. He had intended, he informs us at the end of the letter, to write nearly twice as much; only the ship's early departure has forced him to lay aside his pen. The letter is dated from the town of Agaña on the island of Guam (renamed by him San Juan), on 18 June 1668, only two days after his arrival there; it is Sanvitores' first report from his new mission.

The Grammar takes up folios 26-35v. After two blank folios, the Catechism begins on fol. 38 and goes to 45v, the end of the manuscript.

[V.] The **Grammar** first discusses the letters and syllables together with their equivalent or similar sounds in Spanish. When no counterpart is to be found in standard Castilian, Sanvitores resorts to parallels in Tagalog and once to Andalusian Spanish. He notes in particular that the *h* is aspirate, not silent as in Spanish. The *g* is either hard, even before *e* and *i*, or guttural as in Tagalog; in the latter case, he will mark it *ñg*.¹ When *i* has a consonantal force or forms a diphthong, he writes it *y*. Accent is for the most part penultimate; exceptions are indicated by an acute accent [as in Spanish]. The main stress in a diphthong is on the first vowel. He finds that *u* has frequently the force of *gu* and indicates such by *û*, e.g. *ûaho* (the personal pronoun "I" = *guaho*).

The traditional classical division according to arts the speech serves as the scheme for his Mariano Grammar. Nouns and pronouns are listed with their cases in both singular and plural; pronouns, demonstrative and personal of all three persons. Next taken up are the verbs—the verb "to be" and the regular verbs, active and passive voice; their moods—subjunctive, optative, participle and gerundive. He takes up the use of what he calls particles—proclitics, enclitics, prefixes, affixes, infixes—at considerable length, pointing out their meaning and force, and calling attention to the shade of meaning of each and the suppleness imparted to the language by their use; in so doing, it is evident that he had in mind the analogous part such play in Tagalog, with which he was so familiar. Prepositions are considered briefly. More attention is paid to adverbs, of which a profusion of examples is given. Numerals (ordinals, cardinals and distributives) are included under adverbs. Interjections follow. A list of conjunctions brings the Grammar—that contains much morphology and little syntax—to a close.

[VI.] The **Catechism** serves a double purpose—to exemplify and illustrate the Grammar and at the same time to furnish the missionary and lay catechist with not only a handy ritual and manual of prayers, but also with a practical phrase book and conversational guide. As with the Grammar, the provisional character of the Catechism is repeatedly insisted upon.

1 Ed. note: Actually he used the letter *g* only, surmounted by the Spanish diacritical mark for *ñ* or *~* (not available among my English fonts).

After the more usual greetings are set down, the formulas for interrogating catechumens are indicated, followed by the sign of the cross, profession of faith, the ten commandments, prayers of oblation, the Our Father and the Hail Mary. Where native words were not at hand, or might be open to misunderstanding, Spanish is employed; yet such are relatively few; it is precisely on this point that the Chamorro of the Grammar and Catechism differ so markedly from the modern form, as may be seen from any dictionary of current Chamorro.¹

Early biographers mentioned the composition of a grammar and a catechism; most recent bibliographers and historians refer to both but usually as no longer extant. In the 18th century, when Hervás gathered linguistic material for his monumental "*Idea dell'universo*", he did not have the "*Institutiones*" of Sanvitores to turn to for help in the Mariano language and had to laboriously patch together a few scraps of information furnished him by those who had some slight acquaintance with the language.²

The letter as well as the *Institutiones* are in Latin; where he fears that the Latin expression may not be readily understood, he gives the Spanish equivalent. **Sanvitores is conscious of the evident similarity of the Mariano language and grammar with Tagalog**, and calls attention to some of the analogies; less frequently he refers to analogous constructions or usage in Latin.

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- 1 Father Callistus Lopinot, OFM Cap., now [1954] in Rome, was for many years in the Marianas and other islands of related languages; he very kindly placed at my disposal the books he had written in the Chamorro language with the assistance of educated natives... In the notes to the Grammar and Catechism of Sanvitores, reference is made to Father Callistus' *Chamorro-Wörterbuch* (Hong Kong, 1910); following the dictionary proper, is a brief grammar of the Chamorro language. Fr. Ramón de Vera, OFM Cap., *Diccionario Chamorro-Castellano* (Manila, 1932) uses the above work of Father Callistus as the basis of his dictionary but has added considerable material in the light of personal observation and experience. [Ed. comment: There are more modern references available, notably the Chamorro dictionary and Chamorro grammar published in the PALI series by the University Press of Hawaii in the 1970s.
 - 2 Lorenzo Hervás y Panduro, S.J. (1735-1809) is credited with being the first to establish the relationship of the Austronesian languages... long before it was announced to the world by Humboldt [in 1862]... The manuscript material used by Hervás for the linguistic section of his encyclopedia has been studied by M. Batllori, S.J. (ref. AHSI 20 (1951): 59-116). The more important manuscripts studied here on the Mariano language are to be found in Vat. Lat. 9802. Among them are four letters of Hervás fellow Jesuit exile, Joaquín Camaño, reporting on his findings for the years 1783 and 1785: "*Los que supieron algo de las lenguas Zamuca, Omagua y de Marianas se acuerdan poquísimo...*" [=Those who knew something of the Zamuca, Omagua and Mariano languages remember very little...] (ibid., folio 3). "*Dn. Plácido [Lampurlanes] no sabe el Padre Nuestro porque en las Marianas no servía de Catequista sino de Médico...*" [=Don Plácido does not know the Our Father because in the Marianas he did not serve as a Catechist but as a Physician] (ibid., folio 41). The sum total of these contributions to the Mariano language was a few word lists; recollection of Mariano grammar was even more meager in results...

[Description of the manuscript]

The manuscript in its present form is a codex 150 x 205 mm., bound in cloth and leather, stamped with the brief title in gold letters *Lingua Mariana*. Of the 45 folios that make up the manuscript, 43 contain writing. Pasted on folio 13 is an excerpt containing the declension of pronouns of an unidentified language; the writing is Italian script of the 17th or early 18th century with some of the pronouns translated into Italian.

The manuscript is an early copy made shortly after the arrival of the original in Manila—the writing, paper, and the receipt of the document in Rome, all point to this. An archivist added the words “*Manu P. Aloysii Morales n[atus] 1664*” on a notice found with the codex. This Father Luis Morales, as we have seen, was a fellow missionary of Sanvitores on the first expedition to the Marianas. He was not, it would seem almost certainly, the copyist. The transcription was done by one not very familiar with Latin as the mis-spellings and faulty division of words would seem to prove decisively; thus to write “*de Linea bamus*” for “*delineabamus*” and “*laudent*” for “*laudem*” in a well-known scriptural passage, would seem to betray the hand of a lay brother familiar with Spanish than require the services of a scholarly priest.¹ Several corrections by another hand were inserted in both sections of the manuscript.

This manuscript is now in the central Jesuit archives, under the section “*Opera Nostrorum*” [=Works by our people]; it is designated accordingly ARSI OPP. NN. 352. The importance of the document derives not merely from its being the first account of the Marianas² and its offering the only extant version of Sanvitores’ letter to Clement IX³ but especially from its presenting his Grammar and Catechism in the Chamorro language in its earliest written form.

Needless to state, the notes to the document make no pretension to completeness; they are meant to supply the indispensable historical background and furnish the student of linguistics with a few indications that will facilitate the use of Grammar and Catechism; references to similarities and analogies in Tagalog vocabulary and syntax are omitted for the most part since it is presumed that dictionaries and grammars in this language are readily accessible.

13. Fr. Sanvitores’ Grammar of the Mariano language—Original text in Latin [see Appendix A]

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- 1 Ed. note: I suspect that Brother Ansaldo, who wrote the report on the arrival of the missionaries at Guam (Doc. 1668K) to have been charged by Sanvitores, not only to make a report to the Queen on his behalf, but also to make a copy of this document, while sailing between Guam and Manila.
 - 2 Ed. note: One would have to add “written in the Marianas”.
 - 3 Ed. note: For the sake of accuracy, one would have to add here that a full copy was later located in Alcalá de Henares (see Doc. 1668G).

Documents 1668J

First letters written by the missionaries upon their arrival at Guam in 1668

Sources for J1 & J2: Parts 5 & 6 of the Memorial printed at Mexico in 1669 (see Doc. 1668E); there exists a ms. copy in RAH ms. 9/3735 (old Jesuit Tome 162), doc. n° 14; J1 & J2 are translations by Fr. Juan Ledesma.

Introductory note.

The mission band led by Fr. Pimentel had arrived at Veracruz at the end of September 1667. When Fr. Sanvitores arrived back at Mexico City, his future companions were waiting for a ship to take them to the Philippine Islands. They were to go on the same ship as Fr. Sanvitores, which, as usual, would pass by the Ladrone Islands.

The Superiors decided that for the new Mission Fr. Sanvitores take with him some of the subjects who had just arrived destined for the Philippines. And those chosen were first Fr. Tomás Cardenoso who had come with him from the Philippines, then one other priest, Father Luis de Medina. It was not until the ship reached Guam in June that three more missionaries also joined the mission: Fr. Pedro de Casanova, Fr. Luis de Morales, and a scholastic, who was still in the course of theology, by the name of Lorenzo Bustillo. The new Mission therefore was eventually made up of 6 Spanish missionaries. They sailed from Acapulco on 23 March 1668. The voyage could have not been more felicitous for in two months and a half they were sighting the Mariana Islands. It was a Friday, 15 June 1668.

As in the case always of any ship's arrival, that of the missionaries was surrounded by a big number of Islanders who were everywhere, bartering objects with the Spaniards; many of them were there simply out of curiosity. At the outset the missionaries were surprised at the presence of a Filipino, Pedro by name, who had lived on the Island since the shipwreck of the ship **Concepción** in 1638. He brought with him his two-year-old daughter, who was baptized on board ship with the name Mariana, which is that of the Queen Regent who would be later the great Protectress of the New Mission. Later Fr. Superior decided to send as ambassadors Fathers Medina and Casanova to greet the chief elder in the area whose name was Quipuha, who eventually received the faith and was baptized. He gave the Fathers full freedom to preach and to baptize.

J1. Letter from Fr. Sanvitores to the Sodality of St. Francis Xavier of Mexico on his arrival at the Marianas, 18 June 1668

Letter that the Very Reverend Father Diego Luis de San Vitores, Reformer of our Sodality, writes on his arrival at the Mariana Is.

Not without special care did the secretary leave for this last moment... to write this letter, because if he had need for some rest he could not find it better in any other thing more to his taste than in this exercise... Even if I had something greater to do than to write a letter it would not bother me at all, but rather it would give me much relief... for I receive special consolation in writing to Your Graces.

Thank God our voyage was a most happy one. But it could not be otherwise if the fervent desires of Your Graces had truly begged in many ways in the presence of God and through the intercession of the Blessed Virgin and not least through the prayers of our Father and Patron. He did come to our help as successfully as our wishes could beg for. We can now promise ourselves new success in our Islands. Fr. Joseph will let you know about the arrival and the successful events that took place in them.

Now I do not want to fail to give Your Graces an account, albeit so briefly, of how much good this Mariana Mission has derived from the fruitful souvenirs that your pious sentiments have had for us. For although the evidence of these souvenirs may have been very slight, these have shown up so well as if embellished by the gold of the charity of him who gave them, so that with them we have been able to erect the altars in this galleon, leaving the more precious ones for a day of greater festivity, which I hope will be very solemn in Heaven, where trusting in the majesty of God the holy angels of the Marianos will present them before the Divine throne, so that he may reward the good will of such pious benefactors.

The Cross with the relics showed off overwhelmingly, not only in the offices of the holy week but also in the other principal feasts. And I trust in our Lord, in the Blessed Virgin and in our glorious Father and Apostle that the Cross will be the safest guide and most effective interpreter of the Mariana enterprises, for in virtue of it the most Powerful Kingdoms of earth have been conquered.

Thank God that our enterprise has been successful, for we entered these Islands with such luck that so many baptisms were administered and there are so many catechumens, including chiefs and others. We yearn for your prayers that we may accomplish great success.

From the Island of San Juan, 18 June 1668.

[P.S.] I can add nothing more but Jesus and Holy Mary, Ignatius and Xavier. The mercies of the Lord in this entrance have been extraordinary and what we found here has been more than our small heart could bear, but that of our Saint can embrace it.

[Your] servant...

Diego Luis de San Vitores

J2. Part of a letter written by one of Fr. Sanvitores' companions, i.e. the account of Brother Palazuelos

As soon as the natives of the Ladrone Islands saw the vessel in which Father San Vitores was sailing, twenty boats which were like canoes came out. When they reached the vessel which carried the Father and all the others, Fr. San Vitores told them in their language that he was coming with the other Fathers to stay with them, and he displayed before them the most prodigious image of our Lady of Guadalupe of Mexico.

The gentiles looked at it with notable pleasure and reverence. They carried in their arms the Father and the other Fathers and with them they entered the island of Guam. There Fr. Sanvitores preached later to them about our Holy Catholic Faith and explained to them the motive of our coming. He got together the principal people¹ of the Island. These heard about the truths of our Holy Catholic Faith, and subsequently about 1,500 of them asked for baptism. Some children were baptized, of whom the first was a little girl who was named Maria de Guadalupe, the second was called Ignacio, the third Francisco Xavier, the fourth Francisco de Asis.

Such was the fervor of Fr. Sanvitores in his first homily that it seemed that he was given the spirit of St. Francis Xavier in the zeal for souls and for their salvation. It also seemed that he was given the gift of tongues. There is so much that I could recount from what I have seen about the disposition of these islanders that I could not end my report.

I trust in God and in the holy Apostle that this will be the greatest Christian island ever seen in these parts.

Until here Father Palazuelos.²

J3. Letter from Fr. Casanova to Fr. Guillén, dated San Juan, Marianas, 17 June 1668

Source: RAH 9/2676 doc. n° 5 (formerly Cortes 567, legajo 10).

Note: Fr. Juan Gabriel Guillén had been an intimate friend and colleague of Fr. Sanvitores when the two were preaching in Spain the mission involving the new Act of Contrition by Fr. Lopez. Fr. Sanvitores did sign the original of this letter as well, but the authorship, and the postscript, are by Fr. Casanova.

Original text in Spanish.

Copia de una carta que escribió el Padre Casanova a España al Padre Guillen desde el Navio S. Diego que fue el que llevo al Padre S. Vitores a Mexico y le dejo en la Ysla de Guahan oy S. Juan el año de 1668, a 17 de Junio.—

- 1 Ed. note: The RAH ms. uses twice the word "papagures" for principals or leading people. I think it could be a transcription error, not for "chamorros", but "papahuraos" clearly seen in all copies of documents J4, J5 & J6 below.
- 2 Ed. note: This was Brother Francisco Palazuelos, a member of the mission band (see Doc. 1667I).

Pax Xpti &a.

La causa de escribir a V.R. tan anticipadamente y en mi nombre a lo que es mas cierto en mi letra y no en la de el Rector de las Yslas Marianas Padre Diego Luis San Vitores es la mucha falta de tiempo (que a todos nos faltara para hazerlo) en aquellas Islas para a donde vamos por este mar de el sur y ia mui a vista de ellas desde donde su Rev^a remitira esta carta y acabara lo que la faltare remitiendo juntamente en ella nuestra entrada a aquellas Nuevas tierras, con el arte de la lengua Mariana, y noticia de otros cosas.—

Nuestra embarcacion a sido felicissima continuando Dios sus providencias por tan dilatados mares sin que haia tenido riesgos de consideracion la Nao en que vamos, sino en el desembocadero de S. Bernardino a la salida de Philipinas, donde padecio algunas tormentas de que salio a salvamiento por la intercession de su Patron, S. Diego, y demas Sanctos tutelares. El viento a sido casi siempre a popa librandonos su Magestad de la comun pesadumbre de las calmas que en estos mares se padeçen particularmente a vista de las Californias las quales passamos con grande fecilidad y consuelo.

Componese la Mission de tres Padres cuio superior es el Padre Diego Luis S. Vitores. Acompañan a su Reverencia un interprete y otros seculares Indios de Nacion Tagala y Pampanga toda gente piadosa, y que an de ser de mucha utilidad en aquellos nuevos Xpnos entre los quales aprovecha mas el exemplo que las armas ni la ciencia. Yo aunque e sido de los llamados porque e tenido, como otros muchos en la Nueva España eficasissimos deseos, de acompañar al Padre Rector en esta nueva empresa no se si sere de los escogidos porque su Rev^a a quien yo por lo mucho que le debo, miro con especial cariño y reverencia quiere que acabe en Manila el quarto año de Theologia el qual dejara con mucho gusto por asistir a la conversion de aquellos pobres. No obstante consuelame, que sino tubiere dicha este año de comenzar ya a servir a la religion no es tarde para el que viene si esso me a de servir de fomentar mis deseos y perficionarme a lo que es mas cierto de adquirir las virtudes religiosas que son las que an de dar fuera a los ministerios.

*Mas volviendo à nuestra Mission[,] llamola nuestra, porque aunque yo no voi aora a ella **saltem** me alegro en el alma de sus conveniencias, y concurro con mis deseos a sus aciertos, que es el dictamente [sic] de el Padre Alonso Rodriguez quando no nos hallamos con virtud ni posibilidad para otra cossa, a sido tan dichosa a ser [=hacer] en essa mar como en la tierra que se puede decir con toda verdad gobierna el dedo de Dios todas sus dispossiciones, conveniencias. En Mexico fue tanto lo que Dios la faborecio que me alegrara tener lugar de contar a V.R. como testigo que fui de todas sus maravillas y aciertos. Los nuestros que alli se conseguieron y los mas por causas mas que ordinarias, tampoco falto su Misericordia al Padre Rector ni a sus dos compañeros en el camino de Acapulco que eramos el Hermano Bustillos, y io, faltandonos a pocas leguas de como salimos de Mexico el viatico en tierra no mui labrada y entre Indios favoreciendonos la divina piedad aunque buscando nuestra comida de limosna, para que doto Dios de espeçial gracia al Padre Rector fuera negocio mui largo decir a V.R. las asistencias tan especiales con que la divina piedad a mirado por el logro de esta Mission.*

*No a sido la menor no haver muerto nadie de quantos saco de Manila el Padre Rector ni a la venida, que es mui peligrosa ni a la ida a la Nueva España, donde perezze la mas de la gente por la variedad de Chinas [sic]¹ que le passan y el rigor de la altura en la vanda del Norte que suele ser [=hacer] viaxe para la Nueva España[.] hizo este Navio **S. Diego** en cinco messes salvandose de los peligros del desembocadero y de otro muchos riesgos salvandole Dios para que por su medio se salven de entre las mares de la Infidelidad muchas almas redimidas con la sangre de nuestro Redentor.*

No es poca prueba de lo que Dios asiste a los que van a esta empresa lo que aora dire. Embarcaron los compañeros del Padre Rector un niño nieto de un Indio Tagalo que sirve a su Rev^a como de compañero de menos de un año de edad mas para prevenirle sepultura en las aguas por los multiplicados accidentes que padecia, y la poca esperança que le tenia de su salud, que para que sanase de sus dolencias, bien que el deseo que sus Padres tenian de que este niño se criasse con la lengua de las Yslas Marianas ofrecia alguna confianza no tanto por las caussas naturales quanto por mas especial remedio; pues este niño a navegado cerca de 5000 leguas, y lo mas por temples mui rigurosos como son el Norte, y la zona torrida a donde pierden su robustez los mas fuertes, sin que aya peligrado su vida en medio de tantos[.] varios. Bien clara demostracion de lo mucho que su Magestad se agrada de todos los que van a esta empresa pues no quiere que perezca ninguno ni de los otros que no van a este ministerio por cooperar algun modo a que se logre su fin.

[The Filipino baby boy]

El caso que aora dire no se me haze tan creible por poder atribuirse a causas naturales pero despues que e visto tan dichosos efectos se me haze mui probable. Estavan los marineros vispera de Domingo de Ramos en la noche o sea Sabado de Domingo de Ramos para hablar con mas propiedad tomando el aire arrimados a las Jarcias y a mui entrada la noche reparo uno de ellos que los arboles del navio estaban coronados de luces comenzaron todos a clamar S. Telmo, S. Telmo, reçaron un Padre nuestro y un Ave Maria y dieronle el buen viaxe, en alta voz costumbre que se guarda en la mar quando se enquentran algunas naos o se acercan a ellas, y quando se ven semejantes apariciones de este Santo que dicen suelen ser mui ordinarias en otros mares en señal de amor a aquel Navio y de que se asegure de tormentos, desde entonces no emos tenido ni el mas lebe amago de ellas. Esta vicion no duró mucho tiempo muchos quieren que fuese el resplandor de las estrellas, aunque ninguno de los marineros biene en conceder tal cosa por no haver sucedido en otras muchas noches, en que se hiço el reparo semejante novedad[.] Los efectos como dixen an sido no solamente buenos sino dichosissimos[.] Dios sabe lo mejor de la verdad del suceso, lo cierto es que no se hace dificultoso que S. Telmo se muestre propicio en favoreçer esta mission quando hemos visto cosas tan particulares.

1 Ed. note: Obvious error for "climas".

*Mas para que V.R. entienda, que es mui probable lo dicho, segun los principios que nos dan mucho fundamento a creerlo, quiero contar a V.R. por si acaso la carta en que se quentan otras sucessos de la Mission, la qual tengo en mi poder, no llegare tan presto a España, otros que ponen en mayor grado la estimacion de la empresa. Vispera de la Assumcion del año de 66, estando una persona, pienso que en Manila, en su retirada oracion segun e oido, oio ó le manifesto nuestro Señor la llegada de la Nao **Concepcion** a Palapag la qual traí[a] la Cedula Real para el despacho de esta Mission, siendo imposible por medio humano la noticia de su llegada por estar mui distante Palapag de Manila. No es menos misterioso el caso que sigue. En una de las residencias de los Padres Agustinos havia un Religioso santo Prior del Convento, y ministerio de Tanaguan en la Prov^a de Philipinas, varon como e dicho mui santo y mui affecto a nuestra Compañía[.] llamabase Fr. Luis de Amesquita. Este Santo Padre vio con una especial luz de el Cielo, que se flotaba ó salia del pinaculo ó Torre del templo de la Comp^a de Jesus de Manila una hermosa nave de la qual torre salia una hermosa estatua de oro, que tocava con sus resplandores al cielo, e que baxaba de el cielo S. Ignacio nuestro Padre a quien representava la estatua a favorecer con el oro de su caridad, a esta nave tan prodigiosa. Vio mas que en la estremidad del arbol de esta Nave havia colocado un resplandeciente nombre de Jhs con aquella forma y disposicion de rayas, que suele ponerse en los escudos de nuestra Comp^a. Con tan buen Piloto y pertrecho vio este Padre que navegava felizmente la nao por los aires tomando puerto en Cavite puerto sercano a Manila y aqui sesso la vission. No havia tenido noticia de esta Mission el dicho Padre por lo qual estubo cassi seis messes suspenso de el sucesso. Pero oyendo despues la noticia de ella, quedo mas confirmado en su vission, de esta tal vision havia dado quenta (hablando en tercera persona) a los Padres de Manila, los quales le dieron noticia de lo que significava[.] despues se ofrecio mui de veras a esta Mission mas Dios nuestro Señor se consento con sus buenos deseos porque viniendo a Manila para hablar con su Provincial y negociar su avio le dio la enfermedad de que murio. Dexo otra vision que tambien tubo este Santo Religioso, y esta en la Carta, por no ser tan concerniente a la nuestra y haverla de ver V.R. despues.*

*Solo no passare ahora en silencio los temblores tan formidables que por el mismo tiempo que se despachava el navio **S. Diego** huvo en la Nueva España, que quenta no haver visto otros años ni aun en la vida cossa tan espantable. Salio esta Nao **S. Diego** por la octava de nuestro Padre S. Ignacio de 67 de Manila, o el despacho de ella y desde el dia mismo fueron tan temerosos los temblores que ponian en espanto a las gentes. Dia de Navidad arribo a las costas de la Nueva España y aquella noche en los Maitines temblo la tierra tan fuertemente en Mexico y su Reyno, que estando cantando el **Te Deum laudamus** los nuestros parese que ya se venian las bobedas de la Iglesia al suelo salieronse todos del coro despavoridos buscando el arco de la puerta que es la primera diligencia que se haze en los temblores, a donde esperaron passarse el aviso de el Cielo, quedando solamente dos assidos al facistol o teniendole ellos a el que tambien queria rodar por la tierra. El otro temblor fue al tiempo que el Padre Rector estaba hablando, o ablandando la voluntad del Virrey porque estava resuelto por haver possibili-*

dad por entonces para semejante socorro, a embiar al Padre Diego Luis S. Vitores sin el avio que se pedia. Este aunque no fue tan vejemente como los de antes, pero hizole mas penosso el durar mas tiempo. Lo que resulto de este suceso fue que el Virrey[,] a vista de este temor, se humanasse a dar al Padre lo que pedia, y que el dia siguiente que era Domingo de la Carnestolendas, de 68 se juntase cabildo o consejo no obstante el embarazo de el dia para el despacho. Con el vidos [sic = conseguidos] los que el Padre Rector tenia en Mexico partio para Acapulco, y al llegar a el o a dos dias de llegado temblo otra vez la tierra.

Despidio en fin al Padre Rector la Nueva España o por mejor decir el Cielo con las demostraciones de un hermoso planeta ó cometa que aparecio estos dias en el aire y que se estendia de Norte a sur como que amparaba con sus rayos las Islas Marianas. Discurso que luego se ofrecio a los de Mexico como escribieron salgan a luz otras cosas. — Esto que he dicho hasta aqui a salido de el Padre Rector que me dixo escriviese aqui algo de estos sucessos.

Volviendo aora a nuestra navegacion[,] a sido a esta cerca de nuestras Islas con toda felicidad. Hemos venido todos mui gustossos por venir en compañia de el Padre Rector y io en particular por lo mucho que le debo. Tenemos echo casi el mismo concierto que V.R^a y el Padre Rector el Padre Joseph Vidal M[ae]stro de Teologia en Mexico que estima mucho a V.R^a y a quien yo dixee mucho de sus ministerios y fervorosos empleos en essa Provincia mui del Padre Rector y que me haze especial caridad dice la missa el Jueves y el Viernes y V.R^a el Sabado en que el Padre Rector y aun antes de este dia segun me a dicho, y que se lo escriba a V.R. comienza a sentir los efectos de sus fervorosos sacrificios y ruego V.R. se acuerde de mi esse dia y en sus oraciones que yo tendre mui en mi memoria lo mucho que le debo.

No ay tiempo para añadir (todo esto que se sigue dize con toda esta claridad el Padre Rector) para añadir boberias, y borriones[,] remitome a mi Angel secretario que lo debe de ser de la Señora Ladrona de Ladrones con quien se deve de hazer entendido para los secretos de la divina Providencia que an venido a parar en dejarnosle aqui por aora sustituto de aquel misionero de Guadamazil pero advertencia que este Padre es sustituto y a menester ir a acabar un año que le queda de estudios aun el de su parte no desea otros que el de cumplir tan clara voluntad de Dios como al presente se reconoce en la quedada del Padre y los demas al socorro de tantas almas y tan zaçonadas que no se si nos alegra mas que lastima la perdida asta aora y la que habla por falta de no haver mas ministros en donde maior necesidad y mas logro huviera que en parte alguna de las que sabemos a juicio de todos los que han venido en nuestro navio y tocado con sus manos lo que apenas parecia creible de la bondad y ancia de esta gente para haçerse Christianos de que dira algo se tubiere lugar el ladron, o hurtado de la Virgen que escribe esta y haze lo que le mandan[.]

Acabose esta carta en la Isla de S. Juan de estas Islas Marianas, olim Guam, a 17 de Junio de 1668.

*Servus latronum indignissimum,
+ Diego Luis S. Vitores +*

Esta carta, digo breve noticia podra V.R. remitir a donde hiciere el fruto que nos podemos prometer y especialmente podra V.R.^a encaminar a los Padre Phelipe de Ossa[,] Padre Diego de Valdes, Padre Gamboa y a Alcala acerca de essas cosillas que embia a pedir a V.R.^a el Padre Rector podra hazer la diligencia de embiarlas por medio del procurador de Indias o por medio de el de Philipinas a comodando los portes &a gratis, et amore que ya sabe V.R.^a somos mui pobres. Tambien se sirvira V.R.^a de remitir dicha lista al Padre Felipe de Ossa a quien suplica el Padre Rector lo mismo.

Siervo de V.R.^a

+

+ Pedro de Casanova +

Translation.

Copy of a letter that Father Casanova wrote to Spain to Father Guillén from the ship San Diego which was the ship that took Father San Vitores to Mexico and left him at the Islands of Guahan, now San Juan, in the year 1668, on 17 June.—

Peace of Christ, etc.

The reason for writing to Y.R. so much in advance¹ and in my name—as my handwriting is more readable than that of the Rector of the Mariana Islands, Father Diego Luis San Vitores—is the severe lack of time (none of us will have time to do it) once we get to those Islands. We are in this South Sea on the way there, and already in sight of them, from which His Reverence will despatch this letter. He will, in fact, finalize it by adding the news of our entrance to those New lands and news of other things, enclosing the grammar of the Mariano language.—²

Our navigation has been very prosperous, God continuing his providences through seas so wide, without any serious dangers having happened to the galleon aboard which we are, except in the Embocadero of San Bernardino coming out of the Philippines, where she suffered some storms, from which she came out safely through the intercession of her patron, San Diego [i.e. St. James], and the other patron saints. The wind was almost always from behind, His Majesty delivering us from the common trouble of calm weather that is encountered in those seas, specially in sight of the Californias, but we passed them with great prosperity and consolation.

The Mission is composed of three Fathers, whose superior is Father Diego Luis San Vitores. His Reverence is accompanied by one interpreter and other civilians, Indians of Tagalog and Pampango nationalities, who are all pious people, and who will no doubt be of much usefulness to those new Christians among whom a good example is more beneficial than weapons or science. As my myself, although I was one of those called, because I have held very effectual wishes, as so many others in New Spain, to

1 Ed. note: He began to write this letter while still at sea, but in sight of Guam.

2 Ed. note: That is why this letter is sometimes referred to as the covering letter for the Mariano grammar (see previous Doc. 1668I).

join Father Rector in this new enterprise, I do not know if I will be one of the chosen ones, because His Reverence, to whom I owe much and whom I admire with special affection and reverence, wants me to go to Manila to finish my fourth year of Theology; I would gladly postpone it to be able to help with the conversion of those poor peoples. Nevertheless, please console me, if I do not have the luck to begin this year to serve religion. It is not too late for me to begin next year, if only the delay has the result of increasing my desires and allows me to perfect myself in the most basic of religious virtues that are those necessary for external ministries.

However, getting back to our Mission. I say ours, because, although I am not going there now, at least I rejoice in my soul about its advantages, and I contribute my desires to its good outcome, as Father Alonso Rodriguez¹ says, whenever one does not have the virtue or possibility for anything else. I have been so lucky when I was in that [Atlantic] sea as on land that I can truthfully say that the finger of God rules over all arrangements, and conveniences. In Mexico, the Mission was so favored by God that I will be happy to give Y.R. my eyewitness account of all its wonders and successes. For one thing, our people who were collected there, most of them as a result of extraordinary causes; for another, God's mercy did not fail Father Rector or his two companions (who were Brother Bustillos and myself) either along the road to Acapulco.² A few leagues after we left Mexico City we ran out of food, in a region that is not very cultivated and among Indians. Divine mercy favored us; although we had to beg for our food, God had blessed Father Rector with a special grace. It would be a long story to tell Y.R. about all the special favors that Divine mercy took care to grant for the success of this Mission. Not the least of which has been that nobody died from the many people that Father Rector brought out of Manila, neither during the coming out, which is very dangerous, nor during the voyage to New Spain, where most of the people usually die on account of the variety of climates they pass through and the rigor of the [high] latitude in the northern part during voyages to New Spain. This ship **San Diego** made this voyage in five months, saving itself from the dangers of the Embocadero and from many other risks, God saving it so that through this means many souls redeemed by the blood of our Redeptor will be saved from the seas of heathenism.

[The Filipino baby boy]

What I am about to say is not a small proof of God's help to those who are going on this enterprise. The companions of Father Rector took aboard a child under one year old, the nephew of a Tagalog Indian³ who serves His Reverence as a companion, more so to make it ready for burial at sea, on account of the many fainting spells that he suffered from, and the little hope they had regarding his health, than to cure him of its ailments, although the wish its parents had of having this child raised in the language

1 Ed. note: Then Rector of the College at Seville (see Doc. 1667I).

2 Ed. note: I think that the other Jesuits had gone ahead with the muleteers.

3 Ed. note: This Tagalog was none other than the future Captain and conquistador of the Marianas, Juan de Santa Cruz (see Doc. 1668F).

of the Mariana Islands offered some hope, not so much based on natural reasons than on a more special remedy. Indeed, this child has sailed about 5000 leagues, and most of them through the roughest climates like those in the North, and the torrid zone where the strongest lose their strength, without its life having been at risk amid so many changes. This is a very clear demonstration of how much His Majesty is pleased with all of those who are going on this enterprise. Indeed, He does not want anybody to perish, not even among those who are not going on this ministry, as they are cooperating in some way to its eventual success.

The case that I will now relate does not seem to me so credible as it can be attributed to natural causes. However, after I have seen such lucky effects it seems to me to be very probable. One night—it was the eve of Palm Sunday, i.e. Saturday preceding Palm Sunday—that the sailors had gone up the shrouds, to talk with more privacy, and the evening was much advanced when one of them noticed that the masts of the ship were crowned with lights. They all began to shout San Telmo, San Telmo.¹ They begged one of our Fathers and said one Hail Mary [with him] and wished it Bon Voyage! aloud as is the custom at sea when they meet some ship or get close to one, and when they see such apparitions of this Saint which they say happen very regularly in other seas, as a sign of the Saint's love for that ship, to make it safe in storms. From then on we have not had the slightest sign of one. This vision did not last long. Many thought that it was the reflection of the stars, although none of the sailors would concede such a thing, as it had not happened on many of the other nights in which such a phenomenon might have been noticed. The effects, as I have said, have been not only good but very lucky. God knows better the truth of this event; what is certain is that it is not difficult to think that St. Elmo shows himself favorable to this mission, when we witnessed things so special.

Furthermore, so that Y.R. might understand that what I said is very probable, according to the principles that give us much reason to believe it, I wish to tell Y.R., in case the letter in which other events of the Mission are narrated—which I have at hand—does not get to Spain so quickly, other events that shed a better glow upon the enterprise. On the eve of Assumption of the year 1666, one person,² I think it was in Manila, was at prayer in his cell, as I have heard it say, when he heard or had it manifested by our Lord that the galleon **Concepción** had arrived at Palapag. This galleon was the one carrying the Royal Decree for the despatch of this Mission. It was impossible to get the news of her arrival through human means, as Palapag is very distant from Manila. The following case is no less mysterious. In one of the residences of the Augustinian Fathers, there was a saintly Religious, Prior of the Convent, and minister of Tanaguan in the Province of the Philippines. This man, as I have said, is very holy and very fond of our Society; his name is Fr. Luis de Amesquita. This holy Father saw with a special light of Heaven, that a beautiful ship floating off, or coming out of the cupola or tower

1 Ed. note: St. Elmo's fire, a magnetic weather phenomenon. St. Elmo is patron saint of sailors.

2 Ed. note: This person was Fr. Sanvitores himself.

of the church of the Society of Jesus in Manila. From this tower came out a beautiful gold statue whose splendors touched the sky, and [then he saw] or Father St. Ignatius coming down from heaven. The statue represented him and the gold represented his charity toward this prodigious ship. Moreover he saw that at the top of the mast of this ship had been placed the name of JHS, shining with the same arrangement of rays that usually appears in the coat-of-arms of our Society.

With such a good pilot and equipment, this Father saw that the galleon was sailing happily through the air taking port at Cavite, a port close to Manila, and here the vision disappeared. The said Father had not heard the news of this Mission, and he remained for almost six months in suspense about this event. However, upon hearing of it afterwards, he remained more confirmed in his vision. He had reported this vision (speaking in the third person) to the Fathers in Manila, and they told him what it meant. Then, he offered himself very sincerely for this Mission, but God our



Lord contented Himself with his good wishes, because, having come to Manila to speak with his Provincial and to negotiate his outfitting, He gave him the illness from which he died. I omit another vision that this holy Religious had; it is in the letter, as it does not concern our mission so much, Y.R. will see it later.

Nevertheless, I will not keep quiet now about the terrible earthquakes that shook New Spain at the time that the ship **San Diego** was being despatched. They say that a thing so frightful had not happened in other years, not even in one's life. This galleon **San Diego** had left Manila (or her despatch) on the eighth day following the feast-day of our Father St. Ignatius in 1667. From that same day the earthquakes were so fearful that the people were in fright. On Christmas Day he arrived off the coasts of New Spain and that night during Matins the earth shook so strongly in Mexico and its Kingdom that, while our people were signing the **Te Deum laudamus**, it seemed as if the dome of the Church would fall down. They all ran out of the choir terrified, trying to get to the arch of the doorway which is the first normal reaction during earthquakes, where they waited for the message from Heaven to pass, except for two Fathers who remained hanging on to the choir desk, or they holding it so that it would not come crashing to the ground. The other earthquake occurred at the time that Father Rector was speaking to, or softening up the will of the Viceroy, because he had decided to send Father Diego Luis San Vitores without the outfitting that he was asking, as there was [no] possibility then for such a succor. This earthquake, though not so violent as the former, was more painful to bear as it lasted longer. What resulted from this event was that the Viceroy, experiencing this fear, became more human and gave the Father what he was asking. The next day, which was Shrove Sunday in 1668,¹ he called a meeting

1 Ed. note: Therefore, the interview, and earthquake, took place on Saturday 11 February 1668 (see also Doc. 1668D).

of the city council or council of state, in spite of the awkwardness of the day, to discuss the despatch. Once Father Rector had finished his business in Mexico City, he left for Acapulco, and upon arriving there, or two days after he had arrived, the earth shook once more.

Finally, Father Rector said goodbye to New Spain, or better said, Heaven said hello with the apparition of a beautiful planet, or comet, that appeared during these days in the sky and it extended from North to South, as if to protect with its rays the Mariana Islands. This must then have given something to those in Mexico to talk and write about.—What I have said above so far has come out of Father Rector, who has told me to write something about these events here.

To return now to our voyage. It has been a prosperous voyage as far as the neighborhood of our Islands. We have all been very happy, as we come in the company of Father Rector, specially myself, because I owe him so much. We have made almost the same pact as Y.R. and Father Rector have with Father José Vidal, Master of Theology in Mexico, who esteems Y.R. very much, and whom I told much about your ministries and zealous employments in that Province, beloved by Father Rector. Even yesterday, as he has told me, and wishes me to write to Y.R., he has begun to feel the effects of your zealous sacrifices and he begs Y.R. to remember him on that day and in your prayers, and that he will keep in mind how much he owes you.

Everything that follows comes directly and clearly from Father Rector: There is no time to add nonsensical things, and rough drafts. I defer to my Angel secretary¹ who should be the secretary of the Lady Mother of Ladrones [i.e. Thieves], with whom he must consult to find out the secrets of divine Providence, he who has ended up here for now, as a substitute for that missionary from Guadamazil, but with a warning that this Father is a substitute and must go [to Manila] to finish the one year of studies that he has left, even if he himself does not wish to do anything other than the accomplishment of God's will, as at present it is recognized by the fact that the [other] Father stayed behind, and the others to the succor of so many souls, so ready that I do not know if I should be happy or sorry about the loss so far, or to complain about the lack of ministers to go where the need is greater, and more profitable than at any other place that we know of, in the opinion of all those aboard our ship, who can touch with their hands what hardly seemed believable regarding the kindness and anxiety of these people for becoming Christians, about which the "thief", or robber of the Virgin who writes this will tell you something, if at all possible, and does what he is told.

This letter was finalized at the Island of San Juan of these Mariana Islands, formerly Guam, on 17 June 1668.

[In Latin:] Servant of the most unworthy thieves,
+ Diego Luis S. Vitores +

1 Ed. note: Meaning Fr. Casanova, the writer. The common joke among the missionaries then was to call "ladron", or thief, one considered lucky enough to be part of the Mission among the Ladrones.

This letter, rather brief notice, Y.R. might remit to wherever it will do the most good that we can hope, and in particular Y.R. might forward it to Father Felipe de Osa, Father Diego de Valdés, Father Gamboa and to Alcalá. Regarding those small things that Father Rector again ask from Y.R., you might send them care of the Procurator of the Indies or through that of the Philippines, not to forget that the transport charges, etc. should be **gratis, et amore** [prepaid, out of love] because Y.R. already knows that we are very poor. Also Y.R. will please send the said list to Father Felipe de Osa, from whom Father Rector begs the same.

Y.R.'s servant,

+

+ Pedro de Casanova +

J4. Letter from Fr. Sanvitores to the Provincial of the Philippines, dated Island of San Juan 17 June 1668

Source: RAH 9/2676 doc. n°6 (2 copies).

Original text in Spanish.

Carta del Padre Diego Luis de S. Vitores para el Padre Provincial de Philipinas.

Pax Xpti &a.

En el brevissimo tiempo que da la partida de la nao y la urgentissima y dichosissima ocupacion de tantas almas solo puedo dezir que llegamos con el divino favor, y de la Santissima Virgen, y de nuestros Padres y Patronos S. Ignacio, S. Francisco Xavier, y S. Diego a nuestra tierra de promission de estas Yslas Marianas.

Viernes 15 de Junio dia en que por una novena que haziamos a la Santissima familia Mariana de la Santissima Virgen, nos cabia la Santa Abuela Señora Santa Ana, elegida ya antes por patrona de la Zarpana que ya se llama la Ysla de Santa Ana[,] estando diciendo la segunda missa de la Santa el Padre Pedro de Casanova, clamaron tierra tierra, y era la Ysla de la Zarpana, y poco despues se vio esta Ysla de Guan, que ya se llama de S. Juan a donde principalmente nos encaminabamos, y llegando cerca del anochecer las vancas destos Pobres a nuestras Naos por ser de noche, o no asegurase bien del Navio, no querian entrar en el como deseabamos para ajustar las cosas, y asi tomamos por medio el cantar al mismo bordo la letania de nuestra Señora, y al acabarla no nos podiamos defender hartas muestras del gusto que tenian en que viniesen los Padres a su tierra.

Sabado 16, nos trujo nuestro Señor un Christiano llamado Pedro de los que se quedaron de la Nao **Concepcion** el año de 38, el qual estava mui estimado entre los Principales de esta Ysla, traia consigo una niña su hija de cosa de dos años, la qual por buen principio bautizamos luego llamandola Mariana. Hizo el bautismo el Padre Luis de Morales para que llebase esto de estas Yslas a Manila (que estabamos entonces mui lejos de lo que despues nos vimos obligados)[.] El Xpno Pedro nos aseguro, con quan-

*to gusto seriamos recibidos; y el mismo dia a la tarde se experimento bastamente saltando en tierra los Padres Luis de Medina, y Pedro de Casanoba llebados de un principal grande que llaman **papahurao** [sic]. Recibieronlos los demas del Pueblo con notable afecto. Pusose luego la Santa Cruz en la playa; fueron acudiendo de otros Pueblos, que son muchos en esta Isla, y algunas demas de mil personas, con que los de toda la Ysla parece seran algunas cinquenta mil almas[.] que seran las de todas las demas? fueron acudiendo tantos asi a la Nao como al Pueblo donde estaban los Padres, que no sabemos que hazernos de besos. Solo un principal del monte mostro algun sentimiento de que aquel principal de la Playa hiziese admitido gente nueva, sin dalle [=darle] a el Parte, pero en sabiendo que eran Padres, dijo que fuesen mui bienbenidos, que el queria tambien Padres, como lo dijeron tambien todos los demas Principales, y empezaron a tener sus emulaciones sobre qual nos havia de llevar a su tierra, y han venido tambien de la Zarpana con la misma pretencion, y no se duda que de todas las Islas cercanas yran viniendo con la misma ancia, porque esto es cosa de Dios y de su Madre Santissima en desquite de la dilacion tan lastimosa que aun con el gusto que tenemos presente, nos pasa el corazon de dolor, de que se ayan dejado ir tan de balde al infierno tantas, y tales almas, de cuya bondad, y de las demas cosas que han pasado en esta priesa; diran bien todos los que ban en este Navio, a quienes me remito, y especialmente al Señor Capitan y Cabo Anttonio Nietto, a quien en la desgracia unica que hemos tenido que es la muerte del buen almirante Bartolome Muñoz, cuya alma dispuesta muy a tiempo con confecion general de toda la vida, y todos los sacramentos y notable afecto del bien de nuestros pobres Marianos, como esperabamos, le fue a negociar desde el Cielo, quedando aca por la Providencia de nuestro Señor, y acierto tan proprio del Señor Governador el Capitan Anttonio Nieto, que lo ha dispuesto todo con notable zelo[.] prudencia, y Charidad.*

*Al fin **oy Domingo 17** quedan bautizados 23 infantes de la mejor guardia del Rei D. Carlos nuestro Señor que Dios guarde, y dejamos con harto llanto las Madres, y Padres de las que por la suma ocupacion en que estamos del despacho, dilatamos para despues del, como el bautismo de los Adultos, aunque ya ha empesado la instruccion, y andan haziendo Cruces de suerte que no nos dejan hazer las Cruces del calvario de la firma. Seran ya por nuestra quenta Catecumenos unos mil, al tercer dia que vimos estas Islas.*

Por esse papel que embio a V.R^a de los requirimientos que uno, dos, y tres veces se nos han hecho de parte de su Magestad el Capitan y Cabo de nuestra Almiranta acerca de que se quedasen en estas Islas con los que ya veniamos determinados desde Mexico, los demas sacerdotes, excepto uno, que fuese por capellan del Navio, y la respuesta que dimos, y ultima resolucion, que no obstante nuestra respuesta, tomo el dicho Capitan y Cavo, constara la razon con que nos quedamos los 6 sujetos Padre Luis de Medina, Padre Pedro de Casanoba, Padre Luis de Morales, Padre Thomas Cardenoso, el Hermano Lorenzo de Bustillo, y yo. Y aunque yo me escusaba con no tener orden bastante de V.R^a ya reconozco lo debo tener por casi expreso en la instruccion, que me mando guardar porque aunque en ella me dize V.R^a que convenido con el superior de

*la mission, que fuere a Philipinas, me quede con dos sacerdotes, segun la necesidad &a. Esto me lo dejo ordenado V.R^a quando veniamos quatro en la primera asignacion de sujetos, con que segun la mente de V.R^a aviamos de quedar seis aun sin constar entonces de tan copiosa mies como hemos hallado, y de las razones, con que no aprieta el dicho Capitan y Cabo para evitar las dicensiones de los **Papahuraos** [sic] que nos pretenden, y aunque despues por averse declarado el rodeo, que ha ssido tan derecho por la missericordia de Dios para el asiento de esta Mission con el socorro de Mexico se resolvio el Padre Vice Provincial Francisco Perez de que no viniesemos mas de los dos, esperando tambien socorro de la Prov^a de Nueva España, que por la carta que embio vera V.R^a las razones, y necesidad, de la Provincia de Mexico, y como se ha venido a quedar la misma disposicion de sugetos que avia de antes en la instruccion de V.R^a.*

Los dos Padres que quedan de por acabar sus estudios, claro es que no quedan mas que por el tiempo, que a V.R^a paraciere que no se puede componer de otra suerte, embiando algunos de los sujetos que alla ayan acabado sus estudios, los cuales esperamos en nuestro Señor y en la providencia de V.R^a y el Hermano Lorenzo Bustillo aunque no esta ordenado, nos servira mientras que no viene otro que lo este, de lo que nos pudiera mas ayudar qualquier otro compañero coadjutor o sacerdote, pues en estos principios el ayudarnos a bautizar en los casos de necesidad, y instruirlos en la lengua que se le va pegando, haze lo principal, que hiziera un sacerdote, y no menos lo que hiziera un hermano coadjutor por las malas calidades de que por escribir de su mano no digo mas, y V.R^a se ymforma bastantemente del Padre Juan de Tati asi de este como de los demas sujetos, que quedan de la necesidad, y buen logro en tan copiosa, y dispuesta mies, para la qual me quedara yo de harto buena gana con dicho Padre Juan de Tati, y para la remuda de los que no han acabado sus estudios que espero de la caridad de V.R^a lo tomaremos con ambas manos por sus muchas prendas y zelo de las almas como tambien tomaremos los que V.R^a tenia señalados al principio, Padre Claret[fe], Padre Melendes, Padre Español, y los pretendientes de mas alta clase Padre Nicolas Cani, Padre Palavicino, Padre Juan de Landa &a en cuya falta no es mucho, que al modo que Europa se suplen otros de menos consideracion interumpiendo, o dilatando los estudios a sacerdotes, y no sacerdotes por falta de maestros de Gramatica v.g. aya dispuesto nuestro Señor se supla de los maestros de estos Parvulos, in Xpo., mientras V.R^a no pudiere disponer otra cosa. —

Por essa carta, que embio al Padre Procurador General con esa memoria, vera V.R^a lo que en esta apretura de tiempo pued decir de mis quantas, el Señor se sirva las demas buenas de tantas almas por los sacrificios de V.R^a y de todos los Padres y Hermanos, a quienes V.R^a se sirva de hazernos recomendados entre nuestros Pobres &a.

De esta Ysla de S. Juan y Junio 17 de 1668.

Translation.

Letter from Father Diego Luis de San Vitores to Father Provincial of the Philippines.

Peace of Christ, etc.

In the very brief time given to me before the departure of the galleon by the very urgent and very lucky occupation of so many souls, all I can say is that we arrived with divine favor, that of the Blessed Virgin, of our Fathers and patron Saints Ignatius, St. Francis Xavier and St. James, at our promised land of these Mariana Islands.

On Friday 15 June, the day that in a novena that we were doing to the Blessed Marian family of the Blessed Virgin, it was the turn of the Holy Grandmother, St. Ann, who had already been chosen as the patroness of Zarpana, which is now called the Island of Santa Ana, Father Pedro de Casanova was saying the second mass of the Saint, when they shouted Land ho! Land ho! and it was the Island of Zarpana, and a little later we sighted this Island of Guan, now called San Juan, where we were mainly bound. Just before sunset, the canoes of these poor people arrived at our galleons¹ but, either because it was nighttime, or they were not sure about the ship,² they did not wish to come aboard as we wished them to do to discuss our business. So, we decided right there and then, at the rail, to sing the litany of our Lady, and upon finishing it, we could not defend ourselves from their many demonstrations of the pleasure they had of having the Fathers come to their land.

Saturday 16. Our Lord brought to us a Christian named Pedro, from those who were left stranded by the galleon **Concepción** in the year 1638. He was very esteemed among the Chiefs of this Island. He was bringing with him a daughter, about two years old, whom we baptized then, to give the business a good beginning, naming her Mariana. Father Luis de Morales did it, so that he would bring this with him from the Islands to Manila (we were then far from having decided what was decided afterwards). Pedro the Christian asserted to us that we would be well received indeed; and that same day in the afternoon we had enough experience of it, when Fathers Luis de Medina and Pedro de Casanova stepped ashore, taken there by a big chief, they call **papahurao**.³ The other people in the town received them with noteworthy affection. The holy Cross was then raised upon the shore; they were coming over from other towns, of which there are many in this Island, something over 1,000 persons, from which we estimated that the whole Island might have about 50,000 souls.⁴ How many souls would the other islands have? There were so many flocking, not only to the galleon but to the town where the [two] Fathers were, that we did not know what to do with so many kisses. Only one chief from the interior showed some resentment over the fact that that chief from the

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- 1 Ed. note: The use of the plural form indicates that the two galleons that year were sailing in company. However, the flagship Buen Socorro probably did not anchor at Guam.
 - 2 Ed. note: The natives were not sure if the ship was Spanish, or Dutch, from the design of her poop gallery.
 - 3 Ed. note: Clearly indicated this way in both copies on file, not "chamorros" or anything close to that. This chief was Quipuha himself, as J6 below makes clear; once ashore, however, he officially received them in a communal hut that was different from his own residence (see below).
 - 4 Ed. note: There is no doubt that Fr. Sanvitores was misled about the population of Guam, not only by his own earnestness but also by his optimistic informant, Pedro.

beach had admitted new people, without giving him some of them, but, upon learning that they were Fathers, he said that they were very welcome,¹ that he too wished to have Fathers. All the other chiefs said the same thing too, and they began to vie among themselves as to who should take us to their land. Some have even come from Zarpana with the same intention, and there is no doubt that they will come from all the nearby islands with the same anxiety, because this is the business of God and of His Blessed Mother, to make up for the most lamentable delay which, even now in the midst of the pleasure we are having, brings pain to our hearts, as so many souls, such good ones, have been let go so excessively to Hell. About their kindness and the other things that have occurred during this hurried interval, all those aboard this ship will tell you much. So, I defer to them, and specially to the Captain and Commander Antonio Nieto, who, following the single mishap we have had, that is the death of the good Admiral Bartolomé Muñoz, [has replaced him]. The latter's soul, prepared in good time with a general confession of his whole life and the reception of all the sacraments and, we hope, with his noteworthy love of the good of our poor Mariano people, has gone to negotiate it from Heaven, leaving behind, through the Providence of our Lord and the Governor's own provision, Captain Antonio Nieto, who has arranged everything with noteworthy zeal, prudence, and charity.

Finally, up to **today Sunday 17**, we have baptized 23 infants. They will join the guard of our [young] King Charles our Lord (God save him), and we leave their mothers and fathers in tears, because we are so busy with the despatch that we postpone many things until the despatch is finished, for instance, the baptism of the adults, although we have already begun instructing them, and they go about making the sign of the Cross, so that they do not let us make the crosses of the calvary of the signature.² Already there would be about a thousand catechumens to our credit, on the third day of our coming to these Islands.

By that paper which I send to Y.R. regarding the requests made to us once, twice and three times on behalf of His Majesty by Captain and Commander of our almiranta, to the effect that the other priests, besides those of us who already came earmarked since Mexico, should stay in these Islands, except one to serve as chaplain of the ship.³ The answer we gave, and last resolution, that notwithstanding our answer, the said Captain and Commander accepted, will constitute the reason why we are 6 subjects to remain: Father Luis de Medina, Father Pedro de Casanova, Father Luis de Morales, Father Tomás Cardeñoso, Brother Lorenzo de Bustillo, and I. And although I was excusing myself, saying that I did not have sufficient order from Y.R., I now recognize

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- 1 Ed. note: The name of this chief was never specified clearly, but I suspect that it was Chief Ayihi, then living at Siñahana.
 - 2 Ed. note: The better to make this point, Fr. Sanvitores left this letter without his signature, and without the usual three little crosses, his miniature calvary.
 - 3 Ed. note: The chaplain was Fr. Tati, who must have been recently ordained. Fr. Luis Pimentel, the original band leader was not there; he crossed the Pacific only in 1669 (see Doc.1669C). It was Fr. Medina who was superior of those going to Manila, as as Guam anyway (see Doc. 1668K2).

that I must have it as almost expressed formally in the instruction that you asked me to follow, because, although in it Y.R. tells me that, in agreement with the superior of the mission band who were to be on the way to the Philippines, I was to be left with two priests, according to need, etc. This is what Y.R. ordered me to do, when it was settled that the first assignment was for four subjects, and at that time Y.R. had in mind that six of us had to stay, not counting then on the so copious harvest as we have found, and not on the reasons, pointed out to us by the said Captain and Commander, to prevent dissensions among the **Papahuraos** who claim us. And, although afterwards, because there happened the detour, which has been so straight, thank God, for the establishment of this Mission, with the succor from Mexico, Father Vice-Provincial Francisco Perez decided that no more than the [original] two of us should come, hoping also succor from the Province of New Spain—Y.R. will see the reasons, and the need of the Province of Mexico that he gives in his letter—and as the result of this was the same disposition of subjects as we had before in the instruction of Y.R.

It is clearly understood that the two Fathers who have yet to finish their studies will stay only as long as Y.R. will be of the opinion that things cannot be arranged otherwise, by sending some of the subjects who have finished their studies there, whom we hope in our Lord and in the providence of Y.R., plus Brother Lorenzo Bustillo, although he is not ordained, will serve us until a replacement comes who is, but he can be expected to help as much as [well as] any other coadjutor companion or priest; indeed, in these beginnings, to help us baptize the cases of necessity, and instruct them in the language that he is learning, that's the main thing that a priest would do, and not less than what a coadjutor brother would do on account of the bad qualities of one who, as he is writing himself with his own hand, I do not say more.¹ A sufficient report will be made to Y.R. by Father [sic] Juan de Tati, not only about this subject but about the others as well, who are staying because of the need and good outcome in such a copious and ready harvest. In this connection, I would be very glad to have the said Father Juan de Tati with me here, to replace those who have not finished their studies, and I hope to get it from the charity of Y.R. We will have him with open arms on account of his many talents and zeal for souls, as we would also take those that Y.R. had earmarked at the beginning, Father [Isidro] Claret[e], Father [Juan] Melendez, Father Español, and the pretenders of higher category, Father Nicolas Cani, Father [Juan] Palavicino, Father Juan de Landa, etc.² failing whom others of less consideration can be supplied. There should be no lack of those, at the rate that Europe is interrupting, or postpon-

1 Ed. note: This is the first indication of Fr. Sanvitores' resentment against his first travelling companion, Fr. Cardeñoso. In later internal correspondence, he would refer to him as "the useless one". Fr. Cardeñoso's own letter to Fr. Provincial has been preserved. I found it in Belgium (see Doc. 167105).

2 Ed. note: None of these higher-class Jesuits came to the Marianas. Palavicino became Provincial 10 years later. Cani had served at the fort of Zamboanga in the 1650s; he, and Fr. Besco who was sent to the Marianas, were actively engaged during the Chinese rebellion in 1662-63, when Fr. Sanvitores was stuck in Taytay. B&R has no reference to Landa.

ing, the studies of the priests, and no priests for lack of masters of Grammar, v.g. our Lord has arranged that they would become masters of these children, in Christ, meanwhile Y.R. might not be able to arrange something else.—

In that letter which I am sending to Fr. Procurator General along with that memorial, Y.R. will see what I can say regarding my affairs during this busy time. The Lord will be pleased to receive the good tidings of so many souls through the sacrifices of Y.R. and of all the Fathers and Brothers, to whom Y.R. will please recommend us who are among our poor peoples, etc.

From this Island of San Juan, 17 June 1668.

J5. Letter from Fr. Sanvitores to Governor Salcedo of the Philippines, dated San Juan 18 June 1668

Source: RAH 9/2676, also part of doc. n° 6 (4 copies).

Original text in Spanish.

Copia de carta del Padre Sanvitores para el Señor Don Diego Salcedo dándole cuenta de su entrada en las Islas Marianas.

Señor y Padre por muchos títulos muy propio mío.

Cumplo con las nuevas de que al fin su zelo de V.S. favorecido de nuestro Señor y de la Santísima Virgen esta ya en posesión de sus Yslas Marianas y que al tercero día que saltamos en ellas están ya bautizados en esta Isla de S. Juan 34 Ynfantes y entre ellos un especial axijado de V.S. (que todos, son sus hijos) por nombre D. Diego de Salcedo, hijo de un gran Papahurao¹ desta Isla y ya declarados por catecumenos que se han disponiendo para el Baptismo pasan de mil los Adultos y lo demás de la dolicidad, y amorosa condición y otras buenas calidades que se han reconocido en estos pobres mucha más de lo que esperábamos de que dirá bastantemente el Capitan Antonio Nieto Cabo de este Navio y de quien en los pocos días que ha ejercitado el oficio no sabe decir bastantemente el mucho zelo que ha mostrado del servicio de Dios y del Rey nuestro Señor y la notable prudencia, charidad, y humildad que ha ejercitado sin perder nada de la deznencia de su oficio en la entrada destas Islas por la qual le han cobrado notable amor y estima estos naturales a quienes ni a nosotros sus ministros podrá V.S. hazer mayor favor que embiarnosle quanto antes se pudiere a dirigir nuestros pasos en esta mission, y plantar las costumbres xpnas y politicas con el amor y suavidad eficaz de que necesitan estos pobres teniendo un Governador que sea su Padre y su Madre desde aqui como V.S. lo ha sido y lo sera desde ay, y asi se lo pido por amor de nuestro Señor, y por el mismo confio que el dicho Antonio Nieto llevara este destierro con mucho gusto y juntamente suplico a V.S. se sirva de que fuera de dicho cabo que parece que asista de asiento como Governador de los Puertos, y calidad de estas Islas, el que a lo que yo puedo decir parece el mas apropiado el Capitan Antonio de Azevedo apli-

1 Ed. note: All 4 copies show this word very clearly.

casión y pericia de su arte y el gran zelo del servicio de ambas magestades y de V.S. en esta ocasión propia suya, y de tanto bien de las almas para el qual ymportara grandemente la venida del dicho Capitan Azebedo a dicho reconocimiento de dichas Islas, y creo que se allanara a venir en un champan o de la manera que V.S. dispusiere de quien depende tambien el aliento del Padre Provincial en orden a embiar los sugetos de que necesitan estas Yslas sobre que me remito al informe de dicho Capitan y Cabo de los demas que ba en este Navio.—

Con estas nuebas, y negocios que son el grano no echara menos V.S. la paja de otras nuebas que sirven de divertimiento a discurso a los que no los tienen tan gravemente empleados como V.S. y tambien huviera agravio a su magnanimidad alargandome en Razones de consuelo que desquiten la cortedad del socorro pues su gran corazon de V.S. sabe bien soportar estas cortedades, y mas quando ellas mismas ceden [=se den] en mayor demostracion del Real y Catholico zelo de su Magestad que por medio de V.S. tanto resplandece de lance de Dios y de todas las naciones en aver conseguido una empresa tan unicamente Apostolica como la conversion destos pobres en tiempos de tanta apretura y cortedad de socorros y medios temporales que jamas se ha experimentado semejante en este gobierno a Philipinas quando en su mayor opulencia no hubo aliento en otros ministros de su Magestad ha instado siempre en ella por sus Reales Cédulas. Y en orden al socorro, y remedio que piden las necesidades tan urgentes de Philipinas espero que la bondad del Señor que sabe sacar mayores bienes de los males especialmente de los que permite en ocasiones y personas de su mayor servicio le ha de sacar en esta, y que han de tener todas estas Islas el consuelo mayor que pudieran tener y tienen siempre los buenos hijos en los castigos amorosos de nuestro Padre Dios que suele ser el de las arribadas de las Naos tan frequentes en otros gobiernos y tan ninguna en el de V.S.^a porque asi a aplacido al Señor que a un año en que dos Naos acabadas de fabricar que se despachaban apenas creyendose en el vulgo que llegaria alguno a Nueva España ayan llegado tan felizmente las dos. Demos pues el socorro que traen sea ninguno cierto que le trujeran mayor si ubieran arribado, y que asi con la misma conformidad a lo menos en la voluntad de Dios que se lleban en otros tiempos aquellas arribadas se puede, y de no llevar este año la cortedad de socorro.

Y mas quando de aqui como digo es mas consiguiente el eficaz y universal remedio en adelante, pues si la falta del socorro fuera por arribada, se tubiera solo por desgracia o castigo de nuestros pecados o falta, quiza de prevencion y diligencia en los que gobernaban con que ni causara tanta lastima ni mostrara tanto la necesidad de otro eficaz remedio, y medios para la Conversion y diligencia y zelo tan vivo de su Ex.^a el Señor Virrey Marques de Mancera que no se puede dudar a hecho aun mas de lo que se podia esperar en la apretura con que oy se halla el Real aver de Nueva España con la saca tan grande en ynmediata de la armada de barlovento y la sercana de la flota con ordenes tan apretados de su Magestad y necesidad de nuebas guerras con Francia todo esto digo muestra la necesidad que ay de que su Magd. provea de nuebo y eficaz remedio para la conservacion y aumentos de nuestra santa fe, que su Magd. prefiere a las demas conveniencias temporales de sus Reynos pues si el socorro que puede venir de

Nueva España llega ya hazer [=a ser] tan corto en estos tiempos si en otro no lo fue tanto el abrir el comercio y socorros del Piru o el dar otra forma y orden en los socorros de Nueva España expresando su Magd. que no es voluntad suya en ninguno de los ordenes, ni otros ningunos motivos se dexen de ymbiar a Philipinas el socorro tan presioso quales a lo menos el que no baxe de tal cantidad sobre que V.S.^a sabra mejor soportar a su Magd. que lo que me consta sea propuesta en la ocasion dicha &a.

Quando llegue a Mexico halle resuelto el situado de Philipinas en solo los quarenta mil pesos y negada la asistencia para nuestra mision cosa que se dijeron los de la Junta no tocar aquel gobierno pero alentado el Señor Virrey su celo con los motivos del de V.S. resolvió nueva Junta, en que al fin fue Dios servido se decretasen los diez mil que se dieron efectivamente para el avio y asiento de nuestra mision de los quales se gastaron mil pesos en cosas que se compraron en Mexico, y en el viaje de tierra hasta Acapulco. Los nueve mil entregue al almirante Bartholome Muñoz que Dios aya con calidad de que de ellos se proveyese todo lo necesario para nuestra mision dejandonos en ella con la prevencion conveniente lo que sobrase lo avia de entregar en manos de V.S.^a para que segun su celo se sirviese de suplir lo demas que fuese menester mientras su Magd. provea de otro socorro para la prosecucion de esta tan gran obra de su piedad.

*Despues del fallecimiento de dicho almirante se hallo en su escrivania la memoria de lo que havia gastado en nuestra mision la qual yra originalmente a V.S. y della constara lo que restava en su poder que yo no he podido averiguarlo asi por la apretura del tiempo como por la legalidad del Capitan y Cabo de nuestra almiranta que como sabre bienes de difunto que murio **ab intestato** lo remite todo al superior Gobierno de V.S.^a que es lo que yo podia desear para el ajuste de mi consciencia en lo que debo a la administracion de los bienes desta mision, y destas pobres almas en que V.S. tiene mas parte que yo.*

Demasiado prolixo he sido en tal apretura de tiempo pero no puedo menos de añadir la recomendacion del ayudante Antonio Bernal aunque la lleva harto en suma de proceder que despues de tanto trabajo y servicios, y funcion de pliego todo el premio y aun el desquite de la costa del viaje subuelve(?) al regudio(?) [se vuelve al recibir?] todo el premio de la liberalidad y providencia de V.S. a quien sirvio de todas las maneras que debia en Mexico como lo dira bien el Señor Geronimo Pardo y de su Merced podemos todos decir mucho de su fino de su correspondia.

La nuestra Señor que ha de ser en solo Dios, y su Santissima Madre y bien destos pobres si no a de faltar por mi aunque tan malo, como podre dudar de parte de V.S. y para esto buelvo a instar singularmente por la venida al gobierno o crianza destos hijos de la Virgen fiado en las buenas entrañas y prudencia y zelo del Capitan Antonio Nieto y al reconocimiento de estas Islas, y Puertos encomendado a la solicitud, ciencia, y experiencia del Capitan Antonio de Azebedo fomentados del zelo y liberalidad de V.S. en el avio que huviere menester para conseguir uno y otro yntento al mayor servicio del Rey y de Dios nuestro Señor que guarde a V.S. con los aumentos que mas deseo para el divino servicio deste pueblo de Agaña [sic] que llamamos San Ignacio en la Isla de San Juan destas Marianas 18 de Junio de 1668.

El buen almirante Muñoz lo hizo mui bien y nuestro Señor le premio sus deseos en disponerle con mucho tiempo, con una confesion general de toda su vida y todos los sacramentos aunque el mismo estaba ya ajustado en lo Principal, le debio de hazer mas repentina la muerte para el ajuste de cosas temporales. Espero que la Santissima Virgen le asistio y al corazon el se ingenio de su alma en que como hemos podido le emos servido los que tanto le debiamos en el cumplimiento del cuidado quantos le encargo.

Translation.

Copy of a letter from Father Sanvitores to Don Diego Salcedo giving him an account of his entrance into the Mariana Islands.

Sir, and my own dear Father on many counts.

I keep my promise to give you the news. Finally, the zeal of Your Lordship has been favored by our Lord. The Blessed Virgin is already in possession of her Mariana Islands. On the the third day since we stepped ashore, 34 infants have already been baptized in this Island of San Juan, and among them one is the special godson of Y.L. (though they are all your children); his name is Don Diego de Salcedo, the son of a great **Papahu-rao** of this Island. The number of those who have already been declared catechumens and who are being prepared for baptism exceed 1,000 adults. Regarding the others, about their docility and loving condition and other good qualities that have been recognized in these poor peoples, much beyond what we had expected, Captain Antonio Nieto will tell you enough. During the few days that he has been in command of this ship, I cannot tell enough how well he filled the post, with much zeal for the service of God and the King our Lord, and the noteworthy prudence, charity, and humility that he has exercised without losing nothing of the decency of his office in the entrance to these Islands. For this reason, these natives have shown him noteworthy love and esteem. Your Lordship will do a favor to them, more so than to us their ministers, by sending him to us as soon as possible to lead our steps in this mission, and to plant Christian and civilized customs with the love and efficient kindness that are needed by these poor peoples, by having a Governor who would be a father and a mother to them, from here, as Your Lordship has been and will be from overthere. That is what I beg you for the love of our Lord, and by the same token I trust that the said Antonio Nieto would take this exile with much pleasure. Besides the above-said officer, I also beg Your Lordship to please send someone to help the settlement as Governor of the Ports, and the characteristics of these Islands; as far as I can tell, the best man for the job is Captain Antonio de Azevedo, by the application and expertise in his profession and his great zeal for the service of both Majesties, and of Your Lordship in this occasion which is your own, and is so much for the good of souls, for which purpose the coming of the said Captain Azevedo for the said surveying of the said Islands will be greatly important. I believe that he will manage to come with a champan, or the manner that Your Lordship might arrange. The encouragement of Father Provincial also depends upon Your Lordship, in order for him to send to us the subjects that these Islands need, about which I defer to the report of the said Captain and Commander of the others aboard this ship.—

With these news and affairs, that are like the head (of grain), Your Lordship will not disregard the straw of the other news that serve as entertainment in the speech of those who are not concerned with the functions [of a high post] as seriously as Your Lordship is, and also I would be offending your magnanimity if I were to go on with my consoling Reasons to make up for the shortage of the succor; indeed, the great heart of Your Lordship knows only too well how to support these shortages, the more so when they are in fact given as a greater demonstration of the Royal and Catholic zeal of His Majesty who, through Your Lordship, shines so brightly as God's defender and the defender of all the nations, by having succeeded in an enterprise so uniquely Apostolic as the conversion of these poor people during times of so much urgency and shortage of succors and material means that a similar situation has never been experienced in this government of the Philippines, when in his greater opulence there was no encouragement in other ministers of His Majesty, he has always pressed them to it [i.e. the enterprise] through his Royal Decrees. With regards to the succor and remedy that the most urgent needs of the Philippines demand, I hope that the kindness of the Lord, who knows how to turn bad things into good things, specially things he allows to happen on occasions and in persons for His greater service, He has to get good out of evil this time. So, all these Islands have got to derive as great a consolation as they can and always look upon the loving punishments of our Father God like good sons, for example, when the usual returns in distress of the galleons occur, so frequent during the terms of office of other governors, and none during that of Your Lordship, because that is what the Lord has been pleased to do, by allowing, within one year that the construction of two galleons was finished, that they be despatched to New Spain, and return so happily, both of them, much to the confusion of the public who could hardly believe that one would make it to New Spain. Never mind how little the succor they bring then, if one considers how big it would have been, had they both returned in distress. So, with the same belief in God's will that one has when the galleons return in distress at other times, so it is with the shortage of succor brought this year.

The more so when from here on, as I have said, the efficient and universal remedy is more consequential in future. Indeed, if the lack of succor were due to a return in distress, it would be regarded only as a mishap or punishment for our sins or fault, perhaps as a warning and criticism of those in power; if so, this would not cause so much pity or show as well the need of another efficient remedy, and means for the conversion, and as vividly the care and zeal of His Lordship the Viceroy, Marquis of Mancera, who, one cannot doubt it, has acted even beyond what one could hope, given the fix in which the Royal Treasury of New Spain finds itself, for instance as a result of the large and recent despatch of the Windward Fleet, and the next one with orders so urgent received from His Majesty, and the need of new wars with France. Everything, I say, shows the need at present for His Majesty to prove once again a new and efficient remedy for the conservation and propagation of our holy Faith, which His Majesty prefers to the other material advantages of his Kingdoms. Indeed, if the succor that can come from New Spain has come to be so short in these [bad] times, if in another time it was

not so much to open the commerce and succors to Peru, or to give another form and order in the succors from New Spain, His Majesty has expressed that it was not his will in any of those orders, or under any other excuses, to give up sending basic succor to the Philippines, at least its amount should not be lowered. Knowing this, Your Lordship will learn better to support His Majesty, in matters that concerns me in what was proposed in the said occasion, etc.

When I arrived at Mexico City, I found that the subsidy of the Philippines had been decided to be only 40,000 pesos, and that the assistance to our mission had been denied. Those of the Council had said that the mission was not their concern. However, the zeal of the Viceroy was stimulated by the motives presented by the zeal of Your Lordship. He decided to call another Council meeting, in which finally God was pleased to make them decide to give the 10,000 pesos for the outfitting and establishment of our mission, out of which 1,000 pesos were spent in purchases made in Mexico City, and in the overland voyage made to Acapulco. God willed that the 9,000 other pesos were delivered to Admiral Bartolomé Muñoz, earmarked for the supply of everything necessary for our mission, to be left with us, with the proviso that any leftover amount be delivered into the hands of Your Lordship, so that in accordance with your zeal you would be pleased to supply the rest that might be necessary, until His Majesty would provide another succor for the continuation of this great pious enterprise.

After the death of the said Admiral, the list of what he had spent for our mission was found in his writing desk. Your Lordship will find out from its original copy what remained in his power, as I was not able to find out myself, not only on account of the urgency of the time but also on account of the legal power held by the Captain and Commander of our almiranta, who would know that the property of someone who dies intestate is to be remitted to the superior government of Your Lordship, and that was as it should be and I preferred to relieve my conscience regarding the material administration of this mission, and of these poor souls, in which Your Lordship has more to do than I.

I have been so prolix in spite of the lack of time, but I cannot but add the recommendation of Adjutant Antonio Bernal, although he entirely deserves a reward after so much labor and services, on account of the good manner of proceeding with the function of messenger, and even to be forgiven the cost of the voyage [3-4 words unclear] all the reward that the generosity and providence of Your Lordship, whom he served with all the manners that he did in Mexico City, as Gerónimo Pardo will tell you, and about His Grace we all have much to say regarding his polite proceedings.

Our own proceedings, Sir, must be given only to God, and to His Blessed Mother and the good of these poor people, and I hope that I will not fail to do my part, though I am so bad, but I cannot doubt that Your Lordship will do his part. For this reason again I specially request that Captain Antonio Nieto come to govern or raise these sons of the Virgin, trusting in his good nature, prudence and zeal; and that Captain Antonio de Azevedo will come to make a survey of these Islands, and ports, as he is recommended by his own willingness, his knowledge and experience, encouraged by the zeal

and generosity of Your Lordship in providing the necessary outfit to obtain both purposes for the greater service of the King, and of God our Lord.¹ May He keep Your Lordship with the increases that I wish even more for the divine service of this town of Agaña, which we call San Ignacio in the Island of San Juan in these Marianas, 18 June 1668.

[P.S.] The good Admiral Muñoz behaved very well and our Lord has rewarded his desires in predisposing him with plenty of time, with a general confession of his whole life and all the sacraments, although he was himself in the main already in order, nevertheless his sudden death prevented him from putting his material things in order. I hope that the Blessed Virgin assisted him and, as far as his heart and his talented soul is concerned, we did what we could to serve him, since we owed him so much for the care he took in everything he was entrusted with.

J6. Second letter from Fr. Casanova to Fr. Guillén, dated San Juan Island 19 June 1668

Source: RAH 9/2676 doc. n° 7.

Original text in Spanish.

Otra carta del Padre Casanova para el Padre Guillen.

La mucha dicha y acierto con que Dios nuestro Señor a favorezido nuestra navegacion a sido tan de el Cielo como guiada por medio de el Patrocinio de la Reyna de el Cielo Madre y amparo de estos pobres, a quienes su Magestad soberana favorecio con su pressencia sa[n]ctificando sus riberas con lo amoroso de sus asistencias.—

Ya pienso que dixen algo en la carta de la felicidad y navegacion traximos, que como estamos tan ocupados con Bautizos y Chatecumenos [sic] no ay lugar para rrecorer los escritos, ni mirar lo que hazemos, si de llorar, y admirar la mucha mies, que aunque para la impossibilidad de muchos estaba perdida, para el selo del Padre S. Vitores tenia nuestro gran Dios mui sazónada.

*Dimos vista a estas Islas Viernes 15 de Junio de 68. El dia siguiente saltamos en tierra el Padre Luis de Medina y io con cuidados de un **Papahurao** que nos llebo a su estancia. Recibieron nos en la Playa un gran numero de Gentiles con sus lanzas, sisis [sic] y catanas, en señal de amor y cariño, aunque a un cabo de la nao luego que vio que baxaba tal espectaculo de los montes, quizo bolverse al navio antes de llegar a la tierra; nosotros le animamos porque ya no tenia remedio su buelta, y mucho menos la crecida por estar cercados de bancas, que nos traian. Finalmente, puesto en tierra, comenzaron a çercarnos con sus catanas &a. y nosotros a abrazarlos, ellos tomaron tan cariñoso el agasajo que no sabian que hacerse pues ya no se contentaban con esso sino que*

1 Ed. note: Governor Salcedo was arrested by the Inquisition in October 1668 before he could do anything about these two requests of Fr. Sanvitores. The Mariana Islands were not surveyed by a professional pilot until the Spanish Navy sent a ship for that purpose in 1864.

nos abrazaban y bezaban. Llevaronnos al Principal de su pueblo que estava en un ra[n]cho mui aderezado de esteras de palma acompañado de sus Indios, dimos le nuestra embajada bessandole las manos y pasando las nuestras por su pecho agasajo que ellos estiman en mucho. Respondimos de el para traerle un presente y disponer nuestra entrada en su tierra, accion que le parecio mui bien segun nos dijo el Interprete. Volvimos aquella noche a su estancia con nuestro presente de parte de el Rey de Manirra [sic]. Estimolo mucho, como tambien el otro Principal a quien llevamos otras cossillas, todas de mui poco valor porque no eran mas que unos haros de hierro que ellos estiman como oro, y unos sombreros, como ya era tan tarde le pedimos lizenzia para quedarnos alli aquella noche, admitionos con mucho gusto en la misma Barbacoa en que el dormia haciendo (a su usansa) que bebiesemos antes de entrar en el lecho, que es mui espacioso, y mui limpio, con tanto agasajo como si nos hubiera tratado mas tiempo. Pusose esta noche una cruz en la playa delante de la qual hicimos oracion con los Indios que unos se arrodillaban otros se admiraban de bernos en aquella postura.

[17 June]

*Despidionos nuestro Principal a la mañana con muestras de mucho amor, diciendonos, yrian luego a nuestro navio como con efecto lo hicieron yendo a pedir se quedasen los Padres. El dia antes tubo un principal con otro muchas quejas porque se havia el llebado los Padres y no havian ydo a su pueblo con que para sosegar su alboroto fue necesario decirles irian otros a su estancia, con que quedo mui contento. Este dia hubo muchos Bautismos; muchissimos que se querian Bautizar, mas por ser adultos, no pudimos acudir a esta diligencia[.] dixose missa a que se permito a que apartados asistiessen los Gentiles que admiraban las çeremonias de la missa. Este mismo dia queda[ron] ajustadas todas las cosas y cassi todos en tierra con mucho gusto de los [gen]tiles que no se hartaban de manosear y acariciar a los nuestros. A la [tar-]de hizo el **Papahurao** con pressente a los Padres de los comunes mantenimientos de la tierra pero de los que estos mas estiman.—*

*No es razon dexemos de contar la entrada de estos Indios en nuestro navio, porque luego que vieron el Navio fueron en sus vanquillas a vernos; llegaron abordo estubieron hablando y vendiendo a los marineros sus mercaderias, mas por ser ya entrada la noche no querian entrar en la nao al principio nos dio cuidado la resistencia mas como esta es empresa de la Reyna del Cielo hasta invocar su amparo no pudimos conseguir el logro de nuestros deseos. Comensamos a cantar la letania de sus excelencias y al acabarla (cosa bien rara) movido de un superior impulso se arrojaron con gran tropel a las aguas, queriendo cada uno ser el primero en entrar en nuestra nao, recibimoslos con cariño dieronlos algunos pedazos de hierro con que quedaron mui alegres, y tanto que se quedaron muchos en la Nao aquella noche, y no querian irse del Navio. Entraron otros muchos en el Navio andando la letania de los Santos cossa que nos causso novedad. No fue de menor consuelo para todos hallar un Christiano **Tagalo** en esta Isla de S. Juan **olim Guam** llamado Pedro el qual luego que supo nuestra llegada llebo una hija suia al navio para que la Bautissassen el qual Bautismo se hizo con toda solemnidad.*

dad por ser las primeras funciones de esta empresa. Pusieronla por nombre Mariana a debocion de la Virgen Santissima y de la Reyna nuestro Señora por ser la primera Christiana que a avido en estas Islas[.]

[Native customs]

De los ritos, traxe, y trato de esta gente daremos mas larga noticia otro año pues Dios y la Santissima Virgen [h]a[n] dispuesto por raros caminos me quede en estas Islas en comp^a de el Padre Diego Luis San Vitores cuya alegria y ferbor por verse en medio de esta gentilidad, donde recibe tantos alientos su zelo, y tan rara como podran considerar todos los que como ben sus ancias.

*De los ritos y çeremonias ay tan poco que decir que hasta aora no sabemos cosa especial en esta materia[.] el traxe el que los dejo Adan por la culpa, solo las mugeres tienen algun mas de coco ocultando su empacho con algunas ojas de arbol que sirven de reparo a su decencia. Son todos mui bien dispuestos, y tambien asestados [rather agestados] que pueden passar entre los mexores de Europa, y tan gordos que parecen estar hinchados, las mugeres tienen el cabello mui largo, y mui rubio, los hombres con penachillo en la cabeza que sirve de mucha gala, y los haze mui vistosos. Sus mantenimientos son mui bastos[,] pues solo se reducen a **arroz**, buyos, plantanos, y cocos y algunas otras raycillos, de que nos hicieron un gran presente el segundo día de nuestra entrada en la Ysla. Sus viviendas son de las mas acomodadas [1 line missing?] curiosidad de sus Barbacoas. Tienen casas que estriban en sus pilares de piedra donde meten sus mantenimientos y cosas. Son tratables que no es posible apartarlos de nosotros y assi no nos dejan de día ni de noche, y tan comedidos que no nos podemos aberiguar con sus repetidos pressentes. Cada uno de los Principales nos quiere llevar a su pueblo, y no nos quedamos mas que sinco sacerdotes en las Islas, y un Her[man]jo que aiudara mucho para los Bautismos. Quedamos por aora en la Isla de S. Juan **olim Guam** la qual tendra mas de 50000 almas, esperamos en Dios pasaremos mui presto a Tinian, y a la Zarpana tambien Yslas mui numerosas de donde nos an embiado a llamar si bien son estos tan invidiosos que no sabemos si nos dejaran passar a otras Yslas, por las batallas que tienen entre si estos Islenos.*

La tierra es mui amena pero de mucho calor por cuiu causa fuera de ser ya su usanza no pudieron llevar dos horas los Indios sus chininas que les traimos prevenidas para agasajar a los Principales. Parece ser el temple mui saludable, pues asta aora no emos visto enfermos y los naturales estan tan buenos, que es gran consuelo el verlos. En este estado estamos hasta que Dios quiera con tanta fecilidad [sic=felicidad] eraran [sic=iraran] las cosas que es para alabar a Dios el qual a de embiar abundantemente como esperamos en su providencia, la llubia de sus auxilios y gracias sobre tanbien dispuestos corazones dando a sus ministros ferborosos espíritus para corresponder a tan alta empresa.

Podra V.R^a comunicar esta breve noticia donde hiciere menos mal particularmente entre los affectos a la Mission y ministerios y entre aquellos que no tubieren noticia de tan sazónada cocecha como Dios nos a deparado por meritos de la Reyna de el Cielo,

que a manos llenas nos da abundantissimos consuelos con miesses tan maravillosas; estas son tantas que no nos dexan tiempo para las obligaciones forçossas en que gastamos todo el dia y gran parte de la noche, sin dexarnos passar a otro pueblo, por el mucho amor que nos tienen, y tambien por no poderlos dejar sin bastantes instrucciones, para adelantar en ellos tam buenos principios como emos visto. Yo he sido dichosissim]o por mis titulos por haverme sacado la obediencia tan de luego a ministerio tan glorioso en compañía del Padre San Vitores y de tan buenos compañeros a una mission donde esperamos felicissimos Bautismos y conveciones entre tan dilata gentilidad y tierra donde nunca a entrado el Evangelio para que yo pueda servir a Dios como debo[.] suplico a V.R^a me encomiende a Dios que guarde a V.R^a como deseo.

De la Isla de S. Juan en las Marianas. Junio 19 de 1668.—

Siervo de V.R^a

+

Pedro de Casanova +

Translation.

Another letter from Father Casanova to Father Guillén.

The good luck and certainty with which God our Lord has favored our navigation has been so well guided from Heaven through the patronage of the Queen of Heaven, Mother and refuge of these poor peoples, whom His sovereign Majesty has favored with His presence, by sanctifying their shores with his loving assistances.—

I think I have already mentioned in my [previous] letter the prosperity of the voyage that we had. As we sre so busy with baptisms and catechumens, there is no time to look up the previous writings, or to look at what we are doing, except to cry, and admire the large harvest that, although it was previously lost for lack of many [workers], our great God has kept it very ripe for the zeal of Father San Vitores.

We sighted these Islands on Friday 15 June 1668. The next day, we stepped ashore, Father Luis de Medina and I, under the care of a **Papahurao** who took us to his residence. A great number of heathens welcomed us on the beach with their spears, “sisis”,¹ and swords,² in sign of love and affection [sic], although an officer of the galleon, as soon as he noticed the spectacle of armed natives coming down from the hills, wished to return to the ship, before arriving ashore; we two encouraged him, because it was already impossible for him to return, and much less a change of heart because we were surrounded by canoes, that were bringing us. Finally, once ashore, they began to surround us with their swords, etc. and we began to embrace them. They themselves made our welcome so affectionate that they did not know what to do; indeed, they were not simply content with embracing us, they kissed us. They took us to the chief of their

1 Ed. note: I could not decipher this word. Perhaps it is the native word for sling.

2 Ed. note: The swords could only have come from passing ships.

town who was in a hut, well equipped with palm mats, and in the company of his Indians.¹ We gave our embassy, kissing his hands and passing our hands over his chest, the form of greeting which they most appreciate. We wanted to know if we could bring him a present and arrange our entrance in his country, an action that seemed very good to him, according to what the Interpreter told us. We returned that night to his residence with our present on the part of the “King of Manirra” [sic].² He appreciated it very much, and also the other chief for whom we brought other small things, all of them of very little value, because they were no more than a few iron [barrel] hoops which they appreciate like gold, and some hats. As it was then late, we asked him permission to remain there that night. He accepted us with much pleasure in the same attic in which he himself slept, making us drink (according to their custom)³ before going into the litter area, which is very spacious, and very clean, with so much hospitality as if he had dealt with us for a long time. That night, a cross was raised on the beach, and we [knelt and] prayed before it; as far as the Indians were concerned, some were kneeling, and others were simply wondering why we were in that posture.

[17 June 1668]

In the morning our chief said goodbye to us with signs of a great love, telling us that they would go later to our ship, which in fact they did, going to ask the Fathers to stay. On the previous day, one chief had many complaints with another, because he had taken the Fathers and they had not gone to his town. Then, in order to appease their commotion, it was necessary to tell them that other Fathers would go to his residence, and he was left much pleased with this. On this day, many baptisms were made; a much larger number wanted to be baptized, but being adults, we could not accede to their request. Mass was said; the heathens who were admiring the ceremonies were allowed to watch, from a distance. On this same day, all things were arranged and almost everyone came ashore, at the great pleasure of the heathens who did not tire of passing their hands over our people and caressing them. In the afternoon, the **Papahurao** made a present to the Fathers of the common foods of the land, but of those which they themselves most appreciate. —

There is no reason for us to omit the account of the entrance of these Indians aboard our ship, because as soon as they saw the ship, they went in their canoes to see us. Once alongside, they were talking and selling their merchandises to the sailors, but as it was already dark, they did not want to come aboard the galleon. At first, their resistance gave us some concern, but as this is the enterprise of the Queen of Heaven, until we invoked her protection, we could not obtain the result of our wishes. We began to sing

1 Ed. note: This so-called rancho, or hut, was a communal boat house, it seems, but not his residence.

2 Ed. note: That was their way of saying Manila; this is evidence for the pronunciation of Padre as Pare, not Pale, at that time, also “mauri” must have been so pronounced, not as maule[g], etc.

3 Ed. note: This custom consisted in raising the (common) coconut cup high and pouring the liquid into one’s mouth, without the cup touching the lips.

the litany of her excellent qualities and, upon finishing it, something strange happened; moved by a superior impulse, they threw themselves into the sea in a mad rush, everyone wanting to be first to come aboard the galleon. We received them with affection. They were given a few pieces of iron, with which they were left very happy, and so much so that many of them spent the night in the galleon that night, and did not wish to leave the ship. Many more came aboard the ship while we were reciting the litany of the Saints, a thing that caused us novelty. Everyone felt not a small consolation in finding a Christian Tagalog, named Pedro, in this Island of San Juan, previously Guam. As soon as he learned about our arrival, he brought a daughter to the ship for her to be baptized. The said baptism was made with due solemnity, it being the first functions of this enterprise. The name Mariana was given to her, as a devotion to the Blessed Virgin and to the Queen our Lady, as this was the first Christian to be found in those islands.¹

[Native customs]

Regarding the ceremonies, clothing, and customs of this people, we will give a longer notice next year, since God and the Blessed Virgin have arranged, through strange means, that I am to stay in these Islands in the company of Father Diego Luis San Vitores, whose happiness and fervor know no bounds, upon seeing himself in the midst of these heathens, and as strange to behold as could imagine anyone who would see his eagerness.

About their rites and ceremonies, there is so little to say because so far we have not learned anything particular in this matter. Their clothing is what Adam has left them on account of the original sin, except that the women have something more than a piece of coconut to hide their bashfulness; they resort to some tree leaves to protect their modesty. They are all very comely, and also so well-featured that they can pass among the best in Europe, and so fat that they seem to be bloated. The women have their hair very long, and very blond; the men have a tuft of hair on the head which they find much fashionable, and makes them look very showy. Their foods are very coarse; indeed, they consist only of **rice**, areca nuts, bananas, coconuts, and a few other small root crops, which they presented to us on the second day of our entrance in the Island. Their houses are of the most convenient ... [1 line missing?] the curiosity of their attics. They have houses that rest upon stone pillars, where they store their food supplies and things. They are so tractable that it is not possible to get them away from us, and so, they do not leave either day or night. They are so obliging that we simply cannot prevail, with their repeated presents. Every one of the chiefs wants to take us to his town, and between us we are only five priests to remain behind in the Islands, and one Brother who will help much with baptisms. We remain at present in the Island of San Juan, previously Guam, which would have over 50,000 souls.² We hope to God to pass very soon to Tinian, and

1 Ed. note: We learn here that the old Pedro, who had lived for 30 years in the islands after the shipwreck of the Concepcion, was a Filipino, and that the first little girl baptized with the name of Mariana was half Filipina.

2 Ed. note: Again, this first estimate was overly optimistic, and at least 4 times too high.

to Zarpana, that are also islands with a large population, and from which they have sent for us, but the people here are so envious that we do not know if they will let us pass to other Islands, on accounts of the battles that these Islanders have among themselves.

The land is very pleasing, but very warm. For this reason, besides being their custom [to go about naked], the Indians could not wear for more than two hours the shirts that we had reserved to please the chiefs. The climate seems to be very salubrious, since we have not seen any sick people so far and the natives are so good, that it is a great consolation to look at them. We are in this condition until God wishes with so much prosperity to have things go on that it is worth praising God, who has to send us as abundantly as we hope in His providence the rain of His workers and also graces upon the disposed hearts by giving to His ministers zealous spirits to measure up to such a high endeavor.

Y.R. might forward this brief notice to wherever it will do the least damage, specially among those who are fond of the Mission and the ministries and among those who might not have heard of such a ripe harvest as God had reserved for us, through the merits of the Queen of Heaven, who with full hands is giving us very abundant consolations with harvests so wonderful; they are so many that they do not leave us time for the obligatory duties in which we spent the whole day and a great part of the night, without letting us go to another town, on account of the great love they have for us, and also because we simply cannot leave them without sufficient instructions, in order to promote in them such good beginnings as we have seen. I have been very lucky with [i.e. in spite of] my titles, as obedience has taken me so soon to such a glorious ministry in the company of Father San Vitores and of such good companions to a mission where we hope very prosperous baptisms and conversions in such a faraway heathen land, where the Gospel has never come in, so that I might serve God as I must. I beg Y.R. to commend me to God. May He keep Y.R. as I wish.

From the Island of San Juan in the Marianas, 19 June 1668.—

Y.R.'s servant,

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Pedro de Casanoba +

Documents 1668K

Report on the Mariana Mission and a drift voyage from Palau, by Brother Marcelo Ansaldo

Sources: Original report in AHN Diversos, Documentos de Indias, legajo 389; doc. K2 has already been translated from the Spanish by Sister Felicia Plaza, M.M.B., in the Guam Recorder 1:1 (1971): 14-17; also partly translated by Fr. Juan Ledesma, in the Cause of Beatification.

Notes: The report contains a dedication to the Queen, two narratives about the discovery and evangelization of the Marianas, and a sketch in black ink of Agaña Bay. Brother Ansaldo, who witnessed the arrival of Fr. Sanvitores at Guam, was born in Alicante in the diocese of Orihuela on 9 October 1642, and entered the Society on 14 May 1665. The translation of K2 reproduced below is partly by Sr. Plaza and partly by Fr. Ledesma, nnd edited by R.L..

K1. Covering letter to the Queen Regent, dated Manila 30 May 1669

Original text in Spanish.

[Endorsement:] *A la Reyna nuestra Señora el Padre [sic] Marzelo Ansaldo. Recivido en 4 de Abril 672.—Remite unas relaciones que contienen la forma en que piensa introducirse en el Japon la conversion de Indios que nuevamente ha conseguido en las Islas Marianas el Padre San Vitores con un Mapa de la parte por donde desembarcó en la ultima que llaman de San Juan, y embia otra de la nueva Guinea austral con la declaracion que hizieron dichos Indios de aquella parte que con temporal arribaren a las costas de la Filipinas.*

Muy Alta y Muy Poderossa Señora

La Paz del Señor sea siempre con V.R.M.

Una de las maiores cossas que un Cristiano puede haçer en esta vida, es hazer la voluntad de Dios N.S. pues este uno de los maiores servicios y mas agradables que se pueden haçer a Su Divina Magestad. Llameme Dios N.S. por su infinita misericordia à su Santa Compañia, de la qual me à traído à esta insigne Provincia de las Islas Filipinas; que V. Magd. posee en este dilatado mar Oceano, pero siempre con intentos de

passar al Reyno de Japon, que por todas partes tiene cerrados sus puertas de bronce, para impedir que no entre la luz del Santo Evangelio: ni menos alguno de la naçion Española; que no puede ser al que esto impide otro que Satanas, que tanto daño à experimentado de la naçion Española que con tantos misioneros suios, le à derribado del trono que en varias partes del mundo tenia.

Bien veo que estas ansias y deseos que tengo de entrar en Japon, es donde Dios N.S. al qual estoy obligado à dar infinitas gracias por tal beneficio; si bien devo poner todos los medios humanos, como si no hubiera Divinos, y los Divinos como si no hubiera humanos para la efectuasion de ello; pero sobre todo devo desconfiar de mi mismo; poniendo toda mi confianza en su Divina Bondad y porque quiera Dios N.S. que cada uno negocie con los talentos que le ha dado. Despues de haver considerado bien los modos, que puedo tener para entrar en Japon, es, el principal, el que youria [sic = yo iria] à España; para haçer lo que en la relacion apunté acerca de la entrada en Japon. Pues agora escribo tambiem [sic] à mi Padre General; pidiendole con todas veras licencia, para ir à España por la india oriental.

Me há parecido bien que V. Mag. sepa el buen sucesso del Padre Diego Luis de S. Vitores en la grande converssion de las Islas de los Ladrones; a las quales, en honrra de la virgen Maria S.M. y nombre de V. Mag. à llamado; las islas Marianas; cuiã relacion con las demas remito a V. Mag. por que quando me vea a los pies de V. Mag. podre dar mas entera noticia de todo.

Dios N.S. guarde la vida de V.M.; y de su Real Sangre infinitos años.

Manila a 30 de Mayo de 1669.

B.L.PP. de V.M.

+

Marçelo Ansaldo S.J.

Translation.

[Endorsement:] To the Queen our Lady from Father [sic] Marcelo Ansaldo.¹ Received on 4 April 1672.—He remits some relations that contain the form in which he is thinking about introducing in Japan, the conversion of the Indians that was recently achieved in the Mariana Islands by Father San Vitores with a Sketch of the part where he landed in the last Island they called San Juan, and he sends another about southern New Guinea with the declaration that the said Indians from that were driven by a storm to the coasts of the Philippines.

Your Highness and Almighty Lady:

May the peace of the Lord be always with Your Royal Majesty.

One of the better things that a Christian can do in this life is to do the will of God our Lord; indeed, this is one of the greatest and most pleasant services that can be done to His Divine Majesty. God our Lord has called me through His infinite mercy to His Holy Society, which then has sent me to this famous Province of the Philippine Islands,

¹ Ed. note: Brother Ansaldo was not yet ordained in 1669.

which Y.M. possesses in this faraway Ocean sea, but always with intentions of going on to the Kingdom of Japan, that keeps its bronze doors closed everywhere, to prevent the entrance of the light of the Holy Gospel, even more tightly close for someone with Spanish nationality. This cannot be anything other than the work of Satan, who has been done so much harm by the Spanish nation that with its so numerous missionaries has knocked him off the throne which he had in various parts of the world.

I realize very well that the eagerness and desires that I have to go to Japan come from God our Lord; that is why I am obliged to give infinite thanks for such a benefit. This does not excuse me from applying all the human means, as if there were no Divine ones, and all the Divine means, as if there were no human ones for achieving it. However, above all, I must distrust my own self, by placing all my trust in His Divine kindness, and because God our Lord wishes every one to negotiate with the talents that He gave him. After having considered well the methods to make an entrance to Japan, the main one is, for me to go to Spain, to do what I wrote in the account about the entrance to Japan. Indeed, I am now writing also to my Father General, to ask him with all sincerity for permission to go to Spain by way of the East Indies.

It has seemed to me a good idea the let Your Majesty know of the good success that Father Diego Luis de San Vitores had in the great conversion of the Islands of the Ladrones, whose name he has changed to the Mariana Islands, in honor of the Blessed Virgin Mary and of the name of Your Majesty. I send this account, along with the others, to Y.M. because when I see myself at the feet of Y.M. I will be able to give a more complete account of everything.

May God our Lord keep the life of Y.M., and that of your Royal blood forever.

Manila, 30 May 1669.

Kisses the feet of Y.M.,

+

Marcelo Ansaldo, S.J.

K2. The eyewitness account of Fr. Sanvitores' arrival at Guam, narrated by Br. Marcelo Ansaldo

Note: Three reports were sent to the Queen Mother, the first one only being about the Marianas.

Original text in Spanish.

[Cover page:] —*Relacion en que se da noticia cierta de la grande conversion que el P. Diego Luis de Sanvitores de la Compañia de Jesus hizo en las Islas de los Ladrones a las quales islas llamo el P. las Islas Marianas en cuia conversion se hallo presente el H. Marcelo Ansaldo de la Compañia de Jhs.*

—*Tratasse tambien la venida a estas Islas Filippinas de una embar[cacion en que venian casi muertos de hambre los hombres de ella; sup[one]se ser gente de la Nueva Guinea: que venia perdida.*

—*Refieresse el estado que tengan las cossas de el Reino grande del Japon i de que manera puede entrar nuestra Santa Fe en el.*

A la Magestad de la Reina N^a S^a Doña Mariana de Austria digniss[im]ja Governadora de España:

Por el H. Marcelo Ansaldo de la Compañia de Jhs.

En Manila à XII de Maio de MDCLXIX.

[The dedicatory letter is omitted]

Relacion que trata la gran conversion a la fe de Cristo S.N. [sic] que el P. Diego Luis de S. Vitores hizo el año passado de 1668 en las Islas de los Ladrones que à llamado agora el Padre S. Vitores las Islas Marianas.

Tratasse que sean estas Islas de los Ladrones las costumbres que tienen i modo de vivir quando entro dicho P. en las Islas, de todo lo sucedido allí[,] fue testigo de vista el H. Marcelo Ansaldo que con el P. S. Vitores, se hallo en la dicha conversion.

Despues que Fernando Magallanes [h]uvo desembocado el estrecho nuevo que despues se llamo de su nombre, y se llama oy dia el estrecho de Magallanes: Aviendo pues entrado en la mar del sur, navegando 40 dias sin ver tierra, siempre siguiendo el sol hazia à al casso, llego con gran penuria à unas isletas faltas de todo lo necessario; que por ello las llamaron las Desventuradas, y prosiguiendo su derrota dio en unas islas que son estas de la Conversion nueva, que entonces llamo Magallanes las Islas de los Ladrones, por urtar los de aquellas islas, y como Fernan Magallanes iba en busca de las islas Malucas no quiso quedarsse en ellas sino que tomo la posesion de ellas en nombre de S. Magd. imperial Carlos quinto N.S. y prosiguió su camino hasta que vino a dar a estas islas Filippinas en donde lo mataron los indios peleando en la Isla de Sebu.

Estas islas de los Ladrones las mas pobladas son 14[,] corren norte a sur 200 leguas, la primera esta situada en 13 grados de la parte del norte; y corren hasta 22 grados; distan de las islas Filippinas 300 leguas de una isla se ve la otra y cada isla tendra 15 ó veinte leguas de circuito; la causa de no haverse trafijdo hasta agora el Santo Evangelio en ellas con estar bien pobladas de gente a sido estar en un paraje por donde las naves que vienen de Nueva España se detienen muy poco ó nada por causa de unos vientos muy grandes que se levantan de la parte del sur que llaman Vendabales; y como son tan furiosos no se detienen cassi nada las naves sino que procuran con toda brevedad llegar à Filippinas à primeros de Julio, antes que entren los vientos que é dicho.

Passando el año de 62 por estas Islas el Padre Diego Luis de San Vitores, que iba a las misiones de Filippinas con los demas sujetos de la Compañia de Jesus; y como viesse muchas embarcaciones de estos indios; que venian a trocar unas cosas con otras con los españoles como suelen, con las embarcaciones pues traen su rescate su R^a se encendio en grandes deseos de la conversion de estas pobres almas, que por estar apartadas del trato comun, no avia quien se acordasse de ellas, y Satanas nuestro comun enemigo tenia gran cosecha de ellas. Con esta santa resolucion el Padre en llegando a Mani-

la, escrivio à nuestro P. General y S. Magd. que este en gloria el Rey N.S. para que le remitiesse cedula para el avio de dicha conversion, consiguio finalmente esta empresa despues de aver padeçido muchos trabajos y contradiciones[.] en fin vino à alcançar su pretençion dando los devidas gracias a Dios N.S. por tal beneficio, pues su Divina clemencia queria servirse de el para la conversion de tantas almas, que ay en aquellas Islas.

Embarcosse el Padre S. Vitores en estas islas Filippinas para la Nueva España, con otro Padre por Compañero, y despues de un prospero viaje llego a la Nueva España desembarcando en el Puerto de Acapulco, partio luego para Mexico en donde hablo al Señor Virrey; pidiendole que de las Caxas reales le diesse dies mil pessos, para comprar las cossas necessarias para comprar las cossas tambien tocantes al culto divino, y despues de aver consultado su Excelençia el negocio con los Señores de la Real Audiencia vinieron en que se le diesse la dicha cantidad de los 10,000 Pessos; haçiendo despues sabidor a su Magd. de lo que avian dado al Padre S. Vitores de sus reales caxas[.] dieronle tambien sus amigos devotos de Mexico varias limosnas; y no anduvo su Excelencia a menos corto en esto; ansi mismo la Congregaçion de S. Francisco Xavier le dio un ornamento rico y calices que todo valdria dos mil pessos.

Estas nuevas conversiones cuestan mucho, y asi todo quanto dieron al Padre S. Vitores lo [hu]vo de menester, porque compro muchas cossas para la gente de dichas islas de los Ladrones; para con ellas atraerlos al conocimiento de Dios N.S. y tambien se [h]uvo de haçer provision para mas de 20 personas que se quedaron con su R^a; y esta provision fue para un año y mas. Despues que [h]uvo negoçiado en Mexico dio la buelta para el Puerto de Acapulco a donde tambien fue la mission de la Compañia de Jesus, que iba a las Filippinas, los quales eran nueve en todo, y por ser pocos; nos determinamos embarcarnos con la nave almiranta en compañia del P. S. Vitores, para de camino ver tambien la conversion de aquellas islas de los Ladrones; y por aver en nuestra mission 4 Sacerdotes, que si acaso tubiesse mucha gente acudirian tambien y assi no fue sin gran providencia de Dios N.S. el embarcarnos con el P. San Vitores en la nao almiranta y no en la Capitana que como adelante dire [h]uvo una grande conversion, que fue necessario quedarsse tres Sacerdotes de los nuestros y un hermano estudiante.

Aviendonos todos embarcado en la nave almiranta, nave de trecientas toneladas pero muy fuerte, a 23 de março del año passado de 1668 con la graçia de Dios N.S. dimonos a la vela en el puerto de Acapulco, em busca de las Islas de los Ladrones, y despues de haver navegado 85 dias sin ver tierra por aquel dilatado mar Oceano sin ver tierra [sic] ni firme ni de isla con el amparo de la Virgen Maria S^a N^a à 15 de Junio descubrimos las islas de los Ladrones aviendo navegado 1,800 leguas de golfo que ay desde el puerto de Acapulco a las Islas Filippinas, dimos muchas gracias a Dios N.S., por tener derecho por la proa la Isla, à que particularmente ivamos llamada Yguan, descubrimos la tierra por la mañana, y aquella misma tarde vinieron algunas embarcaçiones de los Indios, para haçer el rescate, que acostumbran haçer cada año, quando passan por alli las naves.

El rescate es en esta forma; assi como ven [desde la] tierra el bulto blanco en alta mar todos los de aquella isla, por donde passa la nave luego con toda prestessa salen con sus embarcaciones, que son como unas Canoas largas y angostas, a manera de lançadera de texedor [=weaving shuttle], echas de tablas delgadas y por de fuera de color colorado, capas cada una de ellas de llenar dies personas, traen las velas de palma bien texidas, yo puedo afirmar una cossa con toda verdad que en ninguna parte que he estado he visto embarcaciones tan ligeras como estas. Salen pues al passo de la nave la qual siempre hace su camino, y ellos siguiendo los por detras parte por la propa [sic] parte por los lados de la nave, estan cambiando. Y todo la fuerça del trueque es por yerro, al qual estiman mas estos hombres que al oro ó a plata, ellos llevan Cocos arroz plantanos y otras frutas, y esteras de palmas, y todo esto dan por hierro, del qual llevan buena proviçion los soldados, y marineros de la nave; los quales atan con su Cordel el yerro, y desde arriba por Señas piden lo que quieren, el indio tomando el yerro, ata en el Cordel lo que le han pedido, y desta suerte se haze el rescate tan deseado de ellos.

Es tanto, lo que desea la gente, el hierro, que treinta años hà envistio una nave àn [sic] estas Islas, la gente pues de la nave llevaba mucha cantidad de cadenillas de oro, y muchas ymajines de marfil como Santos Cristos y a esta manera otras imajines, pues asta el dia de oy guardan muchos ymagine de estas que se perdieron, y dan cadenillas de oro y imajines de marfil por cossas de hierro, todo su afan como é dicho es para el Hierro porque con el haçen sus embarcaciones, sirviendosse para las hachas para cortar sus maderas.

Bolviendo pues a nuestra entrada, aquel dia en que descubrimos la islas [sic] de Iguan, a la noche quedamos cerca de tierra, y estos indios se maravillaron siendo cossa tan nueva para ellos el ver cerca de tierra a la nave y assi toda aquella noche no [h]uvo persona que pudiesse dormir; por tener a los lados de la nave muchas embarcaciones, dando voces los Indios y pidiendo hierro y cuchillos[.] a la mañana fue cossa de ver los que venian con sus Canoas; la nave estando aun mas de legua y media de tierra se embio al Aiudante del Piloto, para que con la barca fuesse sondeando la costa, por se acaso hallaba algun baxo o escollo para avisar a la nave; quiso Dios N.S. que todo saliesse bien; y de esta suerte Sabado a las 4 de la tarde à 16 de Junio, con alegria de todos se dio fondo en frente de una como ensenada, donde avia muchos arboles de cocos.

Aquella misma tarde fue a tierra el Padre fue a tierra el P. Luis de Medina superior de la mission de Filippinas con un interprete; que sabia bien la lengua[.] aviendo pues llegado a tierra, allo a la orilla del mar mas de 200 hombres con lanças de cañillas de hombres, la qual gente avia venido a la orilla del mar para ver en que parava aquella embarcacion que venia a su tierra; hablo les el Padre, y el interprete y les dixeron como los Padres que allí venian, eran para quedarsse en sus tierras, y para enseñarles el camino del cielo, en fin dioles hierro el Padre y principalmente al Principal de ellos que llaman (Fatahuro) reçibio este al Padre con mucho agasajo, y con esto se bolvio el Padre con estas buenas nuevas a la nave, y luego bolvio a tierra con mas hierro y aquella noche el Padre con todos los de la nave que fueron a tierra con el P. Medina se quedaron a

dormir en tierra en cassa del principal dentro de un aposento como tumba aforrado de palmas que sudaron muy bien. Todo aquella noche uvo muchos indios en la nave, y como el P. S. Vitores avia aprendido buena parte de la lengua de los Ladrones, por medio de un interprete que tenia de las islas Filippinas, con esto pudo enseñarles aquella noche muchas cossas de N^a S^a Fe, delante de un altar que para esto se hizo, muy adornado, aquella tarde se bautizaron tres criaturas en la Nave.

El día siguiente 17 de junio fui yo à tierra por ver à toda aquella gente, los quales gustaron mucho de vernos comer; pues estando comiendo nos miravan mas de ducientas personas; i despues de aver comido se bautizaron doçe criaturas de hedad de un año cada una con sumo consento de sus Padres y Madres; que à porfias ellos mismos los traian; cierto fue una conversion grandiossa y que se alabo mucho a Dios N.S.[.] el P. S. Vitores aquel día y el siguiente acabo de desembarcar sus cossas, esto es la rropa con todas las demas cossas tocantes al culto divino, como de todo lo demas.

Con el P. S. Vitores àdemas de su compañero el Padre Tomas Cardeñoso, de los sujetos que ivan à Filipinas, por ser la conversion muy grande se quedaron los Padres; Luis de Medina, Pedro Casanova, Luis de Morales, y un hermano estudiante, el Padre traia consigo algunos Indios de las Filipinas los quales se quedaron con el Padre S. Vitores, tambien se quedaron tres Españoles para aiudar à esta conversion y desta suerte despues de aversse negociado todo Martes à 18 de junio dimos las velas hazia a las Filippinas.

*La gente de las islas de los Ladrones tienen unas mesmas costumbres, cada una de las islas y assi lo que he visto en esta isla de Iguan dire y servira para las otras, esta isla de Iguan la a llamado el Padre S. Vitores la Isla de S. Juan, la isla tendra de circuito 20 leguas, esta in doce grados de altura a la parte del norte; cria gran cantidad de arboles que levan cocos; lleva tambien **arroz**[.] cañas de azucar; animales no ay sino los que quedaron en aquella isla en donde investio la nao, que de ellos se multiplicaron los perros, gatos, y gallinas que agora ay, la tierra da muestras de ser buena, los hombres son muy grandes de fuerças y grande alta estatura, Hombres Mujeres y niños bien [fol. 2v] proporcionados[.] son cassi tan blancos como Españoles, todos andan desnudos excepto las mugeres que se cubran por la cintura[.] su comida pescado fresco y arroz no he visto indios tan bien ajustados hombres y mugeres como estos y assi no tienen que ver con ellos los Indios de la Nueva España ni los de estas islas Filippinas.*

*El P. S. Vitores vistio algunos indios y al principal y con el tiempo y la gracia de Dios nuestro les ira enseñando las cossas de nuestra Santa fe y Poliçia humana, tienen sus cassas harto buenas, levantadas del suelo media estado [=estada] ençima de quatro pilares, y cubiertas con unas [h]ojas que resisten grandemente al agua, las cassas unas estan apartadas de las otras. Fue cossa de ver quando los marineros desembarcaron unos **carneros y ovejas** y assi mesmo un **torillo** y una **vaca**[.] los indios se maravillavan viendo estos animales que nunca avian visto y no fue menor la novedad que les causo ver tres **Papagaios** que tambien queda[ro]n en Ladrones.*

Yo espero en Dios n.s. que esta isla con las demas se hara de convertir muy presto a la Fe de Cristo Sr. N^o por medio del Padre S. Vitores. Pues estando yo aun alli vino una

embarcacion de otra isla alli en frente llamada la Çarpana, pidiendo tambien Padres para su gente; la costa de mar por donde desembarcamos la han puesto por nombre Costa de San Antonio, al pueblo que alli estava y se llamava Agania que esta de la otra parte de un arroyo de agua buena se llama agora S. Ygnacio; en fin la tierra da señales de ser mejor que la de Filippinas, yo me [h]olge en gran manera por aver visto una tal conversion tan buena y grande como esta, y mas con tal quietud y alegria de los naturales, yo y los demas hermanos de la Compañia fuimos de ser padrinos para el bautismo; por aver pocos cristianos de la nave entonces que pudiesen ser Compadres; Dios N.S. querra que esto vaya adelante y con el tiempo espero que ha de ser otra Provincia para Padres de ls Compañia para mayor gloria de Dios N.S.

Translation.

[Cover page:]—Narrative in which is given certain news of the great conversion that Fr. Diego Luis de Sanvitores of the Society of Jesus did in the Islands of the Ladrones, which Islands he named Mariana Islands, at which conversion was present Br. Marcelo Ansaldo of the Society of Jesus.

—There is also mention of the coming to these Philippine Islands of a canoe in which came almost dead from starvation some men from there—they were supposed to be people from New Guinea—who had become lost.

—Reference is made to the state of affairs in the great Kingdom of Japan and of the manner in which our Holy Faith can enter there.

To Her Majesty the Queen our Lady, Doña Mariana de Austria, most worthy Regent of Spain.

By Br. Marcelo Ansaldo of the Society of Jesus.

In Manila, 12 May 1669.

[The dedicatory letter is here omitted]

Narrative concerning the great conversion to the faith of Christ our Lord brought about by Father Diego Luis de Sanvitores, last year of 1668, in the Islands of the Ladrones, which now Father Sanvitores has renamed the Marianas.

This narrative deals with the Islands of the Ladrones, with the customs and way of life of the islanders and with what happened in the Marianas at the time Father Sanvitores arrived. Brother Marcelo Ansaldo was an eyewitness because he was with Father Sanvitores when the conversion took place.

After Ferdinand Magellan had sailed out of the strait which later on was to bear his name, and is now called the Strait of Magellan, he entered into the South Sea and sailed for 40 days without seeing land; always following the sun until he arrived to some islets, which were destitute of all necessary things. For this reason he called them the “Islas Desventuradas” [Unfortunate Islands]. Then he continued his course and came upon other islands which are these of the new conversion which Magellan called “Islas

de los Ladrones" [Islands of Thieves], because the natives stole something. As Ferdinand Magellan was looking for the Moluccas he did not remain in the Ladrones but did take possession of them in the name of His Majesty the Emperor, Charles V. Magellan continued his route to the Philippine Islands, where he was killed by the Indians while fighting on the island of Cebu.

The most populated of these islands of the Ladrones are fourteen. They run a distance of some 200 leagues N. to S. The first one is located 13 degrees N. and the rest run all the way up to 22 degrees. The distance from the Philippine Islands, to the Ladrones is 300 leagues. Each one of these islands measure some 15 to 20 leagues in circumference and from each island you can see the next one. The reason why these islands, which are well populated, have not been evangelized so far has been because they are in an area where the galleons coming from New Spain can remain only for a very short period because of very strong winds which arise in the South and are called *vendavales* [=monsoon winds]. As these winds are violent, the galleons try to arrive at the Philippine Islands in a short time, that is, by the beginning of July, before the arrival of the winds that I have mentioned.

In 1662, Father Diego Luis de Sanvitores and some other members of the Society of Jesus passed through these islands of the Ladrones on their way to the Philippine missions. Father Sanvitores saw many Indians in their canoes who had come to barter objects with the Spaniards as they do when the galleons arrive and his heart burned in a great desire for the conversion of these poor souls who were so isolated that there was no-one who cared for them. Consequently, Satan our great enemy, had reaped a rich harvest there. With this holy resolution in mind, as soon as Father Sanvitores arrived at Manila he wrote to our Father General and to His Majesty the King (may he rest in peace) in order that a decree with the necessary provisions to carry out this conversion be sent out to him. After having suffered many hardships and contradictions, Father Sanvitores finally got his request. Now that he was able to carry out his project he duly thanked the Lord for such a favor, since His Divine clemency had deigned to use him as an instrument for the conversion of so many souls as there are in these islands.

Father Sanvitores sailed from the Philippine Islands to New Spain with another Father as his companion. After a prosperous voyage they arrived at the Port of Acapulco. From here Father Sanvitores went to Mexico where he spoke to the Lord Viceroy, begging that from the royal treasury he be given 10,000 pesos to buy all the necessary things, including the things needed for the divine service. After His Excellency consulted on the matter with the gentlemen members of the Royal Audiencia, they agreed that he be granted the said amount of 10,000 pesos. The King was later notified of the amount retrieved from the royal treasury and given to Father Sanvitores. His devoted friends in Mexico also gave him various alms, and in this not the least benefactor was His Excellency. The Sodality of St. Francis Xavier donated a very rich church vestment and chalices, which in all amounted to 2,000 pesos.

Since these new missions are very expensive Father Sanvitores would need every penny given him; he purchased many things for the people of the Ladrones in order to

draw them to the knowledge of God. He also had to provide for 20 persons who remained with him and for the provisions which were to last for more than one year. Having completed his negotiations in Mexico he went back to the port of Acapulco where he met the mission band of the Society of Jesus that was bound for the Philippines. This mission band was made up of only nine members. Being so few, we decided to embark in the *almiranta* [San Diego], instead of the flagship [Buen Socorro] so that we may on the way witness also the conversion of those Islands of the Ladrones, and in case the mission were very large, the four Jesuit priests in our group could help out. So it was really providential that we embarked with Father Sanvitores in the *almiranta* instead of embarking in the flagship, because a great conversion took place and it became necessary for three Jesuit priests and a Brother of our group to remain in the Ladrones.

A year ago, on 23 March 1668, we all embarked in this *almiranta* of 300 tons but very solidly built, and under God's protection we set sail from the port of Acapulco bound for the Ladrone Islands. For 85 days we sighted neither mainland nor island in that vast ocean. Aided by Our Blessed Mother, on 15 June we sighted the Islands of the Ladrones, having covered 1,800 leagues in that sea that lies between the port of Acapulco and the Philippine Islands. We gave many thanks to God our Lord, since the ship's prow had led us straight towards the Island we were particularly looking for, which was called **Iguan**. We sighted the Island in the morning and that same afternoon some native craft arrived, to make their usual yearly barter when ships pass them by.

This trade, by barter, is done in the following manner: as soon as a white speck is visible on the horizon, all these islanders congregate very rapidly and take to their canoes. The canoes are very long and narrow, shaped like a weaver's shuttle. Most canoes are built for 10 persons. On the outside they are red or reddish, made of thin timber and the sails are woven palms. This I admit, nowhere have I come across any craft quite so rapid. These canoes come up to the ship while it is sailing and not only do they catch up with it but are able to follow alongside the ship paddling around it, now on one side now on the other. Iron is an irresistible attraction to the islanders, more precious than gold or silver. In exchange for iron they come provided with coconuts, rice, bananas, other fruits and palm mats. Consequently, the sailors and soldiers who pass through here carry an abundant supply of iron. At the moment of exchange those on board the ship tie the iron unto the end of a rope which is lowered down to the canoes, then the sailors, using sign language, point out the items they want in exchange. These are tied to the rope by the natives and are hauled up.

Thirty years ago a shipwreck took place in those Islands.¹ The men of that ship were carrying a great quantity of little golden chains, many images made of ivory, such as holy crucifixes and others, since up to this day they keep many of such images which had been lost. And they gave away small chains of gold and images of ivory in exchange for iron. As I said all their desire is for iron because with it they build their boats, turning the iron into hatchets for cutting the wood.

1 Ed. note: The Nuestra Señora de la Concepción, shipwrecked in Saipan in 1638.

(Facing page) **Sketch of Agaña Bay drawn by Brother Marcelo Ansaldo, S.J. in 1668.** He was a passenger aboard the almiranta San Diego which brought Father Sanvitores and other missionaries to Guam in June 1668. The sketch shows the coast of Guam, from Apurguan Point on the left (near Br. Ansaldo's name) to Adelup Point on the right. The narrative clearly indicates, and the sketch shows it clearly as well, that the main landing point of the missionaries was south (to the right) of a stream, that is where downtown Agaña is today. The captions in Spanish are translated as follows:

1. Between the shield bearing the capital letters of the Ave Maria and the arms of Castille and Leon is the following title: "*Stilo y planta de la nueva Costa de San Antonio en la Isla de Iguan nombrada agora la Isla de S. Juan, una de las islas de Ladrones en el Oriente.*" = Sketch and layout of the new Coast of San Antonio in the Island of Guam, now called the Island of San Juan, one of the Islands of the Ladrones in the Orient.

2. From left to right, and top to bottom: "*Arboles de cocos*" = Coconut trees; "*Paraje en donde desembarcaron los Padres*" = Area where the Fathers disembarked; "*Esta ensenada esta llena de baxos*" = This bay is full of shoals; "*Escollos que hacen una barra*" = Reefs which form a barrier; "*Boca de la barra*" = Pass through the barrier, i.e. opening in the reef; "*Mar Oceano*" = The Ocean Sea.

Going back to our entrance, on the day we sighted the Island of Iguan, at nightfall we came close to the land and the natives marvelled so much since it was quite a novelty for them to see a ship so close to shore. That whole night not one person could sleep, because of the many boats that surrounded the ship asking for knives and for iron. Although the ship was still a league and a half from shore, the pilot's mate was sent to sound the coast, and see if perhaps there was some sandbank or reef which the ship's pilot should be aware of. It was God's will that all was fine. So, on Saturday, 16 June at 4 p.m, with great rejoicing by all, the ship cast anchor in front of a cove where there were many coconut trees.

That same afternoon the pilot, Fr. Luis de Medina, Superior of the Mission for the Philippines, with an interpreter who knew the language well, went ashore. They found there more than 200 men waiting for them, with spears tipped with men's shinbone. They wanted to look at the ship which had just sailed in. Father Medina and his interpreter told them how the Fathers who had arrived meant to stay in their lands and to show them the way of Heaven. In the end the Father gave them a quantity of iron, and more so to their chief whom they called **Fatahurao**.¹ This Chief met the Father with

1 Ed. note: Wrongly transcribed Fataluerno by Sr. Plaza. Still, Br. Ansaldo's memory was not too good; the correct word for Chief, recorded by eyewitness reports (Doc. 1668J), was "Papahurao." The proper name of this chief was Quipuha.



great pleasure. Having accomplished this, the Father returned to the ship with this good news. Later he went back with more iron. That night all those from the ship who went ashore with Fr. Medina slept in the house of the Chief, inside a cell shaped like a tomb, lined with palm leaves, which made them sweat very much.¹ That whole night many natives went on board ship, and since Fr. Sanvitores had learned a considerable amount of the language of the Ladrones through the interpreter we had from the Philippine Islands, he was able to instruct them that night concerning many things in our Holy Faith. In front of a very well decorated altar which for this purpose had been erected, that afternoon three infants were baptized on board ship.

The following day, 17 June, I went ashore to see those people. They liked very much to see us eat. More than 200 persons watched us while we were eating. After having eaten, 12 infants, each being one year old, were baptized with great satisfaction of their parents who eagerly brought them themselves. It was certainly a great conversion and something to thank God for. Fr. Sanvitores, during that day and the following one, finished unloading his belongings, that is, the clothes and all the rest of the things pertinent to the divine service as well as all the other objects.

Of the missionaries who were headed for the Philippines, since the conversion was so great, Fathers Luis de Medina, Pedro Casanova, Luis de Morales and a Student Brother [Lorenzo Bustillo] with Fr. Sanvitores and his companion Fr. Tomás Cardeñoso. The Father had brought with him some natives of the Philippines, who remained with him. There remained also three Spaniards to help in this conversion.² In this manner, after having settled this whole business, we set sail for the Philippines on Tuesday, 18 June.

The inhabitants of each of the Islands of the Ladrones have the same customs. Hence what I have seen in this Island of **Iguan** can be said of the others. Fr. Sanvitores named this Island of Iguan the Island of San Juan. The island would have 20 leagues in circumference; it is 12 degrees of latitude north. Together with a great quantity of coconut trees there grow also **rice** and sugar-cane. There are no animals except those that remained on that Island when the shipwreck took place. From such animals came the dogs, cats and chickens which have multiplied to this day. The soil gives signs of being fertile. The men are very corpulent and tall; men, women and children are well proportioned. They are almost as white complexioned as the Spaniards. They all go naked,

1 Ed. note: Despite what Fr. Ledesma says in his book, it appears that Fr. Sanvitores himself stayed aboard ship that night. This is corroborated by the following sentence.

2 Ed. note: Since Captain Juan de Santa Cruz was a Filipino, he cannot be one of the Spaniards in question. One of these Spaniards was Sergeant Lorenzo Castellanos. The other two were quite young: a Biscayan named Juan de Santiago, and a Spaniard born in Mexico, Diego Bazán by name (Doc. 1670H). He is not counting the old Tagalog, Pedro Ximénez, who had lived in the islands since 1638, and was there to greet them in 1668. The following year, there were four other military officers mentioned by Fr. Sanvitores (Doc. 1669J), perhaps also Spaniards and/or new arrivals: Nicolás de Mendoza, Gregorio Martínez, and José de Peralta. This last comment also applies to a Captain Diego Mendizabal (Doc. 1670I). Fr. García adds the name of another Filipino officer: Antonio de Alexalde, who seems to have arrived only in 1671.

except the women who have a covering around their waist. For their food they take fresh fish and rice. I have not seen any Indians, men or women, as well featured as these; they have nothing in common with the Indians of New Spain or the Philippines.

Fr. Sanvitores gave clothes to some of the Indians and to the Chief. In time and with the grace of our God he will gradually teach them the truth of our Holy Faith and will civilize them. Their houses are very good, built half a story above ground atop four pillars and covered with some leaves which protect them well from the rain. The houses are separated from one another. It was quite a sight when the sailors disembarked some **sheep, also a young bull and a cow**. The natives marveled at the sight of these animals which they had never seen; and not least was their surprise at seeing three **parrots**. These also remained in the Ladrones.

I hope in God our Lord that this Island with the rest will very soon be converted to the faith of Christ our Lord through Fr. Sanvitores, for while I was still there a boat arrived from another island called **Zarpana** with men asking also for Fathers for their people.

The coastal area where we landed was given the name of Coast of San Antonio; the village there, on the other side of a stream with good water, was called **Agadña**, but is now called San Ignacio. In summary, the land gives signs of being better than that of the Philippines. I greatly rejoice at having seen a conversion as good and large as this one, and more with such peace and happiness of the natives. I and the other Brothers of the Society had to act as god-parents in the baptism, since there were few Christians in our vessel that could act as such. May God our Lord grant that this enterprise prosper, and I hope that in time it will become a Province of the Society for the greater glory of God our Lord.

K3. Drift voyage from Palau in 1668, as reported by Br. Ansaldo to the Queen Regent

Original text in Spanish.

Note: Since Br. Ansaldo was himself aboard the almiranta, it seems clear that he got the main story from someone else who was aboard the flagship, but he later met the survivors in Manila.

Relcion [sic] que trata como 13 de Julio del año passado de 1668, una embarcacion de Indios no conocidos llego derrotada a la Nave Capitana de estas Islas Filippinas que venia de la Nueva España i entrando por el Estrecho de S. Bernardino de estas islas la embarcacion descubrio la nave.

A 13 de Julio de 1668 iba entrando por el estrecho de San Bernardino de estas Islas, la nave capitana, que venia de la Nueva España; quando la Centinela del arbol mayor, aviso al Piloto, como se descubria una embarcacion en la alta mar, el qual penso por entonces seria la centinela de aquel estrecho que esta alli, para ver que embarcaciones entran y salen por el. La nave Capitana aquella noche entro por el estrecho, que he dicho, y a la mañana siguiente se allo nuestra nave siete leguas del paraje de la noche antecedente, y en frente de una isla llamada Capul. Estando pues la Capitana alli es-

perando tiempo para proseguir su viage, vino a la nao algunas personas de aquella Isla, diciendo al general de la nave como avia aportado a tierra una embarcacion extrangerana con unos hombres no conoçidos. Embio luego el general a la parte donde estavan gente, con orden que le traxesen la embarcacion con los indios que avian venido en ella; y aviendoles traído a la nave reconocieron los españoles, ser aquella gente de alguna parte muy remota que avia venido perdida.

La embarcacion de estos indios era larga y no muy angosta por una parte de afuera tenia tenia [sic] unos palos, que estribaban en otro palo liço, que iba por ençima del agua, un hombre metido dentro de la embarcacion llegava con la barba al bordo de ella; la vela que traia era como de unas ojas de palma bien texidas, tambien la embarcacion estava dada por de fuera de un betun colorado. Enpeçaron ellos luego à hablar en su lengua, pero no uvo persona que los entendiesse, avia entre ellos unos mas blancos que otros; van todos desnudos excepto que por la cintura traen una como esterilla de ojas que cae hasta las rodillas, tienen los braços y piernas labrados con hierro, a la manera de los moros de Berberia. Pero lo mas que admiraron en ellos fue, que traian algunos de ellos los orejas cortadas por de dentro; dexando el labio de la oreja alrededor, y sacando la carne de en medio, haçenles esto las madres a sus niños quando son pequeños; y todo el tiempo que las tienen se las estiran a menudo, de tal modo, que teniendo uno de estos Indios la cabeça el recha les [sic] de la oreja ençima del hombro muy bien, que cierto me causo admiracion, tambien tienen agujeradas las narizes por la parte que mira a la boca, para colgar anillos y otras cossas semejantes.

Despues de algunos dias se fueron declarando por señas y como pudieron, y dieron à entender como navegando ellos por la costa de su tierra, en compañia de otras tres embarcaciones un viento muy reço los llevo en alta mar, que no pudieron bolver mas a su tierra, y de esta suerte se dexaron llevar por donde querian los vientos; por lo qual estuvieron perdidos tres messes por el mar sin poder tomar tierra, ni llegar à algunas de las islas que veian, y que de 20 personas que avian sido, no avian quedado mas de aquellos ocho; que alli venian y que los demas avian muerto de hambre y sed, porque la comida que tenían se les avian acabado i de veinte personas no avian quedado mas que aquellos ocho que alli estavan; y todo el tiempo que estuvieron perdidos les fue forçozo comer de las tienbas [sic] que criava la mar alrededor de la embarcacion y que de aquel modo se avian sustentado, los ocho que alli venian. Estos hombres quando llegaron a la nave estavan de tal suerte que no se podian tener en pie, de tan debilitados que fue caussa de que alli despues de algunos dias muriessen dos mugeres, de los ocho personas que eran; los demas trajeron a Manila, uno se murio el otro dia en el hospital.

Un muchacho avia entre esta gente, que tendria la hedad de 20 años, este pues se acomodo con el Piloto maior de la Capitana, y es el mas entendido de todos porque va aprendiendo muy bien la lengua; castellana. Los dias passados le truxo su amo a la Compañia; para que le viessen los Padres, [fol. 1v] y delante de mi dixo todo lo que pudo de su tierra; y yo con particular cuydado le pregunte si su tierra era muy grande, respondiome que si lo era; y que tierra adentro avia mucha gente, y mas dixo que avia mucha

*diversidad de personas, unos negros y otros blancos y, otros mas blancos, y que avia unas tierras frias y otras calientes; preguntele como se llamava su tierra, dixome que la tierra donde el avia naçido se llamava **Balao**; que esta a la boca de un Rio por el qual se va a la Ciudad donde esta el Rey de aquella tierra, a la qual ciudad se va por el rio, en un dia y por tierra dos, y llamasse esta Ciudad y pueblo grande donde esta el rey **Arismao**; preguntele que comia dixome, que gaves [i.e. gabi] (que es una fruta como Patatas grandes) i que otra cossa le dixere, respondiome que pescado, dixele si tenian hierro, porque como podian labrar las tablas, a esto respondiome que las acomodavan y alisavan con unas pechinas que son muy grandes, y cortan por el canto como cuchillos, aqui en Manila suelen servir por piletas de agua bendita tan grandes son como esto, y son muy duros; con que estas son sus azuelas y hachas.*

[News about a Spanish shipwreck in Palau, in 1660]

*Este muchacho siendo de hedad de 10 años diçe que una nave vino perdida a esta su tierra; y que envistio a la boca de este rio gunto al pueblo [sic] de **balao**, esta esta nave que nueve año[s] avia que avia ido a la isla de Terrenate a llevar el socorro à aquella plaça y llevaba tres de la Compañia dos Padres y un hermano Coadjutor, y de esta nave jamas se supo cossa cierta si se avia perdido ó quemado, y dice que el mismo vio a los españoles y a un Padre de la Compañia que diciendo leyo, que vestido tenia quando le viste, dixo, como tu i los demas, señalando a los demas Padres que alli estaban presentes, y preguntandole los Padres las factiones [=features] que tenia aquel Padre que el avia visto, dio las [de] un Padre que se avia embarcado en la nao, llamado el Padre Pimentel; con estas relaciones de este muchacho, dice el Piloto maior su amo, el qual es muy practico de estos mares, diçe pues, que no puede ser otra tierra la de este hombre, sino la Nueva Guinea, que es parte, que es parte [sic] de la tierra austral incognita, y que el tiene por cierto lo que diçe este indio à cerca de la nave que envestio alli i que sin duda ninguna era la nave que llevaba el socorro à aquella plaça de Terrenate.*

Aqui en Manila dixo me un hombre que es de la propia Isla de Terrenate, que en tiempos passados el rey de Tidore, que es uno de los de las islas Molucas; por este rey hizo haçer dos embarcaçiones, y proveiendolas bien de gente[,] bastimentos, les mando que costeassen esta tierra que digo de la Austral incognita por la parte de la Nueva Guinea en la mar del sur hazia el Peru. Fueron pues estos embarcaçiones y diçen que tardaron dos años en bolver, y que no pudiendo dar fin a esta tierra austral, se bolvieron y dixeron a su Rey de Tidore, que avian vis[to] diversos suertes de personas, y en partes grandes pueblos cercanos al mar, que tenian las cassas por de dentro dadas de un color vermejo, y que corriendo aquella dilatada costa, en algunas partes avian visto arar la tierra con buies.

...

Translation.

Account of what happened on 13 July 1668, when a canoe with unknown Indians arrived by accident to the flagship of these Philippine Islands that was coming from New Spain and, upon entering by the Strait of San Bernardino of these Islands, the canoe sighted the ship.

On 13 July 1668, the flagship [Buen Socorro] which was coming from New Spain was entering by the Strait of San Bernardino of these Islands, when the lookout at the top of the main-mast advised the Pilot that a canoe was sighted in the high sea. The Pilot then thought that it would be the watchman of that strait posted there to see what vessels enter and leave the strait. That night the flagship went through the above-said strait and by morning our ship was 7 leagues from the place of the previous night, and before an Island called Capul. Then, while the flagship was there waiting for the [right] weather to pursue her voyage, a few persons of that island came to the galleon and told the General of the ship about a strange canoe having landed with some unknown men. The General then sent people to the place where they were, with an order to bring him the canoe with the Indians who had come in it. When they were brought to the ship, the Spaniards recognized that the people in question were from a very remote area and they had become lost by accident.

The canoe of these Indians was big and not very narrow [rather wide]. Off to one side, it had some poles that rested upon another smooth pole which rode on top of the water; a man sitting inside the canoe had his beard level with the side of the canoe. The sail it carried was like some well-woven palm mats. The canoe was also well polished on the outside with a colored wax. They then began to speak in their own language, but there was no-one [aboard] who could understand them. Among them, there were some whiter than others. They go about naked, except that they wear a sort of small leaf mat that covers from the waist down to the knees. They have the arms and legs tattooed, in the manner of the Moors of the Barbary Coast [in Africa]. However, the most admirable thing with them was that some of them had the ears cut from the inside, leaving the lip of the ear dangling, and the flesh in-between taken out; their mothers do it to their children when they are young, and all the time they are with them, they often pull on the ears, to such an extent that one of these Indians had the head of the ear reaching(?) on top of the shoulder very well,¹ something which caused me some admiration. They also had holes through the nose, the part that faces the mouth, in order to place rings and other such things [in there].

After a few days, they communicated by sign language as best they could, and they gave to understand how they had been sailing along the coast of their land, in company with three other canoes. A very brisk wind arose that took them to the high sea, and they could not return any more to their land. So, they left themselves be carried by the winds, and hence were lost for three months at sea, without being able to make any

1 Ed. note: Not too clear in the original. "The head of the ear" could perhaps be translated as "the tip of the ear lobe."

landfall, nor arriving at any of the islands they saw. That out of 20 persons in all, not more than the 8 who were there remained, and that the others had died of hunger and thirst, because the food they had with them ran out, and out of the original 20 persons, there remained only those 8 men. During the whole time they were lost, they were forced to eat from the “tienbas”¹ that the sea breeds around the canoe and that in this way the 8 in question had survived. When they arrived at the ship, these men were so weak that they could not stand on their feet. That is why, after a few days, two women who were among the 8 persons, died. The rest were carried to Manila. One of them died the other day in the hospital.

There was a young man of about 20 years of age among these people. This one was in fact taken in by the Pilot Major of the flagship, and he is the best one in making himself understood because he is learning the Spanish language very well. During the past few days, his master brought him to the [college of the] Society for the Fathers to see him. In my presence he said everything he could about his land, and I with special care asked him if his land was very big. He answered that it was; and that inland there were many people, and furthermore he said that it had a great diversity of persons, some black and other white, and others even whiter, and that there were lands that were cold and others warm. I asked him how he called his land. He told me that the land where he had been born was called **Balao**, that it was at the mouth of a river, through which one goes to the city where is the King of that land. The said city can be reached by the river in one day, and overland in two days. The name of this city and big town where the king resides is **Arismao**.² I asked him what he ate. He said he ate “gabi” (which is a product like big potatoes).³ Anything else, I asked. Fish, he answered. I asked if they had iron, because how could they make the boards [for their canoes]. To this, he answered that they made them and polished them with some shells, that are very big, and they have a cutting edge like knives; here in Manila they are used as fountains for holy water, they are as big as that, and they are very hard, and so, they are used by them as adzes and axes.

1 Ed. note: I cannot decipher this word. Most probably “brantas”, an old word which means barnacles.

2 Ed. note: I cannot find this place name in Palau (better said, Belau nowadays). Perhaps it was Ngerdmau; alter all, in Japanese times it was written Garasmao..

3 Ed. note: This was taro.

[News about a Spanish shipwreck in Palau, in 1660]

When this young man was 10 years old, he says that a ship that was lost came to his land, and that it crashed at the mouth of this river, next to the town of **Balao**. It has been 9 years since this ship was bound for the Island of Ternate to take the succor to that place, and it carried three members of the Society, two Fathers and one coadjutor brother; nothing certain was ever learned about [the fate of] this ship, whether it has become lost or burned [at sea]. He says that he himself saw the Spanish, and one Father of the Society who was reading aloud, and that when he saw him, he was dressed, he said, like you and the others, pointing out the other Fathers who were present. When the Fathers asked him about the features of that Father that he had seen, he gave those of one of the Fathers who had been aboard the galleon, whose name was Father Pimentel.¹ From these accounts of this young man, his master the Pilot Major, who is very experienced with those seas, says that, well, the land of this man cannot be anything other than New Guinea, which is part of the Unknown Austral Land, and that he thinks that what this Indian says about the ship that crashed there is for sure, and that without any doubt it was the ship that was taking the succor to that fort of Ternate.

Here in Manila, a man who is from the Island of Ternate itself told me that some time ago the King of Tidore, which is one of the islands of the Moluccas, had two canoes built and well provided with men, and food supplies. He sent them to coast along this land, that is, the Unknown Austral Land, toward New Guinea in the South Sea toward Peru. These two canoes then went off, and did not return until two years later, saying that, not being able to reach the end of this austral land, they returned and told their King of Tidore that they had seen various kinds of persons, and in places large towns by the seaside, that had houses in it that were finished in red color inside, and that while running along that very long coast, in some places they had seen the land being plowed with oxen.

...

[Br. Ansaldo goes on to give a short description of New Guinea. Then he says that if his project to go to Japan fails, he would like to go to the spiritual conquest of New Guinea.]

...

1 Ed. note: This was Fr. José Pimentel (not to be confused with Fr. Luis Pimentel). Also born in Portillo, near Valladolid, in 1607, he entered the novitiate in 1624, and went to the Philippines when still a scholastic. He served at Cavite, Otón, Antipolo, and Manila. In 1660, he was sent to Ternate with two others (Francisco Roa and Lorenzo de Iba) aboard the ship **Victoria** that was taking reinforcements to Ternate. The ship disappeared after it left Iloilo. They never made Zamboanga. Perhaps they were blown past Mindanao and through the Molucca Passage (see B&R 37:220, quoting from Díaz' Conquistas, Book 2, Part 2, Chap. 17).

Documents 1668L

Secondary accounts of the Palauan canoe that drifted to the Philippines in 1668

L1. Account by Fr. Delgado

Source: Fr. Juan José Delgado's Historia sacro-profana (Manila, 1892, but written in 1751), p. 117.

Chapter XXXIV — Of other islands of these archipelagos discovered in the last few years.

It is the somber opinion of a few men with experience in these seas that there are over 11,000 islands within the boundaries of these archipelagos, if one counts the small ones, as well as the average and large ones.¹ Besides the ones that I have described in previous chapters, there are many others spread over these open seas, which are being discovered every day, for instance: the Carolines, Palaos, Talaos [= Talaud] and the Chick-pea [= Ulithi] Islands.

In the year of 1761 [sic]² the galleon **Nuestra Señora del Buen Socorro** was coming back from New Spain, and was before Capul³ when those who sailed her saw, at daybreak near the said galleon, a craft with strange lines, painted somewhat the color of ocher and in the style of those of the Marianas. They picked it up with the people it carried and, although they did not understand their language, they recognized it as a craft that had drifted from the neighboring islands⁴ after a long voyage and without a definite course until it got to those islands. They were all pallid and dying of hunger and hardships. Among those in the craft, there was a chief with a long beard and his

1 Ed. note: It is now known more accurately that the Philippine archipelago alone contains over 7,000 of them.

2 Ed. note: Error for 1668 (see a primary account, Doc. 1668K3).

3 Ed. note: An island just inside the Strait of San Bernardino, west of the northern tip of Samar.

4 Ed. note: That is, not from the Marianas, but from islands neighboring them.

body was entirely tattooed with black stripes in the style of drawings. They did not eat anything that had passed over a fire, but only roots and raw fish.

All the adults died soon afterwards, leaving only some boys alive. When the boys were able to communicate (when they were already able to explain), they said they were from some islands, that lied toward the south, and such are the islands that we are now talking about.

In order to give the complete story about their discovery, we will begin with what happened in the year of 1686...¹

L2. Account by Fray Casimiro Díaz

Source: Casimiro Díaz, O.S.A., "Conquistas" (Manila, 1890); translated in B&R 37:255+.

Part 2, Book 3, Chapter xxxii

...
In the middle of July 1668, the galleon **Nuestra Señora del Buen Socorro**, in charge of the commander Don Diego de Arévalo, sighted the first land of the Philippines, namely, the Cape of Espiritu Santo. That vessel carried 17 [Augustinian] religious...

I cannot refrain from mentioning what happened to that galleon [Buen Socorro] when it was at Capul, an island of the Embocadero of San Bernardino; namely, that when the 19th of July dawned the galleon was joined by a craft of peculiar shape—somewhat like those used by the Indians of the Mariana Islands, painted with the same color of vermilion earth, but larger than four of their boats. It held six persons, whose entire bodies were tattooed black. But they were so weak that they seemed to be living skeletons, except one of middle age who was fat and robust, tattooed, and with a long beard. They ascended into the galleon without showing fear or distrust; but no-one understood their language, although we had a sailor who knew the language of the Marianas well, as he had been shipwrecked in the galleon **Concepción** in the year 1636 [rather 1638] and had lived for some time in those Islands. It could only be conjectured from the signs that they made that they had come from the south [sic]. They remained in the galleon, where they were relieved in their necessity, which was lack of nourishment. They ate nothing that had touched the fire; but rice and fish, all raw. All of them died except the boys, of whom the commander and pilot took charge.

After some years, when they knew our language, they said that they came from an island near New Guinea—without doubt the Garbanzos, Columnas, Jardines, or others which the maps show; of the islands of the Palaos, in the discovery of which Father Andrés Serrano of the Society of Jesus toiled so much, until he lost his life by drowning, with other religious and many Spaniards, in the year 1711...

1 Ed. note: The re-discovery of Yap by Europeans did not occur until 1686, by the galleon Santa Rosa, Captain Gonzalez.

Document 1668M

Eyewitness account by Admiral Antonio Nieto of the arrival of the missionaries at Guam in 1668

Source: Extracts from the depositions taken at the Process of Manila (1677), in Archives of the Province of Paris, Chantilly, France; translated by Fr. Juan Ledesma, op. cit., pp. 244-5, 374-6.

Deposition of General Antonio Nieto, in 1677

He knew the Servant of God during all the time that he was in the Philippines and dealt with him.

...

He said that the Servant of God sailed from the port of Acapulco for... these Philippine Islands and that in the course of the [1662] voyage he saw the Island of the Ladrone, which caused him great pity, because of the neglect they were in, without having any one to preach to them the Gospel.

...

This witness also declared from what he had seen and experienced in the Servant of God while sailing with him from these Islands to the port of Acapulco, that it seems to him he had the gift of tongues, because he did not only come to the help of the Tagalog natives who were on board ship with him, but also when the Servant of God inquired about the prayers of other nationalities of different languages such as the Pampangos, Visayans and Cagayans, he noted how sometimes they erred in their prayer and the Servant of God corrected them without having studied their languages. The witness knows this for having seen it in the said Servant of God.

...

This witness said that he accompanied... the Servant of God as far as the Ladrone Islands where they arrived on Saturday 16 June 1668. And that the natives of the said Islands refused to board the ship, for which reason the Servant of God was somewhat saddened. And summoning this witness, who was then sailing on that ship as boatswain [rather Admiral] he made known to him his sadness and said that he trusted in our Lord

that the natives would allow themselves to be treated with more confidence and that they would board the ship if the litanies of the Blessed Virgin were sung.

This seemed to him a very good idea and he gave orders that it be carried out. The Servant of God sang it, and upon reaching those words "Holy Mary Pray for us" the natives began to climb and enter the vessel without any fear. And it was decided that the Servant of God and the other Missionaries should remain in the said Islands.

He also declares that, when the time was proper, the ship cast anchor, but in a spot where it would be very difficult to unload the supplies and other new things that the Servant of God was bringing for that new Mission. At nightfall he put a most trustworthy person as guard to see to it that the anchor did not drag because of the danger from many reefs. He stood guard all night and the weather was calm without any wind whatsoever. On the following morning it was noticed that the ship was not in the same spot where it had cast anchor. Rather it was situated in front of the town of Agadña which had a bar most appropriate for the launch with which to enter in and, which they had brought for these Islands.

Likewise he declares that some of the lay persons thus disembarked. Since the natives were not doing anything towards bringing ashore the religious who were the companions of the Servant of God, as soon as they saw the Servant of God they jumped into the water in emulation to carry him in their arms from the ship, greeting him most effusively. This witness was present during all this event and he recounts it as he saw it. After this the Servant of God explained to them the reason for their coming to this land, which was to convert them to the holy Faith of Christ. The natives showed signs of pleasure and promised to be converted.

...

Document 1668N

**Account by then-Brother Bustillo,
made in 1691**

Source: ARSI Phil. 13, fol. 298-299v.

Note: This document is part of Doc. 1691A, which is only given in synopsis in that other location.

**Extract from a letter to Fr. General Gonzalez, dated
Agadña 14 March 1691****Original text in Spanish.**

*9. Señor General Antonio Nieto, que dicho año de 68 viniendo por Capitan y Maestre de dicha Nao Almiranta **San Diego** a cargo del Almirante Bartholome Muñoz, y en ella embarcado el Padre San Vitores desde Manila hasta Mexico, y desde Mexico en demanda desta su Mission y entrada en Marianas; aviendo muerto dicho Almirante tres dias antes de descubrir estas Islas, y dada sepultura al cuerpo en el mar, y abierto el pliego para ver quien venia señalado por Cabo Superior de dicha Nao Almiranta por muerte de su Almirante; se hallo dicho Capitan y Maestre Antonio Nieto, el qual, luego que se vio con el cargo de toda la Nao, se ofrecio muy de corazon al Padre San Vitores y le dixo que el desembarque de su Reverencia y entrada en Marianas (que ya las llamaban asi) para predicar la Fe, se avia de executar todo mediante Dios y de la manera que su Reverencia quisiese, y fuese servido, sin perdonar diligencia ninguna hasta conseguirlo a pesar del Diablo &c^a. Resolucion que alegró y consoló mucho al Padre San Vitores porque el comun enemigo no dexaba de poner muchas dificultades para dicho desembarque y entrada, por no aver exemplar por decir algunos y no pocos de la Nao que no avia parage para poderlo hacer; sino es uno y ese dificultoso: cosa que traía mui clavada en su corazon dicho Padre San Vitores por lo qual se deshacía por ganar la voluntad del difunto Almirante para este fin; sin saber si malograria sus intentos dexando en la sombra de la eterna muerte a tantas almas. Pero con el favor divino, zelo, y vigilancia de dicho Cabo Superior de la Nao todo lo que le propuso, y dixo el [fol. 298v] Ven. Padre San Vitores confiriendo los dos entre si muy amigablemente todos los medios y caminos posibles para lo dicho en orden a lo qual tambien sugirio*

al Ven. Padre dicho Capitan Nieto lo que su mucha piedad y zelo le dictaba para el fin deseado.

*Descubierta pues la tierra, y prevenidos entre los dos todos los lances y medios mas suaves y eficaces, y sin armas ningunas para saltar en tierra la Mission y acercandose la Nao a esta Isla de Guan, y los Indios della con sus banquillas a la Nao; no es decible las estratagemas de amor y cariño, y dadivas con que salio al bordo de la Nao dicho Capitan Nieto acompañado del Ven. Padre para que entrasen en el Navio estos Isleños; mas ellos no se atrevieron por mas que dicho Capitan y el Ven. Padre y todos los demas los combidaban con agasajos, temiendo ellos no fuese estratagema para cogellos; pero como no era, sino que el Demonio temeroso de la ruina que le amenazaba la Predicacion del Santo Evangelio en estas Islas, infundio su propio temor en estos Indios. Y sintiendolo mucho dicho Capitan Nieto y el Padre San Vitores se le ofrecio y dixo a dicho Nieto que se cantase la Letania de Nuestra Señora al mismo bordo del Navio, y pareciendole muy bien a dicho Capitan se hizo asi: cantose la Letania, y al **Santa MARIA ora pro nobis**, empezaron a entrar en el Navio sin temor alguno, cosa que alegró muchissimo al buen Cabo Superior Antonio Nieto, el qual viendo que al acabar la Letania estaba toda la Nao llena de Marianos no cabia de contento, ni cesaba de abrazarlos, agasajarlos, y acariciarlos con todo quanto tenia, con quantos medios, dadivas, y agasajos pudo acompañandole en todo el Padre San Vitores o por mejor decir siguiendo, y imitando en todo al Ven. Padre o diremos que uno y otro se querian exceder mutuamente en los agasajos, caricias y dadivas para ganar a estos Marianos: y lo consiguio cada uno por su parte. Pues se quedaron dichos Isleños aquella noche en la Nao, para cuyo surgidero y dar fondo, donde se pudiese, desde luego que entraron los Marianos en ella hizo diligencia dicho Cabo por medio del Interprete y del Ven. Padre que muy cuidadoso andaba tambien en esto. **Diose fondo como dos tiros de mosquete lexos de Agadña y en frente del pueblo de Apurguan; pero aquella noche, arrastrando la Nao el ancla, amanecio por la mañana, no sin grande admiracion de todos, dada fondo en frente de Agadña, donde estubo dos dias clavada sin moverse hasta desembarcarse todo, y los 6 Missioneros todos, a quienes acompañó a tierra el mismo Cabo y Capitan Nieto, y estubo en Agadña los dos dias que estubo la Nao dada fondo.***

*Aqui en tierra no es decible lo que allanó y suavizó la entrada dicho Nieto con su especial modo y cariño a los Indios todos agasajandolos, abrazandolos, y sentandose con ellos en el suelo a su usanza en petates, que son sus sillas, y ellos los traían con muy abundante comida para que el mismo se sentase tambien, y comiesse con ellos en señal de hermandad; porque desde luego los comenzo dicho Nieto a llamar sus Hermanos. Y aviando comido con ellos y de sus comidas como lo acostumbra, y agasajado a los Principales con todo lo que pudo, y ellos estimaban mucho como eran sombreros, vestidos, conchas de tortuga, abalorios, arcos de hierros, cuchillos, hachas &c^a y encargado a **Quipuha** (en cuyo camarín y casa se hizo este recibimiento y combite y mutuos agasajos [fol. 299] &c^a)] por ser el **Fangonónan**, o cabeza de Agadña, y aver recibido*

en su casa con mucho agasajo la noche que dio fondo la Nao a los PP. Luis de Medina y Pedro de Casanova.

Aviendo pues sucedido tan bien y felizmente todo lo dicho, y quedado dicho Capitán emparentado espiritualmente con ellos por los niños de que fue padrino, y concluido con todo lo que avia que hacer de su parte, queriendose ya ir a su Nao para proseguir su viage a Philipinas encargo, digo, muy mucho a dicho Principal y Cabeza deste Partido Quipuha que mirase mucho por los Missioneros y se los guardase muy bien y no recibiesen daño alguno pues quedaban para enseñarles el camino del cielo &c^a, como ya lo avian entendido, a fe de la amistad, hermandad y parentezco espiritual que avian contraido, porque en volviendo por aca otra vez; sino los hallase vivos, en vez de experimentar agasajos, y dadivas de cosas preciosas que les traeria, experimentarían su saña y rigor en destruirlos y asolar la tierra con las armas de fuego, que ya avian experimentado del olandes los estragos que hacian ellas en los enemigos de los que las manegan y irritan &c^a A que respondió Quípuha que fuese sin cuidado ninguno de que los PP. y sus compañeros lo pasasen mal en su tierra, o recibiesen daño, a ver lo contrario como el mismo lo estaba experimentando en su gente; pues mientras se avia detenido aqui para desembarcar los PP. y su gente y cosas, se avian esmerado todos los suyos en el recibimiento y trato que avia visto de agasajos, comida &c^a de lo que llebaba su tierra. Y así fue que dicho Quipuha con toda su gente lo hizo muy bien con dicho Nieto y con los de su Nao que los mas, o casi todo todos saltaron en tierra excepto el Piloto Mayor Antonio de Acevedo por no dexar la Nao: y con todos los Missioneros y los que los acompañaban lo hizo muy bien y con mucho afecto dicho Quipuha, viniendo el mismo, ida la Nao, a guardar y hacer centinelas de noche a los Missioneros y a sus compañeros que havitaban en su camarín, mientras nos hacia otro muy capaz y mas grande; aunque no se acaba en sus dias, pues a los 6 meses de la llegada aqui de los Missioneros murio dicho D. Juan Quipuha muy bien dispuesto y bautizado estrenando el mismo la 1^a yglesia de que servia dicho su camarín, enterrandose en ella con las ceremonias ecclesiasticas hasta entonces nunca vistas dellos. Y aunque entonces murio este fino christiano y leal amigo Mariano su gente a quien dexo muy encomendados los Missioneros lo hizo bien con ellos, y a su exemplar todos los demas por casi 3 años, hasta que el Demonio impaciente de tanta paz evangelica levanto la persecucion a ultimos de Julio de 71, y en la de Abril de 72 en que fue muerto el Ven. Padre. Y antes de dicha persecucion por Junio de 71 pasando a Manila 3 destos Marianos por primicias desta christiandad no es decible las caricias que les hizo dicho Nieto como si fueran sus hijos los tubo consigo 3 años, y ricos de cosas y alajas de estima entre ellos, y aviados de todo lo necessario los volvio a embiar alegres a su tierra.

De lo referido consta quan Insigne y Principal Bienhechor de Marianas es dicho General Antonio Nieto, pues fue el que inmediata y efectivamente entro aqui los primeros Predicadores del Evangelio. Porque si dicho Nieto no lo quisiera hacer se saliera con ello, y le era mas facil el dexarlo de hacer, que no hacer lo que hizo para desembarcarlos con tantos desvelos, cuidados, vigilancia y trabajo &c^a. [fol. 299v] y lo que mas es, por que donde dio fondo dicho año de 68 para dexar la Mission no es el sitio aprop-

osito (aunque Dios entonces parece le hizo muy apropósito) como se ha visto, pues, despues aca, ni el mismo Piloto que venia entonces, ni dicho General, ni otros aunque han venido varias veces despues y por esta vanda de Agadña, jamas dieron fondo en este parage, por ser tan malo, por cuya razon se le debe a dicho General la efective entrada aqui de la Mission y christiandad. Fuera de otras razones muy eficaces, y son las siguientes:

1ª, que como jamas avia avido exemplar que de las Naos desta carrera huviese saltado gente en tierra de Marianas, ni dado fondo en ellas, y en Manila se tenia esto por cosa impossible, por ser, decian, las costas de Marianas muy brabas, y no poderse arimar ninguna Nao a tierra para esto, ni mucho menos dar fondo; siempre los de Filipinas fueron de parecer que por dicha razon dicho Padre San Vitores y sus compañeros se volverian a Manila sin poder entrar en Ladrones, que asi llamaban estas Islas.

2ª razon, que si dicho Cabo Superior Antonio Nieto se aferrara en no poder echar los Misioneros en tierra se saliera con ello, por las razones dichas, y en Manila fuera mas creido en esta que no en hacer lo que hizo dexando en Marianas Misioneros porque aunque sabian los dexaba; no acababan de aprehender como le fue possible el desembarcarlos ni como podia aver vencido una dificultad para ellos tan inmensa y mas por la vanda que los avia desembarcado y dado fondo para ello; que ya digo es tal el parage que 2 leguas la mar afuera huyen de el oy en dia las Naos. Y ni por dicha vanda de Agadña podia dicha Nao Almiranta ir ya entonces a Umatag, o a Ati, o a otra banda para dar fondo, como consto a los practicos.

3ª, porque dexando entonces dicho Capitan Nieto de echar Misioneros en Marianas llebandoselos a Manila no era facil, antes moralmente cierto de que hasta aora no se huviera efectuado la Predicacion de Nuestra Santa Fe en Marianas por las grandes contradiciones que esto siempre ha tenido en Manila, de las quales nace no pocas veces pasarse las Naos sin dar fondo, ni dexar el socorro, en que ha avido Pilotos y Generales que o por mal afecto o por sus aprehensiones, o por que aqui no ay util humano ninguno o por todas estas cosas ni han dado fondo en el puerto que ay para esto, ni acercadose lo que debian a tierra, por mas zedulas y ordenes que ay para esto de su Magstad.

...

Translation.

9. [Another benefactor of the Mission was] General Antonio Nieto who, in the said year of 1668, as he was coming as Captain and Master of the said almiranta galleon **San Diego**, under the command of Admiral Bartolomé Muñoz, aboard which Father San Vitores came from Manila to Mexico, and from Mexico bound for this his Mission and entrance to the Marianas. When the said Admiral died three days before these Islands were sighted, he was buried at sea. In opening the letter to see who had been chosen as Commander of the said almiranta galleon, in case of the death of her Admiral, it was found that it was the said Captain and Master Antonio Nieto. When he saw that he was in charge of the whole galleon, he offered himself very sincerely to

Father San Vitores and told him that the landing of His Reverence and entrance to the Marianas (as they were already calling them that way) to preach the Faith, was to take place, God helping, exactly as His Reverence wished, and would like, without omitting any effort until achieving it, in spite of the Devil, etc. This decision pleased and consoled Father San Vitores very much, because the common enemy was not giving up his placing of many difficulties for the said landing and entrance; some said that there was no precedent, and not a few aboard the galleon said that there was no area where it could be done, except one and that one was difficult. Such a thing was a thorn implanted in the heart of the said Father San Vitores, and that is why he had been striving to gain the goodwill of the deceased Admiral for this purpose, without knowing if his intentions would fail, and leave some many souls in the darkness of eternal death. However, with divine favor, the zeal and vigilance of the said Commander of the galleon, everything that Ven. Father San Vitores suggested to him, and told him, when the two of them were discussing between themselves in such a friendly manner all the possible means and ways to do it; with this in mind the said Captain Nieto would also made suggestions to Ven. Father, guided as he was by his great piety and zeal, for the purpose intended.

Indeed, once the land has been sighted, and the two of them had foreseen all the events and the smoother and more effective means, and without any weapons, to have the Mission step ashore and the galleon approach this Island of Guan, and to have its Indians come to the galleon with their canoes, it is incredible the stratagems of love and affection, and enticements that the said Captain Nieto used at the rail of the galleon, in the company of Ven. Father, to make these Islanders come aboard the ship. However, they did not dare do it, no matter how the said Captain and Ven. Father, and all the others, invited them in with endearments; they feared that it was a stratagem to capture them. It was not, but the Devil, fearing he would be ruined by the threat of the preaching of the holy Gospel in these Islands, instilled his own fear in these Indians. The said Captain Nieto was sorry about it. Father San Vitores suggested and said to the said Nieto that the Litany of Our Lady should be sung, right there at the rail of the ship, and the said Captain said that it was a good idea, and so it was done. The litany was sung, and upon hearing the **Santa MARIA ora pro nobis** [Holy Mary, pray for us], they began to come aboard the ship without any fear, something that pleased the good Commander Antonio Nieto very much; when he saw that at the end of the Litany the whole galleon was full of Marianos, he could not contain his joy, and did not cease embracing them, welcoming them, and caressing them with everything he had, with as many means, enticements, and welcoming presents as he could, Father San Vitores accompanying him in everything, or better said, he was following and imitating the Ven. Father in everything. Let us say that either one wished to outdo the other in their greetings, caresses and enticements in order to gain these Marianos; each of them did achieve it his own way. Indeed, the said Islanders remained aboard the galleon that night, to help find an anchorage where the galleon could possibly anchor. As soon as the Marianos came aboard her, the said Commander made an effort to achieve this, through

the Interpreter and the Ven. Father, who was very concerned about it. **The anchor was let go at a distance of about two musket shots from Agadña, facing the town of Apurguan.¹ However, that night the anchor dragged, and at daybreak the next morning, at the great admiration of everyone, the galleon was anchored in front of Agadña,** where she remained fixed for two days without moving, until everything had been landed, including all the 6 Missionaries, whom the Commander himself accompanied ashore, where he remained at Agadña during the two days that the galleon was anchored there.

Here ashore, it is incredible how the entrance was made easier and smoother by the said Nieto, with his special manner and affection toward all the Indians, welcoming them all, embracing them, and sitting with them on the ground upon some mats, which are, in accordance with their custom, the equivalent of chairs. They brought in food in great abundance, so that he would also feel right, and eat with them as a sign of brotherhood, because, of course, the said Nieto began to call them his Brothers right away. Having eaten with them and partaken of their foods, as per custom, and rewarded the Chiefs with everything he could, and was appreciated by them very much, such as hats, clothes, tortoise shells, beads, iron hoops, knives, axes, etc. he entrusted [us] to **Quipuha** (in whose shed and house this reception, banquet, and mutual giving of presents, etc. took place) as he was the **Fangonónan**, or chief of Agadña, and had welcomed Fathers Luis de Medina and Pedro de Casanova in his house in a very friendly manner the night that the galleon anchored.

Having thus succeeded so well and happily in everything said above, and the said Captain having become their spiritual compadre, by becoming godfather to their children, and concluded with everything that he had to do on his part, wishing to go back to his galleon in order to pursue his voyage to the Philippines, he entrusted, I repeat, very much to the said Chief and Leader of this district, Quipuha, that he should watch over the Missionaries very much and should keep them very well, and they should not receive any harm, since they remained to teach them the way to Heaven, etc. as they had already agreed, for the sake of the friendship, brotherhood, and spiritual kinship that they had contracted, because, when he would return later, if he did not find them alive, instead of experiencing presents, and enticements of precious things that he would bring them, they would experience his fury and rigor in destroying them and razing the land with firearms, as they had already experienced from the Dutch the havoc caused by firearms upon enemies of the men handling such weapons, when irritated, etc. To this, Quipuha answered that he should not fear that the Fathers and their companions would be badly treated in his land, or would receive harm; for the proof, he said, all he had to do is look at his people. Indeed, during his stopover here to land the Fathers and their people and things, he saw how all his people had vied with one another to welcome and treat them with presents, food, etc. and everything his land could give. So it was that the said Quipuha with all his people managed to convince the said Nieto and

1 Ed. note: That is, facing the present-day site of the memorial cemetery in Maite.

most of the people aboard the galleon, and most of those stepped ashore, except the Pilot Major Antonio de Acevedo who did not want to leave the galleon. With all the Missionaries and those who accompanied them, the said Quipuha behaved very well. Indeed, after the departure of the galleon, he himself watched, and did guard duty at night, over the Missionaries and their companions who lived in his shed, while he was building another, more spacious, one for us; although it was not finished in his time. Indeed, within 6 months of the arrival here of the Missionaries, the said Don Juan Quipuha died very well prepared and baptized, and he was the first one to be buried in the first church, which was in fact his own shed. He was buried in it with the church ceremonies that had never been seen beforehand.¹ Although this fine Christian and loyal Mariano friend died then, all of his people to whom he had recommended the Missionaries very well, behaved very well themselves, at his example, for almost 3 years, until the Devil, impatient of so much evangelical peace raised the persecution at the end of July 1671, and that of April 1672 during which Ven. Father was killed. Before the said persecution, in June 1671, when 3 of these Marianos went off to Manila, as the first fruits of this Christian community, it is incredible the carresses that the said Nieto did to them, as if they were his own sons. He kept them with him for 3 years, and enriched them with things and precious things that are appreciated among them, and outfitted them with everything necessary, he sent them off to return happily to their land.²

From what has been narrated above, it is clear that the said General Antonio Nieto is a famous and principal benefactor of the Marianas. Indeed, it was he who carried out the immediate and effective entrance of the first preachers of the Gospel here, because, if the said Nieto had not wished to see it done, it certainly would have been easier for him to omit doing it, and not to do what he did, to land them with so many concerns, cares, vigilance and labor, etc. Furthermore, because where he anchored in the year 1668 to leave the Mission is not a suitable place [for anchoring] (although it seems that God made it so that time) as it has been seen; indeed, later on here, neither the same Pilot who came then [i.e. Acevedo] nor the said General, or any others, although they have come by many times since, and by the same side of [the island as] Agaña, they have never [again] anchored in this area, as it is so bad. That is why the effective entrance here of the Mission and of Christianity is due to the said General. Besides, there are other, very efficient, reasons, and they are as follows:

1° as there was no precedent for the galleons of this run to have left people ashore in the Marianas, or having anchored there; and in Manila this was regarded as something impossible, the reason being, they said, that the coasts of the Marianas are very

1 Ed. note: The natives did not object, because it was their custom to bury the dead under their own houses. In fact, for the first few years, even the relatives of Christian deceased refused to have them buried in the "house of God", the Spanish-type church that was still incomplete when Quipuha died. So, strictly speaking, as far as the natives were concerned, he was not buried in a church.

2 Ed. note: These first Chamorro tourists, as I call them, were Ignacio Osi, Pedro Guirán, and Marias Yay (see Doc. 1681A).

rough, and no galleon can come up close enough to the shore to do that, and even less to anchor. Those in the Philippines were always of the opinion that, for this reason, the said Father San Vitores and his companions would return to Manila without having entered in the Ladrones; that is how they called these Islands.

2° reason, if the said Commander Antonio Nieto had insisted in not being able to land the Missionaries, he would have been excused for the said reasons, and in Manila he would have been believed more easily than otherwise, which he did by leaving Missionaries in the Marianas, because, although they learned that he did, they just could not begin to understand how he could have landed them, and been able to overcome a difficulty for them so huge, specially considering the side of the island where he had landed them and even anchored there. As I have already said, the area is such that even nowadays the galleons do not even come within 2 leagues of the place. Also, the said almiranta galleon could not have passed then from the side of Agaña to Umatag, or Ati, or to another side in order to anchor, as it is clear to coastal pilots.

3° because, it was not easy then for the said Captain Nieto to give up the landing of Missionaries in the Marianas; rather, it is morally certain that so far there would not have been any preaching of our holy Faith in the Marianas, on account of the big contradictions that this matter has always suscitated in Manila, the result of which is shown by the fact that many times the galleons pass by without anchoring, or leaving the succor. There have been some pilots and generals who, either out of hate or out of apprehensions, or because here there is no human benefit at all, or because of all of the above. They have not anchored in the port that exists for that purpose either, not even come close to the land as they should, no matter how many decrees and orders have been issued by His Majesty for this purpose.

...

Document 1668O

**Letter from the Queen Regent to
Governor de León, dated Madrid 30
March 1669**

Sources: AGI Fil. 82-3-87 and -87; also in Fil. 100, doc. n° 319; also in Fil. 330, libro 6, fol. 189-189v, pp. 469-470.

**The galleon San Diego that former Governor Salcedo
built for Fr. Sanvitores****Original text in Spanish.**

La Reyna Gobernadora

Respuesta à una carta del Governador de Philipinas, aprovando la fabrica, que su antecesor hizo de una Nao, y Patache, y el aver embiado à Mexico al Padre Diego de San Victores de la Comp^a de Jesus, para que el Virrey le aviase à la Isla de los Ladrones para la reduccion de los Indios.

Maestro de Campo Don Manuel de Leon Governador y Capitan General de las Islas Filipinas y Presidente de la Real Audiencia de ellas, ó de la persona ó personas a cuyo cargo fuere su Gobierno.

En carta de quatro de Agosto del año passado de seis cientos y sesenta y siete, me dio quenta Don Diego de Salcedo vuestro antecesor de haver hecho fabricar doscientas leguas de esa Isla una Nao para que el dho año fuere a la N^a Esp.^a por el socorro y que por si le sobrebenia algun accidente dispuso en el puerto de Cavite se fabricase un Patache en el qual dize embiava al Padre Diego de San Victores de la Compañia de Jhs para que el Virrey Marques de Mancera le aviase de buelta a la reduccion de los Indios de la Isla de los Ladrones como se le havia mandado.

Haviendose visto en el Consejo de las Indias, ha parecido aprovar la fabrica que vuestro antecesor hizo de la Nao y patache referidos y asimismo el imbiar al Padre Diego de San Vitores a Mexico para que el Virrey le aviase para dha reduccion y asi os mando

continueis en ayudar el intento que tiene por ser tan del servicio de Dios y beneficio de los naturales de aquella Isla.

De Madrid a treynta de Marzo de mill y seis cientos y sesenta y nueve años.

Yo la Reyna.

Por mandado de S.Mgd., Don Gabriel Bernardo de Quiros, y señalada del Consejo.

Translation.

The Queen Regent.

Answer to a letter that the Governor of the Philippines, approving the construction that his predecessor made of a galleon, and a patache, and to have sent to Mexico Father Diego de San Victores of the Society of Jesus, for the Viceroy to despatch him to the Island of the Ladrones for the reduction of the Indians.

[To] Master-of-camp Don Manuel de León, Governor and Captain General of the Philippine Islands and President of the Royal Audiencia there, or to the person or persons in whose charge their government might be.

In a letter dated 4 August of the past year 1667¹ Don Diego de Salcedo, your predecessor, informed me about having had a galleon built 200 leagues from that Island [rather City] so that she might go in the said year to New Spain for the succor, and that, in case some accident might happen to her, he arranged to have a patache built in the port of Cavite, in which he said that he was sending Father Diego de San Victores of the Society of Jesus, in order for the Viceroy, Marquis of Mancera, to despatch him back to the reduction of the Indians of the Island of the Ladrones as he had been ordered to do.

This having been seen in the Council of the Indies, it has seemed proper to approve the construction that your predecessor made of the galleon and patache in question, and also the sending of Father Diego de San Victores to Mexico so that the Viceroy would despatch him to the said reduction, and thus I order you to continue to help his project, as it is so much in the service of God and the benefit of the natives of that Island.

From Madrid, 30 March 1669.

I the Queen.

By order of Her Majesty, Don Gabriel Bernardo de Quirós, and subscribed by the Council.

¹ Ed. note: See Doc. 1667B.

Documents 1669A

Jesuit annual reports for 1668-1669

A1. Report signed by Father Sanvitores and others, dated Agaña 26 April 1669

Source: ARSI Phil. 13, fol. 5-8.

Notes: There is a postscript signed by then-Brother Bustillo on 15 May. This is the same document as quoted by Astráin, whose source he gives as AGI 58-4-12, and the one commented upon in Guam Recorder 17 (1940): 99. The original title is: "Jesús, María. Resumen de los sucesos del primer año de la misión en estas islas Marianas." The writer of this report was Brother Lorenzo Bustillo. He began writing it on 21 April and it was signed by all those present at Agaña during Holy Week, on 26 April; the only absentee was Fr. Casanova who was then in one of the northern islands. This text was previously translated, in part, by Fr. Juan Ledesma.

Original in Spanish.

Resumen de los sucesos del primer año de la Misión en estas Islas Marianas.

[Notes in margin:]

Los nombres de las onze Islas Marianas quedan reducidas a Nuestra Santa Fe, y este Año de 1669 son:

- *Guan, que ya se llama S. Juan.*
- *Zarpana, ya Santa Ana.*
- *Agiguan, ya Sant Angel.*
- *Tinian, ya Buenavista Mariana.*
- *Saypan, ya San Joseph.*
- *Anatahan, ya S. Joachin.*
- *Sarigan, ya S. Carlos.*
- *Guguan, ya S. Phelipe.*
- *Alamagan, ya la Concepcion.*
- *Pagon, ya S. Ignacio.*
- *Agrigan, ya S. Francisco Xavier.*¹

¹ Ed. note: For comparison, see the end of this chapter.

Translation.

Summary of the events of the first year of the Mission in these Mariana Islands.

...

[Personnel of the Mission]

From Saturday, 16 June 1668, when we arrived in these Islands, until the day indicated by the date of this summary, it has been our Lord's pleasure... that the five priests of the Society of Jesus Diego Luis de San Vitores, Luis de Medina, Pedro de Casanova, Luis de Morales, Thomás Cardenoso, and Brother Lorenzo Bustillo who remain in the Island of San Juan, previously Guam, ...be distributed, and be almost in continuous movement and labor among the 11 islands... which these few missionaries have been able to reach in small boats... while, as we hope from the Divine and from the Royal providence bigger vessels are sent to us and the number of competent Missionaries for the administration of so many souls.

[Number of baptized and catechumens]

At present our principal residence is in the Island of Guam. It already has a church which was built large enough and is attractive... It was finished in the town of Agaña on the feast of the Purification of our Lady and dedicated to her most sweet name and holy Marian family, joyful advocate of these Islands.

The said Island of Guam has a perimeter of 39 leagues, with 180 villages, all of which have already been visited... one by one, two or three times. Along the shore the population lives in 50, 60 and 150 houses. In the mountain there are fewer than 20, 10 and 6 houses. And in all of them, our Lord Jesus Christ is already recognized and acclaimed as true God, through whose mercy in this island 6,055 have already received holy baptism, and we can call almost all the rest catechumens, who are preparing themselves to be baptized.

Summing up those baptized in this island with those of the other ten where we have been later, according to the lists that up to the present have arrived from all the Fathers, beginning with the said day of 16 June of last year in which the first Mariana girl was baptized until 21 April 1669, the baptized total 13,289. And the catechumens who come to be instructed with considerable continuity and almost importunity at all hours and in all places where our missionaries reside or paths where they go, will have numbered beyond 20,000.¹

Among the baptized there would be more than 50 oldsters of close to 100 years in age, and some of more than 120; then there were more than 100 infants who died after

1 Ed. note: The missionaries later revised the number of baptisms for the first 10 months. As reported more accurately later (see Doc. 1673L), the number for Guam was 6,055 and the number for the whole archipelago was 7,234. A mistake was made in adding these two results together. Also, a conservative estimate of the population of the whole group in 1668 is 20,000. The first statistics are no more believable than the century-old phenomena mentioned below.

their recent baptism and presented themselves at the heavenly table, first fruits of this new Mariana tree.

Among the old men who had been baptized, one is Don Juan Quipuha. He is the most respected Chief (such chiefs in this land are so denominated only through the respect given them). He was of the principal town of this Island of Guam, in which he was the first to welcome us and give us a dwelling place and a site for the church. In this church he was the first to be interred, the Lord thus overcoming in this old man the resistance which had been made up to the present to the burial of their deceased in any other place than that of their forefathers which is under what they call big houses. And even through an apparition which it is said the same defunct Quipuha made to one of his sons he told him that he was in Heaven. Thus the new Christians have been confirmed in the Holy Faith and Christian customs.

[Choco the Chinese]

But those who died were not so many nor certainly for the reason publicized by the father of lies through a Chinese idolater called Choco. Twenty years before he had landed at this Island of Guam from a champan which had been sailing from Manila to Terrenate and lost its way into this island. This Choco, after having infected during this time many of these poor natives with many superstitions and idolatries, of which they were all previously completely ignorant, when we arrived he declared on us a deadly war to the finish. He accused us of being killers of men. And he spread the word that the holy baptism killed those who receive it, especially the children, and declared that he was witness to this impious practice through his eyewitness experience in Manila.

To these natives so scared of nothing worse than death this was a most horrible accusation... Well we can see what great damage it had done, and how much greater it would have done, if the Blessed Virgin had not provided that instead of us entering this island... through one landing place which was on the southern side where the Devil had prepared the assistance and opposition of the Chinese idolater... we entered through the northern part. It had no port, and yet we found there easy entrance and a great facility for the administration of baptism. Through it God gave even the temporal life to some who were sick and the preservation of it to so many children (except for the few first fruits, mentioned above, whom being already sick the Lord brought to a better life)... Thus was the calumny refuted. Choco himself recognized this and he was forced to retract. He even asked for holy baptism, which... we readily granted him...

[The first victims]

With this conversion of the Chinaman the said calumny about baptism being the cause of death died down somewhat in the Island of San Juan, although not so much in the other islands... But it was of no little usefulness in all, for it was the occasion for our labors to be so effective for the good growth of the Gospel seed so that not even the watering by blood was wanting... For, although through the Lord's mercy... it did not result in the death of any of these few priests, it was with great danger of it, with

threats, blows, and wounds. At least that which was received... from a lance by Fr. Luis de Morales on 14 August on the island of **Saypan** was by itself fatal. Of the attempt on the life of Fr. Morales there was no other likely cause than... that he was actually administering holy baptism, and the hate conceived against this holy sacrament through the fatal calumny of Choco, who was not yet baptized then. This calumny was more strongly felt in Saypan, since the wife of the same Choco and others of his family were natives of that place.

Almost for the same cause... was the death meted out... treacherously, on the 19th of the same month, in the sea near the island of **Tinian**, to Sergeant Lorenzo Castellanos (who, for being a good seaman, was accompanying in his trip the said wounded Father), and to a young servant of his, a native Tagalog named Gabriel de la Cruz, who at least died innocent of the cause imputed to the Sergeant.

[Some successes]

Aside from these and other common troubles which we have suffered... arising from the absence of the fair treatment and respect with which we were received in the villages before the Chinaman's calumny was spread about, we were later expelled from them and denied the food and hospitality they show to all passers-by, in accordance with the very special custom of this land. In contrast to all this the mercies of the Lord can be seen in the copious harvest of baptisms of infants and adults, while the singular and loving providence of their Redeemer is shown in the children, who have been rescued from the cruel piety of their parents. These, because of the vain fear of temporal death, the more sick and moribund their children were, retired them with greater effort and cleverness from the only channel to eternal life, to which finally the Lord brought them through means and efforts more marvelous at times than those of their natural fathers, in contrast with the mothers' fears... And even there had been among the children themselves, who having attained some use of their reason, fled to us from their natural parents, asking with great desire for the water of God.

Nor the triumph and proof of the faith among the more adults and the old people has been less. For when through fear others tried to dissuade them from baptism, they contradicted them and reflecting better on what they were going to receive they said: "What is there to fear here with such a righteous law as they are preaching to us? What do they teach us but what is so just and good, such as to honor our parents, not to steal, not to kill?"

In **Sogua**, a town of the island of **Tinian**... after they went to the first homily and instruction on our holy faith, they all stood up and unanimously exclaimed: "Were they telling us to kill these Fathers? Why? Because they teach us to live righteously? What do these Fathers look for in our land where there is no iron, nor clothing, which abound so much in theirs? And what can impel them to kill us with the water of God?" Hardly any adult or child was left unbaptized on that same day which was of San Carlos, 4 November 1668, because indeed they had no need of so much exhortation and human

instruction, whereby they showed that the Holy Spirit was with them in such generous resolution and good will.

Almost the same thing took place in the town of Tanisay [rather **Tarisay**, or Tali-say] now called San Januario, on the Island of Guam, which had showed itself no less stubborn and infected by Choco's calumny before listening to the Father or the Brother... On hearing the homily and instruction on the law of God they gave themselves up, and delivered their children for baptism...

[Description of the native character]

This good will... has us obliged even more than we were at the beginning to procure the welfare of these poor people... so that their good qualities may not be spoiled... By a special protection of the Lord they had preserved them for so many years in the midst of their darkness and total neglect, and the absence of those who could instruct them even on the natural level of good virtues and human government...

Of the good qualities of the Mariano people a longer account has been given in other writings,¹ and we recognized them daily with more immediate and repeated experience and with little or no difference in the said islands, just as they neither differ substantially in their language, a thing most useful for the Minister of the Gospel, and rather rare among people who up to the present have not recognized any common leader or government. Such is also the case in the matter of drinking any liquor or anything else that may intoxicate them.

In this we see that these poor people is free from any of the principal roots of vices and obstacles against our holy faith which had been found in the natives of other nations. They are also free from impurities, incests, and adulteries. In these our Marianos, in spite of their nakedness, are more alien than others who are well clothed. The women especially were outstanding in their modesty, for all of them, even the smallest creatures, use what they call *tifs*, with which they cover themselves more than the men.

Such is the nakedness of this people because they have no clothing in their land. They yearn and eagerly beg for it. We have had enough experience of it, so that... we are not disturbed in our evangelical ministry anymore than if we ministered to much-clothed people. However, in deference to right decency and good Christian manners... we are waiting for the clothing that could be sent to us, especially that which can be useful such as shirts or light tunics of any color which can be worn by these poor people or, better said, by our Lord Jesus Christ who is extremely naked in them.

[Some miracles]

And we ask for much more that is greatly appreciated and necessary for the spiritual clothing. This consists in the increase in number and in the spirit of the workers who could come here to cultivate this vineyard... And regarding those who could not

1 Ed. note: It is not at all clear what writings are meant, perhaps some descriptions of the natives of the Philippines.

come we ask for the help of their holy sacrifices and prayers. With these... our Lord no doubt has made up during this first year for the lack of missionaries..., with so many signs of his mercy and in some cases with wonders of his supernatural providence...

Although these poor people do not ask for, nor do they need many miracles to receive our holy Faith, the superabundance of the divine and Marian mercy has deigned to perform some, of which we will point out here two that are singularly confirmed as far as it can presently be confirmed with the testimony and oath of the principal interpreter, Don Francisco Mendoza.¹ For having been present we called him from Manila. They are also confirmed by the testimony of public recognition and by the effects worthy of special belief in the towns where they took place.

The **first miracle** took place in the town of **Muchon** called San Francisco Xavier in the island of Santa Ana [Rota], popularly known as Zarpana. It happened to a man named Francisco Nufa. He had been ill of a long and serious sickness so that twice he was almost dead and on both occasions received instant and full health with the application of a medal of the same holy Apostle of the Indies.

The **second and more notable miracle** took place in the town of **Fuufa** of the same Island and residence of St. Francis Xavier. Here a three-month-old child, under singular circumstances and the intervention of the Blessed Virgin, of St. Francis Xavier as well as of St. Ignatius..., had died without baptism. For six hours he was already rigid and stiff as a stick...; and he had been already wiped with oil, which in these lands is equivalent to being already laid in the coffin, and left finally as a thing about which nothing could be done and so was out of danger in being seen by the priest. That he might not kill the child with the sacred baptism they had retired him before and fled with him from one house to another. The Father taking him with his weapons and anointing him again... in the presence of almost the whole town, the boy returned to life...

There were also triumphs not less marvelous than the resurrection of the dead. One such was experienced... in the conversion of the town of **Nisihan**... Its obstinacy could not be overcome... until... one of the Fathers, who had gone to the said town before and received from it good wages for his ministry with two wounds in the head and forehead, was moved... to insist in the conversion of the same town. He recommended it to the Blessed Virgin, ...through the intercession of the Holy Apostle... He continued in his prayer and other ministries until the octave of the same Saint, December 10. On that day... he arrived at the said town and... its inhabitants... suddenly were all moved... and were baptized on the octave of the Immaculate Conception.

[Apparitions]

We do not pay much attention to various apparitions narrated by the natives, although the very report of them is not a bad sign, at least of their attachment to the

1 Ed. note: This man had lived in the Ladrones for about 20 years after the shipwreck of the Concepción in 1638 (see p. 392).

things of our holy Faith. Some apparitions are of their ancestors and of bad spirits which well against their intention impel these poor people towards Christianity, by means of the fear of them and their bad treatment. Of this the natives have been liberated through the holy baptism, the holy Cross and the holy names of Jesus and Mary and St. Ignatius and St. Francis Xavier which are inscribed in the crosses placed with very good results within their homes.

Other apparitions are of the good spirits, and of the Blessed Virgin. Among these apparitions we have found more solid basis in one which... once and again we heard from the mouth of a native called Ignacio Ipaga [Ipapa?], who was from the town of **Sungharon**... on the Island of Buenavista [Tinian]. The circumstances that intervened... make it... more credible for us ...

In his dreams, therefore, or while awake (as he claims) the most Blessed Virgin appeared to him on the night of August 17, three days after Fr. Luis de Morales was speared in Saypan. The good Mother with her semblance and her voice, which this native claims he heard, showed her displeasure for the evil done in Saypan. The image under which she appeared he says was like that of our Lady of Guadalupe of Mexico, which the Father had devoutly placed in an oratory fronting the house of the said native. He only added that instead of the image having the hands joined together like that of the Immaculate Conception, the Blessed Virgin held with them two children whom she was feeding in her sacred breast; and besides this there came eight other bigger children who with a chord of eight strands were dragging to the feet of the Virgin a dog that was tied notwithstanding its resistance and barks.

All of this... is not out of harmony... with the past victories of the Blessed Virgin, presently renewed in these her Islands, through the innocent children who are baptized and instructed in our holy Faith, in spite of the barks of the infernal dog and of his minister, Choco, at the time still an idolater. He... seems to have been ordered tied up by the Blessed Virgin through the prayers of the Mariana children... At least the effect that was noted later, was that the said idolater Choco, the source of this persecution, gave himself up, had himself baptized at last on August 20... after three days of a debate that was made with him, which began on the said day of August 17, in which the mentioned apparition of the Blessed Virgin took place...

Nor was the harmony less between this second apparition and the first which took place 30 years before on the occasion of the shipwreck of the vessel **Concepción**... We have newly verified that apparition..., on the same Island of **Tinian**, called Buenavista Mariana... in the town of **Chiro**... There today the memory of the said apparition is still very fresh and preserved in the... surname of Corcuera which in memory of the then-Governor of the Philippines, was given in baptism through the hands of Marcos Fernandez, a Spaniard of that same shipwreck, to the native previously called Taga. To him the Blessed Virgin appeared and exhorted to receive the sacred baptism and to help the shipwrecked Spaniards with the boat that she caused to be given to them in Guam through a brother of his, so that they could go to their country and bring them Fathers...

[Holy Week]

All of us Ministers of these souls, except one who remains in the meanwhile in the center of the islands¹ got together for our usual conferences and to celebrate jointly with more decency the offices of this first Holy Week. On this occasion these offices were celebrated... in the new Mariana church just as they would be in the oldest churches, with their altar of the Exposition of the Blessed Sacrament, the march passes and the processions, the bloody disciplines and the confessions of the neophytes... and without omitting the good music of... the school of the Mariana children. These with their good and pure voices, and various modes and tunes, now lugubrious, now joyful, sang the prayers and the Christian doctrines... We accompanied them and we made for this poor people pleasant all our marches and feasts.

[New cases]

In this meeting, then, we went over other new cases which, to be short, we reduced to the following particular circumstances.

Among those who come from all over to this church and town of Agaña to be instructed in our religion, even for the cure of their physical ailments, a couple came from the town of **Fuufña**, with an eight-month-old child, sick of the dropsy, the cause of death for many in this land. Choco blamed especially the holy baptism for this sickness, which with the same baptism became worse when the child had already been afflicted by it. For which reason...the parents went to the church...; they made it believe that the child was already baptized. The Father applied various relics and other human remedies and he read the holy Gospel over the child and tried to dispose the parents for baptism which they claim they had not yet received. Once instructed he baptized them. But the child, not being cured, they came back a second time... confessing that the child had not yet received the holy baptism. The Father administered it and visiting later their town he found the parents very satisfied with the child, safe and alive.

In **Tarraifac**, a town of the same Island [of Guam] the Father discovered a woman... who had lost her speech... and so she could not... ask... for the holy baptism. She had previously been able to ask for it but resisted later through Choco's persuasion. The Father insisted... and applied... to the sick woman a relic of... St. Francis Xavier... Soon the woman gave signs of being able to speak, she spoke and repeated the words of the Act of Contrition... and asked for baptism, which she... at last received...

In **Pigpug**, a town of the same island... the Father met a woman who was deaf... whom... the Lord's mercy had preserved until she could meet the Father. He... applied the relic... saying at the same time the prayer... of St. Joseph whose feast-day it was then. The woman gave signs of hearing... the instruction concerning the holy baptism. She received it voluntarily... with great admiration of her family and of the others who had heard about it.

1 Ed. note: By a process of elimination, this one, whose name does not appear at the foot of this report, was Fr. Casanova.

In **Tumhon**, of the Island of Saypan,... a woman was found with clear signs of being possessed by the Devil... so that there was no adult person then who would listen to the subject of holy baptism. Full of compassion the Father... performed the ordinary rites of the Church... and applied to her various relics... At last the evil spirit gave signs of surrendering and leaving the castle to the one stronger than him, who in his evangelical ministry came to defeat him...

In **Opián**,... of the said Island of Saypan among other things that our Lord provided to refute the teaching of Choco, one was... the perfect health that a paralyzed woman recovered through the holy baptism.

In **Zumarrago**, a town of the Island of Agrigan, ... a one-year-old child was so sick that the priest doubted... if it still lived to receive the holy baptism, and so he administered it *sub conditione*... When the water was poured on her she seemed to receive with it... all the original color that had left her so that the Father baptized her again with the new condition. The Lord... preserved the life of that girl, now called Ignacia, until the following morning in which she passed to the better, eternal life.

In **Oprao**, of the same Island of San Gabriel for a day and a half a woman was having a great difficulty with her child-birth. The Father applied on her some writing that he had on hand of our Father St. Ignatius... She then bore a very pretty little girl who was soon baptized and named Ignacia.

[The consolation of being together]

With those and other similar cases our Lord was confirming in the holy Faith these poor natives. We were being confirmed also in our special trust in the good patrons... whom no doubt our Marianos have in Heaven.

...
With all this we have the consolation of being together during these holy days, enjoying the most sweet presence of our Lord already permanently settled in this house through the most Blessed Sacrament... From Gani, the last Island[s] of our Mission, men have come already to render Him obedience, accompanied by one of the Fathers through whose Mission our Lord has deigned to enkindle the light of his holy Gospel up to 21 degrees in which is the Island of Agrigan, ...the 11th island of this Archipelago...¹

And the said Father seems to have come to us risen from the dead, to celebrate the holy feast of the Resurrection because the Devil had spread all through these Islands... that he had been killed together with his lay companions who had gone with him. And they came back in his company, ... safe and sound, thanks be to God...

We sign this summary of our events here, we the religious of the Society of Jesus, Ministers of this Mission, having presently gathered together in this residence of St. Ignatius of Agaña on the Island of San Juan (previously Guam) one of the Marianas. 26 April 1669.

1 Ed. note: In fact, Agrigan lies under 19° of latitude north.

Diego Luis de San Vitores,
Luis de Medina,
Luis de Morales,
Thomas M. Cardeñoso.

[P.S.] To the total of baptisms, for the Island of Guam add 307 more made between the said day of 26 April, in which the first count was made, and 15 May 1669.

Lorenzo Bustillo

A2. News of the progress of our holy faith in the Marianas from 16 June 1668 to 15 May 1669

Sources: Original not extant; copy in AGI Ultramar 562, Jesuit doc. n° 15; copy in Colección Pastells, Fil. 2, pp. 258-279; edited and published as a 23-page pamphlet entitled: "Noticia de los progresos de nuestra Santa Fé en las Islas Marianas...", by Fr. Andrés Ledesma, available at BM #C131.k.9; also available in AHN Diversos 390.

Note: Original printed version reproduced below. A synopsis appears in A1 above.

Noticia de los progressos de nvestra Santa Fé, en las Islas Marianas, llamadas antes de los Ladrones, y de el fruto que han hecho en ellas el Padre Diego Luis de Sanvitores, y cinco compañeros de la Compañia de Jesus, en el primer año de su Mission, desde diez y seis de Iunio de mil y seiscientos y sesenta y ocho, hasta quinze de Mayo de mil y seiscientos y sesenta y nueue. Sacado de las cartas, que ha escrito el Padre Diego Luis de Sanvitores, y sus compañeros.

Estilo ha sido de la Prouidencia Diuina introducir la Fè en qualquiera Prouincia, ó Region, con señales, y prodigios, que son las voces con que el Cielo confirma las palabras de los Predicadores: y no menos con sangre de los Ministros de el Euangelio, que es semilla de Christianos; porque si despues de la maldicion no come el hombre el Pan, sino en el sudor de su rostro, tampoco coge el Predicador el fruto de la semilla Euangelica, sino es con la sangre de sus venas. Costumbre ha sido tambien de el Demonio sembrar cizaña entre el trigo, y poner estoruos, y embarazos al Euangelio con engaños, peligros, y muertes, por si puede detener à los que corren con pastos de feruorosa caridad à lleuar a la gentes el Nombre Sntissimo de Jesus; pero los preciosos pies, que Euangelizan la paz, calçados de confiança, y de zelo, corren sobre las espinas, y abrojos por entre los riesgos, y las muertes, como si pisáran flores, y azuzenas, y caminaran entre la seguridad, y la firmeza. Ha mostrado nueuamente la experiencia esta verdad en las Islas Marianas, llamadas antes de los Ladrones, donde ha sido el Señor seruido de llenar su Ley, por medio de la Compañia de Jesus; porque en solo el primer año, de que tenemos noticia, ha introducido, y confirmado su Fè con milagros, y con sangre de los Predicadores, contra los engaños, y contradicciones de el Demonio, que ha hecho por si mismo, y por medio de sus Ministros: y ha sido tan copioso el fruto, que espe-

ramos, con razon ha de crecer immensamente la cosecha en aquellas Islas, si crece el numero de los Predicadores, y Ministros de el Euangelio.

Sabado diez y seis de Junio de mil y seiscientos y sesenta y ocho, dia consagrado à la Reyna de los Angeles (buen pronuncio de que les vendria à estas Islas toda su felicidad por medio de esta Señora) entraron en las Islas Marianas seis Religiosos de la Compañia de Jesus, cinco Sacerdotes, y vn Hermano. El Superior de todos es el Padre Diego Luis de Sanvitores, los demás Padre Luis de Medina, Padre Pedro de Casanova, Padre Luis de Morales, Padre Tomas Cardeñoso, y el Hermano Lorenço Bustillo. Entró con ellos el Euangelio en estas Islas, y con el Euangelio toda su felicidad. Tomaron tierra en la Isla de Guan, que se llama ya San Ian; y quedandose en ella el Padre Diego Luis de Sanvitores, con el Hermano Lorenço Bustillo, han passado los demás à otras Islas, para que en todas sea Jesu Christo reconocido, y reuerenciado. El Demonio, ya que no pudo embaraçar, que entrasse la Fè en la Isla de Guan, procuró, que no saliesse de ella, pretendiendo tener como presos à los Padres en el Pueblo de Agadria [=Agadña], que aora se llama San Ignacio. Porque los moradores de é, ó por algun amor, que cobraron à los Padres, ó por la codicia de algunos donecillos, que les dieron, para tener entrada en su Pueblo, y ganarlos para Dios, no querian dexarlos salir de alli: y ya que vencieron aqui esta dificultad, tenian siempre que vencer la misma en passar de vn Pueblo à otro; porque cada vno deseaua tener Padre, y no queria dexarle salir para otro. Mas alfin el zelo de los Misioneros rompió estas prisiones, que el Demonio auia fabricado de el amor, ó la codicia de los Isleños, y ya se han estendido à onze Islas, que corren desde la Isla de Guan, ó San Iuan, hasta la Isla de Agrigan, ó San Francisco Xauier, sin auerse podido dilatar mas, por la falta de Misioneros, y de embarcaciones; porque las que han tenido hasta aora, aunque son bastantemente acomodadas para passar estos pedazos de mar, que con buen viento tienen vn dia, ó dos de viage, no lo son para engolfarse en mayores mares; ni los Misioneros son bastantes para las muchas Islas, que ay en esta Cordillera, que se continua desde la tierra Austral, antes incognita, hasta el Iapon; en las quales ay innumerables Almas, que viuen aun en la noche de la Idolatria, y entre las sombras de la muerte, hasta que por la Diuina, y Real Prouidencia, y zelo de los Reales Ministros, se embien mayores embarcaciones, y nuestros Predicadores, que passen à estas Islas el Euangelio.

Ha corrido felizmente la Fè en las onze Islas, por el zelo de los Predicadores, y buena disposicion de los naturales, cuyas costumbres se han escrito ya, y se resumirán aqui breuemente, añadiendo lo que se ha reconocido de nuevo, para que no se desee nada en esta Relacion, y se entienda mejor lo que se ha de dezir despues.

No tienen los Marianos Republica, ni Cabeza; porque los Principales, ó Caualleros, à quien llaman Chamorris, no tienen autoridad sobre los demás, como, ni los Padres sobre los hijos, sino solo respecto, y reuerencia. Y aunque vno oyen los pareceres de otros, cada vno haze lo que quiere, sino es, que se lo embarace el que mas puede con las Armas, que son vnas lanças hechas de canillas de hombres. Mas con todo esso estos Señores Chamorris, que andan desnudos como todos los demás, son tan soberuios, que no querian reciessen el Bautismo los Pleueyos, pareciendoles, que esso se deuia solo

à su Nobleza, y autoridad; y los Pleueyos temian recibirle, por no enojar à estos Señores. Y assi ha costado à los Padres mucho trabajo, amenazas, y molestias, persuadir à estos Caualleros à la caridad Christiana. Conferuan los apellidos de sus mayores, con grande noticia, y obseruacion de su Genealogia. Verdad es, que esta soberuia, apenas se ha reconocido en otra Isla mas que en la de Guan, por auerse recogido à ella los mayores Principales, por la bondad de el agua, y otras calidades ventajosas à las de las otras Islas, quando vinieron los primeros por fuga, ó destierro de el Iapon, ó otras Naciones, donde se estima la Nobleza.

*Estas onze Islas tienen vna misma lengua, facil, principalmente para los que entienden la Visaya, ó Taygala [sic] de Manila: y ya tiene dispuesto Arte, y Vocabulario el Padre Luis de Morales, para la comodidad de los que fueren de nuevo. Toda la gente, aun la de los Montes, viue en Poblaciones, con que falta vno de los principales embarrasos, que ay en otras partes para la conuersion de los Gentiles, que es viuir desparramados por los campos, como fieras. Las casas para Iglesia, y habitacion de los Padres, ó están hechas, ó son faciles de hazer, à lo menos para mientras dura la visita de el Pueblo; porque en cada Lugar ay tres, ó quatro Camarines, capaces, curiosos, y limpios, que pueden seruir de Iglesia, y de casa. La gente es afable, y deseosa de quien los enseñe, caritatiua, y humilde, exceptos aquellos pocos Señores desnudos, que tienen dominados à los demás, y ellos no reconocen à nadie. No conocian la Idolatria, hasta que vn China (de quien hablarèmos despues) se la enseñó. Tienen alguna reuerencia supersticiosa à los huessos, y imagenes de sus antepassados, que hazen de palo, y pintan en los arboles: y despues que entró el China, en muchos passaua esta reuerencia à ser adoracion. En lo demás, en recibiendo el Bautismo, tienen poco que dexar para ser buenos Christianos. No vsan de vino, ni otro licor, que embriague, con que les falta el azeite de los vicios, con que se ceban, y arden. Por esso algunos moços seglares, que vinieron con los Padres de Manila, han dexado el vino, ó la tuba, que pudieran hazer de las palmas de cocos, y embriagára como la de Manila, por no pegar este vicio à los Marianos, que están aun ignorantes de él. No tienen mas que vna muger, y obseruan en sus casamientos la distancia de los parentescos. No se hallan entre ellos las torpezas, incestos, y adulterios, que en otras Naciones de Gentiles, no obstante su desnudez, forçosa, por carecer de vestidos: aun que las mugeres, y niñas muestran mas recato, que los hombres, y vsan de vnos paños pequeños, que llaman **Tifis**. Mas ya todos hombres, y mugeres desean vestidos. Y aunque Dios ha concedido esta gracia à sus Predicadores, que entre tanta desnudez no padezcan mas guerra, que si viuieran entre gente muy vestidas: con todo esto por la deuida decencia, y buena costumbre de Christiandad, desean tener vestidos para sus desnudos Marianos, y piden à los ricos, que vistan a estos pobres, ó à Christo en ellos, aunque desnuden sus paredes: y que embien algunas telas de qualquiera materia, ó color, para hazerles algunas camisas, ó tunicas ligeras.*

En estos mares, no ay hasta aora peligros de Hereges, ó Moros; porque los Moros, que andan en Filipinas, nunca han llegado aqui, ni pueden con sus embarcaciones. Y los Hereges de Europa no tienen en estas Islas lo que ellos buscan, que es el oro amarillo, ó prieto (assi llaman al clauo) sino es que el Demonio trae alguno à peruertirlos,

como truxo al China Gentil. Para passar de vna Isla à otra, han tenido los Padres hasta aora vnas embarcaciones, que hazen de vn arbol, llamado Maria, sin yerro, y con pocos instrumentos, que son la misma ligereza, aunque descubiertas à las lluuias, y temporales. El temple es mejor, que el de Filipinas, pues durmiendo los Missioneros en el suelo, donde les coge la noche, ó sobre vnos Catres de palos, todos tienen salud, por la misericordia de Dios. Quanto à la comida, y vestido de los Padres, ay lo bastante para los que se contentan con lo que el Apostol, quando dezia: teniendo con que conseruar la vida, y conque cubrirnos, estamos contentos; porque ay en todas partes vna fruta, que se llama Rimay, o Furao, de el tamaño de melones pequeños, que assada, y cozida, tiene el sabor, sustento, y satisfacion de vn pan tierno, y sazonado, algo mantecoso. Agua, aunque no en todas partes es buena, la ay en los caminos, y en los arboles, en la fruta que llaman cocos, que es cosa comun à otras partes de la India. Ay arroz, y pescado en abundancia. Para vstido de los Iesuitas, si faltàtare otra tela, seruiràan las hojas de palma, teñidas de negro, para imitar à dos Pablos, al Hermitano en el traje, y al Apostol en el zelo, y predicacion.

La Isla de San Iuan, que es de las mayores à que han entrado los Padres, aunque no la mayor, tiene en treinta y cinco leguas de vox ciento y ochenta Pueblos. En la Playa son las mayores de à sesenta, de à ciento, y de à ciento y cinquenta casas: en el Monte los ay de veinte, y de menos: en cada casa avrà seis personas; con que por quenta puntual tendrà esta Isla veinte mil almas. En todos los Peblos de ella se reconoce por Dios à Iesu Christo, y passan los bautizados de seis mil: todos los demàs se està disponiendo para el Bautismo. Las otras Islas son menores, exceptuando la de San Francisco Xauier, que tiene cinquenta leguas de vox: y en todas ha sido grande el fruto; porque juntando los Bautismos de las onze Islas, desde diez y seis de Iunio de mil y seiscientos y sesenta y ocho, en que se bautizó la primera niña, llamada Mariana, hasta quinze de mil y seiscientos y sesenta y nueue, llegan à catorze mil los bautizados, feliz cosecha para menos de vn año, en vn campo nueuamente labrado, lleno de espinas, y de contradiciones de el Demonio, como verèmos. Los Catecumenos, que acuden à todas horas, y tiempos à los Padres, para que los enseñen la Doctrina Christiana, sin dexarlos, ni en los lugares, ni en los caminos, son muchos mas de veinte mil.

Los Padres corren continuamente por los Lugares de estas onze Islas, como Austros fauorables, que lleuan en sus alas la salud, visitando muchas vezes los Pueblos, para bautizar los Catecumenos, consolar à los enfermos, enterrar los muertos, y acudir à todas las otras necessidades. Mas su principal Residencia es en la Isla de San Iuan, por tener en ella edificada Iglesia bastantemente capaz, y curiosa, cosa que atrae mucho à los Marianos, por el natural apetito, que tienen de ver cosas especiales. En las maderas, que es su principal materia, se grauó el nombre de Maria, que se procura imprimir en sus coraçones. Dedicóse dia de la Purificacion de nuestra Señora, à su dulcissimo nombre, y Santissima Familia, para obligar mas à esta Soberana Madre, à que tome debaxo de su manto, y proteccion à estos desnudos, y pobres Marianos. Està colocado en esta Iglesia el Santissimo Sacramento, y vienen muchos de la Isla à rendir vassallage à su Señor.

Edifocóse este Templo en el Pueblo de Agadria [sic], ya San Ignacio, porque aunque no es el mayor, pues solo tiene cincuenta y tres casas principales, donde viuen los Caualleros, porque à los Pleueyos no los admiten dentro del Pueblo; con todo, es como la Corte de toda la Isla por viuir en èl los Señores Chamorris. Aqui se hizo fiesta solemne con procession, sacando el Santissimo Sacramento por las calles el dia que se dedicá la Isla à su principal Patron, que es San Iuan, y todos los Domingos, y fiestas se hazé Srmones publicos, y se explica la Doctrina Christiana, à. que acude mucha gente de toda la Isla, con sus embarcaciones los que pueden, y otros à pie.

En esta Residencia de San Ignacio se juntaron los Padres la Semana Santa (quedandose vno en la mitad de las Islas, que acudiesse à las necessidades ocurrentes) para conferir los medios de adelantar esta Mission, y para celebrar los Oficios de la Semana Santa solememente, por aficionar à los Marianos à nuestras ceremonias Santas. Hizieronse los Oficios Diuinos con bastante solemnidad, y con muy grande deuocion. Huuo Monumento, Processiones, passos, disciplinas de sangre, y confesiones de los nuevos Christianos, y no faltó la musica de los niños Marianos, que con varios tonos, ya alegres, ya tristes, hazen vna armonia muy dulce à los oídos de sus Maestros, y muy agradable à los de Dios, que como dize el Real Profeta, halla en las bocas de los niños sus mas perfectas alabaças.

Con esta ocasion de juntarse los Padres, ajustaron el numero de los Bautismos, y se comunicaron muchos casos particulares, de que contarèmos aqui algunos. Entre los bautizados, son mas de cinquenta los viejos, que han muerto recien bautizados. Vno ha sido Don Iuan Quipuha, Principal de el Pueblo de San Ignacio, y el primero, que dió entrada, y habitacion à los Padres, y sitio para Iglesia, en que él se ha enterrado el primero, venciendo en este piadoso viejo vna dificultad, que tenian estos Señores de enterrar sus muertos en otro entierro, que el de sus Abuelos, que le tienen debaxo de las casas, que llaman grandes; porque no quieren estos Caualleros mezclar sus cenizas con otras, que con las de sus antepasados. Dizen, que este buen viejo se apareció à vn hijo suyo, diziendole, como estaua en el Cielo: con la qual aparicion se han confirmado muchos en la Fè, y costrumbres Christianas.

Los niños que han muerto recien bautizados, son mas de ciento; pero menos de los que suele lleuarse Dios en semejantes ocasiones, por primicias de las nueuas Christianidades; porque no se embaraçasse con su muerte el progreso de los Bautismos, segun la voz, que auuia echado vn Ministro de el Demonio.

Veinte años ha que vna tempestad truxo à la Isla de Guan vn Sangley China, llamado Choco, Idolatra, ó Ateista, como lo son ordinariamente los de aquella Nacion, el qual passaua en vn Champan desde Manila à Terrenate. Quedóse en la Isla este Ministro de el Demonio, y en este tiempo inficionado à muchos de los Isleños, con supersticiones, y Idolatrias, de que estauan antes agenos.

Y quando supo, que auian entrado los Predicadores de Christo en la Isla de San Iuan, sembró vna voz muy perniciosa por las Islas, diziendo, que los Padres eran homicidas de los hombres, y que con el agua matauan à los que bautizauan, principalmente à los niños; y afirmaua, que él lo auia visto por sus ojos en la Ciudad de Manila.

Est voz apartó à muchos de el Santo Bautismo, y las madres escondian à sus hijos, y los retirauan de las manos de los Sacerdotes, como de las garras de los Leones. Y quando passauan por sus Poblaciones, negauan à los Padres la Hospitalidad, y el Rimay, agassajo, que hazen à todos los passageros, porque no parassen en sus Pueblos los que juzgauan venian à llenar de muertes, y lagrimas sus casas, y sus familias. Y huuiera sido mayor el daño, si Dios no huuiera vsado con los Padres vna singular Priuidencia; porque auiedo de entrar en la Isla de Guan, por vn Puerto, que està a la vanda de el Sur, segun se auia resuelto en vna junta de hombres de mar, sin saber como, contra lo decretado, entraron por la vanda de el Norte, donde sin Puerto tomaron tierra muy facilmente.

Estaua en el Puerto, de la parte de el Sur el China, y huuiera ahogado la semilla Evangelica al nacer; y en la parte de el Norte, aun no auia llegado aquella voz, con que huuo grande facilidad en recibir el Bautismo. Y quiso Dios dar salud à algunos enfermos, que se bautizaron, y conservarla à los niños, sino es vno, ó otro, que estauan ya para morir, quando fueron bautizados; con que se desmintió la voz antes de estenderse, y no hizo tanto daño la voz de el Sangley en vn Pueblo de esta vanda, que yendo vn Padre à buscar embarcaciones, hallá, que auian escondido todos los niños de el Lugar; pero encontrú vn viejo de mas de sesenta años, muy enfermo, el qual se bautizó, y tambien los niños de otros Pueblos cercanos. En otros Lugares de la Isla de San Iuan no se ha logrado este engaño de el Demonio; porque todos los niños, y enfermos, de que se ha tenido noticia, han sido bautizados; y todos los Pueblos, aun de los engañados por el Choco, piden Padres para que los instruyan, y enseñen, y no pocas personas han ido à buscar el Bautismo al Pueblo de San Ignacio.

Desengañóse el China, y se desdixo publicamente pidiendo à los Padres el Santo Bautismo, el qual ha recibido ya. Con su conversion cayó la voz en la Isla de San Iuan; pero no tanto en las otras Islas donde se creyó mas la primera voz, que la segunda. Lo qual ha ocasionado à los Predicadores grandes trabajos, haziendo que rieguen con su sangre aquel campo para que sea fertil de Christianos; porque aunque no ha muerto ninguno hasta aora, porque no ha querido el Señor, que de tan pocos Ministros falte alguno, quando los ha menester aquella Christiandad, con todo esso han padecido muchos glopes, y heridas, y por lo menos fue de suyo mortal la lançada que recibió por amor de Iesu Christo, y por la predicacion de su Fè el Padre Luis de Morales en la Isla de Seypan, ó San Ioseph. Otro Padre recibió dos heridas en la Isla de San Juan, y todos han sido amenazados con la muerte por administrar el Santo Bautismo. Estando el Padre Luis de Morales para bautizar vna criatura, llegó vno de los engañados por el Choco, y le derramó el agua, amenazando con vna lança que le mataria, mas él sin turbarse pidió otra agua, y la bautizó. En semejantes riesgos han estado los demás Padres, pero como ellos desean morir por Christo, ni se espantan de estas amenazas, ni los atemoriza la muerte, que tiene muy hermoso rostro para los que la padecen por la Fè, y Religion Christiana.

Dios, que sabe poner à los valerosos el panal de miel en la boca de el Leon, entre tantos trabajos, y peligros llena de consuelos, y regalos á sus siervos, especialmente con

la multitud de bautismos, y de conuersiones, sacando con modos marauillosos à los niños de la piadosa crueldad, ó piedad cruel de sus madres, que por el miedo de la muerte temporal los apartauan de la vida eterna. Algunas vezes sus padres naturales, venciendo el temor de las madres, entregauan los niños à los Sacerdotes pare que los bautizassen. Entre otros Don Thomàs Bungi Principal de el Pueblo de San Ignacio, dos dias despues de bautizado, fue bien de noche à llamar al Padre Sanvitores, para que bautizasse vn niño de dos meses, que estaua enfermo, y su madre temerosa no auia querido traerle à bautizar. Acudió luego el Padre, y no queriendo la madre dar el niño, su marido la alentó de modo, que le entregó para el bautismo, y aquella noche voló al Cielo. A la mañana fue Don Matias à ver al Padre, triste por el successo; mas persuadido, que por auer tardado en bautizar el niño se auia muerto; y en desquite dió otro niño de ocho años para que assista en la casa de los Padres, y assi con algunos que se han juntado, aprenda con mucha alicacin la Doctrina Christiana, para enseñarla à otros. Otras vezes los mosmos niños, con algun vso de razon, y con mas razon de lo que pedia su edad, se huían de sus Padres naturales para buscar el Santo Bautismo. Ha ayudado à esto mucho vn caso que sucedió en el Pueblo de Hanun. Visitauale el Padre Luis de Medina, y sus Padres retiraron à un niño de dos dias nacido, porque no le bautizasse. Murió el niño, y sus Padres lo sintieron mucho, atribuyendo ellos, y todos la muerte al no auerle bautizado; con que todos los de el Pueblo, que tiene mas de cien casas, vinieron ellos, y trujeron sus hijos para recibir el Santo Bautismo, persuadidos de que no se mueren por bautizarse, sino por no bautizarse.

*En los adultos ha sido grande el triunfo que ha conseguido la verdad de la mentira, y Christo del Demonio. Ellos mismos vencian sus temores pidiendo el Santo Bautismo, y quando otros los querian apartar de este intento, dezian: Que ay que temer de vna ley tan Santa, como la que nos predicán estos Padres? Que nos dizen, sino lo que es bueno, y justo? Que honremos à los Padres, que no hurtemos, que no matemos, &c. Bueno fuera que nos vinieran à matar quando nos enseñan, que no hagamos mal à nadie. Desta manera sacaua Dios las alabanças de su ley, de la boca de aquellos que apenas la conocia. En **Sogua**, Pueblo de la Isla de **Tinian**, llamado San Carlos, auiendo oído la primera platica de la Doctrina Christiana, dezian todos à vna voz. A estos Padres nos dezian que matassemos? Porque? porque nos enseñan à viuir bien? En nuestra tierra no ay hierro (es lo que estiman ellos, mas que acá el oro) ni vestidos de que abundan en la suya; pues que buscan en nuestras Islas, sino nuestro bien? Que auian de interessar en matarnos con el agua de Dios? Assi llaman al agua Santa del Bautismo. Y luego aquel mismo dia, que fue el de San Carlos à 4 de Noviembre, se bautizaron todos, sin que apenas quedasse algun niño, ó adulto en todo el lugar que no fuesse bañado con el agua de Dios. Casi lo mismo sucedió en el Pueblo de **Tarisay**, llamado San Ianuario; porque estando antes pertinaces todos en no recibir el Bauuismo [sic], por lo que auian oído del China, en oyendo la primera platica de la Doctrina Christiana, los Padres entregaron à sus hijos para que fuessen bautizados, venciendo sus temores, y las contradiciones de otros que les persuadian, no creyssen à los Padres, ni diessen sus hijos para el bautismo.*

*Aunque no necessitan de milagros estos pobres Marianos para creer, porque facilmente reciben nuestra Santa Fè, con todo esso la ha confirmado el Señor con milagros, de los quales diremos algunos. En el Pueblo de **Mochon**, llamado ya San Francisco Xavier, de la Isla de Santa Ana, vn hombre llamado Francisco de Nufa, estuuu en dos ocasiones tan apretado de vna enfermedad, que ya le dauan por muerto, mas ambas vezes aplicadole vna medalla de San Francisco Xauier, cobró repentina, y perfecta salud.*

*Mas notable fue el milagro que sucedió en el Pueblo de **Fuuna**, de la misma Isla. Auia muerto vn niño de tres meses sin Bautismo; porque sus padres le retiraron de vnas casas à otras, porque el Sacerdote no le matasse con el agua de el bautismo. Auia seis horas, que estaua muerto, y ya elado, y vngido para enterrarle, que allà es tanto como amortajado. Tomole el Padre en sus manos, y empeçó à llorar afectuosas lagrimas sobre el niño, por ver, que auia muerto sin Bautismo: encomendóle à la Virgen, que es Madre piadosa; prometió à San Francisco Xavier, cuya vispera era, ponerle su nombre, si le restituía la vida. Fue à dezir la Oracion de el Santo, y sabiendola muy bien de memoria, por tres vezes, que lo intentó, se fue siempre à la de San Ignacio, diziendo la primera mitad de San Ignacio, y la segunda de San Francisco Xavier, en que parece quiso el Santo hijo dar parte en el milagro à su Santo padre. Al fin, à vista de casi todo el Pueblo, boluió à la vida el niño, haziendo primero vn leue mouimiento con el coraçon, y con la mano de aquel lado, despues con todo el cuerpo, y vltimamente, alegrando con sus lagrimas a sus padres, y à todos los presentes, que dauan mil gracias à Dios, porque obraua tales marauillas. Fue bautizado el niño, y otros muchos, por auer visto el milagro, y à los diez días murió, trocando la tierra por el Cielo, y su breue vida por vna vida eterna.*

En otros milagros ha querido Dios mostrar, contra los engaños de el Choco, como el Santo Bautismo, no solo da vida de la gracia, sino tambien tiene eficacia para dar la salud de el cuerpo. Vinieron à la Iglesia de San Ignacio dos casados, con vn niño de ocho meses, enfermo de hidropesia, de que mueren muchos en esta tierra. El Sangley auia sembrado, que el Bautismo causaua este achaque en los que no le tenian, y le aumentaua en los que le tenian: por esso auian retirado sus padres este niño de el Santo Bautismo. Mas no hallando remedio fuera de la Iglesia, fueron à la Iglesia à buscarle; y por excluir el Bautismo, que tenian por fatal, dixeron, que el niño eataua ya bautizado.

Aplicóle el Padre varias Reliquias, y dixole vn Euangelio, y el niño no sanaua. dispuso à los Padres, para que recibiesen el Santo Bautismo, porque confessauan no auerle ellos recibidos catequizado, los bautizó: mas el niño se estaua con su hidropesia. Fueronse à su casa, y boluiendo despues à la Iglesia, confessaron, que no estaua bautizado el niño. Bautizóle el Padre, y fue Dios seruido de darle entera salud: y assi, yendo despues el Padre à su Pueblo, halló al niño sano, y à sus padres contentos, y desengañados.

*En **Tarraifac**, Pueblo de la Isla de San Iuan, andando el Padre visitando, encontró vna muger muy al cabo, perdida el habla cinco días auia, sin sentido, y impossibilita-*

da de pedir, y recibir el Bautismo, à que antes auia resistido con pertinazia, por la voz de Choco. El Padre dió voces à Dios allà dentro de su alma; dixo la Oracion de el dulcissimo nombre de Maria, y la de el gran Apostol San Francisco Xauier, y aplicó à la enferma vna Reliquia de las entrañas de el Santo. Cosa maruillosa! Al punto dió muestras de sentido: empeçó à hablar, y repitió con el Padre el Acto de Contricion: pidió dos vezes con voz clara el Bautismo, y respondiendò à las preguntas de la instruccion, fue bautizada, y duró aquella tarde con habla, y à la mañana estaua ya sin ella, como de antes.

*En **Pigpug**, Pueblo de la misma Isla, llamado de el Triunfo de la Cruz, encontró el Padre vna muger de mas de cien años, totalmente sorda, à la qual sus parientes auian ocultado otras vezes, porque no la bautizasse: mas aora Dios, que la via guardado para que alcançasse su felicidad, la descubrió al Padre, que la aplicó vna Reliquia de el Lignum Crucis à los oidos, para abrir las puertas à la verdad de la Fè, diziendo juntamente la Oracion de el glorioso San Ioseph, cuyo dia era. Y la Santa Cruz, que cierra las puertas de el Infierno, abrió los oidos de aquella muger, porque luego oyó todo lo que el Sacerdote la preguntaua para su instruccion, y pidió el Bautismo, que recibió muy gustosa, y despues oía lo que la preguntauan los de su casa, con admiracion de los que sabian que estaua antes de el todo sorda.*

*En **Funon** [rather Tumhon], de la Isla de Seypan, encontró el Padre, visitando vna muger endemoniada; y el Demonio hazia desde aquel castillo tanta guerra à la Fè, y tenia tan endurecidos los de aquel Pueblo, que ninguno por entonces quiso recibir el Bautismo; hizo el Padre los conjuros de la Iglesia, invocando à la Santissima Virgen, à su Esposo San Ioseph, à San Ignacio, y à San Francisco Xauier, y fue Dios seruido que saliesse de el cuerpo aquel maligno espiritu.*

*En **Opián**, Pueblo de la misma Isla, auia vna muger paralitica, totalmente impedida de el vso de los miembros, y que fuera de esto padecia vna ardiente calentura: dióla el Padre el Bautismo, y recibió perfecta salud, la qual atribuia ella, y los demás agua de Dios, desengañadose, que el Bautismo no quita la vida temporal, sino que la dá juntamente con la eterna. Passando poco despues el Padre por este Pueblo, le salió à recibir esta muger muy agradecida por la salud que auia recibido, y andaua con tanta expedicion, y desembaraço, como si nunca huuiera estado paralitica.*

*En **Sumadrágo**, de la Isla de San Francisco Xauier, estaua vna niña de vn año tan enferma, que dudando el Padre si estaua viua, ó muerta, la aplicó vna Reliquia de nuestro Padre San Ignacio, diziendo su Oracion, y la bautizó, sub conditione. Cosa rara! Al punto que tocó el agua à la moribunda, mudó el semblante, y el color con tanta diferencia, como si resucitara de muerta à viua, y sana, y assi la bolvió à bautizar con nueva condicion, por si estaua muerta la primera vez, como se dudaua. Pusieron à la niña por nombre Ignacia, y viuió hasta otro dia, en que passó de la vida mortal à la eterna, y bienaventurada.*

*En **Opao**, de la misma Isla, estuuò vna muger dia, y medio con recios dolores de parto, sin poder dar à luz la criatura. Sabiendolo el Padre que visitaua la Isla, sue allà, y aplicó à la engerma vnas letras de nuestro Padre San Ignacio, y atóla à la mano vna*

estampa suya: al punto, repitiendo el Santissimo Patriarca las marauillas que haze en todas partes en esta materia, parió felizmente la muger vna niña, à quien llamaron Ignacia, como la auian prometido al Santo.

No es menor milagro, que dar salud, y vida à los muertos, el convertir pecadores endurecidos, y obstinados en sus culpas, sino antes mucho mas, como dize San Chrisotomo. En Nisichan, Pueblo de la Isla de San Iuan, estauan tan obstinados los moradores dél, que aviendo ido tres vezes con Padres para reduzirlos, no sacó mas fruto que muchos golpes, y dos heridas, vna en la cabeza, y otra en la frente. Llegó el dia de San Francisco Xauier, y hallose mouido de nueuo à insistir en la conversion de dicho Pueblo, tomó por Patrona à la que lo es de todas las Islas, y por abogado à San Francisco Xauier, ofreciendole poner su nombre à aquel lugar si se convertia: prosiguió en su rogatiua hasta diez de Diziembre, Octava de el Santo Apostol, y auiendo dicho su Missa, fue al Pueblo, halló los moradores menos endurecidos, empeçó à predicar, y mouieronse de manera, que todos pidieron el Bautismo, y quedaron bautizados en la Octaua de la Concepcion de nuestra Señora.

Menos caso se haze de algunas apariciones, que dizen tener, aunque no se les puede negar de el todo el credito, viendo los buenos efectos que causan en ellos, porque se confirman en la Fè los Christianos, y se mueven à recibirla los Gentiles, y à lo menos al referirlas, muestran el afecto que tienen à nuestra Santa Fè. Vnas quantan de los Anitis, que son las almas de sus difuntos, en cuya forma deue de aparecerles el Demonio, procurando apartarlos con amenazas, y golpes de nuestra Santa Fè, y del Santo Bautismo, confirmandolo que ha publicado el Choco. Pero el Diabolo ha hecho contra su mismo intento; porque viendo los Marianos, que se libran de estos espiritus, y molestias con el Bautismo, la Santa Cruz, el nombre de Iesus, y Maria, y los de San Ignacio, y San Francisco Xauier, que se escriben en las Cruces que todos tienen en sus casas, desprecian el Demonio, y se confirman en la Fè, alentando à los demás para que la reciban. Entre otros casos es singular, el que sucedió à Don Iuan de Santa Cruz, Indio de buena sangre, y muy buen Christiano, que trugeron los Padres de Manila, y de quien se ayudan en la enseñanza de estos Marianos por la falta de Ministros. Encontró dicho Don Iuan vna muger, muy apretada de vn recio parto, hizo Oracion por ella, y parió felizmente; mas viendo el Indio que estaua en grande peligro la criatura, la bautizó luego. Dixole la Madre que oía voces de los Anitis, que dezian ser verdad lo que enseña el Choco, mas que estauan ya mas lexos que antes, respondió Don Iuan, que por estar el niño bautizado, por esso los Anitis se apartauan: aconsejola que hiziesse la señal de la Cruz, hizola, y dixo que ya estauan mucho mas lexos; al fin prometió bautizarse ella, y toda su casa, y dixo, que ya no oía los Anitis.

Otras apariciones de los buenos espiritus, y de la Santissima Virgen. Pondré vna en que se hallan mayores fundamentos, como la contó el mismo à quien se hizo, examinado vna, y otra vez con grande diligencia; y es vno de estos Isleños, llamado Iuan Ipapa. En el Pueblo de la Inmaculada Concepcion de la Isla de Tinian, en sueños, ó despierto, como èl dize, se le apareció la Santissima Virgen a 17 de Agosto, tres dias despues que recibió la lançada el Padre Luis de Morales, y la Reyna de los Angeles con

el rostro, y con las palabras detestaua la maldad, y la crueldad de la Isla de Seypan, en auer herido à aquel Padre. La forma con que venia la Virgen, es la misma con que se venera nuestra Señor de Guadalupe en Mexico, cuya copia tenian colocada los Padres decentemente en vn Oratorio, entrente de la casa de este Indio. Solo que traia en las manos dos niños, alimentandolos à sus pechos, y fuera de estos venian otros ocho niños mayores, que con vn cordel de ocho ramales traían à los pies de la Virgen vn perro atado, no obstante su resistencia, y ahullidos. Parece que atóo Dios al Demonio por medio de los niños Marianos, que recién bautizados subieron al Cielo, para que no hiziese tanto daño por medio de el Choco su Ministro, porque siendo quando esto sucedió Idolatra, pidió luego el Bautismo, y le recibió tres dias despues, dia de el Melifluo Doctor San Bernardo, y tomó el nombre de Ignacio. Por este caso, y otro que sucedió treinta años ha, en que la Santissima Virgen se apareció à vn Indio, y le mandó que se bautizasse, y socorriesse con vna embarcacion à vnos Españoles naufragantes, como lo hizo, se llama con mucha razon esta Isla, Buenvista Mariana.

Ha edificado à los Marianos la paciencia de los Padres en las injurias, trabajos, golpes, y heridas, que han recibido, y principalmente, porque auiendo sido maltratados, y heridos algunos en las Islas de Tinian, y Seypan, fueron los mismos, y otros à convidarlos con el perdon, y la amistad, diziendoles que tenemos vn Dios tan bueno, que perdonaua facilmente sus injurias, y nos madaua que perdonassemos las nuestras. Y ellos admirados dezian: Mauri si Dios! Mauri si Dios! O que bueno es Dios! Y les ha seruido de grande exemplo, porque algunas Islas, y Pueblos, que estauan entre si desavenidos, han hecho pazes, y se han entablado comercio en todas las Islas donde ha llegado la Fè, muy conveniente, assi para conservar entre ellos la caridad Christiana, como para que mas facilmente passen los Predicadores, y el Euangelio de vnas Islas à otras.

Con los milagros que Dios ha obrado, y con lo que han trabajado, y padecido los Predicadores, se ha conseguido el fruto que diximos antes en las onze Islas que quedan reducidas à nuestra Santa Fè, siendo casi todos sus habitantes, ó Catecumenos, y esperamos de la misericordia de Dios, que presto no avrà en ellas persona ninguna, que no recocozca por Señor à Iesu Christo, y se glorie del nombre Christiano. Hanseles quitado muchos Idolos, ó figuras de sus antepasados para quemarlos, de los quales ardió vn buen monton delante de la Santa Cruz, el dia de su fiesta à 16 de Iulio de 69 en el Pueblo de el Triunfo de la Cruz, de la Isla de San Iuan. Semejantes luminarias se han hecho en otras partes, para que à la luz de estas hogueras vean mejor la verdad de nuestra Santa Fè. Hanse enterrado muchas calaveras de sus antepasados, las quales guardauan con algun adorno, y veneracion, mas ya las desprecian, oyendo dezir à los Padres, que estàn ardiendo sus almas en el Infierno. En algunas partes auia grande resistencia à dar estas cosas, y los Padres se han visto amenazados con la muerte, porque se las quitauan; pero despreciauau estos temores por sepultar, y convertir en ceniza la Idolatria, la qual borrarán todos de buena gana con la sangre de sus venas.

Aora aquellas Islas claman por Predicadores. Los Predicadores piden compañeros, y hazen señas à los que estàn en esta nave de Europa, tan llena de Marineros, y Remeros, para que les vayan à ayudar à scar con la red del Euangelio innumerables almas, que

estàn en vn mar de ignorancia, y ceguedad. Christo mirando tantas Islas, como estàn aun en las tinieblas de su infidelidad, dize a todos aquellos en cuyo pecho arde vna centella de zelo Christiano. Mirad las Regiones que estàn blancas, y dispuestas para la hoz. Muchas almas se pierden por no auer quien les enseñen el camino de el Cielo, y les sucede lo que dize el Profeta: Los niños pidieron pan, y no ay quien se le parta. No re[h]usen los que Dios llama, llevar à Christo à aquellas gentes, y los que no pudieren ayuden con sus Oraciones, y lagrimas à los que trabajan en aquel campo, levantando las manos Moyses, quando pelea Iosué. Y aquellos à quien Dios hizo como Mayordomos de esta gran obra grande de su mirecordia cooperen al Santo zelo de nuestro gran Rey (que Dios tenga en el Cielo) que tenia dentro de el coraçon estas almas, y al de nuestra Reyna, y Señora, que Dios guarde muchos, y felizissimos años, para bien de esta Monarquia, que ha tomado debaxo de su amparo, y de su nombre à estos felizissimos Marianos, para que no tenga lugar el Demonio de inficionan por medio de sus Ministros las otras Islas, como lo ha hecho en estas, por medio de el China Gentil, en los veinte años que se han perdido, despues que estas Islas pidieron Predicadores de el Evangelio.

Y parece que ha querido Dios se conozcan estos principios de la Fè en estas Islas, en el principio de el Reynado de nuestro gran Monarca Carlos Segundo, para que con las grandes felicidades que de su gobierno esperamos, crezca la Fè en estas Islas, hasta llegar al Xapon, con quien se continuan.

Las onze islas qve estàn reducidas en este año à nuestra Santa Fè, son estas.

Guan, que se llama	San Iuan.
Zarpana, ya	Santa Ana.
Aguiguan, ya	San Angel.
Tinian, ya	Buenavista Mariana.
Seypan, ya	San Ioseph.
Anatagan, ya	San Ioachin.
Sarigan, ya	San Carlos.
Guguan, ya	San Phelipe.
Alamagan, ya	La Concepcion.
Pagon, ya	San Ignacio.
Agrigan, ya	San Francisco Xauier. ¹

LAVS DEO.

1 Ed. note: See Doc. 1670E for comments.

Documents 1669B

Letters from the Mariana Island missionaries to the Queen, dated Agaña April 1669

B1. Letter from Fr. Sanvitores, dated 25 April 1669

Source: Original ms. lost; partly quoted in Fr. García's biography, p. 245; translated in the Guam Recorder, September 1937, as follows.

As the first spiritual fruits of this Marian Land, we offer your Majesty not diamonds, perfumes, pearls nor gold, nor other riches of that nature, the poverty of these Islands, already known to the Dutch, who have searched them many times and have given them up as worthless; a poverty which has prevented there being here anything which would attract the enemies of our Holy Faith. Rather, we offer that which Your majesty is always seeking, and redeeming at such great expense to the Royal treasury, and I refer to the souls redeemed by the Precious Blood of our Savior Jesus Christ, by whose grace and the help of your Royal piety, the Holy Virgin has, in the one year, in spite of the vigorous complaints of Satan and the perverse voice of Choco against baptism, gained more than 13,000 Marianos who were baptized in these eleven islands, and more than 20,000 catechumens. But those who most signally form a special part of this triumph, and serve as a guard for the King, (whom God keep) are the hundred or more infants who, recently baptized, have flown to Heaven, and there, with the Angels, compose a bodyguard for His Majesty, for now there are all these little angels in Heaven who would have been lost forever if we had had delayed one year longer in coming.¹

I must not fail to say that Christ repaid this abundant harvest of souls with a superabundance of Divine pity, for although these poor Marianos, as he says, do not need to see many miracles in order to accept our Faith, Christ saw fit to work at least a few.

1 Ed. note: Never mind what Choco said, the fact that over 100 babies died soon after receiving baptism during this first year would have shaken the confidence of any primitive group at first contact.

B2. Points made in a Memorial to Her Majesty concerning the Mariana Islands, dated Agadña 26 April 1669

Sources: AGI Fil. 82-2-33; maybe also in AGI 101-1.

Notes: This is the first version. The revised version, dated 15 May 1669, is what the Queen saw (see Doc. 1671F6). See also Doc. 1671H up to 1671K for follow-up actions by Fr. Sanvitores' father, the Queen, and the Council of the Indies.

Original text in Spanish.

Jhs + Maria

Puntos del Memorial a Su Magestad por las Islas Marianas.

Lo que parece mas necessario al presente estado destas Islas, segun la relacion, que se remite, se puede reducir a estos puntos:

1. El numero mayor, que se pudiere de Operarios Evangelicos, asi para doctrinar las once Islas nuebamente reducidas, como para reducir las otras muchas, que quedan aun en esta Cordillera en sus tinieblas de muerte, y Gentilidad desde la tierra Austral antes incognita hasta el Japon.

*2. El numero de Compañeros Seglares de varias habilidades, y oficios, que puedan enseñar a estas Gentes, y principalmente el de buenos Christianos en su exemplo, y que vengan con los instrumentos de sus oficios, y con las armas de fuego, que se pudiere, que son aqui de especial temor, y conveniencia; porque ya que la primera entrada del Santo Evangelio ha sido agena de semejante temor; para su conservacion, y asiento de las costumbres Christianas, conviene algun temor, y forma de gobierno coactivo, lo qual no tienen las Cabezas, o Principales Indios desta tierra, con que afuerza solo de la bondad de sus naturales, y proteccion del Señor, no han sido mayores los desmanes de la Plebe, y especialmente con la infeccion, e instigaciones del Idolatra **Choco**, de que se habla en la relacion: lo qual muestra verdaderamente quan necessario, y dado del Cielo fue para la salvacion destas gentes el Patrocinio, y Señorío, que la Sede Apostolica concedio al Rey N.S. en estas Nuevas tierras.*

Y para que esto se hiciese con mas suavidad, y no tantos gastos, como los hubiera con presidio de Españoles en forma, se podria suplir su falta, sirviendose su Magd. de mandar se embien de Manila unos docientos hombres que se repartan por estas Islas, o el numero que se pudiere de Indios de Phillipinas de buen animo, y Christiandad antigua, como lo son los Panpangos, y Tagalos, que aunque vengan sin Españoles, por la falta que ay de Gente Española en Manila, y por los gastos mayores del sustento aqui, podran servir para los efectos dichos, aun sin mas cabeza, que la del Capitan D. Juan de Santa Cruz, que al presente lo es de nuestros Compañeros, y lo pudiera ser en qualquiera plaza de su Magd, a quien ha servido muy señaladamente en esta Mision, y ganado notable respeto al nombre Christiano, y Español (de que tiene no menos

espíritu que sangre) entre estos naturales, cuya lengua, y costumbres tiene ya comprendidas: y a falta suya con alguno de los mismos Indios Panpangos, que vengan de nuebo de Manila, se podra pasar bastantemente, mientras no se sirviere su Magestad de mas forma de presidio, y gobierno, para el qual quando le hubiere, seria muy a proposito el Capitan Antonio Nieto, Cabo que fue del Nabio, que nos trujo a estas Islas, y se ofrecio a acompañarnos en ellas, o el Alférez Diego Martinez Castellanos vecino de Manila, que con su caudal no menos de Christiandad, y Prudencia, que de hacienda sin obligaciones de Familia, podra servir mucho a su Magestad en esta tierra.

Y en trueque de los Indios, que vinieren de Manila, se podran embiar alla otros tantos naturales destas Islas, que iran de buena gana, como ya empezaron a ir el año pasado de 668, y no seria de poca conveniencia si con este trueque de gente, y mezcla de los antiguos, y nuebos Christianos Indios se pudiesen administrar estas muchas tierras. Lo qual es mas facil de experimentar en estas Islas por estas tan al paso de las Naos de Philippinas.

3. Para lo qual conviene suplicar lo tercero a su Mgd. se de apretado orden para que las Naos quando ban a Manila desde Nueva España (y asi mismo quando vienen de Manila, si los vientos dieren lugar, pues ya tenemos tambien las Islas de los Volcanes, por donde suelen pasar las Naos a la venida) reconozcan el estado destas Islas Marianas, y hagan quando fuere menester las demostraciones de castigo, y remedio en los desmanes, que hubiere avido, trayendo de camino el socorro de la gente dicha, y lo demas que la caridad christiana añadiere, especialmente de ropa para vestir a N.S. Jesu Christo extremadamente desnudo en estos pobres, y que se hagan señas con piezas al llegar a estas Islas.

4. Insistir en lo que ya se suplico el año pasado, que desde Manila se despache Nabio suficiente, y de proposito, sin dependencia de otros viages para reconocer los puertos, que dicen ay en estas Islas, de que ya nosotros podemos dar tambien alguna noticia, especialmente en las Islas de Guan, y Zarpana, donde hemos visto el parage, donde estaba surto el Olandes algunos meses los años pasados; y llebar Ministros Evangelicos por esta Cordillera, y especialmente por las Islas, que continuan estas Marianas con las Philippinas, como dicen se continuan por Mindanao, con que sera mas facil la comunicacion, y administracion de unas, y otras: para el qual viage parece muy a proposito el Capitan Antonio de Azebedo, que vino por Piloto mayor en el Nabio, que nos trujo a estas Islas, y se ofreció al dho descubrimiento.

5. Que se embien otros semejantes por la parte del Piru para la tierra Austral antes incognita, Islas de Salomon, y las otras deste mar del Sur, que se refieren en el viage del Capitan Pedro Fernandez de Quiros, y se continuan desde esta Isla de Guan hasta bien cerca del Piru, como se ve en la relacion del dicho viage presentada ya en los papeles del año pasado.

6. Para correr especialmente las Islas, que continuan estas Marianas con las del Japon, se podria tambien venir de la Nueva España con Nabio traydo de los Puertos de Guatemala, o del Piru al de Acapulco, como se ha traydo otras vezes: y no faltará en Mexico, quien se ofreciera a este viage, como se ofrecio D. Antonio de Medina, por

cuyo medio, y caudal, o el de otros a quien es su Magestad honrrase con algun titulo, o merced, sobre las tierras, que efectivamente pusiesen debajo del Imperio de Nuestro Señor Jesu Christo, y Catholica Corona del Rey N.S. con Ministros del Santo Evangelio, se pudiera quiza con menos expensas del Real aver conseguir grandes aumentos, y extension de Nuestra Santa Fe Catholica, y remedio de tantas almas, que oy estan totalmente destituydas del, teniendose le unicamente librado el Señor segun la presente Providencia en el Real, y Catholico zelo de Su Magestad, y su atentissimo Consejo, de cuya pronta resolucion pende oy la suma importancia de coger, y cultivar dichas tierras, quando estan aun intactas de Mahometanos, y otras pestilentes Sectas, como se han hallado estas Islas, las cuales aun en no averse executado antes las çedulas antiguas, y zelo siempre constante de Su Magd. sobre la reduccion destes Pobres, no nos hubiera llebado veinte años de ventaja en estas Islas, y ocasionado las sangrientas contradiciones, de que se habla en la relacion, con muerte de dos Compañeros Seglares, y heridas, y trabajos de los Religiosos, que aunque por preciosas reliquias de la Cruz de Nuestro Señor Jesu Christo las ponemos de muy buena gana sobre nuestros hombros, y cabezas; mas por el daño destas pobres almas nos vemos obligados a solicitar en quanto se pudiere el remedio para adelante, que nos prometimos desta Misericordia Divina, y Mariana por medio del amparo, y Piedad de Su Magd. y zelo de sus Reales Ministros.

[Summary]

Lo mas preciso entre las dichas cosas que suplicamos, es el numero mayor que se pudiere de Ministros destas almas, que podran venir desde Nueva España, y Puerto de Acapulco a esta Isla de Guan con los Naos ordinarias de Philippinas, como venimos nosotros; y desde aqui repartirse por las Islas mas cercanas con las embarcaciones desta tierra, y la gente a lo menos de Indios de Manila, que fuere conveniente a introducir en estas tierras el necessario horror a lo malo.

Para las Islas mas distantes se necesita de mayor embarcacion, que podra venir de Philippinas, o de Nueva España, o del Piru, como Su Magestad ordenare: y para deternerse aqui el tiempo que fuere menester, ay bastante puerto a lo menos en esta Isla de Guan, y en la Zarpana: y se hallaran quiza otros en las demas Islas, si viene Nabio, que los reconozca.

*Asi lo suplicamos, y esperamos en estas Islas Marianas en el Pueblo de **Agaña** Isla de Guan. Los Religiosos de la Comp^a de Jhs Ministros desta Mision, que hemos concurrido al presente a 26 de Abril de 1669.*

+

+

+ Diego Luis S. Vitores + Luis de Medina Luis de Morales

.M.

Thomas Cardeñoso

Y el H^o que acompaña a los Padres Estudiante de la Comp^a de Jhs que escribio estos puntos,

+

+ Lorenzo Bustillo +

[Endorsement:] *Puntos del Memorial*

Translation.

[See the translations, already made, in the appendices to Doc. 1670H2, and Doc. 1671F6.]

B3. Enclosure dated June 1669: List of the things which we will accept for the love of God

Sources: Archives of Loyola, Fil. 64-4-4; AGI Ultramar 562, Jesuit doc. n° 2; copy in Colección Pastells, Fil. 2, pp. 17-21.

Note: The translation made by Fr. Ledesma was unfortunately incomplete and not accurate enough to be reproduced here.

Original text in Spanish.

Lista de las cosas que tomaremos por amor de Dios, embiandosenos por el mismo amor para esta Mision de las Yslas Marianas.

Lo mas preciso inmediatamente en qualquier viage que se haga por estas Yslas son: Los Santos Olios nuevos, y trigo para Ostias de que tenemos aun menos ahora que de vino, aunque este combiene tambien venga todos los años, y algunas candelas de cera por si no las embiaren de Filipinas.

Las demas cosas las podemos para cuando buenamente se pudieren embiar en todo ó parte como son:

Recados de decir misa enteros, especialmente misales, calices, aras, ostiarios de plomo, ó otra materia contra humedad, vinageras y platos para ellas, y fuentes, ó aljufainas, que sirvan de fuentes de bautismo, crifs]meras media docena, y las sacullas y albas, ó hechas ó de que hacerlas de todos colores. Cada sacerdote á lo menos de los que vengán traiga su recado acomodado para viages.

Campanas de iglesia grandes aunque sean unas doce, y campanillas otra docena, y la receta como se funden, y sus instrumentos por si nos pudieremos valer para esto de unas piezas de artilleria que hay aca.

Ymagenes, y hechuras de bultos de Santos de buena mano y especialmente del Salvador en forma venerable y magestuosa (que las mas que truximos fueron en Cruz) y algunas de bulto de Nuestro P. S. Ygnacio, S. Francisco Xavier, y San Francisco de Borja, &c.

Lámparas para el Santisimo Sacramento, con una docena de vasos de la misma lámpara. Yncienso verdadero. Belones [velones], candiles, aproposito para luz de casa, de uno ó dos mecheros, una docena por lo menos y otras doce linternas, claras y la mitad en forma que se pueda decir misa con ellas.

Rosarios todo el número que ae pudiere y algunas medallas y crusses.

Guitarras quatro y dos Harpas con cantidad de cuerdas, siquiera para las Guitarras y Arpas que hay aca.

Clarines cuatro, y organo con organista. Cascabeles grandes y medianas en cantidad.

Oropel, papel colorado, &c.

Granates, Abalorios, cuentas de vidrio, y cosas semejantes en buena cantidad.

Conchas de tortuga la mayor cantidad que se pudiere por que en lo que aca se estima para pagar fletes, &c.

Papel seis resmas y plumas para escribir otros seis mazos, y tinta en proporcion, ó de que hacerla; tinteros de tornillos una docena de los mas pequeños que se hallaren, tinteros de plomo ú otro metal los mas grandes que hubiere media docena.

Anteojos de varios grados especialmente seis pares para viejos y una media docena de antejo de larga vista para reconocer las Naos. Peynes 50.

Ropa ligera y pobre como vocasi [rather brocas], ú otro genero semejante para vestir asi los Religiosos como los Españoles, é Indios que nos acompañ y para estos Pobres Marianos, en la mayor cantidad que se pudiere.

Agujas, hilo de todos colores y seda para cosas de iglesia[, y de] algodón para remendar redes y otras cosas.

Hilo de acarreto, y cantidad de cordel grueso[,] mediano y delgado, y algunas maromas.

Tafetan y pedazos de telas para remendar ornamentos y para vestidos de Nuestra Señora del Buen Viage, y otras imagenes que tenemos de mucha devocion, y algunas colonias, y listones pasamanos, galones, fl[u]jecos, para frontales y casullas.

Vidrio volante y algunos talcos para adorno de imagenes, y altar.

Trenzaderas, blancas y moradas, unos cuatro mazos.

Lienzo para corporales, purificadores, amitos[,] albas, y cosas de iglesia, y jabon para labarlas.

Zapatos de á diez, once, doce, puntos y trece puntos, y sus ormas[,] cordovanes[,] cueros de baqueta para hacer algunos y remendarlos.

Ynstrumentos de Herreria y Carpinteria, y de fabrica de iglesia, y embarcaciones: especialmente dos sierras grandes, para hacer tablas, y una sierra braza, otra sencilla y una cuchilla.

Hierro nuevo y viejo la cantidad que se pudiere.

Acero, alambre grueso de azero, y cobre buena cantidad para hacer anzuelos. Dos ollas medianas y dos peroles del metal á proposito con tres ó cuatro docenas de ollas de barro.

Cuchillos grandes y medianos en buena cantidad. Cuchillas grandes dos. hachas en la mayor cantidad que se pudiere. Clavos de todo genero[,] alicates seis pares. Unos veinte candados y pequeños[,] fuertes con sus armellas, gruesas y buenas cerraduras con sus llaves para arcas y puertas[,] y cerrojos sueltos, y con sus cerraduras y armellas[,] una docena: en fin estamos en tierra antes nombrada de Ladrones, &c. Hierros para hacer Ostias, seis pares, y otros tantos metales con sus manos para moler el trigo.

Armas de fuego para la gente que hay aca (fuera de la que viniere con ellas) vengan unas doce por lo menos, seis escopetas y seis pistolas, que les causara mas horror, que

las bocas de fuego con cuerda y venga la municion combeniente para estas y otras pocas armas que hay por aca, polvora, balas, postas, y pergidones con sus frascos, broqueles ó rodelas, contra lanzas una docena que aunque los Religiosos tenemos otras mejores armas, los seglares que nos acompañan dicen que las necesitan tener las suyas; y verderramente ya que la entrada del Santo Evangelio ha sido tan de paz no hacen daño los dichos resguardos para la conservacion y defensa de los ya Cristianos contra los que se atrevieren á resucitar las contradicciones del Choco.

*Manuales Romanos: seis; Breviarios pequeños seis y otros tantos misales los mas pequeños que hubiere. Misas propias de Santos[,] nuevas y de los Santisimos nombres de Jesus y de Maria y de otras que hay **ad libitum**. Epistolas de S. Xavier antiguas y nuevas latinas: seis tomitos á lo menos. **Contemptus Mundi**: en romance[,] media docena. Martirilogios Romanos, en romance seis[,] y si hubiese algun Martirilogio Romano, en latin nuevo aunque sea con las notas del Cardenal Baronio. Reglas de la Compañia en romance seis tomitos, y algun instituto nuevo entero. Villacastin: media docena. Cartillas para niños, unas ciento. Estampas grandes de los ministerios de Christo nuestro Señor bien formados, y de los cuatro novisimos. Acosta **De procuranda Yndorum Salute**. Antonio Ruiz, **Conquista espiritual del Paraguay**. **Varones ilustres**, los que ha sacado el Padre Andrade[,] Solorzano **Pólitica Indiana** en romance, y si hubiese dos Tomos latinos. Cualquiera libros de Santos Padres Espirituales. Historia y Autores morales, que por alla sobren.*

Tabaco para el gasto ordinario[,] las tinajas de ello que se pudieren y semilla para sembrar aca. Cosas de mantenimiento tomaremos lo que se nos embiare por amor de Dios, que aunque para el necesario sustento tenemos lo bastante por la misericordia del Señor con los frutos de la tierra; pero los mantenimientos de Castilla que van provando y apeteciendo estos pobres nos sirven lindamente para que ellos nos den otros mas suaves á nosotros, especialmente el vizcocho, que hace madrugar á los niños para que vengan á la Santa Doctrina y á chicos y á grandes los hace estar todo el dia aprendiendo en la escuela que es la iglesia con notable suavidad: y así venga por amor de Dios cuanto se pudiere de vizcocho del modo que se previene por las Naos, que nos vale mas para hacer guerra al demonio en esta tierra que diez Compañias de Ynfanteria Española, por que es gran verdad la del bien experimentado, y bien Mariano Misionero Padre Pedro Juan Castini, que en semejantes naciones entra la fé no menos por la boca, que por el oido, y en todas partes entra muy bien por las obras de amor y caridad Cristiana.

Espejos media docena de los mas grandes que se pudieren embiar; por que admiran y mueven aqui mucho.

Las conchas de tortuga sean de las mas grandes y gruesas que se hallaren, y sin rasparlas ni aderezarlas sino como se quitan de la tortuga, que así las estiman aca.

Translation, by R.L.

List of the things which we will accept for the love of God, they being sent to us for the same love on behalf of this Mission of the Mariana Islands.¹

The most important items to be sent immediately in any voyage to these Islands are: new Holy Oils and wheat [flour] for making hosts, of which we have here in smaller quantity than wine, although it is convenient that this also come every year, and some wax candles, in case they do not send them to us from the Philippines.

The other items we ask for may be sent at your good convenience in whole or in part, such as:

Complete mass kits, especially missals, chalices, altar slabs, ciboria (of lead, or other waterproof material), cruets and tray to hold them, baptismal fonts or basins which can be used as baptismal fonts, half a dozen phials to hold chrism, and the chasubles and albs, either ready-made or the cloth of various colors to make them with. Every priest, at least those who are coming over, should bring along his own kit suitable for traveling.

Church bells, large, even up to one dozen, also small bells, another dozen, and a formula for casting bells, and the necessary tools, in case we can make use of some pieces of old artillery we have here.

Images, and molded statues of Saints, well done, especially of our Savior shown in a venerable and majestic appearance (since most of those we brought show him on the Cross), and a few molded statues of our Father St. Ignatius, St. Francis Xavier, and St. Francis de Borja, etc.

Lamps for the Blessed Sacrament, with one dozen replacement vases for them. True incense. Olive-oil lamps, large and small, suitable for lighting houses, one- or two-wick models, at least one dozen of them. Another dozen lanterns, clear-glass and half of them of a shape suitable for saying mass with.

Any large quantity of rosaries, and some medals and crosses.

Four guitars and two harps with a quantity of strings for the guitars and harps already here. Four clarions, and an organ with an organist;² a good quantity of big- and medium-size jingle bells.

Tinsel and colored paper, etc.

Imitation jewels, baubles, glass beads, and the like, in large quantities.

Tortoise shells, as many as possible. These are used here as money for the payment of freight, etc.

Six reams of writing paper and another half dozen bundles of writing pens, with ink in proportion, or the ingredients to make it; ink-wells, screw-cap type, one dozen of the smallest size that can be found; ink-stands, of lead or other metal, of the largest size that can be found, half a dozen.

1 Ed. note: This list is based on the original list of requirements (see Doc. 1668F).

2 Ed. note: I imagine that this organist was not a person, but an organ grinding handle, or bellows of some sort.

Eye-glasses of varied strengths, especially six pairs for old people, and half a dozen telescopes to recognize the galleons with. Combs, 50 of them.

Light and low-grade cloth such as *Brocas*,¹ or some similar material to clothe not only the Religious but also the Spaniards and Indians who accompany us and for these Poor Marianos, the largest quantity possible.

Needles, thread of every color, of silk for church things, and of cotton to mend nets and other things with.

Pack-thread or twine, and a quantity of cord, thick, average-size, and thin, and a few ropes.

Taffeta and pieces of cloth to mend ornaments and to make clothes for Our Lady of Buen Viage, and other statues toward which we have a great devotion, and a few [ordinary] ribbons, lace ribbons or edgings, braids or galloons, and fringes for front pieces and chasubles.

Glass dust and some talc powder to adorn statues, and altars with.

Tapes, white and purple, some four bundles.

Linen to make corporals, purificatory cloths, amices, albs, and church things, and soap to wash them.

Shoes, sizes 10, 11, 12 and 13, with their lasts², leather and ramrod leather for making shoes and repairing them.

Blacksmithing and carpentry tools, to build churches and boats: especially two large saws to make boards with, a one-man saw, another simple (hand) saw, and one knife saw.

New and old iron, as large a quantity as possible.

Steel, thick steel wire, and copper wire, a good quantity to make fishhooks with. Two average-size pots and two kettles of a suitable metal, with three or four dozens earthenware pots.

Knives, large and average-size, a good quantity. Two large kitchen-knives. The largest number of axes possible. Nails of all types. Six pairs of pliers. Some 20 padlocks, big and small, strong, with their clamps [or hasps], thick and good lock mechanisms with their keys, meant for coffers and doors; and a dozen loose bolts, with their locksets and hasps: after all, we live in a country formerly called Thieves' Islands, etc. Irons to make hosts with, six pairs [of molds], and as many mortars with their pestles to grind wheat.

Fire-arms for the people who are here, (beyond the people who might come already [equipped] with them) let us have about a dozen at least; six matchlocks and six pistols, which will cause them more terror than the cannon, with match (of cord). Let us have the appropriate ammunition for the above, and for the few other firearms that are here, gunpowder, balls, slugs, and pellets, complete with their flasks, bucklers or shields, against spears, one dozen, for although we the religious have other better weapons, the

1 Ed. note: Broca was twist or drill cotton; today, we would call this denim, or jean material.

2 Ed. note: A metal form, shaped like a foot, used by shoe-makers to make or repair shoes.

laymen who accompany us claim that they need them and indeed they do. Since the entry has been so peaceful, such protection will do no harm for the conservation and defence of the Christians against those who would dare resuscitate the hostile resistance [inherited] from Choco.

Roman manuals:¹ six; small breviaries, six, and as many missals, the smallest that can be found. Mass rituals of the Saints, new, and of the Most Holy names of Jesus y Mary, and of others, your choice. Epistles of St. Xavier, old and new, in Latin; six small tomes at least. **Contemptus Mundi** in Spanish, half a dozen.² Roman Lives of Martyrs, in Spanish, six, and a new copy of the Roman Lives of Martyrs if any can be found, even if it be [the edition] with the notes of Cardinal Baronio. Rules of the Society in Spanish, six small tomes, and some new Institute, complete. Villacastin; half a dozen. Small prayer-books for children, about 100. Large engravings of the Mysteries of Christ our Lord, well drawn, four of them newest. Acosta's *De procuranda Yndorum salute*.³ Antonio Ruiz' book: "Spiritual Conquest of Paraguay." "Illustrious Men," those edited by Father Andrade. Solorzano's "Politica Indiana" in Spanish, and if available, two Latin copies.⁴ Any book by Saints and spiritual Fathers whatever. History books and authors on moral subjects, whatever can be spared overthere.

Tobacco for the usual expenditures, as many tins as possible, and some seed to sow here.

We will accept foodstuff sent to us for the love of God, for although ordinarily we have enough food to sustain us, still the food from Castile which the poor natives here are tasting and longing for, help us beautifully to receive from them others more to our liking, in particular, the sea-biscuits which cause the children to get up early so that they may come to learn the sacred doctrine, and keeps them, the small and the big ones, all day long and quite smoothly attending school which is [held in] the church.

So, for the love of God let biscuits come as many as possible, the kind that the ships are supplied with, for here the biscuit helps us more to wage war against the Devil than ten Spanish infantry companies, as the much experienced, and great Marian Missionary, Father Pedro Juan Castini said with great truth: "in such countries the faith enters as much by the mouth as by the ears, and everywhere it enters very well by examples of love and Christian charity." Mirrors, at least half a dozen of them, the bigger the better, for they admire them, and are motivated by them greatly here.

1 Ed. note: By Roman is meant edited, or published in Rome, probably by the Jesuits themselves.

2 Ed. note: A devotional book whose title can be translated as: "Contempt for worldly things". It is none other than the famous "Imitation of Christ" attributed to Thomas à Kempis. The first Spanish version made by a Jesuit, under the title "Contemptus Mundi", was that of Fr. Luis de Sarria, published at Alcala in 1586 (See Palau y Dulcet, Vol. VII, p. 155).

3 Ed. note: Title meaning: "For the salvation of the Indies."

4 Ed. note: Juan de Solorzano y Pereira was originally of Professor of Law at Salamanca, then he lived at Lima. Upon returning to Spain, he became of member of the Council of the Indies. He died in about 1653.

The turtle shells should be the largest and thickest to be found, and should not be scraped or finished in any way; rather, as they come from the turtle, that is how they prefer them here.

B4. Letter accompanying a prayer by St. Francis Xavier, dated Agaña 28 April 1669, postdated 15 May 1669

Source: AGI Fil. 82-2-34.

Note: This letter is also in the handwriting of Brother Bustillo, the same as Doc. 1669B2.

Original text in Spanish.

Jhs + Maria

Las clausulas, que aqui se contienen en la Oracion de S. Francisco Xavier parece lo pueden ser de bien acepto Memorial para Su Magestad, pues lo eran para la Magestad Divina, que con estar en su Infinita Sapiencia, y Bondad tan propensa de suyo a la salvacion de los Redimidos de Nuestro Señor Jesu Christo: Gustaba, y gusta se le representen tales razones, y con la eficacia con que las repetia cada dia S. Francisco Xavier en su nombre pues y à mayor honrra, y gloria de los nombres Santissimos de Jesus, y Maria se propone al presente por estos pobres Marianos, en orden a impetrar de Su Magestad el numero de obreros, embarcaciones, y gente competente para la predicacion, y conservacion de Nuestra Santa Fe Catholica en estas Islas, y toda su latissima Cordillera desde la tierra Austral antes incognita hasta el Japon, en lugar de los memoriales, que ban por otras vias, estos suavissimos, y efficacissimos motivos de S. Francisco Xavier.

+ + +

*Son trece mil docientos, y ochenta, y nueve los bautizados ya en las once primeras Islas Marianas, que por la misericordia de Dios, proteccion de la Santissima Virgen, y Santos de su Familia, y medios de la piedad del Rey, y Reyna nuestros Señores se han reducido a la Fe de Nuestro Señor Jesu Christo en este primer año de Mision desde el Sabado 16 de Junio de 1668 en que saltamos en tierra, y se bautizo la primera niña Mariana, hasta oy, como consta del libro, y listas de los bautismos, que quedan en esta Iglesia, y por si conduce al mayor bien de estas almas y a las innumerables, que restan aun en su Gentilidad en estas tierras por [falta] de de [sic] obreros, damos est[---]cia en este papel de la [oracion] de Nuestro Santo Apostol ---grar a una como pobres ---co deste papel, y lo es[en]cial de] la oracion del Sant[o es] lo que mas hemos me[r]ced] y pedimos a todos sus --- e Hijos de la Santiss[ima] Vir[gen].] los Religiosos de la [Com]pañía de Jhs Minis[tros] desta Mission, que al [pre]sente concurrimos en [la] Residencia de S. Ignacio de **Agaña** Pueblo [de la] Isla de **Guan** en las [Ma]rianas a 28 de Abril [de] 1669.*

+

+ *Diego Luis S. Vitores* +

+

Luis de Morales

.M.

Thomas Cardenoso

Añadense desta Isla de Guan otros trecientos, y siete Bautismos hasta 15 de Mayo deste mes, año de 669.

+

+ *Lorenzo Bustillo* +

Translation.

Jhs + Mary

The clauses, which are here contained in the Prayer of St. Francis Xavier, might be an acceptable Memorial for Your Majesty, since they were so for the Divine Majesty, who in his Infinite Wisdom and so incline Kindness did gave his own for the salvation of the Redeemed of Our Lord Jesus Christ. St. Francis Xavier enjoyed them, and enjoys that such reasons be presented to you on his behalf, and with the efficiency with which he used to repeat them every day, since it is for the greater honor and glory of the most Holy names of Jesus, and Mary. These very sweet and very efficient motives of St. Francis Xavier are now being proposed on behalf of these poor Marianos, in order to beg from Your Majesty the number of workers, vessels, and people competent for the preaching, and conservation of Our Holy Catholic Faith in these Islands, and in the whole of their very broad Chain of islands from the Austral Land heretofore unknown as far as Japan, instead of the memorials, which are being sent by other routes.

+ + +

Some 13,289 have been baptized already in the first 11 Mariana Islands.¹ Thanks to God's mercy, the protection of the Most Holy Virgin, and the Saints of her family [i.e. St. Joseph and St. Ann], and the means provided by the piety of the King, and the Queen, our Lord and Lady, they have been reduced to the Faith of Our Lord Jesus Christ in this first year of the Mission, as of Saturday 16 June 1668, the day we stepped ashore and the first baby girl was baptized Mariana, until today, according to the book, and the lists of the baptisms, that remain in this Church. So that it may lead to the greater good of these souls and to the numberless ones that still remain in their heathendom in these lands for [lack] of workers, we give this sollicitation(?) on this paper of the [prayer] of Our Sainly Apostle—we are so poor and short of paper(?)—and the essential of the

1 Ed. note: This inflated number 13,289 is given by the missionaries themselves (see illustration: "Son trece mil doscientos ochenta y nueve.") It was an error made in adding 6,055 for Guam to 7,234 for the whole group (see Doc 1673L).

prayer of the Saint is what we most have need(?) of, and we ask that all your --- and Sons of the Most Holy Virgin.

The Religious of the Society of Jesus, Ministers of this Mission, who are now gathered at the Residence of San Ignacio of **Agaña**, Town of the Island of **Guan** in the Marianas, on 28 April 1669.

+

+ Diego Luis S. Vitores +

+

Luis de Morales

.M.

Thomas Cardenoso

[P.S.] Another 307 baptisms are being added for this Island of **Guan** up to 15 May of this month, year of 1669.

+

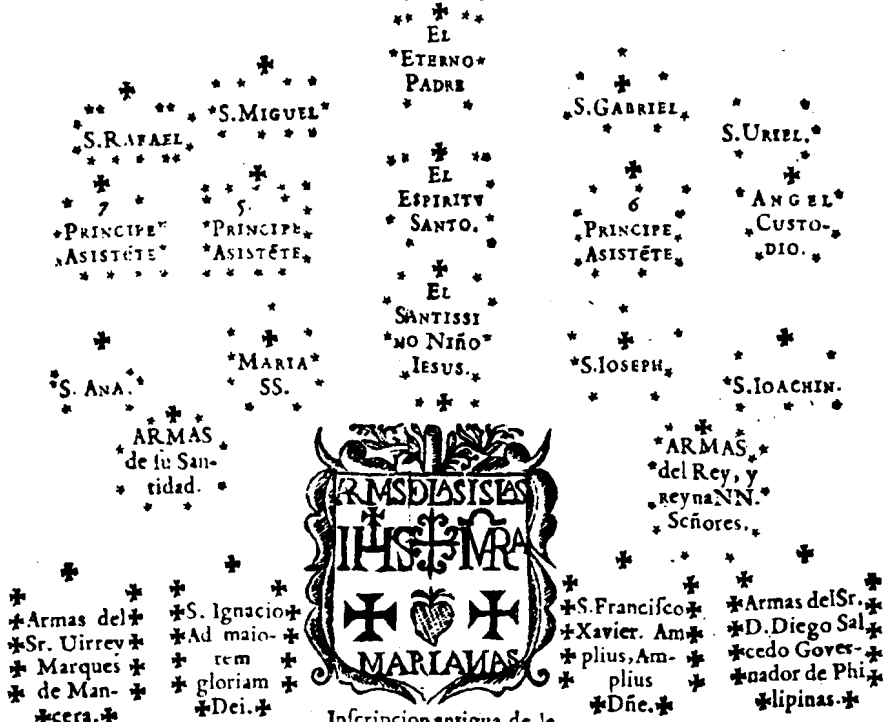
+ Lorenzo Bustillo +

(Following pages) **Image of St. Francis Xavier, and Coat-of-arms of the Mariana Islands**, printed at Mexico in 1668 for Father Sanvitores and the new Mariana Mission. This document was used to raise funds for the Mission in Mexico. A copy of it was used to write to the Queen. The portrait is said to be a "true effigy" of St. Francis Xavier; it is safe to assume that the engraver used an authentic portrait as his model. There is at least one account of a miracle that was obtained by a missionary in the Marianas by applying this image to a sick person (Doc. 1673L).

(From AGI Estampas 58, Leg. Fil. 82. Original size: approx. 32 cm x 25 cm)

DISEÑO DE LA DIVISA, Y EMPRESA EUANGELICA DE LAS ISLAS MARIANAS.

A LA YMAGEN YA ANTES ESTAMPADA DE LA SAGRADA CASA Y FAMILIA de la Uirgen Nuestra Señora, con san IGNACIO, y San FRANCISCO XAVIER á sus pies, la qual estampa vino nacida á dicha divisa, y Empresa de las Islas Marianas, se añaden, para mas apropiacion, el escudo, que va señalado á los pies del Niño IESVS, de las Armas propias de dichas Islas, y su Conquista, y los otros escudos que le acompañan en memoria, y nombre de sus principales Patronos en la tierra con la forma, è inscripcion siguiente.



Ave pulcherrima Amor Domus, Ave Iesu Rex cordium, Ave Maria Mater pulchre dilectionis, sine vlla Originalis peccati macula concepta.

Inscripcion antigua de la Imagen: la qual es vna oracion muy apropiada para pedir vn medigo á las puertas de la casa del amor, el amor de Dios y del proximo, motivo, y promotor desta, y semejantes empresas.

Josephi Sponsa, Ioachimi & Annę Filia, Mater Dei, qui charitas est, fac vt maneam in charitate, idest in Deo in æternum. Amen.

INSCRIPCION NUEVA EN QUE SE DEDICA LA DICHA EMPRESA EUANGELICA. A la Sacra, Real, Amabilissima, Divina, y Humana Magestad de la casa y familia MARIANA DEDICA, CONSAGRA, Y ENCOMIENDA

Su Conquista, y Mission de la Compania de IESUS á las Islas Marianas, que habitadas de pobres Gentiles sin numero, se prolongan de Norte á Sur, Desde el Japon, hasta la tierra Austral antes incognita, que se reputa por sus descubridores quarta parte de todo el Orbe. Despachada de las Islas Philipinas, en el Galeo S. Diego, á siete de Agosto, de 1667, por su Governador y Capitán General, y Presidete de aquella Real Audiencia el Señor Maestro de Campo D. Diego Salcedo: Y Patrocinada en Mexico por el Excellentissimo Señor Virrey Marques de MANCERA. En nombre del Rey N. Señor D. CARLOS II. que Dios guarde: Debaxo de la Tutela de la Reyna N. Señora Doña MARIANA de Austria.

En memoria, y devido cumplimiento de la Real Cedula de su Magestad el Señor D. PHILIPPE III. q. está en gloria: En de la clemencia Divina en tantas almas felices tiempos del Pontificado de N. Y á honor especial, y culto de la Imagen de la Uirgen Nuestra Señora, que dió principio, y especial quiebra de nueva la ofrece el Almirante de esta



Real voluntad y Cedula del Rey N. Sedichosa ocurría para el eficaz logro tan desaharadas, hasta esta hora de los Santissimo Padre Clemente Papa IX. maculada Concepcion de la Uirgen N. motivo á esta sagrada Conquista, y á que la lleva á su cargo, y menor esclavesca Señora

En union, y especial concurso á esta empresa Evangelica Mariana de la Congregacion del Apollol de las Nuevas gentes S. FRANCISCO XAVIER de Mexico. Siendo su Primicerio el Licenciado D. Francisco de Orduña.

B5. Translation of the printed text appearing with the image of St. Francis Xavier (front page)

Caption: Mientras no se puede ...

As long as the said painting, or engraving, cannot be communicated to as many, as widely, this design is proposed in this format, so that it may be distributed more easily. The extreme need of so many souls is recommended to the devotion of the faithful, as their plight is greater than that of the souls in Purgatory, and worth the effort of a special Prayer for them, and the souls of the other Heathens with the sollicitation and earnestness of the Prayer of the Saintly Apostle of the new nations.

This prayer, as the devotion that it must be, is not restricted to the Gospel Ministers, but common to all those who wish to communicate the great merit of the conversion of the Souls, whom our Lord Jesus Christ redeemed. It is shown here in Spanish, exactly as it appears next to the Latin version in the biography of the Saint by Father Lucena, book 5, chapter 5, and in the Epitome of the Sodality, section 5, n° 186. However, there was added to the original formula used by the Saint, the brief phrase that appears in parentheses, the better to emphasize the invocation to the most holy Marian family, that Saint Francis Xavier included in the expression “select Saints, etc.”

PRAYER OF SAINT FRANCIS XAVIER for the conversion of the Heathens.

“Eternal God, Creator of all things, remember that you alone have created the souls of the Heathens, making them in your Image and semblance. Consider, O Lord, that it is a disgrace that they end up in hell. Remember, O Lord, that your Son Jesus Christ, who has so liberally shed his blood, suffered for them. Do not allow, O Lord, that your own Son and our Lord be unappreciated any longer by the Heathen; rather, appeased by the prayers (of the most Holy MARY, of her whole family) and of other select Saints of yours, and of the Church, the most Blessed Spouse of your own Son, remember, O Lord, your mercy, and pardoning them for their Idolatry and unfaithfulness, grant them also the knowledge of the one you sent, your Son Jesus Christ, who is salvation, life, and our resurrection, through whom we became free and will become saved, and to whom glory will be, forever and ever. Amen.”

It would be a great alms to repeat this Prayer every day, as the Saintly Apostle did, along with a Father of our Society, and one Hail Mary for the said intention of the Conversion of the Heathens, and specially for those who are most in need, and most ready for the evangelical harvest (such as the poor heathens of the said Mariana Islands) for whom, and for the Mission of its workers our Lord Jesus Christ has specially declared how much he enjoys the special Prayer to the Lord of the Harvest:

Rogate ergo Dominum messis, ut mittat Operarios in messem suam. [Therefore, pray the Lord of the harvest to send workers to his harvest] Matthew 9 & Luke 10.

With permission [of the Archbishop of Mexico].

Design of the symbols for the evangelical enterprise of the Mariana Islands (reverse page)

To the previously-printed engraved image of the sacred House and Family of the Virgin our Lady, with Saint Ignatius and Saint Francis Xavier at her feet—which engraving came attached to the said symbols for the evangelical enterprise of the Mariana Islands—are added, most appropriately, the specific coat of arms for the conquest of the said Islands, for display at the feet of the Child Jesus, and the other coats of arms that accompany Him, to commemorate the names of their main Patrons on earth, in the following format and inscription:

[Explanations: There follows the manner of displaying all of these images and symbols. On either side of the God the Father are the angels Raphael, Michael, Gabriel and Uriel. On either side of the Holy Ghost are “assistant princes” and the Guardian Angel. On either side of the Child Jesus are St. Ann, the Virgin Mary, St. Joseph, and St. Joachim. Surrounding the **coat of arms of the Mariana Islands** are the coats of arms of the Pope, of the Kings of Spain, of the Marquis of Mancera and Viceroy of New Spain, and of the Governor of the Philippines, Diego Salcedo, as well as the (emplacements for the) images of St. Ignatius (whose motto was *Ad maiorem Dei gloriam* [For the greater glory of God], and of St. Francis Xavier (whose motto was *Amplius, amplius Domine* [Forever more, O Lord].) [Immediately below the coat of arms of the Marianas a space was reserved for the display of “an old inscription of the Image, which is a very appropriate prayer from a beggar knocking at the door of love, the love of God and neighbor, the motive and promoter of this, and similar, enterprises.”]

[On either side are the following prayers in Latin: “Hail most beautiful House of Love, Hail Jesus King of hearts, Hail Mary beautiful Mother of love, who conceived without the stain of the original sin, betrothed to Joseph, daughter of Joachim and Ann, Mother of God, who is charity, please admit (me) into this charity, that is, to join God for eternity. Amen.”]

New inscription by which the said evangelical enterprise is dedicated.

To the Sacred, Royal, most Loving, Divine, and Human Majesty of the Marian house and family, is dedicated, consecrated, and commended the conquest of, and the Mission of the Society of Jesus in, the Mariana Islands, which are inhabited by a large number of poor Heathens, are situated from North to South, from Japan as far as the Austral Land, heretofore unknown, which is reputed by its discoverers to be the fourth part of the whole Globe. It was despatched from the Philippine Islands, aboard the galleon **San Diego**, on 7 August 1667, by their Governor and Captain General, and President of the Royal Audiencia there, Master-of-camp Don Diego Salcedo; it is sponsored in Mexico by the Most Excellent Sir and Viceroy, the Marquis of Mancera. On behalf of the King our Lord, Charles II, whom God save. Under the protection of the Queen our Lady, Doña Mariana de Austria.

[On either side of the coat of arms of Bartholome Muñoz, who was the captain of the **San Diego**, is the following notice, read horizontally:]

To commemorate, and give due compliance to, the Royal will and Decree of the King our Lord, Don Philip IV, who is now in glory. To mark the fortunate occurrence of the effective accomplishment of the Divine clemency toward so many souls, so abandoned until the present, during the happy pontificate of Our Holiness Pope Clement IX. To give special honor to the cult of the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin our Lady,¹ who was the instigator and the special motive of this sacred Conquest, and to whom it is offered once again by Admiral Bartholome Muñoz, who is in charge of it, and is the minor slave of this Lady.

Jointly with, and with the special cooperation in this Evangelical Marian enterprise of the Sodality of the Apostle of the New nations, Saint Francis Xavier, of Mexico, its Principal being the Licentiate Don Francisco de Orduña.

1 Ed. note: Her statue was carried from Manila to Guam (see Doc. 1667D).

Documents 1669C

Account of a visit to the Marianas in 1669, attributed to Fr. Pimentel

Sources: ARSI Phil. 13, fol. 37-43 (2 documents); edited by Fr. Andrés de Ledesma and printed (4 folios). The first document, unsigned, was translated in part by Fr. Repetti and published in the Guam Recorder 17:4 (1940): 157. A copy is in RAH 9/2676 as doc. n° 12, and another in RAH 9/3639.

Notes: The probable author of these two documents is Fr. Luis Pimentel, who came by Guam one year after his mission band. They are a combination of his own observations and information taken from the annual reports which he hand-carried to Manila. Warning: The version printed by Fr. Ledesma contains many small typographical errors.

C1. The manuscript text found in Rome

Original text in Spanish.

Llegada del Sor. Governador D. Manuel de Leon en la Nao de San Joseph a la[s] Islas de Guan. Relacion de las Islas Marianas hasta aora de los Ladrones[,] costumbres de los Indios y de lo sucedido en dichas Islas al Padre Diego Luis de San Vitores, y sus cinco compañeros desde 16 de Junio de 68 hasta 17 del mismo mes de 69.

Venia el Sor. Governador D. Manuel de Leon con grandes deseos de saber de los Padres y de lo obrado en la Propagacion de Nuestra Santa Fee, en estas Islas[,] dia del glorioso San Antonio 13 de Junio al amanecer fue descubierta la Isla de Guan adonde con este fin yva aproado el Navio. El viernes siguiente 14 del mes, como a las dos de la tarde dio fondo la Nao a la parte del sueste en una Baia capaz adonde años ha estuvo el Olandes con 14 Naos; Pero no pudiendo hallar aqui luz de los Padres, porque aunque los Indios los nombravan a todos y señalavan a la parte del norte dando à entender, que alli estavan, como ninguno de la Nao los entendiese, quedamos todos con la misma confusion, que de antes; levo la ancla la nao y fue boxeando la Isla hasta en frontar con la parte del norueste y dio vista a una grande ensenada adonde estuvimos gran parte del dia casi en calma con singular desconsuelo por no hallar rastro de los Padres despues de aver bogeado casi toda la Isla; a las cinco de la tarde llegaron tres principales con una carta del Padre Luis de San Vitores escrita al cavo y General del Navio,

no se puede explicar el gozo, que con esta carta rezivio toda la nao, y en particular el Sor. Governador por aber hallado ya tan clara luz de lo que tanto deseava. Mando Suss^a [= Su Señoria] al Padre Luis Pimentel respondiese en su nombre al Padre Luis de San Vitores y Juntamente que la Nao virase ase al sur por ser en contrario al viento, para entrar en la ensenada adonde estava el pueblo[,] residencia del Padre San Vitores.

El Sabado siguiente por la mañana llegaron a la nao los Padres Diego Luis de San Vitores y Luis de Morales siendo cumplida la alegria. Toda aquella noche con el viento escaso se bolvio la nao à arrimar en la ensenada adonde antes se avia dado fondo; El Domingo a la manezer [sic] vino el viento a popa, que solo duro lo que fue bastante para dar fondo en un surgidero arto capaz a vista de dos Rios y de un Pueblo; a que rezibieron los Padres el socorro, que de Mexico les traia el Padre Luis Pimentel y lo que el Sor. Governador con singular piedad y liberalidad les dio de limosna, que fue cantidad de Ropa, fierro, Biscocho, y otras cosas. Y assi mesmo concurrieron otras per[sonas] con lo que pudieron; pero el que mas se esmero de las particulares fue el Piloto Mayor de la Galeon[,] Leandro Cuello[,] fueron los Padres del Sor. Governador agasajados con singular afecto i importó mucho la llegada a ellas de la Nao en esta ocasion, y venir en ella un Governador tan zeloso, por que a no haver concurrido Su Ss^a con su zelo y piedad creo ubiera pasado de largo la nao sin haverse detenido ni un instante aunque mas lo fazilitara el Piloto, como siempre lo facilitó[.] dexo el Sr. Governador seis personas, que acompañasen a los Padres con algunas armas de fuego.

[fol. 37]

Translation.

Arrival of the Governor, Don Manuel de León, in the galleon San José, at the island of Guan in the Mariana Islands, until now called the Ladrones; customs of the Indians, and the experiences in these islands of Fr. Diego Luis de San Vitores and his five companions from the 16 June 1668 until 17 June 1669.

Governor Manuel de León came with a great desire to see the Fathers and learn about the work of propagation of our holy faith in these islands. On the morning of the day of glorious St. Anthony, the 13th of June, the island of Guan was sighted, toward which the ship [San José] was headed with this purpose in mind.

On the following day, Friday the 14th, the ship cast anchor in a spacious bay on the SW side of the island where the Dutch had been with 14 ships.¹ They found no trace of the Fathers and although the Indians named all of them and made signs that they were on the north side of the island, we all remained as confused as before because no-one on the ship understood them. The anchor was raised and the ship coasted around the island until it was off the NW side and came in sight of a large bay where we were almost becalmed for a great part of the day and there was grave anxiety because no trace of the Fathers had been seen after circling nearly the whole island. At 5 in the after-

¹ Ed. note: A clear reference to the 1625 Nassau Fleet (see HM3: 592-3). Schapenham had no more than 11, or perhaps 12, ships then.

noon, three chiefs came with a letter from Fr. Luis de San Vitores addressed to the commander of the ship; and the joy which that letter caused in the whole ship's company cannot be described, and in particular to the Governor who thus obtained evident proof of what he so much desired. His Lordship ordered Fr. Luis Pimentel, S.J., to send a reply in his name to Fr. Luis de San Vitores and say that the ship would go back to the south because the wind was unfavorable for entering the bay where was located the town [of Agaña] where Fr. San Vitores resided.

The next morning, Saturday, Fathers Luis de San Vitores and Luis de Morales came to the ship and the joy of everyone was complete. All that night the ship made its way with a light breeze toward the bay where it had previously anchored. On Sunday morning at daybreak the breeze came astern, which lasted only long enough to anchor in a roadstead of barely sufficient size, in sight of two streams and a town.¹ Here the Fathers received the supplies which had been brought to them from Mexico by Fr. Luis Pimentel, and those which the Governor gave them as alms with great piety and liberality, that is, a quantity of clothing, iron, biscuits and other things. Other persons contributed what they could, but the most conspicuous among the special donors was the Pilot Major of the galleon, Leandro Coello. The Fathers were entertained by the Governor with exceptional hospitality and the arrival of the galleon at the Islands on this occasion, and the presence of such a zealous Governor aboard her, had much significance. Had not His Lordship been moved by zeal and piety, I believe that the galleon would have passed offshore without stopping, not even for one instant, in spite of the Pilot being in favor of it, as he always did. The Governor left six soldiers to escort the Fathers with a few firearms.

C2. Annual report attached to the above letter

Original text in Spanish.

Relacion de las Islas Marianas.

Llegaron los Padres Diego Luis de San Vitores Luis de Morales, Pedro Casanova, Luis de Medina, Thomas de Cardeñoso, y el Herma^o Lorenzo Bustillo a estas Islas el año de 68 a 16 de Junio, (como ya se escrivio el año pasado) asentaron su Ress^a a la parte del Norte de la Isla de Guan en un Pueblo llamado Agaña, es esta Isla una de las mayores de ellas con esta de 180 pueblos muchos de ellos de a 100 vezinos. Luego comenzaron los Padres a cathequizar y Bautizar sin estorvo ninguno hasta que se opuso el Demonio por medio de un Sangley china, que a 18 años, que rezide en estas Islas fueron el, y otros llevados a ellas de una tormenta en un champan del Rey, pasando de Manila a Therrenate.

[fol. 37 v]

1 Ed. note: This can only correspond to Hati, which was the proper name for what is now called Cetti Bay, until as late as the 1890s.

Este ya hecho Maestro de Idolatrias comenzo à derramar, que todos los que se bautisavan morian luego, que los Padres era gente despreciada de los Españoles, y que como atados los havian dexado desterrados en aquella Isla; Descubriose este encendio con la yda de un Padre al Pueblo de donde rezedia el Sangley, que sino desvanecio del todo esta voz la amortiguo mucho en el animo de los Indios. Hallo en este pueblo el Padre a un viego de 60 años. El qual se bautizo y fue el primero, que en este pueblo rebelde rezivio el Bautismo; pero de los pueblos comarcanos aunque tocados del engaño del Sangley, fueron Bautizados muchos infantes, y algunos adultos, que se hallaron enfermos, cada uno de los pueblos, quisiera tener en su compañía a los Padres; Pero acudeseles con todo el cuydado que se puede.—

Despues de haver Bautizado los Padres 800 personas en esta Isla de Guan se quedo en ella el Padre Diego Luis de San Victores, como superior de la mission y remitio los quatro Padres con el Hermº Lorenzo de Bustillo, bien instruidos en la lengua de los naturales a hazer correrias por las demas Islas. Las cuales en llegado hasta 20 grados de altura desde treze y un terçio en que esta Guan en cuyo espacio estan cercadas doze Islas de Norte a Sur. En todas an sido bien rezebidos, y an admitido el Bautismo tantos que llega el numero de los Bautizados a 13560. Los cathecumentos [sic] pasan de 20000; y los niños que an muerto con la gracia Bautismal, llegan a 200.—

Por todo este mes de Junio de 69 saldrán desta Isla de Guan adonde oy se hallan los Padres Luis de Morales y Thomas de Cardeñoso para el Norte con intento de hazer entradas y escalas todas las Islas conocidas de los Españoles por ser todos los Indios de ellas de una misma nación y lengua y costumbres y no se duda del suceso y sera como hasta aqui a sido en las demas.

*La lengua de los naturales de estas Islas es muy facil segun dicen los Padres y mas a los que entienden la tagala de Manila por tener muchos Bocablos de ella. Prueba es de esto el aver ya en espacio de un año dispuesto **arte y vocabulario de ella el Padre Luis de Morales**, ignorante del todo de las lenguas de estas partes y aver andado siempre embarcado en un continuo movimiento discurriendo por todas estas Islas.—*

*No se halla en ellas viviente alguno de los animales sino gatos y algunos perros que se cree les an dexado los Españoles[.]son abundantes de cocos, frutos de arboles y rayzes que se cuen [= sirven] de pan[.] no son altas; sino las que tienen bolcan: son capaces de la siembra de **arroz** como se ve en lo poco que oy siembran los Indios[.] las mayores de estas Islas son Guan, ó S. Juan que tendra como 35 leguas de vox, y en 13 grados de altura, la Isla de Agrigan que tiene 50 leguas de vox, mas futil [=fertil] y amena que las demas[.] todas son muy abundantes de fuentes[.] rios, y pescados: Guan es la que menos abunda del.—*

Esta Isla de Guan; o San Juan adonde reçide el superior de la mission es todo de tierra colorada como almagre; De la qual mezclada con cal, ya masada con azeite de cocos hazen un betun estos Indios con que Hermosean y no poco sus embarcaciones, que aunque pequeñas son vistosas y la misma ligereza; las casas son las mas aseadas y curiosas que hasta aora sean [= se han] hallado entre Indios. Las maderas de sus fabricas son los arboles de los cocos techadas con ojas de palma, y de esteras, ó petates curiosamente

textidos, tienen fabricados sus aposentos en modo de Boveda con puertas de lo mismo[.] fuera de esta casa que solo sirve de dormitorio tienen otros tres: la primera y entrada de las demas es un sotechado o camarín grande adonde recojen sus embarcaciones, fabrican y hazen otras cosas de manos; Despues de esta[.] esta otro camarín que cirve [sic] de cocina, despues de esta[.] esta otra mayor que todas[.] estas estan levantadas del suelo sobre unas piedras grandes y redondos a donde guardan sus semillas y alajas. De sue[r]te que estas quatro casas forman un espacio o plaza muy capaz y desahogado; hasta aora no se a descubierto genero ninguno de precio en estas Islas[.] Lo que aqui se tiene son yerro, y conchas de tortuga, el que mas tiene de esto es el mas poderoso.—

[Native customs]

Sus costumbres morales, que ojala fueran semexantes de ellas los de muchos Xptianos[.] nunca han sabido, que idolatria hasta que vieron Idolatrar, al china, [fol. 38] que oy vive en Guan[.] algunas supersticiones se hallan en ellos, çerca de las almas de sus antepasados, de los quales guardan algun genero de Imagines[.] de aqui se colige creen no tener muerte el alma aunque la tenga el cuerpo; usan el repudiar las mugeres, pero no sin castigo, porque los ombres en pena del repudio pierden toda su hacienda, y hijos, quedandose con todo la muger repudiada[.] el adulterio lo castigan con muerte, que puede darse la al adultero el marido ofendido, siquiere como lo asen muchos; pero la adultera no tiene pena ninguna; no les el licito [sic=no es ilícito] tener mas que una muger, no es entre ellos usado el casarse con parientes[.] antes es prohibido de la borrachera, estan tan lexos, que ni nombre tienen para ella, el hurto (aunque tienen nombre de Ladrones) es tanpoco usado en ellas que todas las casas dexan abiertos y patentes; es gente juglar y entretenida y por las burlas que no con poco donayre y amistad hazen a los Españoles quando riscatan el yerro los llaman Ladrones; no tienen cabeza ni superior a quien obedezér[.] sus g[u]jerrillas son un pueblo con otro, pero en viendo a uno herido, ó muerto se acabo toda la g[u]jerra, facilmente le inquietan y facilmente se sosiegan. Bien se ve de estas costumbres para reducirse a la fe: no teniendo ni muchas mugeres, ni sizanias, ni borracheras.—Lo que mas de suena [sic=disona] en ellos es la desnudes hasta en la misma naturaleza sin averguenzarse[.] los hombres[.] solo las mugeres en quien es mayor esta pasion la ocultan con ojas de arboles.—

De lo sucedido a los Padres de la Mission en dicha Isla.

Al principal que admitio a los Padres en la Isla de Guan y dio sitio para casa y Iglesia le premio Dios este agasajo con la gracia Baptismal y dichosa muerte; que tuvo de ella pocos dias, y el primero en aquellas Islas fue enterrado en Iglesia consagrada à Dios[.] el nombre que recibio en el Bautismo [fue] D. Juan Kipuhâ.—

Havia el Sangley Chuco [sic], que [y]a referimos arriba introducidas [sic] algunas Idolatrias entre estos pobres Indios bien agenos de ellas; pero adonde mas avia sembrado su sesano [sic=sesamo, zizania?] fue en las otras Islas fuera de Guan causa de que hallandose el Padre Luis de Morales à 14 de Agosto de 68 en la Isla de Saipan que llaman los Españoles de Buena Vista Baupntisando unos niños, un Indio inficionado del

veneno del Sangley le hizo una lanza, que se la clavo en la pantorrilla derecha que sin peligro[.] por este mismo odio los principales de este Sangley dieron muerte alevosa a un Español, y a un criado suyo Tagalo compañeros de los Padres en la travesía de Buena Vista a la Sarpana.

Al principio fueron recevido los Padres en los pueblos de estas Islas con grande gusto y agasajo; pero luego que llego a ellos lo que derramava el Sangley eran echados con desprecio negandoles no solo la hospitalidad sino tambien el sustento ordinario contra el uso entablado de estos Indios, agasajadores en extremo de los estrangeros; pero entre estos desdenes lo que mas lastimava a los Padres era ver, que quanto mas muribundos y enfermos[,] los niños les escondian aun mas del S^o Bautismo no obstante que [h]uvo Padres y Madres, que rompiendo por este rezelo entregavan sus hijos a las aguas del Bautismo, y [h]uvo infantes, que huyendo de los Padres, naturales que los escondian si venian a los Padres Espirituales para que los Bautizasen. —

*En el Pueblo de **Logua** [sic] en la Isla de San Carlos inficionado no poco con la Doctrina de este Sangley, oyendo la explicacion de los diez mandamientos clamaron todos a una voz diciendo estos son los Padres que nos mandan que matemos? Que no nos enseñan sino es a bien vivir en nuestras Islas, que pueden buscar; sino es mas almas, a donde ni hierro ni vestidos ay? Y assi todos adultos y niños rezivieron el Bautismo en este pueblo, y lo mismo acontecio en el Pueblo de Torisay [sic] en la Isla de Guan oyendo la explicacion de los mandamientos al Hermano Lorenzo Bustillo.*

*Ni [h]a dejado el Sor. de obrar algunas maravillas con estos pobres porque hallandose en la Isla de la Sarpana Franc^o Nufa, natural de ella dos vezes casi a la muerte ambas a dos recivio repentina salud con el tacto de una medalla del St^o Apostol de las Indias[.] en la misma Isla, y pueblo de Funa, que residencia de San Francisco Xavier resucito un niño de tres meses de edad con singulares circunstancias por la intercession de la St^a Virgen y de nuestros Padres S. Ignacio y S. Franc^o Xavier, porque hallandose este tal niño avia ya sus oras yerto como un palo y ungido con azeite de coco que es la mortaja, que dan en estas Islas a los difuntos resusito de esta manera[.] tomole en sus manos [fol. 38v] un Padre y con afectuosas lagrimas pidio a la St^a Virgen por ser su día y hablado la vida de aquel niño y a San Franc^o Xavier, y aficio ponelle [sic] su nombre, por ser aquel día tambien vigilia del Sancto, y juntamente por tres vezes intento dezir su oracion sobre el cuerpo del difunto; pero nunca pudo dar sino con la de San Ignacio asta la mitad y la otra mitad acaba con la de San Franc^o Xavier de esta manera: **Deus que ad maiorem tui nominis gloriam propagandam novo per beatum Ignatium Patrem nostrum subsidio militantem [Ecclesiam] roboxasti [propitius;] concede: y acabada assi: ut cuius gloriosa merita veneramur, virtutem quoque imitemur exempla.** dicha tres vezes con esta circunstancia la oracion, resucito el niño y recivio el agua del St^o Bautismo, y a los diez días de su nueva vida bolo a la eterna, hubo en este casso otra circunstancia [sic] porque aunque los Padres se havian Baptizados, que el Baptismo quitava la vida a los niños se le ocultaron vivo al Padre y se le traxeron ya muerto con este suceso quedaron aquellos barbaros desengañados, de que el Baptismo no es el que mata, sino que da la vida.*

En el Pueblo de Nisian [sic] en la Isla de Guan el mas inficionado con los Rumores del Sangley Choco [sic], fue echado afrentosamente de aquel pueblo con dos heridas en la cabeza un padre de los nuestros y instando toda la octava de San Franc^o Xavier por la salud de sus moradores a 10 de Diziembre ultimo dia de la octava dicha la missa del Santo por la salud espiritual de estos Indios se partio con animo intrepido y hallo los naturales tan mudados, que todos recibieron nuestra St^a fe y se Baptisaron en la octava de la Concepcion.—

Lo que le puede tener por mayor maravilla es, que quando el Sangley Choco, triunfava orgulloso de los Padres con la muerte de los dos Compañeros, y la lanzada que dieron en Buena Vista al Padre Luis de Morales, vino a confessar publicamente sus embustes y desdezirse de la Cisaña [sic=zizaña] que havia sembrado en los coraçones de los Indios. Y lo que mas es a pedir el St^o Bautismo en el qual recibio el nombre de Ignacio en cuya converzion no ay mucho que fiar por pegarseles, tanpoco a los chinas la doctrina evangelica.—

El fruto que hallamos tambien del St^o Bautismo, es la paz y concordia que han echo unas Islas y otras, y unos pueblos con otros, que antes se hallavan desunidos, con que oy entre todas estas Islas es universal la paz y comerzio tan importante para la continuacion de nuestros ministerios.—

En Tarefag [sic] pueblo de la Isla de Guan, perdio por cinco dias el habla una muger hallandose incapaz para rezebir el St^o Bautismo, la qual antes de su enfermedad, avia reliquia de las entrañas de San Franc^o Xavier, y diciendo la su orazion bolvio en sí, pidiendo las palabras del acto de contricion que leyva diziendo el Padre pidio el St^o Bautismo, que instruida le recibio, y al punto bolvio a perder el habla.—

En Pipug [sic = Pìgpug], pueblo de esta misma Isla[,] llamada ya del triunfo de la Cruz por haverse reducido este pueblo en el dia de esta fiesta 16 de Julio, y en especial triunfo de la St^o Cruz haver el Padre quemado cantidad de figuras de sus antepasados, é Idolos, que introduxo el Sangley Choco.—

Hallo el Padre una muger sorda y de mas de 100 años, quien sus parientes ocultaron en las primeras visitas y aplicandola una Reliquia del Sancto Lignum Cruzis, y diziendo la oracion de San Joseph cuyo dia era[,] dio muestras de este [sic=oir?], de suerte que pudo responder a lo forzoso de la Instrucion del St^o Bautismo, que recibio con no poca admiracion de su familia, y de los que supieron el caso.—

En Tubon [sic = Tumhon] Pueblo de la Isla de Sarpan [sic]¹ lanço el Padre a un demonio del cuerpo de una muger en la rezistencia que los moradores de este pueblo hicieron al St^o evangelio le conoçio quan poseidos los tenia el comun enemigo en cuerpo y alma, salio del cuerpo de esta muger el demonio con el contacto de las Reliquias de nuestros gloriosos Padres S. Ignacio y S. Franc^o Xavier, suplicar al glorioso San Joseph, Patron que es de esta Isla.—

1 Ed. note: This corresponds to Saipan, rather than Sarpana, i.e. Rota, as is confirmed below. The Island of San José was Saipan.

En Opian Pueblo de la misma Isla dio perfecta salud el Santo Baptismo a una muger paralitica y que padecia una accidente fiebre suceso que dismintio bastantemente la voz del Idolatra Choco.

[fol. 39] *Con otro suceso semexante confirmo Dios la eficacia del Baptismo en un pueblo llamado Sumatarago [sic] de la Isla de Arigrigan [sic] adonde traxeron al Padre una niña que dudo si del todo estava muerta[.] por la duda en que se hallava le administro el St^o Baptismo **sub conditione**, que estubiese viva juntamente le aplico una Reliquia de N.P. S. Ign^o que ofrecio de honrrarla con su nombre, si el Sancto le alcansase de Dios la vida; finalmente, vio en esta niña seguros señales de vida y duro con ella asta el dia siguiente por la mañana que le troco con la Eterna, despues de haverla rebaptizado con segunda condicion de que antes estuviese muerta.—*

En Oprao de la misma Isla por dia y medio se hallo una muger con terrible dolores de parto, y al punto que le fueron aplicadas unas letras de una carta de San Ign^o y una estampa del mismo St^o dio a luz sin dificultad una niña a quien en accion de gracias de este Beneficio, quiso su Madre que se llamase Ignacia à el Baptismo.—

[Fol. 39v, Endorsement:] *Philipinarum. Relatio missionis Insularum Marianarum a Junio an. 1668 ad Junium an. 1669.*¹

Translation.

Account of the Mariana Islands.

Fathers Diego Luis de San Victores, Luis de Morales, Pedro Casanova, Luis de Medina, Tomás de Cardeñoso, and Brother Lorenzo Bustillo arrived at these Islands in the year 1668, on 16 June (as it was reported last year already). They established their Residence in the north part of the Island of Guan in a town called Agadña. This Island is one of the largest ones, as it has 180 towns, many of which with 100 residents. Then, the Fathers began to catechize and baptize, without any hindrance until the Devil opposed it, by means of a Chinese Sanglely, who had been residing in these Islands for 18 years. He, and others, were pushed to the Islands by a storm in a champan [contracted by] the King, when passing from Manila to Ternate.²

This man had already become Master of Idolatry. He began to spread [the rumors] that all those who were being baptized would die later, that the Fathers were people despised by the Spaniards, and that they had been forcibly exiled to that Island. This “fire” was discovered when one Father went to the town where the Sanglely lived;³ if the Father did not extinguish this rumor completely, at least he dampered it very much in the mind of the Indians. In this town the Father found an old man of 60 years of age,

1 Ed. note: Folios 40-43 contain the second document, which is the Latin version of same.

2 Ed. note: The word Sanglely, originally reserved for Chinese merchant visiting Manila, was later used as synonymous with Chinese. Reference is made here to Choco. The year of his accidental drift voyage to the Marianas is usually said to have been about 20 years before the arrival of the missionaries, i.e. circa 1648; however, it is possible that the event took place as late as 1650.

3 Ed. note: He lived at Faa, on the south shore of Guam.

who was baptized, and became the first to receive baptism in this rebel town; however, in the neighboring towns, although touched by the deception of the Sangleys, many infants were baptized, along with some adults who were sick. Every town wished to have the Fathers in their company, but they were looked after with all the care possible.—

After the Fathers had baptized 800 persons in this Island of Guan, Father Diego Luis de San Victores remained in it as superior of the mission and he sent the four Fathers with Brother Lorenzo de Bustillo—well taught in the language of the natives—to make mission tours through the other Islands. The Islands reached as far as 20 degrees of latitude from the 13 degrees and a half in which Guan is situated. Within this space are circumscribed 12 Islands from North to South. In all the Islands they have been well received, and have admitted so many to baptism that the number of those baptized reaches **13,560**. The catechumens number over **20,000**; and the children who have died with the grace of baptism reach 200.—

During this whole month of June 1669, Father Luis de Morales and Thomás de Cardeñoso will leave the Island of Guan, where they are today, for the North, with the intention of making entrances to and stopovers at all the Islands known to the Spanish, as all the Indians in them belong to a single nation, language and customs; their success is not doubted and it will be the same as it has been in the others until now.

The language of the natives of these Islands is very easy, according to what the Fathers say, and easier for those who understand the Tagalog language of Manila, because it has many words in common with it. A proof of this is that, within one year, **Father Luis de Morales has written a grammar and a vocabulary of that language:**¹ he was completely ignorant of the languages of these parts, yet he has travelled in a continuous movement through all of these Islands.—

There are no living animals in them, except cats and a few dogs that are believed to have been left by the Spanish. They are full of coconut trees, breadfruit trees, and root crops that replace bread. They are not high, except those that have a volcano. The cultivation of **rice** is possible, as can be seen from the small quantity that the Indians sow. The largest of these Islands are: Guan, or San Juan, which would have about 35 leagues in circumference, and is in 13 degrees of latitude; the Island of Agrigan, which is 50 leagues in circumference, more fertile and pleasant than the others. All are very abundant in springs, rivers, and fish; Guan is the one where they are less abundant.—²

This Island of Guan, or San Juan, where the superior of the mission resides, is all made up of land the color of red ocher; from which, when mixed with lime, already kneaded with coconut oil, these Indians make a bitumen which they use to beautify, and not a little, their canoes, which, although they are small, they are pretty, and lightness itself. The houses are the tidiest and the most curious ones that have been found among Indians so far. The wood used in their construction consists of coconut trees,

1 Ed. note: The grammar must have been an improved version of Fr. Sanvitores' grammar. Fr. Morales' manuscript work is no longer extant, or its whereabouts are not known.

2 Ed. note: Fr. Pimentel must have heard wrong, as the opposite is true.

roofed with palm leaves, and with palm mats that are curiously woven. Their lodges are built in the shape of a vault, with entrances of the same shape. Besides this house, which is only used to sleep in, they have three others: the first one, and the entrance hall to the others, is a big open shed where they gather their canoes, build and make other handicraft. After this one, there is another shed that is used as a kitchen. After this one, there is another one that is the largest of all. These houses are raised from the ground on top of big, round stones, where they keep their seeds and precious things. So that these four houses form a space or square that is very spacious and roomy. So far, nothing precious has been discovered in these Islands. What they accumulate here is iron, and tortoise shells; he who has the greatest quantity of them is the most powerful.—

[Native customs]

Regarding their moral customs, if only many Christians had customs similar to theirs! They had never know what idolatry was, until they saw the Chinaman, who lives today in Guan, worship idols. A few superstitions are found among them, regarding the souls of their forefathers, and they keep some kind of Images¹ of them. Hence, it can be inferred that they believe that the soul does not die, although the body does. They have the custom of repudiating their wives, but not without a punishment, because the men who are at fault in the divorce lose their whole property, and children, the divorced woman remaining with everything. Adultery is punished with death, which the offended husband can give to the adulterous man, something that many of them do. However, the adulterous woman is not punished in any way. It is illicit for them to have more than one wife. Marriage between relatives is not used by them. Drunkenness is prohibited; rather, they are so far from it that they do not even have a word for it. About stealing (though they have the name of Thieves), there is so little of it that all the houses are left wide open. They are buffoons and amusing people, and, on account of the tricks played with no little cleverness and friendliness on the Spanish when they barter iron, they are called Thieves. They do not have a leader or superior to whom they obey. Their small wars are between towns, but upon seeing someone wounded, or dead, the whole war stops; they are easily provoked and easily calmed down. Only good things can be expected from these customs; they have no more than one wife, no discords, and no drunkenness.—What is most surprising in them is their nakedness, even in their sexual parts, shamelessly on the part of the men; only the women, who are far worse than the men in this passion, hide their sex with tree leaves.—

What happened to the Fathers of the Mission in the said Island.

The chief who received the Fathers in the Island of Guan and gave them a site for a house and a church was rewarded by God for this welcome with the grace of baptism

1 Ed. note: The Spanish word “imagen” was used loosely by the early missionaries; it can mean statue, painting, figure, and figurine. In the present context, it can only mean skull (which we know they had).

and a happy death, which he got within a few days.¹ He was the first one in those Islands to be buried in a church consecrated to God. The name that he received in baptism was Don Juan Kipuhâ.—

The Sangley Chuco [sic], mentioned above, had introduced a few idolatries, most foreign to them, among these poor Indians. However, where he had sown his darnel the most was in the other Islands outside of Guan. This was the reason why Father Luis de Morales, who was in the Island of Saipan, which the Spanish call Buena Vista,² on 14 August 1668, baptizing some children, when an Indian, infected with the poison of the Sangley, threw a spear at him, wounded him in the calf of the right leg, but not seriously. Out of the same kind of hate, the principals [rather relatives] of this Sangley treacherously killed a Spaniard and a Tagalog servant of his, both companions of the Fathers during the crossing from Buena Vista to Sarpana.

At the beginning, the Fathers were received with great pleasure and made welcome in the towns of these Islands, but as soon as the rumors spread by the Sangley reached them, they were thrown out with contempt, and denied not only hospitality but also ordinary food, something that was against the established custom of these Indians, [normally] extremely welcoming to strangers. However, the worst disdain endured by the Fathers was to see that, the more the children were dying and sick, the more they hid them away from baptism. Nevertheless, there were some fathers and mothers who, breaking with this fear, delivered their children to the waters of baptism; there were infants [sic] who ran away from the natural parents who had hidden them, if their spiritual Fathers came to baptize them.—

In the town of Logua [sic=**Sogua**] in the Island of San Carlos,³ infected not a little by the doctrine of this Sangley, when they heard the explanation of the 10 Commandments, they all shouted at once, saying: These are the Fathers they want us to kill? But they are teaching us only to live well in our Islands. What [else] are they looking for, except more souls, where there is neither iron nor clothes? So, all the adults and children received baptism in this town, and the same thing happened in the town of Torisay [sic=**Talisay**] in the Island of Guan, when they heard the commandments explained by Brother Lorenzo Bustillo.

The Lord has deigned to work some marvels with these poor people. For instance, there was one Francisco Nufa, a native of the Island of Sarpana, who had been close to death twice, and was suddenly restored to health twice with the application of a medal of the Saint Apostle of the Indies. In the same Island, and town of Fuña, belonging to the residence of San Francisco Xavier, a three-month-old child was resuscitated under singular circumstances through the intercession of the Blessed Virgin and of our Fathers St. Ignatius and St. Francis Xavier; for instance, this child had been dead for hours, as stiff as a stick, and been anointed with coconut oil, which is the shroud they

1 Ed. note: Fr. Medina says that he died 6 months later, on 23 December 1668 (see Doc. 1670D)..

2 Ed. note: Error. The name of Buena Vista was applied to Tinian.

3 Ed. note: San Carlos corresponded to Sarigan Island; however, Sogua, where this event took place, is is Tinian.

give to the deceased in these Islands, but he was resuscitated in this manner: a Father took him up in his arms and with loving tears asked the Blessed Virgin, as it was her feast-day, speaking of the life of that child, and he asked St. Francis Xavier, promising to name the child after him, as the date was also that of the eve of the Saint's feast-day. Presently he tried three times to say his prayer over the body of the deceased, but he could never do it except by mixing it up with that of St. Ignatius, as far as the middle, and ending with the second half of the prayer to St. Francis Xavier, in this way: **Deus que ad maiorem tui nominis gloriam propagandam novo per beatum Ignatium Patrem nostrum subsidio militantem [Ecclesiam] roborasti; concede:** and he ended up thus: **ut cuius gloriosa merita veneramur, virtutum quoque imitemur exempla.** Having said three times this prayer, under this circumstance, the child resuscitated and received the water of holy baptism, but within 10 days of his new live he flew to the eternal one. In this case, there was another circumstance; although the parents had been baptized, they believed that baptism killed children, and that is why they hid him from the Father and they brought him out when he was already dead. The happy result convinced those barbarians that they had been mistaken, and that baptism gives life, rather than cause death.

In the town of **Nisihan** in the Island of Guan, the most infected with the rumors of the Sangley Choco, one of our Fathers was defiantly thrown out from that town, receiving two wounds in the head. After praying during the whole octave of the feast-day of St. Francis Xavier for the salvation of its inhabitants, on 10 December, the last day of the octave, having said the mass of the Saint for the spiritual salvation of these Indians, he left with an intrepid spirit and found the natives so changed, that all received our holy Faith and were baptized in the octave of the [Immaculate] Conception.—

What can possibly be judged as a greater marvel is that, when the Sangley Choco was triumphing over the Fathers with the death of two of their companions, and the spear thrown at Father Luis de Morales in Buena Vista [rather Saipan], he came to make a public confession of his lies, and to disassociate himself of the darnel that he had sown in the hearts of the Indians. Furthermore, he came to ask for holy baptism, in which he received the name of Ignacio; one should not trust this kind of conversion, because it is difficult to make the Gospel doctrine stick to the Chinese.—

The fruit that we found also from holy baptism, is the peace and concord that were agreed to between some islands, and between some towns, that were disunited before. Today, peace is universal among all the Islands; so is commerce, so important for the continuation of our ministries.—

In Tarefag [sic=**Tareyfac**], a town of the Island of Guan, a woman had lost her speech for 5 days, thus finding herself incapable of receiving holy baptism. Because of her sickness, a relic from the entrails of St. Francis Xavier was applied, and while his prayer was being said, she returned to her own self, repeating the words of the act of contrition that the Father was saying, she asked for holy baptism. After some instruction, she received it, and right there and then she lost her voice again.—

In **Pi[g]pug**, a town of this same Island, already named Triumph of the Cross, as this town had been reduced on this feast-day, 16 July, and the Father had, in special triumph of the Cross, burned a quantity of figures [sic] of their forefathers, and idols introduced by the Sangley, Choco.—

The Father found a deaf woman of over 100 years of age, who had been hidden by her relatives during the first visits. Applying a relic of the wood of the Holy Cross, and saing the prayer of St. Joseph, whose feast-day it was, she gave signs of hearing(?) so that she was able to respond to the basic questions of the Instruction for holy baptism, which she received, much to the wonder of her family, and of those who heard the case.—

In Tubon [sic=**Tumhon**], a town in the Island of Saipan, the Father threw out a devil from the body of a woman. He recognized it by the resistance that the residents of this town made to the holy Gospel; the common enemy held them body and soul. The devil left the body of this woman upon the contact of the relics of our glorious Fathers St. Ignaius and St. Francis Xavier, and a prayer made to the glorious St. Joseph, patron of this Island.—

In **Opián**, a town of the same Island, the holy baptism restored a paralytic woman to perfect health; she had suffered from an accidental fever. This incident diminished some of the rumor of the idolater, Choco.

God confirmed the efficacy of baptism with another similar incident in a town called Sumatarago [sic=Sumarrago] in the Island of Arigrigan [sic=**Agrigan**] where they brought in a young girl to the Father, who, doubting that she was really dead, he administered holy baptism conditionally, in case she were alive, together with the application of a relic of our Father St. Ignatius, to whom he promised to honor her with his name, if the Saint obtained her life from God. Finally, he saw in this young girl sure signs of life and she remained alive until the next day, when she exchanged it for the eternal life, after she had been baptized once again, with the second condition that she had been previously dead.—

In **Oprao**, in the same Island, a woman had suffered terribly for a day and a half from childbirth pains, and as soon as some words from a letter of St. Ignatius and an image of the same Saint were applied to her, she gave birth without any difficulty to a baby girl. In thanksgiving for this favor, her mother wished that she be named Ignacia during her baptism.—

[Endorsement:] From the Philippines. Account of the Mariana Island Mission, from June 1668 to June 1669.

Editor's note.

There is yet another eyewitness account of the visit of the galleon San José at Rota and Guam in 1669. It was written, in 1682, by an Augustinian missionary to the Philippines, Fray Manuel de Santa Cruz (see Doc. 1682X).

Document 1669D

Letter from Fr. Provincial Solana to Fr. Procurator Bermudo, dated Manila July 1669

Source: RAH 9/2676 doc. n° 10 (2 copies).

Note: One copy is dated 2 July, and the other 20 July.

Original text in Spanish

P. Pedro Bermudo, Procurador General de Indias en Madrid.

Pax Xpti &a.

Muy en la memoria he tenido a V.R. desde que vine de España acordandome de quando conversabamos en Madrid y despues en Roma; y despues aca se an refrescado en muchos ocasiones en que a todos assi de casa como de fuera he dado a conozer la religion, puntualidad, exaccion, y verdad que siempre reconocí en V.R. en todas materias, y assi ninguna cosa de lo que en contrario se escribiera fuera para mi verosimil, con lo qual nunca pude sentir a lo que se escribió a los principios, que despues consto aver sido falso. Menos razones y excusas, y satisfacciones bastaban para mi, y siempre imagine de donde pudieron salir tales cosas. Quiera Nuestro Señor que quando esta llegue todo este compuesto y remediado.

Por muerte del P. Rafael de Bonafé Provincial de esta Prov^a le sucedi en el oficio, aunque si estubiera aqui el P. Sanvitores, a el le tocaba: Pero por averse quedado en los Ladrones, y no aver sido posible recabar con el gobierno que haga despacho a ellos, no se le ha podido avisar, y juzgar todos los de Casa y los de fuera que aunque llegara el aviso no viniera por no dexar desamparada aquella nueva Christiandad. Desde Mexico avisaria a Nuestro Padre General y a su Padre el Señor D. Geronimo de Sanvitores lo que negocio en Mexico con el Señor Virrey, que fue el averle dado diez mil pesos para su avio para los Ladrones con calidad de que si su Magd. no lo aprobava los avia de bolver a la Real Caxa dando abonados fiadores. De esto gasto su Rev^a siete mil y quinientos, lo demas remitió al Señor Governador de Philipinas, el qual quando supo lo que avia passado se alegro mucho, y dixo algunas vezes, que de su sueldo pagaria los

dies mil pesos. Mas no lo pudo cumplir, porque como en relacion aparte se dira, fue preso su Señoria a 10 de Octubre del año pasado de 68 por el Comisario de la Inquissicion asistido del Provincial y Guardian de Manila de S. Francisco con otros siete Religiosos de su orden con los dos Alcaldes de Manila con lo qual se deshizo esta paga, y assi sera forzoso el que en essa Corte se negocie que se den por bien dados, si es que quando esta llegue ya no estuviere esto negociado como creo lo estara. Los dos mil y quinientos pesos que embiaba dicho P. Sanvitores à dicho Governador tuvieron sus averias que hasta aora no las se, porque murio el Capitan que los traia a su cargo etc^a.

Dos Oydores que estan gobernando prometieron embiarian socorro al P. Diego Luis de Sanvitores que se quedo en los Ladrones con quatro Padres y un Hermano con unos pocos de Indios e Indias de estas Islas que llevo de ellas consigo a Acapulco para asentar essa Xpiandad. De buelta de Acapulco llegaron a la Isla de los Ladrones a donde fueron bien rezebidos dichos Padres de los naturales de aquellas Islas, y dieron a veinte y dos niños para que los bautizassen, y ellos daban buenas esperanzas de bautizarse quando fuessen instruidos de nuestra S. fee, y apenas pudieron los Padres escribir mas de esto que queda referido, y una carta para el Señor Governador y para el P. Provincial de que embiare un tanto con esta que sera la mas cierta noticia.

Tengo por casi imposible por la dificultad y gastos que se han de hazer, para que de Manila se pueda socorrer a dichos padres en los Ladrones por ser forçoso para ello un patache, y gente de mar, y para su apresto seran menester por lo menos mas de quatro mil pesos, fuera de lo que montare las cosas de que an de ser socorridos, y la Caxa Real no esta para tantos gastos con tan pequeños socorros que al presente se embian, porque la dificultad que ay de aqui a la Nueva España todo consiste en llegar a los Ladrones, que aviendo llegado a ellos nunca ha arribado nao que aya salido de Manila siendo los mares tan bravos que muchas vezes obligan a arribar a fuertes galeones.

Por otra parte sin gasto ninguno pueden dichos Padres que estan en los Ladrones ser socorridos de la Nueva España, pues forçosamente passan por donde ellos estan, y como salen las banquillas de los Indios a nuestra nao, podran salir los Padres con sus embarcaciones que ya tendran hechas a rezebir sus socorros, solamente tiene esto de inconveniente que sera forzoso que los que vinieren para vivir en los Ladrones vengan ordenados de sacerdotes, y acabados sus estudios, o que no ayan de estudiar mas para que travajen en dichas Islas, y los que no se hallaren en ellas, o estuvieren enfermos, o viejos se embarquen en dicha nao que viene de la Nueva España a Manila, y si alguno que no sabe de los vientos de por aca dixere que quando va la nao a [Nueva] España passe por donde estan los Padres se responde que esto no puede ser por falta de vientos, y assi passan los Ladrones de 27 grados para arriba estando los Padres en 14. Avísolo a V.R. para que este en la materia. A Nuestro P. Genl. tambien lo avisare para que haga lo que mas bien le pareciere, y creo que ay aca tan poca gana de socorrer a los Padres de los Ladrones que dichas causas, que en caso que alguna vez lo hagan por obedecer las cedulas, no llegara dicho socorro sino que arribara.

Al H^o Francisco Vello escrivo socorra de un modo, o de otro a dichos Padres embiandoles vino, y trigo para ostias, y lo demas necessario aunque sea a costa de esta

Prov^a en caso que el Virrey de Mexico no mande que se de de lo que viene cituado para estas Islas. V.R. se sirva de comunicar esto con el Señor D. Geronimo de San Vitores para que ayude a que se despache Cedula de essa Corte, para que el Virrey de Mexico de al dicho Hermano a quenta del Cituado de Philipinas el sustento de dichos Padres.

...
Guarde Dios a V.R^a como deseo en cuyos S[anto]s S[acrificio]s yo mucho me encomiendo.

...
*Manila y Julio 2 [or 20] de 1669.
 Siervo de V.R^a,
 Miguel Solana.*

Translation

[To] Fr. Pedro Bermudo, Procurator General of the Indies in Madrid.
 Peace of Christ, etc.

I have had Y.R. very much in my memory since I came from Spain, remembering when we had conversations in Madrid and afterward in Rome. And later on here, this memory was revived in many occasions when I have let everyone, in and out of the house, know about the religion, punctuality, exactitude, and virtue that I have always recognized in Y.R. in all matters. So, none of the things that were written to the contrary seemed to me to be likely, and that is how I felt with what was being written at the beginning, which afterward turned out to have been false. I needed fewer reasons and excuses, or satisfactions, and I always wondered where such things could have originated from? May our Lord deign to have everything arranged and remedied by the time this letter gets there.

On account of the death of Fr. Rafael de Bonafé, Provincial of this Province, I succeeded him in the post, although if Fr. Sanvitores had been here, he would have inherited it. However, since he has remained in the Ladrones, and it was not possible to plead with the government to have a despatch sent to him there, it was not possible to advise him; besides, all those in the House and those outside were of the opinion that, even if the advice should reach him, he would not come, in order not to abandon that new Christian community. From Mexico, they probably advised our Father General and his father, Don Gerónimo de Sanvitores, about the business he did in Mexico City with the Viceroy, that is, about the 10,000 pesos given to him for his outfitting for the Ladrones, with the proviso that if His Majesty did not approve it, the money would be refunded to the Royal Treasury, having posted performance bonds. Out of this, His Reverence spent 7,500 pesos, remitting the rest to the Governor of the Philippines.¹ When the Governor of the Philippines learned what had happened, he was overjoyed,

¹ Ed. note: Fr. Sanvitores says that he spent 1,000 pesos himself, and gave the rest to Admiral Muñoz (see Doc. 1668J5); therefore, Muñoz must have spent 6,500 pesos before leaving Acapulco.

and said many times that he would pay the 10,000 pesos out of his own salary.¹ However, he was unable to carry it out, because, as the enclosed report says, His Lordship was arrested on 10 October of last year 1668 by the Commissioner of the Inquisition, with the assistance of the Provincial and Guardian of the Franciscan Order in Manila, and the two Mayors of Manila.² That is why this payment was not done, and so it will be necessary to have it negotiated in that Court [in Madrid] to have it approved, in case it be not yet done, as I believe it will by the time this letter gets there. The 2,500 pesos that Fr. Sanvitores was sending to the said Governor, have suffered some averages that up to now I do not know about, because the Captain who was bringing them under his care died, etc.

Two members of the Audiencia who are governing promised that they would send succor to Fr. Diego Luis de Sanvitores who has remained in the Ladrones with 4 Fathers and 1 Brother with a few Indian men and women of these Islands whom he took from here with him to Acapulco to establish that Christian community. Coming back from Acapulco, they arrived at the Island of the Ladrones where the said Fathers were well received by the natives of those Islands, who gave 22 children to be baptized, and they were giving good hopes of wanting to be baptized once they will be instructed in our holy Faith. The Fathers hardly had time to write more than I mention here, and a letter addressed to the Governor and one to the Fr. Provincial whose copy I will enclose, that will give more exact news.

I think it is almost impossible to send succor directly from Manila to the said Fathers in the Ladrones, on account of the difficulty and expenses that must be made, given that a patache is necessary for that, plus some seamen. For chartering a patache over 2,000 pesos at least would be necessary, not counting the amount to be spent on the things to be included in the succor, and the Royal Treasury is not able to make such expenses with the insufficient succors being sent nowadays. Also, the difficulty that exists in getting from here to New Spain lies completely in getting past the Ladrones; once a galleon leaves Manila and gets that far, it never turns back in distress,³ as the seas are so raging that many times the strongest galleons return in distress.

On the other hand, the said Fathers who are in the Ladrones may be succored from New Spain without any expense; indeed, they must forcibly pass where they are, and as the canoes of the Indians go out to meet our galleon, the Fathers could go out with the boats that they must have built already to receive their succors. The only disadvantage is that it will be necessary for those destined to live in the Ladrones to come already

1 Ed. note: Perhaps he had added "if the Queen Regent does not approve the loan."

2 Ed. note: The Inquisitor was Fray José de Paternina, who held the office from 1664 to 1672, when he was summoned to Mexico by the Tribunal of the Inquisition, but died during the voyage. He had also been assisted in the coup d'état by General Sebastian Rayo and other military officers. The full story is told in B&R 37:23+. The Franciscans seized all the Governor's papers, including books of accounts. The Audiencia, i.e. the judges of the Supreme Court, sought refuge in the Jesuit church, etc.

3 Ed. note: That was not true, witness what happened to the Santa Margarita in 1601, to mention just one famous case. It seems that 70 years later, the people in Manila had forgotten...

ordained as priests, and having completed their studies, or that they do not have to study to work in the said Islands, and for those who are not assigned there, or become sick, or old, they would board the said galleon coming from New Spain to Manila. If anyone, not knowledgeable about the winds overhere, declares that when the galleon goes to [New] Spain, it can pass where the Fathers are, it should be answered that it is impossible, on account of the winds, and so that is why they pass the [meridian of the] Ladrones at latitudes of 27 degrees or more, whereas the Fathers are in 14 [degrees]. I advise Y.R. so that you may be up to date. I will advise our Fr. General as well, so that he may decide what is best, and I believe that there is little desire here to succor the Fathers of the Ladrones for the said reasons; in case they ever do it, to obey the [royal] decrees, the said succor will not get there but will return in distress.¹

I am writing to Br. Francisco Bello to send succor to the said Fathers, one way or another, sending them wine, and wheat for hosts, and the other necessities, though it be at the cost of this Province, in case the Viceroy of Mexico does not order that part of the subsidy coming to these Islands go to them. Y.R. will please communicate this to Don Gerónimo de San Vitores so that he may help to have a decree issued from that Court, in order for the Viceroy of Mexico to give [money for] the food supplies of the said Fathers to the said Brother, on the account of the subsidy of the Philippines.

...

May God keep Y.R. as I wish. I commend myself very much to your holy Sacrifices.

...

Manila, 2 [or 20] July 1669.

Y.R.'s servant,

Miguel Solana.

Governor Salcedo's imprisonment had been predicted by Fr. Sanvitores

Source: Fray Casimiro Díaz, O.S.A., "Conquistas" (Manila, 1890); translated in B&R 37:266- 267.

Don Diego de Salcedo sustained that so grievous blow with so great steadfastness that he caused admiration in all people; for he was never heard to assign another reason for his imprisonment than that it was a present which God was sending him for his many sins...

I am witness of that, for I went often by order of the Father commissary and prior to amuse him when he was sick. I admired his great courage and prudence, as well as his strong mind; and it seemed as if he had no resentment that could give him anxiety. One may believe that so great conformity to His most holy will was gained by the aid of God.

¹ Ed. note: This was prophetic; the first attempts at direct voyages failed miserably, on account of the winds, as the author says.

That which I always heard to be a fact must have been true, namely, that that gentleman had great love and special veneration for the most venerable Father Diego [Luis] de San Vitores, of the holy Society of Jesus, whom the governor aided considerably by cooperation [with him] in his entrance into the Mariana Islands. It is said that he requested the said venerable Father to ask God to give him in this world his purgatory for his sins. The venerable Father replied that he should think well what he was asking, for the Lord's aid is necessary when He bears down His hand, in order that one may not refuse to endure His paternal correction. The Father told him that time after time, but Don Diego de Salcedo always persevered in asking the same thing. The venerable Father must have obtained that heroic petition from God; for when he bade farewell to him on going to the mission of the Mariana Islands, it appears that he gave Don Diego de Salcedo to understand that the Lord had granted his petition. Therefore, that very submissive spirit and the prayers of the venerable Father Diego Luis de San Vitores, one can believe, were the cause of his great patience and resignation.

Such was the imprisonment of Governor Don Diego de Salcedo, and the evil lot of that gentleman who possessed so great endowments of valor, discretion, and urbanity, besides his personal qualities; for he was tall and well-proportioned in all parts of his body, and his face was handsome, serious, and modest. His flowing hair was very long and white; and his mustache, a distinction in the men of that time, was very black. His complexion was very light, and his eyes blue, and all gave him a grave and noble appearance. Nothing could be seen in him that was not very chaste, and only in his covetousness was any transgression recognized in him.¹ As covetousness is the root of all evils, his lukewarmness in attending to many obligations belonging to a Christian governor proceeded from that. The consequences of his imprisonment lasted for 20 years, counting imprisonments, embargoes, exiles, and refuge sought in sanctuary by those who took part in that imprisonment... Father Fray José de Paternina, was summoned to Mexico by the Inquisitors... and died on the voyage to Acapulco... The rest of the matter does not concern me.

1 Ed. note: The main reason for the hate of the Inquisitor Paternina for Governor Salcedo was because the latter, while in Mexico, had carnal intercourse with a woman who was a relative of Paternina, who then declared himself the mortal enemy of the Governor (see B&R 37: 56-57).

Documents 1669E

Letters from Governor de León to the Queen in 1670

Note: Master-of-camp Manuel de León y Saravia was born in Paredes de Nava, and was a valiant soldier from his youth in the countries of Flanders, Galicia, and other parts. The first battle he fought in was that of Lutzen in 1632, in which King Gustav Adolf of Sweden died. He also fought in the Battle of Nordlingen in 1634 where the Swedes were defeated. By 1660, he was fighting at the frontier between Galicia and Portugal. After a short stint as Governor of Munzón and Valencia in Galicia, he went to Madrid on a visit, and was recruited there by the Queen Mother, given the habit of Santiago and sent to the Philippines as Governor.

E1. Letter dated Manila 25 January 1670

Source: AGI Fil. 10-1-1, pp. 1-4.

Original text in Spanish.

El Governador de Philipinas da quenta a V.M. de su llegada al Puerto de Palapa. Da quenta de su llegada a Manila, y de los informes que tuvo de lo suzedido sobre el gobierno de las armas. Da quenta de la arrivada de los Navios que se avian despachado a la Nueva España.

Señora

Haviendo llegado al Puerto de Palapa como en otra tenido dado quenta a V.M. tuve notiçia como el Oydor D. Juan Manuel de la Peña despachava dos navios a la Nueva España que estaban ya para salir con cuya ocassion escrivi a V.M. para que en uno de los dos fuesse la notiçia de aver llegado à aquel puerto, y assido mi poca fortuna y la destas Islas tal que el uno en que iba presso por el Sancto Officio el Maestro de Campo D. Diego de Salçedo arrivó al Puerto de Lampon en 11 de Noviembre del año passado, y el otro al Puerto de Isla de Tablas en 24 de Diciembre del despues de 4 meses de navegacion successo mas sensible por no esperado. Pues no ay exemplar en estas Islas que despachandose dos Naos ayan arrivato ambas, y viendolo afligidas que se hallan por esta desgracia, y la dilacion tan grande para que venga socorro, y las circunstancias tan dignas de remedio que ha avido despues de la prission de D. Diego de Salçedo me a parecido precisso anticipar a V.M. estas noticias despachando a este efecto por la via

de Sian al Padre fray Juan Garcia Razimo del Orden de S. Francisco para que con vista dellas resuelva V.M. y su Real Consejo de las Indias lo que fuere de su mayor servicio.

Da cuenta de su llegada a Manila, y de los informes que tuvo de lo sucedido sobre el gobierno de las armas.

Desde el Puerto de Palapa por no permitir los tiempos contrarios proseguir el viaje en el Galeon que vine abenturado el socorro que para estas Islas traya, y que experimentase alguno de los malos sucessos que repetidos vezes ha avido por aquel tiempo, y parajes sali del con embarcaciones menores, y tierra à tierra conduje la plata, y infanteria hasta esta Ciudad, donde tome la posesion del Gobierno a 24 de Septiembre del año passado[.] halle en ella Governando lo militar al Oydor D. Juan Manuel de la Peña Bonifas, y con el lo politico Don Francisco Coloma por aver muerto D. Francisco Pasqual de Pano, y el fiscal D. Diego de Corbera...

[There follows the details of how former Governor Salcedo got arrested by the Inquisition, and the disputes between the members of the Audiencia regarding who should govern in his place. The new Governor was then prosecuting them of their actions.]

*Da cuenta de la arrivada de dos navios que se avian depachado a la Nueva España. En este estado con pocos días de diferencia me llegaron las noticias de aver arrivado al Puerto de Lampon el Navio en que iba D. Diego de Salcedo, y el Galeon **Nuestra Señora del Buen Socorro** al de Isla de Tablas recreciendo al desconsuelo con que yo me hallava por el corto socorro de 75,000 pesos que truje este que es de mas sensible calidad por no poderme venir este año ni hasta fin del que viene socorro de la Nueva España que era en el que yo me fiava para que supliese lo tenue del que vino conmigo, y hallar estas Provincias tan lastimadas, y afligidas, assi por la cortedad de los socorros antecedentes. Pues el del año passado fue solo de 40,000 pesos como por los repetidos trabajos que de quatro años a esta parte an padecido de pestes, y vientos tormentosos de que son continuamente infestados que no les ha dejado coxer el fruto de sus sementeras ni casas en que vivir ni embarcaciones en que tragar particularmente los dos meses antecedentes de que con harta lastima he sido testigo sin que estas Provincias puedan no solo acudir a la paga de los Reales tributos pero ni aun al del corte sustento suyo que se compone de una limitada racion de arroz causas todas que me obligan a anticipar la noticia dellas a V.M. para que en su consideracion, y con la de los gastos tan grandes que precisamente sean recrecido con la arrivada destos dos navios, y la imbernada de el con que yo vine que todo sale de las Reales Cajas como el del socorro de la Infanteria que cada mes importa mas de 5,000 pesos paga inexcusable por que los soldados no tienen otro recurso que el de dos pesos cada mes para su sustento. Y el de los Ministros de la Audiencia y Prevendados de la Catedral, y los que continuamente se esta haziendo en la fabrica, y aderezos de navios, y embarcaciones menores que son precisamente necessarias para los viajes de Nueva España, y tragino de estas costas hallandome yo con estas obligaciones, van a la vista y con el desconsuelo de considerar el remedio tan lejos obligado a ponerlo en el Real conoçimiento de*

V.M. para que se sirva de anticipar orden al Virrey de Nueva España adelante los imbios quanto lo sea posible, y ordenarle que el socorro que este año deja de venir por falta de Nao le embie con el socorro juntamente del año siguiente. Señalandole la cantidad fija de 200,000 pesos cada año...

Guarde Dios la Catholica, y Real Persona de V.M. como la Christiandad a menester.

Manila 25 de Henero 1670.

Manuel de Leon

Translation.

The Governor of the Philippines informs Y.M. of his arrival at the port of Palapa. He informs of his arrival at Manila, and of the reports that he got regarding the management of weapons. He informs of the returns of ships that had been despatched to New Spain.

Madam:

Having arrived at the port of Palapa as I have informed Y.M. in a previous letter, I received news that Judge Juan Manuel de la Peña was despatching two ships to New Spain¹ and that they were about to leave; on that occasion I wrote to Y.M. so that one of the two ships would carry the news of my arrival at that port. It has been my bad luck and the bad luck of these Islands, as one of them, the one aboard which Master-of-camp Diego de Salcedo went as prisoner of the Holy Office, turned back to the port of Lampon on 11 November of last year; the other one turned up at the port of the Island of Tablas on 24 December, after 4 months of navigation, an outcome that was as painful as it was unexpected. Indeed, there is no precedent in these Islands for two galleons to be despatched and have them both turn back.² When I saw how afflicted these Islands were on account of this mishap, and the great delay in the coming of succor, and the circumstances so worthy of remedy that followed the imprisonment of Don Diego de Salcedo, it seemed to me necessary that I should hasten to inform Y.M., by despatching to this effect by way of Siam Father fray Juan García Racimo of the Order of St. Francis, so that, in view of this, Y.M. and royal Council of the Indies may decide what would be of your greater service.

He informs of his arrival at Manila, and of the reports that he got regarding the management of weapons.

From the port of Palapa, as contrary winds did not allow the continuation of the voyage with the galleon at the mercy of which the succor for these Islands came, and we were going through one of the bad outcomes that occurred many times on account of that weather in those parts, I left that port with two small vessels, and coasting from

1 Ed. note: The Buen Socorro and the San Diego.

2 Ed. note: The people in Manila seemed to have short memories. Two such galleons had turned back as recently as 1655 (see Appendix E).

port to port, I conducted the silver, and the infantry as far as this City, where I took possession of the Government on 24 September of last year. I found the military side of the Government to be in the hands of Judge Juan Manuel de la Peña Bonifaz, and the political side in those of Don Francisco Coloma, following the death of Don Francisco Pascual de Pano, and the Fiscal Don Diego de Corbera...

[There follows the details of how former Governor Salcedo got arrested by the Inquisition, and the disputes between the members of the Audiencia regarding who should govern in his place. The new Governor was then prosecuting them for their actions.]

He informs of the returns of ships that had been despatched to New Spain.

In the midst of this, within a few days more or less, I received news that the ship carrying Don Diego de Salcedo had turned back accidentally to the port of Lampon, and that of the galleon **Nuestra Señora del Buen Socorro** having arrived the same way at the Island of Tablas. My disconsolateness increased, as I came with the short subsidy of 75,000 pesos, and now, it is much more worrisome because the subsidy is not coming this year, not before the end of the year will there be succor from New Spain, and I had relied upon it to make up for the tenuous succor that came with me. The provinces are in pitiful states, and also afflicted, on account of the shortage of previous succors. Indeed, that of last year was only 40,000 pesos. On account of the repeated hardships over the last 4 years the people overhere have suffered from epidemics, and stormy weather that have prevented them from picking up the harvests, left them homeless, and without boats with which to carry out commerce, specially during the two previous months, of which I was a witness, much to my sorrow. The result has been that the provinces are unable, not only to pay the royal tributes but not even look after their own short food maintainance, which consists of a limited ration of rice. All these reasons oblige me to rush the news of them to Y.M., so that, thanks to your consideration, and given the huge expenses that will be further increased with the returns of these two ships and the wintering of the one in which I came—all of which comes out of the Royal Treasury, for instance, the succor of the Infantry which amounts to 5,000 pesos per month, as it is indispensable that the soldiers get their 2 pesos each month for their food, as they have no other resources. The same can be said of the salary of the Ministers of the Audiencia, the Prebendaries of the Cathedral, and the continuous expenditures made in the construction and outfitting of ships, and minor vessels which are precisely necessary for the voyages to New Spain, and the commerce of these coasts. As I see myself with these obligations, they are always before me, and therefore I am left disconsolate in seeing the remedy so far away, and can only inform Y.M., so that you may be pleased to rush an order to the Viceroy of New Spain, for him to send in advance as much as possible, and to order him that the succor that does not come this year for lack of galleon be sent together with the succor of next year, pointing out to him that the fixed quantity of the subsidy is 200,000 pesos per year...

May God keep the Catholic and Royal Person of Y.M., as Christendom needs.

Manila, 25 January 1670.

Manuel de León

E2. Letter of 10 June 1670 regarding the Marianas

Sources: AGI Fil. 10-1-2, pp. 1-4 (formerly 67-6-10); copy in Colección Pastells, Fil. 15, fol. 295-295v.

Note: The latter letter was received at the Council of the Indies on 4 May 1671.

Original text in Spanish.

En 7 de Julio del año passado, di quentta a V.M. haver passado por las Islas nombradas hasta aora de los Ladrones donde vi a los Padres Missioneros de la Compañia de Jesus que de orden de su Magd. vinieron el año passado de 1668 a la conversion de sus naturales, y me noticiaron del copioso fruto de su Mission, y que aunque los naturales de aquellos Indios muestran docilidad, y poca contradicion a la Doctrina evangelica todavia se podia temer flaqueasen en la constancia no teniendo algun freno que los sugette, y haga espaldas a aquellos religioso[s] que estan desconfiados, y aunque me pidieron alguna gente, y armas no me determinare a hazerlo sin orden de V.M. aunque me parece conveniente aviendo de subsistir obra tan del servicio de nuestro Señor como el desta Mission sobre que me mandara V.M. lo que fuere de su maior servicio.

Tambien me notiçaron aquellos religiosos que de los dos Galeones que se perdieron mas ha de treinta años, el uno en la Isla de la Zarpana Grande y el otro en la de Buena Vista [rather Rota] parece la maior partte de la Artilleria dellos em quatro brazas de fondo, y que con fazilidad se podria sacar aunque para conseguirlo sera preciso embiar alguna gente con armas. Pues sin ellas no lo an de permitir los Indios, y siendo la maior parte desta artilleria de bronçe siempre me parecera conviniente recogerla por su mucho valor.

Con la mala fortuna de la arrivada de los dos navios es preciso esten aquellos religiosos con todo desconsuelo, porque no tienen de donde socorrerse este año. Hasta la buelta de los que aora van, cuya consideracion me obliga a supplicar a V.M. se sirva de que se tome en este particular la resolucion que è de executar.

Guarde Dios la C.R.P. de V.M. como la Christiandad ha menester.

Manila y Junio 10 de 1670 años.

Manuel de Leon

Translation.

On 7th of July of last year, I informed Y.M. that I had passed by the Islands named until now the Ladrones, where I saw the Father Missionaries of the Society of Jesus who, by order of Your Majesty, came the past year of 1668 to the conversion of their natives. The informed me of the copious fruit of their Mission, and, although the natives of those Indians [rather Islands] show docility and little contradiction to the Gospel doctrine so far, it could be feared that their constancy might slacken, as there is no curb to restrain them, and they might turn their backs on those Religious who are distrustful. Although I was asked for some men, and weapons, I could not decide to do it without an order from Y.M., although it seems to me convenient for the continuation

of a work of such service to our Lord as that of this Mission. Y.M. will order me [to do] what is for your greater service.

Also, those Religious told me something about the two galleons that were lost over 30 years ago: one at the Island of Big Zarpana [i.e. Saipan] and the other at the Island of Buena Vista [rather Rota]. Most of their cannon seem to be in water 4 fathoms deep, and they could easily be salvaged, although in order to achieve it, it will be necessary to send a few men with weapons. Indeed, without weapons, the Indians will not permit it, and, given that most of these cannon are made of bronze, it will always seem to me to be worthwhile to salvage them on account of their high value.

With the bad luck of the return in distress of the two ships, those Religious must be disconsolate, because they have no way of getting help this year, not until the return of the ships that are going now. This consideration obliges me to beg Y.M. to please have the necessary decision taken regarding this specific matter.¹

May God keep the C.R.P. of Y.M., as Christendom needs.

Manila, 10 June 1670.

Manuel de León

1 Ed. note: The Council foresaw that the apparently innocuous request for armed men was an effort to create a garrison, which would result in a considerable burden on the royal treasury.

Document 1669F

Royal decree of 13 July 1669

Source: RAH 9/2668, doc. n° 40.

Note: See also the documents in Doc. 1670I.

Order to the House of Trade regarding 38 religious led by Fr. Ledesma

Original text in Spanish.

La Reyna Governadora

Pressidente Jueçes de la Cassa de la Contrataçion de las Yndias que resside en la çidad de Sevilla.

Por çedula mia de veinte y çinco de Junio pasado de este año de mill y seis çientos y sesenta y nueve, despachada por el Consexo de Yndias y refrendada de Don Gabriel Bernardo de Quiros s. del he mandado que à Andres de Ledesma de la Compañia de Jesus (que bino por procurador general de las Yslas Filipinas y buelbe a ellas) y a treinta y quatro relixiossos y quatro legos de aquella relixion que ban con el, se les provea de todo lo neçessario para su biaxe, segun y en la forma que mas particularmente se refiere en la dicha mi çedula del Consexo de Yndias y por la raçon que en ellas se contiene, y porque mi volumptad es tenga cumplido efecto.

Por la presente os mando la beais y cumplais en todo y por todo segun y como en ella se dispone, adbirtiendo que lo que ymportare el gasto de todo lo que fueren proveidos y assistidos los dichos treinta y nueve relixiossos sse a de hazer y pagar del caudal separado y que se separare para los gastos de esa dicha cassa de la contrataçion sin que salgan de la Real Hazienda ni se libren en efectos de ella. Y lo executareis en esta conformidad en virtud de la dicha çedula y de esta que assi es mi volumptad.

Fecha en Madrid a treze de Jullio de mill y seisçientos y sesenta y nueve años.

Yo la Reyna

Por mandado de Su Magestad,

Andres de Villaran.

Translation.

[From] the Queen Regent.

[To] the President and Judges of the House of Trade of the Indies residing in the city of Seville.

By my decree of 25 June of this past month of June of this year 1669, despatched through the Council of the Indies and subscribed by Don Bernardo de Quirós, its secretary, I have ordered that to Andrés de Ledesma of the Society of Jesus (who came as procurator general of the Philippine Islands and is returning there) and to 34 religious and 4 lay brothers of that Order in his company to be provided with everything necessary for their voyage, in accordance with and in the manner that is more specifically referred to in the said my decree from the Council of the Indies, and for the reason stated therein, and because my will is that it be carried out.

By the present I order you to review it and carry it out in full and in every detail, exactly in accordance with its dispositions, with the warning that the expenses to be incurred in supplying and assisting the said 39 religious must be made and paid from the separate fund and that they be kept separate from the expenses of that said House of Trade, without coming out of the Royal Treasury or any cash drawn from it. You shall carry it out in this manner by virtue of the said decree and this one, as such is my will.

Made at Madrid on 13 July 1669.

I the Queen.

By order of Her Majesty,
Andrés de Villaran.

Document 1669G

Cryptic letter from Fr. Sanvitores to Fr. Medina, dated Rota 26 December 1669

Source: 1-page ms. in Guam Diocese archives, formerly in 26 Martyrs' Museum, Nagasaki, Japan; reproduced in facsimile in appendix of Ledesma's Cause of the Beatification, 1981, and in Ledesma's translation of Fr. Risco's book. The illustration is courtesy of Fr. Diego Yuuki.

Note: Fr. Medina was then in Tinian; he was to die of martyrdom in Saipan one month later. Fr. Sanvitores had gone to Guam and was returning with soldiers on a peace-making mission back to Tinian.

Original text in Spanish.

Mi Padre Luis de Medina

Pax et Bellum Christi et M[ari]æ D. N.

Va el General de la Artilleria D. Franc^o de Mendoza y el Gl. de la Cavalleria D. Gregorio Martinez, Capn. D. Joseph de Peralta[,] el Condestable Juan de los Reyes, todos del Tercio Mariano, y llevan el plenipotenciario Si Bachi y lo demas que dira con mejor letra, palabras y obras nuestro Angel y Padre [blot] &a. No digo mas, porque otro Verbo de mas importancia dira lo que fuere de mayor gloria de N.Sor, a su tiempo. para la eternidad con mucha gloria y almas marianas, &a.

S. Xavier de Sosa-rago, Rota, Diciemb. 26 de 669.

Siervo de V.R^a

+

+ Diego Luis S. Vitores

*[P.S.] Convenidos desde aca va por cabeça en el camino de los que van en esta banca de **Nonohot** y que hara quiza algo en las paces a su tiempo. halla [sic] dicen todos tambien que estaran al orden de Dios por medio del Padre que esta en su lugar y de qualquiera que V. R^a les ordenare. No tengo mas que añadir sino que **lo dicho dicho**. Dominus Deus exercitus: et Domine Castrorum Actes ordinata. Nunc refero me Goam &a. De todas las cosas que fueren alla y personas se dispondra [h]asta que yo vey a como el Sor. dispusiere por medio de V. R^a las que a V. R^a no se le ofreriere de cierto para que son. Haga que se guarden ay [alli] [ha]sta que yo vaya.*

+

Inutil siervo

Mi Pe. Luis de Medina

Pax et Bellum Xpi et M. S. D. N.

Va el General de la Artilleria D. Fran^{co} de Mendoza, y el G^{to} de la Cavalleria D. Gregorio Martinez. Cap^{to} D. Joseph de Paula El Condestable suende los Reyes todos de Her. Cio Mariana y llevan el Plenipotenciario Si Bacho y lo de otro q' dira con mejor letra, palabras y don no Angel y te. No digo mas porq' uno verbo de ma. importancia dira lo q' fuere de mayor gloria de Dios. anticip. por la escritura con mucha gloria y la armonizar la. S. Xavier de Lorena go. kota. Diciend. Lo de otro

Lienodeluna.

+ Diego Luis S. Victoria

Convenido desde aca va por caber en el caso de lo q' un cosa buena de Novos y q' hera quiza algo calapay en tiempo. halla dicen todos tambien q' eston al peder de Dios por medio del p' q' un cosa la q' x. de q' un q' una leordenar.

Nota: no q' venir si q' lo Bicho Bicho. Dico Dem exarung: est Dio. Carremin. Aca O Bivaca. Nunc refero me from la. De haber la un q' fueren al y persona se bapadre una y otra con el m. de p' un por mudi de ella. lo q' seria no de bapadre de cicio por q' un. hays q' se quellan by ataq' y otras. i. un. fiero

Translation of the above.

My dear Fr. Luis de Medina

Peace and war in Christ, and Mary, our Lord and Lady.

There goes the General of the Artillery, Don Francisco de Mendoza, and the General of the Cavalry, Don Gregorio Martinez, Captain Joseph de Peralta, the Constable Juan de los Reyes, all those of the Mariana Company,¹ and they take along the plenipotentiary Si Bachi² and the rest which will be said with better polish, words, and deeds by our Angel Fr. [blot]³ etc. I do not say more, because he will say verbally anything else that may be of more importance for the glory of the Lord, etc. in due course, for eternity with much glory and Mariana souls, etc.

St. [Francis] Xavier⁴ of Sosarago [Sosanlago], Rota, 26 December 1669.

Your Reverence's servant,

+

+ Diego Luis S. Vitores

[P.S. They have] agreed that the leader will go ahead aboard this canoe of **Nonohot**⁵ and he might perhaps do something about the peace [negotiations], in due course. Overthere they all say as well that they will await the order from God, through the Father who stands for him and of whatever Your Reverence should order them [to do].

I have nothing more to say, except that **what was said was said**. [In Latin:] *The Lord God [is our] army. O Lord of the fortified places, regulate [our] actions. I refer now to Goam, etc.* Whatever [happens] with things and persons overthere, Your Reverence should dispose until I see how the Lord will dispose through Your Reverence. Those Your Reverence cannot deal with for sure, because they are so [blank], keep them in abeyance until I get there.

+

[Your Reverence's] Useless servant

-
- 1 Ed. note: There is no logical explanation why he refers to the Spanish troop leaders with such inflated military titles, unless it was a common joke among the Fathers. This was probably the case, as his puny army, then on an expedition to Tinian and Saipan, consisted of one Spaniard with a tiny field piece, three others with muskets, and half a dozen Filipino boy soldiers. As for the cryptic postscript, there had to have been some pre-arranged meanings between Fr. Sanvitores and Fr. Medina. Francisco de Mendoza had been a survivor of the Concepción shipwreck, has previously lived in the Marianas from 1638 to 1658, and was the most knowledgeable one of two interpreters who had taught the Mariano language to Fr. Sanvitores. Juan de los Reyes was a Pampango (see Doc. 1668F & 1676C2).
 - 2 Ed. note: Si is the Filipino prefix, or article, before any proper name. This man was most likely a native chief.
 - 3 Ed. note: The word blotted out is Pedro, i.e. Fr. Pedro Casanova.
 - 4 Ed. note: This is a strange name, since the name of San Pedro was given to Rota Town from the beginning. The name of St. Francis Xavier was then applied to a site on Tinian, and later on to another site on Rota.
 - 5 Ed. note: Nonohot was a chief in Rota (see Doc. 1671U).

Document 1669H

Letter from Fr. Sanvitores to Fr. Casanova, dated 28 December 1669

Source: 1-page ms. in 26 Martyr's Museum, Nagasaki; illustration courtesy of Fr. Diego Yuuki.

Note: Fr. Sanvitores was then either in Rota, or in Guam. Fr. Casanova was then in Tinian with Fr. Medina and Fr. Morales.

Original text in Spanish.

Mi Padre Pedro de Casanova

Pax et Bellum Xri et Mæ

*Harto me holgara que hallase a V.R.^a el Padre Luis de Morales **Bellipotens Marianus**, sin la escolta que ay se prevenia pero lo que hubiese sucedido, y sucediera espero sin duda sera lo de mayor gloria de Dios. De camino dando el tiempo tiempo se ira que ay la dedicacion con mayor solemnidad &a¹ en lo qual y en lo demas V.R.^a obrara lo que a cada paso le dictarà N.Sor. que es su mayor gloria p.^a lo qual me guarde[n] mis angeles de guarda por quienes convierta este mal ladron en bueno el que por M[ari]a hace lo que aun por si imm[ediatamen]te no hiço tal ves porque aun se digno de que qualquier creyente discipulo **maiora horum faciet**. y acuerdese V.R.^a de que su S[an]to S. Pedro hiço milagros con su sombra, &a.*

Dec. 28 de 669

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+ Siervo. S. V. +

1 El titulo desa Iglesia disponiamos desde Gani que fuese Presentacion.

Translation.

My dear Fr. Pedro de Casanova
Peace and War in Christ and Mary.

I would indeed be glad if Your Reverence should meet with Fr. Luis de Morales, **the Mariana Warlord**, without the escort that was being prepared overthere, but whatever did happen, and might happen, I hope that it will no doubt be for the greater glory of God.

By the way, let us wait for a better occasion in order for the dedication to be made with greater solemnity.¹ In this matter and others Y.R. should be guided at every step by what our Lord will dictate in accordance with His greater glory, for which my own guardian angels watch over me. May they convert this bad thief² into a good one. Entrust the matter to Mary; if she has not done so immediately, it is because she had deigned to make any disciple who believes an even better one of theirs.³ And Y.R. should remember that the very patron saint of Y.R., St. Peter, did miracles with his shadow, etc.

28 December 1669.

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+ Servant, S. V[itores] +

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- 1 When we were in the Gani [Islands] we had agreed that this Church would be dedicated to the Presentation [of Our Lady]. Ed. comment: This feast-day is 21 November.
 - 2 Ed. note: A play on words, as thief also meant a native of the Ladrões, or Marianas. Unfortunately, we do not know what incident Fr. Sanvitores is alluding to here. The native in question may have been Chief Caiza of Sungharon, Tinian.
 - 3 Ed. note: Approximate rendering of a Latin phrase.

Document 1670A

Letter from Fr. Sanvitores to Fr. Morales, dated Tinian 22 February 1670

Source: Original now in ARSI; formerly in 26 Martyrs' Museum, Nagasaki.

Note: The ms. is somewhat mutilated, i.e. 1/3 of one of the two folios is missing (top of the two main pages). This letter was written about 4 weeks after Fr. Medina had been killed in Saipan; his body and that of his assistant, Hipolito de la Cruz, had not yet been recovered by Captain de Santa Cruz. Fr. Morales was then supposed to be in Rota, on the way to Guam.

Original text, mostly in Spanish

+

Al Padre Luis de Morales,

cui ex omnimoda Belli remittitur ultima resolutio faciendi et mittendi etc. litis(?) od-i(?) ki(?) ip scr - tina scripsit.

Y en su ausencia de Rota al Padre Pedro [Casanova] de suerte que por las consultas no se detenga [h]aciendo viento nuestra banca (y si acaso esa no pudiese hacer viaje) venga en todo caso Pedro con el Sirag en la banca que hallase con la carga que se dice dentro. pero hara mucha falta nuestra banca aqui.

[About a dozen lines missing]

-cas.

Digo Angel mio, que mi parecer, y orden (si a VR^a consultando en tal caso con el Padre Pedro, y al dicho Padre Pedro no les parece lo contrario de mayor servicio de Dios), es lo primero: que VR^a ni el Padre Pedro no vengan por aca asta que yo avise otra cosa, sino es que a fines de Abril no hubiessen llegado cartas mias acerca desde punto, porque estando yo solo aqui, aseguro mas el que no obliguen a que asista a la guerra de Saipan Padre cuya asistencia era el mayor inconveniente que yo [h]allaba en dicha guerra y castigo, sino que dexemos al castellano que obre de oficio y sin el embaço de contrario parecer que no se le sugete, (como seria el Sargento Mayor aunque tan Angel etc.) no avia menester nuestro inmediato consejo, asi no me dexaran salir los de Tinian, con que etc.

2. que volviendo Sungi a instarnos de parte de los amigos de Saipan (a donde a ido 2ª vez con Marinduque por si se pueden sacar los cuerpos etc.) que no nos podemos negar a la ocasion que Dios nos pone en las manos de que entiendan estos que dos solos de nuestros compañeros que quieran pelear de parte de Dios, bastan para sacar con victoria a los que son de nuestra parte, y que si queremos usar de nuestras armas valen, etc. por el amparo de Dios etc.

3. que para mas manejable guerra es menester la pieça pequeña y assi que venga esta en todo caso en el primer viage con las dos tinajas, **Santa Cruz**, que no es creible la falta que nos hace el no tener con que pagar que por su ausencia a estado parada la otra banca y emos padecido otras muchas faltas que se llevan por amor de Dios, p[ue]ls su Magestad con los vientos etc. lo dispone.

[4.] Y que para que venga Pedro se busque persona de la tierra buena como estos desta vanca que venga ayudando a Padro a marear, y si quieren traer para volverse esta u otra banca con porte de trastos vengán los mas que se pudiere dexando para lo ultimo, tinajas de higo, Arina, vino, que no instan ya tanto su venida que eran para pasar a Gani.

5. que VRª nos haga caridad de enviar el pistolete, porque si se hace alguna prision como se desea especialmente la de **Gofisinan** que dicen fue el **Manago** en la maldad, conviene llevar semejante arma a mano, y para otros effectos. y si para la seguridad personal de VRª que importa mas, es necessaria esa defensa en Guan que es la isla mas peligrosa podrá VRª quedarse en esa de Rota, y con el pretesto que alla mejor pareciere como de aguardar aviso para venir a esta isla, y que entretanto hace mucha falta un Padre en Guan, y el Padre no se amañara tanto a llevar arma: y lo que juzgo in D[omi]no es que lo que es los Padres estamos mas seguros sin armas. la condescendencia quiza es a veces mas de la que conviniera, y es menester emmendarlos: eso mismo le dixen a otro buen compañero. y dio otros pretestos, que mostraban a lo menos demasiado dictamen en la materia, no para defensa propia sino porque decia con dicho miedo se hallaban mejor los niños para el Santo Bautismo, con que me parecio violencia demasiada: ojala rompieramos mas claramente algunas veces. **cupio emendare** etc. et **intelligenti pauca**: asta aora como aguardabamos a [5-6 words missing] -tos o cuernos de la baca quando pudieren venir de Agadña, y los pedaços quales- [5-6 words missing] -a a VRª con la dicha arma y demas cosas no la echaba tanto menos.

Pero hablando seriamente, digo que juzgo que conviene que VRª vuelva a Guan, y que con sus traças haga todo el aparato que le pareciere puede ser de temor a los de Agadña, que effectivo daño alli es mui peligroso, porque dentro del pueblo contra el mismo p[uebl]o no tenemos gente de nuestra parte como la tenemos en ocasion de guerra como esta o la que se aguarda en Saipan: y asi mas se a de hacer con miedo etc. y risa y presencia, con lo qual emos pasado en Agadña otras veces con no mas armas ni mas gente: en aciendo algun peligro mayor dexando enseñado todo lo que se pudiere pasarse buenamente de la otra parte hacia **Pago**, o el puerto, por modo de **rumicao**, dejando por estafermo al inutil en Agadña, y que no se meta en oficio de Buço aunque oyga que VRª se a aogado, asta que VRª mismo se lo venga a decir: y quando faltare el

peligro en Agaña o fuese menos [menor?], que en las visitas por el otro inconveniente: quedando VR^a en Agaña ira el inutil a su rumiçao sin armas ni apariencia dellas por mi cuenta, mal digo, por la de Dios y la SS. Virgen, y si no pudiese recabar este desembaraço de armas con su compañero le puede dejar llevar una lança y un broquel, pero de ninguna suerte cuchillo ni cosa de yerro etc.

*Venga luego en todo caso el Sr. Gregorio [Martinez] con Pedro y nuestra vanca y la pieça si esta aun en Rota y la acienda siquiera de una tinaja, [marked:] **Santa Cruz**, y la segunda quando antes se pudiere. aun antes de botica y vizcocho, aunque todo es menester, y traigan las bancas la buena carga que pudieren, ya que cuestan tanto y que con los tiempos ay tantas dilaciones.*

A lo que VR^a no juzgare conveniente para mayor gloria de Dios de la cosas dichas, sin aguardar nueva correspondencia tan contingente de mar lo consultara con el Padre Pedro. y si los dos convienen por las circunstancias que alla ocurriesen, ordeno que se execute aunque sea contra mi parecer: y ruego que esto sea secluso todo respecto humano, y pidiendo luz a N[uestro] Señor, y [la] Santissima Madre y a nuestros Padres S. Ignacio y S. Francisco Xavier aplicando a las resoluciones los dictámenes que hallaren destos Santos. El Señor nos alumbre y llene de su amor.

[A dozen or so lines are missing]

*Si VR^a a menester nuestra banca y a Pedro para ir a Guan, avra de aguardar a que vuelva de aca: aunque espero que para volver a VR^a no faltara la vanca de **Itomo**, u otras ... y como vaya alla Pedro y la banca al tiempo que VR^a lleo el año pasado, se podra pasar como entonces con el favor de Dios.*

Las demas cosas que roge a VR^a y al Padre Pedro que fuesen haciendo assi de lengua como de Historia o relacion destas tierras, suplico prosiga donde se hallaren, etc. y sobre todo el cuidado de los Bautismos y cuenta de preñadas etc.

Por amor de Dios que aviendo viento no se detenga nuestra banca con Pedro y Gregorio y lo demas que pido de hacienda que nos hace grande falta para todo, y la pieça de Cap[itan]a no obstante lo dicho en los otros papeles: si no es que VRas. dos con solo consulta de una Ave Maria juzguen lo contrario por de mayor gloria de Dios, que guarde a VRas, etc.

Desta fuerça de N[uestra] S[eñora] de Paz de Tinian a 22 de Feb. de 670

*Venga ya todo derecho a **Sunharon**, que yo ando de una parte a otra etc.*

Translation

To Fr. Luis de Morales, who is to have the last word about what to send and what to do during the war etc...

And in his absence from Rota to Fr. Pedro [Casanova] so that our canoe may not be delayed, whenever the wind is favorable, on account of consultations (and in case it cannot make the voyage) let Pedro¹ come with Sirag [a native] with any canoe that can

1 Ed. note: This was a European seaman whose last name was Pablo (see Doc. 1671F).

be found, with the freight that is mentioned hereunder, but our own canoe would be missed here.

[about a dozen lines missing at this point]

My dear Angel, here is my opinion, and order, (unless Y.R., after consultation with Fr. Pedro in any case, and should it appear to Y.R. and Fr. Pedro that the opposite be for the greater service of God), to wit:

1°. Neither Y.R. nor Fr. Pedro is to come overhere until I let you know otherwise, not before the end of April, if you do not receive letters from me regarding this point before then, because, since I am alone here, I have an excuse for not having any Father participate in the war and punishment in Saipan, as this would just be a disadvantage; better let the warden do his job without the nuisance of any contrary opinion that might hinder him (though it be the Major himself, though he is such an Angel, etc.) there is no need for our immediate advice.¹ Thus, those of Tinian will not allow me to go out, etc.

2°. Sungi having once again urged us on behalf of our friends in Saipan² (where he has gone a second time with Marinduque³ to find out if the bodies could be recovered, etc.) to the effect that we cannot refuse the opportunity that God places in our hands, that the people there believe that, with only two of our companions who would be willing to fight on the side of God, they would be sufficient to assure victory to those in our party, and, should they wish to make use of our weapons, it would be enough, etc. on account of God's protection, etc.

3°. In order to make this war more manageable, the small field-piece is necessary. That is why it should come on the first trip with the two jars [marked] **Santa Cruz**. It is unbelievable what we lack, for not having anything with which to pay [for things]. That is why the other canoe has been idle and we have missed many other things; send them for God's sake, since His Majesty has so arranged the winds, etc.

[4°]. In order for Pedro to come, a good native is wanted, as good as those aboard this canoe. Let him come and help Pedro to sail, and if they wish to return with the same canoe or another one the size of a war canoe, let as many of them come as possible, leaving for last the jars loaded with figs, flour, wine, as they are not as desirable now, since they had been meant for the voyage to the Gani [Islands].

5°. Y.R. should do us the favor of sending the pocket pistol, because if some arrest is made, and the arrest of **Gofisinan** is specially wanted, as they say that he was the **Manago** [instigator?] of the bad deed, it is desirable to carry such a hand weapon, and for other purposes. And, if for Y.R.'s safety which is more important, this weapon should be necessary in Guan, which is the more dangerous island, Y.R. could remain in that of Rota, and with the excuse that it might be better to wait there until word is received to come to this island, but in the meantime a Father would be wanting in Guan,

1 Ed. note: This man was none other than the Filipino conquistador of the Marianas, Captain Juan de Santa Cruz, the former blacksmith, to whom Fr. Sanvitores has given another promotion.

2 Ed. note: The people of the village of Opian had remained faithful to the Spanish.

3 Ed. note: The name of a Filipino soldiers who came from the Island of Marinduque.

and the Father would not be foolish enough to bear arms, something which disagrees with my God-given opinion that we Fathers are safer without weapons. Compliance is sometimes more difficult than it should, but it is necessary for us to amend ourselves. I have told this to another good companion and he gave me some excuses, which goes to show that there are too much divergence of opinion on the matter (not for his own personal defence, he said, but to instil fear, the better to find children to give holy baptism to); this seemed to me to be too much violence. I hope that we break up more clearly sometimes. I wish to amend, etc. and a few things have to be understood. Until now, as we are awaiting... [5-6 words missing] ...or the horns from the cow when they might come from Agadña,¹ and whatever pieces... [5-6 words missing] ... Y.R. did not miss the said weapon and other things as much.

However, to speak seriously, I say that it is proper for Y.R. to return to Guan, and work out the best schemes you see fit in order to keep those of Agadña in fear, because any effective damage overthere is very dangerous, because inside the town we have none upon which to rely against the town itself, as we should have in case of a war such as this one [in Tinian], or the one that awaits us in Saipan. That is why fear must be used, etc.² and [also] laughter and [shear] presence, such as we have used in Agadña many times, without the need for more weapons or more soldiers. Should there be some greater risk, the standing instruction is to transfer as much as you can take over to the other side, toward Pago, or to the port,³ by way of a *rumicao*,⁴ leaving the useless one in Agaña as a post-master, and he should not be given the job of diver, although I hear that Y.R. has taken the plunge, until Y.R. himself should decide to tell him so: should there be no danger in Agadña, or should it be less than in the outlying villages on account of the other disadvantage; Y.R. should remain in Agadña and the useless one is to go to his *rumicao* without weapons or anything else of the sort on my account, rather, I should say, on God's account and that of the Most Holy Virgin,⁵ and should he plead against this lack of weapons, his companion can take along a spear and a buckler, but on no account should it be a knife or anything else made of iron, etc.

In any case, Don Gregorio [Martinez] is to come with Pedro and our canoe and the field-piece, if it is still in Rota, and whatever goods are in the first jar marked Santa Cruz, and the second one as soon as possible, specially one with the pharmacy or sea-biscuits, although everything is necessary, and the canoes are to carry as good a load as they can, since they cost so much and there are so many delays caused by the weather.

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- 1 Ed. note: A cow and a young bull had been landed two years before. The cow had by now been killed, I guess, and its horns became as valuable as the traditional tortoise shells, for trading with or buying services from the natives.
 - 2 Ed. note: In war, or peace, it is always good strategy to use preventive measures.
 - 3 Ed. note: On the southwest coast, at Hati or Umatac.
 - 4 Ed. note: Native word meaning mission tour (see Doc 1670B).
 - 5 Ed. note: From this comment, one can guess that the "useless one" was one of the missionaries, the unnamed one who wanted to carry weapons; my guess is that it was Fr. Cardeñoso.

Now, regarding the above-said things, if Y.R. should think it proper for the greater glory of God, without waiting for new correspondence (which is so dependent upon the sea conditions), you are to consult with Fr. Pedro, and if the two of you agree, based upon the circumstances occurring overthere, I order that it be carried out, although it be against my opinion; and I beg you not to think of being disrespectful, and to pray for enlightenment to Our Lord, the Most Holy Virgin and our Fathers St. Ignatius and St. Francis Xavier, then applying the dictates received from these Saints to the decision process. May the Lord enlighten us and fill us with His love.

[A dozen or so lines are missing]

If Y.R. needs our canoe and Pedro to go to Guan, you should make sure that it will return from there, although I hope that for the return trip the canoe belonging to **Itomo**,¹ or others, will not fail Y.R. and that, since Pedro and the canoe are going there at the same time as Y.R. made it last year, it will be possible to make the crossing as before, God helping.

As for the other things that I begged Y.R. and Fr. Pedro to do, concerning the language as well as a Historical narrative or Relation of these Islands, I beg you to pursue them whenever you can find the time, etc. and above all do not forget [to mention] the baptisms, and the story about the pregnant women, etc.

For God's sake, if the wind becomes favorable, do not detain our canoe with Pedro and Gregorio and the others, besides the goods that I ask, as we have such a great need for them all, not to forget the field-piece from the flagship, regardless what I said in the other papers, unless, of course, the two of you should decide otherwise, after consultation and the recitation of a Hail Mary, for the greater glory of God. May He keep Your Reverences, etc.

From this fort of **Our Lady of Peace**, Tinian, 22 February 1670.

[P.S.] Everything is to come directly to **Sunharon**, as I am constantly on the move, etc.

1 Ed. note: Itomo was a chief living in Rota (see Doc. 1671U).

Documents 1670B

Reports on the death of Fr. Luis de Medina

Sources: ARSI Phil. 13, fol. 50-53v; RAH 9/2676 doc. n° 14 (incomplete; at least 2 folios missing, or misplaced).

B1. News from the Mariana Islands for the year 1670, dated Tinian 22 April 1670

Original in Spanish.

Jhs + Maria

Noticias de las Islas Marianas embiadas año de 1670.¹

§ 2

Las noticias del § 1º que se escribieron de buena mano y esperiencia de estas Islas en las mas de las quales a sido el primer evangelizador y el que con la divina gracia dexa mas medios para que otros evangelizen con sus buenos trabajos en la lengua y traduccion del catheçismo & baldran por las de los demas comp[añer]os porque todos emos hecho el mismo Juizio de las calidades desta tierra.

Solo en orden a los sucesos de este año añadiremos y esplicaremos algunos çircunstancias de los que tubimos mas inmediata notiçia como de la guerra y paz de la Isla de Buenavista Mariana donde despues de quatro meses de pertinax guerra de sus apredeas [sic = apedreos] y lanzas con varias muertes de los mas señalados Principales de una parte y otra, quema de sus casas[,] destroso de sus sementeras y grande estorvo de la sementera evangelica; con solo ponerse en medio de los dos campos en que estava dividida toda la Isla, diez compañeros nuestros seglares entre los quales solo uno era Español, por nombre Juan de Santiago[,] vizcayno y de bien poca hedad assistido del Capitan D. Juan de Santa Cruz, y otros ocho naturales de Filipinas con sus pocas armas aun-

¹ Ed. note: Note added later: “Danse cuenta de la muerte por Xpo del Padre Luis de Medina, primer Ministro evangelico destas Islas.”

que una dellas era una piezezilla de campaña no despreciable, siquiera por deparada tambien de la Santissima Virgen que asta en esta a prevencion militar andubo tan prevenida, entre las demas que nos dexo en estas Islas en el celebre naufragio (de eterno salvamento a estas almas) de su Nao **Concepçion** en la Isla de Zaypan donde se hallo bien acasso esta pieza no sin nueva intervencion de la Santissima Virgen pues yendo a buscar caveza de una Imagen suya, prenda [sic=presa] tambien de las de la Nao **Concepçion** que deçian estaba en una casa del pueblo de **Tumon** sin la devida decençia para dirigirla donde fuese degnamente reverençiada como las otras sagradas Imagenes que se hallaron y remitieron el año passado[,] no hallandose en aquella cassa la dha sagrada cabeza de la Imagen de nuestra Señora se hallò a su puerta la dha pieza de campaña y se trujo a Tinian cosa de un mes antes que se moviese esta guerra. En la qual ocaçion se hallo tambien en la dha Isla de S. Juan otra piezezilla no mala p^a el mismo uso (aunque oy sin el por la falta de gente &^a) junto con su poco de polvora; que ya se nos acababa la que con un par de Mosquetes nos havia dexado el Sr. Governador D. Manuel de Leon en el socorro de este año: con solo pues amagar con estas armas hacia una parte y otra de la pelea, sin hazer por entozes, ni recevoir daño alguno hizieron nuestros diez compañeros retirar un campo y otro, y dexar la pelea en que estaran muy encarnizados aquel dia, del Invicto Martir S. Vicente, bien señalado de los que escriven el descubrimiento de estas Islas por el Adelantado Legazpi, que fue çiento y çinco años antes en este mismo dia de S. Viçente: y dentro de dos dias que fue el mismo en que en el Arzobispado de Toledo se celebra la fiesta de Nuestra S[ef]nor]a de la Paz y sudesçion [sic] a dar la cassulla al Santo Ildefonso a los 24 de Henero se effectuo por nuestra gente y miedo de nuestras armas al que saliessen a hablarse en el mismo campo y azuestar [=ajustar] las pazes de uno y otro vando.

En cuya memoria y agradeçimiento a la Santissima Virgen se formo luego en el mismo puesto esto es en medio del campo de las peleas de esta Isla una como Hermita con Titulo de Nuestra S[ef]nor]a de la Paz, de que para que se confirmasse mas de proposito se valio nuestra gente como de fuerza o cassa de armas: por cuyo respeto en el espacio de dos meses que alli estubieron los nuestros se impidieron las salidas y embestidas de una y otra parte con las quales muy frequentemente buelben luego a rromper las pazes estos no mas constantes naturales que los demas de las Indias **incredibili mobilitate animi &a.** S.Xau.lib.2.ep.9.

Hasta que al fin de dhos dos meses no pudiendo el comun enemigo de la paz y de los hombres sufrir tan constante paz entre estos pobres Marianos volvio a romper la guerra con una muerte que fuera del campo hicieron los de una parte y quema de un pueblo que hizieron los de la otra, passando por camino desviado de nuestra fuerza: a los quales por que al fin se atraxieron a volver atravar pelea en el mismo campo, a vista de nuestra fuerza, y Hermita de Nuestra Señora de la Paz contra los contrastes echos se les dio en continenti, segun se les havia amenazado, una roziada de nuestras armas, aunque bien ligera porque no se pretendia mas que espantarlos de veras y que conoziessen con alguna experiencia, que no eran todo estruendo nuestras armas, como ellos deçian hasta entozes; lo qual reconozieron bastantemente allandose sin pensar con

dos muertos uno de los quales era el principal promotor de la guerra con la qual acabo alanceado de mano de un muchacho Pampango de menos de doze años por nombre Andrés de la Cruz concurriendo tambien con mucho valor y hiriendo a algunos con su mosquete otro españolito natural de Mexico llamado Diego Bazan y dirigiendo a todos el dho Capitan D. Juan de Santa Cruz que hacia officia de Castellano de dha fuerza delante de la qual quedaron postrados y faltos de aliento totalmente no solo para valerse de sus lanzas y piedras contra nosotros o sus enemigos de Sungaron con quienes trababan su pertinaz pelea, sino aun para valerse de sus pies y ponerse en salvo: tendidos por gran rato en medio de aquel campo los que perdono la compaçion de los nuestros sin faltarles aun los ultimos yelados [sic] extremos, que suelen decirse del miedo y no son para dichos aqui con mas claridad.

*Sirviose mucho el Sr. de esta primera demostracion del justo castigo y enojo de los **Guirragos** (que assi llaman en esta tierra a nuestros Españoles y gente forastera como quien dice gente de allende el mar) porque a sido muy considerable el temor que an cobrado a nuestras armas los naturales de esta y las Islas vezinas a donde llevo muy presto el eco y desengaño de que no se quedaban en solo ruido, y que assi no se quedarian sin castigo los desmanes que cometiessen contra la ley de Dios, y buenas costumbres que les enseñabamos: y en orden a no continuar otras ostilidades con sus contrarios, les a reprimido de tal suerte este pavor, y depende de tal manera de concepto que an hecho de las armas y valor de nuestros compañeros, que aviendose juntado todos los pueblos de la faccion contraria a Sungaron, donde esta nuestra Iglessia [sic], y cassa de nuestros compañeros por haver corrido nueva de que se havian ydo todos los Guirragos (es assi que hizieron aussencia por quatro dias cassi todos nuestros compañeros por una jornada que se hizo a Zaypan con la ocasion que diremos despues) oyendo en fin antes de llegar a nuestro pueblo el eco del clarin y zertificandose que no se avian ydo todos sino que quedaban aun dos o tres Guirragos y un **Pequi**, que este nombre dan a las armas de fuego se retiraron al punto y volvieron a sus pueblos, sin atreverse a acometer al nuestro por solo el dicho miedo: que será quando como esperamos de la divina y real providencia tengase en cada Isla, ya que no en cada pueblo (como el de Sungaron adonde a la sazón y ocasion dicha haviamos reducido toda nuestra gente seglar y armas de estas Islas) tengamos digo la gente y armas competentes para introducir tan saludable temor, justicia, y gobierno no ya solo [fol. 50v] Paternal y amoroso sino tambien coactivo y militar, tan necessario aqui como en todas partes, assi en orden a reprimir barbaras guerras como los demas insultos y pecados forçossos en la tierra de mas antiguos y politicos Christianos, se les faltan algun tiempo el temor y justicia y fuerza que reprima y castigue malhechores.*

Y el haverse dilatado asta aora tan provechosa introduccion, y que ni aun se hubiesse hecho un mes antes de la demostracion de nuestras armas, que aunque se ve les fue de tanto terror[,] parece haver sido no sin especial y amorosa Providencia del Sor. a quien placio no le faltase a esta Mission Mariana en sus principios el esmalte de las primitivas que su Magestad instituyo en sus sagrados discipulos sin mas escolta ni demostracion de armas que las que pueden ostentar las obejas en medio de los lobos: y

que assi se diese lugar in la propia sazon de sementera Evangelica al riego de la sangre de Martires, con que se fecundassen estos campos, al modo que sean fertilizado los de las mas floridas Igleſſias de la Christiandad, y que tubiesen luego de contado su premio los buenos travaxos y meritos del que mas se auia señalado y servido a la Santissima Virgen en la primera batalla y victoria bien propriamente Mariana: la qual assi como fue de Paz toda para estos pobres, fue tambien de unica guerra contra los Principes de las tinieblas Ladrones y tiranos de estas Islas.

*En dicha guerra pues y victoria de Paz fue el prinçipal caudillo el que a querido el Sor. se pueda ya nombradamente señalar señalando su triunfo con la corona de Martyrio que por lo que nos consta humanamente por la Informacion Juridica que se á hecho en la forma, que al pressente se puede en estas Islas cuyo traslado se remite con este resumen açerca de las çircunstancias de su dichosa muerte, no previniendo, sino remi-tiendonos en todo, al juicio y declaraçion de la Santa Sede Apostolica; creemos piadosamente haver conseguido la dicha corona el Padre Luis de Medina Sacerdote de nuestra Com^a de Jhs, natural de Malaga que a los 33 años de su hedad y catorze de Comp^a y dos de Missionero Evangelico en estas Islas fue alanzado y muerto en odio de la administracion del Santo Bautismo y exerçios de la predicacion Evangelica en el pueblo de **Cao** de la Isla de Zaypan (llamada ya S. Joseph) a **veinte y nueve de Henero de 1670**. Mas de proposito se escriven en otro papel las singulares virtudes[,] zelo y frutos del ministerio evangelico que exerçito este siervo de Dios assi en la Prov^a de Andaluzia, que con harto dolor suyo y amor de las misiones de Indias se privò de tal sujeto, como en la de Nueva España por donde passò sin parar un punto en el exerçio de su buen zelo y obras de caridad corporal y espiritual con todo genero de personas: por las cuales parece escogido muy singularmente la Madre de misericordia para que la exerçitase con estos miserables Ladrones felicissimos ya Marianos, por cuya enseñanza y salvaçion se ofrecio artas vezes antes de la execuçion efectiva el buen Padre Luis de Medina al derramamiento de sangre; remitiendo pues a mas dicha larga relaçion los particulares cassos de su vida dignos de toda memoria sumarè aqui precisamente las çircunstancias de su ultima dicha.*

Era el Padre Luis de Medina a la sazon de dicha guerra el ministro propio de aquella Isla de Tinian: haviòle Nuestro Señor sacado con admirables providençias de bien graves peligros en que se avia puesto por su amor para pasificar a sus hijos y exerçitar con ellos sus ministerios y espeçialmente el Bautismo de los niños en los mismos pueblos donde estaba mas ardiente la guerra: concludida pues en Tinian con tan dichoso fin y medio de la Santissima Virgen bien obligada de las diligençias y peligrosos pasos que dio este su siervo por ajustar la dicha Paz: sin detenerse el fervoroso Padre a gozar los frutos y quietud de la Paz, que tanto le avia costado[,] passò inmediatamente a la Isla de Zaypan que estaba tambien por su quenta, y con las atençiones a la paçificacion de Tinian y passos de tan dilatada guerra, no se havian podido visitar cumplidamente con riesgo no pequeño en tanta dilaçion, de la perdida de los niños, que en aquel tiempo muriesen, sin tener quien les administrase el Santo Bautismo: no lo supo pues al Padre el corazon dilatarles mas el unico remedio y puerta de la vida, y aunque no le havian

faltado varios peligros de la suya corporal en las otras visitas que havia echo en dicha Isla, despreciandolos todos, y no teniendo mayores que otras vezes, passo a continuar sus visitas & saliendo de Tinian Lunes a 27 de Henero.

No parece sino que se havian juntado con los Ladrones y Demonios tiranos de Zaypan los que se acababan de desterrar de Tinian por fuerza de la Victoria y Paz Mariana, y que en Zaypan como en donde por la falta de Ministros no se a podido aun assentar templo o cassa fuerte al Señor y de su Santissima Madre se havian hecho fuertes los Principales de las tinieblas y armado para la venganza de los daños recibidos en Tinian y que temian no se estendiessen en su Isla de Zeypan con la venida del Padre e inclinacion ya manifestada de algunos Principales de aquella Isla a pedir Iglessia y ministerio mas de proposito.

Estos yntentos parece que pretendio estorvar el Demonio atajando los pasos del ferboroso Padre de cuya sangre derramada por nuestra Santa Fee en aquella tierra, y ruegos que hara aora con no menos caridad y efficaçia desde el çielo, esperamos mas dichoso edificio de Christiandad, que el Demonio pretendio impedir: sacando demas [sic], como suele la Infinita bondad del Señor de la Milicia Diabolica y humana, estorbar y opposiçion a nuestra Santa fee el bien del Martyrio y galardon mayor, que suele dar en esta vida a los suyos para dichoso passo de la otra, con que se premiassen de contado los que este su fiel siervo y evangelizador de Paz havia dado en una y otra Isla y en las otras tres hasta la principal de S. Juan, bien inclusivamente visitada, y formada con la Iglessia prim[ari]a de estas Islas que en ellas edifico el año passado concurriendo a lo material y espiritual deste edificio muy singularmente la diligencia y ferbor de este buen Padre donde tambien como a las de Santa Ana y Buena Vista.

Passando pues con los dichos intentos a Zeypan quiso el Padre empezar su visita por los Pueblos que avia mas tiempo que no se havian visitado, por ser en ellos la dilacion de mayor peligro para la vida eterna de sus infantes Marianos: no obstante que eran [fol. 51] tambien de mas riesgo para la vida corporal del Padre por ser los mas pueblos de monte y llanamente infamados de gente opuesta a las costumbres christianas; y muy espeçialmente al bautismo de los niños: porque aunque los mas de dichos pueblos tambien de monte an reçibido ya el Santo Bautismo le rehusan aun notablemente en sus criaturas: por la impresion que hizo espeçialmente en la Isla de Zeypan de donde era natural la muger y gente de la familia del Choco, la fatal voz con que se atrevio a infamar el Santo Bautismo y sus ministros diçiendo que con aquel agua y Santos olios matabamos y con espeçial efficaçia a los niños: de que ya diximos el año passado: la qual voz hizo menos remediable daño en los montes, a donde no llegan, o no se creen tan facilmente, las favorables nuevas de lo bueno como la retrataçion y Bautismo del Choco, y la venida del nuevo Governador, y su justo y espeçial enojo contra el dicho Sangley, y sus creyentes, ô confidentes de Zeypan, no tan efficaz como ni tan formidable en los montes quanto en las playas.

No repa[ra]ndo pues el zeloso Padre en esto por no perder el derecho ya adquirido de la Iglessia con el Bautismo de los Padres para continuar el de los hijos, y el natural derecho de los niños que estubiessen en peligro de la vida para ser socorridos con el

unico remedio de su salvacion, contra la cual piedad de sus Padres, prosiguió insistiendo, como solia en la aberiguacion y Bautismo de sus niños, para el qual hallo aun mas contradicciones que solia. Porque verdaderamente los Demonios antiguos homiçidas de los hombres avivaron entonçes la mortal voz del Choco, contra el Santo Bautismo como propia venganza a suya por la vida del Padre havia dado a tantos niños con la sagrada agua; y de la muerte aun corporal que havia impedido a tantos adultos tambien, atajando la guerra de Tinian con tan pacifica victoria como fue la primera que diximos el dia de Nuestra Señora de la Paz: que la segunda en que se vieron obligados los nuestros a hazer alguna demostracion de sus armas fue despues del atrevimiento de Zeypan y glorioso fin del Venerable Padre el qual suçcesso estimulo tambien a dicha demostracion de los nuestros por haver savido que uno de los valdones que deçian al Padre los de Zaypan no sin blasfemia tambien contra Dios Nuestro Señor era que como no haviamos acabado y destruydo en Tinian a los de Marpo contrarios a nuestro Pueblo de Sungaron? y que donde estaba Lorenzo? compañero nuestro seglar de que diremos despues, a quien avian muerto en la Isla de Anatahan por concurrir tambien a los Bautismos y que que pedia nuestro Dios (añadian) ni nosotros con su ayuda que no haviamos castigado aquella Isla &a bozes todas claramente dictadas del Demonio y de espeçiales Demonios guerrreadores, llamemoslo assi, furias o Diablos que debe de haver de guerra oppuestas a los Angeles de la Paz, y a los Ministros que la evangelizan: y que parece vinieron de nuevo desterrados como deçiamos de Tinian por que sin otra nueva ocasion que la de dicha paz se experimentaron aora en Zeypan tan furiosos quanto nunca antes se havian reconocido: haziendo prorrumpir a aquellos miserables naturales in semejantes blasfemias voces contra la paz evangelica mezclandolas con la tan falsa como contra dict^a calumnia de que los ministros que tan vivamente procuraban atajar guerras y muertes de hombres, y con modo tan pacifico, se metaban tanto, y ponian a tantos riesgos e injurias en sus misiones y viaxes por quitar vidas y matar niños con el agua de Dios.

*Con la qual contradiccion y el desengaño tan claro en la vida que oy tienen tantos niños y adultos de su mis^a Isla, donde llegaron ya a seis mill los Bautizados, siendo no muchos los que han muerto y de sus ordinarias enfermedades, Junto con la retratacion y Bautismo que ya no ignoran del mismo Choco, que levanto esta mortal voz pudieran estar ya tan desengañados los dichos pueblos, como lo estan generalmente los de las otras Islas: a no averse apoderado tanto de estos miserables la maliçia del Dem^o, y convertidose estos desengaños en mas culpable error y mas voluntariamente opuesto a la fée convençia y neçessidad del Santo Bautismo que se les predica y que tan de valde aborresen permitiendolo el Sor. en castigo quiza del antiguo mal logro de la merçed del çielo que se les vino a sus casas en el naufragio de la Nao **Conçepcion** del año de 1638 y la espeçial impiedad con que se portaron los de esta Isla de Zeypan con nuestros naufragantes que enessotras [sic] Islas muy buena cogidos, y para premiar por medio de su maliçia los meritos de buenos Missioneros, que ya nos alanzaron otro, aunque sin el ultimo efecto, como escrivimos el año passado, con la qual y la maldad de este año parece van cumpliendo las que el Sor. tiene determinado a guardarles para*

que con su tan justificado castigo se de el saludable escarmiento de que neçessitan estas gentes en los prinçipios de su Christiandad para que se aseguren sus buenos progresos.

*Engañados pues y alterados del Dem^o aquellos miserables fueron persiguiendo al siervo de Dios desde el primer passo que dio en Zaypan, sin çessar unos y otros de valdones y injurias de palabra y obra: por las quales passo el Padre con singular paciència, y encargandola a cada passo a los dos compañeros, que llebaba seglares que con su exemplo y ruegos se portaron de tal suerte, que con llevar sus armas, como se acostumbran a llevar las suyas todos estos naturales en sus mismas tierras, no hizieron la menor demostracion con ellas detenidos del Padre porque no no [sic] le detubiesen en los passos de su ministerio para cuya consequcion [sic] les deçia eran las mexores armas la paciència y passar de priesa por todo lo demas sin hazer casso; porque no saliesse el Dem^o ni aun con detenerles en contiendas y perdida de tiempo. Con la qual paciència, sin duda, tomo ocaçion la maliçia diabolica para dar mayor abilantez aquellos barbaros, y mayor despreçio del Padre y de sus comp[añer]os llamandolos **ababas** esto es mentecatos; que no sabian volver por si, ni manejar sus armas. Assi que todos los passos desde el primero que dio el buen Padre en la Isla fueron de una continua passion y martirio con no menos continuada paciència y merito del fervoroso Missionero.*

*En **Arrayao** que fue el primer pueblo de la visita buscando un niño, que le havian ausentado aunque no le hallo, [h]allo muy buenas pedradas por su busca y las recibio de muy buena gana por amor de Dios. En **Fatasu** [sic]¹ hizo sus bautismos y doctrina con gusto de la gente del pueblo que no todos son malos, pero saliendo del [h]allo en los de otros pueblos que encontraba en el camino su buen estipendio de baldones por matador y aun por comedor de niños. Del monte de **Sugrian** donde buscando los niños, le dixeron que sus madres los havian baxado al mar[.] Le vinieron siguiendo algunos hombres y apresurando por la quèsta a empellones: y llegando a la playa de **Tipo** donde parecia estar los niños de Sugrian hallando uno de pocos dias nazido y pidiendole para el Santo Bafujtismo fue tal la conmozion de los que havian baxado del monte y de los que estaban en la playa diçiendo que el Padre les venia a matar sus criaturas y que lo que el Padre deçia (de ser medio para el cielo el Bautismo) era mentira y nuestro Señor Dios mentiroso y malo, que el Padre porque no prosiguiesen en tales blasfemias, les dixo que se quietasen, que aunque el deseaba Bautizar aquella criatura, porque no podian entrar los hombres en el çielo sin el bautismo dado por la sangre de Nuestro Sor. Jesuxpo., como el mismo Sor. Dios verdadero nos lo enseñaba [fol. 51v] pero que si sus Padres no querian que alla se aviniessen con el enojo de Dios etc. y pareçiendole estar por entozes sana la criatura la dexo para mexor ocasion, aunque con mas dolor de su alma, como significo a sus compañeros en tolerar esto, que en la toleracion de todos sus trabajos e injurias: pero no les basto esta toleracion tan prudente a aquellos dañados coraçones, porque yrritados con solo el amago del Bautismo que huyan y aborreçian por el horror de muerte y error ya bien maliçiosso con que daban mas oydos a la voz*

1 Ed. note: However, the RAH copy says Tataáchiu.

*ya retratada del Choco que a la infalible verdad de Dios, que el Padre les predicaba confirmada en estas mismas tierras no solo con los trabajos y riesgos a que sin otro interes alguno que el que les predicaban de sus almas mismas, ven que se exponen sus ministros, sino con sucessos tambien milagrosos en especial confirmacion de la verdad y necesidad del Santo Bautismo de que ya diximos el año passado, y diremos aun de este en relacion mas cumplida los quales en gran parte an passado por mano del Ven. Padre Luis por su mucha fee y devoçion singularissima con la Santissima Virgen desde alli digo se comenzaron aquellos barbaros a convocar [sic] y conjurar contra el Padre mas declaradamente y hubieran alli luego consumado su maldad como ya amagaron a no estar tan cerca el pueblo de **Raurau**, cuyos vezinos no tan pertidos [sic = perdidos] entonzes les salieron al enquntro y convidaron al Padre a haçer noche en su pueblo.*

Pero aqui [h]allo tambien otro tropiezo o escalon de su dicha: porque reparò que en la cassa misma de el principal que le ofrecia ospedaxe havia unas figuras que suelen poner en sus entierros con alguna supersticion o confianza en la ayuda de sus difuntos, que en ellos diçen se representan, ocasion proxima por lo menos de Idolatria y otras supersticiones por lo qual las reprehendio como solia el Padre y dixo que no havia de parar en la cassa sino se quitaban de alli: a que mostraron no poca dificultad, espeçialmente la huespeda diciendo que eran sus Dioses: que aunque antes no les daban este ni otro semejante nombre, que sepamos, con la misma luz de la fée pareze se an zegado mas los que la an despreciado: aunque por la misericordia del Sor. son tan pocos los que emos hallado que insistan en dar semejante nombre y supersticiosa honrra a dichas figuras por mas que tenia ya impuestos en ellos a muchos de estos simples barbaros el sobre dicho Sanglely Choco. Pero insistiendo en su zelossa exortacion el Padre porque no se fuesse de la cassa las quitaron: y por mas que los de Raurau an pretendido escusarse es çierto y legitimamente aberiguado, que concurrieron algunos de ellos irritados del zelo del Padre en quererles quitar sus antiguas costumbres y supersticiones a quitarle la vida; como sucedio el dia siguiente.

*Miercoles pues **29 de Henero** salio el Padre Luis de dicho pueblo de Raurau, que esta en la playa para proseguir la Mision en los pueblos que le faltaban de monte: y a pocos passos del camino vieron los compañeros que los seguian y andando mas los atajaban y curzaban varios **Urritaos**, que assi llaman los manzebos libres y bien libertados de esta tierra ordinarios yesinos [sic = asesinos] executores de los malos intentos de los pueblos. Seguian pues y perseguian a nuestros peregrinos con notable bateria y persecucion de blasfemias contra Nuestro Sor. Dios y baldones contra el Padre matador de niños y no desistiendo por esso el buen Padre de buscarles para darles la verdadera vida, llevo al pueblo de **Cao** y andando de casa en casa como solia por la enseñanza de S. Francisco Xavier sin querer desistir en visitarlas todas por que no se quedasse glio [sic = sin] remedio algun niño que estubiesse en peligro, por mas que los compañeros que veían la gente alterada, le dixeron que dexasse las cassas que faltaban de aquel pueblo insistiendo el Padre en la visita de una adonde le pareçio oya llanto de niños, se hallaron de repente çercado de mas de treynta hombres con lanzas: las quales enbueeltas en dichas blasfemias y valdones las arrojaron a una contra el Padre y el uno de los com-*

*pañeros que yba delante por nombre **Hipolito de la Cruz** natural de Bisayas que assi como havia sido el principal compañero del Padre en los afanes de Tinian y trabajosos pasos de su guerra y paz Mariana, assi lo vino a ser en la venganza del Demonio y galardón del Sor. y de la Santissima Virgen a quien havia servido con singular devoçion y fruto de estas almas en la asistencia de su sagrada Imagen de Guadalupe y devota armonia y musica de su Harpa, que tocaba con singular destreza y atractivo de estos pobres a los ofiçios sagrados: al otro compañero llamado **Agustin de la Cruz** reservo Nuestro Sor. con la vida y deparo la buelta a Buena vista para traernos la nueba y atestiguar las çircunstancias dichas en cuya asistencia convienen mas de veinte personas de la misma Isla de Zaypan. Fueron que primamente examinados en esta inmediata de Tinian: y depende inmediata relacion de los mismos matadores, o sus confidentes y la comun voz y fama de la Isla en donde se dibulgan luego aun otras cossas mucho menos reparables: y nuebamente se an ratificado los prinçipales y otros muchos testigos de nuebo en la Informaçion que dentro de la misma Isla de Zaypan a hecho el Capitan D. Juan de Santa Cruz castellano de estas fuerças y cabo de la gente que nos assiste: conviniendo todos en que los naturales del pueblo de **Cao** instigados y acompañados de algunos de **Sugrian** y **Raurau** dieron la muerte al fervoroso Padre Luis de Medina por causa del **rumicao** [sic] esto es dichas Misiones y viajes que haçia a sus pueblos a predicar el **fino Dios**, esto es la palabra de Dios que aquellos engañados barbaros diçen es **paragdag**: esto es mentirosa: y nuestro buen Dios **ari id est malo** y el **Tapangi famagon id est el bautismo** de los niños **ninamapono id est instrumento de muerte**: contra el qual y contra sus ministros y Padres y los viaxes que hazen para su Administraçion y enseñanza es constante tenian especial ogeriza los del pueblo de Cao, y que assi mas facilmente se unieron con los de Sungrian para esta maldad inçitados recientemente del Demonio con la ocassion que ya diximos del bautismo de la tarde antes; y sus vezinos los de Raurau que no dexaron tambien de ayudarles, atestiguan uniformamente ser gente mala los de Cao y Sugrian y opuesta muy singularmente a las costumbres y enseñanza de la Ley de Dios, y que les havian oydo deçir varias vezes que los Padres eran malos y matadores de niños y mentiroso lo que enseñavan y que era bueno matarlos.*

*Y en la misma ocassion de la maldad al que dio la seña[l] de acometer y avia provocado a los demas se le oyeron varias blasfemias contra Dios y baldones de los Ministros del Santo Evangelio como tambien a los otros que tiraron las lanzas tomando inmediatamente ocasion para dicha maldad de la misma car[fi]da]d y paz con que el Padre despues de aver reconocido su alteraçion y mal animo, andaba por su pueblo sin mostrar algun temor, ni desistir de su offiçio evangelico por sus impios y blasfemos baldones y dichos, buscando a los niños y enseñando a los adultos que no faltaban algunos que le oyessen con muestras de buen animo; aunque los mas seguian al bulgo y coro de los dichos **urrtaos** que por la const[ancia] y paz del Padre en su offiçio y vizita del pueblo entre tantos riesgos le baldonaban de **ababa id est mentecato** con [fol. 52] los otros baldones y blasfemias las quales aumentaron mucho con ocasion de exortar en una casa el zeloso Padre con la misma caridad y paçiencia que enterrasen unas calaveras que hallo colocadas con muestras de alguna veneraçion y de las supersticiones que suelen*

hazer en ellas invocando las animas de sus passados (y por mejor decir al Demonio que para no hazerseles tan horrible antes conçiliar dellos algun respeto y sujeçion [h]a dado en disimularseles con el nombre y apariençia de sus padres y mayores) declarandoles pues el min[istr]o evangfelic]o que en aquellas calaveras no havia poder para ayudarles y que todo era engaño del Demonio para llevarles al infierno: sobre salieron los que lo seguian para darle la muerte con las dichas blasfemas de que nuestro Dios era engañoso, y los Padres malos y matadores &a.

*Herido en fin el bendito Padre con la primera lanzada que se le clavo por medio de las espaldas, no cayo aun, ni desmayo, sino que con su lanza clavada, y su antigua serenidad y sosegado passo prosiguió su paso por el mismo camino que llebaba en busca de mas niños que Bautizar sin oirse otra palabra que **Jhs Jhs Jhs Maria** y darse golpe de pecho asta que continuandose las lanzadas cayò en tierra: de la qual diçen los mismos naturales (esto ya no lo vio el compañero que diximos havia escapada con la vida) diçen pues que se levantò o incorporo dos vezes el Padre hablando con Dios y con una cruz que traya al pecho, de la qual se asió luego que le quitaron de la mano otra que traya por remate del baculo que solemos llevar en nuestras Misiones y le llamamos el **babao Dios** divisa de Dios en contra posicion de otras que suelen estos traer y poner en sus casas y embarcaçiones, ya en significaçion de sus **Aniti**¹ o supersticiones ya de sus empleos[,] acciones y valentias: y assi como a tal en señal de Dios y de nuestras Misiones la debian de aver cobrado estos infieles apostatos la ojeriza que mostraron en esta ocasion arrancandosela al Santo varon a pedazos de la mano, y arrojandolos por el campo, pero no lo pudieron quitar el constante animo con que estribaba y ponía toda su esperanza en Christo crucificado, a quien unicamente buscaba y predicaba en sus vienes y misiones, y para mostrarlo tambien con la exterior confession propria de aquel lanze faltandole la dicha cruz del baculo se afirmo en la que traía al pecho sacandola de el a vista de aquellos Barbaros con la Imagen del Santo Crucifixo que en ella esta grabada con otra de la Santissima Virgen y varias reliquias dentro: **La qual cruz se hallo luego despues y va con estos pliegos** destinada a la dulce y debota memoria del fervoroso espiritu, que con ella en las manos se entrego en las del Sor. llamandole con tal afecto que espantò y hizo retirar a los matadores temiendo como ellos dixeron que venia Dios a sus voces pero el Padre los sosego exortandoles como ellos tambien an dicho a que se arepintiesen de su pecado y se volviesen a Dios a quien havian ofendido para que les perdonase, como el de su parte les perdonaba.*

*Acçion y palabras con que se movieron algunos de ellos y los otros de la Isla que las dibulgan con todo el suçesso a especial respeto y veneracion del Padre llamandole **macana** esto es maravilloso, y que amo ellos diçen havia resuçitado despues de muerto para ablarles y ablar con Dios (el incorporarse el Padre despues de caydo en la tierra devieron de aprender como resurreccion) volviendo pues a allar con el Santo Crucifixo y cansandose uno de aquellos barbaros de que ablase y durase tanto le dio con otra lanza en la garganta, por donde dio el dichoso Zísne y predicador de Jesuxpto la ulti-*

1 Ed. note: Word unclear in the original.

*ma voz de alavanza y confession del Sor. que le crio y escoxio para tanta gloria suya y especial honor y obsequio de la SS^a Virgen (cuyo singularissimo siervo y hijo fue este devoto Padre) en el cultibo prim[er]ja Predicacion; templos[,] sementera y riego destas sus tierras Marianas en las quales dio tan Illustre testimonio de la verdad de nuestra Santa Fee utilidad y necesidad del Santo Bautismo constançia en la predicacion del Santo Evangelio y estirpacion de las superticiones e idolatrias con tal desprecio de peligros y muertes como quien **nihil ferebat dummodo sumaret cursum, et testimonium verbi quod acceperat testificari evangelium gratiam Dei.***

Fuerza nos a cortar aqui el resumen de nuestros sucessos, no resistiendo la falta y natural divercion de los ojos ocupados en otro officio con tan tiernas memorias quando la falta de tiempo y priessa con que se despachan estos pliegos: remitiendonos a otros apuntamientos que queriendo el Sor. enviaremos por otras vias: por todos pedimos y agradecemos siempre el ordinario y bien preçisso socorro de las Santas oraciones y sacrificios de Nuestros Padres y Hermanos y de todos los devotos de la Santissima Virgen Hermanos y concordos de S. Francisco Xavier los medios y cosas, ministros y gente, armas espirituales y temporales, de que precissamente neçessitamos para la conservacion y aumentos de esta Christiandad, van con este resumen en papel aparte dentro del principal pliego escrito ya desde el año passado a cuya necesidad y motibos se añaden los que se dexan façilmente ver en los nuevos sucessos de este resumen.

Faltan tambien en esta via las firmas de los compañeros ausentes[.] firmamos los que hemos concurrido al rescate del bendito cuerpo de nuestro buen Padre y compañero en este pueblo de Sungaron Isla Buenavista Mariana[.] A 22 de Abril de 1670.

+ +
+ Diego Luis S. Vitores + Pedro de Casanova

Translation.

Jesus + Mary News from the Mariana Islands sent in 1670.¹

§ 2

The news in § 1 that were written in a good handwriting and experience of these Islands, mostly touched on the first Gospel worker and his leaving, with the divine favor, more ways for other workers to follow with his good works in the language and translation of the catechism. They will be useful for the rest of the companions, because we are all of the same opinion regarding the characteristics of this country.

So, we only need here to add the events of this year and to explain a few circumstances of the more recent news we got, such as the war and peace of the Island of Buenavista Mariana [i.e. Tinian]. After 4 months of pertinacious war, with various deaths from their stonings and spears—the more significant of which were those of the Chiefs

¹ Ed. note: Note added later: “The death for Christ of Father Luis de Medina, the first Gospel minister of these Islands, is reported.”

of both parties—burning of their houses, destruction of their plantations and a great hindrance to the evangelical plantation, simply by placing themselves in the middle of the two camps in which the whole Island was divided, 10 of our companions, among whom there was only one Spaniard, named Juan de Santiago, a Biscayan of very young age, assisted by Captain Don Juan de Santa Cruz, and 8 other natives of the Philippines with their few weapons, although one of them was a small, but not despicable, field-piece, even supplied by the Blessed Virgin, who even implicated herself in advance for such a military conquest. Among the other weapons that she gave us in these Islands by means of the famous shipwreck (for the eternal salvation of these souls) of her galleon **Concepción** in the Island of Saipan, where quite by chance was this piece. It was not without yet another intervention of the Blessed Virgin that, upon searching for the head of a statue of her, that had also been part of the booty from the galleon **Concepción**, which they said was in a house in the town of **Tumon**, without the decency of having it properly revered by turning it in, as the other sacred statues that were found and turned in last year; not finding the said sacred head of the statue of our Lady in that house, the said field-piece was found at its door and it was brought to Tinian, about one month before the Island was torn by war.¹ In the same occasion, there was found also in the said Island of San Juan another small piece, not bad, for the same purpose (although today without it for the lack of men, etc.) in addition to its small amount of powder. It, and a couple of muskets that Governor Manuel de León had left us in the succor of this year [1669], were enough for us. Indeed, simply by threatening with these weapons, our 10 companions made one party or the other in the fight, retreat from one camp or the other, without then doing or receiving any harm, making them give up the fight in which they were very blood-minded on that day, the feast-day of the unconquered Martyr St. Vincent,² highlighted by those who wrote about the discovery of these Islands by the Adelantado Legazpi, who did so 105 years previously on this same St. Vincent's Day. Within two days, which corresponds to the day in which in the Archdiocese of Toledo is celebrated the feast of Our Lady of Peace and that of the suggestion about giving the chasuble to St. Ildefonso, i.e. on 24 January, our men went out and the fear of our weapons made both sides come out and meet in the same field to adjust peace.

In memory of this and in thanksgiving to the Blessed Virgin, a sort of chapel dedicated to Our Lady of Peace was then erected on the same spot, that is, in the middle of the battlefield of this Island.³ That is also where our men built a sort of fort or armory, the better to consolidate the peace. As a matter of fact, during the two months that our men were there, they prevented the sorties and invasions of one party against the other, as these natives frequently do not respect peace agreements and are no more constant

1 Ed. note: In other documents, this field-piece is said to have been hand-carried; that is why I think it was just a blunderbuss (a giant musket), not really a small cannon.

2 Ed. note: The exact date was therefore 22 January 1670.

3 Ed. note: Between Sunharon and Marpo, but closer to the latter, it seems.

as the other natives of the Indies; *incredibili mobilitate animi &a.* [= with an incredible inconstancy of the mind] (St. Xavier, Book 2, Letter 9).

At the end of the two months in question, the common enemy of peace and men could no longer suffer such constant peace among these poor Marianos. War resumed with one death caused away from the battlefield by those of one party and the burning of a town by those of the other party, as they passed by detours away from our fort. Finally, they dared to meet to fight a battle at the same battlefield, in sight of our fort, and chapel of Our Lady of Peace. Against this sudden shift, they were immediately given a volley with our weapons, against which they had been warned, although it was a very light one, because the idea was just to frighten them for real and let them know from experience that our weapons were not just thunder, as they were saying until then. Indeed, they recognized it enough when they found themselves with two dead, one of whom was the chief instigator of the war, who died speared by the hand of a young Pampango of less than 12 years of age, named Andrés de la Cruz. Another young Spaniard born in Mexico, named Diego Bazan, also ran up with much valor and wounded a few with his musket. The leader of them all was the said Captain Don Juan de Santa Cruz, who was acting as Warden of the said fort, before which they remained prostrated and completely out of breath, not only unable to use their spears and stones against our men or their enemies from Sunharon whom they had been attacking in their pertinacious fight, not even able to use their feet to place themselves in safety. Those who had been spared out of the compassion of our men remained flat for a long time in the middle of that field, but not without uttering the last yells that fear dictates, and that should not be given more clarity here.

The Lord got much out of this first show of just punishment and anger on the part of the **Guirragos** (that is how they call in this land our Spanish and foreign people, as if to say “people from overseas”) because the fear that the natives of this and neighboring islands got from our weapons have been very considerable. Indeed, the neighboring Islands heard about them very quickly and lost the illusion about the weapons being only noise, and also that their misconducts against the laws of God and the good customs that we are teaching them would not remain unpunished. In order to prevent any future hostility with their opponents, this fear has repressed them to such an extent, and it depends on the idea they have formed about the weapons and the valor of our companions, that, when all the towns of the faction opposed to Sunharon, where our church is located and the house of our companions, had gathered, following the spread of a rumor to the effect that all the Guirragos had left (almost all our companions had indeed absented themselves for 4 days during which they made a sortie to Saipan, upon an occasion to be mentioned later), upon hearing the echo of the clarion, thus learning that not all Guirragos had gone away, but that two or three Guirragos were still there, with one **Pequi**, which is the name they have given to firearms, they retired at once and returned to their towns, without daring to attack our town, only because of the said fear. That is the result we hope to get from divine and royal providence in every island, now that we do not have enough men and weapons in every town (as we have in

Sunharon where at the time we had concentrated all our lay people and the weapons we had in these Islands) to introduce such a healthy fear, justice, and government, not only paternal and loving, but also proactive and military, so necessary here as in all other places, in order not only to repress barbarous wars but also the other insults and sins, the same as in other, older, and more civilized Christian countries, when fear and justice and force to repress and punish evil-doers is lacking for a while.

The fact that such a beneficial introduction [of firearms] had been delayed until now, and that not even one month had elapsed after the show of force, and although it is obvious that it caused so much terror, it seems to have been not without special and loving Providence of the Lord, who was pleased not to let this Mariana Mission miss out on the glory of the primitive missions that His Majesty instituted in His sacred disciples, without any military escort or show of force other than those that sheep should exhibit in the midst of wolves, that the shedding of the blood of the Martyrs came to take place at the proper time for the sowing of the Gospel field, so that these fields be fertilized, the same way that those of the more flourishing Churches of Christendom were, and so that the proper reward be granted him whose good works and merits had excelled in serving the Blessed Virgin in the first battle and victory so appropriately Marian in style. The result had been peace for these poor people, and war only against the Princes of darkness, the Thieves and tyrants of these Islands.

Indeed, in the said war, and victory of peace, the main war leader was the one that the Lord wished to have, the one whose name has already been highlighted, by marking his triumph with the crown of Martyrdom which, as far as it was humanly possible for us to ascertain through the Legal Inquiry that was done in the form that is possible to do at present in these Islands, is remitted with this summary regarding the circumstances of his lucky death, and we do not wish to anticipate—rather we defer—to the judgment and declaration of the Holy Apostolic See. We piously believe that Father Luis de Medina, priest of our Society of Jesus, has succeeded in getting the said crown. He was a native of Malaga who, at 33 years of age, 14 in the Society and 2 as a Gospel missionary in these Islands. He was speared and killed in hate for the administration of holy baptism and the exercises of the evangelical preaching, in the town of **Cao** in the Island of Saipan (now called San José) on **29 January 1670**. More appropriately another paper is used to describe his singular virtues, zeal and the fruits of the evangelical ministry that this servant of God exercised, not only in the Province of Andalusia, which let go of such an individual with much suffering on their part and for the love of the missions of the Indies, but also in that of New Spain through which he passed without relinquishing any tiny effort in the exercise of his good zeal and works of physical and spiritual charity toward all kinds of people. That is why it seems that the Mother of Mercy had selected him very particularly to have him exercise such virtues with these miserable Ladrones, now luckily called Marianos. He had volunteered to teach and save them many times before effectively carrying it out and shedding his blood. For greater details, we refer to the above-mentioned report, detailing the special cases of his life

worthy to be remembered; here, I will summarize only the circumstances surrounding his ultimate good luck.

At the time of the said war, Father Luis de Medina was the minister specifically assigned to the Island of Tinian. Our Lord had saved him with wonderful providences from many serious dangers in which he had placed himself for his love in order to pacify his sons and exercise his ministries with them, and specially baptism of the children in the same towns where the war was hottest. Once the war was over in Tinian, with the known lucky ending through the intercession of the Blessed Virgin who had been obligated as a result of the efforts made and dangerous steps taken by her servant to arrange the said peace, without wasting time to enjoy the fruits and tranquility of peace that had cost him so much, the zealous Father passed immediately to the Island of Saipan that was also part of his parish, and which, because of the attention he had been forced to give to the pacification of Tinian and the steps of such a long war, he had not been able to visit, thus running the risk of the loss of the children who might die during the interval without anyone to administer holy baptism to them. The heart of the Father could not then tolerate more the delay in applying to them the only remedy and doorway to life. Although he had not lacked various dangers to his own physical life during previous visits he had made in the said Island, discounting them all, and thinking that they would not be greater than the other times, he went off to continue his visits, leaving Tinian on Monday 27 January.

It seems that the Thieves and Devilish tyrants of Saipan had been joined by those who had just been expelled from Tinian by force of Victory and Marian Peace, as it has not been possible yet to establish a church or fort to the Lord and His Blessed Mother in Saipan, the Princes of darkness had built their own forts and armed them to get a revenge after the damages they had received in Tinian that they feared would be extended to their Island of Saipan with the coming of the Father and the inclination already manifested by some Chiefs of that Island to ask for a church and more appropriate ministry.

It seems that the Devil pretended to hinder these intentions by tying the steps of the zealous Father whose blood shed for our holy Faith in that land, and prayers that he will be making with no less charity and efficiency from Heaven, we hope to get a luckier building of this Christian community, that the Devil pretended to prevent, by pulling out more weapons, such as the infinite kindness of the Lord allows from the diabolical and human militia, to hinder and oppose our holy Faith, the good of the martyrdom and greater reward that is usually given in this life to his people for a lucky passage to the other, where are rewarded effectively those to whom this His faithful servant and missionary of Peace had given in either island and in the three others as far as the main Island of San Juan, so well visited also, and settled with the first Church in these Islands, which was built last year. This good Father contributed materially and spiritually to this building, specially with diligence and fervor, and similarly in those of Santa Ana and Buenavista.

So, having passed with the same intentions to Saipan, the Father wished to begin his visit with the towns that he had not visited in a long time, given that the longer delay had place their Mariano infants at risk for eternal life for a longer time there, in spite of the fact that they were also riskier for the physical life of the Father, on account of their being inland towns for the most part and fully discredited with people opposed to Christian customs, and very specifically the baptism of children, because, although most of the said inland villages had also received holy baptism already, they still refused to consider it for their infants, on account of the impression given by the fatal rumor that Choco, whose wife and relatives of Choco were natives of the Island of Saipan, had spread to defame holy baptism and its ministers, by saying that with that water and holy oils they killed people, but more effectively children. We have already reported this last year. The said rumor had made more irreparable damage in the interior, where the favorable good news, such as the retractation and baptism of Choco, does not get to as easily. They had not heard about the visit of the new Governor either, and his just and special anger against the said Sanglely and his adherents, or confidants of Saipan; hence, it was not as efficient inland as on the beaches.

Not paying attention to this then, the zealous Father, not wanting to lose the right of the Church already acquired by the baptism of the parents to continue with that of the children, and the natural right of the children whose life would be at risk, as they would be succored with the only remedy of their salvation, against the very piety of their parents, he continued, as he used to do, insisting upon searching for and baptizing their children. In this endeavor, he met with more contradictions than usual, because in truth the old Devil killers of men revived then the fatal rumor of Choco against holy baptism, by way of a revenge for the life that the Father had given to so many children with the sacred water, and for the death even physical that he had prevented from happening to so many adults also, by stopping the Tinian War with such a peaceful victory, as we said happened the first time on the feast-day of Our Lady of Peace, and the second time, in which our people were forced to make a demonstration of their weapons, came after the waywardness of Saipan and glorious death of the Venerable Father; this outcome had also stimulated our people in making the said demonstration, because they had learned that one of the insults that those of Saipan had been saying to the Father, with blasphemies against God our Lord also, had been for them to say: "Why did you not finish off and destroy the people of Marpo in Tinian who were opposed to your town of Sunharon?" and "Where is Lorenzo?" Lorenzo was one of our lay companions whom we will talk about later; they had killed him in the Island of Anatanahan for having applied himself to baptisms as well and they added:

"What does your God want? Even with his help, you have not punished that Island," etc. Those were all words dictated by the Devil and the special demons of war—let us call them that—furies, or demons who insist upon making war on the Angels of Peace, and the Ministers who preach it. As we said, it seems that such demons had come back again after their expulsion from Tinian, because there had been no new occasion other than the said peace, and they were exercising themselves so furiously now in Saipan as

never before, making those miserable natives blurt out similar blasphemous words against evangelical peace, mixing them with the above-said false calumnies, to the effect that the ministers who were so vividly trying to stop wars and the deaths of men, and in such a peaceful way, would willingly place themselves so much at risk of death and injuries in their missions and voyages only to take away lives and to kill children with the water of God.

With that contradiction and the clear disillusionment in the life that so many children and adults enjoy today in their own Island, where up to 6,000 would already have been baptized—those who have died being very few, and from their usual diseases—plus the retractation and baptism of Choco—something they have already learned directly from him who had raised this fatal rumor—how could the said towns not be as disillusioned already as the towns in the other Islands generally are? Why is it that the malice of the Devil has taken a greater hold of these miserable ones, and why have these disillusionments been converted into a more guilty error, and they are more willingly opposed to the Faith, convenience and necessity of holy baptism that is preached to them and that they hate so much? Perhaps the Lord has punished them for their old sin in refusing the heavenly mercy that came to their homes in the shipwreck of the galleon **Concepción** of the year 1638 and their special impiety with which those of this Island of Saipan behaved toward our shipwrecked people, who were very well received at the other Islands, and to reward through their malice the merits of the good Missionaries. Now they have speared us one more, although without getting their final objective, as we wrote last year. It seems as if the Lord has decided to reserve them for his just punishment, that these people be given the healthy lesson they need at the beginning of their Christian community, the more to insure good progress in future.

So, those miserable ones were tricked and excited by the Devil to go in the pursuit of the servant of God, from his very first step ashore in Saipan, not stopping in turn to bother him with insults and abuses, in words and deeds. The Father suffered those with a singular patience, and at every step he would tell the two lay companions he had with him to be patient. By following his example and advice, they behaved in such a manner that, although they were bearing their weapons, the same as all these natives who usually carry theirs in their own lands, they did not make the least demonstration with them, being refrained by the Father, to prevent the steps of his ministry from being disturbed that way. He would tell them that the best way, and the best weapons, were patience, that they should pass through quickly without paying attention, because the Devil should not win, not even in involving them in disputes and loss of time. This patience no doubt encouraged the diabolical malice to give more insolence to those barbarians and more disdain for the Father and his companions, whom they called **ababas**, which means “idiots;” that they did not know how to return on their own, or how to use their weapons. So it is that every step taken by the good Father, from the first step on that Island, were a continuous passion and martyrdom with no less continuous patience and merit on the part of the zealous Missionary.

In **Arrayao**, which was the first town of the visit, upon searching for a child that they had hidden from him, though he did not find it, he found very good stones thrown at him for his efforts and received them willingly for the love of God. In **Tatasu** [sic]¹ he did his baptisms and doctrine with the pleasure of the people of the town, as not all of them are bad, but upon leaving it, he found in the people of other towns along the way his good stipend by way of insults, such as “killer of babies,” even “eater of babies.” From the inland town of **Sugrian** where he was looking for children, they told him that their mothers had taken them down to the seashore. A few men followed him to that place and forced him to rush down the slope. Upon arriving at the beach of **Tipo**, where it seemed that the children of Sugrian might be found, he found one that was but a few days old, and begging him for holy baptism. The commotion created by those who had come down the hill and those who were on the beach was such that they told the Father that he had come to kill their babies and that what the Father was saying (that baptism was the way to Heaven) was a lie and our Lord God was a liar and bad. So as not to let them continue with such blasphemies, the Father told them that they should calm down, that, although he wished to baptize that infant, because mankind could not enter Heaven without the baptism given through the blood of Our Lord Jesus Christ, as the true Lord Himself had taught us, but that if their parents did not want them to meet overthere with the anger of God, etc. Since the baby appeared to be then in good health, he left it for a better occasion, although with more pain in his soul, as he told his companions, for tolerating this, than for tolerating all his hardships and harms. However, this prudent tolerance was not enough for those damaged hearts, because irritated with only the threat of baptism that they fled from and hated on account of the horror of death and the so malicious error—already retracted by Choco—but repeated more often by them. The Father preached the infallible truth of God was confirmed in these same lands, not only through the labors and risks that should lead them to realize that the Fathers preach to them, not only in the interest of their own souls, but also through miraculous incidents, as a special confirmation of the truth and necessity of holy baptism, about which we have reported last year. We intend to give a more detailed report of this, as such incidents have largely passed through the hands of the Ven. Father Luis on account of his great faith and very special devotion en the Blessed Virgin. Now then, it was here that those barbarians started to congregate and plot against the Father more decidedly, and they would have carried it out right then and there, had not the town of **Raurau** been so near. The residents of this town, not so lost then, came out to meet with them and they invited the Father to spend the night in their town.

However, here also he met with another stumbling block or step to his luck, because it so happened that in the very house of the chief who offered him hospitality there were some figures that they used to place over their burial places with some superstition or

1 Ed. note: However, the RAH copy says Tataáchiu. The site of this old town is not known with certainty. I suspect that it might have been where San Vicente is located today, as the Father was headed for Raurau.

trust in the help of their deceased, which they say are represented in such figures, a circumstance at least close to idol worship and other superstitions, for which the Father reprehended them, as he usually did, saying that he would not stay in that house, unless they were removed from there. They showed much reluctance to accept this, specially his hostess, saying that they were their Gods. Although in the past they did not give them this, or any other, name, that we know of, with the same light of the faith, it seems that those who have disdained it the most have become blind, and although, through the mercy of the Lord, we have very few who insist upon giving such a name and superstitious honor to the said figures, no matter how many ideas had impressed upon these simple barbarians the above-mentioned Sangley Choco. However, since the Father was persisting with his zealous exhortation, so that he would not leave the house, they removed them. In spite of the fact that the people of Raurau have pretended to excuse themselves, it is certain and legally verified that some of them, irritated by the zeal of the Father in wishing to take away their old customs and superstitions, joined in the plot to kill him; as happened the next day.

So, on Wednesday, **29 January**, Father Luis left the said town of Raurau, which is on the beach, to pursue the Mission in the towns that he had not yet visited inland. After a few steps along the way, the companions saw that they were being followed. Further on various **Urritaos**—that is how they call the free young men who lived freely in this land and are the ordinary assassins and executors of the evil deeds of the towns—impeded them and haunted them. Indeed, they were following them and persecuting our pilgrims with a notable battery and persecution of blasphemies against our Lord God and insults against the Father “killer of children.” Meanwhile, the Father was not desisting from looking for them to give them the true life. He arrived at the town of **Cao** and walking from house to house, as he used to do, in accordance with the teaching of St. Francis Xavier, without giving up his visit to all of them, so as not to leave without a remedy some child that might be in danger, even when his companions saw that the people were excited and told him to forget about the rest of the houses of that town, the Father insisted on visiting one where it seemed to him that he heard children crying. Suddenly, they were surrounded by over 30 men with spears. They, instead of throwing the said blasphemies and insults, threw spears at them, one against the Father and one against one of the companions who was going ahead, whose name was **Hipolito de la Cruz**, a native of the Visayas. This main companion of the Father, who had shared in his tasks of Tinian and arduous steps of their war and Marian peace, also came to share in the revenge of the Devil and reward of the Lord and of the Blessed Virgin, whom he had served with singular devotion and fruit of these souls in attending to her sacred statue of Guadalupe and devout harmony and music of his harp, which he played with singular skill and attraction of these poor people to the sacred offices. The Lord saved the life of the other companion, named **Augustin de la Cruz**, and brought him back to Buenavista with the news and to testify about the said circumstances, which were confirmed by over 20 persons from the same Island of Saipan, who were firstly examined at this neighboring Island of Tinian. And the report that follows

from the killers themselves, or their confidants, concurs, in addition to the common talk of the Island through which they even divulged later other things that are much less noticeable. More recently, they have been ratified by the chiefs and many other witnesses in a new legal Inquiry that Captain Don Juan de Santa Cruz, the warden of these forts and commander of the men assisting us, has carried out in the Island of Saipan itself. All reports agree that the natives of the town of **Cao**, instigated and accompanied by some from the town of **Sugrian** and **Raurau** gave death to the zealous Father Luis de Medina because of the **rumicao**, that is, the said "mission tours" that he made to their towns, to preach the **fino Dios**, that is, "the word of God" that those deceived barbarians say is **paragdag**, that is, "a lie"; and our good God is **ari**, that is, "bad", and the **Tapangi famagon**, that is, "baptism of the children" is **ninamapono**, that is, "instrument of death." Against which [i.e. baptism] and against its ministers and Fathers and the voyages they made for its administration and teaching, those of the town of Cao held a constant grudge, and so, they joined more easily with those of Sungrian for this evil deed, incited recently by the Devil on the occasion, as we have already said, of the baptism of the previous afternoon, plus their neighbors, those from Raurau who did not stop helping them also. Witnesses insist that those of Cao and Sugrian are bad people and opposed very particularly to the customs and teaching of the Law of God, and that they had been heard at various times to say that the Fathers were bad and killers of children and what they taught was a lie and that it was good to kill them.

And in the same occasion of the evil deed, the one who gave the signal for the attack and had instigated the others was heard to say various blasphemies against God and insults against the ministers of the holy Gospel. The others who threw the spears also used the opportunity given by the charity and peace of the Father to carry out the said evil deed; indeed, the Father had continued to walk through their town without showing any fear, or desisting from his evangelical duty, recognizing but ignoring their changed and evil minds, their blasphemous insults and sayings, searching for children and teaching the adults, as there was no lack of some who would listen to him willingly, although most of them were following the vulgar choir of the said **urritaos** who, because of the constancy and peace of the Father in his duty and visit of the town amid so many risks, were treating of **ababa**, that is, "idiot," with other insults and blasphemies, which they increased a lot when the zealous Father, with the same charity and patience, exhorted one household to bury some skulls that he found exhibited there, with signs of some veneration and of the superstitions that they use to do over them, by invoking the souls of their ancestors (and, better said, the Devil, who, in order not to make them too horrible, rather to win some respect and submission from them, has resorted to dissimulating them under the name and appearance of their ancestors and elders); indeed, the Gospel minister was telling them that in those skulls, there was no power to help them and that everything was a trick of the Devil to take them to Hell. Those who were following him arose to give him death with the said blasphemies, saying that our Lord was tricky, and the Fathers bad and killers, etc.

The saintly Father was finally wounded by the first blow from a spear that planted itself in his back. He did not fall yet, nor lost consciousness, but with the spear sticking out, he continued with his old serenity; he calmly passed and pursued his step by the same road that he was taking to look for more children to baptize, with no other words being heard from him than **Jesus, Jesus, Jesus, Mary** while he struck his chest, until more spears were thrown at him and he fell to the ground. The natives themselves say about this (something the companion did not see, because, as we have said, he escaped with his life) they say that the Father then stood up or sat up twice, speaking with God and with a cross that he carried on his chest, which he had grabbed after they took away from his hand the other that he carried at the end of his walking stick, that we use during our mission tours and which we call the **babao Dios**, “emblem of God”, to counteract those which these people usually carry and place in their houses and canoes, either to signify their **Aniti** or superstitions, or their jobs, actions and valiant deeds. So it is that we use it also as a symbol of God and of our missions, and that must be how these infidels and apostates saw it by the grudge they showed to it on that occasion by grabbing it from the saintly man, breaking it up with their hands and throwing the pieces over the field, but they could not take away the constant spirit with which he relied upon and placed all his hope in Christ crucified, whom he uniquely sought and preached in his deeds and missions, and to show it also with his public confession of that incident, as he no longer had the said cross of the staff, he affirmed himself with the one he had on his chest, by taking it out in plain view of those barbarians with the effigy of the holy Crucifix that was engraved with another of the Blessed Virgin upon it and various relics inside it. **The said cross was found later on and is enclosed with these reports,**¹ destined to the sweet and devoted memory of the zealous spirit that, with it in hands, was delivered into those of the Lord. He was calling God so intently that he surprised his killers and made them retreat, as they feared (as they said later) that God might show up at his call, but the Father calmed them down, exhorting them, as they themselves have said, to repent for their sin and to return to God, whom they had offended so that He would forgive them, as he did forgive them on his part.

Some of them were moved by these action and words and others in the Island were also moved, when they heard about the whole incident, to a special respect and veneration of the Father, calling him **macana**, that is, “marvellous”, and that he loved them. They say that he had resuscitated after his death to speak with them and speak with God (the fact that the Father had sat up after falling down must have been interpreted by them as a resurrection). Well, as he concentrated once again upon the holy Crucifix, one of those barbarians got tired of hearing him talk and that he lasted so long, and he gave him another blow with a spear through the throat, through which the lucky Swan and preacher of Jesus Christ gave the last word of praise and confession to the Lord

1 Ed. note: Its present whereabouts are unknown. It was not unusual then for Jesuits to give such relics to the family of the martyrs. The same thing was to happen, i.e. disappearance, to the eyeglasses of Fr. Sanvitores.

ditos huesos del Padre sino es colocados en sus lanzas para tirarlas a otros Padres y sus Compañeros.

*Tomo en fin el Capitan puerto en **Opian**, ya la Assunçion, pueblo de Zeypan de buenos amigos: de donde passo a **Raurau** el dia siguiente en que habiendo llegado antes el avizo de amigos de los de **Cáo** que les aconsejaron como para ablandar al **Chamor-rín momo** (assi llaman a nuestro Capitan de la guerra) el unico medio era adelantarse ellos y llebarle el cuerpo del Padre[.] vinieron con el y el de su dichoso compañero Hipolito, hasta una cuesta [de] donde no se atrevieron a passar, asta que viniendo un Prínzipal de **Ráurau**, que era el que le havia aconsejado dicho medio, a dar la nueba a nuestro Capitan de que ya venian, fue alla con nuestra gente, y haciendo el reçimiento del Santo cuerpo con todas las demostraciones que pudo de luzes que [fol. 52v] llebaba prevenidas, clarín y canto de la Doctrina Christiana en lengua de la tierra, se acercaron ellos haciendo **Táryot** y reconoçimiento de su culpa, no sin bastantes muestras de sentimiento o temor por lo echo: con el qual se dieron como pressos en manos del Capitan[.] entregandole luego las armas y le confessaron, que desde que oyeron havia de venir por el cuerpo (que havia sido quinze dias antes quando fue el Capitan a **Záypan**, a hazer la primera informaçion y requirimiento para que se rindiessen y entregassen el Santo cuerpo) no havian podido sosegar, viendo no solo medio dormidos, sino bien despiertos, decian ellos, muchos **Guirrágos** o gente de allende, unos vestidos como los Padres, y otros como el Capitan y sus compañeros que venian a su pueblo, y les causaban mucho temor, o por mejor deçir, el temor les causaba semejantes aparencias.*

*Sosegoles el Capitan, diciendoles que por la açion que hazían y reverencia del bendito cuerpo, que traian no les castigaba alli luego, como mereçia su culpa, ni quemaria el pueblo, aunque no podia menos de ir alla para poner el **Bábao Dios** esto es la vándera de la Santa Cruz en la sepultura que havia sido del Padre, la qual ida se pareçio mas forzosa quando reconozio que faltaba gran parte aun del bendito cuerpo que por no estar totalmente desecho lo havian dejado.*

*Era ya tarde, y diçiendole, que no podia llegar con tiempo de hazer nada aquel dia, dexo la yda para la mañana siguiente sabado veynte y seis de Abril, en que acompañados de un Prínzipal de **Cao**, que deçian estaba inocente, habiendo adelantadose ya los demas segun pareçio para traer algun refresco, con otros dos principales del pueblo de **Raurau**, sin otra gente alguna de la tierra, subio al monte, y llego primero al lugar donde cayo, y dio su alma al Señor el dichoso Padre: alli puso luego el Capitan una cruz, como tambien se pusieron otros donde cayo, y dio su buen espiritu Hipolito el compañero del Padre y en las dos sepulturas.*

*Sacaronse en fin las reliquias restantes del dichoso Padre las quales vinieron acompañando los que havian ya concurrido que serian unos treinta de dicho pueblo de **Cao**, a quienes se llego tambien, aunque no muy de su grado el que havia tirado la primera lanza, que causò la dichosa muerte del Padre y assi todos le llamaban absolutamente el matador: este haria huido a la primera vista de los nuestros en **Raurau**, y con tal priessa que se dexo la lanza en el suelo, la qual coxio uno de nuestros compañeros y el enquen-tro fue con ocasion del bautismo de un niño que hallaron nacido de pocos dias, y con*

muestras de peligro en una casa de Raurau, al qual Bautismo ya no se atrevieron a resistir aquellos naturales, antes su mismo Padre truxo el agua, que le echo uno de nuestros compañeros bien instruido para estas ocasiones y esta lo fue por la bondad del Sor. de este bautismo y otro que se hizo en Cao, enpezando ya aquella esteril tierra a dar el fruto de la facilidad en recibir la Santa agua, despues de regada con la sangre del bendito Martir, semilla de Christiandad, segun el antiguo dicho y estilo de la primitiva Iglesia.

*Buscado en fin por el Capitan el dicho **Póyo**, que assi se llamaba el matador, le vino a hallar en su misma cassa de Cao, de donde le obligo a ir en su Compañia y le truxo con guarda asta el tiempo de embarcarse, en que resistiendose a enbarcarse, se rindio en fin por medio de un mosquete que se lo apunto, amenazandole sino se envarcaba, asi como el otro mozo, assi mismo de los mas culpados llamado **Dáon**, que se reconozio, y entre saco de los demas; sin atreverse ni la tropa de los de Cao, ni la de los de Raurau, que estaban a vista, y serian unos çiento y zinquenta hombres a resistir o poner impedimiento alguno a la prission ni a las demas açiones de nuestro Capitan que estaba solo Junto [hacia]¹ al mar con sus nueve compañeros los quales se yban repartiendo en las dos embarcaciones que traían, en una de las quales con guardia de dos mosquetes se embarcaron los dichos dos delinquentes; y el Capitan con el bendito cuerpo en la otra por nombre **Santa Maria de Guadalupe**, que se llamo assi y vendixo en la misma ocassion de esta jornada la qual tubo tan dichoso suçesso, tomando ultimamente puerto en nuestro pueblo de Súng[h]aron y nueva Iglesia de nuestra Señora de Guadalupe de Mexico el Domingo 27 de Abril poco despues de medio dia.*

*Bien es de creer, aunque no façil de deçir la junta de tiernos affectos de dolor y consuelo, y accion de gracias al Señor y Señora de estas Islas que ocassionarian la dicha llegada y junta de las circunstancias de este viaxe y discurso, que cada una pareçia tan milagrosa, quanto antes se havian juzgado de algunos por impossible: porque nos deçian, que assi los de Raurau, como los de Cao estaban restados en resistirse y tenerse con los nuestros en guerra, si quisiessen ir a sus pueblos, porque no haçian caso, deçian, ni temian a los Guirragos: si bien pocos dias antes, havian embiado los de Raurau su **Taryot** que llaman, esto es la concha, y otros dones en señal de pedir misericordia, y mostrar sentimiento, como deçian, por la muerte que achacaban a sus vezinos solos: pero no admitido de nosotros semejante indigno Taryot, con que ellos se suelen componer en sus muertes, debieron de quedar mas sentidos y emperrados por no mostrarse mas temerosos. Los de **Opián** nos deçian que era intratable traer el cuerpo por el peligro de yr por el al monte, de donde quando havia muertes, no se atrebian ellos tanpoco a traer los cuerpos de sus Principales: pues que seria llegar a prender a los mismos matadores? al fin fue todo obra del Señor de los exercitos que quiso valiesse por muchos la intervencion de la que es en virtud y caussa el orden y efecto de esforzados esquadrones, a quien ordenaban siempre nuestros compañeros todas sus açiones y passos y singularmente los quedaban por el rescate y debido apreçio de las reliquias de su Martir y Ma-*

1 Ed. note: The RAH copy says "hacia" instead of "junto".

riano que assi por su singular devoçion a la Santissima Virgen como por su sangre deramada en el cultibo de estas tierras dedicadas a su Santissimo nombre: no mereze menos nuestro buen Padre Luis el dulce epiteto, con que se a dignado esta Señora saçonemos aun las mas desaçonadas calidades y antigua Infamia de estas pobres Islas, y aquel dia Savado dia antigua de muy espeçial devoçion, ayuno y penitençias del Padre se estaba haziendo en Tinian singular rogatiba con la Missa de Nuestra Señora asistida y cantada de su Capilla de los Angelicos Marianos y el viernes immediato, que fue dia de S. Marcos se aplico con especialidad al buen sucesso de dicho viaxe la rogatiba comun de la Iglesia haçiendo la estaçion con los dichos Angelicos a nuestra Iglesia de Santa Maria de Guadalupe de Buenavista, y no menos buenos sucessos.

*Una de las providencias del Señor que alabamos singularmente fue el havernos traído a inmediata averiguaçion y total certitudumbre humana la prueba del Martyrio de nuestro dichoso Compañero el Padre Luis de Medina: porque fuera de la Informaçion [fol. 53] ya segunda que hizo el capitan de estas Islas y juntamente Fiscal mayor del Señor Obizzo del Santissimo nombre de Jesus y Ziudad de Zebu a cuya dioçesis se an agregado estas Islas, constituido y embiado particularmente a esta averiguaçion; no solo en virtud del comun privilegio de estas Misiones que llaman **Omnimoda**, que tenemos comunicado de nuestros superiores sino tambien con la espeçial autoridad que delegò en nosotros el Illustrissimo Señor Don Fray Juan Lopez Obispo de dicho dioçesis embiandonos a estas Islas con las letras, vezes, y autoridad que pudiera dar y diera aun su vicario General (la qual autoridad en esta ocasion exercito el Padre Pedro de Casanova que asistia en Buena Vista, en compaña del Superior de la Mission) el qual capitan y Fiscal mayor compro[bo] de nuebo en esta segunda jornada a Zaypan la causa y circunstancias arriba dichas de la dichosa muerte del Padre y su compañero con diez y siete testigos del mismo pueblo de Cao sin hablar cossa discordante a la primera Informaçion, sino es açerca de la segunda lanzada que havian dicho los Prínçipales primeros testigos de comun fama de la Isla havia sido en la garganta, lo qual negaron los de Cao quiza porque estaba pressente el que la dio, el qual se mostro muy offiçioso ayudando a sacar el Santo Cuerpo y despues le dixo aparte al Capitan que era assi que el se havia llegado al Padre estando para espirar, y le havia dicho, que si queria le diesse otra lanzada, pero que no se la dio, sino que murio de la primera que le dio Poyo, y le atravesso por las espaldas çerca de la zintura; aunque no cayo hasta que le dieron otra lanzada en el muslo izquierdo, del qual lado estaba coxo el dicho Padre vendito desde su naçimiento; no sin causa en su madre conçerniente a la devoçion de la Santissima Virgen en cuya fiesta de su Purificaçion dio una cayda con la qual se le apresurò el parto que fue el dia siguiente de San Blas Obispo y Martir tres de Febrero de mill y seiscientos y treynta y siete, en que naçio el felicissimo Padre Luis bien señalado para tanta dicha.*

Ademas pues de dicha Informaçion primera y segunda ante el Capitan y fiscal mayor sobre dicho, se hizo otra a voca con el mismo matador Poyo, y su complice Daon ante el Superior desta Mission, y el dicho Padre Pedro de Casanova que exercitaba la dicha Juridicìon delagada del Señor obispo con el mismo Interprete, que lo havia sido para

*las del Capitan llamado Pedro Ximenez y con la notiçia que ya tenian de la lengua los Padres Misioneros con el favor del Señor estudio y exerçiçio de estos dos años, de que no tiene poca parte el dicho Capitan les à constado inmediatamente por confession no sacramental, que a uno estaban Bautizados, de los dichos matador y complice, como murio el bendito Padre Luis de Medina, alanzado en su pueblo de Cao, por inçitacion dicen estos, de los del pueblo de Raurau, los quales les dieron por razon para matar al Padre el que **pumurróyi sinor sa tapañgi famagon**: palabras formales que oyimos de voca del mismo matador Poyo, conveniendo en ellas el complice Daon: esto es segun el interprete y nuestra çiençia y esperiençia aunque corta, cierta humanamente en estos terminos, **[por] que el Padre derramaba enfermedades con el agua que echaba a los niños**: y que a los de Raurau havian inçitado tambien los de Su[n]grian por aver querido Bautizar aquella tarde a un niño de Sugrián en la playa de Typo [Tipo] junto a Raurau, donde tambien le havian querido matar, y que era verdad, que assi los de Cao, como los de dichos pueblos cobraron ojeriza al dicho Padre por esto solo, de que buscaba los niños para bautizarlos, y les queria quitar las calaberas, e invocacion de sus **manganitis**¹ y otras costumbres suyas.*

Otras çircunstançias, como la de la herida en la garganta, no se les pregunto en dicha oçacion que fue luego en llegando a Tinian; porque se esperaba aun mas tiempo y sazon de hablarlos, y se quizo luego tratar de lo mas importante que era la Instruccion y disposiçion para que recibiesen el agua del Bautismo los dichos delinquentes, que verdaderamente en su pueblo de Cao havia pocos Bautizados, porque en la primera Mission de dicha Isla en que se hizieron los mas Bautismos de ella, antes de aver cundido tanto la voz del Choco no llego a dicho Pueblo de Cao el Padre que diximos havian alanzado (aunque le guardò Dios para mas empleos de su fervor), en el pueblo de Tipo bien çerca de Cao; pero en este Bautismo de estos dos tubo ya bien poca dificultad antes ruegos espeçiales suyos por que debian de presumir que por este medio solicitarian el perdon: y lo que es el de Dios y de las penas del Infierno se les ofreçio si fuese de veras el arrepentimiento y Bautismo esplicandoles que la pena o castigo en esta vida no tocaba a los Padres sino al Capitan a quien tambien en esto rogarian lo que pudiessen. Cathequizados en fin se bautizaron, despues de anochezido, temiendo lo que pudiera suceder de que algun acometimiento o fuga de los delinquentes, no obligasse al Capitan a apresurar alguna execuçion de Justiçia, y el Poyo se llamo Luis y el Daon Vidal, cuya fiesta del Santo Patron de este Obispado del Santissimo Nombre de Jhs.

Era el siguiente dia, asistiendoles siempre los nuestros con todas muestras de venignidad quanto se compadeçia de la priçion: de la qual se trataba de mudarlos y llevarlos a la Isla de Guan para que estuviesen mas al paso de la nao de Filipinas y alli se viesse lo que convenia hazer con ellos y con los demas culpados de dichos pueblos; de que ellos darian aun mas copiosa noticia: pero no parece que estaban para tanta espera: y assi cosa de dos oras despues del Bautismo[,] haviendo zenado y dexadoles a que de-

1 Ed. note: The RAH copy wrongly says "Manginitis". Perhaps one can detect the influence of the Filipino languages here. "Mga aniti" is plural, and means "the spirits".

scansassen en compañía del Interprete, y de un principal de la tierra que havia venido de Opian, acompañando de nuestra gente, passando zerca del zepo y lugar de la prission, que era el cuerpo de guardia de nuestros soldados, un niño nuestro Panpango con un cuchillo en la zinta; o ya sea por quitarle dicho cuchillo, y defenderse con el de la muerte que les hacía temer por oras su conciencia, o ya por vengarse siquiera en dicho niño de la prission a que el havia concurrido muy señaladamente se abalanzo el dicho Poyo y echandole luego mano a la garganta le apretaba de tal suerte que apenas pudo dar el niño dar un quexido, al qual ya la acción que vieron acudio luego nuestra gente, y biendo el aprieto de dicho niño, que avia caydo ya debaxo de dicho Poyo, hombre de gran robustez y pesso, se arroso sobre los dos un español que hacía officio de Capitan de guarda llamado Gregorio Martinez (que estando sirviendo al Señor Virrey de la Nueva España Marquez de Manzera con grata lizenzia y socorro de su Señor y Señora se nos agregó en Mexico para esta Mision) y no pareciendole que de otra suerte se podia escapar el niño con vida, se la quito alli en fraganti al dicho Poyo con tres estocadas.

[fol. 53v] *Y acudiendo al ruido de los otros compañeros y del Capitan y cabo Don Juan, y muerto ya el Poyo, fueron a requerir al otro complice y hallando que havia soltado un pie que tenia en la cadena, el otro pie estaba en el zepo, con lo qual se habia alargado el dicho Poyo que estaba assido a la misma cadena para el dicho acometimiento; temiendo no prosiguiese a mas insultos con la dilación, y poco resguardo que podia haver aora en esta tierra para su prission, executo en el nuestro Capitan la pena de muerte antes merecida, y que segun lo que se havia conozido de su inclinacion tenia raza de merecer otras muchas si viviese mas, y segun esta misericordia del Señor obligado con los ruegos de su siervo el buen Padre Luis a los quales atribuimos el haverles conducido por tales passos al Santo bautismo puede ser que se lograrse su dicha; a lo menos en el ultimo que murio, pues semejantes acciones en orden a librarse de prission y muerte con tanta razon temida aun entre muy instruidos y antiguos Christianos, quiza no se tendrian por tan culpables que les quitasse la gracia si la havian recibido: y assi el dia siguiente despues de las exequias y demostraciones que se pudieron hazer por la dicha de nuestro buen Padre y su compañero se les dio tambien honrrada sepultura dentro de la Igllesia a los dichos Luis Poyo y Vidal Daon con mucha edificacion del pueblo: sin hallarse quien no hablase muy en favor nuestro sobre lo echo: porque fue otra de las Providencias del Señor que fuesse testigo de vista del acometimiento de Poyo aquel Principal que diximos de Opian por nombre Estevan Sungui [=Bungi?] que tambien havia sido su padrino en el bautismo: y los mismos de Sunharon que estaban bien cerca de nuestra cassa oyeron el rruido con muy bastante aprehencion de lo que passò y havian visto y oido lo que havia passado aquella tarde de que los Padres rogaban al Capitan por el perdon y que no se executaba la muerte; en que como ellos dezian era nuestra detencion demasiada, y assi nos pedian se la dexasemos executar a ellos.*

Los dos PP. estaban a la sazón consultando dentro de la cassa que consejo se le podria dar al Capitan preguntando en orden a la mudanza de la prision, porque verdaderamente havia en todo hartas dificultades: las que les de rrepente deshizo el Sor. con

el sucesso dicho quedando en el despues dichas conveniencias de la averiguacion y informacion plena del Martyrio, fama y demostraciones de la clemencia de los Padres y de la justificacion del Capitan en el modo de proceder en su justia, castigados y assegurados los dos delinquentes y con algun escarmiento los demas mientras les llega el que an menester estos y otros pueblos para el horror que les conviene conqiban de concurrir a semejantes maldades, con que dichas y acometidas se vendran atacar los bienes que en la permission de otros males acostunbra la suma bondad de Dios.

Firmamos esta adicion y resumen los que concurrimos a la dicha comprobacion del Martyrio del bendito Padre Luis de Medina: hallandonos a la sazón en el dicho pueblo de Sunharon Isla de Buenavista Mariana. A 28 de Abril de 1670: y volvemos a firmar este traslado concurriendo los mismos en esto pueblo de S. Ignacio de Agadña Isla de S. Juan antes Guan a 22 de mayo de dicho año 1670.

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+ Diego Luis S. Vitores +

+

Pedro de Casanova

D. Juan de Santa Cruz

*Las firmas de dicho interprete Pedro Ximenez y de Agustin de la Cruz compañero del Venerable Padre en la dicha ultima mission testifico lo dicho en las primeras informaciones y se ratificò tambien en esta ultima se habran de suplir: por no saver escribir como los de los otros testigos naturales de estas Islas con la de dicho Capitan de los oficios que representamos en virtud de la dicha facultad **omnimoda** de la Santidad de Adriano Sexto concedida a Instancia del Rey Nuestro Señor y Emperador Carlos Quinto y de la que tenemos nuebamente delegada de dicho Señor Obispo de Zebu como le à hecho en las informaciones dichas, y le buelve a hazer al presente en este resumen o traslado que por la falta mayor aun de tiempo que de las otras cosas podra servir de traslado y hazer la fée que hubiere lugar donde conviniere a mayor gloria de Dios.*

En testimonio de verdad de todo lo dicho en esta Relacion y pruebas de la dichosa muerte por nuestra Santa Fee del Venerable Padre Luis de Medina y en suplemento de las firmas de los testigos dichos que no saben firmar, buelvo a poner mi firmà en este traslado fecho en San Ignacio de Agadna pueblo de la Isla de San Juan antes Guan, en estas Islas Marianas, que antes se llamaban de los Ladrones a Veynte y dos de Mayo de mill y seiscientos y setenta años.

Don Juan de Santa Cruz.

[Endorsement:] *Islas Marianas 1670. Noticias dellas y del martirio del P. Luis de Medina.*

Translation.

Addition to the news of the Mariana Islands for 1670 concerning the Martyrdom of Father Luis de Medina, and the recovery of his blessed body.

On Thursday 24 April, Captain Don Juan de Santa Cruz went back to Saipan with 9 other companions with the intention of not sparing any means, or any risk in taking out the body of the lucky Father Luis de Medina from the possession of those infidels and apostates whose barbarity is such that it was feared that, given more delay, the blessed bones of the Father might be already found placed at the tip of their spears, to shoot at other Fathers and companions.

The Captain finally made port in **Opian**, now called Asunción, a town of good friends in Saipan. From there he passed to **Raurau** the next day. They had already been warned by friends of the people of **Cao**, who were advised that, in order to sweet talk the **Chamorrín momo** (so they call our “Captain of war”), the only method was for themselves to come forward with the body of the Father. They came with it and that of his lucky companion, Hipolito, as far as a slope beyond which they did not dare go, until a Chief from Raurau arrived to give the news to our Captain (he was the one who had advised them the said method), saying that they were coming. Our Captain went there with our men and, after receiving the holy body with all the demonstrations that he could and had prepared beforehand, with torches, clarion call and singing of the Christian Doctrine in the local language, the others came near, to make **Taryot** and acknowledgment of their fault, not without some show of sadness or fear for what they had done. That is why they gave themselves up as prisoners in the hands of the Captain, delivering then their weapons. They confessed to him that since they had heard that he was to come for the body (which had been 15 days earlier when the Captain had gone to Saipan to make the first inquiry and request for the saintly body to be given up and delivered) they had not been able to calm down; they could see, not just when half asleep but also when wide awake, they said, many **Guirragos**, or overseas people, some dressed like the Fathers, and others like the Captain and his companions who were coming to their town, and they were causing them much fear, or better said, their fear caused them similar visions.

The Captain calmed them down, telling them that, given the action they were doing and the reverence of the blessed body that they were bringing, he would not punish them there and then, as their fault deserved to be, not burn their town, although he had to go there to plant the **Babao Dios**, that is, the standard of the holy Cross, upon the site where the Father had been buried. The said move became obligatory when it was discovered that a large part of the blessed body was missing; they had left it behind, because it was not yet completely consumed.

It was already late. So, he told them that he could not get there with enough time to do anything that day. He left the action for the next morning, Saturday 26 April, when, accompanied by a Chief from **Cao**, whom they said was innocent. The others had already gone ahead, as it appeared to bring some refreshment. With two other chiefs from the town of **Raurau**, and no other local people, he went up the hill, and arrived firstly

at the place where the lucky Father fell and gave up his soul to the Lord. Then the Captain placed a cross there, and he did the same where Hipolito, the companion of the Father had fallen and given up his good spirit, and on the two burial sites.

Finally the remaining relics of the lucky Father were taken out and carried off in the company of about 30 people of **Cao** who had already congregated. They also brought out, although not too willingly, the man who had thrown the first spear that caused the lucky death of the Father. Thus, they all absolutely called him the killer. This man would have fled at the first sight of our men in **Raurau**, and in such haste that he left his spear on the ground. This spear was picked up by one of our companions. The encounter took place on the occasion of the baptism of a child whom they found had been born a few days earlier, and was in danger of dying in a house of Raurau. Those natives did not dare oppose the said baptism; rather, its father himself brought the water which one of our companions, well instructed for these occasions, poured on it. Thanks to the kindness of the Lord, this baptism, and another one that took place in Cao, marked the beginning of the harvest in that sterile land, easily receiving the holy water, after it had been fertilized with the blood of the blessed Martyr, the seed of Christianity, according to the old saying and style of the early Church.

Finally the Captain looked for the said **Poyo**; that is how the killer was named. He found him in his own house in Cao, from where he forced him to go in his company, and he brought him with a guard until the time came to embark. When he resisted going aboard, they pointed a musket at him, and threatened to use it if he did not embark. Finally, he accepted, and the same thing with the other lad, named **Daon**, who was also one of the most guilty ones. He was recognized among the crowd and taken out, without any objection from the crowd from Cao or the crowd from Raurau who were in sight, and they totalled about 150 men, who could have resisted or done something to prevent the arrest, or the other actions of our Captain, who was alone by the sea with his 9 companions. They distributed themselves in the two boats they had brought; in one of which with a guard of two muskets he placed the said two delinquents, and the Captain with the blessed body went in the other, whose name was **Santa Maria de Guadalupe**. This name had been given to it when it was blessed on the occasion of this trip, which had such a lucky outcome, and finally made port in our town of Sunharon and new Church of Our Lady of Guadalupe of Mexico, on Sunday 27 April, a little after noon.

One can well imagine, although it is easy to say, the union of tender affections of sorrow and consolation, and thanksgiving to the Lord and Lady of these Islands that were occasioned by the said arrival, joined with the circumstances of this voyage and course. Both of them seemed so miraculous, the more so because some had thought it was impossible, because they had told us that the peoples of Raurau and of Cao had made up their minds to resist and make war upon our men, if they dared go to their towns, because they did not heed, they said, nor feared the Guirragos. True it was that a few days before, those of Raurau had sent their **Taryot** (that is how they call the [toroise] shell), and other gifts as a signal that they were asking for mercy, and demonstra-

tion of regret, as they said, for the death that they attributed to their neighbors alone. However, as we did not accept such unworthy Taryot, which they use to compensate for their killings, they must have been left very touchy and stubborn as they did not show themselves to be fearful. Those of Opian had told us that it was impossible to get the body out, on account of the danger in going up the hill to get it, that, whenever there were killings, they themselves would not dare even to recover the bodies of their chiefs; indeed, would it not be equivalent to going after the killers themselves? Finally, everything was the work of the Lord of the armies who wished to have the intervention by the few to be worth that of many, in virtue and cause, the order and effect of brave squadrons. The Lord always guided all the actions and steps of our companions, and took them there specifically to recover and give due appreciation to the relics of His Martyr, and Mariano, which name he deserved, not only on account of his singular devotion to the Blessed Virgin but for his blood spilled in the cultivation of these lands dedicated to her Blessed name. Our good Father Luis does deserve this sweet epithet [i.e. Mariano], with which this Lady was pleased to let us use for these poor Islands, in spite of their immature characteristics and old infamy. On that day, Saturday, a day long reserved by the Father for a special devotion, fast and penances, a series of prayers had been taking place in Tinian with the Mass of Our Lady, attended and sung in her Chapel of the Mariano Angels. On the Friday preceding, the feast-day of St. Mark, the common prayers of the Church were said specifically for the good outcome of the said voyage, with a procession made from the chapel of the said little Angels to our church of Our Lady of Guadalupe in Buenavista, and similar good outcomes.

One of the providences of the Lord which we praise specifically was his having let us investigate immediately and thoroughly, and determining as truly as humanly possible, the proof of the Martyrdom of our lucky Companion, Father Luis de Medina. In fact, besides the Inquiry, the second one already, made by the Captain of these islands, acting jointly as the Fiscal Major of His Lordship the Bishop of the Holy Name of Jesus and City of Cebu, to whose diocese these Islands have been aggregated, there was constituted and sent specifically to this investigation, not only by virtue of the common privilege of these Missions, which they call **omnimoda**, and which we hold from our Superiors, but also with the special authority delegated to us by His Illustrious Lordship, Fray Juan Lopez, Bishop of the said diocese, by sending us to these Islands with the letters, instances, and authority that he could give and did give, even that of Vicar General (which was exercised on this occasion by Father Pedro de Casanova who assisted in Buenavista, in the company of the Superior of the Mission). The said Captain and Fiscal Major verified once again in this second trip to Saipan the above-said cause and circumstances of the lucky death of the Father and of his companion, with 17 witnesses of the town of Cao itself, and found no discrepancy with the first Inquiry, exception made of the second spearing, which the chiefs and first witnesses had reported in accordance with the common news in the Island as having been through the throat, was denied by those of Cao, perhaps because the one who had given the blow in question was then present, and he showed himself very dutiful in helping with the disinterment

of the Holy Body, but afterward, he told the Captain on the side that it happened this way: he himself had gotten to the Father as he was on the point of expiring, and had asked him if he wished to be given another blow, but he did not give it, rather he died of the first blow given by Poyo, and that pierced him through the back near the waist, although he did not fall until they gave him another blow in the left calf. That was the side on which the said blessed Father was lame from his birth, that had been caused by a fall made by his [pregnant] mother on the feast-day of the Purification of the Blessed Virgin (causing in his mother a special devotion to the Virgin) and causing a premature childbirth the next day, that of San Blas, Bishop and Martyr, 3 February 1637, when the very lucky Father Luis was born, already marked for such good luck.¹

Indeed, in addition to the said first and second Inquiries before the above-mentioned Captain and Fiscal Major, another one was made verbally with the killer himself, Poyo, and his accomplice, Daon, before the Superior of this Mission, and the said Father Pedro de Casanova exercising the said jurisdiction, delegated from the Lord Bishop, with the same Interpreter who also been used by the Captain, whose name is Pedro Ximenez,² and with the knowledge of the language that the Father Missionaries already had, and had gained, God helping, by study and exercise of the last two years, in which the said Captain took no small part. They instantly found out, through a non-sacramental confession of the said killer and accomplice, though both were baptized, how the blessed Father Luis de Medina had died, speared in their town of Cao, upon the incitation, say these two, of the people of Raurau who had given as a reason for killing the Father, that he **pumurróyi sinor sa tapañgi famagon**: formal words that we heard from the mouth of the killer himself, Poyo, agreeing to them the accomplice, Daon. This, according to the interpreter and our own knowledge and experience, though short, means, as far as can be humanly ascertained: **because the Father spread sicknesses with the water that he poured on the children**; and that the people of Raurau had incited also those of Sungrian, on the occasion of his having baptized that afternoon one child on the beach at Tipo, next to Raurau, where they had also wanted to kill him, and that it was the truth that those of Cao, as well as those of the said towns held a grudge against the said Father, for this reason only, that he was looking for children to baptize, and that he wanted to take away the skulls, and the invocation of their **man-ganitis** and other customs of theirs.

Other circumstances, such as the wound in the throat, they were not asked about on the said occasion that took place then at their arrival at Tinian, because it was hoped that more time and season remained to talk with them, and the idea then was that it was more important to instruct the said delinquents and prepare them to receive the water of baptism. Truly, in their town of Cao, there were few baptized people, because in the first mission tour of the said Island, before Choco's rumor had spread so much,

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- 1 Ed. note: He was in fact 33 years old, but was born in 1636, not 1637, and would have been 34 a few days after his death.
 - 2 Ed. note: This is the full name of the old Filipino shipwreck survivor, whose baby daughter was baptized Mariana on the day of the arrival of the missionaries two years earlier.

the said Father who, as we have said, they had speared, had not gone as far as the said town of Cao (although God reserved him for more zealous tasks), most of the baptisms had taken place in the town of Tipo, very near Cao. However, in this baptism of these two men, there was now very little difficulty; rather, it was at special requests from them, because they presumed that they would obtain pardon by this means. As far as the pardon of God and of the pains of Hell were concerned, they were told they would get it if they truly repented and were baptized, but it was explained to them that, as far as the pain or punishment in this life was concerned, it was not a matter for the Fathers but for the Captain, but that they would do their best to intercede in their favor. Once catechized, they were finally baptized, after nightfall, fearing that some incident might happen, or that the delinquents might escape, and thus force the Captain to hasten some execution of justice; Poyo was given the [first] name of Luis, and Daon that of Vidal, as it was the feast-day of the patron saint of this diocese of the Holy Name of Jesus.

It was on the following day [i.e. 28 April 1670] that our people, always moved by kindness as well as compassion regarding the imprisonment, discussed the possibility of moving them and taking them to the Island of Guan, where they would be closer to the passage of the Philippine galleon, and there the matter of what to do with them, and the other guilty people in the said towns, would be considered; and there was the possibility of their giving a more detailed report. However, it seems that they would provide no such hope. So, within a couple of hours after baptism, after dinner, they had been left to rest in the company of the interpreter and of a local chief who had come from Opian, in the company of his people. A Pampango boy in our company who was wearing a knife at his waist, happened to pass near the stocks and place of the imprisonment, which was the guard-house of our soldiers. Either to take the said knife away from him and to defend himself with it from the death that his conscience made him fear was only hours away, or to take revenge upon the said boy for the imprisonment in which he had taken part very markedly, the said Poyo rushed forward and then grabbed him by the throat and was squeezing it in such a manner that the boy hardly had time to give one moan, but that was enough for the action to be noticed. Our men then ran in and, upon seeing the fix which the said boy was in, as he had fallen down already and the said Poyo, a man of great strength and weight, was on top of him, a Spaniard, named Gregorio Martinez, who was then Captain of the guard, threw himself on top of both of them. When this man joined our Mission in Mexico, he was serving the Viceroy of New Spain, the Marquis of Mancera; he gratefully received permission and succor from His Lordship and his wife. As it did not seem possible for the boy to come out alive, the life of the said Poyo was taken on the spot with three knife thrusts.

The rest of the companions and their officer, Don Juan, ran up at the noise. Poyo being dead already, they went to check on the other accomplice and found that he had freed one of his feet from the chain to which he had been tied (his other foot was in the stocks), and which he shared with the said Poyo. Thus Poyo had freed himself from it and gone to commit the said attack. Fearing that any further delay might result in some

more insults, and the little protection that could be offered in this land for keeping him in prison, our Captain executed upon him the death penalty, already meritted; had he lived longer, the knowledge gained about his inclination led one to believe that he would have meritted many other death penalties. In accordance with this mercy of the Lord, obliged by the prayers of His servant, the good Father Luis, to whom we attribute their having been led by such steps to holy baptism, it is possible that they achieved their good luck, at least the last one who died. Indeed, similar actions in order to free himself from prison and death, something that is feared even among well-instructed, and old, Christians, perhaps they would not be found so guilty if the grace was taken away from them, after they had received it. So, the next day, after the obsequies and demonstrations that could be done to celebrate the good luck of our good Father and his companion, the said Luis Poyo and Vidal Daon were also given a burial inside the church, at the great edification of the town. No-one could be found to criticize what had been done by our people; rather, they praised it very much, because this was one more of the Lord's providences that the Chief of Opian, named Estevan Sungui,¹ was, as we have said, an eyewitness to the attack by Poyo; he had also been his god-father at baptism. There were also some people of Sunharon, who were very near our house, who heard the noise of what happened, and they had seen and heard what had happened earlier that afternoon when the Fathers begged the Captain to pardon them and not to execute them; they had said that we had waited too long already and they had asked us to let them execute them.

The two Fathers were at the time consulting within the house about what advice they could give the Captain, and were asking themselves how the site of the imprisonment could be moved, because truly there were many difficulties in everything. The Lord suddenly removed such difficulties with the said outcome, leaving them afterward with the said conveniences of the investigation and full inquiry about the Martyrdom, fame and demonstrations of the clemency of the Fathers and of the justification of the Captain in the way he had proceeded in justice, by punishing and arresting the two delinquents, and of some example for the others, meanwhile these and other towns wait to get the treatment they deserve for the horror that they have conceived and wrought by such evil things, in words and deeds, against our commonwealth, and the commission of other evil, with the permission of the supreme kindness of God.

We sign this addition and summary, we who came in for the said verification of the Martyrdom of the blessed Father Luis de Medina, finding ourselves at present in the said town of Sunharon in the Island of Buenavista Mariana, on 28 April 1670.

1 Ed. note: This is the same man mentioned in Fr. Sanvitores' letter, Doc. 1670A.

Document 1670C

1669 & 1670 reports on the Propagation of the Faith in the Marianas

Source: ARSI Phil. 13, fol. 54-55.

Notes: The translated endorsement, or title of this report, is as follows: "Report on baptisms for the year 1669-1670, also by Fr. Diego Luis de Sanvitores and his four companions, sent to the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith about the number of conversions and baptisms made in the Mariana Islands, between 26 April 1669 and 25 May 1670, dated Guahan." Since there was no galleon in 1670, this report was mailed only in 1671.

Original text in Latin.

Jhs + M^a

[Note in margin:] *Cum exemplar de num^o Baptizorum anni 1669 cum additione anni 1670.*

Pervenit [ad] Manilam in Philippinis Insulis R.P.N. Præpositi Generalis Societatis Jesu litteris mandatum, quod è SS. D.N. nutu profectum credimus: de referendo scilicet ad Sacram Congregationem Eminentiss. Cardinalium de Propaganda Fide numero eorum, quos Dominus in hac Provincia ad suam sanctam gratiam, fontemque Baptistatis ex Infidelitate vocare dignatur.

*Huic parère cupientes pro nostra tenui parte Missionarij Societatis Jesu, qui ad has **Marianas Insulas** (de Latronibus antea vocatas) intra eamdem Philippinarum Provinciam constitutas, Regijs Catholica Maiestatis iussu, et expensis die 16 Junij superioris anni 1668 pervenimus: testamur Dei misericordia, ac Sanctissimæ Virginis patrocinio præstante, quominus nostra Ministrorum obstaret tepiditas, necnon et acris Dæmonum resistentia Sanctæ Fidei in has Insulas ingressui facta per quemdam Idolorum Ministrum **Choco** nomine è Sinarum terra in has Insulas, naufragio facto, viginti adhinc annis advectum, qui et ipse in veræ Fidei portum (utinam vero animo) se tandem recepit: cuius, et reliquorum eventuum ad R.P.N. relationem mittimus prolixiorem.*

Testamur, inquam, horum indigenarum 13289.—ad sacrum Baptisma accessisse intra hunc primum annum Missionis Nostra.

*Horum sex millia, et quinquaginta quinque sunt ex Incolis Insulæ **Guan**, vocatæ iam de **S. Juan**, site sub 164 gradu longitudinis ab Insula Palma una ex Canarijs, et 13 lati-*

*tudinis gradu ab Æquinoctiali ad Boream, quæ intra triginta, et quinque leucas circuitus continet centum, et octoginta oppida, in quorum uno ex præcipuis vocato **Agadña** habemus templum pro nostra licet terminate, iam exædificatum, dieque Purificationis Sanctissimæ Virginis huius anni 1669. Deo Opt. Max. rite sacratum in peculiarem honorem Sanctissimi Nominis Mariæ, totiusque eius SSæ Familiæ: quæ Ecclesia sub proximiorie iam censetur Dioecessi Zebuanæ Urbis; etsi trecentis abhinc maritimis leucis distantis, in prædictis Insulis Philippinis, Sanctissimo Jesu nomine insignita, cuius Ill[ustrissim]i Domini Episcopi D. Fr. Joannis Lopez litteris, ac benedictione, facultateque amplissima harum Insularum reductio, et Administratio Missionis nomine nobis demandata est.*

*Reliqui autem Baptizati ex supra dicto numero sunt ex alijs decem—. Huic finitimis Insulis, quæ fere sub eodem longitudinis gradu protenditur a decimo tertio prædicto latitudinis ad usque vigessimum circiter versus Boream: Huc usque scilicet ducente Jesu, ipsiusque Stella maris, pauci hi Sacerdotes, nimirum non amplius quinque, excurrere potuimus hoc primo anno Naviculis horum indigenarum vere papyri vasis; sed ex optima arbore **Maria** scilicet in Indijs appellata, huc illhuc [sic] feliciter circumvecti, extrema tot animarum perurgente indigentia, necnon et invitatione plurim[um], mira que contentione Insulanorum pro Evangelij Ministris in unaquaque Insula retinendis.*

Expectamus autem ulterius Beatam Spem, Clemen- [fol. 54v] -tiamque Marianam super hanc divulsam, ac dilaceratam Gentem tot hactenus sæculis expectantem, expectantem [sic], ac conculcatam, quo usque maioribus navigijs instructi percurrere possint Sacerdotes, quos speramus complures, per latissimum hunc Insularum, et terrarum campum, quæ continuo quasi tractu, modicis discreto fretis, ab Australi terra vastissima, antea incognita, protenditur ad Japoniam usque quæ omnes interim terræ iacent adhuc in tenebris, et umbra mortis; sed benedictus Dominus, qui Mariæ Virgini lucis nomen donavit, ut illuminaret eos, qui in tenebris sedent, lucemque suam supereffunderet in Reges, qui per eam regnant, legumque conditores Ecclesiæ Principes, ac Senatus, qui per eam decernunt iustitiam, quæ erga Marianos pauperes utique erit misericordia amplissima, et æquissima; qua peculiariter foveantur, et pro tot annis, quibus tot mala extremæ miseræ viderunt, omni ope, et doctrina in sua mortis umbra destituti, duplo iam, si fas est dicere, Evangelicæ lucit, æternæque lætitiæ splendore illuminentur, per quamplurimos exculi Operarios; quos in tam multam, et albam messem suam dignetur mittere Dominus, eiusque in terris Vicarius, et Administri, Mariani nominis suavissima operante efficacia, suffragantibusque Marianis omnibus, qui sive in Coelis, sive in terris, rerum quarumlibet, quanto magis animarum ad Sanctissimam Deiparam quoquo modo expectantium, tenero simul, et valido feruntur studio in maiorem Dei gloriam, quam absit impediant peccata nostra, incuriaque in tot animarum avertendo interitu.

Sic testamur, ac suppliciter petimus ubi oporteat, huiusmodi miserorum felici iam nomine, scilicet Mariano, ipsorumque in prædictorum fidem eiusdem Societatis Nostræ siggillo firmantes, subscriptioneque Sociorum, qui huc in præsens convenire potu-

*imus: in oppido prædicto **Agadña** Residentiæ appellatæ in Insula **Guan** una ex Marianis die 26 mensis Aprilis anno 1669.*

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+ Didacus Aloysius de S. Vitores + Aloysius de Medina. Aloysius de Morales. et PP in hac Missione Socius Scholasticus Societatis Jesu, qui hæc scripsit:

+

+ Laurentius Bustillo +

[Addition]

*Ne nos prætereat particula boni diei, ac doni, utimur denuo hac eadem carta superiori anno scripta subscriptaque amabili certe nomine P. Aloysij de Medina, qui Sancti Baptismi Fidei non iam solo subscripsit nomine; sed etiam sanguine, quem pro Christo Domino effundit lanceis confossus in oppido **Cáo** Insulæ D. Jossephi (indiginis **Saypan**) die 29 Januarij anno 1670 in expressum, ab ipsisque occissoribus postea comprehensis iuridicè declaratum, Sancti Baptismi, et Evangelicæ prædicationis odium, iam pridem superiori anno conceptum ex læthali contra Baptismum voce, illius quondam idolatræ nomine **Choco** de quo supra: cuius semel super seminata zizania non possunt non apparere iusteque tolerata à Domino usque ad messem, facere interea, inter evangelij fructus, fructus quoque suos; neque omnino ingratos operarijs, qui talem inde ipso Domino miserante fructum referant in patientia, sive in ipsorum prius coronam, sive in huiusce taliter irrigatæ terræ ulterioris in posterum proventus. Sub eiusmodi ergo Servi Dei, et charissimi Patris subscriptione addimus ad **triginta [sic] circiter millia** iam accessisse his duobus an- [fol. 55] -nis baptizatorum numerum in his terdecim Insulis MARIANIS, duabus nempe denuo ad Catholicam Fidem reductis, ac quinque in omnibus iam edificatis templis in honorem cunctis Sanctissima Virginis Mariæ, cui, et reliqua huius Marianæ regionis deinceps Dei munere exigenda destinata sunt: secundum varios scilicet ipsius festivitatum et imaginum titulos, toto orbe celebriorum, erga quas religionem, et devotionem huiusque terrarum propagare cupimus, qua allecti, et imbuti Christiani nostri, et Mariani, et Cœlestes verius, uberiusque, nostra ministrorum incuria minus obstanti in dies cum Divina gratia efficiantur.*

Subscribimus huic attestationi manu nostra, qui sanguine non meruimus superstites adhuc quatuor socij, de moreque congregati in præsens (unico absenti) in prædicta S. Ignatij Residentia Insulæ Guan in Marianis die 25 Maij anni 1670.

+ + Jhs +

+ Diego Luis S. Vitores + Pedro de Casanova Luis de Morales. Et eorum socius, qui hæc etiam scripsit:

+

+ Lorenzo Bustillo +

Translation.*Jesus + Mary*

[Note in margin:] With a copy of the number of Baptisms for the year 1669, with the addition for the year 1670.

There arrived at Manila in the Philippine Islands a letter from our Rev. Fr. General in charge of the Society of Jesus, with an order that we believe originated from the will of His Holiness; in fact, his letter was addressed to their Eminences the Cardinals of the Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith, asking them for the number of those who in this Province have been called by God to His holy grace, and to the baptismal font out of heathenism.

By the present, we are pleased to forward the following report that concern us, the missionaries of the Society of Jesus, who arrived at these **Mariana Islands** (formerly called Ladrones) that belong to the Province of the Philippines, on 16 June of the past year of 1668, at the order and expenses of His Majesty the Catholic King. We attest that, through God's mercy, and the patronage of the most Blessed Virgin, to offset a lack of fervor in our ministries and the energetic resistance of the Devil to the holy Faith in these islands introduced through a Minister of Idolatry named **Choco**, from the land of the Chinese, shipwrecked in these islands 20 years ago, and who has himself finally reached the port of the true Faith (sincerely we hope); we have sent a longer relation about this and other events to our Rev. Father.

We do certify that 13,289 of these natives have been admitted to the sacred baptism within the first year of our Mission here.¹

Of this number, 6,055 comes from the inhabitants of the Island of **Guan**, now called **San Juan**, situated at 164 degrees in longitude [west] of the Island of Palma in the Canary Islands and at 13 degrees of latitude north of the Equator; within 35 leagues of circumference it contains 180 places. In one of main ones, called **Agadña**, we have a church, built within our means, and on the feast-day of the Purification of the most Blessed Virgin of the year 1669, it was properly consecrated to Almighty God, but specifically to honor the Most Holy Name of Mary, and of her whole most Holy Family. This church has already been added to the roll of the nearest Diocese of the City of Cebu, although it is 300 nautical leagues from here, in the said Philippine Islands, bearing the remarkable name of the Most Holy Name of Jesus, whose bishop is His Illustrious Don Fray Juan Lopez. He has entrusted it to us in a letter, and blessing, with amplest powers to reduce these Islands and administer a Mission.²

1 Ed. note: In 1673, Fr. Coomans was to review these statistics in greater detail (see Doc. 1673L). By doing so, he unwittingly supplied the information that has finally given me the proof that the officially-reported numbers were exaggerated. The above total is a **simple error in arithmetics** made when the number for Guam was double-counted, as follows: the number for the whole of the Marianas (including Guam) was 7,234 and it was added to the number for Guam alone 6,055 to yield the erroneous 13,289. There was never any tampering of population/baptism statistics by anyone living away from Guam.

2 Ed. note: See Doc. 1667C.

Moreover, the rest of the above-mentioned baptisms are for the other 10 islands. These are neighboring islands, which extend almost along the same longitude from the above-mentioned 13 degrees to about 20 degrees of latitude north. In fact, the number of priests being small (never more than 15), this is how far we have been able to cover this first year aboard native canoes, which are mere paper boats, but are in fact made out of the excellent wood called **palo Maria** in the Indies. With Jesus and the Star of the Sea herself as pilots, we made it safely here and there, urged on by the extreme need of so many souls, and at the invitation of many, but blocked by the surprising opposition of the Islanders toward the Gospel Ministers in every island.

Furthermore we expect beyond this [island] the Blessed Hope and the Marian kindness, [that is] so many torn and dislocated people that have been waiting for centuries up to now; oppressed and waiting to be instructed by priests, who might reach them aboard larger vessels. We hope that there are many of them, throughout these widely-spread islands, and mainlands, that lie along a continuous line, with a few straits in-between, from the very vast Southern Continent, heretofore unknown, extending all the way to Japan. In the meantime, all of these lands have remained in darkness and the shadow of death so far. However, the blessed Lord, who has given them the name of Mary, the Virgin light, to enlighten them, who sit in darkness, and to direct her light at the Kings, who reign over it, and the Princes of the Church, who are keepers of the laws, and the Council, who carry out justice in it, so that a very generous and fair pity be applied to these poor Marianos, which is to be specially fostered, as they have known nothing but extremely bad needs over so many years, destitute as they were of all hope and knowledge within their shadow of death. Let the light of the Gospel shine two times stronger, if it is possible to say this; let them be illuminated by the splendor of eternal happiness, through very many dedicated Workers, whom God, and his Vicar, and Administrators, on Earth be pleased to send to this, his large and ripe harvest, in the most sweet name of Mary, with the effectiveness and all the Marian intercessions which, either in Heaven or on Earth, in any affairs, can be so greatly expected anyway for the souls from the Immaculate Virgin, to be brought about after a tender as well as proper study, for the greater glory of God, in spite of our sins that may impede it, to avert the careless destruction of so many souls.

Thus we certify, and we humbly petition those to whom it may concern, in the name of these miserable ones, who now bear a lucky name, that of Mariano. We, the undersigned, their preachers of the faith, have affixed the seal of our Society, and the signatures of those among us who were able to be present:

At the Residence in the said place of **Agadña**, of the Island called **Guan**, one of the Mariana Islands, on the 26th day of the month of April of the year 1669.

+

+

+ Diego Luis de S. Vitores + Luis de Medina. Luis de Morales.

and the Scholastic Brother of the Society of Jesus who is assisting the Fathers in this Mission, who had written this report:

+ Lorenzo Bustillo +

Documents 1670D

First biography of Fr. Medina, edited by Fr. Francisco García

Source: Fr. Francisco García, S.J. "Relacion de la Vida de el Devotissimo hijo de Maria Santissima, de la Compañia de Jesus, que murió por Christo en las Islas Marianas (llamadas antes de los Ladrones) con otro Compañero seglar, llamado Hipolito de la Cruz," printed at Madrid in 1673. BNM #3/9024.

Notes: This is the first book ever published which was entirely on the Marianas or Micronesia. It was written in parallel, and printed almost at the same time as the other biography by Fr. Florencia (Doc. 1670E). This author also wrote biographies of St. Ignatius, St. Francis Xavier, and Blessed Sanvitores.

Description and summary contents.

The biography section of the book covers 146 small pages. It is then followed by a 48-page historical treatise, by the same author, about the Persecution of Christians in China by the Tartar invaders, between 1664 and 1668.

At the end of the biography, at the foot of p. 146, the author says: "Everything that has been said in this biography has been taken from the letters from Fr. Diego Luis de Sanvitores, written from the Marianas, and others that have come into the hands of some Fathers of the Province of Andalusia." Therefore, there is nothing original in it. In fact, the real author is Fr. Sanvitores (or his assistants), and Fr. García is only the editor. I reproduce two letters of Fr. Medina whose manuscript originals have been lost.

A few extracts from this book, for comparison purposes

Original text in Spanish.

...
Bolvamos al Padre Luis, que dexamos en la Nave, por entrarnos à ver, aunque de passo, la tierra. Estando nuestro Galeon un Viernes por la tarde, 15 de Junio de 68 à vista de las Marianas, cercado de las embarcaciones de aquellos Isleños, estavan los nuestros dudosos de la entrada, y acogida que hallarian en sus Islas, por verlos à ellos

rezelosos de entrar en nuestro Galeon, por mas que los combidavan, temiendo sin duda algun dañado intento, con la cercania de los Españoles, como lo avian experimentado años antes de los Olandeses, en la entrada de su tierra. Mas todo se facilitò por medio de la Santissima Virgen, cuya devocion promovia en todos el Padre Luis; porque empezaron los nuestros à. imbocar à la Santissima Virgen, cantando su Letania; y apenas llegaron à la mitad de las Preces, quando miraron con no menos alegria, que admiracion, coronada la Nave de aquellos pobres Marianos, que perdido el temor, se llegaron con grande afabilidad, y agassajo à los Padres, que los llevaron luego à saludar à la Santissima Virgen; y à su vista se desvanecieron todos los rezelos que avia de una, y otra parte, como à vista de el Sol desaparecen las tinieblas.

El dia siguiente, Sabado, dia dedicado à la Santissima Virgen, Patrona de esta Mission, dando fondo la Nave, saltò el primero en tierra en la Isla de Guan (llamada desde entonces San Juan) el Padre Luis, con otro compañero, sin mas armas, ni resguardo, que las de su Fè, y confiança en el Patrocinio de Maria Santissima; y tomando possession de estas Islas por Jesu Christo, enarbolo el Estandarte de la Cruz en la Playa, y en un Pueblo, que se llamo de los Martires, por estar dedicado desde el viage el primer Pueblo que encontrassen, à los Santos en cuyo dia se descubriessen las Islas, que fue el de los Santos Martires Vito, Modesto, y Crescencia, à 15 de Junio.

Quedòse aquella noche en la Isla el Padre Luis, con el otro compañero, y algunos pocos seglares, sin mas defensa, que aquella con que avia entrado; pero sin temor ninguno, porque la muerte que podian darle, no la temia, sino la deseava. Hablò à los Principales de el primer Pueblo que encontró, por medio de el Interprete que llevaba, y algunas palabras de su lengua, que avia aprendido en el viage, con su mucha aplicacion, y zelo. Propusoles la embaxada que traía de Dios, y la Santissima Virgen, para que recibiesen la luz de la verdad, y el Santo Bautismo, y por medio de èl la Gloria. Y diò el Señor, y la Señora tal eficacia à sus palabras, que luego los Principales pidieron al Capitan, y Cabo de el Navio, que les dexassen alli à los Padres, para que les enseñassen aquella Doctrina, y verdad, que ellos no sabian; y esto con tal viveza, y instancia, queriendo cada uno de los Principales, que avian venido, que fuessen à su Pueblo, que el Cabo de el Navio obligò à los Padres, con varios requerimientos, de parte de su Magstad, à que se quedassen todos en la Islas Marianas, menos uno, que passò por Capellan de el Galeon à Manila: disponiendolo assi Dios, y la Santissima Virgen, que obligassen al Padre Medina à lo mismo, que èl con tantas ansias deseava. Y assi, embiando con el Navio à Manila uno de sus compañeros, se quedò èl en las Islas Marianas.

En aquel primer dia diò el mismo Padre Luis principio à los Bautismos, con el de una niña, dexando emparentados al Capitan, y Cabo, y otros Oficiales de la Nao, con estos pobres Marianos, por medio de el Santo Bautismo, en que eran Padrinos, con mucho gusto, y consuelo, los que iban saltando en tierra, mientras otros de los Isleños iban à la Nave con sus criaturas, para que las bautizasses, deseando, y buscando el parentesco con la gente de Dios, que assi llamavan à los Españoles.

...

[Letter from Fr. Medina to an unnamed Jesuit in southern Spain, dated Agaña in early 1669]

*Por la misericordia de Dios, se và ya estableciendo forma de Christiandad en este Pueblo, y todos los de él, y mucha gente de otros vienen los Domingos à la Missa, y **anfanaytay**; porque usé de una traza al principio, que ellos me dixeron; y es, que ellos vendrian à nuestro **gipot** (celebridad de concurso) si les diessemos alguna cosilla, como se usa en su **gipot**; con que yo les doy un ançuelo, que los haze Andres, de alambre, y assi vienen con mucho gusto à oir la Doctrina Christiana todos los Domingos; y aora vienen mucho mejor, y han venido casi todos los Lugares de esta Isla à ver el Nacimiento que hemos hecho, y para verlo, les pedia por condicion, que primero avian de dezir la Doctrina Christiana, que esse era mi **guati** (paga) con que todos, primero que lo viessen, rezavan el Credo, y los Mandamientos, y el Acto de contricion, y otras cosas que les dezia, y assi veían el Nacimiento; con que esta Pasqua, mucha parte de esta Isla se ha buelto à **anfanaytay**, y cada dia van viniendo mas; y yo estoy muy gustoso, por el fruto que se ha cogido de el Nacimiento.*

Sabrà V. Reverencia, como nuestro amigo Kipuha murió à 23 de Diziembre [1668], y yo le procurè assistir con cuidado, por ser la persona à quien mas devemos en estas Islas, y à quien yo hablé quando saltè en esta, y que nos diò el sí para que nos desembarcassemos en su casa: y aunque se ofrecieron muchas dificultades de parte de ellos, para que se enterrasse en nuestra Iglesia, todas se vencieron, gracias à Dios, y le enteramos en nuestra Iglesia Lunes, vispera de Pasqua, yendo por él à su casa con trompeta, y llevamos el Estandarte de nuestro Padre San Ignacio, y San Francisco Xavier (ordinario guion, y Estandarte de los Padres de la Compañia, en los passos dificiles de su Mission, con que no dudava de emprender, y vencer singularmente el Padre Luis qualquier dificultad en las cosas de la mayor gloria de el Señor) y le diximos su Vigilia cantada, y su Missa tambien cantada. Por acà se han hecho los demàs sufragios entre todos los de Casa, que la Compañia usa hazer con uno de ella. Han quedado todos los de este Lugar muy contentos con el entierro de Kipuha, y me preguntan, si quando ellos se mueran, los enterraremos de la misma suerte, &c.

...

[Fr. Medina was then sent to the Islands of Aguiguan, Tinian, and Saipan.]

[Letter sent to Fr. Sanvitores in Guam from Tinian, fall 1669]

*Gracias devemos dar à Dios nuestro Señor, y à su Santissima Madre, y al Señor San Joseph, que con su venida (de la Nao San Joseph) se han convertido los mayores temores que teniamos en favores, y agassajos de esta gente de Tinian, y Saypan; porque todos los Pueblos, assi de Tinian, como de Saypan, no solo no han hecho la mas minima burla, sino, que en entrando en el Pueblo, me llevavan à la casa de **Chamorri Maagas** (el mayor Principal) y luego venia todo el Pueblo con su **apruit**, para que comiesse el Padre; y donde mas agassajo me han hecho, ha sido en Saypan; porque todos estàn temblando de Corcuera (llaman con el nombre de un Antiguo à todos los Gobernadores de Manila, segun su costumbre) y nos han estimado muchissimo, que*

ayamos evitado, que no ayan venido acá à destruirlos. Gracias à la Santissima Virgen, que les ha puesto estos temores. En esta primera visita de Saypan he bautizado seiscientos y siete; porque muchos, que V. Reverencia no bautizó, pedían el Bautismo.

*En Tinian he bautizado menos; porque la primera visita fue à los niños solamente: no sabe que hazerse la gente para agassajarme, y estamos, no solo con gran seguridad, sino libres de burlas; y los Domingos viene casi toda la Isla à nuestro **Gipot**; con que se junta grandissimo auditorio, qual nunca yo le ha visto en Agaña...*

...

V. Trabajos que padecio en estas Islas el Padre Luis de Medina, y la providencia con que Dios le librò de muchos peligros.

...

VI. Muerte por Christo de el Padre Luis de Medina, con su Compañero Hipolito de la Cruz, è invencion de sus bendidos cuerpos.

...

VII. Virtudes, y milagros de el Padre Luys de Medina.

...

Translation of the above extracts.

...

Let us return to Father Luis, whom we left aboard the ship, to go and see what was going on ashore, though in passing. As our galleon was in sight of the Marianas, on a Friday in the afternoon of 15 June 1668, surrounded by the canoes of those Islanders, our people were doubtful of the entrance, and reception that they would find in their Islands, because they saw them to be reluctant to come aboard our galleon, no matter how strongly they invited them in, for fear, no doubt, that some harmful intention, from close contact with the Spanish, as they had experienced years ago with the Dutch, who had stepped ashore. However, everything was made easy through the Blessed Virgin, whose devotion Father Luis was promoting in everyone, because they began in the middle of the prayers, when they looked with no less joy than wonder at the ship, then crowned with those poor Marianos, who had lost their fear. They arrived with great affability and welcome for the Fathers, who then took them to salute the Blessed Virgin; upon seeing her all the fears, on either side, disappeared, as darkness disappears at sunrise.

The next day, Saturday, a day dedicated to the Blessed Virgin, patron of this Mission, the ship anchored. The first to step ashore at the Island of Guan (called San Juan since then) was Father Luis, with another companion, without more weapons, or protection, than those of his Faith, and trust in the patronage of Blessed Mary. Taking possession of these Islands for Jesus Christ, he raised the Standard of the Cross upon the beach, and in a town which was named De los Martires, as they had already decided during

the voyage to give to the first town they came across with the name of the saints in whose feast-day the Islands would be sighted, and that was on 15 June, the feast-day of the Holy Martyrs Vitus, Modestus, and Crescentia.¹

Father Luis and his other companion remained ashore that night, along with a few laymen, without more defence than that with which they had entered, but without any fear, because the death that they could give him, he did not fear, rather he wished it. He spoke to the chiefs of the first town he met, through the interpreter he had brought, and a few words of their language that he had learned during the voyage, with his great application, and zeal. He proposed to them the embassy that he brought from God, and the Blessed Virgin, for them to receive the light of the truth, and the holy baptism, and through it Glory. The Lord, and the Lady, gave so much efficiency to his words that the chiefs then asked the Captain and Commander of the ship to leave there the Fathers, to teach them that Doctrine, and truth, that they did not know about; and this they did with such vivacity, and insistance, every one of the chiefs who had come up wanting them for his own town, that the Commander of the ship obliged the Fathers, with various requests made on behalf of His Majesty, that they should all remain in the Mariana Islands, except for one, who went on as Chaplain of the galleon to Manila. God has arranged it so, and the Virgin Mary, so that Father Medina would also stay, as he desired with so many anxieties. So, sending one of their companions to Manila aboard the ship, he remained in the Mariana Islands.²

On that first day, Father Luis himself gave a beginning to the baptisms, by baptizing a baby girl, and her god-father was the Captain and Commander, and the other officers of the galleon, with these poor Marianos, through the holy baptism, in which those who stepped ashore became god-fathers, with much pleasure and consolation, while other Islanders were going to the ship with their infants, to have them baptize, wishing, and looking for god-parents among the people of God, as they called the Spanish.³

...

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- 1 Ed. note: The memory of this first landing at Maite, east of the Agaña River, was soon obliterated by the more formal landing the next day at Agaña proper, where the mission was founded.
 - 2 Ed. note: Fr. Medina had been acting Superior of the mission band, as Fr. Pimentel had stayed behind in Mexico one extra year. The new chaplain of the galleon was Fr. Tati; his remaining companions were all lay brothers.
 - 3 Ed. note: The missionaries did not realize then that many of the people going to the ship to have their babies baptized, were the same ones who had already received gifts when they had them baptized ashore, and vice versa. Hence, the exaggerated estimates in the number of baptisms, and population estimates.

[Soon afterward, Fr. Medina was sent to visit the villages along the coast, westward from Agaña, and wrote short notes to Fr. Sanvitores as he went. One note is from Upagat,¹ another from Tupungan, which had 300 inhabitants in 1668, and went on to Orodria [i.e. Orote], which could only be reached by boat and was 1 league away from Tupungan. On another visit, he passed by Apurguan, Pago, Megga, which was half a league from Pago.² Then he went back to Pago, where he baptized 18 adults and 2 children. We learn that the local word for Doctrine was *Anfanaytay*.³ He dedicated the site of Pago to St. James, i.e. Santiago, as he was there on his feast-day, 25 July 1668. He also visited Paa on the south coast, and, by the feast-day of St. Francis Xavier, he had already visited three times the town of Nisichan [i.e. Nisihan] on the NE coast. On 16 July 1668, he was visiting the town of Piggug, on the E coast, and he renamed it “Triunfo de la Cruz” because it was the feast-day of the Triumph of the Cross. It is recorded that he also visited Aputon, i.e. Haputo, and Inapsan, which he then dedicated to the Virgin of Good Succor. Then he visited Tarragui, another village on the North coast of Guam. He was then accompanied by two missionary helpers, Andrés and Nicolas. By February 1669, he was on the west coast, at Fuuña. At one time or another, he also visited Tarrifac, i.e. Taraifac on the W coast.]

[Letter from Fr. Medina to an unnamed Jesuit in southern Spain, dated Agaña in early 1669]

“Through God’s mercy, a form of Christian community is being established already in this town, and all those in it, and many people from other towns came on Sunday for mass, and *anfanaytay*, because I used a trick at the beginning, as they had suggested to me, that is, that they would come to our *gipot* (feast gathering) if we gave them some little thing, as usual in their *gipot*. That is why I give them one fishhook, from those made by Andrés out of wire, and thus they come with much pleasure to listen to the Christian doctrine every Sunday. Now many more come, and have come from almost all the places of this Island to see the Nativity scene that we have made [inside the church], and to see it, they were being asked as a condition that they first have to repeat the Christian doctrine, that such was my *guati* (payment). So, all of them, as soon as I saw them, would recite the Creed, and the 10 Commandments, and the Act of Contrition, and the other things that I would tell them, and thus they could see the Nativity scene. The result was that this Christmas, part of this Island have returned to the *anfanaytay*, and every day more and more are coming. As for myself, I am very happy for the fruit that has resulted from the Nativity scene.”

“Your Reverence should know that our friend Kipuha died on 23 December [1668], and that I tried to assist him with care, as he is the person to whom we owe the most in

1 Ed. note: This is possibly a hamlet named Apaga, as the village of Pagat is far away from there, on the NE coast, although the places named are not necessarily given in sequential order.

2 Ed. note: On the site of the present-day University of Guam, where he baptized a sick child.

3 Ed. note: Other local words mentioned below are: *gipot*, feast gathering, and *guati*, which meant “payment”.

these Islands, with whom I had spoken when I stepped ashore, and who had given us the OK for our disembarkation into his house. And although many difficulties offered themselves on their part, to have him buried in our church, all of them were overcome, thank God, and we buried him in our church, on Monday, Christmas Eve, after we fetched him from his house with the trumpet, and we carried the Standard of our Father St. Ignatius, and St. Francis Xavier (the ordinary pennant, and standard of the Fathers of the Society, in the difficult steps of their Mission, which made them truly believe they could undertake, and overcome any difficulty, particularly Father Luis, in the things of the greater glory of the Lord), and we sung a solemn wake for him, and also sung the Mass. Overhere, those of the House have made the other suffrages that the Society usually does for one of their own. All the people of this place have remained very happy with the burial of Kipuha, and they have been asking me if we will bury them the same way when they die, etc.”

...

[Fr. Medina was then sent to the Islands of Aguiguan, Tinian, and Saipan.]

[Letter sent to Fr. Sanvitores in Guam from Tinian, fall 1669]

“We owe thanks to God our Lord, and to His Blessed Mother, and to St. Joseph, because with her arrival [i.e. that of the galleon **San José**] the worst fears have been changed to favors, and welcomed by this people of Tinian, and Saipan, because all the towns, in Tinian as well as in Saipan, not only have not made the least ridicule; rather, upon entering a town, they were carrying me to the house of the **Chamorri Maagas** (the grand Chief) and then all the town people came with their **apruit**, to feed the Father.¹ Where they have welcomed me better, was in Saipan, because all were afraid of Corcuera (they call all the Governors of Manila with the name of this former Governor, according to their custom) and they have esteemed us very much—something we would have missed—for not having come here to destroy them.² Thank to the Blessed Virgin who has placed these fears in them. In this first visit of Saipan, I have baptized 607, because many, whom Your Reverence had not baptized, were asking for baptism.”

“In Tinian, I have baptized fewer, because the first visit was to children only. The people try their best to please me, and we are, not only in great safety, but free from ridicule. On Sundays, almost of whole Island comes to our **Gipot**; that is how I could fill a large auditorium, something I never saw in Agaña³...”

...

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- 1 Ed. note: So, it appears from context, that the word apruit meant “food contribution (to a “gipot”, or feast).”
 - 2 Ed. note: After what they had done to the ship, and the survivors of the shipwrecked Concepción in 1638, who had been killed in Saipan, whereas the other Islands treated them well.
 - 3 Ed. note: By the end of 1669, he reported having baptized 790 persons in his three islands.

Chapter V. Hardships that Fr. Luis de Medina suffered in these Islands, and how the providence that God freed him from many dangers.

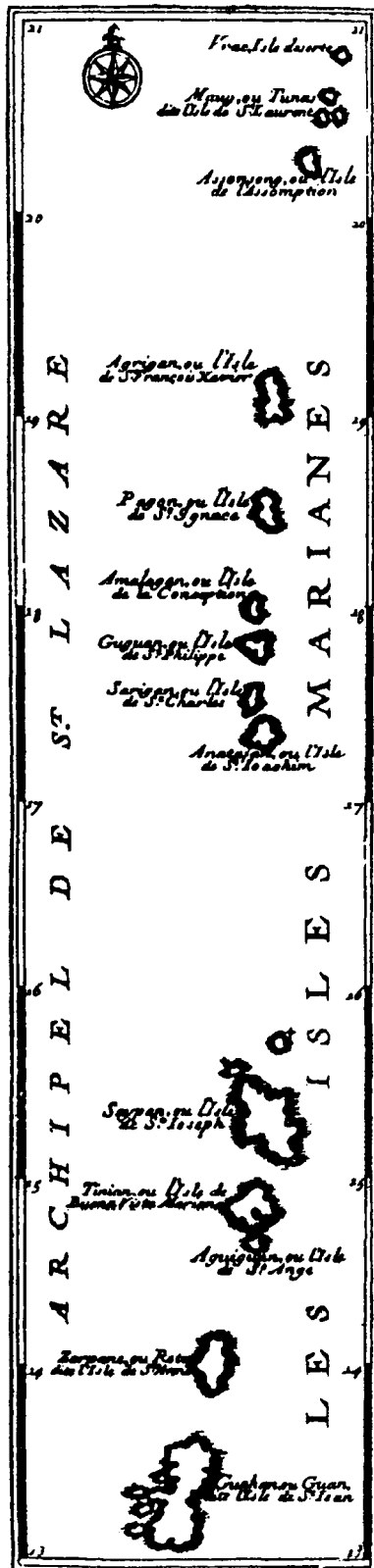
[He wrote notes from Saipan, from Opian, and from Arrayao, to Fr. Sanvitores, who was in Tinian, during the Tinian War. Fr. Sanvitores pretended to be partisan of Sunharon, and Fr. Medina pretended to fend for Marpo, the better to negotiate a peace settlement. We are told that the word *taryoyot* [rather Taryot], which was a payment made to appease the enemy, was a word that simply meant “reconocimiento” in Spanish, i.e. “recognition, or better, thanksgiving”. The peace settlement was celebrated on 24 January 1670. Then Fr. Medina went back to Saipan to continue his missionary work.]

Chapter VI. Death for Christ of Father Luis de Medina, with his companion Hipolito de la Cruz, and recovery of their blessed bodies.

[This is the story of his death as told by Fr. Sanvitores. It begins with the words: “No sé si el Señor diò al Padre Luys de Medina alguna luz Profetica...” and ends with the words: “la corona de Martir, que miramos aora con los ojos de la Fé humana.”]

Chapter VII. Virtues, and miracles of Father Luis de Medina.

[This chapter is his eulogy. It begins with the words “De la devocion, y amor à Maria Santissima, le nacieron al Padre Luys de Medina todas sus felicidades...” and ends with the final words: “intercediendo él mismo con Maria, para que consigamos la felicidad eterna. FIN.”]



Map of the Mariana Islands, ca. 1670.

In 1668, the Jesuit missionaries explored as far north as Agrigan Island. In the second half of 1669, Fr. Sanvitores himself went up as far as Maug. The northern islet of Uracas was not inhabited even then. The Jesuits assigned Christian names to all the islands, as follows:

- Maug = San Lorenzo;
- Asonson = Asunción;
- Agrigan = San Francisco Xavier;
- Pagan = San Ignacio;
- Alamagan = Concepción;
- Guguan = San Felipe;
- Sarigan = San Carlos;
- Anatahan = San Joaquín;
- Saipan = San José;
- Tinian = Buenavista Mariana;
- Aguijan = Santo Angel;
- Rota = Santa Ana;
- Guam = San Juan.

This map was first published in Fr. Le Gobien's *Histoire des isles Mariannes*. The name of San Lázaro Archipelago is wrongly applied to the Marianas, although at that early period, some European map-makers thought, more or less correctly, that the Marianas were somehow connected with the Philippines, since the two archipelagoes nearly touch in the neighborhood of Mindanao. Magellan made no such mistake; he baptized only the Philippines with the name of San Lázaro.

Documents 1670E

Early descriptions of the Mariana Islands by the Jesuit missionaries

Warning by the translator and editor.

The following primary-source documents are important mainly because they correct a few minor, and not so minor, errors and misconceptions introduced by later writers who did not have a first-hand knowledge of the islands. This remark applies even to Fr. García, Fr. Sanvitores' biographer, when he quoted this document in an edited form.

The present document reveals, among other things, that **Agaña was not the biggest place in Guam in 1668 and the population of Guam was at best 20,000 souls. In fact, the missionaries had baptized only 6,000 Guamanians by 1670, and there were no more than 30,000 inhabitants in the whole archipelago. Other, smaller, misconceptions will be pointed out in the footnotes.**

E1. Version 1 found in Paris

Source: A copy of the original is in BNP, ms. n° ESP 324, fol. 206-207.

Notes: The original text of the Paris copy is shown on facing pages for those who wish to check my translation which is as follows. The list of ports is to be compared to those in Doc. 1670G in Vol. 5.

BNP ms. n° ESP 324, fol. 206-207.

De las Islas Marianas, antes de Ladrones.

Las islas Marianas que antes se llamaron las islas de los Ladrones y que se reduxeron a nuestra Fé en 1668 son estas:

La isla Guan, que hoy se llama S. Juan

Zarpana, ya S. Ana

Aguigan, ya S. Angel

Tinian, ya Buenavista Mariana

Saypan, ya S. Joseph

Anatagan, ya S. Joachin

Sarigan, ya S. Carlos

Guguan, ya S. Phelipe

Mamagan, ya la Concepcion

Pagan, ya S. Ignacio

Agrigan, ya S. Francisco Xaverio

El Sabado 16 de Junio de 1668 entraron en las islas Marianas seis Jesuitas, el superior de todos es el P're Diego Luis de San Vitores. Tomaron tierra en la isla de Guan que se llama oy S. Juan, y vinieron al pueblo de Agadña que ahora se llama S. Ignacio. Estas islas corren desde la isla de Guan hasta la isla de Agrigan, sin muchas obras que ai en esta cordillera que se continua desde la tierra Austral antes incognita hasta el Japon, en las cuales ay innumerables almas.

No tienen los Marianos Republica ni cabeza, porque los Principales o Cavalleros a quien llaman Chamorris no tienen authoridad sobre los demas sino solo respeto o reverencia; conservan los apellidos de sus majores, e por lo mas estos Cavalleros se han recojido en la isla de Guan por la bondad del agua.

Estas onze islas tienen una misma lengua. Toda la gente aun la de los montes vive en poblaciones. No conocian la idolatria hasta que un Chino se lo enseñó. No usan de vino ni otro licor que embriague. No tienen mas que una muger, y no se hallan entre ellos las torpezas que ai en otras naciones nonobstante su desnudez, forçossa por carezer de vestidos. El temple es mejor que el de Philipinas, y ay en ellas una fruta que se llama Rimai, o Furao, que assada y cocida tiene el sabor de pan tierno, y tiene cocos.

La isla de Guan oy de S. Juan, que es de los majores, a que han entrado los Padres, aunque no la mayor tiene en 35 leguas de box, 180 pueblos, en la playa son los majores de a sesenta, de a ciento y de a ciento cinquenta cassas. En el monte los ay de veinte, con que tendra esta isla veinte mil almas, y passan los bautizados de seis mil. Las otras islas son menores, exceptuando la de S. Franc° Xavier que tiene 50 leguas de box, y en todas ha sido grande el fruto porque juntando los bautismos de las onze islas desde 16 de Junio de 1668 hasta 15 de Maio de 1669 llegan a 14000 los bautizados.

Tienen los padres su principal residencia en la isla de S. Juan con una iglesia en el pueblo de Agadña y S. Ignacio, que tiene solo 53 cassas.

Of the Mariana Islands, formerly the Ladrones.

The Mariana Islands which were previously called the islands of the Ladrones and that have been reduced to our Faith in 1668 are these:¹

The island of Guan, now called San Juan;

Zarpana, now Santo Ana;²

Aguigan, now Santo Angel;³

Tinian, now Buenavista Mariana;

Saypan, now San José;⁴

Anatagan, now San Joachin;⁵

Sarigan, now San Carlos;

Guguan, now San Felipe;

Mamagan [sic], now Concepción;⁶

Pagan, now San Ignacio;⁷

Agrigan, now San Francisco Xavier.

On Saturday 16 June 1668, six Jesuits came into the Mariana Islands, with Fr. Diego Luis de San Vitores as their superior. They landed at the island of Guan which is now called San Juan, and they came to the town of Agaña which is now called San Ignacio. These islands run from the island of Guan as far as the island of Agrigan, without many works⁸ present in this chain of islands which extends from the Austral Land, previously unknown, as far as Japan, [and] in which there are many souls.⁹

1 Ed. note: These 11, out of 13, were visited by the missionaries in 1668; two more were visited in 1669 (see below).

2 Ed. note: The natives called it Rota (see below) and Saipan was, in fact, also called by the natives Big Zarpana, and may thus have at one time called Rota, Small Zarpana. Many place names were also duplicated from one island to another, e.g. Tumhon, Sonson, etc.

3 Ed. note: The full (new) name seems to have been Santo Angel **Custode**, i.e. Guardian Angel. One missionary letter mentions, incorrectly, that the villages of Sumarrago [North Sumay] and Oprao [Ipao?] were on the island called San Gabriel. So, even among early missionaries there was some confusion between Aguigan [also written Agiguan, Aguijan today] and Agrigan.

4 Ed. note: Also written Tenian, and San Joseph respectively. The Spanish written form Joseph was always pronounced Josè, or José.

5 Ed. note: Probably pronounced correctly as the Anatahan of today, as Spanish letters -j, -h, and -x are often interchangeable.

6 Ed. note: Transcription error for Alamagan.

7 Ed. note: Sometimes called the island of the Volcanoes [plural], no doubt because Pagan had two of them even then. Later navigators referred to Asunción when they said Volcano Island (in the Marianas). Later navigators applied the name to an island group further north, i.e. the modern Volcano, or Sulphur, Islands, now part of the Ogasawara Archipelago with the Bonin Islands.

8 Ed. note: I think the author means “without many difficulties or dangers to navigation.”

9 Ed. note: Read, as usual, inhabitants.

Viente años [h]a que una tempesta truxo un Sangley Chino llamado Checo Polatra [sic], el qual passaba en champan desde Manila a Terrenate. Quidosse en la isla y en este tiempo ha inficionado a muchos de los islenos con idolatrías, ma [=pero] despues desenganose el china y fue bautizado.

El pueblo de Hanun en la isla de Guan es de cien cassas.

El pueblo de Segua oy llamado S. Carlos en la isla de Tinian, y tambien el pueblo de Tavisay llamado S. Januario en la misma isla.

El pueblo de Mochon llamado ya S. Francisco Xavier de la isla de S. Ana.

El pueblo de Tarraifac en la isla de S. Juan en la isla de S. Juan, como anco [sic] Niti-chan.

Pigpug pueblo de la isla de S. Juan, oy llamado del triumpho de la Cruz.

Funon y Opian pueblos de la isla de Seypan.

Sumarrago y Opao pueblos de la islas de S. Francisco Xaverio.

Las islas Marianas hasta oy descubiertas son treze alombradas con la luz de el S. Evangelio, ay otras dos bien pobladas mas al Sur a distancia de tres jornadas, sin las otras innumerables que se continuan hasta la tierra Austral antes incognita, y por la vanda del Norte hasta el Japon, que dista seis jornadas de la isla de S. Lorenzo que es la ultima de las que se pueden alcanzar con las embarcaciones de aquesta tierra. Estas treze islas estan situadas desde treze hasta veintidos grados poco mas o menos hazia el norte, començando en el Sursud[ujeste van arrematas en el Nornord[ujeste, formando la figura de una media luna, distan poco unas islas de otras, y la que mas jornada de un dia.

Ha hallado en estas islas algunos puertos a proposito para dar fondo las Naos que van de Mexico a las Philipinas, la diligencia de D. Juan de Santa Cruz Capitan de estas islas por orden del Governador de las Philipinas. En la isla de Guan ya S. Juan tiene 7 puertos. El de S. Antonio que cae a la parte del Oeste en frente de un pueblo llamado Haoj [sic], en el qual puerto ay dos rios por hazer aguada. Otro puerto, donde estuvo el Olandes los años passados cossa de tres meses, distante media legua de una punta que divide la ensenada de S. Antonio hazia la vanda del Sur, frente de el pueblo Heimatag [sic], tiene muy buen rio. Prosiguiendo por la vanda del Sur se halla el tercero puerto a tres leguas de distancia en frente de el pueblo Habadian; tiene algun abrigo del Oeste y mas del Norte, pero carece de rio. Caminando otras tres leguas hazia el leste se hallan dos ensenadas divididas con una punta de tierra con dos rios, la primera frente a el pueblo Pigpug, y la segunda mas al leste frente de el pueblo Isig; tienen buen abrigo al Oeste y bastante defensa de los otros vientos. Saliendo de el puerto de S. Antonio, y caminando a la vanda del Norte a un tiro de mosquete se halla otro puerto fronte de el pueblo Taragrighan con buena agua de dos rios que tiene a los lados. Prosiguiendo mas al Norte cerca del pueblo de S. Ignacio de Agadna donde esta la principal iglesia de los Padres, frontero de un falleron que mira al Oesnoroeste a distancia de un tiro de un carbuz [sic] de dho falleron se halla mui buen fondo, e de arena y tierra en 18 brazas, y dos tiros de mosquete de el falleron fondo de 16 brazas, pen[e]trando mas un tiro de Arcabuz de distancia a tierra se halla fondo de ventidos brazas, tiene buen rio, que

The Mariana people do not have a republic nor a governor,¹ because the Principals or Gentlemen whom they call *Chamorris*² have no authority over the rest, except for respect or reverence; they keep the names of their seniors,³ and most of them have gathered at the island of Guan on account of the abundance of water.

These 11 islands have the same language throughout. The whole population lives in settlements, even those in the interior.⁴ They did not know idolatry until a Chinaman taught it to them.⁵ They do not make use of wine or other intoxicating beverage. They do not have more than one wife, and there are not among them the depravities that are in other nations, in spite of their nakedness, a necessary one on account of a lack of clothes. The climate is better than that of the Philippines, and the islands contain a fruit called *Rimai*, or *Furao*, that tastes like warm bread⁶ when roasted and cooked.

The island of Guan, now San Juan, which is one of the larger ones, where the Fathers have come in, although it is not the largest,⁷ is 35 leagues in circuit, and has 180 villages, the larger ones being on the seashore and containing some 60, 100, or 150 houses [each].⁸ In the interior, some villages have 20 houses, so that would make the population of this island 20,000 souls, and the number of baptized ones 6,000.⁹ The other islands are smaller, except for that of St. Francis Xavier [i.e. Agrigan] which is 50 leagues in circuit. In all of them the fruit has been great, because, adding the numbers of those baptized in the 11 islands between 15 June 1668 and 15 May 1669, the total comes up to 14,000 baptized.

[fol. 206v]

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- 1 Ed. note: A literal translation that could also mean: "They do not have a regular type of government or a paramount chief." The word "cabeza", however, could also mean capital (town).
 - 2 Ed. note: The word Principals is Spanglish for leaders, or leading men, in other words, chiefs (without authority, as he adds). So, it seems correct that the chiefly class only was referred to as the Chamorris, a term which was later corrupted to Chamorros (I think because the Spanish joked that they were 'shorn', or 'bald' people). The origin of the word, as I have pointed out earlier (HM2: 95) was the expression "chamor mauri", i.e. good friend(s).
 - 3 Ed. note: A probable indication that their name, if not their title, was hereditary. That would explain why there was a large number of Chamorris, or chiefs, without any political authority.
 - 4 Ed. note: The Spanish word "monte" usually meant "the bush" (like the Filipino word "bundok") and not hill, or mountain. The Spanish word for mountain was even then "montaña", or "sierra". As applied to Guam, it meant the interior of the island, perhaps, but not necessarily in the hills.
 - 5 Ed. note: The ancient Chamorros always had a respect for the skulls and bones of their ancestors. What Choco, the Chinaman, taught them was the making of idol images out of pieces of wood and the carving of them on tree trunks.
 - 6 Ed. note: Meaning freshly-cooked bread.
 - 7 Ed. note: For some reason, the author was then under the delusion that Agrigan was the largest.
 - 8 Ed. note: No wonder they judged the size of Agaña to be very small, with only 50 houses (see below).
 - 9 Ed. note: A far cry from the earlier, inflated, figure of 13,000 baptisms in the first year... some of which were done hastily and were later ordered redone *sub conditione* by the Jesuit General. The low number is impressive as is. The higher figure applied to the island group as a whole (see below).

sale en medio de la ensenada, esta abrigado de todos los vientos, y parece el puerto mejor de esta isla de S. Juan.

En la isla de Zarpana ya S. Ana que los naturales llaman Roba [sic], ai un puerto donde dio fondo el Olandés con los tres naos arriba dellas [=dichas?], esta en frente de el pueblo Soçanrrago ya S. Pedro y mira al Norueste. Una legua de distancia al Sur ay otro puerto con buen fondo y abrigo de todos vientos.

En la isla de Saypan, que ya se llama S. Joseph, vulgarmente el Zarpana grande, ai buen puerto cuiá bocana mira a la parte de el Leste con una punta principal de la isla en frente de el pueblo Raurau.

En las islas mas al Norte que llaman de Pani [sic] y de los Bolcanes ai algunos buenos puertos y principalmente uno a la parte del Oeste de la isla de Agrigan ya S. Franc^o Xavier cossa de 15 leguas mas al Norte de la isla de los Bolcanes.

Gozan estas treze islas saludable temple sin padecer los excessivos calores, frios y temblores que se experimentan en otras islas de este Archipelago, y en la isla de S. Juan que es la principal, las aguas son tan abundantes que en 35. o 40 leguas de box que tiene esta isla se cuentan mas de 30 rios y algunos muy caudalosos. No se conoce en estas islas culebra ni caiman ni otro animal ponsonesco. Ai grande abundancia de cocales y bastante de otros arboles. Los islenos viven en pueblo. El ordinario sustento de esta gente es pescado, que estiman mucho, y el pan suplen con el fruta de un arbol tan saçonada que aun los recién venidos de España no hechan menos el pan de trigo. En sus convites comen arroz y son muy moderados.

Con los socorros de el Ré de Espana se han continuado con felicidad las misiones de las onze islas el primer año y se han anadido de nuevo el siguiente año dos islas. Entro la fé en la duodécima isla que antes se llamaba Asonson, y ia se llama Assumpción el día de la Assumpcion, y en la decima terciá el día de la Ottava de S. Lorenzo a 17 de Agosto, llamavase essa isla Maugi [sic], y ia se llama S. Lorenzo, y es la ultima a que se puede llegar por la vanda del Norte hazia el Japon. En estas islas se hallan bautizados en estos dos primeros años mas de treinta mil personas en estos dos primeros años, y estan edificadas de proposito cinco iglesias.

En estas islas fue el celebre naufragio de la Não Concepción año de 1638 en la isla de Saypan, y los islenos o Marianos llaman los Españoles Guirragos por gente fora tierra como quien dice de allende el mar. El padre Luis de Medina Jesuita natural de Malaga en España murio a lanzadas de los Marianos idolatras en la isla de Saypan en 1670 en 33 años de su edad, y 14 de la Compañia en el pueblo de Cao, en compañía de otro seglar llamado Hipolito de la Cruz natural de Bilasas [sic].

El puerto de S. Leon a la parte del Oeste de la isla de Agrigan que esta 15 leguas mas al Norte de la que llaman de los Bolcanes. Estan islas que continuan las Marianas con las Philipinas, como disen se continuan por la isla de Mindanao por la parte del Sur, y si se halla el camino sera mas facil la comunicacion de estas islas pues se podra hacer con baxeles pequenos, y sino es muy dificil, porque por la parte del Norte no se puede navegar si no es con navios de alto bordo muy fortes por la terribilidad de los mares que ay entre las Philipinas y las Marianas.

The Fathers have their main residence on the island of San Juan with one church in **the town of Agadña and [rather or] San Ignacio, which has only 53 houses.**¹

Twenty years ago, a storm brought in a Chinese trader named Checo Polatra,² who had been on the way between Manila and Ternate in a champan.³ He remained in the island and during that time he has infected many of the islanders with idolatries, but afterward the Chinaman was undeceived and was baptized.

The town of **Hanun** in the island of Guan has 100 houses.⁴

The town of **Segua**, now called San Carlos, in the island of Tinian, and also the town of Tavisay [or **Tagvisay**], called San Januario in the same island.⁵

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- 1 Ed. note: Fr. García, *op. cit.*, is responsible for the misconception about the importance of Agadña, because he reported that the Chamorris met there before the coming of the missionaries, whereas the truth was that they congregated in Guam (see above), not at Agaña. Naturally, they came to Agaña as soon as the priests landed there. As soon as Captain de Santa Cruz found better ports, the idea of a move was discussed but Fr. Sanvitores vetoed it, at the request of the chiefs thus gathered, we are told. No wonder Chief Quipuha tried hard to have them stay put, in order to retain his newly-found prominence.
 - 2 Ed. note: Transcription error for Choco, Idolatra, i.e. idolater. When I first saw this, I thought I had found Choco's other (first) name. For a while, after Fr. Sanvitores baptized him, he did get another name, the Christian name of Ignacio. He is said to have been a half-breed, probably of a Chinese father and a Filipina mother.
 - 3 Ed. note: His champan was blown off from the Molucca Passage and drifted to the Ladrones, perhaps to Saipan, since his wife's relatives lived there in 1668.
 - 4 Ed. note: Hanum, as it should be properly written, was then located near Janum Point on the NE coast of Guam, and we learn that it was then twice as large as Agaña. When Fr. Sanvitores selected nearby Nisihan as the place to build a chapel and residence. As the population of the other settlements in that district was concentrated there, Hanum was effectively reduced in importance, and later disappeared.
 - 5 Ed. note: The memory of some of the old place names of Tinian and Saipan have been preserved, but not necessarily their exact location. Segua corresponds to Asiga today. However, Talisay was then located not in Tinian, but in Guam. Of course, there could have been two places with the same name, on different islands, as it sometimes happened.

The town of **Mochon**, now called San Francisco Xavier, in the island of Santa Ana.¹
The town of **Tarraifac** in the island of San Juan, as well as **Nitichan**.²

Funon and **Opián** [are] towns of the island of Seypan.³

Sumarrago and **Opao** [are] towns of the island of San Francisco Xavier.⁴

There are 13 Mariana Islands discovered until now [1671] that are illuminated by the light of the Holy Gospel. There are two others further south at a distance of three daily runs,⁵ not to mention the numberless others that continue as far as the Austral, previously unknown, Land, and toward the north as far as Japan which is six daily runs from the island of San Lorenzo [i.e. Maug], which is the last one that can be reached with the native craft. These 13 islands are situated between 13 degrees and 22 degrees, more or less, of north latitude, beginning in the south-southeast [rather SSW] and arranged toward the north-northeast [rather NNW], forming the figure of half a moon, at a small distance from one another, at most one day's run.

[The ports of the Marianas]

By order of the Governor of the Philippines, the diligence of Don Juan de Santa Cruz, Captain of these islands, had led to the discovery in these islands of ports suitable for the galleons that go from Mexico to the Philippines to be able to anchor. In the island of Guan, now San Juan, there are 7 ports.

[1.] That of San Antonio faces west in front of a village called **Haoj** [sic], in which port there are two rivers to take on water.⁶

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- 1 Ed. note: This corresponds to Muchon, or Muchong, on the NE coast of Rota. It means "maleza" in Spanish (see Bryan's Place Names, MI 14-4), which then had the meaning of wicked, rather than rough (thicketed), place. I think that the Christian name of this place was not long afterward applied to nearby Agusan when a church was built by the Austrian Jesuit missionaries.
 - 2 Ed. note: There may be some words or lines missing in the copy, because these two places were located on opposite coasts. Tarraifac, which is written this way in other accounts, appears misspelled Taraisag on the Lopez-Bellin map; it was located at the mouth of the Taleyfac River, south of Agat. Note that in Chamorro, the letter -r has usually been transformed into -l with time, e.g. Padre, rather Pare, becoming Pale, rago becoming lago, etc. No wonder Tarraifac became Taleyfac. As for Nisihan, it was located north of Pago on the east coast.
 - 3 Ed. note: Funon is a transcription error for Tumhon or Tumhum (see Doc. 1684B) and Opián is obviously the same as Obyan today.
 - 4 Ed. note: Two place names for Agrigan. I think that Sumarrago possibly meant North Sumay. Opao perhaps was really Ipao instead.
 - 5 Ed. note: This can only mean that the natives told the Fathers about the existence of Yap and Palau, and the other Caroline Islands.
 - 6 Ed. note: Haoj is a transcription error for Haty, sometimes written Jati, which corresponds to Cetti today. The name of Port San Antonio was later shifted to Umatac. By the way, the bulk of the Nassau Fleet of a dozen ships was anchored offshore not just before Cetti Bay, but from Sella Bay to Umatac Bay (see HM3: 592).

[2.] Another port, where the Dutch were years ago for about three months, is distant half a league from a point that delimits the bay of San Antonio toward the south, in front of the town of **Heimatag**, and it has a good river.¹

[3.] Proceeding further south for three leagues, we find the third port in front of the town of **Habadian**; it offers some shelter from the west and more so from the north, but it lacks a river.²

[4.] By walking another three leagues toward the east, one can find two bays delimited by a point of land with two rivers.³ The first one is before the town of **Pigpug**.⁴

[5.] The other port is more to the east, before the town of **Isig**.⁵ Both offer good shelter to the west and enough defence against the other winds.

[6.] Leaving the port of San Antonio, and walking toward the north, at an arquebus shot is found another port before the town of **Taragríchan** with good water from two rivers that it has on the sides.⁶

[7.] Proceeding further north, near the town of San Ignacio of Agaña where the main church of the Fathers is located, before a cape that points to the west-northwest. At a distance of one arquebus shot from the said cape can be found a very good bottom, of sand and earth, in 18 fathoms, and two musket shots from the cape bottom at 16 fathoms, and by penetrating further one arquebus shot toward the land, bottom can be found at 22 fathoms. It has a good river that comes out in the middle of the bay and is sheltered from all winds. It seems to be the best port of this island of San Juan.⁷

1 Ed. note: We can recognize Humatag, Humatac, or Umatac easily.

2 Ed. note: This clearly corresponds to Ajayan Bay on the Lopez-Bellin map, although there is a water course there. If it were not for the mention of only 7 ports, one would think that the author had forgotten about other possible ports: Agfayan and Inarajan Bays; I guess they were, then as now, considered unsuitable for sailing ships.

3 Ed. note: It becomes obvious that he means that each bay is delimited by two points of land and has one river each.

4 Ed. note: An interpretation of the Lopez-Bellin map puts this place on the south side of Talafoto Bay, partly because the other names to the south are well placed, i.e. Asiga and Inarajan, and partly because, then as now, the village of Talafoto was not on the coast. This is confirmed by the Coello maps of the 19th century.

5 Ed. note: Recognizable as Ylig, or Ilig, then probably written and pronounced Irig.

6 Ed. note: The town of Taragríchan was located near the outlet of the Agaga River. The second river in question is the Sella River.

7 Ed. note: This port cannot be Agaña Bay, but can only apply to Apra, the cape in question being the Orote Peninsula. The Spanish word for cape is given as "farellon", a rock, or rather a rocky headland. Fr. García, in his biography of Fr. Sanvitores, has shortened this text and changed the word to something that Mrs. Higgins translated as "reef"; both of these actions have resulted in a wrong interpretation in the past. This confusion might not have occurred if the author had stated the distance between that port and Agaña. The river in question was the Aguada River.

In the island of Zarpana, now Santa Ana, that the natives call **Rota**, there is a port where the Dutch with the three [above-]mentioned ships arrived.¹ It is before the town of **Sočanrrago**, now San Pedro, and it is open toward the northwest.² At one league to the south [rather SE], there is another port with a good bottom and shelter from all winds.

In the island of Saypan, which is now called San José, and popularly Big Zarpana, there is a good port whose mouth faces to the east with a main point of the island, before the town of **Raurau**.³

In the islands further north, which they call the **Pani**⁴ Islands and [rather or] the Islands with the volcanoes, there are good ports, especially one on the west side of the island of Agrigan, now San Francisco Xavier, about 15 leagues to the north of the island of the Volcanoes [i.e. Pagan].⁵

These 13 islands enjoy a healthy climate without suffering from the excessive heat, cold and earthquakes which are experienced in the other islands of this [Philippine] archipelago.⁶ In the island of San Juan, which is the main one, the waters are so abundant that within the 35 or 40 leagues of circumference that this island has, there are over 30 rivers and some of them are carrying a lot of water. Snakes are not known to exist in these islands; neither are crocodiles or other poisonous animals. There is a great abundance of coconut trees and a sufficient number of other trees. The islanders live in settlements. The ordinary food of these people is fish, which they esteem very much, and for bread they are satisfied with the fruit of a tree so tasty that even those recently-

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- 1 Ed. note: This comment is a good argument in favor of the long memory of his native informants, as the only non-Spanish ships that stopped at Rota before 1668 were indeed Dutch ships, either the 2 ships of Van Noort in 1600, or the 6 ships of Speilbergen in 1616 (see Volume 3). The natives probably remembered Van Noort, because one native succeeded in stealing a sword from one of his soldiers, quite a trophy that no doubt made him a hero. This thief may have survived until shortly before the arrival of the missionaries, since it is unlikely that he would have lived for more than 80 years. By the way, the author assumed, wrongly, that there was only one Dutch expedition involved, and that it must have visited both Rota and Guam.
 - 2 Ed. note: Rather, the town of Sosa (later renamed Sonson or Songsong, probably because the name of the head chief changed) was, then as now, flanked by two bays called Sosanrrago, or Sosanlago, on the NW side, and Sosanhaya on the SE side.
 - 3 Ed. note: This is not a practical port for sailing ships and it has no river. The headland in question was Naftan Point. Doc. 1670G1 has more details.
 - 4 Ed. note: Spelled this way in the Paris copy. I note that the copy accessible to Fr. García, ca. 1680, was the same. The word **Gani**, however, is the correct name of the northernmost Mariana Islands, those north of Saipan, and it is unlikely that such a name would have been forgotten by the natives, even after the islands in question were vacated in 1699.
 - 5 Ed. note: The anchorage itself was named San León by the missionaries (see Doc. 1673L).
 - 6 Ed. note: We may therefore assume that there were no big earthquakes in Guam between 1668 and 1670.

arrived from Spain no longer miss bread made from wheat. In their banquets they eat rice and they are very moderate.

With the relief [moneys] from the King of Spain the missions in the 11 islands have continued happily the first year and the next year another two islands have been added. The faith entered the 12th island, which was called **Asonson** before and is now called Assumpción, on Assumption Day [15 August 1669], and in the 13th one week after the feast-day of San Lorenzo, on 17 August; this [latter] island is **Maugi** [sic], and it is now called San Lorenzo, and it is the last island that can be reached toward the north in the direction of Japan. In these islands have been baptized during these first two years over 30,000 persons, and five churches have been erected for this purpose.

In these islands occurred the famous shipwreck of the galleon **Concepción** in the year of 1638 at the island of Saypan, and the islanders or Marianos call the Spaniards **Guirragos** meaning foreigners, as if one were to say “from beyond the seas”.¹

Fr. Luis de Medina, Jesuit, a native of Málaga in Spain, died from lances thrown by the idol-worshippers of the island of Saypan in 1670 at the age of 33, after 14 years in the Society, in the town of **Cao**,² along with another, a lay helper named Hipolito de la Cruz, a native of the Visayas.

The port of San León on the western side of the island of Agrigan is 15 leagues further north of the one they call the island of the Volcanoes [i.e. Pagan].

There are islands that link the Marianas with the Philippines. It is said that they lead to the southern side of Mindanao. If the route is discovered the communication with these islands will be easier, since it could be done with small boats, otherwise it is very difficult, because the northern route can only be covered by ocean-going ships, strongly-built to resist the terrible seas that exist between the Philippines and the Marianas.

E2. Version 2 offered for sale by Maggs Bros. in 1923

Source: Present location unknown; offered for sale by Maggs Bros. of London in 1923 (Cat. N° 442, n° 1816, p. 102). Paper entitled: “Lista de la Cordillera de las Islas Marianas.” (2 pages, folio-size).

List of the Mariana Island Archipelago. Being a list of the islands in the Mariana Group, with their latitudes, etc., in which the early

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- 1 Ed. note: Since “rago” means north only in Agaña, the literal meaning of the word invented by the natives of Saipan to refer to these white aliens cannot be “men from the north”; in Saipan, that direction is west. The real meaning of “lago”, as Solenberger has demonstrated (see Doc. 1671Q2), is offshore, that is the high sea at right angle to the shoreline of a main beach at any one of the Mariana Islands. Hence, this word “guirago” coined by Saipanese in 1638, cannot be used to point at a specific geographic direction from which the battered galleon would have come from, unfortunately.
 - 2 Ed. note: The mention of this martyrdom proves that this paper was written after January 1670. The town of Cao was located inland, east of present-day San Vicente.

Missionaries landed, and those in which they could not land for lack of ships.

Among the Northern Islands of the group “which the Religious of the Society of Jesus reached in their frail boats, to plant the first seeds of the holy Faith,” are:

Guam or San Juan, at latitude 13d4, longitude 164d45.

Rota, otherwise Sarpana, latitude 14d32, longitude 169.

Agiguan, latitude 15.

Zaypan de S. Joseph, latitude 15d45.

Sarigan de S. Carlos, latitude 16d45.

Agrigan de S. Francisco Xavier, latitude 19.

[Synopsis:] In all, sixteen [sic] islands are tabulated with their degrees of latitude and longitude, including the islet of Vrac, which was entirely uninhabited by humans, but boasted a large colony of birds.

Of the Southern Islands, which the Religious were unable to reach on account of the lack of suitable vessels, mention is made of **Guatianumi** at latitude 12d15, longitude 164.43, **Cherego**, and the shallows of Japan at longitude 163.30.¹

A footnote states that “adjacent to these islands, in latitude 12d30, and longitude 164d10, the needle declines to the west at 3 degrees 30 minutes. The longitude was taken from the Canary Islands.”²

E3. Version 3 sold by Maggs Bros. in 1927

Source: Present location unknown; offered for sale by Maggs Bros. of London in 1923 (Cat. N° 442, n° 1824, and again in 1927 (Cat. N° 491, n° 40. Paper entitled: “Lista de la Cordillera de las Islas Marianas, antiguamente de los Ladrones.” (1 page, folio-size).

[Synopsis:] This paper informs us that the Ladrone Islands, by which name they are now known, was their original name, before they were known as the Marianas to the Missionaries “who established the holy Faith there.” The Jesuit Fathers embarked on small vessels from the mainland, and made their headquarters on the Island of Guam (sometimes called Guahan or San Juan), which they dedicated to St. John. Another one, dedicated to St. Francis Xavier, was known as Agrigan, whilst Guguan, was dedicated to St. Philip; Anatahan to St. Joachim; Sarigan to St. Charles; Pagon to St. Ignatius; and Maug to St. Lawrence.

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- 1 Ed. note: The position given for Guatianumi corresponds to a point on the southern coast of Guam itself. As for Cherego, it is probably a misprint for Sarigan.
 - 2 Ed. note: How interesting! This position was likely calculated by the pilots while the ship was off Agaña. The magnetic variation at Guam is now 2° E. The latitude cannot be more accurate. The estimated longitude is given relative to the Canary Islands (probably Hierro, which was a reference meridian even at the time of Columbus, which is 18° W of Greenwich), and probably West of it. Therefore, the Spanish pilots in about 1668 estimated an equivalent longitude of 360 - (164 + 18) = 168 E. of Greenwich, **an error of only 23 degrees** since Guam is actually about 145° E of Greenwich.

Appendix A

Sanvitores' Grammar and Catechism in the Mariano Language

Note: See Doc. 1668I.

Grammaticae Institutiones Marianae Linguae

[26r]

I. Marianae Linguae Institutionum Praeludium

Ubi de Prolatione Vocum

Insularum gentes, quae olim DE LAS VELAS, hactenus Latronum iamque optimo furto seu potius restitutione Marianorum usurpavere nomen, ex Japonia finitima regione profectae ut tradit ex Patre JOANNE RODERICO Pater FRANCISCUS COLÍN in sua India Sacra lib. 3, num. 104, ita "ex communionis et commercii cum politioribus defectu degeneri cultu in barbaros abiere"¹⁸, id est, in incultos; etenim dum accedat cultura, spes est haud infirma (firmam nonnihil Japoniorum indolem divina confirmante gratia) Japonici in his resurrecturi ingenii et ex ipsis (o utinam) in Japonia Christiana resurrecturae fidei; ita demum cum politia omnis apud eos populos obsolevit liberalis ars ut etiam scriptionis vel notarum, quarumvis illis deficiat usus, qui sane defectus abundantia bonitatis illius, qui etiam benefacit ex malis forsitan proficiet nunc in novae huiusce Marianorum culturae facilius incrementum neque enim desiderabunt in cultoribus eam characterum peritiam, quam nec de facie norunt ipsi, quamque importune satis desiderant exculti Japonese aut Sinae et ad quam excolendam pro eorum gustu bonum desideratur tempus bene interea ponendum volente Deo in faciliiori huiusmodi parvulorum cultura pro qua et nostros characteres et cum illis forsitan et nostras voces divinaque verba facilius et utilius docebuntur ipsi.

[26v] Ore ergo dumtaxat ex ipsis eorum idioma interea accipiendum est et nunc temporis quo haec scribuntur in navi ex ore transmissum in os cuiusdam interpretis, natione et lingua Tagali ingenio quidem et loquela haud rudis sed et nostris etiam scribendi characteribus prorsus ignari, quo tamen e fortunato eo Marianis Insulis naufragio navis ab immaculata Conceptione appellatae ibi relicto decemque et septem annos cum earum Insularum indigenis conversato pro magno Dei et beatissimae Virginis munere nunc utemur interprete¹⁹.

Ex varia itaque sive interpretis sive indigenarum in variis illis Insulis et populis verborum prolatione (eandem ceteroqui lingua omnes, inquit, loquuntur) similium syllabarum gemina seu incerta prolatio proveniet quam cernere licet et in huiusce prima linguae salutatione sequentibus voculis notare.

A seu *ha* vel *ah*.

Cha seu *sa*.

Chi seu *si*.

Ta seu *pa*.

Man seu *mang*.

Midyo seu *miyo*.

Littera *H* videtur proferenda seu scribenda pro densiori aspiratione, plane ut proferunt Hispani in Provincia Baetica, ubi *H* paene non discrepat a *J* Hispano, quare hanc litteram *J* hic non scribemus.

G autem solum scribetur pro leni dictione

¹⁸ The passage here quoted is to be found at the end of number 104, page 369 (sic, for 383); for COLÍN's India Sacra, see note 9 of the Introduction above.

¹⁹ This passage has been translated and discussed above in the Introduction.

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Na seu *n̄ga*.*Ohi* seu *ahi*.*Oyi* seu *adyi*.*Vay* seu *guay*.*Bigas* seu *bugas*.

Et Universim :

E et *I*: *O* et *U*

plerumque ad invicem commutantur variatione significati.

[27r] *D* item plerumque sonat ut *R* lene, praesertim in medio dictionis.*R* autem asperum exprimunt fortiter ut duplex *R* Latinum, ut in *ferro*, quod in huismodi gente prorsus abstemia vinumque et quamcumque ebrietatis materiam respuente, absque omni suspicione sustineri potest.*Um* seu *ungm*.*An* seu *ang*.etiam ante *E* et *I*, unde *Ge* et *Gi* proferuntur ut *Galatinum*.Est et *g*, quam vocamus in lingua Tagala gutturalem quia gutture plusquam in aliis vocibus laborante profertur ; quam exprimemus hic ut in Tagalo hac nota *ḡ*²⁰.*U* profertur saepius ut syllaba per se non discrepans fere a *Gu*, et hoc indicatur item hac nota *ū*²¹.*I* quotiescumque est consonans seu feriens aut diphthongi pars scribetur ut graecum *Y*.Accentus cum fuerit in penultima, quae Latine dicitur penultima producta vel cum vox fuerit monosyllaba, nulla significabitur nota, cum autem fuerit in antepenultima vel in ultima signabitur hac virgula (')²².Monosyllaba qualia sunt genitivi pronominum: *Ho*, *mo*, *n̄a*, *ta*, *yo*²³ faciunt incliticam cum antecedenti dictione finita in vocali, ut in Latino *marique*, v. g. *Inaho* (Pater meus) et nonnunquam cum obsequenti, v. g. *Tafanocho* (manducemus).

Habent etiam suas diphthongos quales : *ay*, *au* vel *ao*, in quarum prima vocali residet accentus, v. g. *Guay*: sed non apponentur notae nisi praedicto iam modo ad evitandam prolixitatem prout in institutione hic apponenda et reliquis ipso usu perfectius addiscendi exoptamus. Faveat modo Deus et intersit his etiam nondum eruditibus cogitationibus aeterni Verbi ac Verbi Matris sapientia, cuius nimirum maxime interest suorum Marianorum eruditio ut eam quae vita aeterna est Dei et Jesu Christi scientiam tot animae Jesu pretioso sanguine redemptae Mariae nomini et fidei commissae tandem aliquando consequantur.

²⁰ At times *ḡ* is used in the manuscript instead of *ḡ*, but with identical force.

²¹ This has become *gu* in modern orthography, e. g. *guaho*, where SANVITORES has *ūaho*. The author wrote down the words as he heard them from his interpreter ; syllable follows upon syllable with little attempt to distinguish words.

²² Not infrequently the copyist failed to indicate these diacritical marks. Yet on the whole the copyist did his task carefully as becomes evident by checking the quotations found in the manuscript.

²³ Much more is to be found on particles under the section on the verb and in the special chapter beginning on f. 32r.

[27v]

Partes Orationis Linguae Marianae

Constabit haec quoque rudis grammatica suis octo vel septem orationis partibus, quales apud Latinos sunt : Nomen, pronomen, verbum (a quo nihil hic differt participium), praepositio, adverbium, interiectio et coniunctio, quae septem capitibus, qua possimus brevitate et claritate explicare conabimur.

Caput I: De Nomine

- N. *Si Dios*²⁴, *si Jesús*²⁵, *Si sancta Maria*, *si Pedro*, *si Mandasay*²⁶, *si Taypiru*, *si Pare*.
- G. *Ni Dios*, *ni Jesús*, *ni sancta Maria*, *ni Pedro*, *ni Mandasay*, *ni Taypiru*, *ni Pare*.
- D. *Cay Dios*, *cay Jesús*, *cay sancta Maria*, *cay Pedro*, *cay Mandasay*, *cay Taypiru*, *cay Pare*.
- V. *Ay Dios*, *ay Jesús*, *ay santa Maria*, *ay Pedro*, *ay Mandasay*, *ay Taypiru*, *ay Pare*.
- Abl. *Cay Dios*, *cay Jesús*, *cay santa Maria*, *cay Pedro*, *cay Mandasay*, *cay Taypiru*, *cay Pare*.
- N. *Taotao*: homo. *Mauri*: bonus. *Umorin*: nobilis vel dominus.
- G. *Idem*: *taotao* etc.
- D. Ac. et Abl. *Sa* vel *a taotao*, *mauri* etc., *umorin* etc., vel absque *sa* vel *a* cum est accusativus rei.
- V. *Taotao* vel *ay taotao*.

[28r]

Plurale²⁷

- N. et G. *Mangá taotao*: homines. *Migay taotao*: multi homines vel multorum hominum. Quod *mangá*²⁸ addi potest nominibus propriis, v. g. *mangá Pare*, *mangá Pedro*: Patres, Petri. *Migay Dios*: multi dii.
- D. Ac. et Abl. *Sa* vel *a mangá taotao*.
- V. *Ay mangá taotao*.

Itaque in omnibus appellativis nullum est discrimen nominativi a genitivo, nec plerumque ab accusativo rei, dativusque et ablativus semper assimulantur praepositione *sa* vel *a*, quae etiam praepositur accusativo loci, de

²⁴ *Yuus* is the term commonly used in modern Chamorro; SANVITORES evidently feared that the native term would be open to misunderstanding.

²⁵ The Spanish words taken over into Chamorro are here marked in accordance with the modern rules of pronunciation. One notices the same fluctuation in the spelling of words incorporated from the Spanish as in the original language itself, thus *sancta* and *santa*.

²⁶ From f. 29v below, it is evident that this is the family name Mendoza.

²⁷ SANVITORES either was not aware of a dual or wished to disregard it in an elementary treatise; cf. CALLISTUS, p. 2*.

²⁸ Cf. prefix *man-*, used in modern Chamorro to designate the plural. The Jesuit missionary ANTONIO MIGUEL writing HERVÁS in 1783 notes in his grammatical analysis of the Our Father that *manga* in Tagalog is a "particula indicante numero plurale" (Archivum Romanum Societatis Jesu, Opera Nostrorum 342, f. 314r).

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quo postea in adverbio. Discrimen igitur similium casuum, praesertim genitivi a nominativo, dignoscetur ex orationis sensu vel ex disiunctis pronomibus.

Generum varietate carent, sed marem vocant *rahi* et foeminam *paraŭam*.

De comparativis, superlativis, numeralibus etc., vide infra cap. 5 de adverbio.

Caput II: De Pronomine

Sing. N. *ŭaho*: ego.

G. *ho* vel *co*.

D. Ac. *sa* vel *a ŭaho*.

Pl. N. *hami* vel *han* postpositum: nos ut distincti a vobis.

G. *Mami*.

D. *Sa* vel *a hami*: et idem accusativus et ablativus, sicut etiam in reliquis pronomibus.

[28v] Aliud Pl. N. *Hita na ladyam* vel *hit* postpositum: nos et vos omnes.

G. *Ta na ladyam* vel *tan* postpositum.

D. *Sa* vel *a hita na ladyam*.

Aliud Pl. N. *Hita na haŭa*: nos, tu et ego.

G. *Ta na haŭa* vel *tan* postpositum.

D. *Sa* vel *a hita na haŭa*.

Sing. N. *Hau* vel *hago*: tu.

G. *Namo* vel *mo* postpositum.

D. *Sa* vel *a hago*.

Pl. N. *Hamio*: vos.

G. *Midyo* vel *yo* postpositum.

D. *Sa* vel *a hamio*.

Sing. N. *Guiya*: ipse (Hisp. él).

G. *Na* postpositum: sui vel suus, a, um; vel ipsius.

D. *Sa* vel *a guiya*.

Pl. Idem vel cum addito *guiya na ladyam*: ipsi omnes; vel nominat. *sia*: illi; G. *nia*; D. *a sia*.

Sing. N. *Adyim* vel *guini*: hic, haec, hoc.

G. et alii casus non variantur; discernuntur tamen per adiuncta nomina cum sua praepositione vel articulo, v. g. *Ni Pare na adyim*: patris huius; *Sa taotao na guini*: homini huic, vel *guini sa taotao*.

Plurale fit adiuncto *mangá* vel alio signo multitudinis, v. g. *mangá taotao na adyim* vel *adyim mangá taotao*: hi homines, quod idem observandum est pro subsequentibus.

Inhao: iste (Hisp. ese).

Ayugui: ille prope existens vel ipse.

Adyo: ille procul vel absens.

Oyi?: quis? quae? interrogative. Ponitur etiam absque interrogatione cum articulo seu praepositione nominis proprii.

[29r] N. *Si oyi*: quidam vel homo nescio quis (Hisp. fulano).

G. *Ni oyi*.

D. Ac. et Abl. *Cay oyi*.

Ofa?: quid? *Ofa guini?*: quid est hoc? Sumitur et *ofa* absque interrogatione.

Caput III: De Verbo

Guay invariabile ad omnes personas et tempora: est. Cum significat habere vel adesse, v. g. *guay taotao guini?*: suntne homines hic? *Guay ūaho agon*: est mihi cibus. Construitur cum duplici nominativo personae scilicet et rei quae habetur: *nigab guay sisi hago?*: heri erat vel fuit tibi cultellus? Respondetur: *hoo*: utique vel etiam (Hisp. si).

Toya:²⁹ deest, invariabile sicut *guay* ad omnes personas et tempora. Utuntur *toya* quando respondent unico verbo: deest, v. g. *guay agon?*: estne cibus? Respondetur: *toya*: deest vel *ohi*: non. Quando addunt rem, quae deest, exprimunt sic: *Toya agon*: deest cibus. Sum, es, fui, prout accipitur substantive (esse hoc vel illud) exprimitur ab illis per substantivum et adiectivum iuxta apposita, v. g. *Jesús María mauri, mauri*: Jesus et Maria est quid optimum.

Nay radix (do, as) Activa: *um*.

Ipsa radix, id est, simplicissima verbi vox, quae aliarum vocum adiectione coniungatur, deser[29v]vit plurimum ad vulgares et breviatas locutiones et sonat passive ut videbitur infra; fit autem activa (in hoc valde communi exemplari, de aliis autem dicitur postea) cum accedit particula *um*, quae frequenter interponitur post primam radicis litteram consonantem. Construitur autem quasi Latine, persona agens in nominativo, persona cui datur in dativo, res quae datur in accusativo absque praepositione.

Praesens, praeteritum imperfectum et futurum duplicant primam syllabam radicis in quovis verbo tam vocis activae quam passivae, eademque vox ei triplici tempore fere communiter deservit addendo pro discrimine aliquod adverbium temporis cum aliunde non determinatur orationis sensus, exempli gratia:

Numanay deservit cuivis modo, numero et personae, exprimendo pronomina, v. g. *ūaho numay agón a hamio*: ego do cibum vobis (praesens). *Si Pedro numanay nigab agón a taotao*: Petrus dabat heri cibum homini (praeteritum imperfectum).

Numay: *hago numay nigab agón cay Mandasay*: tu dedisti heri cibum Mendozae (praeteritum perfectum, plusquamperfectum). *Numay hamio agón guini sa taotao nagororó*: date cibum huic homini esurienti (imperativum). *Mauri numay agón sa taotao nagororó*: bonum est dare cibum huic homini esurienti (infin.).

²⁹ SANVITORES is not consistent in the spelling of this verb; in this same paragraph it is found as *toya* and *taya*; cf. modern *taigue*, negative of *gaige*, as *tai* is negative of *gai*: CALLISTUS, pp. 16*-17*.

Perfecta autem omnino actio temporis plusq. perf. significatur in quovis verbo tam vocis activae quam passivae addendo praeteriti perfecti voci hanc particulam ³⁰ *ha*: iam, v. g. *numay ha agón ũaho cay Pedro*: dedi iam cibum Petro, vel: dederam iam.

Futurum. *Numanay*: *Si Pedro numanay agón a hago agupa*: Petrus dabit tibi ³¹ cibum crastino ³² die. Fit etiam futurum nonnihil distinctius a praesenti detrahendo ab hoc particulam *um* [30r] et relinquendo repetitionem primae syllabae radices, nempe sic: *nanay si Pedro agón a hago*, ubi absque alio adiuncto significatur futuritio, sed haec etiam vox accommodatur agenti iam in praesens seu iam acturo, v. g. *ũaho nanay agón*: dabo iamiam, vel: volo iam dare.

Praedicta particula *um* non inseritur sed antepositur toti radici, quando prima radices littera fuerit vocalis, v. g. *aringan*: loqui; *umaringan hao*: loquere. Consonans quoque, quae interposito *um* cacophoniam faceret, ut littera *m*, respuit eam interpositionem, tuncque coniugatur, vel nihil addito ab extra sola repetitione, eaque quandoque duplici, primae syllabae radices pro praesenti et futuro, ut *mayra*: venire; *mamayra ũaho*: venio; vel praepositur sola *u*, *magof*: bonum; *umagof hao*: esto bonus. Praedictae item et aliae radices, quae non admittunt *um*, coniugantur anteposito *an*, seu alia ex particulis infra dicendis.

Passiva: *in*

Passiva fit per *in* loco *um* activae collocandum, construiturque cum nominativo rei et genitivo personae agentis, dativoque personae cui, quae etiam nonnumquam ponitur in nominativo et tunc res, si mavis, potest dici esse in accusativo, qui demum non distinguitur a nominativo.

- Praes. *Ninanay*: *Adyim na agón ninanay ni Dios a hago*: hic cibus a Deo tibi datur.
- Imperf. *Ninanay mami nigab adyim rugrug a hamio*: datur a nobis heri hoc ferrum vobis.
- Praet. perf. *Ninay*: *migay ũaha ninay mò cay Pedro*: multa dona dedisti Petro.
- Fut. *Ninanay*: *migay ũaha ninanay ho agupa a hamio*: [30v] multa dona dabuntur a me crastino die vobis.
- Imperat. *Nay*: *nay ũaho agón*: detur mihi cibus. *Nay yo agón adyim taotao*: detur a vobis cibus his hominibus. *Mauri nay agón sa taotao*
- Infinit. *nagororó*: bonum est dari cibum homini esurienti ³³.

Modi supplendi

Subiunctivum fit in quavis ex praedictis verbi vocibus activis seu passivis anteposita solum particula *cum*, quae etiam significatione Latina "cum"

³⁰ "Haec particula" is the ms. reading.

³¹ "mihi" in the ms.

³² "Christiano" in the ms.

³³ It is evident that the copyist left out the caption to designate this construction, which is of course an infinitive.

assimilatur et "quando" et "si", v. g. *cum agas ninay mo cay Pedro agón, agas ruigi numay si Pedro a ùaho*: si dedisses mature Petro cibum, mature quoque dedisset Petrus mihi.

Optativum nihil differt ab imperativo activae vel passivae: *nay hago ni Dios gofna ani*: detur tibi a Deo optimus dies; vel: *si Dios numay a hago gofna ani*: Deus det tibi optimum diem.

Participii vox suppletur etiam per communes verbi voces cuiusvis temporis eo modo quo apud grammaticos Latinos exponitur participium per orationem de relativo, v. g. *taotao na numanay agón*: homo dans cibum, vel qui dat cibum.

Gerundia item supina et quaevis aliae voces, quae in Latinis coniugationibus variantur, recidunt hic in supra positas et frequentius in ipsam simplicem radicem, v. g. *vato hao nay agón* vel *numay in hao sa taotao*: vade ad dandum, vel, datum cibum istis hominibus.

[31r]

Activa: *an*

Eadem radix, quae coniugatur per *um*, coniugatur item aequae frequenter per *an* (vel *am* antepositum vel *f*) quae quidem *an* non inseritur sed anteponitur toti radici. Significatio autem manet eadem, nisi quod proprius deservit *an* cum multae sunt personae quae agunt vel circa quas agitur. Habet autem haec coniugatio *an* totidem voces ad eademque tempora ac coniugatio *um*, quae sane in duas omnino recidunt voces distinctas solum repetitione primae syllabae radices in voce, quae deservit praesenti, praeterito imperfecto et futuro, scilicet *annay*, et tali repetitione omissa in voce, quae deservit praet. perf., plusq. perf., imperat. et infinit. scilicet *annay*.

Passiva: *a*

Huic autem activae *an* correspondet sua passiva *a* loco *in*, non inserendum sed anteponendum item toti radici redditque suas duas voces solum distinctas repetitione syllabae, scilicet *annanay*, pro praesenti, imperfecto et futuro, et *anay* pro praeterito perfecto et plusq. perf., imperat. et infinit., quibus etiam redditur ipsa radix sola significans passive et imperative concordatque sive cum una sive cum pluribus personis aut rebus.

Nonnunquam loco praedictae particulae *a* vocis passivae anteponitur radici haec particula *ana* vel ipsum *an* activum quod absque illo discrimine fit etiam passivum, dignoscendumque erit ex ipso genitivo personae agentis, qui competit voci activae vel ex aliis circumstantiis. Item, solet anteponi *i* loco *a*, quae videtur passiva Tagalae linguae. Cum autem postponitur toti radici illud *i* non videtur nota vocis passivae sed varia prola[31v]tio seu dialectus eiusdem radices; additur enim tam in activa quam in passiva, v. g. *numanay* alias *numanayi*; *ninay* alias *ninayi*, hocque in quovis tempore et multis aliis verbis. Itaque per nihil postpositum radici variatur coniugatio. Ceterum particula *an* postposita solet denotare locum ubi aliquid est vel agitur, v. g. *gongon*: coniungi; *pangongonan*: locus ubi coniunguntur seu quo conveniunt multi.

Variae particulae

Fiunt et alii varii coniugandi anteponendo radici alias particulas, quales sunt : *na*, *nam*, *mam*, *nag*, *mag*, *pa* vel *fa*, *pan*, *pag* ; vel etiam binae ut : *napag*, *nagpa*, *napam*, *mapan*, *mapag*, *magpa*, *ypag*, *ipam*, *ipa*, quae omnes forsan sunt adscitae ex lingua Tagala, quam videntur etiam imitari quoad vim et significationem, ita ut in plurimum *na* et *ma* reddant in compositione significationem verbi, quod vocant neutrum : *nag*, *mag*, et *pag* innuant multitudinem agentium vel patientium seu rerum circa quas : *nam*, *man*, *pan* multitudinem actionum discretarum, nempe et aliquo officio vel consuetudine ; *pa* et item *pan* (vel *napa*, et *napan*, ut innuatur etiam verbum neutrum ; combinatio enim duplicis particulae combinationem etiam significati solet innuere). *Pa* igitur et quandoque *pan* denotant motum etiam oris in loquendo et positionem seu situm remanentem ex motu ; motionem etiam imperii seu facere, ut faciant, prout loquimur in grammatica Tagala, ad quod etiam utuntur Mariani nostri particula *na*, v. g. *napanharon midyo in hao na manga umorin* : facite ut ingrediantur isti principales, nempe ex *ma*, *pan* et *haron* (intro).

[32r] Praeponi etiam verbo solet haec particula *ta*, sed quae ut desumpta ex pronomine *hita* deservit solum primae personae plurali, v. g. *tafanocho hita* : manducemus, ex *ta* et *fan* et *socho*. De quibus particulis et earum exemplis agitur commodius in vocabulario : quod adhuc attinet est advertere quod quando accedunt verbo praedictae particulae dissyllabae, repetitio, quae facienda erat in prima syllaba radicis pro praesenti et futuro, solet fieri in secunda syllaba particulae componentis non repetita vel repetita etiam quandoque prima syllaba radicis, v. g. *si Jesús napapahi pa sa cruz* : Jesus iacet seu pendet tensus in cruce.

Praefatis particulis addi etiam vel inseri solent supradictae aliae frequentiores *um* et *an* pro activa, et *in* et *a* pro passiva, sine quibus item fiunt activa et passiva cum suprapositis particulis, sed fere discerni non poterit quando est activa aut passiva, nisi ex adiuncto genitivo personae agentis, qui denotat passivam, vel ex aliis circumstantiis locutionis.

Praeterea sub eiusmodi particulis componentibus variatur saepe prima syllaba radicis et amittitur seu commutatur ultima littera particulae componentis, v. g. *siro* vel *chiro* : frater ; *sumiro hita* : simus fratres tu et ego ; *manumiro hita na ladyam* : simus fratres nos omnes, nempe ex *man* et *sumiro*.

Fit quoque verbum compositum duplici radice in unam coeunte, v. g. *hinaron* : cor ; *gof* : bonum, et adiecto *ma* additur etiam bonitas. Fit ex his : *magof hinaron* : habens optimum cor, cui tamquam radici apponitur *um* vel *an* et coniugatur, v. g. *umagof hinaron hao sayna mami na si Dios* : esto optimo corde erga Patrem nostrum Deum.

Caput IV: De Praepositione

Non videtur apud hos esse alia praepositio praeter iam supra positas in nominibus, nempe *sa* vel *a*, id est : ad, in, a, vel ab, quae accomodari possunt omnibus praepositionibus Latinis tam accusativi quam ablativi, iungunturque tantum nominibus appellativis ; nominibus autem propriis erit loco praepositionis illud *cay*, de quo supra cap. I, de nomine.

Caput V: De Adverbio

Mauri: bene, eadem enim vox sumi solet ut nomen adiectivum et ut adverbium, atque etiam ut verbum additis particulis seu modis coniugandi, v. g. *cum ancurao mauri sa Dios hamio, na tigbini a haming Christiano mama mauri hamio hoghog sa atong*: si serviatis bene Deo prout nos Christiani, fietis longe meliores quam antea.

Praedicta vox *hoghog* potest dici adverbium faciens comparativum seu superlativum, neque enim habent hi Mariani specialem terminationem nominis superlativi seu comparativi, sed supplent per praedictam vocem *hoghog* et alias exaggerativas ut: *migay*: multum, vel depressivas ut: *diruru*: parum; et solent addere praepositioni *sa* vel *a*, [33r] cui postponitur terminus, ad quem fit comparatio, v. g. *ūafi sa inferno na ipapatano matono, na matono na ūafi na hoghog guini*: ignis inferni, qui est sub terra, est ardentior omni igne hic existente, nempe super terram. Ubi simul notabis repetitione eiusdem vocis eius significationem exaggerari et has omnes particulas adverbiales esse etiam nomina adiectiva, v. g. *hoghog ūafi*: omnes ignes, quae vox *hoghog* fuerat particula exaggerans supra in eo exemplo *hoghog sa atong*: longe quam antea.

Man? vel *mano?* vel *manui?*: ubi? unde? quo? qua? quorsum? Deservit nimirum quaevis earum vocum cuius interrogationi huiusmodi adverbiorum loci; respondetur autem vel per nomen proprium loci *a* vel *sa* pro quovis etiam adverbio vel per voces supra positas in pronomibus demonstrativis nempe, *guini* vel *adyim*: hic, hinc, huc, hac, horsum. Eadem enim vox his omnibus correspondet; discernendusque est sensus ex aliis adiunctis et idem tenendum est de sequentibus, *inhao*: isthic, isthinc, isthuc, isthac, isthorsum; *adyo*: illic, illinc, vel inde, illuc, illac, illorsum; *adyugui*: inibi vel ibidem.

Adverbio (unde) serviunt insuper duae particulae *gui* et *bini*. *Gui* anteposita huic particulae *mano* est: cuius, seu unde sit qui interrogatur, v. g. *guimano hao*: unde es? Respondetur *gui Guahan*: Guanus, *gui Manirae*: Manilensis. *Bini* adiunctum *mano* est unde exit, v. g. *bini mano hao*: unde existi? Respondetur *bini adyo a Tinian*: exivi ab insula Tinian (quam Hispani vocant Buena Vista, ubi scilicet visa est pulcherrima virgo mater a quodam indigena, qui non solum in tantae pulchritudinis admirationem sed in coelum usque raptus est, per felicem obitum statim [33v] post baptismum, quod primus ex ea gente suscepit, aspectu suasuque Deiparae Virginis, primae scilicet suorum Marianorum Apostolae).

Reliquis autem adverbis utuntur, ut dictum est, indiscriminatim, v. g. *mano guini papahurao*, vel, *oyi guini a hamio papahurao*: ubinam est hic *papahurao?* vel: quis vestrum est hic praecipuus Dominator? Respondetur: *toya guini papahurao*: abest hinc *papahurao*. *Mano anuaha*: Ubi est? Respondetur: *sa tano*: in terra, vel, insula. *Agan̄i midyo guiya mamayra guini*: vocate eum ut veniat huc. *Mano mangay hao*: quo vadis? Respondetur: *adyo a Rota*: illuc ad insulam quae vocatur Zarpana. *Man sisgui hao*: qua iter facies? Respondetur: *inhao a Guahan*: isthac per Guanum. *Man mamaro hao*: qua redibis? Respondetur: *adyugui a Rota*: eadem, per Zarpanam scilicet. *Gui mano hamio a tano*: ex qua terra vel insula estis? Respondetur: *Gui*

Saypán : ab insula, quam vocant Hispani el Zarpán grande. *Gui mano a sonson* : ex quo oppido ? Respondetur : *gui Sasayán* : sasayanus, seu ex oppido quod vocatur Sasayán.

Adverbium temporis quo interrogetur unica voce sicut per quando vel quamdiu, non habent hi nostri, sed supplent similibus interrogationibus : *ofa poin̄gi minamamayra ni Pedro* : qua nocte venit Petrus, vel, quo die ? Utuntur enim nocte (quam adeo longam hactenus traxerunt absque Evangelii luce) sicut nos utimur die ad has interrogationes. Respondetur : *iūaro poin̄gi* : octava abhinc nocte. *Pia* ³⁴ *poin̄gi sarán midyo* : quamdiu seu quot noctes fuit vestrum iter ? Respondetur : *turo poin̄gi* : tres noctes.

Vulgaria adverbium seu nomina temporis determinati sunt huiusmodi : *nigab* : heri ; *agupa* : cras, vel etiam hoc mane si deter[34r]minatur sic : *adyim pago agupa* : hoc proximo mane. *Pago* : nunc, sed cum aliqua latitudine. *Ngayina* : modo, vel paulo ante nunc. *Darmina* : modo, seu paulo post nunc. *Popoin̄gi* : sub vesperum. *Agupa nataptap* : summo mane. *Poin̄gi* : nocte. *Ani* vel *arlao* : dies seu sol. *Puran* : mensis, vel luna. *Sagán* : annus etc.

Quibus adiungere iuvabit ex numeralibus ³⁵, quae in thesaurum seu dictionarium Marianum reservamus communiora haec in reliquorum exemplar. *Pia* seu *fia* : quot ? *Migay* : multi, ae, a. *Diruru* : pauci etc. *Acha* : unus. *Ugua* : duo. *Tiro* : tres. *Fajat* : quatuor. *Rima* : quinque. *Gunum* : sex. *Piti* : septem. *Uaro* : octo. *Sigua* : novem. *Monot* : decem. Et pro secundo decenario solent redire ad *acha*, quasi novam ineundo rationem, vel numerant sic : *monot nagay acha* : undecim ; *monot nagay ugua* : duodecim ; *ugua naporu* : viginti ; *tiro* : tria ; *naporu* : triginta etc. usque ad *achanasaran* : centum, quasi dicerent unum iter. *Ugua nasaran* : ducenti ; *tiro nasaran* : tercenti etc. usque ad *gatos* vel *monot nasaran* : mille ; *manapot* : decem millia, et sistunt hic, redeuntque pro pluribus numerandis ad *acha* etc.

Ordinalia similiter etiam ordinant ex praedictis cardinalibus *otong* vel *iacha* vel *imina* : primus ; *ihagua* : secundus ; *itiro* : tertius ; *yfajat* : quartus ; *arrima* : quintus ; *igunum* : sextus ; *ipiti* : septimus ; *iūaro* : octavus ; *ysigua* : nonus ; *imonot* : decimus.

Ad ulteriora ordinalia utuntur cardinalibus. Distributiva non habent, quod sciam, nisi in uno numero nempe : *mayas* vel *maycha* : unus[34v]quisque vel singuli, quae omnia admittunt reliquorum nominum declinationem, quae reducitur ad solam praepositionem *a* vel *sa* pro dativo, accusativo et ablativo.

³⁴ SANVITORES gives in f. 34r the alternative form *fia*.

³⁵ For modern numerals see CALLISTUS, pp. 7*-10* ; writing in 1910, he observes : "Die Zahlen der alten Chamorro-Sprache sind ganz ausser Gebrauch und fast völlig unbekannt. Statt dieses Zahlensystems haben sich die etwas abgeänderten spanischen Zahlen eingebürgert. Der Vollständigkeit halber seien die alten Zahlen hier zusammengestellt" (p. 7*). The forms corresponding to the numerals given by SANVITORES are : *hacha*, *hugua*, *tulo*, *fajat*, *lima*, *gunum*, *fiti*, *gualu*, *sigua*, *manot* (1-10) ; *manot nagai hacha* (11), *hugua na fulu* (20), *tulu na fulu* (30), *gatus* (100 ; designated as 1000 by SANVITORES), *chalan* (1000 ; designated as 100 by SANVITORES). VERA, p. 283, writing 22 years after CALLISTUS, states : "En todas las escuelas que yo visito los niños sabien bien estos números..." (up to 1000). These two statements can be reconciled by supposing that the numerals were re-introduced into the schools.

Caput VI: De Interiectione

Ha vel *a* vel *ya* deservit admirationis affectibus vel aestimationis rei magnae aut parvae, quae postponitur tali interiectioni: *gof ya*: o quam bonum; *sat ha taotao*: o quam pravus homo; *putiyo* (dolentis): hei mihi; *cha* (vetantis) ne facias; *ason ha*: proh, nefas seu vetitum; *guah* (ostendentis): ecce (vel facientis advertere interloquendum). *Ya ho* (vocantis cum imperio): heus tu (Hisp.: hola); communi autem vocandi modo etiam senes et primos viros convenit *mayra*: veni.

Caput VII: De Coniunctione

[35r] *An*: et, vel ac. Haec est coniunctio dictionum et orationum, v. g. *maira hamio guini amán rahi an pago rahi*: accedite huc viri senes ac iuvenes; *sumucho, an guminin*: comedite, ac bibite. Accedunt *ruigi* et *fata*, id est: etiam, vel quoque.

Eadem particula *an* est item disiunctiva nempe an Latinum, vel aut etc., quando autem disiunctiva sit vel coniunctiva dignoscetur ex circumstantiis, v. g. *manta sigui? harum sarag, an tasi?*: qua transeundum est nobis? per flumen an per mare?

Est et alia quasi coniunctio, quam grammatici Tagali vocant ligationem, eaque ligantur substantivum et adiectivum et alia huiusmodi ut constituent unam orationem. Hae sunt *n̄ga*, vel *ñia*, vel *na*, quibus regulariter ligatur dictio finita consonante vel diphthongo: *ay, ao, au* etc., v. g. *satna agón*: malus cibus; *taotao n̄ga mauri*: homo bonus.

Item sunt ligationes *g, n, ng*, quae deserviunt pro reliquis dictionibus, nempe finitis in vocali: *maurig taotao*: bonus homo. Quae ligatura *g* solet addi finitis etiam in consonante *n*, v. g. *agóng diruru*: cibus parvus. Utraeque tamen ligationes frequenter serviunt sine discrimine omnibus dictionibus et quandoque nulla ligatio exprimitur. Ligant etiam praedictae particulae et frequentius *na* diversas orationes per modum relativi (quod, seu que Hisp.), v. g. *an nanay ho a hamio adyim rugrug na ninay a ñaho say na maming si Dios*: dabitur a me vobis hoc ferrum, quod dedit mihi Pater noster Deus.

Et haec sufficiant pro huius linguae prima ac rudi salutatione grammatica; cui pro prima etiam ipsorum Marianorum et linguae exercitatione praeter vulgares loquendi [35v] modos in ipsa hactenus explicatione sparsim iactos nonnullos alios adiungere operae pretium erit.

[38r]

II. Marianae Linguae Exercitationes

e quibus et Institutiones catecheticae licebit pro nunc efformari

Caput I: Exercitatio pro prima salutatione

Mati hao na umorin: ave domine; et cum sunt plures salutandi: *mati hamio mangá magarahi*: salvete viri principales.

An jaharon hamio guini sa mirón mami: ingredimini in hanc nostram navem.

Gumogofriri hamio mami sa hamio maurig an taotao gos hinaron: cari estis nobis, quia boni estis et homines bono corde.

Maasi hami a hamio, sa tainga tongó midyo sarang marho arangit: miseremur vestri, quia nescitis viam, quae ducit ad coelum. *Sa tainga Christianos hamio*: quia non estis Christiani. *Sa tainga rahi hamio ni Dios arangit tigbini a hami*: quia non estis filii Dei coelestis quemadmodum nos sumus. *Sa tainga sumaga si Pare guini atano midyo*: quia non habitavit Pater in vestra hac terra. Hoc nomine si Pare intelligunt iam Dei ministrum et Christianorum patrem.

Guah, ūaho si Pare na pina hagua sayna maming si Dios arangit: ecce, ego sum Pater ac Minister Patris nostri coelestis Dei.

[38v] *Tinago ūaho sayna maming si Dios nayna midyo ruigu adyim mina mamayra hoguini naana mauri hamio*: missus sum a Patre nostro Deo, qui etiam est Pater vester, ac ideo huc veni pro vestro bono. *Na a tongo midyo sarang arangit*: ut sciatis viam ad coelum.

Guah andii hamio adyim atota mami nacaran sandagáng masatoni midyo: ecce, videte hanc pretiosam imaginem, ut sunt in pretio apud vos imagines rerum quas amatis. (Habent et ipsi imagines, quibus repraesentant suos parentes vel alias personas ipsis caras; quas tamen non adorant nec aliquo alio afficiunt sive cultu sive superstitione, quam sciamus, sed quibusdam tantum signis amoris et delectationis.)

Adyim nacarán sandagá, sayna parañam ni Dios, na aña si santa María, na ūaha arangit: haec est pretiosa imago Dei genetricis, quae vocatur Sancta Maria, et est in coelo. *Guiya mamiago cay Jesucristo na Dios na taotao ruigi, papahurao sã hita na ladyam*: illa peperit Jesum Christum Deum ac hominem Dominum nostrum omnium.

Inhao mañago si santa María, tainga na aso si suña guiguiya guiya tigbini pagon misso: Sancta Maria quamvis peperit permansit virgo instar puellulae infantis. *Minamago firirii ña hita naladyam taotao*: diligimur ab illa summo amore omnes homines. *Maasi guiya a hamio ruigi naladyam*: miseretur etiam ipsa vestrum omnium. *Sinangaña adyim minama mayra ho guini a hadya*: ipsius ope et auxilio huc ego perveni ad vos.

Adyim pagon, na asa sabina, pinañagona, Dios guiya na taotao ruigi: hic puer quem fovet in sinu est filius eius Deus idem et homo.

Guah sa aton na an na sagan si Dios tainga taotao tainga rahi, tainga parañam, guiguiya Dios guiya: [39r] antiquis annis Deus non erat homo, nec vir foeminae sed Deus Deus tantum ipse.

Si Dios a acha, na tirong personas na ana Dios sayna Dios ruigi rahiña, Dios ruigi Espiritu Sanctong tiguaña adyim tiron personas tay y suña, tainga tirong Dios, tirong personas si Dios a acha: Deus est unus et ipse est tres personae, quae vocantur Deus Pater, Deus filius, Deus Spiritus Sanctus, hae tres personae sunt aequales et non sunt tres dii; tres personae sunt unus Deus.

Adyim rahiña ni Dios na Dios ruigi, pago cumarang tumigbini a hita na ladyam taotao, Dios guiya na taotao ruigi na sinangaña ni Dios Espiritu Sancto minaputgi an pinañagoña ni sancta María Virgen, na tainga narii rahi adyo samina asi ni Dios hita naladyam taotao nafatinas ña: ille Dei filius,

qui etiam est Deus, denuo assumpsit naturam similem nobis, factus homo Deusque idem et homo conceptus est de Spiritu Sancto et natus ex sancta Maria Virgine, quae a viro nequiquam cognita est. Id factum est ex amore et misericordia Dei erga nos omnes homines ab ipso creatos.

Adyim rahiña ni Dios na guiya pagon na adyim ni santa Maria na aña si Jesucristo guiya umapasi sayna nans Dios saysao tan ladyam tatao: adyo masapit si Jesucristo hos hog namasapit, na matay ruigi adyim a cruz tigbini (ostendit imaginem crucifixi): hic Dei filius, qui etiam est filius sanctae Mariae, quem hic videtis parvulum; vocatur Jesus Christus, hic satisfacit Deo Patri suo pro peccatis nostris omnium hominum, propterea passus est multa gravissima, mortem quoque in cruce, qualiter hic videtis.

Andii hamio adyim pinataotao ña ni Jesucristo nacarán guiya; anato arin midyo a tano: paasi hamio cay Jesucristo na Dios taotao ruigi: guiya guay fatinas [39v] a hamio: guiya guay apassa ysao midyo: an pacha ahogmidyo, anfanay tay hamio aña tumigbini adyim maring Cristiano, nagof na mari cay Dios: ana arog hamio tigbini sa haron hinarón midyo: papahuraoho Jesucristo³⁶ etc. ut infra cap. 3: Videte ecce imago Jesu Christi, genu flectite ac petite misericordiam a Jesu Christo Deo et homine, qui est creator ac redemptor vester; percutite pectus vestrum, mecum dicite hanc orationem Deo gratam, concipite haec verba in corde vestro: Domine mi Jesu Christe.

Caput II: Exercitatio magis catechetica

Ex praedictis desumi poterunt sive ad primam vel secundam salutationem nostrorum Marianorum sive ad ulteriorem catechesim pro qua ante eam formulam contritionis *papahuraoho Jesucristo* etc. apponi potest formula se muniendi signo sanctae crucis et deinde reliquae formulae eo vel alio ordine magis convenienti in tempore. Sed prius hic apponenda venit formula quaedam interrogandi baptizandum adultum quae fere correspondet interrogationibus in Manuali Romano ad sacramentum baptismi appositis; quapropter et quia temporis quo haec scribuntur angustiis intercluditur productior expositio, eam qua verbum Latinum reddebamus omitemus iam; cuius loco in alio scripto nostrae missionis usui hic et nunc proprio subrogabitur Hispana versio commodior hic et nunc ut praesentium sacerdotum penuriam supplere possint vel saeculares comites nostri administrando etiam adultis sacrum baptisma in necessitate³⁷.

[40r] Formula interrogandi baptizandum adultum

Chiro ho: muto hao tumigbini a haming Cristiano na umaangoco an cumurao cay Jesucristo Dios na taotao ruigi nang marho arangit namo anti cum matay hao?

³⁶ *papahuraoho Jesucristo* refers to the well known Spanish act of contrition (Señor mio Jesucristo).

³⁷ The Manuale Romanum to which SANVITORES here refers seems to be the Rituale Romanum. There have been numerous editions of this ritual since the revision ordered by Paul V through his Constitutio Apostolica of June 17, 1614. The text of the Rituale Romanum is not given here since it is so readily accessible.

Cum muto hao, ana arog hoo: tigbini ruigi sa ladyam a arangani ho a hago, cum maragomo ana arog hao, hoo.

Umaangoco hago sayna maming si Dios na guiya sayna midyo ruigi, naguay fatinas rangit an tano, an hita na ladyam?

Umaangoco hago ladyam finoña ni Dios na janaoyi ruigi nang sancta Iglesia na aña pango nonan maming ladyam Cristianos naoro mami si Jesucristo Dios na taotao ruigi, naorong pina haguaña si sancto Papa na ūaha adyo a Roma naorong sonson sa ladyam tano an na taotao gi Rispaña, angi Manira, an taotao na ladyam Cristiano?

Umaangoco hao na adyim finoño tainga paragdag aspá gan finona ni Dios nañano oyi ruigi nang sancta Iglesia? Na ūaho tinagoña guini a hadya na ūaho si Pare pina hagua ni Dios guini (si est saecularis dicet: na ūaho tinago ni Pare na pina hagua ni Dios guini).

Muto hao ancurao ladyam sinangaña ni Dios, an sinangaña ruigi nang sancta Iglesia?

Gumofiriri hao sayna maming si Dios natayca hagua magtos hinaron mohog-hog finiho, gumo firiri hao ruigi satiguan mong taotao tigbini a hago cumurao hao fata ladyam tiningong Cristiano, na minamago firirii ni Dios, na mina masatoni ña an anahuhur³⁸ arangit ladyam taotao na mangá Cristianong mauri.

Muto hago an puro agas na mong ysao, an puro ruigi sat tiningo na ladyam.

[40v] Piniti hinarón mo ladyam ysao mo na minama satirii ni Dios na apuro ladyam taotao naysao adyo agiman ūafi na aña inferno.

Muto hago an ato ūaho oro mo hanum ni Dios na adyim hanum amót na gof amót sanamo anti, nang tumigbini hao a haming Cristiano?

Adyim na amót na aña bautizo minama hanao ladyam ysao tang taotao sacahanaras ni Jesucristong Dios na taotao ruigi, na ato agaña, an matay fata sa cruz apás na sa ysao tang taotao na ladyam, na minama asiña ni Dios hita na ladyam taotao.

Ananay ho hago adyim amót na hanon na aña bautizo cum muto hao marho hinaron mo, an uma angoco hao, an gumo firirii hao sayna maming si Dios; pa asi hao cay Jesucristo Dios na taotao ruigi na guay apás saysaomo: ana arog hao haron hinaron mo adyim finoño: papahurao ho Jesucristo etc. ut infra dicemus.

Proxime iam ad baptismum
interrogetur sic prout moris est in ecclesia

Minama satirii mo aring aniti na aña diablo, an ladyam ruigi tinangoña?

Uma angoco hago na gumagof hinaron hago saynang Dios natay huron mamatinas hoghog finiho, naguay fatinas rangit antasi?

Uma angoco hago cay Jesucristo na mintong rahiña ni Dios na Dios guiya na taotao ruigi an papahurao a hita na ladyam na pinañoña ni sancta Maria Virgen na aña na asapit an matay adyo sa cruz, asiña ahita na ladyam taotao, an numero a ani guiya.

³⁸ anahuhur is followed by a space in the ms.

Uma angoco hago na gumagof hinaron hago cay Dios Espiritu Sanctong na tiguaña saynang Dios, an sa rahiña ni Dios na adyim tirong personas na aña a achang Dios?

Umaangoco hago naguay sancta Iglesia Católica napango no [41r] nam taotao ña ni Dios na mangá Cristianos naoroña si Jesucristo an pinahaguaña guini a tano si santo Papa na ñaha aydo a sonson Roma na aña?

Umaangoco hago na adyim taotao ña ni Dios magtigan sasin hoña sayna maming si Dios?

Umaangoco hago na guay amót na minama hanao ysao ña taotao naari sa agaña ni Jesucristo rahiña ni Dios na apás ña sa ysao tang taotao na ladyam?

Umaangoco hago na ladyam taotao na matay rorobo aani na a sasangan ni Jesucristo Dios na taotao ruigi?

Umaangoco hago na cum rumoho a ani ladyam taotao na matay tainga rorohong matay, an a ani na a ani hoghog masagan na taotao maurig Cristiano paparho arangit, na tainga mahanao adyo hoghog masagan, an taotao na ysao na tainga cumurao sayna maming Dios, an totonog ipapa tano adyo sa infierno na aña na tainga mapra aufi hoghog masagan?

Muto hao an ato ñaho oro mo hanon ni Dios na aña baptizo. Respondetur : hoo (Ego te baptizo etc.).

Cum adest tempus et opportunitas circumstantiarum, suggerenda sunt item eiusmodi adulto privatim etiam baptizando in necessitate Symbolum Apostolorum et oratio Dominica Latino vel Hispano idiomate, cum adiecta explicatione, quae apponitur infra ad Symbolum et ad orationem Dominicam, recitarique expediet ab ipso baptizando modo quo possit, quamvis enim iuxta supradicta in praefatione, nondum expediat tradere eorum memoriae mandandas rudes has nostras versiones Symboli et orationum communium ; possunt tamen suggeri recitandae in tempore pro suscipiendo baptisate et aliis occasionibus quousque vel calleant ipsi nostrum idioma vel ipsorum nos aut alii Dei gratia et linguae experientia amplius instructi certo perfectas ac tuto fecerimus Marianas versiones³⁹.

[41v] Quando non urget praeproperi baptismatis necessitas, exordienda est catechesis a signo crucis et aliis iam apponendis, quae suggeri catechumenis nunc expediet duplici idiomate nostro ipsorumque, ut dictum est, invitatione aliqua praemissa metrica aut musica, si possit, qua mirifice invitantur, pro qua deservire potest rimus, qualem supra posuimus ad calcem praefationis, scilicet *Jesús, María mauri*⁴⁰. Tuncque catechista invitare potest suos auditores ad sui sequelam in hunc modum :

³⁹ In the nearly three years that SANVITORES was able to devote to ministry in the Marianas, he no doubt composed several such prayers in the native language, which do not, however, seem to have survived.

⁴⁰ The only such reference in the manuscript is that given above, f. 29r. On this means of apostolate, MURILLO, 292v, informs us, "Son los Isleños [of the Marianas] inclinados a la Música y al bayle, y para arrastrarlos con suavidad y gusto a la doctrina, en viendo algún corrillo de ellos, [SANVITORES] se metía en medio y dando palmadas con las manos y haciendo el compás con el movimiento de los pies, baylando y cantando con ellos, les hacía repetir en su lengua : 'Alegria, alegría, alegría, buena, buena, Jesús, María, nuestra alegría, Jesús y María, amén, amén, Jesús, María y Joseph'."

Mangá chiro ho (vel *mangá pagon ho* cum sint parvuli) *an fanay tay hamio a ūaho* (cum instruendus est unus tantum, dicatur: *manay tay hago*, insequentibus, mutato pro nomine aptabuntur verba singulari) *tumigbini hamio adyo tiningo maming Cristiano ana too midyo a tano arin midyo a tangá midyo sayna maming si Dios, an tigbini canay midyo tigbini tiningong Cristiano. Paasi hamio cay Jesucristo Dios na taotao ruigi na adyim pina taotao ña, na caran guiya an tigbini hamio tatan sung canay na gapa tigbini na aña cruz: por la señal etc.*

Signetque seipsum catechista more consueto et cum finierit Hispane, addat sic: *adyim finiho fano oyi ni Dios, cum sa fino midyo sa sararaña adyim*, signetque se rursus dicendo eorum idiomate: *adyim santa cruz na aña*, prout infra ponitur et cum pervenerit ad ultimam crucem comprehendentem reliquas, suggerat auditoribus sic ut eam quoque faciant: *an tigbini hamio a ūaho adyim na aña santa cruz in hao safoon midyo an sa agob midyo an sa apaga midyo: tigbini: sa na aña ni Dios sayna ni Dios ruigi rahiña, ni Dios ruigi Espíritu Sanctong tiguana etc.*

Itaque meo qualicumque iudicio et experientia censeo non esse statim urgendos catechumenos, praesertim senes ad se signandum triplici illa cruce, ne abhorreant a catechismo prae fastidio [42r] et difficultate se signandi tot flexibus digitorum etc., ut ipse apud similes miseros expertus sum. Sufficit ergo illa ultima crux confessionem sanctissimae Trinitatis sufficienter exprimens, quousque ipsi catechumeni sua sponte et genio imitandi quod vident, imitentur catechistam et antiquos Christianos se consueto modo signantes etc.

Caput III: Formulae aliae vertendi seu explicandi praecipua communis catechismi capita

Per signum sanctae crucis:

Adyim sancta cruz, na aña, na taotao maming Cristiano ✠ Gumagagao hami a hago sayna maming Dios ✠ Nana manuga ha misa mangá chichan mami ✠.

Sana aña ni Dios sayna ✠ ni Dios ruigi Rahiña ✠ ni Dios ruigi Espíritu Santong tiguana ✠.

Tiron personas na aña, na tay y suña, a acha si Dios guiya. AMÉN JESUS.

Sararaña magof, hinaron tan ladyam cay Jesucristo Dios na taotao ruigi papahurao tan ladyam taotao.

Formula quaedam protestationis Fidei
voluntatis suscipiendi baptismum, contritionis etc.

Papahurao ho Jesucristo Dios na mintó na taotao ruiging mintó. Hago guay fatinas a ūaho, hago ruigi guay apás a ūaho guay ysao a hago, na saynabo, Dios ho, na ūaho arrarang taotao, na tinta gomo: piniti hinaron ho, amputi hinaron ho, ma agas sinor hinaron ho, adyim sa ma agas na ysao ho a hago.

Putiyo: sa tainga atangaco haga sa atong na sagan, sata[42v]inga a rigao ūaho a hago sa atong: tuma tanga ūaho pago a hago sayna ho Dios, na marati maasi: uma angoco ūaho a hago. Gumogofiririi ūaho a hago hoghog finiho: satayca hagua hao tayca hagua ruigi gumogo firirii ūaho a hago.

Magof hinarón ho a hago, sa mulo hao na ūaho tumigbini samangá taotao mo gui Rispaña, angui Manila na mangá Cristiano: maroho, hinaron ho, tigbini rahi mong Cristiano ūaho.

Uma ag an gaban ūaho harum hinaron ho, na tainga roroho ūaho sa atong na ysao ho: ampupuro ūaho an tata y sin ūaho atong na ariho, na sinor ho, na ysao ho a hago, sa hago mina mago firirii ho hoghog finiho.

Umaangoco ūaho na maasi hao a ūaho sa hago gumogo firirii a aūaho; sa hago mina sapit a ūaho, sa hago minatay a ūaho Amén Jesús: magof hinarón tan ladyam cay Jesús etc.

Alia formula protestationis Fidei
proprius respondens Symbolo Apostolorum :

Umaangoco ūaho gumof hinaron ūaho, gumofiririi ūaho saynang Dios, natay hurung mamatinas hoghog finiho: guiya guay fatinas rangit, an tano, an tasi, hoghog finiho.

Umaangoco ūaho ruigi cay Jesucristo na mintong rahiña ni Dios na guiya ruigi si Jesucristo mintong na taotao fata minto, papahurao ruigi sa hita na ladyam.

Sa atong na sagan hoghog finiho si Dios guiguiya guiya Dios, Dios ūaha na tiron personas na aña na Dios sayna, Dios rahiña, Dios Espiritu Santo tiguaña, na tainga tiron Dios, si Dios a acha tiron personas, tainga taotao sa aton si Dios. Pago si Dios, rahiña ni Dios cum macarán tigbini a hitan taotao, na guiya Dios mintó taotao ruigi mintó.

Adyim na rahiña ni Dios cung macarán tigbini a hitan taotao sinangaña ni Dios Espiritu Santo saminamago firirii ña ni Dios hita na ladyam taotao.

[43r] *Adyim si Jesucristong Dios na taotao ruigi minaputgi ni Sancta Maria sayna ña parañam, natainga natainga na arii rahi an tainga mina parañam: pinañagoña ni Sancta Mariang Virgen na aña, natainga na tago si suña: in hao mañago si Sancta Maria cay Jesucristo guiguiya tigbini pagong misso.*

Adyim si Jesucristo, saminogo firirii na hita ña ladyam taotao asapit migay namaagas pinitiña na apas na ahita na mangá ysao na taotao: fnangán guiya ni Poncio Pilato na aña, sat na taotao papahurao adyo satanangong Judea na aña, na mulo ruigi si Jesucristo hinarón ña na asapit asiña sa hita na ladyam taotao.

Migáy pinitiña, migáy mapaanag herit ña migáy masin hoghog na sinor taotao ña.

Ipinahipa canay ña arin ña ruigi sa cruz na aña (natigbini, quod addi potest ostendendo crucifixum cum ea adhortatione ad ipsius reverentiam, amorem etc. de qua alibi).

Matáy si Jesucristo adyo sa cruz. Ahapot tumonog adyo samanga ipapa tano, na aña infernos.

I tiro poingi numaro a ani si Jesucristo acohuro arangit, matachon sa gapang canáy ña ni Dios na sayna ña.

Bimadyo arangit, mamayra guini sa sagan guiya sahoghog nataotao na a ani an matay ruigi na roroho a ani.

Umaangoco ūaho cay Dios Espiritu Santo na tiguaña ni Dios sayna, ni Dios ruigi rahiña na tiron personas na año natay y suña an a achang si Dios guiya tiron personas.

Umaangoco ūaho na guay sancta Iglesia Católica, na año na pango nonan sa mangá taotao ña ni Dios namangá Cristianos na año, na oroña si Jesucristo an pinahauaña atano si santo Papa na ana, na ūaha adyo a Roma na aron sonson sa hoghog na tano an.

Adyim taotao ña ni Dios na mangá Cristianos magtitiguan [43v] guiya, mañumiro guiya sa sinhoña sayna maming si Dios.

Adyim sa santa Iglesia guay amót na minamahanao y saña taotao na ari.

Adyim amót minay a ūaho ni Dios sa agaña ni Jesucristo rahiña ni Dios, na apas ña sahita na ladyam na ysao na taotao.

Umaango[co] ruigi ūaho na ladyam taotao na matay roroho a ani.

Adyo a ani hita na ladyam, tainga rorohong matay, a ani na ani hoghog masagán. Amén Jesús.

Hic adjici potest nonnulla
maior explicatio alterius vitae in hunc modum

Guah: cum matay taotao, herit ña masura an moton, sa atong na sagán a ani rumoho, na tayga matay numero.

Cum matay ysao na taotao an tiña agas tumonog saginam ūafi na año infierno: cum matay taotao na Cristianong mauri, antiña agas marho arangit. Cum matay taotao na Cristiano na guay ysao na dirurú; in hao ma agas ruigi y saña, cum gumof hinarón guiyaana a tangá ña si Dios magtos hinaroña na an piti ysao ña hinarón hinaroña, an afayra cay Pare ysao ña cum ūaha adyo si Pare, an tiña tainga tumonog adyo a sat na tano an na año infierno; sa sangi na tano an totongo na año purgatorio, na guay ūafi ruigi: na cum adyo uapasi ysao ña, hohuro agas arangit antiña sa atong na sagán cum rumoho a ani hita na ladyam, herit ña taotao Cristianong mauri, hohuro ruigi arangit na guay tigan antiña na tainga rorohong matay, antainga hahanao arangit hoghog nasagán: taotao na ysao, na tainga ancurao cay Dios, cum rumoho a ani, a sa sangán ni Jesucristo na Dios na taotao ruigi, herit ña taotao na ysao na guay tigan antina, an totonog adyo asat na tano an na año infier[44r]no, natainga matay rumoho, antainga mapra aufing Manira, na Manira hoghog na sagán.

Praecepta Decalogi

Sinangaña Ni Dios Adyim Fino Na Monotay

1. *Adyim na mina: gumofiririi hao cay Dios na tayca hagua hoghog finiho.*
2. *Adyim yugua: chamo y sitan na an ni Dios an chamo arog satfino, satiguan mong taotao.*
3. *Adyim itiro: mamagong hao sa adrao ni Dios na año Domingo an fiesta.*
4. *Adyim fata*⁴¹*: mamarao hao, ancumurao hao sayna mong rahi, an sayna mong parañam.*

⁴¹ *fata* is the ms. reading; cf. above, f. 34r.

5. *Adyim arrima: chamo apponó tiguán mong taotao, an chamo marhaca.*
6. *Adyim igunun: chamo pangatyote satainga asaũamo.*
7. *Adyim ifiti: chamo atarhag* ⁴².
8. *Adyim iũaro: chamo masogni tiguán mong taotao: chamo ruigi finon paragdag.*
9. *Adyim isigua: chamo marago panagatyote satainga asaũamo.*
10. *Adyim imonot: chamo marago atarhag.*
Adyim monotay, sararaña ugua . . . ⁴³ *Gumofiriri hago cay Dios na tayca hagua, an gumofiririi ruigi sa tiguán mong taotao tigbini ahago.*

[44v] Formula offerendi Orationem Dominicam ad postulandam gratiam pro amplectenda Divina Fide et Obedientia praeceptorum, aeternaque salute consequenda : quae vel ad omnes simul articulos et praecepta vel pro singulis cum tempus suppetit iterari potest iuxta institutionem et exemplum Novarum Gentium Apostoli, Lib. 1, Epist. 5, ante medium ⁴⁴.

Jesús na rahiña ni Dios na mintó umagagao hami ahago na anay hami cahanaras mo, na aña gracia na atongó mami hago ; na uma angoco hami ladyam fino mo ; na ancurao fata ladyam sinangamo, na tiningo Cristiano ; na gumo firirii hamio ahago, na sayna maming Dios, natayca hagua, magtos hinarón mami, na cum matay hami, marho hami agima mong rangit : adyim sinasayan mami ahago adyim Marimo na aña Padre Nuestro natay tay mami ahago.

Pater noster

Sayna maming Dios, na ùaha arangit ; an tangá naan mo ladyam taotao : marho a hami cahanaras mo na aña gracia, an gogoron mo ruigi na aña gloria ; curao hinarón mo adyim a tano tigbini arangit ; anay hamio pago a cacamong mami agupa agupa ; an tadyoyot hami ahago ladyang ysao mami na tagui mami ahago, tigbini na tadyoyot mami ruigi saguay [45r] taguy ahami. Chamoto hago anacurao hami a ysao an puran hago a hami sa hoghog na ari. Magof hinarón. tan ladyam cay Jesús, id est Amen Jesus.

Formula offerendi salutationem Angelicam ad eandem gratiam impetrandam per B. Virginem ; apponenda item semel omnibus vel singulis articulis et praeceptis iuxta eiusdem Apostoli institutionem ubi supra.

Sancta Maria sayna parañam ni Jesucristong Dios na taotao ruigi : gumagagao hami a hago na tadyoyot mohami sa masatoning rahimong Dios, na anay hami cahanaras ña na aña gracia, na atongó mami si Dios, na uman-

⁴² *atarhag* has been corrected in the ms. by a later hand to *atayag* with *acarhar* written after it in the same hand. In writing *atayag*, the corrector had in mind the word for thief, which has persisted into modern Chamorro. The same correction to *atayag* was made below in the tenth Commandment.

⁴³ Space in the text indicates an unfinished sentence.

⁴⁴ SANVITORES is here referring to the edition of the letters by TURSELLINUS, i. e. S. P. Francisci Xaverii e S. I. Epistolarum Libri IV ex Hispano in Latinum conversi ab HORATIO TURSELLINO. (Antverpiae, 1657), p. 84 ; the corresponding text is found in the standard critical edition established by G. SCHURHAMMER S. J. and J. WICKI S. J., Epistolae S. Francisci Xaverii (Romae, 1944), vol. I, pp. 162-164.

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goco hami ladyam finoña: na ancumo fata ladyam sinangaña na tiningo Cristiano, na gumofiriri hami aguiya na layca agua magtos hinarón mami, an gumofiririi ruigi a hago na saynañang parañam an sayna maming fata; na cum matay hami, marho hami agima midyong rangit: adyim sinasayan maming ahago adyim mari na aña. Dios te salve María na sinadyam ahago sa atong ni san Gabriel na aña ángel natinago ni Dios ahago.

[45v]

Ave Maria

Mali hago María papahurao an samay parañam sayna mami: a fojono hago hoghog na mauri na aña gracia ni Dios: si Dios sumasaga a hago tay huruhao na ana mauri, an misatoni ni Dios sa ladyam parañam; tay acarán ruigi ladyam parañam sa ladyam rahi in hao na arong mauri an mina masá tano ni sayna nanġ Dios, na pinañagomo si Jesús: Santa María sayna parañam ni Dios hago ana maasi sa Dios hami na ysao na taotao pago adyo ruigi cum matay hami: Amén Jesús. Magof hinarón cay Jesús.

Appendix B

Jesuit Missionaries in the Marianas, 1668-1769

Fr./Br.	First name(s)	Last name	Hometown	Born	Arr. at Is.	Dep./ Death	Comments
1. Fr.	Diego Luís	SANVITORES	Burgos	1627	1668	+1672	Killed in Guam on 2 April 1672.
2. Fr.	Tomás (de)	CARDEÑOSO	Paredes de Nava Castilla la Vieja	1635	1668 & 89?	1688 & ?	Born in diocese of Palencia. Died elsewhere in 1715.
3. Fr.	Luís (de)	MEDINA	Málaga	1636	1668	+1670	Killed in Saipan on 29 January 1670. See Note 1.
4. Fr.	Pedro (de)	CASANOVA	Almeria	1641	1668	1671	Died elsewhere in 1694. See Note 2.
5. Fr.	Luís (de)	MORALES	Tordesillas	1641	1668	1671	To Manila in 1671, to Spain in 1683. See Note 3.
6. Br. later Fr.	Lorenzo	BUSTILLO	Saro (Burgos)	1642	1668 & 1676	1671 & 1712?	Left to continue his studies. Came back ordained. Note 4.
7. Br.	Felipe	SONSON	Macabebe, Pampanga, Phil.	1611	1668	+1686	Died 12 Jan 1686. See Note 5.
8. Fr.	Francisco	SOLANO	Xarandilla	1635	1671	+1672	Died in Guam on 13 June 1672. See Note 6.
9. Fr.	Francisco	EZQUERRA	Manila	1644	1671	+1674	Killed in Guam on 2 February 1674. See Note 7.
10. Fr.	Alonso	LOPEZ (RICO)	Cuenca	1645?	1671 167?	1675 1684	Left 1675 & Feb 1684. See Note 8.
11. Fr.	Diego (de)	NORIEGA	?	?	1671	+1672	Died in Guam on 13 January 1672.
12. Fr.	Gerardo	BOUWENS	Antwerp, Belgium	1634	1672 & 1675	1673 +1712	Died in Saipan on 24 January 1712. See Note 9.
13. Fr.	Pedro	COOMANS	Antwerp, Belgium	1638	1672 & 1677	1674 +1685	Killed in Saipan in July 1685. See Note 10.
14. Fr.	Antonio (María) de	SAN BASILIO	Catania, Sicily, Italy	1643	1672	+1676	Killed in Guam on 17 January (Feb?) 1676.
15. Fr.	Francisco	GAYOSO	Soria	1647	1674	1676	Drifted to Philippines in 1676. To China Mission in 1678.
16. Fr.	Sebastián (de)	MONROY	Arahal, Andalusia	1649	1674	+1676	Killed in Guam on 7 September 1676.
17. Fr.	Jacinto de	MONTENEGRO	Tuy	1649	1674	1676?	Absent 1676?-78. Left when?

Fr./Br.	First name(s)	Last name	Hometown	Born	Arr. at Is.	Dep./Death	Comments
18. Br/Fr	Juan (de)	AHUMADA	Cáceres	1634	1674 1683	1677 +1687	Absent 1677-83. See Note 11.
19. Br.	Pedro (not Tomás)	DÍAZ	Talavera	?	1674	+1675	Killed in Guam on 7 December 1675.
20. Br.	Agustín	GARCÍA	Murcia	1654	1674	1677?	Ref. report by Fr. Vidal, dated Mexico 1675.
21. Br.	Pedro	PAVÓN	Passaron, Plasencia, Spain	1655	1674	+1686	Idem. Died 24 March 1686.
22. Br.	José (de)	SALAZAR	?	?	1674	1675?	Ref. Fr. Vidal also.
23. Fr.	Antonio (Mateo)	XARAMILLO (or Jaramillo)	Fuentelencina or Zafra	1648	1676 & 1683	1680 & 1684	Second stay from August 1683 to February 1684. See Note 12.
24. Fr.	Manuel (de)	SOLORZANO	Fregenal, Andalusia	1649	1676	+1684	Killed in Guam on 23 July 1684. See Note 13.
25. Fr.	Bartolomé	BESCO	Sabandia, Italy	?	1677	+1680	Died on 26 July 1680. See Note 14.
26. Fr.	Tomás	VALLEJO	Tudela, Navarra	1652	1679	1684	Left in February 1684. See Note 15.
27. Fr.	Basilio	LE ROULX	St-Omer, France	1643	1679	+1703	Died in April or October 1703.
28. Br.	Balthasar	DUBOIS	Tournai, Belgium	1654	1679	+1684	Killed in Guam on 23 July 1684.
29. Fr.	Andrés de	MANCKER (alias Alfonso de Castro)	?	?	1680?	1681	Died Manila, 1682?
30. Fr.	Karl (or Carlos)	BORANGA (alias Perez)	Vienna, Austria	1640	1681	+1684	Killed in Rota in Sept. or Oct. 1684.
31. Fr.	Teófilo (de)	ANGELIS (alias Loyola/Piccolomini)	Sienna, Italy	1651	1681	+1684	Killed in Guam on 24 July 1684.
32. Fr.	Agustín	STROBACH (or Estrobac)	Iglaü=Jihlava, Moravia, Czech.	1641	1681	+1684	Killed in Tinian on 24 August 1684. Alias Carlos Calvanese.
33. Fr.	Juan	TILPE	Neiss, Austria	1644	1681	1710	Alias Luis Turcotti. Note 16.
34. Fr.	Diego (de)	ZARZOSA	Antequera, Sp.	1648	81, 88	85, ?	Died ca. 1741. See Note 17.

Fr./Br.	First name(s)	Last name	Hometown	Born	Arr. at Is.	Dep./Death	Comments
35. Br.	Antonio de los	REYES	Mexico	?	1681?	1688	See Note 18.
36. Fr.	Matías	KUKLEIN (or Cuculino)	Müglitz, Czech.	1645	1682? & 88	1688 + 1696	Died 14 Dec 1696. Absent from Jan.-Sept(?) 1688.
37. Fr.	Antonio	KERSCHBAUMER (alias Cerezo)	Salurn, Bavaria	1643	1682?	1689	See Note 19.
38. Fr.	Juan Adan	GERSTL (or Gestel)	Austria	1646	1683	1684	Came in with Visitor Xaramillo. Died Mexico ca. 1702.
39. Fr.	Juan	SCHIRMEISEN	Czech.	?	1688	1719?	His Spanish alias not known.
40. Fr.	Felipe (María)	MUSCATI	Malta	1655	1688	+1739	Died at Guam 14 June 1739.
41. Fr.	Miguel (de)	APARICIO	Colomera	1656	1688	after 1693	Died elsewhere in 1716.
42. Fr.	Joaquín	ASSÍN (or Asín)	Zaragoza	1653	1688	1690	Died in Manila in 1698. Ref. Doc. 1691B.
43. Fr.	Francisco (Antonio)	PALAVICINO (or Pallavicino)	Italy	1663	1688	after 1693	Departed before 1707 (1695?). Died Naples 1743.
44. Fr.	José	HERNANDEZ	Gandie	1660	1688	1690	Died in Manila 1729.
45. Fr.	García	SALGADO	?	?	1688	1690	Ref. Doc. 1690G & 1691B
46. Br.	Juan	ALLER (not Haller)	Bohemia	1664	1688	+1690	Pharmacist. Ref. 1691B. Died 8 June 1690.
47. Br.	Melchor de la	CRUZ	Mexico	?	1688	1703?	Oblate, or Donado, Ref. 1688O & 1691B.
48. Br.	Jaime	CHAVARRI (or Chiaveri)	Naples, Italy	?	1693?	1741	Pharmacist. He ran first infirmary. Left Spain 1692.
49. Br.	José	SANCHEZ	Spain	?	before 1696	?	Was in Rota in 1696 (ref. B&R Bibl., p. 316).
50. Fr.	Antonio	CUNDARI (or Condari)	Sicily, Italy	?	1690	1705?	Replaced Hernandez. Was in Merizo, Guam, in 1704.
51. Br.	José de	ESPINOSA	?	?	bef. 98	?	Oblate. Ref. Doc. 1698A.

Fr./Br.	First name(s)	Last name	Hometown	Born	Arr. at Is.	Dep./ Death	Comments
52. Fr.	Pedro	CRUYDOLF	Neoport, Ypres, Belgium	1668	1709	1738?	Died 12 March 1760. See Note 20. Doc. 1708G.
53. Fr.	Ignacio	IBARGUEN (or Aranguren)	Bilbao	1689	1709	1730	Died before 1732.
54. Fr.	José	BLOART (or Blauwaert)	Lille, then Belgium	1665	1709	1717?	See Note 21.
55. Br.	Nicolas	MONTERO	Mexico?	?	1709	1721?	See Note 22.
56. Br.	Luis	GARCIA	Teruel	1679	1709	?	
57. Fr.	Francisco	HELGUERO	Spain	?	1718	1723?	Ref. letter Muscati 1724.
58. Fr.	Felipe (María)	FORNERI (or Furnari)	Sicily, Italy	?	1718	1723?	Did he leave after 1723?
59. Fr.	José	BONANI (or Bonanni)	Ronsberg, Tyrol, Austria	?	1718	1752?	Spent 23 years in Rota. Left after 1754? Died Manila 1768.
60. Fr.	Juan Antonio	CANTOVA	Intra, Lago Maggiore, Italy	1685	1718	1722	Spent 8 years in Phil. 1722-30.
61. Fr.	Jacobo	HEIPEL	Gross-Holbach, Kohn, Germany	1685	1718	+1731 1757?	Killed at Ulithi in June 1731. Born before 1687? Died in 1757 or 1758.
62. Fr.	Victor	WALTER	Near Brixen, Tyrol, Austria	1687?	1724 & 1736	1731 +1745	Died on 12 December 1745.
63. Fr.	Francisco Xavier	URFAHRER (or Urfarer)	Regensburg, Germany	1689	1724	+1760	Died on 12 March 1760.
64. Br.	Levino	SCHREBEL	Germany?	?	1732?	1733?	
65. Fr.	Wolfgang	BERTHOLD	?	?	1734	before 1766	Ref. Doc. 1734B. Afterward served Zamboanga.
66. Fr.	Wolfgang	STEINBECK (or Stainbeck)	Near Salzburg, Austria	1702	1734	+1767	
67. Fr.	Domenico	CARLONI (or Carlone)	Vienna, Austria	1691	1736	+1738	Arrived on 6 July 1736. Died 19 May 1738.
68. Fr.	Francisco Xavier	REITTENBERGER (or Reitemberg)	Prague, Czech.	1699	1736	before 1769	

Fr./Br.	First name(s)	Last name	Hometown	Born	Arr. at Is.	Dep./Death	Comments
69. Br.	José	MARTINELI	?	?	1736	before 1769	Ref. Fr. Walter, 20 Dec 1736.
70. Fr.	Francisco Xavier	STENGEL	Czech.	1708	1752	1769	Deported in 1769.
71. Br.	Plácido	LAMPURLANES	?	?	1755?	1769	Deported in 1769. Was a physician by profession.
72. Fr.	Rafael	CANICIA	?	?	1760?	1769	Deported in 1769.

Note 1. Fr. Medina was killed along with one of his Filipino catechists, Hipolito de la Cruz.

Note 2. Fr. Casanova left in 1671 to continue his studies. He died in a shipwreck on 3 June 1694.

Note 3. Fr. Morales left Spain once again for Mexico in 1689, but was posted back to Manila in 1698, and died there in 1716.

Note 4. Fr. Bustillo (not Bustillos) served twice in the Marianas. He was Superior of the Mission from 1688 until 1694. Left the second time in about 1712 and died at Manila on 2 March 1716.

Note 5. This Filipino man was a "donado" or oblate, a lay person who came with Fr. Sanvitores and dedicated his life to the Mission.

Wrongly reported dead in 1684, and 1685. Died when 75 years old. Therefore, born circa 1611.

Note 6. Fr. Solano was transferred from Manila. Was second Superior, from April to June 1672.

Note 7. Fr. Ezquerro was born in Manila and was transferred from Manila. Was third Superior, from 1672 to 1674.

Note 8. Fr. Lopez, author of the first modern map of the Mariana Islands, went to Europe (from Manila) in 1688. Died in Mexico in 1697.

Note 9. Fr. Bouwens was absent in Manila and Mexico from 1673 to 1675. He was Superior from 1675 to 1677), and again from 1684 to 1688.

Note 10. Fr. Coomans was absent in Manila and Mexico from 1674 to 1677. Was Superior when carried off by 1674 galleon.

Note 11. Fr. Ahumada was absent in Manila from 1677 to 1683. Died in October 1687.

- Note 12. Fr. Xaramillo went from the Philippines to Spain in about 1687, where he died at Ocaña in 1707.
- Note 13. Fr. Solorzano arrived in 1676, he says (Doc. 1678A), although not reported by Fr. Besco in 1680. Was Superior from 1680 to 1684.
- Note 14. Fr. Fr. Besco arrived with returning Fr. Coomans in 1677. Was Superior from 1677 to 1680. (ref. Doc. 1677C & 1686D).
- Note 15. See Streit & Dindinger, pp. 45, 189; RAH Fil. 9/2668 (Espinar, 1678). Burrus says he died at Manila in 1727.
- Note 16. Fr. Tilpe was in Rota after 1695 and before 1702.
- Note 17. Fr. Zarzosa was absent as of 1685. Failed to return in 1686, 1687 but returned only in 1688. He died in about 1741, being over 90.
- Note 18. Br. Reyes may have arrived only in 1682 (see Streit & Dindinger, p. 52). Reported there in 1682.
- Note 19. Last name also written Kerschpämer. Alias Cerezo. Reported present in 1682 (Streit & D., p. 52). Left in Feb. 1689 (ref. Doc. 1689C). Was in Cebu in 1711. Salurn in Bavaria was part of the Austrian Province.
- Note 20. Fr. Cruydolf was born circa 1668 (ref. Doc. 1708G).. He left the Marianas before 1747 (as early as 1738?). He died elsewhere in 1760.
- Note 21. Fr. Bloart is mentioned by Fr. van Hamme, quoting Cruydolf (Doc. 1712E).
- Note 22: Brothers Montero and García are mentioned in Doc. 1708G, 1709F, 1715A & 1721D4.

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Appendix D

List of ships through Micronesia for the period 1638-1673

SHIPS THROUGH MICRONESIA, by Rodrigue Lévesque

YEAR & MTH OF VISIT		NAME OF SHIP	NAME OF CAPTAIN	SHIP NATIONALITY	CHRONICLERS *Primary source.	COMMENTS
1638	a	N. S. de la Concepción	J.F.H. de Corcuera	Spanish	Corcuera, López, Díaz.	Eastbound. Concepción wrecked at Saipan.
1638	b	San Ambrosio	J. de Bañuelos	"	" " "	" AGI 21-12-66. B&R 29:168;35:44.
1639	a	San Ambrosio	?	Spanish	Santa Cruz.	Shipwrecked Cagayan. B&R 29:196; 35:52.
1639	b	Concepción (galliot)	?	"	"	" " " " " "
1640		San Nicolás [patache]	Machado	Spanish	López. Planned voyage to Ladrones.	B&R 29:200.
1641/2	a	San Juan Bautista	Enríquez (?)	Spanish	Corcuera.	Lilly ms. 21534(1).
1641/2	b	San Diego (?)	?	"	"	" "
1641?		N. S. de la Concepción (Cambojana)	?	Spanish		B&R 29:167, 194, 200.
1642 ?		San Luís (?)	?	Spanish		Unconfirmed voyage.
1643	a	N. S. de la Encarnación	M. de Arreguía	Spanish	*Bobadilla, *Perez, Murillo Velarde.	B&R 37:69; 44:76-77.
1643	b	N. S. del Rosario	Martin de Arreguía	"	" " " " " "	" " "
1644		San Luís	?	Spanish	Perez.	Gov. Fajardo aboard. B&R 35:176.
1645		(unnamed ship)	M. G. Vries	Dutch	Tasman (Heeres).	Cruised near Marianas for Manila galleon.
1645	a	N. S. de la Encarnación	C. Marqués de Valenzuela	Spanish	Díaz, Fayol.	B&R 35:215-6, 228-9; 37:161-3; 44:97.
1645	b	N. S. del Rosario	L. Orella	"	" "	" " " " "
1646		San Luís	F. López Perona	Spanish	Fayol, Fajardo.	Lost in Cagayan. B&R 35:234, 250.
1648		Buen Jesús	Cristóbal Romero	Spanish	*P. Navarrete, Fajardo, Santa Cruz, etc.	Patache, burnt in Phil. B&R 37:81-6, 287.
1648	ca	(1 champan)	Choco	Chinese	Concepción.	Drifted to Marianas.
1649		N. S. de la Encarnación	López de Colindres	Spanish	Fajardo, Sola, Díaz.	Shipwrecked Camarines. B&R 36:51; 37:177.
1650		N. S. de Guía	?	Spanish	Sola.	B&R 35:253; 36:51. Doc. 1648B.
1653		San Francisco Xavier	L. Orella y Ugalde	Spanish	*Lara, Santa Cruz, Díaz, Navarrete.	Gov. Lara aboard. Doc. 1667G. B&R 37 & 38.
1654		San Diego	P.F.Villaroel de la Cueba	Spanish	Viceroy, Díaz.	Shipwrecked at Manila. B&R 37:207-12.
1655		San Francisco Xavier	Lorenzo Orella y Ugalde	Spanish	Díaz, Uriarte.	Shipwrecked Samar. B&R 37:213-4; 47:69.

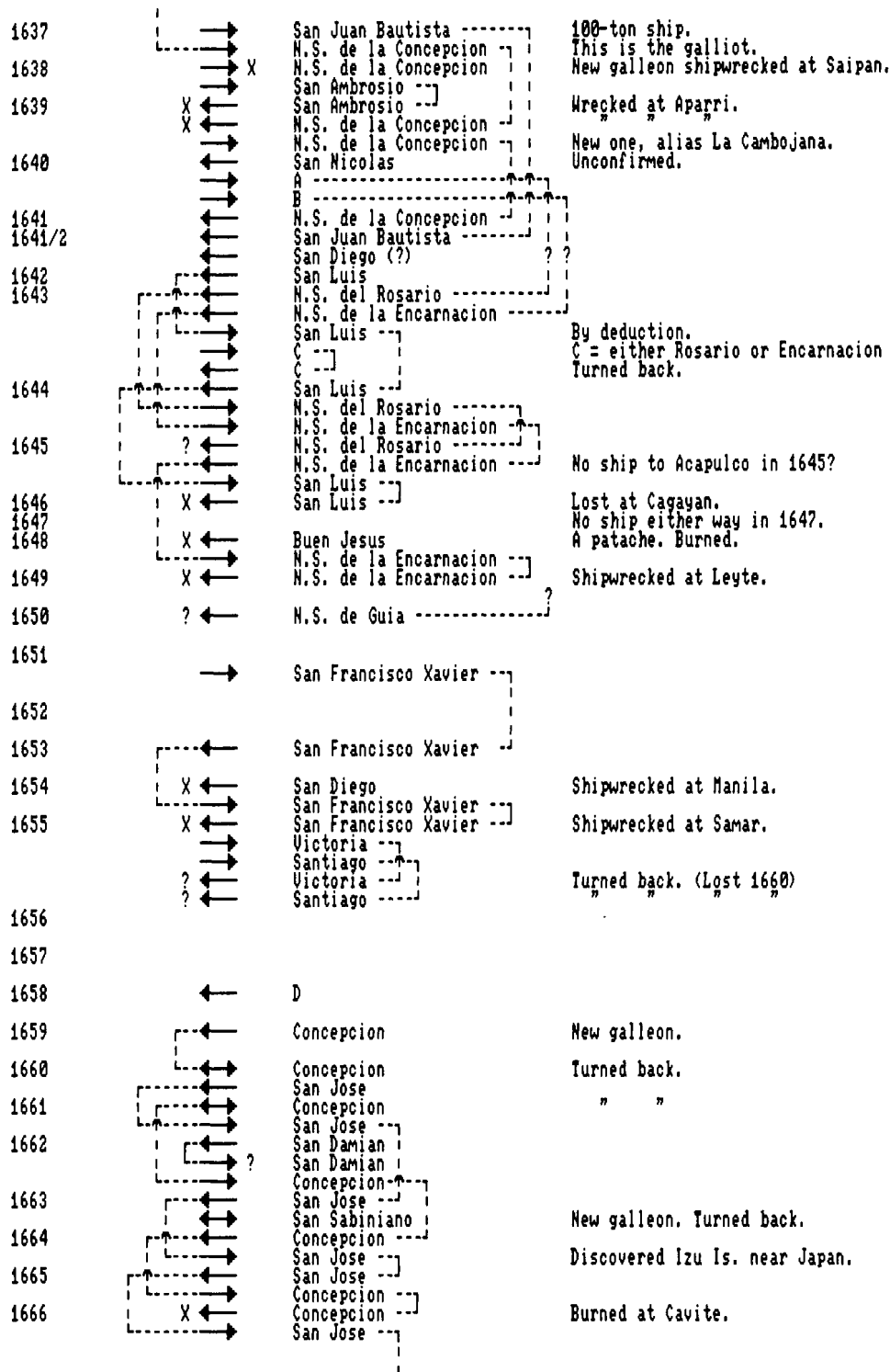
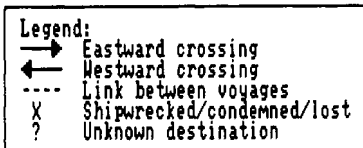
SHIPS THROUGH MICRONESIA, by Rodrigue Lévesque

YEAR & MTH OF VISIT	NAME OF SHIP	NAME OF CAPTAIN	SHIP NATIONALITY	CHRONICLERS *Primary source.	COMMENTS
1658	Victoria? & Santiago?	D. Ortiz & García Fresno	Spanish	Viceroy, Santa Cruz.	AGI Fil. 23-2-4, p. 379. B&R 37:112.
1659	N. S. de la Concepción	?	Spanish	Gov. Manrique de Lara.	
1660	San José	?	Spanish	Gov. Manrique.	AGI Fil. 23-2-4.
1660	Victoria	?	Spanish	Ansaldo.	Shipwrecked at Palau (ref. Doc. 1668K3).
1662	San Damián	Manuel de Alarcón	Spanish	*Sanvitores, García, Concepción.	Fr. Sanvitores aboard. Wrecked Phil.
1663	San José	Medina & F. García del F.	Spanish	*Salcedo, Díaz.	Gov. Salcedo aboard. B&R 36:261; 37:121, 224-355.
1664	N. S. de la Limpia Concepción	Esteban Ramos	Spanish	*Ramos.	AGI Fil. 82-2.
1665	San José	Zebrian Vaez	Spanish	Salcedo, Díaz.	B&R 37:238-9.
1666	N. S. de la Concepción	Francisco Esteibar	Spanish	Salcedo, Santa Cruz, Díaz, Muñoz.	AGI Fil. 9-3-49. B&R 37:131, 235, 238.
1667	San José	A. Perez? Sofia? & Coello	Spanish	Salcedo, Robles, Díaz.	B&R 37:251-2; 41:199; 42:133; 53:307.
1668	a N. S. del Buen Socorro	Diego de Arévalo	Spanish	*Ansaldo, Salcedo, Díaz.	B&R 37:141-4, 250-8, 261-8, 274-5.
1668	b San Diego	B. Muñoz & A. Nieto	"	" " "	" " " " "
1669	6 San José	?	Spanish	*León, *Pimentel, Díaz.	Gov. de León aboard. B&R 37:275-8.
1670	Santa Maria de Guadalupe	Juan de Santa Cruz	Spanish	*Sanvitores.	Boat based in Marianas (ref. Doc. 1670B2).
1671	N. S. del Buen Socorro	D. de Arévalo	Spanish	*Tarín, Montero, León, Díaz, Florencia.	B&R 42:119, 43:27.
1672	a 5 (unnamed ship)	A. Nieto	Spanish	*Esplana, Montero, Díaz, Le Gobien.	B&R 42:135.
1672	b 5 San Diego	L. Coello	"	*Esplana, León, Montero, Díaz.	"
1673	5 San Antonio (de Padua)	J. Durán de Montfort	Spanish	*Bouwens, *Coomans, García, Díaz.	B&R 42:133. Brought first horse to Guam.

VOLUME 4 APPENDIX E

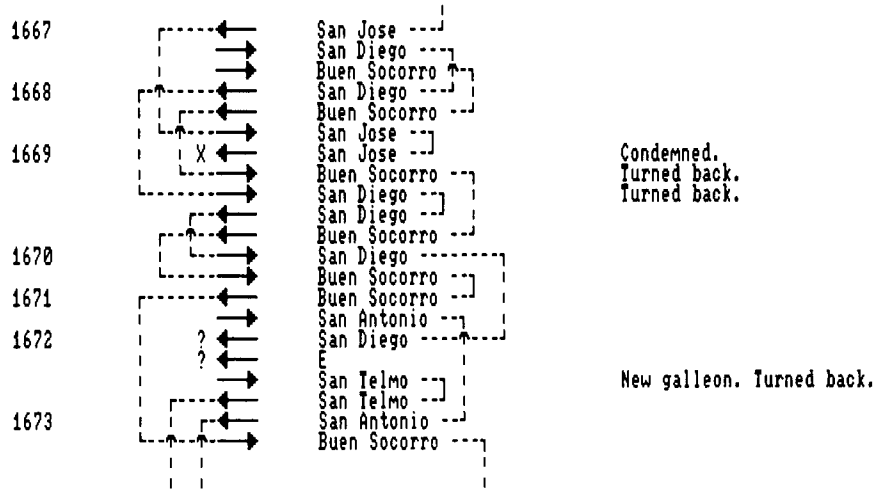
FLOW DIAGRAM OF THE GALLEONS ACROSS THE PACIFIC, 1638-1673

by Rodrigue Levesque



VOLUME 4 APPENDIX E
FLOW DIAGRAM OF THE GALLEONS ACROSS THE PACIFIC, 1638-1673
 by Rodrigue Levesque

Legend:	
→	Eastward crossing
←	Westward crossing
---	Link between voyages
X	Shipwrecked/condemned/lost
?	Unknown destination



SEE VOLUME 6 FOR CONTINUATION

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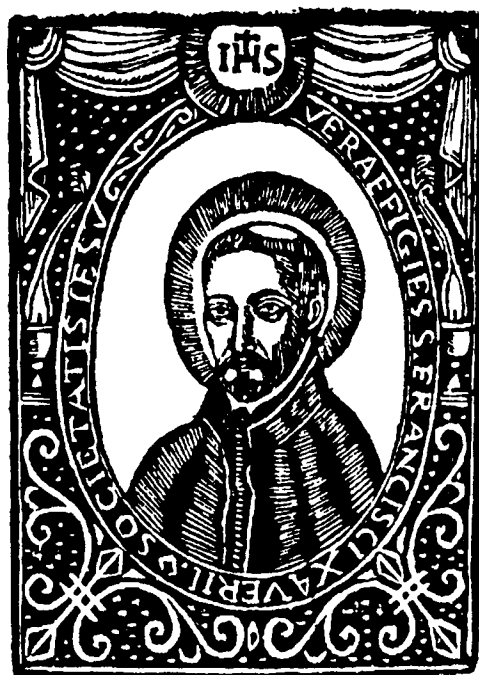
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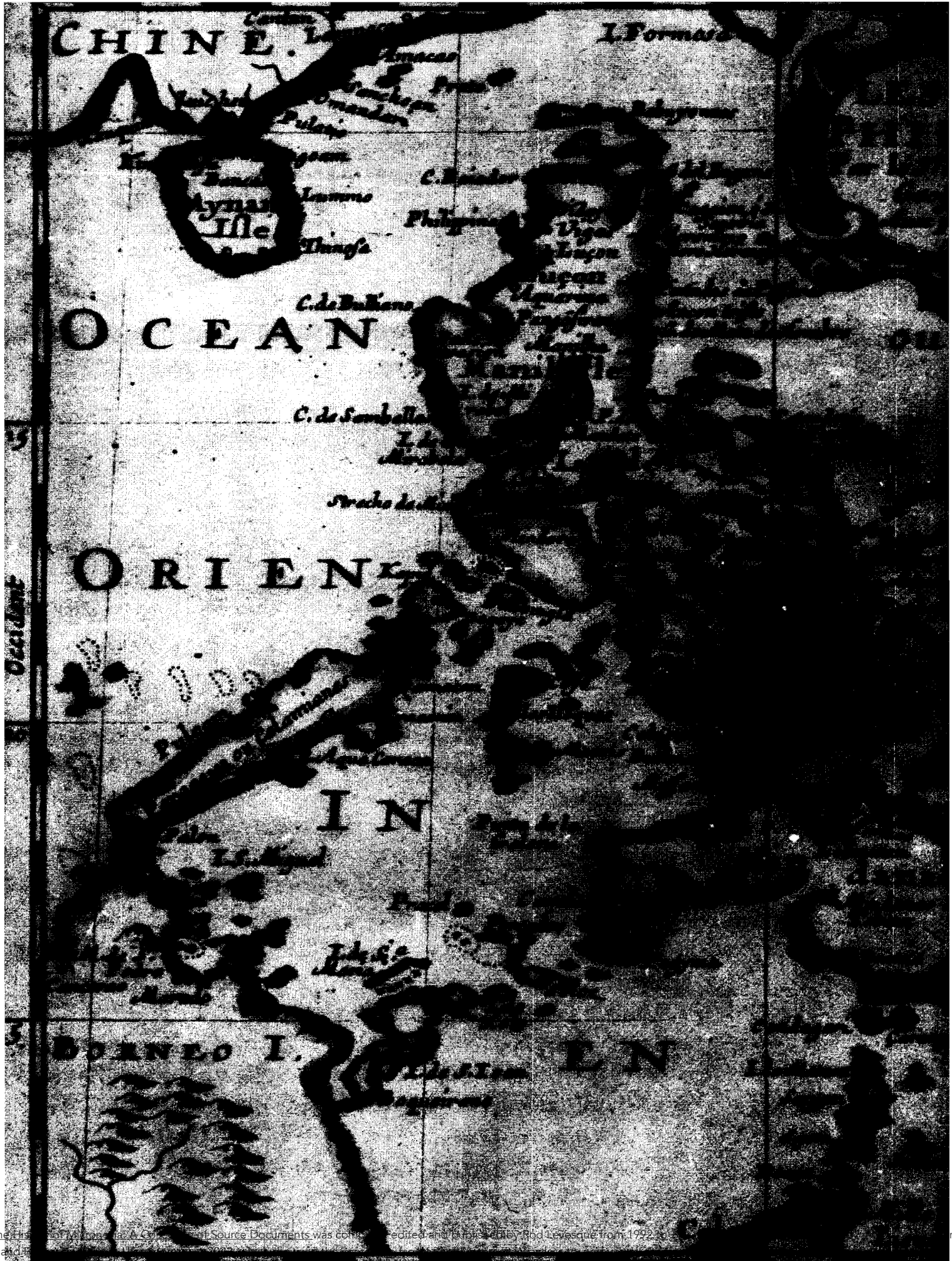
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CHINE

I. Formosa

OCEAN

ORIENTE

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BORNEO I.

EN

Occident