

HISTORY OF MICRONESIA

A COLLECTION OF SOURCE DOCUMENTS

**VOLUME 13—FAILURE AT ULITHI ATOLL,
1727-1746**

Compiled and edited
by

Rodrigue Lévesque

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- v. 5. Focus on the Mariana Mission, 1670-1673.
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- v. 7. More turmoil in the Marianas, 1679-1683.
- v. 8. Last Chamorro revolt, 1683-1687.
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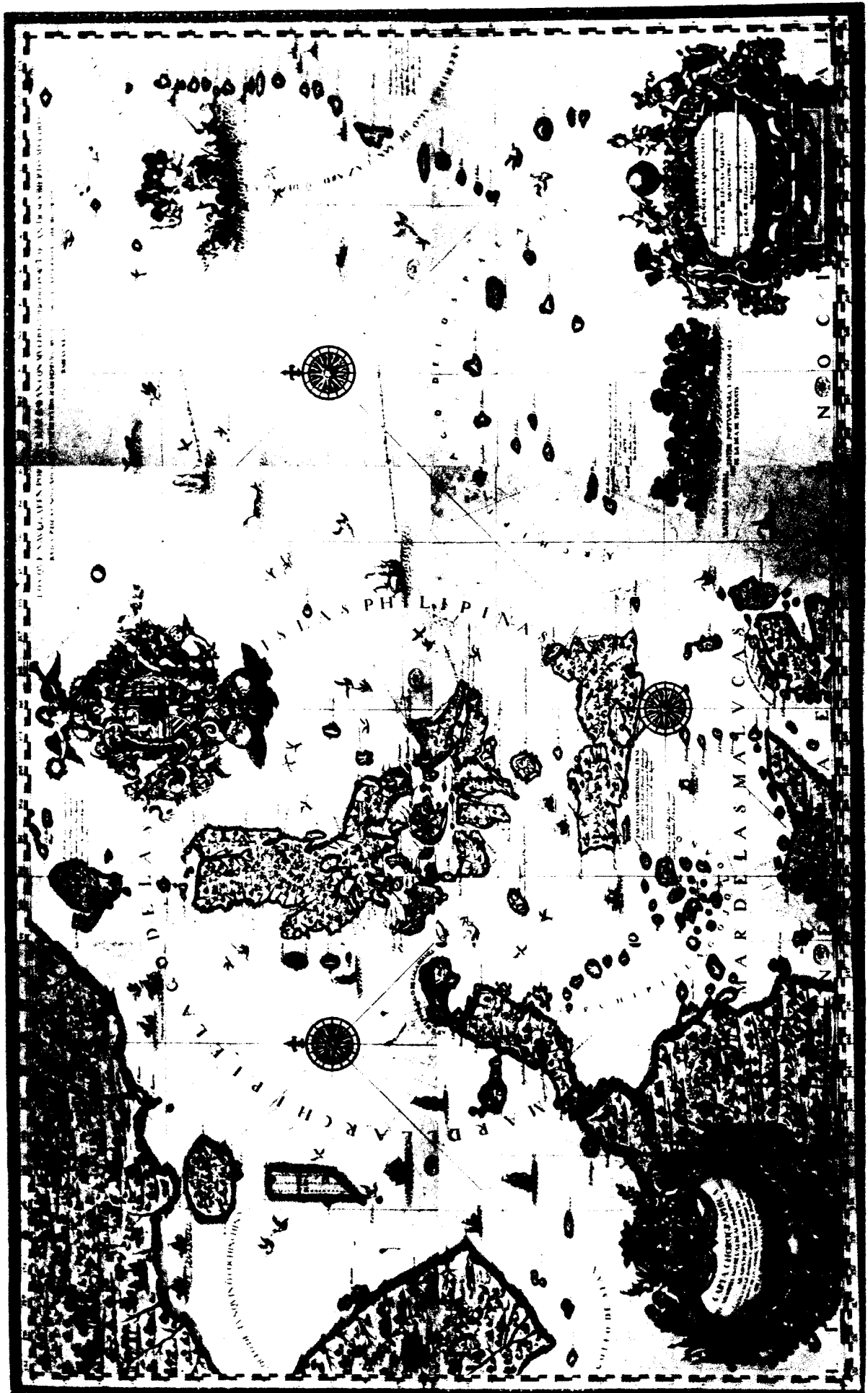
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Abbreviations

ABCFM	American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, Boston.
AGI	Archivo General de Indias, Seville.
AGN	Archivo General de la Nación, Mexico.
AGR	Archives Générales du Royaume, Brussels.
AHN	Archivo Histórico Nacional, Madrid.
AHSI	Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu (Jesuit magazine, Rome).
ANP	Archives Nationales, Paris.
ANU	Australian National University, Canberra.
ARSI	Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu (Jesuit archives, Rome).
BM	British Museum/Library, London.
BNM	Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid.
BNP	Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.
B&R	Blair & Robertson's series: The Philippine Islands.
CIMA	Coordinated Investigation of Micronesian Anthropology.
FSM	Federated States of Micronesia.
G&E	Gilbert & Ellice Islands Colony [= Kiribati & Tuvalu].
GPO	Government Printing Office, Washington.
HM	History of Micronesia series, by Lévesque Publications.
HMS	His [British] Majesty's Ship.
HMSO	His Majesty's Stationery Office, London.
HRAF	Human Relations Area Files, Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut.
IJN	Imperial Japanese Navy.
JPH	Journal of Pacific History, Canberra.
JPS1	Journal of the Polynesian Society, Wellington, N.Z.
JPS2	Journal of the Pacific Society, Tokyo, Japan.
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.
NMM	National Maritime Museum, Greenwich.
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.
PNA	Philippine National Archives, Manila.
PRO	Public Records Office, London.
PSIC	Pacific Scientific Information Center, Bishop Museum, Honolulu.
RAH	Real Academia de la Historia, Madrid.
RAN	Royal Australian Navy.
RN	Royal [British] Navy.
S&D	Streit & Dindinger (see Bibliography—Reference section)
SHM	Service Historique de la Marine, Palais de Vincennes, Paris.
SJ	Societas Jesu (Jesuits).
SMS	His [German] Majesty's Ship.
SS.CC.	Missionaries of the Sacred Hearts (Picpus).
STM	"Ships Through Micronesia" [a book in this series]
TNL	The National Library, Manila.
TTPI	Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands (formerly a part of Micronesia).
UH	University of Hawaii (Hamilton Library), Honolulu.
USCC	United States Commercial Company (1946 Economic Survey of Micronesia).
UNDP	United Nations Development Program, New York.
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, Paris.
USMC	U.S. Marine Corps [Additional R indicates Reserves].
USN	U.S. Navy [Additional R indicates Reserves].
USS	U.S. Ship.
UTK	University of Tokyo.
YC	Yen-ching Library, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts.
?	Information missing, wanted, or not available.
(?)	Information given is doubtful; confirmation needed.

Foreword

“History, like beauty, is in the eye of the beholder—or the person giving the description.”

Anthony Wilson-Smith, Canadian author.

I personally think that Micronesia is full of beauty, but I am not the author of the source documents published in this series. Thousands of authors have already been brought back to life, and we sometimes marvel at what they were beholding in that vast ocean. Tinian is one island that became a legend in the 18th century, thanks to the glorious descriptions made of it by English visitors in 1742—those aboard HMS Centurion. Another example was the favorable descriptions made of the Central Carolines by Father Cantova, the Jesuit missionary who tried hard to establish a mission there; in the end he was killed by the natives, and his bones are still buried on Mogmog Island, the capital of Ulithi Atoll.

Volume 13 reproduces not only manuscripts, but also texts from many rare books, for instance Father Cantova’s Biography by his friend, Fr. Spilimberg, originally published in Mexico City, and reproduced here in full. Secondly, Governor Valdés Tamón’s Instructions for the management of galleons, published in Manila in 1732, is also copied in full, in Appendix 1. And thirdly, there are extracts from Admiral Cabrera-Bueno’s Nautical handbook, with sailing directions, the one that was published in Manila in 1734.

Lovers of galleon lore, and naval history, will find additional material to satisfy their curiosity, such as two descriptions of one naval battle that took place off Cape Espiritu Santo in 1743, between **HMS Centurion** and the galleon **Covadonga**. The narrative of the defeated Spanish General, Gerónimo Montero, is quite straight forward and not too different from the English version of the same incident; both versions appear in the present volume.

One may wonder why the Spanish kept a colony in the Marianas when the local population reached such a low point, under 2,000 inhabitants. In this volume, and the next, I have decided to publish a full census of the population of the Marianas, for the sake of genealogy, always a popular subject. The census of 1727 reveals, among other things, the existence of many indigenous family names that have since disappeared. Why were the Spanish remaining in the Marianas? It was for the safety of the galleons, the survival of the galleon trade; hence, their presence in the Marianas was to ensure their permanence in the Philippines. One Governor tried hard to get permission for the immigration of 100 or more Filipino families to Guam, to increase the local popula-

tion, but there was no money to pay for their transport... What if this had come to pass, would the United States have kept the Marianas subordinate to the Philippines after their conquest of both of these island groups in 1898? Sometimes history follows a tortuous road, with unexpected turns and twists.

Going back to the Manila galleons themselves, a better route eastward to Acapulco was recognized and promoted by Admiral Enrique Hermán. It consisted in sailing from Manila Bay northward, then around the northern coast of Luzon Island. However, resistance to change was so great that this route was not to be used until decades later (in spite of support by the Spanish court), and then only for a short time.

During this period, the port of Apra in Guam came into more regular use by ships other than galleons, specially by the Mariana patache. For greater security, a new fort, Fort San Luís, was built along the Orote Peninsula in 1737 by Governor Cárdenas Pacheco; it overlooked the Gabgab Beach area. As with all the other forts of Guam, this one never fired a shot in anger either.

Security was always a concern of the Spanish in the Pacific, because of the many wars in Europe which caused piratical acts in the faraway Pacific. In the mid-1740s, the Dutch Governor of Batavia, a gentleman by the name of Van Imhoff, threatened Manila, enough to cause the cancellation of the yearly galleon voyage. His plan was to send his own trading ships to America. Two Dutch ships did make it across the Pacific in 1746, and tried to sell their cargo of textiles to the Viceroy of New Spain. Their offer was rebuffed (it was illegal, and forbidden by at least three treaties) and some of their men made prisoners. Such prisoners were carried all the way to Spain, where they languished in prisons for years afterwards, only to be sentenced to serve aboard Spanish ships. Their own government was not interested in getting them back, because they did not wish to pay any compensation to the Spanish. Life simply went on regardless.

Rod Lévesque
Gatineau, December 1999.

Acknowledgments

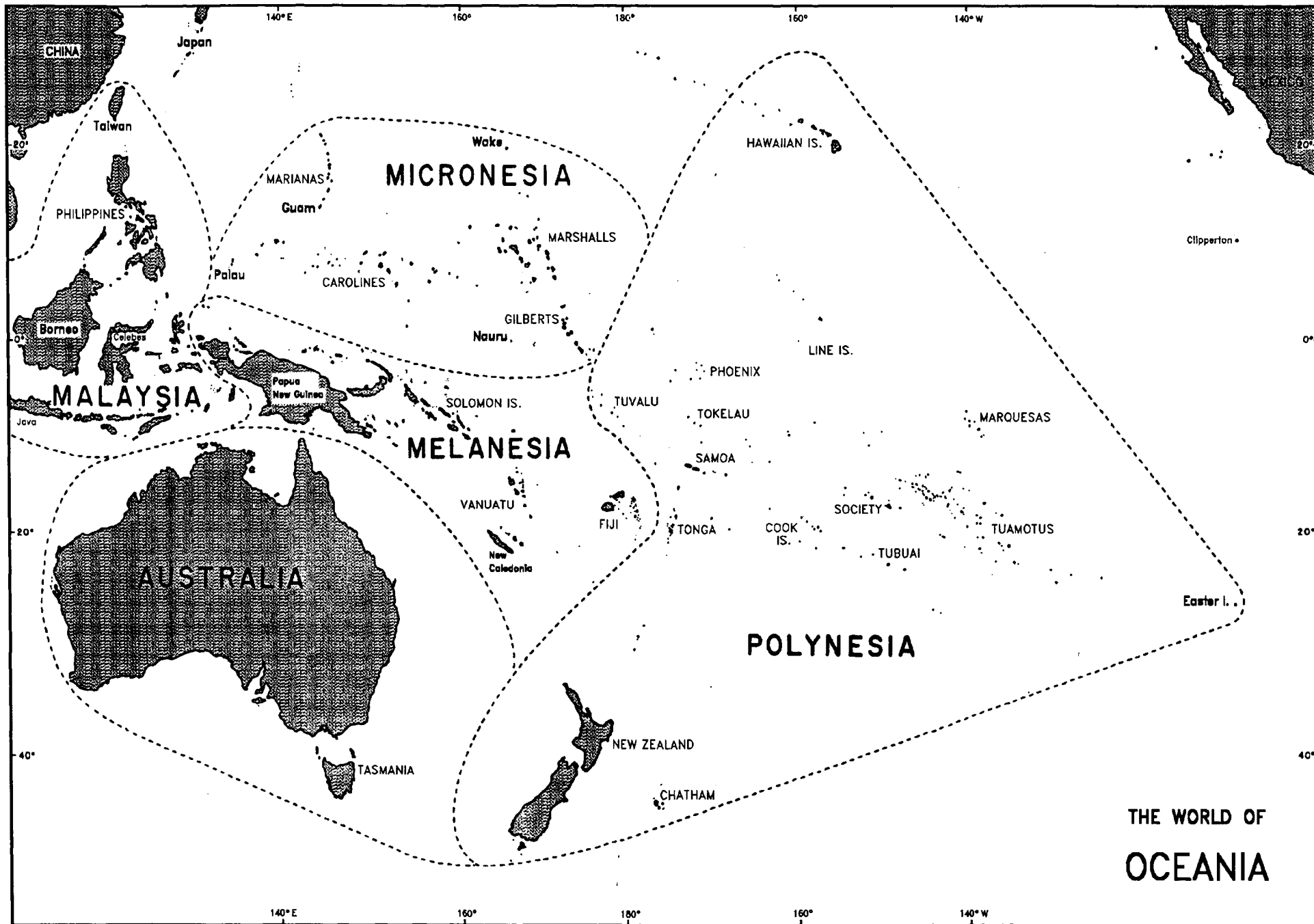
The publication of this volume was supported in part by a grant from the Commonwealth Council for the Humanities, Saipan, a Public Program of the U.S. National Endowment for the Humanities, with the active support of the Historic Preservation Office, Saipan. The German translations in this volume have been done by Peter Hessel, a resident of Arnprior, Ontario. I wish to thank Father Mark A. Lewis in Rome for sending me one Jesuit document from ARSI.

Errors and corrections

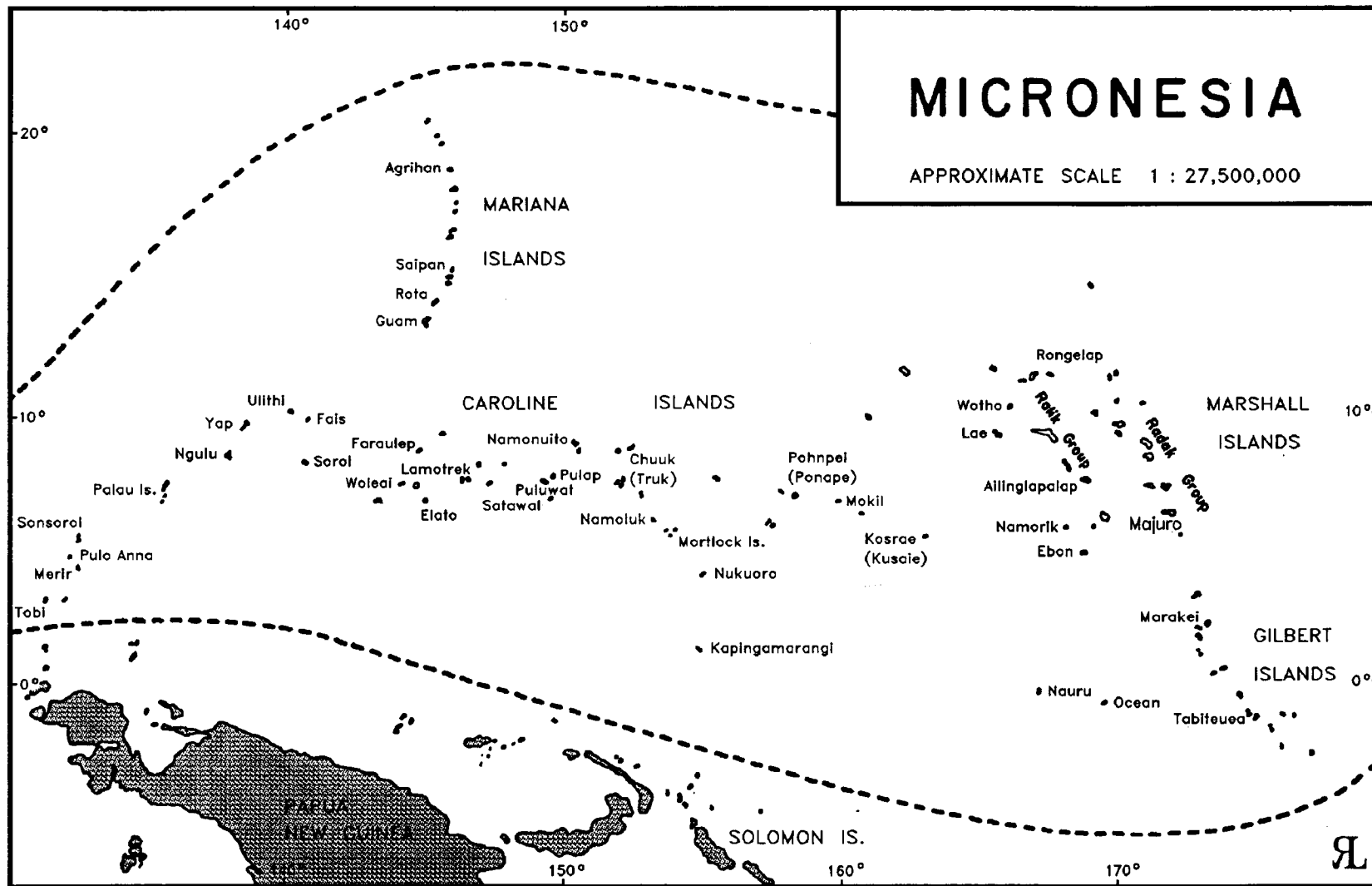
Despite every effort to check the facts, minor errors have undoubtedly remained. For these, as well as for the judgments expressed, the editor takes full responsibility. However, readers who spot factual errors are sincerely invited to submit corrections.

Note on place names

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



**THE WORLD OF
OCEANIA**



Documents 1727E

Population census of the Marianas in 1727—fewer than 3,000 inhabitants

Source: AGI Ultramar 561, legajo 20.

Note: According to the Governor of the Philippines (see his letter below), Fr. Cantova visited the Mariana Mission occasionally during the 8-year period (1722-30) that he was based in Manila.

E1. Letter from the Marquis of Torrecampo, dated Manila 30 June 1727

Original text in Spanish

El Marques de Torre-Campo Gobernador y Capitan General de Filipinas, pone en la soberana noticia de V.M. que aunque el Gobernador interino de las Islas Marianas, ha representado à esta Real Audiencia no tener mas de setecientos naturales aquellas Islas, há pasado à informarse de los Superiores de la Sagrada religion de la Compañia de Jesus de aquella Ciudad, y del Padre Juan Antonio Cantova, Catedrático de prima de aquel colegio, que ha poco tiempo llegó de las Islas Marianas, y certifican llegaran à tres mil almas las que se administran en aquellas islas incluyendo la infanteria.

Señor

Habiendo reflexado, sobre el número de setecientos naturales que representó à esta Real Audiencia, el Gobernador interino de Marianas, tenia tan solamente aquellas Islas, para dexarlas al Comando de un Cabo Superior, y con veinte y cinco soldados de Guarnicion, sobre que V.M. significó el perjuicio eminente, que resultará de hacer qualquiera novedad en este asunto[.] procuré informarme de los Superiores de la Sagrada religion de la Compañia de Jesus de esta Ciudad, y del Padre Juan Antonio Cantova, Catedrático de Prima, de esta misma religion, que [h]a poco tiempo vino de aquellas islas; y certifican llegarán à tres mil almas las que residirán en ellas incluyendo en este número la referida Infanteria; de que ha querido participar à V.M. para su soberana inteligencia.

*Dios guarde la Católica Real Persona de V.M. como la Cristiandad ha menester.
Manila y Junio 30 de 1727.*

El Marques de Torrecampo

Translation.

The Marquis of Torrecampo, Governor and Captain General of the Philippines, brings to the sovereign attention of Y.M. that, although the interim Governor of the Mariana Islands, has made representations to this Royal Audiencia to the effect that there are no more than 700 natives in those islands, it had requested a report from the Superiors of the sacred Order of the Society of Jesus in that City, and from Father Juan Antonio Cantova, a full professor in that college, who has recently arrived from the Mariana Islands, and they certify that the total number of inhabitants in those Islands would reach 3,000, including the infantry.

Sire:

Having considered the report of the interim Governor of the Marianas to this Royal Audiencia to the effect that there were only 700 natives in those Islands, and that they could be left in charge of one Superior Officer, with 25 soldiers as a garrison, as well as the eminent prejudice that Y.M. said would result from making any changes in this matter, I tried to inform myself by requesting the Superiors of the sacred Order of the Society of Jesus in this City, and from Father Juan Antonio Cantova, a full professor, of the same order, who has recently come from those Islands, and they certify that the people residing there would amount to 3,000 souls, including the above-mentioned infantry in this number. I have therefore decided to inform Y.M. for your sovereign intelligence.

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

Manila, 30 June 1727.

The Marquis of Torrecampo.

E2. Actual census taken by the Jesuits in December 1727

General census of the persons who make up the Mariana Islands.

Census of the Residency of Agaña:

In the village of Mongmong:

Married

Francisco Tugui	Maria Ngohgo
Juan Arugao	Catarina Yssiña
Antonio Dagos	Ysabel Hitti
Ygnacio Gudan	Rosalía Lagui
Anttonio Adai	Juana Semay
Gabriel Elayi	Rosa Angongog
Agustin Quilatan ¹	Clara Manui
José Meno	Maria Hagui
Pedro Titut	Catalina Meta
Fernando Songao	Catalina Yssic
Rafael Taisipic	Maria Maedi

¹ Note: Only this man is Filipino.

Blas Bebao
 Pedro Guyi
 Miguel Mesere
 Carlos Yssesi
 Francisco Chita
 Pedro Baham
 Benito Hongi
 José Chiac
 Miguel Masga
 Lorenzo Taitichu
 Diego Chamang
 Martin Ogchon
 Antonio Sahoña
 Juan Tailache
 Tomas Mangilao
 Martin Eput
 Pedro Duncuru
 Estanislao Telú

Teresa Ahya
 Clara Tihon
 Maria Honong
 Maria Tanatastao
 Catalina Taitingan
 Maria Ygao
 Maria Nengan
 Maria Ayi
 Maria Quygi
 Maria Maurigña
 Josefa Meno
 Barbara Mimmi
 Ysabel Taitichung
 Maria Taidiris
 Martha Meme
 Catalina Taipino
 Ynes Manjaisin
 Catalina Chabé

Unmarried men

Martin Yumus
 Modesto Saguafía
 Thadeo Udud
 Miguel Migiyú
 Basilio Maga

Lucas Tagua
 José Lanti
 Pedro Acurao
 Pedro Gugui
 Francisco Ve?

Carlos Epopot
 Manuel Tahgui
 Andres Tumaitay
 Nicolas Taissigo
 Juan Laho.

Ygnacio Codda
 Silvestre Francisco Gatus
 Pascual (the deaf mute)
 Antonio Taitano

Unmarried women

Ysabel Chomma
 Rosalia Mafaho
 Catharina Sasangan.

Nicolasa Meme
 Catharina Maulihe

Ana Cheban
 Ursula Lulu

Martina Taiguidong
 Rosa Naya

Boys

Miguel Chatfauros
 Juan Enge
 Francisco Tongo
 Luis Taisipic
 Miguel Ninaisin
 Pedro Eliilos
 Nicolas Quiputo.

Nicolas Namanglo
 Juan Taiteput
 Clemente Gofsagua
 Juan Eman
 Rafael Taifaihan
 Ygnacio Tumero

Angel Quitongo
 Juan Tadtassi
 Santiago Taisangua
 Anselmo Naichong
 Francisco Todsongsong
 Didaco Taihimlo

Simon Ypug
 Antonio Gumatatao
 Francisco Napuntano
 Tomas Taimahñao
 José Efam
 Esteban Taipangon

Girls

Catharina Chamidio
 Pascuala Matanmamansan
 Theresa Taimaotus
 Theresa Maasita
 Ynes Nengon

Catharina Matuna
 Juana Mamudai
 Catharina Sagua
 Rosalia Negutgut
 Catharina Tainaan.

Clara Quiarasta
 Mariana Vyuña
 Catharina Mafohora
 Maria Gofaorao

Maria Tafago
 Josefa Mampango
 Maria Taimactus
 Maria Gamumu

Babies

Salvador Adaoña
 Francisco Quitaro
 Antonio de los Santos
 Bibiana Aguan

Thadeo Quihoja
 Melchor Quisahon
 Ogchon
 Catharina Gudongña

Cosme Damian Chatguaraf
 Pablo Juan Quitongi
 Agustin Torres
 Clara Tasifía.

In Sinahaña:**Married¹**

Pedro Achuga	Miguel Hoyi	José Taitano	Felipe Cucu
Simon Tedmaurig	Pedro Mangú	Nicolas Adú	Tomas Gaggo
Lorenzo Taigima	Lorenzo Gaggo	Luis Tarrago	Pedro Paccaca
Pedro Ena Tumutukli	Vincente Edeng	Ygnacio Quisarot	Ygnacio Tuhli
Pedro Doon	Manuel Hineti	Francisco Beña	Gabriel Epegui
José Tanofia	Antonio Angaña	Diego Ronda	Lucas Chichu
Miguel Eguaha	Pablo Eñao	Juan Taya	Mathias Guada
Pedro Mafifi	Agustin Eccu	Juan Adanho	Luisa Piti
Juana Apurri	Ana Engon	Ysabel Angis	Ygnacia Homta
Catharina Quidiris	Ana Yengo	Maria Nono	Sebastiana Tongan
Teresa Laggua	Maria Enegog	Teresa Emmi	Andrea Etongo
Catharina Ago	Melchora de la Cruz	Leocadia de la Cruz	Ynes Emin
Ynes Ego	Maria Taitingo	Rosa Taitarti	Maria Mamaysa
Francisca Mamongi	Maria Tadumato	Teresa Diggan	Venancia Masa
Francisca Icasí	Maria Gofhahombio	Maria Taiapas	
Theresa Taytaotao	Barbara Yssong	Maria Tedmaurig	

Unmarried men

Simon Tagua	Francisco Sangarita	Lorenzo Atuguit	Andres Nananga
Salvador Tangosta	Marcos Ebban	Felipe Vincanai	Francisco Quitaro
Andres Meni			

Unmarried women

Ynes Aeseta	Antonio Yuga	Cecilia Tailig	Ana Tedmalense
Luisa Maamor	Antonia Ayuham	Aria Ehongog	Catharina Mafuginin
Maria Appa	Angela Melic		

Boys

Miguel Achuga	Francisco Borja Taitagui	Juan Tedmaurig	José Taiguaha
Ygnacio Egihot	Baltasar Efaisin	Bruno Mafaininot	Miguel Tinofia
Santiago Quidachai	Salvador Tegutgut	Pablo Quidagua	

Girls

Maria Enni	Teresa Lagua	Maria Mami	Maria Guaiga
Brigida Temi	Francisca Taimahgon	Theodora Eosgi	Ynes Maurig
Maria Tagotagos	Francisca Eosgi	Emerenciana Mami	Theresa Mamaysa
Mónica Taisipic	Magdalena Nasisma	Maria Cristina Samay	Leocadia Maafudani

Babies

Pedro Quihoto	Pablo Pinaula	Francisco Sagualahi	Lorenzo Quidachai
José Baltasar Tanofia	Francisco Atugut	Ygnacio José Naichug	Ygnacio José Taitano
Ygnacio Taiguinachit			
Rosa Apuni	Victoria Tedsamag	Maria Taiharum	Maria Mamfaisin
Andrea Taitingo	Leocadia Manartasi	Melchora Tedsamai	Maria Dominga Taitongo
Josefa Mamfaisin	Josefa Quituput		

1 Ed. note: The men are listed first, then their wives.

In Aniguag:**Married men**

Pablo Teai	Pedro Doao	Lorenzo Udamen	Luis Adagos
Andres Meno	Francisco Yugi	Manuel Tinon	Domingo Lachai
Toribio Taicahna	Antonio Udan Melchor	Francisco Tetmachuga	Juan Ydan
Luis Ysic	Agustin Napuntano	Pedro Adda	Ambrosio Emmimi
Francisco Taha	Simon Veedor	Pedro Teañao	Manuel Tisirsu
Roman Gasug	Agustin Mecai	Juan Yla	Juan Taeca
Antonio Taiguma	Ysidoro Ydon	Pedro Chatgima	Ygnacio Utpus
Angel Eyi	Tomas Yneñao	Pedro Tugung	Juan Tanday
Andres Hunña	Antonio Seli	Felix Nineti	Andres Suyu
Nicolas Mayni	Pablo Saguataotao	Matheo Taichiro	Cristobal Curi
Andres Ungagta	Pedro Chaco	Juan Yugang	Francisco Taicahna
Pedro Taiguma	Pedro Teiguinas	Ygnacio Gofgima	Rosario Chatguas
Antonio Tatacaon (a) Yno	Jacinto Attano	Ygnacio Teañauta	Tomas Meno
Pablo Albay	Tomas Guarña		

Married women

Maria Mami	Theresa Medy	Anna Mangui	Francisca Ganduli (a) Duli
Catharina Charaña	Theresa Liao	Catharina Yna	Francisca Mataya
Ynes Masangan	Maria Emmamai	Rosa Taitingan	Maria Taitingan
Ursula Mamudai	Lucia Tiha	Francisca Masongsong	Anna Baba
Juana Calefos	Maria Ymposta	Maria Guaho	Ysabel Geni
Ysabel Taingarís	Maria Dagi	Margarita Hadi	Maria Emmi
Mónica Mamsangan	Magdalena Meneme	Ysabel Gaitano	Ynes Taibibuc
Juana Ayaya	Ynes Gofaras	Juana Chattia	Angela Yniyie
Ana Ataya	Catharina Acheigua	Francisca Goffarina	Teresa Atti
Catharina Egegi	Lucia Gelo	Angela Dugung	Dominga Mamfaisin
Catharina Amai	Teresa Mananbio	Maria Tatmasta	Rosa Padua
Maria Masangsong	Catharina Engo	Lucia Mamfraisin	Rosalía Taisgi
Juana Asumti	Lucia Masangani	Josefa Niho	Maria Arumfiho
Luduigis Heggen			

Unmarried men

Agustin Tartu	Francisco Yterten	Felix Chungi	Ambrosio Taipigua
Francisco Huguayon	Francisco Taisigui	Benito Bayu	José Bauhu
Juan Guigacha	Salvador Meno	José Muña Ygnacio Taiguilai	Nicolas Taisargua
Pablo Taitipon	José Dudus	Andres Hime	
José Taiteno	Martin Quipuha	Pablo Lier	

Unmarried women

Catharina Udde	Leocadia Eve	Anna Edi	Catharina Gayo
Maria Gofhahambio	Ynes Atiti	Cecilia Masasangan	Theresa Masay
Maria Agon	Maria Ylai	Lucia Mecas	Maria Ofii

Boys

Francisco Taguita	Ygnacio Aenasifa	Domingo Taitini	Gregorio Quidahi
Domingo Taimangro	Nicolas de la Cruz	Juan Esteban Tetmachuga	Martin Estan. Tetmachuga
Andres Suyu	Estanislao Ysig	Angel Tairamen	Juan Egadi
Luis Quidachai	Francisco Taitano	Diego Taipiros	Juan Chathingog
Miguel Natinam	Dionisio Chaudadi	Julian Actaaman	Fco. Tamgalangag

Juan Talaf Clemente Taingaraorao José Namaurig	Antonio Teañao Phelipe Quiguma	Pascual Antonio Seli Fco. Ygnacio Tatacaon	Salvador Taingihut Antonio Quidayac
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Girls

Brigida Unaan Anna Masangsong Francisca Ytao Maria Dominga Taichiro	Ynes Taingagihgi Ma. Francisca Masangsong Cordula Ypic Maria Tailayi	Rosalia Mamaisa Maria Guimahon Heduvigis Chattia Maria Matanga	Maria Quitaca Ursula Seseta Maria Taichimas Josefá Ygnacia Masangsong
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Babies

Nicolas Gofsagua Felix Ferdinand Taichiro Lorenzo Pedro Actasi Josefa Neungan Rosa Maria Gudongfia	Ygnacio Nenegú Manuel José Ynuc Maria Bernarda Taitingan Rosalia Mamaisa	Domingo Chathigam Manuel Ygnacio Tatacoog Maria Yssic Francisca Taimactus	Juan Silvestre Egeput José Cristiano Muña Justina Tedmauring Juana Angela Quisgimidio
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In Assan:

Married men

Gregorio Tacco Tomas Chili Jorge Apu José Gudi Ygnacio Uduc Miguel Attihus Luis Tahari Juan Chibot	Andres Cheche Lucas Taiguilos Gregorio Taingo Vicente Pinni Juan Meno Domingo Conejo Miguel Beyu	Marcos Laguna Salvador Tug José Lahi Tomas Sangaotano Antonio Agupa Pedro Bucta Pedro Quitugua	Tomas Culas Luis Cheudal Ambrosio Taisagua Francisco Chago Gaspar Appa Toribio Maaño Alonso Guini
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Married women

Lucia Mamsangan Mónica Palayita Mónica Gege Maria Macharge Maria Egu Rosa Hami Rosa Yga Juana Migge	Maria Numho Josefa Taitifi Ysabel Effi Ynes Pavassu Ynes Tuna Catharina Lahyan Manuela Mamsangam	Juana Etus Maria Mangocta Maria Taihanum Maria Ebie Catharina Atona Ysabel Guahoha Felipa Ligña	Maria Amti Rosa Abi Damiana Emmai Maria Taitano Nicolasa Engangan Teresa Taililuc Margarita Manfoho
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Unmarried men

José Albay Pablo Halo Francisco Aggua	Pablo Taichichu Ygnacio Guiyon	Bernardo Taiyacyac Francisco Dangas	José Ego Antonio Ebibi
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Unmarried women

Bernarda Samayta Juana Etti Maria Taiassi	Francisca Seña Francisca Angi	Maria Neno Bernarda de Niho	Ysabel Egigi Clara Diga
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Boys

Pedro Taidiris Xavier Tedtaotao	Francisco Ychu Francisco Egong	Ygnacio Chibocta Ygnacio Afchiho	Bartolomé Taihineguit Manuel Chatpangin
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Felipe Tedtaotao

Girls

Angela Alasña
Rosa Degi

Josefa Taimagong

Rosa Taitagui

Teresa Taingatongo

Babies

José Elang
José Quitano
Barilisa Meta
Barbara Teudmaurig [sic]
Clara TaitaassiPedro Chathoagugahon
Marcos Chatgadi
Maria Guinaña
Maria MasupogoJuan Tailegui
Mauricio Gadiña
Martina Neñiha
Theresa SinguaFrancisco Tarsagua
Pedro Tegurgua
Margarita Gita
Ygnacia Lucia Tairafú

In Tepungan:

Married men

Matteo Taga
Gaspar Daha
Nicolas Chatina
Pedro Quitaraf
Domingo DiddiAndres Agmata
Domingo Anicat
Pedro Tion
Pedro Lengua
Manuel LapiaVenancio Yuyu
Marcelo Guairo
Sebastian Dadahon
Sebastian Anno
José BabúPedro Deda
Cipriano Assi
Pedro Egue
Francisco Taigaga
Andres Aquingo

Married women

Teresa Egege
Bernarda Magagani
Juana Atti
Ynes Tiniho
Catharina NengaMónica Etti
Teresa Mami
Teresa Yña
Magdalena Ngenta
Dominga LoautaMaria Tedsamay
Maria Guidon
Juana Enna
Josefa Antti
Rosa SamaitaYsabel Agmaungi
Lucia Mangogof
Ynes Mactus
Maria Matangú
Angela Egege

Unmarried men

Pablo Ongta

Agustin Tuncica

Francisco Teiguinhao

Cosme Yppo

Unmarried women

Martha Puyo

Catharina Gelo

Maria Tano

Boys

Ambrosio Sipiña
Nicolas Taigachun
Bartolome TaisarogMiguel Aman
Martin TadugatongoMarcos Quihaga
Francisco HirontaSalvador Hiro
Ygancio Quidaisin

Girls

Maria Quiagon
Catharina MamfohoMaria Quitaca
Maria Quidista

Ursula Samay

Maria Hemotña

Babies

Matias Quifahan
Andres Chatngataotao
Maria HinugogtaJuan Francisco Maputi
Lutgardis Taisipic
Bernarda HohotoRafael Tadgumihiro
Petronila Chingulo
Maria TaipingaNicolas Aput
Ynes Manuela Mamsamgam
Juana Yhlo

In Riguan:**Married**

Nicolas Conejo	Clemente Bahang	José Vera	Francisco Gihai
Nicolas Egege	Francisco Hailo		
Lucia Sagua	Liberatta Gigut	Francisco Tairout	Antonia Achagi
Juana Mami	Theresa Agai		

Unmarried men

Matheo Yssao	Francisco Duli	Pedro Yffi	Ygnacio Quisarroc
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Unmarried women

Lucia Echi	Juana Zuya	Lucia Quititi
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Boy

Pablo Chathigem

Girls

Cecilia Midio Josepa Mamfaisin

Babies

Blas Quidachai Teresa Conejo Maria Taimnete Mariana de Arguelles

In Apurguan:**Married**

Mathias Mamahanao	Pedro Hari	Antonio Cudassi	Felipe Chaggi
Antonio Gachi	Francisco Taifarna	Benito Manongsong [sic]	Bentura Licha
Estevan Quiptomanglo	Leon Queguahon	Juan Sisipieco	Domingo Attiti
Phelipe Eni	Pablo Actantongo	Luis Gusontano	Raymundo Tel-li
Diego Pinocula	Francisco Xavier Eguan	Pablo Egege	Pedro Yguangalahi
Ygnacio Amotho	Pedro Acano	Ventura Pura	Lorenzo Quchorgis
Pablo Gege	Gabriel Eggui	Ygnacio Fafana	Diego Hean
Francisco Hulan			
Catharina Soña	Catharina Amay	Cristina Acuanam	Abundancia Duli
Josefa Taitanum	Casimira Quifohota	Maria Egege	Catharina Paunata
Ysabel Taisamai	Maria Piya	Josefa Amay	Dominga Masana
Ynes Nahon	Maria Punu	Juana Gangi	Juana Tacharista
Miguelia Enna	Maria Una	Anastasia Hami	Ynes Masahi
Margarita Taifagas	Lucia Amay	Lucia Matangú	Sabina Sayof
Maria Neña	Bibiana Hinga	Catharina Nineyi	Ana Menuña
Bárbara Mampogo	Felipa Gamami		

Unmarried men

Felipe Nanamgam	Juan Gel-lo	Pablo Licha	Juan Quiddagua
José Ange	Santiago Tiharman	Santiago Ad-an	Pedro Bingo
Antonio Chudulai			

Unmarried women

Maria Yni	Ysabel Enno	Mónica Uña	Ynes Vidutt
Catharina Ama	Maria Acguitam	Catharina Elig	Maria Nama
Ynes Lingan	Getrudis Gofnaam		

Boys and girls

Gregorio Taigumugu	Pedro Manigcha	Antonio Quisihu	Ygnacio Quicharauta
Agustin Taichi	José Taiad-ao	Gregorio Quifeiham	Estanislao Matangaha
Francisco Masogui	Pedro Gofchegi	Francisco Taiffiño	José Quipuxai
Basilio Mataan	Miguel Tadmumali	Matias Masga	Pablo Quiato
Felipe Apu	Evaristo Sungot	Pedro Hium	Pedro Chatogui
Ygnacio Manreña	Francisco Doñao	Domingo Agangi	José Quipoca
Teresa Tahanmarpi	Ursula Efoho	Ysabel Ago	Ynes Agmarati
Lucia Yló	Josefa Angangan	Maria Toholo	Maria Duduña
Ursula Acmagihgi	Brigida Ylan	Maria Yló	
Julian Nasangota	Antonio Taitagui		

Babies

Manuel Tandai	José Mafartuigui	Tomas Nasongton	Diego Gofhihos
Ygnacio Tanoña	Josef Tanoña		
Josefa Ytan	Rosa Maria Ygigi		

José Bonani, former Minister of this district. 4 January 1728.

14 November 1717.—Jacob Heipel.

In this district all are Mariano Indians.

Agaña, 30 December 1727.

Ygnacio de Ybarguen.

Census of the villages of the Island of Rota in the year of 1727.

In the village of **Sosanhaya**:

Married men

Pedro Medan	Carlos Megue	Juan Bautista Dandum	Sebastian Chauzi
Antonio Dagi	Francisco Ogguma	Ysabel Chichagua	Juan Maoinong
Pedro Pablo Misgran	Gabriel Taisagua	Manuel Affachit	Simon Aga
Lorenzo Adingan	Gabriel Tehi	Simon Sisina	Sebastian Gabibic
Domingo Yaa	Francisco Tro	Manuel Beban	Lucas Uola

Married women

Maria Agalo	Maria Lagon	Agueda Emen	Anna Totta
Ursula Omi	Angela Egu	Teresa Romo	Catalina Oña
Maria Selege	Rosa Asa	Ygnacia Ani	Angela Añonte
Sebastiana Mazpu	Gabriela Duke	Nicolasa Gudaña	Francisca Anata
Dominga Mahomot	Maria Tette	Lucia Teitingo	Teresa Addua

Unmarried men and women

José Engen	Theresa Mandriangit	Mariana Dadan	Dorothea Cruf
Mónica Nona	Mónica Mamfeisin	Anna Beggi	Maria Attan
Maria Egege			

Boys

Tomas Taimanglo	Narciso Siña	Juan de Dios Mafas	Francisco Eguiot
Borja Ocpus	Bautista Sayof	Eustacio Enchongon	Salvador Chatzagua
Nicolas Nunu	Felipe Semizahi	Martin Soo	

Girls

Maria Yllu
Teresa Ygam
Maria Edli
Rosa Goña

Maria Attau
Mónica Yugui
Maria Teymat
Maria Mattanga

Asela Gala
Cecilia Momi
Dionisia Masamgam

Lucia Tia
Rosa Attanau
Teresa Niho

Babies

Simforosa Pinamguat
Ygnacio Maria Cruf
Mariana Mesa
Dimas Guaychuchu
Ygnacio Yña
Ygnacio Malulu

Segismundo Quioza
Maria Cruf
Ysabel Nenig
Nicolas Dafi
Salvador Tineta

Maria Taichanum
Emanuela Cruf
Dorotea Mafingin
Ysabel Naña
Benita Ygum

Cathalina Maria Cruf
Manuela Cadmi
Pascual Mangapagu
Mariano Matautatau
Brigida Ucha

In the village of **Soson[r]ago**:

Married men and women

Pedro Chuam
Josef Egem
José Anitti
Teresa Emesaú

Miguela Guego
Mariano Angó
Maria Maguá
Maria Tugut

Pedro Chuguahan
Felipe Mañocna
Maria Avé
Francisco Samey

Domingo Yyaya
Ygnacio Aguoraf
Maria Ugu
Tomas Chudanago

Unmarried women

Maria Yggu

Gertruda Gada

Rosa Leden

Maria Aggua

Boys

Gregorio Quitapoc
Juan Unaam

Francisco Mohit

Teodoro Yaga

Miguel Matanani

Girls

Teresa Yana

Maria Ygú

Babies

José Amam
Nicolas Taichizo
Matilde Mamagu

Juan Tauna
Mónica Mallanga
Bartolome Danglan

Apola Pinpingot
Francisca Masaii
José Chogua

Ygnacio Taitugih
Madalena Adagi

In the village of **Miune**:

[Married men and women]

Alonso Agigam
Alonso Chalguatao
Lucas Baba
Francisco Gepam
Tomas Echa
Maria Eggon
Maria Malaya
Maria Aguiya
Ygnacia Adayya
Ynes Yña

Pedro Taga
Tomas Angi
Pedro Pinaggro
Nicolas Acauma
Mateo Nogueza
Juana Gumitta
Agueda Unaam
Miguela Becli
Maria Allei
Mariana Yaña

José Eña
José Sijuña
Francisco Cannai
Francisco Nona

Ygnacia Nezazagan
Magdalena Eam
Maria Teiuhem
Catalina Emeney

Sebastian Emi
Antonio Teisingua
Ygnacio Ospuz
Juan Tadezo

Ysabel Yssiña
Ynocencia Quifoca
Miguela Matansi
Lucia Tugi

Unmarried men and women

Gaspar Elli	Martin Sangan	Nicolas Tailú	
Catalina Tagor	Rosa Nañan	Ursula Udu	Engracia Anni
Margarita Eggua	Francisca Eddo		

Boys

Pedro Nenegú	Pedro Taitagui	José Effami	Jacinto Dagi
Francisco Guagodon	Juan Songan	Juan Hazgumi	Borja Chalnay
José Eggua	Tomas Egadi	Ygnacio Salsagua	

Babies

Juana Etta	Mariana Toa	Maria Nonagala	Maria Tayassi
Francisco Aguga	Gertruda Maassi	Ysabel Duguen	Emanuela Ducham
Rosa Tanga	Paula Yugta	Teresa Mangui	Gabriela Tetangi
Miguel Acheigua	Francisco Nogñgahano	Maria Yña	

In the village of **Seac**:

Married men

Martin Nuhum	Luis Mongi	Mattias Agahit	Miguel Gehizo
Ygnacio Tady	Ygnacio Dahani	Juan Tuputi	Rafael Saiguizon
Aloysio Golfanei	Domingo Malulu	Pedro Anti	Pedro Bizde
Dionisio Baha			

Married women

Maria Daddi	Maria Dudu	Luisa Edi	Ana Mamsangam
Ana Caca	Josefa Mohit	Ysabel Nagua	Margarita Noni
Marta Dama	Rosa Teimaulic	Maria Magdalena Oña	Maria Lego
Maria Yayang			

Unmarried women

Maria Taizayi	Maria Fala	Teresa Asson	Lucia Otta
Maria Matamaedi	Agustina Yaggi	Maria Mago	

Boys

Miguel Oggu	Lorenzo Gezucham	Santiago Quicanes	Francisco Eguiot
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Girls

Ysabela Gaitapang	Maria Guegai	Francisca Gata	Miguela Mamsere
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Babies

Lorenzo Matanam	José Caiha	Pedro Pablo Masga	Hilberta Haya
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In the village of **Songtan**:¹

[Married men and women]

José Ueda Marcos Oga Juan Taztu Juan Sangi

¹ Ed. note: This was then the name of the settlement within the Tatacho district of Rota (see Bryan's Place Names). Also shown on the 1856 Coello map.

Pablo Miffo	Diego Caca	Domingo Leypa	Antonio Eggvano
Juan Viddu			
Luyza Tinozago	Teresa Maca	Teresa Didda	Ana Madamsam
Teodora Dugho	Francisca Sainami	Beatriz Egguum	Ygnacia Asoun
Clara Cacac			

Unmarried women

Bárbara Tagei	Maria Uduut	Maria Ettan
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Boys

Alonso Soni	Pedro Taitagui	Ygnacio Teiguinini	Mariano Tagui
Tomas Egadi	Bautista Chatsagua		

Girls

Maria Ojiutiti	Maria Yya
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Half-breeds

Ygnacio Teseda	Tomasa Betancour
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Babies

Ygnacio Teseda	Mateo Teseda	Estanislao Teseda
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Victor Walter of the Society of Jesus, Minister of same.

[Note:] In this village there is but one half-breed named Ygnacio Teseda; the rest are Mariano Indians.

Agaña, 30 December 1727.

Ygnacio de Ybarguen.

List of the souls of the parish of Purísima Concepción, district of Pago on 26 September 1727.

Married men and women

Andres Laffña	Francisco Tadiot	Mariano Memmis	Juan Teinan
Bernabe Añau	Pablo Pugantano	Matias Gayon	Pablo Erus
Carlos Chuam	Lucas Ennu	Vicente Lay	Pablo Etao
Pedro Egui	Francisco Yca	Diego Agiot	Lucas Etuput
Francisco Echi	Francisco Pencicerta	Juan Efan	Francisco Meri
Domingo Achei	Diego Tifaña	Pablo Angi	Clemente Añas
Andres Andele	Rafael Taisipic	Francisco Mengo	José Assi
Lorenzo Gadi	Juan Machangao	Pedro Chacó	Diego Etup
Luis Gotfsagua	Julian Magachai	Manuel Taitifon	Andres Yuga
Leon Tegutgut	Andres Yñas	Cristobal Bayu	Miguel de Castro
José Ysum	Juan Gedde	Ygnacio Ayu	Antonio Chupajo
Pablo Attiti	Santiago Hahami	José Ycha	Juan Teiguigi
Juan Efema	Felipe Ehli	Cosme Atic	Gaspar Yucyuc
Juana Eyan	Maria Mayu	Maria Laham	Magdalena Machifu
Angela Gata	Angela Quidit	Ygnacia Etaho	Juana Engi
Maria Ammei	Cathalina Eme	Maria Ayan	Ynes Bibang
Maria Effi	Margarita Ehbo	Maria Tenic	Maria Ammei

Ygnacia Gamomo
 Maria Tota
 Luisa Tigonts
 Maria Sinagi
 Mónica Teimimo
 Rosa Quigaga
 Cristina Dalic
 Eulalia Mamingui
 Agustina Yahi

Juana Ygigi
 Juana Metey
 Maria Gamami
 Angela Teigachon
 Martina Mampagat
 Antonia Mapinugui
 Angela Duchan
 Catalina Angi
 Maria Oa

Teresa Tedyena
 Maria Egege
 Maria Teisin
 Margarita Mafuingin
 Damiana Mangi
 Josefa Ehon
 Ysabel Teinineti
 Josefa Manigüey
 Antonia Oni

Maria Elic
 Rosa Gata
 Teresa Eddi
 Margarita Quisogsi
 Cecilia Mayigi
 Ygnacia Yeca
 Juana Gamaedi
 Juana Teiminga
 Ysabel Mañurgi

Unmarried men

Manuel Ogu
 Miguel Quigaga
 Ygnacio Quipaga
 Manuel Uli
 Simon Teymaulic
 Manuel Yno
 Eugenio Mangasu
 Pedro Ebuha
 Roque de los Santos

Angel Quigeche
 Basilio Matina
 Marcos Ecana
 Felipe Teipina
 Julian Toñoña
 Juan Mintoo
 Juan Dungo
 Domingo Ucu

Pedro Chaa
 Marcos Mafnas
 Francisco Yugin
 Pablo Teyaya
 Faustino Elao
 Andres Essau
 Diego Nai
 Ygnacio Essi

Fernando Anam
 Diego Tedde
 Juan Atta
 Mateo Aguaron
 Ygnacio Simmige
 Gaspar Tegami
 José Alá
 Mateo Martin

Unmarried women

Petronila Mangi
 Antonia Mangi
 Magdalena Chabing

Clara Ennino
 Maria Agidong
 Angela Egui

Catalina Alos
 Ygnacia Yttan
 Ysabel Liga

Maria Teisinon
 Martha Hochoc Mauricña
 Angela Gucto

Boys attending school

Juan Taicipit
 Miguel Teilimali
 Lucas Tasi
 Francisco Laro
 José Epopa
 Ygnacio Yuingot

Clemente Huim
 Joaquin Tetan
 Manuel Mamluyan
 Lorenzo Quidachay
 Manuel Egegen
 Ygnacio Taitiguan

Sebastian Taimpangot
 José Quitafarta
 Carlos Ehlo
 Felipe Quiferne
 Dionisio Taitano
 Francisco Chafguraf

José Tedjumarom
 Martin Elig
 Tadeo Catguiya
 Francisco Egu
 Lorenzo Quisuto

Girls

Maria Mezena
 Maria Sameita
 Maria Gaho
 Juana Alagó

Mariana Namoy
 Feliciano Magopti
 Agustina Lascano
 Maria Momigi

Maria Feesi
 Rosa Gata
 Rosa Yugiña
 Catalina Pagoña

Teresa Miyu
 Rosa Mangi
 Apolonia Agú

Small boys

Juan Quidagua
 Ygnacio Nasifña
 Salvador Onot
 José Chacó

José Atugus
 Clemente Tedmaurig
 Francisco Guatafi

Matheo Teyacomora
 Esteban Taisagui
 Ygnacio Agiot

Domingo Paniagua
 Clemente Taitifon
 Manuel Masnas

Small girls

Josefa Aduncham
 Manuela Silvestra
 Maria del Castro
 Marta Mangogta

Rosa Ytao
 Juana Matanga
 Maria Managa
 Josefa Ynga

Bernarda Magigi
 Ygnacia Uma
 Jesusa Quitaca

Andrea Sinoadao
 Tomasa Ynayig
 Juana Teasi

Pedro Cruydolf, Minister of said district.

In this town there are 3 Filipinos who are: Eugenio Mangasu, Mateo Martin, and Roque de los Santos, and 1 negro from the Coast¹ named Miguel de Castro. The rest are Mariano Indians.

Agaña, 30 December 1727

Ygnacio de Ybarguen.

Census of the District of St. Denis the Aeropagite, i.e. Umatag.

Married men and women

Angel Eñña	Luis Guagan	Ygnacio Gihic	José Ygua
Juan Adó	Antonio Chipa	José Charam	Fernando Teha
Mateo Aña	Juan Sahoy	Manuel Magueri	Lucas Gali
Timoteo Agon	Luis Meno	Alberto Cussus	Augustin Quineta
Dionisio Alilim	Julian Agupa	Pedro Ycoy	Juan Bobo
Dionisio Quipeche	Manuel Tarragus	Lorenzo Ypot	José Essa
Angel Chumadi	Dionisio Taitiguan	Lorenzo Taitirchi	Felix Ysso
Andres Echai	Juan Dago	Agustin Talas	Marcos Canai
Diego Daman	Tomas Laho	Juan Guiot	Francisco Abbi
Angel Ogui	Felipe Angog	Juan Maola	Ygnacio Saraoña
Juan Niñai	Ygnacio Tassiña	Antonio Chapacco	Dionisio Pedro Doñas
Agustin Egege			
Ynes Taipati	Maria Taumaring	Maria Giña	Ygnacia Amayan
Victoria Taimasga	Ynes Mampogo	Catalina Engotgot	Margarita Bibang
Angela Ytao	Angela Taipinga	Ygnacia Quineta	Susana Safuyot
Maria Tincho	Maria Tugchaña	Lucia Pedug	Tomasa Taimagtus
Maria Ulit	Maria Tayefa	Angela Ytai	Ynes Caimasga
Juliana Esinga	Maria Atti	Antonia Engi	Francisca Mataya
Maria Tayassi	Marta Ngoceo	Brigida Edi	Brigida Pauhaga
Josefa Yngan	Beatriz Ningaña	Juana Alas	Ysabel Angangan
Ysabel Mamsamgam	Maria Ngonno	Maria Gauta	Lucia Mayi
Maria Tetangisco	Barbara Gaon	Marta Ylis	Gabriela Gauta
Maria Enno			

Married natives of the Philippines

Domingo Hernandez	Francisco de los Reyes	José Blas	Tomas Bacar
Maria Machacni	Maria Dagi	Maria Zaurit	Maria Gupott

Unmarried men

Dionisio Geri	Manuel Gaña	Antonio Nani	Alexo Ongao
Julian Mafnas	Juan Maurig	Antonio Ninot	Francisco Nehagon
Andres Sagi	Francisco Afsan	Norberto Eñi	Salvador Emin
Pedro Gonoc	Dionisio Ermagi	Santiago Gandan	Nicolas Babela
Juan Becci	Antonio Vinechat	Nicolas Oggo	Francisco Aftagui
Manuel Yrara			

1 Ed. note: Probably a native of the Malabar Coast, now part of India.

Unmarried women

Maria Tachairau	Juana Taitigus	Juana Ympus	Maria Tailagua
Maria Sumasangan	Catalina Ude	Filiria Masangalo	Catalina Dossu
Marta Quiya	Ana Naton	Catalina Puti	

Boys

Francisco Teiham	Pablo Nochocniñagoña	Antonio Yintibo	José Chalihon
Fernando Etao	Felipe Sinalaho	José Tayari	Pascual Sogi
Juan Taisinon	Miguel Afuruñu	Manuel Teinartico	Francisco Quitaraf
Dimas Sagatatau	José Chatpagat	Juan Taisdo	Estanislao Taipura
Faustino Mudogña	Juan Taitichum	Marcos Numcoson	Juan Mamanao
Francisco Taitagui	Gaspar Frosagua	Francisco Ramirez	Francisco Masahoyo
Juan Ynelig	Agustin Teifechen	Leon Teharang	

Girls

Dorotea Yña	Magdalena Taininete	Maria Nuguiyan	Antonia Taisinon
Rosa Taimaga	Vitoria Tatangesho	Lucia Ofteimeno	Rosa Maurigho
Nicolasa Hernandez	Castilda Tetgimehoru	Maria Teinineti	Maria Ygnacia
Maria Quiya	Maria Mamsoon	Maria Fineta	Maria Teitigus
Maria Naichung	Maria Teitigus	Teresa Agi	Felipa Assa
Maria Taigachung			

Babies

Ygnacio Taisingua	Francisco Taifacaiña	Ygnacio Taichagui	Ygnacio Tailaput
Francisco Ychong	José Taitaru	Luis Quisarao	Bartolome Nani
Manuela Naojon	Ygnacio Taisigui	Luis Tegutta	Ygnacio Taigachung
Domingo Teafi	Esteban Chamangro	Alexandro Hernandez	Bernardo Taihilo
Ygnacia Marahini	Maria Quidsi	Rosa Tinoho	Ynes Taigima
Josefa Quisangor	Maria Tineti	Tomasa Nabang	Josefa Magurgur
Maria Nuñu	Maria Taitingo	Maria Marchangi	Maria Taichirong
Ygnacia Teisamay	Maria Qusamaho	Josefa Mafuginin	Rosa Canot
Juana Mamgingin	Maria Taisagua	Maria Pinayag	

Francisco Xavier [Reittenberger], Minister of said district, 15 November 1727.

In this town there are 4 Filipinos: Domingo Alexandro Hernandez, Francisco de los Reyes, José Blas, and Tomas Baccar.

Agaña, 30 December 1727.

Ygnacio Ybarguen.

Census of the District of Agat.

Married men

Gabriel Teguan	Juan Chatam	Diego Anga	Lorenzo Añao
Agustin Assi	Pedro Samailahi	Felix Teitiguit	Pablo Edoc
Mateo Agigi	Pablo Afachit	Baltasar Teifaro	Andres Gunugi
Pedro Odo	Domingo Guataffi	Sebastian Fabian	Raimundo lahi
Francisco Tanoho	Andres Atola	José Taipinga	José Chataam
Juan Elu	Manuel Manot	Pedro Samon	Lucas Maga
Felipe Caraca	Fernando Lehi	Miguel Eguan	Pedro Maudarsi

Domingo Gofmandlo	Mauricio Egedi	Blas Angi	Tomas Chafaulus
Andres Tartu	Pablo Hilao	Largo Quituchi	Andres Eñao
Ygnacio Guiya	Narciso Taitiput	Juan Taimaga	Tomas Quienne
Bartolomé Aligao	Antonio Essogi	Marcos Edoc	Marcos Añao
Ygnacio Hermano n° 1	José Ehlo	Domingo Langsao	Domingo Vyao
Agustin Teitichu	Nicolas Añao	Francisco Chatchi	Miguel Enna
Benito Ulitt	Francisco Enni	Diego Ayu	Manuel Sambali ¹
Pedro Mamsargi	Toribio Pala	Antonio Malafii	Juan Samailaia
Miguel Yrao	Luis Egot	Pedro Alvarez	Ventura Quejon
Agustin Ybabang	Tomas Palayi	Ambrosio Mamursu	Nicolas Cama
Pedro Gualaña	Simon Quidagua	Gregorio Oñoo	Mateo Mayuguahon
Damian Hum	Martin Teassun	Felipe Matanani	Manuel Mananga
Vicente Taitano ²	Angel Taisipic	Ygnacio Boong	Fernando Tali
Pedro Yttu	Fernando Sifiña	Juan Chupaho	Damian Deni
Marcos Taisiyu ³	Nicolas Dudin	Pedro Babag	Ventura Auddadi
Clemente Nagui	Ysidro Echu		

Married women

Teresa Deddi	Magdalena Mangongoc	Theresa Machargi	Ana Guidogna
Agustina Mamsangan	Miguela Tiguen	Maria Fahanta	Lucia Tongan
Maria Econgoc	Maria Teitassi	Magdalena [blank]	Angela Taicayi
Maria Onaan	Juana Angingin	Ygnacia Angingin	Catalina Quituguit
Rosalía Hinaronita	Catalina Neni	Manuela Chathanum	Ynes Maadita
Agustina Mami	Teresa Dedao	Teresa Ayiyi	Catalina Taimangon
Ana Edi	Margarita Eta	Rosa Engan	Catalina Choda
Ynes Quiede	Catalina Acmahugoc	Clara Taiguilao	Mónica Yugoc
Felipa Anta	Angela Uni	Lucia Egege	Ana Tongan
Maria Quidiristaotao	Blandina Samay	Ana Udada	Ursula Ugga
Martina Audi	Mariana Yffon	Maria Bigú	Maria Ydi
Maria Etti	Ysabel Nocña	Francisca Mameten	Ysabel Efam
Felipa Ngañi	Maria Ehlo	Juana Anmey	Ynes Dessa
Ana Taiaras	Ynes Chetam	Maria Ugam	Rosa Guña
Maria Agot	Magdalena Epunu	Catalina Angongo	Catalina Yffum
Maria Uga	Pascuela Quiguma	Ysabel Ycca	Teresa Messi
Maria Uña	Cristina Egga	Teresa Taya	Ysabel Balic
Ysabel Onanai	Catalina Taingagnias	Maria Madui	Ursula Amay
Juana Gahon	Damiana Taianao	Catalina Tairago	Francisca Ahi
Rosa Enna	Maria Otta	Rosalía Taitessi	Rosa Meme
Catalina Nganta	Maria Laguna	Francisca Sigña	Maria Tiguen
Ysabel Angoc	Sinforosa Egga	Ynes Maasifia	Rosa Yetta
Margarita Aham	Lucia Taileman ⁴		

Unmarried men

Pablo Yene	Miguel Teilagua	Vicente Acfayi	Bernardino Ngangaofia
Geronimo Beye	Pedro Layacña	Juan Aguaguat	Cristobal Abban
Lucas Unic	Marcos Lolo	Santiago Adao	Adam Quiluham

1 Note: Firstborn of Salvador.

2 Note: Firstborn of Deno.

3 Note: Firstborn of Yyu.

4 Note: Firstborn of Emon.

Juan Taplon
Alonso Egue
Martin Lahi
José Assi
Lucas Ninimuin
Fernando Chungi
Fernando Teiadingan
Pedro Epit²

Tomas Aguon
Pedro Songao
Antonio Bayú
Antonio Fofó
Ygnacio Elo
Estanislao Cheref¹
Vicente Yuno
José Ehom

Pascual Neni
Ambrosio Taitiput
Antonio Tehaya
Estanislao Quedudecu
Ygnacio Luecu
Blas Min
Esteban Taipurgui

José Ducof
Diego Guayaya
Pedro Oyi
Justo Agui
Pedro Daanga
Pedro Taimanglo
Marcos Campos

Unmarried women

Ysabel Dago
Catalina Chaca
Rosa Essali
Rosa Dede
Juana Taisingon
Ursula Ettin³

Catalina Upugua
Tomasa Ya
Juana Guadaña
Magdalena Chataga
Maria Dungon
Agueda Manapu⁴

Ynes Gofhenum
Ynes Menna
Francisca Yeha
Ysabel Yma
Juana Nusuta

Francisca Uchuda
Ynes Mamfacta
Catalina Amay
Maria Gigi
Angela Giudo

Boys

Francisco Tarragui
Pablo Taitichu
Salvador Teitano
Pedro Teichegi
José Quisoffi
Matias Tailegui
José Pinaula
Juan Ylo
Estanislao Gundña
Pedro Eñao
Juan Ogo

Ygnacio Aciningot
José Chatguiot
Juan Afachit
Tomas Aboclagua
Pedro Quitaro
José Chatenna
Nicolas Sungot
Francisco Songao
Juan Laguña
Felipe Apu
Felipe Manapu

Diego Mafac
Juan Babaota
Felipe Neputi
Pedro Gauchu
Juan Manigue
Francisco Sangolayan
Tomas Taisangan
Lucas Taguacta
Andres Taigaichun
Juan Mafac

Pedro Taitugui
Juan Negurgur
Tomas Quidagua
Pedro Yngin
José Nagulu
Pedro Angi
Damian Quidachai
Anselmo Gofhigem
Pedro Tafeimanglo
Pablo Echai

Girls

Manuela Mamsangam
Catalina Tayasi
Maria Mamsahi
Margarita Teassi
Maria Sancha
Maria Maigi
Cecilia Alasña
Maria de la Cruz

Maria Mami
Catalina Nenegora
Ana Aseila
Rosa Nutta
Ynes Tinhus
Maria Memingin
Sebastiana Manglo
Ysabel Ammey

Maria Taiteri
Ysabel Uña
Maria Chatlamay
Rosa Mamsangan
Maria Agu
Magdalena Teassi
Juana Quiosgi
Maria Yuña

Maria Taiguafi
Ursula Quicano
Margarita Tingoo
Angela Yuna
Maria Quicano
Ursula Maadi
Teresa Layacña

Male children

Juan Eligic
Mauricio Taisahon
Juan Saguña

José Pinaula
Manuel Quisarot

José Taihilo
Estanislao Quinuofña

Dimas Chatguaraf
Marcos Taisinom

1 Note: Firstborn of Ecano.
2 Note: Firstborn of Taisipic.
3 Note: Firstborn of Ehi.
4 Note: Firstborn of Epu.

Female children

Cathalina Sumangan	Maria Ygigi	Ysabel Mamsangam	Rosa Taimachis
Maria Tesame	Maria Manungin	Juana Taimanglu	Theresa Charani
Maria Tiho	Maria Mamfaisin	Ysabel Bangui	Petronila Tetmaaurig
Maria Umaoña	Juana Yrritao	Margarita Mamtitin	Francisca Gaga
Maria Naña	Ysabel Emay	Maria Teisipic	

Made in Agat on 25 October 1727.

Felipe Maria Furnari

In this town there are 2 Filipinos who are: Sebastian, Fabian, and Pedro Alvarez, and 1 negro named Sanbal who is Manuel Sambali, firstborn of Salvador; all the others are Marianos.

Ygnacio de Ybarguen.

Census of the Spaniards of Agaña, their wives, and children.

1. Esteban Mediomundo & Angela Mangoeta
—Juana Antonia Mediomundo
2. Adjutant Jacinto de Mesa & Maria de Leon Guerrero
—Benito Jacinto de Mesa
3. Captain Manuel Zerezo & Micaela Lorenzo
—Maria Zerezo
4. Captain Francisco de Fuentes & Maria Ommo
5. Captain Diego Zervantes & Ysabel Chadda
—Juana de la Cruz
6. Captain Antonio Ramirez & Ana de la Cruz
—Manuel José Ramirez
—Juan Vicente Ramirez
—Mónica Ramirez
—Dorotea Ramirez
—Susana Ramirez
7. Sergeant Antonio de Carvajal & Maria de la Vega Lagarte
—Antonio Carvajal
—Domingo de la Vega
—Maria Rosa Carvajal
8. Adjutant Gregorio del Castillo & Maria Haof
—Carlos del Castillo
—Marta del Castillo
—Clara Susana del Castillo
9. Sergeant Francisco de los Rios & Rosa Taihimas
—Basilio de los Rios
—Manuela de los Rios
—Lorenza de los Rios
—Manuela Josefa de los Rios

10. Miguel de los Rios & Marcela de la Cruz
 - Ygnacio de los Rios
 - Maria de la Cruz
 - Teodora de la Cruz
11. Captain Manuel Coronado & Maria Luisa Gomez¹
 - Juan Antonio Gomez
 - Francisco Xavier Coronado
 - Domingo Terrenate
 - Angela de la Rosa²
12. Adjutant Antonio Montufar & Ursula Martin
 - Juan Cristobal Montufar
 - Romano Domingo Montufar
 - Feliciano Francisca Montufar
13. Sergeant Francisco de Acosta & Cecilia Ordaz
 - José Acosta
 - Micaela Acosta
14. Captain Juan Antonio de los Rios & Josefa de la Cruz
 - Francisco de los Rios
 - Pablo de los Rios
 - Antonio de los Rios
 - José de los Rios
 - Pascuala Josefa de los Rios
15. Adjutant Pablo de la Cruz & Ysabel Tinangaho
 - Bartolome de la Cruz
 - José de la Cruz
 - Maria de los Angeles (widow)
 - Her daughter: maria Luisa Navarro, Teresa de Jesus
16. Adjutant Juan de Estrada & Getrudis Franguis
 - Tomasa de Estrada
17. Captain Fernando de Agüero & Maria de Cardenas
 - Fernando Feliciano de Agüero
 - José de Agüero
 - Joaquin Yddu de Agüero
 - Maria de Agüero
18. Sergeant-Major José de la Cruz & Juana Cervantes
 - Diego Cervantes
 - Salvador de la Cruz
 - Tomas de la Cruz
 - Teresa de la Cruz

1 Note: Daughter of Captain Antonio Gomez.

2 Note: Daughter of Nicolas Terrenate.

- Clara de la Cruz
- 19. Adjutant Lorenzo Tenorio & Maria Taimactus
 - Joaquina Tenorio
- 20. Otmás Tenorio & Maria de Benavente
- 21. Captain José Marchena & Maria de Salas
 - Juan José Marchena
- 22. Domingo Zepeda & Cathalina Guodongña
 - Antonio de Zepeda
 - Estanislao Gregorio de Zepeda
 - Maria de Zepeda
- 23. Francisco Grijalba & Teresa Angangan
 - Luis Bernardo Espinosa
- 24. Juan José de Quiñones & Dominga de la Cruz
 - Maria Quiñones
- 25. José de Cepeda & Pascuala Mamsangan
 - Francisco Casimiro de Cepeda
 - Maria de Cepeda
- 26. Adjutant Miguel Benites & Maria Taihemun
- 27. Lieutenant Antonio José Guerrero & Ynes Espinosa
 - Francisco de Espinosa
 - Ana Guerrero
 - Juan de Espinosa
 - Margarita Damagi
- 28. Sergeant Antonio Leguizamo & Maria de Espinosa
 - Valerio Antonio Leguizamo
 - Mónica Juana Leguizamo
- 29. Adjutant Antonio Suarez de Ybarra & Felipa de Espinosa
 - Maria Barbara de Ybarra
- 30. Adjutant Manuel de los Santos & Maria Tanguis
 - Buenaventura Tanguis
 - Miguel de los Santos
- 31. Adjutant Cristobal de Villagomez & Francisca Aña
 - Juan José de Villagomez
 - Francisco de Villagomez
 - Manuel de Villagomez
- 32. Fernando Tainayan & Francisca Amai
- 33. Sergeant Manuel de Benavente & Agustina Tana
 - José Benavente
 - Juan Francisco Benavente
 - Matias Benavente
- 34. Sergeant Juan Marcial & Ynes Pampogo
 - Gertrudis de la Peña

35. Captain Vicente Botera & Josefa Mesa
 - Mónica Botera
36. Captain Juan Luis Sanchez & Maria Egege
 - Bernardo de Aguilar
37. Captain Miguel de Tobes & Maria Chatpao
 - Miguel de Tobes
 - Francisco Ysidro de Tobes
 - Catalina de Tobes
38. Captain Miguel Lozano & Rosa Meme
 - Miguel Ortiz M.
 - Maria de los Dolores Lozano
39. Lieutenant Pablo Martin & Sebastiana Tainini
 - Bernabé de la Cruz (widower)
 - Lucas de la Cruz (his son)
 - Luisa Lis
40. Francisco Gutierrez & Teresa de la Peña
41. Rosa de Ribera (widow)
42. José de la Peña & Felipa de Salas
 - Juan Manuel de la Peña
43. Adjutant Anton Martin & Maria Yma
 - Dimas Martin
44. Adjutant José de Espinosa & Francisca Taigima
 - Miguel de Espinosa
 - Bernardo de Espinosa
 - José de Espinosa
 - Antonia de Espinosa
 - Juana de Espinosa
 - Dominga de Espinosa
 - Maria de Espinosa
 - Ana Ygnacia de Espinosa
45. Sergeant Ygnacio de Salas & Ysabel Meriña
 - Domingo Salas
 - Angel Salas
 - Maria Salas
 - Juana Salas
 - Manuela Salas
46. Antonio Ortiz & Maria de Salas
47. Cornelio Chatgima & Ygnacia de Salas
 - Miguel Sebastian Chatgima
48. Pedro Manuel Montufar & Juana Pablo
 - Cayetano Montufar
 - Cathalina Montufar

- Juliana Montufar
- 49. Hipolito Constante & Ana Guguti
 - Pedro Marcelo
 - Juan Marcelo
 - Manuela Marcelo
- 50. Adjutant Miguel Redondo & Maria de Tobes
 - José de Leon
 - Andrea Redondo
- 51. Captain Don Juan de Ojeda & Dominga de Salas
 - Manuel de Ojeda
 - Miguel de Ojeda
 - José de Ojeda
 - Manuela de Ojeda
 - Salvador de Groso
- 52. Adjutant José Granados & Magdalena de Ojeda
 - Silvestre Granados
 - Maria Granados
- 53. Manuel Tenorio & Manuela de Cárdenas
 - José Tenorio
 - Maria Tenorio
- 54. Lieutenant Lázaro Garcia & Juana de Cárdenas
 - Feliciano Garcia
 - Ygnacio Garcia
 - Dionisio Garcia
 - Tecla Garcia
- 55. Captain Nicolas de Solis & Juana Ettao
- 56. Lieutenant Simon de Solis & Ynes Dudú
 - Pedro de Solis
 - Nicolas de Solis
- 57. Adjutant Diego de Leon Guerrero & Maria de Arzeo
 - Salvador de Leon Guerrero
 - Miguel de Leon Guerrero
 - Angel de Leon Guerrero
 - José de Leon Guerrero
 - Maria de Leon Guerrero
 - Rosa de Leon Guerrero
- 58. Antonio de Leon Guerrero & Petronila de los Rios
 - Dominga de Leon Guerrero
- 59. Sergeant Simon Alvarez & Maria Ufong
 - Felipe Alvarez
- 60. Adjutant Juan Hernandez & Maria Tetgueja

61. Sergeant Manuel de la Vega & Maria Egui

- Vicente de la Vega
- Magdalena de la Vega
- Margarita de la Vega
- Josefa de la Vega

62. José Rodriguez & Maria Martin

63. Sergeant Matheo Delgado & Maria Ybai

- Ambrosio Delgado
- Felipe Ramirez (godchild)
- Gaspar Delgado
- Theresa Delgado
- Juana Maria Delgado

64. Miguel Montezuma & Maria Miyas

- Maria Montezuma

65. Tomas Montezuma & Juana Laguna

Unmarried men

Adjutant Manuel Saldaña	Adjutant Agustin Salcedo		
Adjutant Manuel Ruano	Adjutant Domingo Garrido		
Adjutant Antonio Diaz	Adjutant Francisco del Carmen		
Adjutant Salvador de Zárate	Sergeant Juan Antonio de Fuentes		
José de los Reyes	Felipe Pedrosa	José Corrales	José Angon
Juan Francisco Romero	Fernando Lazaro Dueñas	Pascual Anai	José Puga
Antonio Cansis	Rafael Pando	Ygnacio de Guevarra	Juan Santiago Contreras
Manuel de Andrés	Lieutenant Joaquin de Vargas	Sergeant Juan de Matta	
Sergeant Miguel de la Puente			

Census of the Filipinos, their wives and children, married in Agaña.

1. Captain Pedro Pablo & Maria Taisipic
 - Francisco Pablo
2. José de Jesus (slave) [sic] & Maria Laan
3. Adjutant Diego Manapang & Antonia Eniguez
4. Adjutant Felipe Malabitan & Barbara Agi
 - Gregorio Laureano
 - Salvador Felipe
5. Master-of-camp Francisco Robles & Maria Taisipic
 - Pedro Robles
6. Captain Juan de los Santos (Battinda)¹ & Agustina Ytao
 - Guillermo de los Santos
 - Gerónimo de los Santos
 - Maria de los Santos

¹ Ed. note: Battinda was probably his nickname.

7. Alexandro de la Cruz & Theresa Moxica
—Ygnacia Morales
8. Sergeant-Major Matheo Guevara & Lucia Taisagui
—Francisco Guevara
—Maria Guevara
9. Francisco Taitiguang & Beatriz Gaña
10. Captain Ambrosio Rafael Mariano & Theresa Tetmarego
—Ygnacia de la Cruz Mariano
11. Pedro Guegue & Luisa Nateilam
—Antonio Sanfurnes
—Luis Tagle
—Tomas Guegue
—José Guegue
12. Master-of-camp Agustin Torres & Teresa Mamfaisin
—Antonio Torres
—Juan Torres
—Nicolas Torres
—Tomas Torres
13. Lieutenant Tomas Bancat & Ynes Guput
14. Sergeant Martin Latiz & Quiteria de la Cruz
—Macario Banton
—José Banton
15. Sergeant Francisco Cabangis & Sabina Arieta
—Ygnacio Cabangis
—Simon Cabangis
—Josefa Ytao
16. Sergeant-Major Pedro de la Cruz & Mariana Cabangis
—Agustin de la Cruz
17. Lieutenant Francisco de la Rosa & Ana Calauna
—Ygnacio de Salas
—Teresa de la Rosa
18. Francisco Larga & Francisca Mamsangan
—Teresa Larga
—Maria Larga
19. José Antonio Aguon & Manuela Ramirez
—Damaso Aguon
—Manuel Aguon
—Miguel Aguon
—Manuela Tharsila Aguon
—Maxima de Santa Maria Aguon
—Teresa de Jesus Aguon
—Francisca Aguon

20. Captain Francisco Rodriguez & Manuela Meungi
—Nicolas Rodriguez
21. Master-of-camp Andres Arceo & Juana Dama
—Felix Arzeo
—Andres Arzeo
—Juan Arzeo
—Petronila Arzeo
—Angela Arzeo
22. Ygnacio Arzeo & Maria Acmagiligi
23. Sergeant-Major Martin Chiro & Luis Negelo
24. Captain Juan Ezquerra & Angela Liis
—Santiago de la Concepcion
—Lucia de la Concepcion
25. Andres Ezquerra & Maria de Medina
26. Juan Maniente & Maria Eggu
27. Pedro Maniente & Maria Mamigi
28. Lieutenant Juan de Castro & Serafina de la Cruz
—Martin de Castro
—José de Castro
29. Bernardino Laba & Teresa de Solis
30. Sergeant-Major Pedro de la Cruz & Maria Ganta
31. Captain Antonio de la Cruz & Francisca de la Ascension
—Francisco de la Cruz
—Nicolas de la Cruz
—Luis de la Cruz
—Maria de la Cruz
—Ygnacia de la Cruz
32. Sergeant-Major Ygnacio Cabarrejas & Maria Rosa Garcia
—Feliciano Cabarrejas
—Agustin Cabarrejas
33. Lorenzo Cabangis & Maria Masanganta
—Ynes Teiguidong Cabangis
—Manuela Lorenza Cabangis
34. Sebastian Acheigua & Teresa Ysa
35. José Ybi & Paula Gihin
—José Ybi
—Agustin Ybi
—Geronimo Ybi
36. Juan Capistrano & Rosa Tayagua
—Rafael Capistrano
—Manuela Capistrano

37. Antonio Pablo & Ursula Taingaina
 —Maria Juana Pablo
 —Josefa Pablo
 —Maria Pablo
38. Miguel Mafife & Micaela Taotao
39. Captain Pedro Romero & Magdalena Tetguailame
 —Catalina Taicano
 —Mariana Taicano
40. Adjutant Juan Guibarra & Lucia Edi

Unmarried men

Captain Agustin Basa	Captain Esteban Enriquez		
Captain José del Espiritu Santo	Captain Bartolome de los Reyes		
Captain Jorge del Castillo	Lieutenant José Madrazo		
Lieutenant Miguel de los Angeles	Lieutenant Miguel de Molina		
Lieutenant Ambrosio de la Cruz	Lieutenant Juan Capistrano		
Sergeant José Siling	Francisco Domingo	Francisco Romero	
Gregorio de los Reyes	Domingo Gorreis	Manuel Mendez	Pascual de los Reyes
Miguel Valdes	Martin Rodriguez	Tomas Diaz	Juan de los Reyes
Pedro Santiago	Pedro Pacheco	Domingo Rosario	Luis Francisco Xavier

Out of the unmarried men, Spaniards as well as Filipinos, they say that there are two or three, and also that some of them may not have been recorded. Also, the family of His Lordship the Governor is not recorded here either.

Agadña, 30 December 1727.

Ygnacio de Ybarguen

Census of the districts of Merizo made on 22 September 1727.

Married men and women

Onofre Ylbo	Miguel Udda	Juan Taitano	Esteban Torahi
Juan Ynon	Gregorio Quitaro	Teodoro Hecongog	Bautista Mafnas
Juan Neagog	Marcos Abug	Bernabe Denne	Tomas Cauham
Andres Amam	Basilio Uregui	Pascual Tayintos	Sebastian Sayof
Diego Todo	Antonio Amin	Basilio Matgua	Lorenzo Amen
Felipe Mamongi	José Arzan	Pedro Echan	Manuel Ganga
Francisco Ychon	Francisco Uni	Felipe Pagito	Victor Ugu
Simon Egua	Mauricio Anga	Juan Ynon	Salvador Charai
José Caijá	Pablo Engge	Francisco Enani	Anselmo Binalsa
Francisco Egga	Pedro Targuaga	José Naggo	Alejo Sini
Fernando Tangué	Gregorio Taisin	Miguel Taisipic	Santiago Hecorgi
Manuel Agman	José Emman	Benito Etta	Alonso Daffo
Lucas Adu	Nicolas Accai	Felipe Engon	Pablo Adiri
Pedro Dudu	Pablo Ynon	Pascual Quijarug	Nicolas Mactus
Salvador Taichit	Francisco Quitaraf	Francisco Ledehon	
Ysabel Ydyu	Catalina Emmon	Ynes Umne	Rosa Ydyong
Tomasa Taimaam	Ynes Agga	Brigida Teasi	Monica Pulili
Ysabel Taichurong	Juan Hecam	Catalina Engam	Ana Angan

Ynes Gueho
Dominga Saguataatao
Pascuala Mifino
Teresa Mampangun
Juana Asin
Ynes Dagui
Melchora Dongo
Maria Enni
Magdalena Taigitus
Lucia Ramon
Basilia Uma
Paulina Ygu
Damiana Edyan

Petronila Masangam
Pascuala Taitaro
Francisca Dadan
Teresa Taifean
Agustina Taichiru
Maria Taitaro
Ynes Dagui
Mariana Gaggo
Teresa Tayonao
Lucia Reugit
Crescencia Angam
Francisca Tungaña
Ynes Naya

Catalina Masamgam
Maria Enni
Paulina Etti
Ynes Uña
Margarita Tacharig
Antonia Taichirú
Maria Taitaro
Ysabel Mampagat
Pascuala Memeten
Abundancia Duge
Matilde Ettiti
Josefa Quimsai
Leocadia Mamtongo

Lucia Emmai
Maria Aggat
Nicolasa Yppa
Lucia Taihali
Melchora Dongo
Margarita Taicharig
Antonia Taichio
Juana Ygi
Maria Maurigñ
Maria Ucham
Micaela Ydio
Domitila Mamfaisin
Francisca Ngugsan

Unmarried men

Angel Ydi
Martin Caaguom
Raimundo Odom
Antonio Tainifat
Lucas Mabebe
Dimas Agupa

Dionisio Gadau
Agustin Baba
Agustin Enao
Pedro Egege
Jorge Agui
Francisco Taisargua

Juan Denge
Felix Attic
Angel Aguas
Tomas Enay
José Esogui

Urueslio Tumangpui
Gregorio Aubung
Beneito Guoha
Pedro Etti
Bernabe Sannai

Unmarried women

Ursula Ammada
Brisca Unni
Ana Angi
Ninfa Dedu

Rosalia Taimangi
Rosa Dadai
Barbara Ysi
Juana Dadan

Ygnacia Ygu
Ana Emai
Ana Ngotti
Tomas Edyai

Catalina Dugi
Rosalia Uchuya
Rosalia Yña

Boys

Antonio Aguga
Carlos Taitinaf
Antonio Taiminga
Pedro Tetgimihilo
Diego Quichegi
Carlos Ayugui
Francisco Taisiguan
Geronimo Taitagui
Casimiro Taichai
Estanislao Erida

Salvador Naputi
Eteban Mamuro
Eteban Taimaya
Pedro Tiñoma
Salbador Tairon
Carlos Masuda
Juan Taisaga
Geminiano Chattai
Pedro Magaudi
Casimiro Taiteguam

Gabriel Edangat
Francisco Mantanoho
Carlos Agua
Pablo Taisarog
Miguel Chatugingi
Melchor Achaigua
Francisco Taisagua
Placido Mamtongo
Estanislao Tedpeogu
Ambrosio Emmimi

Pedro Eyut
Eteban Taimangro
Agustin Taugurof
Pedro Quidagua
Raimundo Maurin
Pascual Tetpeogú
Tomas Taitansangan
Ygnacio Chataam
José Naguadam

Girls

Juana Maurig
Emerenciana Aang
Candida Masamgon
Danalo Cumiyvimaorig
Maria Eña

Maria Macheche
Casimira Mamfeten
Agustina Taosguan
Micaela Taisamai
Maria Taichiro

Dionisia Tedyuma
Teresa Matanjaragña
Potenciana Tayasi
Maria Tedparahua
Ynocencia Mamaripa

Cecilia Quidic
Gregoria Taigiot
Maria Tinota
Rafaela Teininete

Babies

Francisco Tatanguita
Pascuala Taumaurig
Pedro Tainai
Juana Tercehor

Juan Taijala
Juana Gihigi
Maria Neongongo
Pedro Taitinot

José Taitino
Juan Tegutgut
Catalina Gofiana
Juan Taisurag

Rosalia Taicano
Maria Tayasi
Gregorio Finonña
Lorenzo Tainai

Maria Lagua
Fernando Taina
Ynes Nauaisin
Felipa Yeu

Maria Taitichog
Juan Quisipic
Francisco Taiminga
Juan Nemeroho

Ursula Gangi
Juana Taipagon
Francisca Sorcuña
Ynes Tailingo

Dimas Mafayot
Maria Manifaisin
Teresa Mamtago
Juan Teopegu

Angel de Salas, half-breed married to Maria Dugege.
Garcia de Esplana, negro married to Basilia Egua; their children:
Vicente Esplana, Catalina Tainai, and Juana Tapagon.

Angel [sic] Bonnani, present Minister of this district.
4 January 1728.

Jacob Heypel, of the Society of Jesus, Minister of said district.

In this town there is 1 half-breed named Angel de Salas, and 1 negro from the Coast,
Garcia de Esplana; the rest are Mariano Indians.

Agadña, 30 December 1727.
Ygnacio de Ybarguen.

Census of San José of Ynarajan—Minister, Father Felipe Maria Muscati.

Married men

Juan Tairagua
Agustin Tasi
Domingo Yagayña
Damiano Pegui
Marcos Magpo
Julian Micha
Sebastian Catajo
Estanislao Taha
Marcos Hevi
Samuel Sagni
Lorenzo Chadi
Pedro Eggau

Ambrosio Duña
Ventura Yno
Tiburcio Cacca
Raimundo Geme
Benito Neciña
Gerardo Ygot
Pedro Nego
Benito Payon
Francisco Uada
Esteban Pacen
Andres Teimarin
Francisco Timing

Simon Sapu
Pedro Heichel
Lorenzo Conejo
Simon Oguiddy
Rafael Gasi
Pedro Gijot
Agustin Teda
Felipe Peti
Ambrosio Tenge
Francisco Odao
Mateo Tenguo

Pablo Sufa
Juan Payol
Gregorio Petti
Manuel Agu
Pablo Baña
Lino Chetaucine
Juan Peddo
Teofilo Teujan
Pedro Teneya
Pedro Afteno
Silvestre Ueca

Married women

Aagustina Passu
Luisa Rueda
Catalina Tungam
Catalina Nayot
Teresa Ynga
Tecla Yueyig
Barbara Nimpucco
Lucia Chargi
Josefa Neche
Agada Tihon
Magdalena Pino
Francisco Aya

Catalina Mangu
Maria Acmaurig
Catalina Egau
Catalina Yddo
Teresa Egua
Catalina Agmantú
Apolonia Adtiho
Elena Mimsin
Catalina Aganta
Lucia Nuvige
Susana Niyuc
Francisca Gulafta

Catalina Oggua
Juana Yingot
Maria Tinomidio
Catalina Maput
Cecilia Eyit
Ynes Maina
Silveria Engangan
Francisca Micha
Antonia Samai
Catalina Angot
Tomasu Udon

Margarita Ara
Teresa Actuaa
Josefa Ota
Magdalena Ugut
Josefa Tayapas
Maria Piñojo
Mónica Atti
Cristina Bimyoña
Casimira Admanayo
Catalina Nineisin
Agada Mayña

Unmarried men

Ygnacio Narop	Lorenzo Lauchi	Pablo Beut	Gaspar Puraut
Gregorio Peguon	Clemente Tarrago	Angel Cajo	Diego Rehi
Pablo Eguan	Andres Layacña	Diego Tairrango	Felix Ninego
Simon Enti	Tadeo Miyaña	Jorge Cheptiño	Pedro Yagña
Lorenzo Quiro	Antonio Chula	Jorge Paño	Gregorio Ergua
Bartolomé Lagui	Gregorio Bangu	Julian Gueda	Ambrosio Laho

Unmarried women

Francisca Anchon	Ana Teyguey	Ynes Minu	Maria Tolho
Francisca Ameisin	Magdalena Plata	Tomasa Tacca	Ursula Vine
Apolonia Ygigu			
Francisco Timpaco	Gregorio Mimo	Pascual Eyig	Jacinto Atachit

Boys

Eugenio Acmaongoc	Miguel Yaccu	Pablo Miuyu	Pedro Chetcano
Ygnacio Chetguma	Francisco Teihemun	Francisco Admari	Pedro Tehedidi
Marcos Agmenchut	Francisco Quisanot	José Amaon	Juan Anauha
Miguel Acsinton	Marcos Quihancar	Juan Mactus	Gaspar Chinguho
José Gauro	Ygnacio Mangroña	Juan Chathigem	Antonio Yagña
Juan Tinejanco	Raimundo Quidagua	Gregorio Acñaio	Esteban Chattingug
Francisco Quitongico	Gregorio Tariña		

Girls

Francisca Minmuña	Margarita Sinangaita	Ygnacia Minmuhu	Paula Amat
Ysabel Acmangi	Felipa Uña	Ana Gafahongot	Catalina Guineguejo
Maria Angoc	Francisca Taichiron	Tomasa Tinoña	Catalina Narammami
Catalina Nicata	Catalina Acmarosa	Catalina Masangan	Ygnacia Tipu
Maria Sangui	Francisca Chethemun	Josefa Maurig Finilo	

Male children

Andres Cheteguit	Gaspar Mampogo	Pablo Quituchu	Lorenzo Teichegi
Felix Tatauhar	Pedro Echagua	Marcos Nineti	Pedro Teiguechen
Pablo Chetguemangro	Agustin Egua	Felipe Techarang	Pedro Tassi
José Tayya	Pedro Elihac	José Teingan	

Female children

Ysabel Taiguidongo	Luisa Taimarig	Tomasa Masupit	Juana Maurico
Antonia Teymegua	Maria Manifaisin	Francisca Teisingon	Francisca Teisingon
Manuela Maniente	Maria Maochami	Maria Litta	Paua Uchommi
Ana Teyparauham			

Felipe María Muscati.

In this town all are Mariano Indians.

Agadña, 30 December 1727.

Ygnacio de Ybarguen.

Documents 1727F

The abolition of the Governorship of the Mariana Islands was considered in 1727

Source: AGI Ultramar 561, legajo 20, unless otherwise stated.

Note: General Argüelles was Governor of the Marianas for 5 years (1725-30). Before his arrival and the departure of the previous Governor, Sanchez de Tagle, the islands were in the hands of Major Sandoval.

F1. Letter from Governor Argüelles to the Audiencia of Manila, dated Agaña 24 April 1726

Original text in Spanish.

Traslado autentico de los autos fechos, sobre la Consulta del general D. Manuel de Argüelles Gobernador actual de las Marianas en que da cuenta del estado de ellas por haberse retirado los administradores de las cinco partidas por el que quedó en lugar del Capitan Don Luis Antonio Sanchez de Tagle.

Muy Poderoso Señor

Escitame la obligacion de ser vuestro Ministro Gobernador de estas Islas de ponerme en la soberana noticia de V.A. el miserable estado de ellas por causa de haberse estinguído, y retirado los administradores de sus cinco partidos que corrian con el bastimento de el Gremio de la Infanteria de este Real Presidio (llamados Alcaldes sin tener dependencia de Justicia) por el Gobernador interino que quedó en la ausencia que hizo mi antecesor Don Luis Antonio Sanchez de Tagle, de notable perjuicio no solo de el dicho Gremio, sino de todos sus moradores y siendo como me persuado el motibo principal de el retiro de dichos Administradores el que los naturales sean aliviados, muy al contrario sucede, pues se ven hoy los miserables mas gravados sin que se libre de esta pension el partido mas corto de veinte indios; de forma que en mi antecedente Gobierno no estaban tan acosados ni los soldados tan faltos de bastimentos por la estincion de los administradores, y por el baguio de tres de Diciembre de el año inmediato pasado que asoló estas islas por lo que considero no haber aptitud en mi insuficiencia de poder remediar cosa alguna sin que se sigan los inconvenientes à la paz pública que deseo mantener con toda prudencia, lo uno por evitar de que escriban à Vuestra Real Persona (Dios le guarde) y à Vuestra Alteza contra mi buen proceder como le sucedió à mi antecesor Don Luis, siendo asi que no hizo agravio à los soldados, ni à los natu-

rales a quienes les pagó su trabajo personal mas que otro Gobernador acomelando [sic] que en su Gobierno se ahorcaban los indios por su causa cuando ahora en mi tiempo se ahorcó uno, no por trabajo si por adulterio y riña que tubo con el marido de la cómplice, y por que estos naturales como neofitos son muy naturales y propensos à la desesperacion, lo otro por no vivir en continua mortificacion por tener sobre si este Gobierno un Vice-protector de los naturales religioso que {sin} a pesar de aver instruccion de vuestro real fisco fiscaliza aun las mas minimas operaciones de los soldados de que se infiere, y asi lo dice el dicho Gobernador interino que la extinsion de dichos Administradores fué por disposicion de el Vice-protector con la consecuencia precisa de que los bastimentos de el gremio se hayan de comprar de los indios por cuenta de el Real Situado sin tener despues con que socorrer dos Compañias de soldados Españoles, y una de Filipinos que hay al presente.

En tiempos pasados que habia grande numero de indios estas Islas para su pacificacion fué muy combeniente el Gobierno, y dichas tres compañías de soldados pero siendo tan pocos los que subsisten soy de sentir que para tenerlos pacificos es suficiente un Cabo con veinte y cuatro soldados de a cinco pesos que con tres mil pesos se pueden mantener, y vestir al año, los que se entreguen al Vice-Provincial para que por su mano se distribuyan en socorro bastimento y municion ahorrando à la real hacienda mas de diez mil, de los veinte mil y mas pesos de la dotacion anual de este real Presidio[.] aunque no se suprima este Gobierno, y soldados, en la forma que espreso no es dable que se defiendan de cualquiera invasion de Navios enemigos y corsarios que suelen dar fondo a los surgideros de estas islas por falta de reductos fortalezas y castillos de que mis antecesores se han valido en ocasiones de los mogotes ó cerros que han guarnecido con algunos cañones de artilleria de quince piezas que unicamente hay cinco de à ocho, cuatro de a seis, dos de a cuatro, y cuatro falconetes de a tres sin defensa alguna acaeciendo lo mismo à los demas surgideros y à toda la Isla; ultra que los soldados suas [sic = solo?] sirven para chismes, y enredos que alteran la paz pública à no portarme con alguna sagacidad y prudencia conteniendome àun mas de lo que debiera en defensa de el vuestro Patronato, y Real jurisdiccion segun que las vez [sic = tal vez] me previenen sobre que siendo de el soberano agrado de V.A. se sirva de imformar de los que van en el Barquillo de mi proceder, y de todo cuanto espreso en esta Consulta en la que con todo rendimiento suplico à V.A. se sirva con su real dignacion de consultar à Vuestro Presidente otro sugeto que me venga à subceder por no quedar espuesto à perder mi crédito y opinion que hasta aqui he conservado y se halla ejecutoriado en distintos empleos de vuestro Real Servicio.

Del dicho Gobernador interino recibi por cuenta de el situado de este Real Presidio ocho mil trescientos treinta y cuatro pesos tres tomines, y nueve granos, y dudo dar cumplimiento al socorro del mes que viene con haberme valido de algunos efectos embargados de el dicho Don Luis por que halle impuesto que el socorro de la Infanteria en la forma siguiente:

*—A los Sargentos mayores **Españoles** reformados à diez pesos.*

—A los Capitanes à ocho pesos.

—A los Ayudantes à siete.

—A los Alferezes à seis.

—Y à los Sargentos à cinco pesos y cuatro tomines.

—Y à los Maestros de Campo **Pampangos** reformados à siete pesos.

—A los Sargentos mayores siete.

—A los Capitanes à seis pesos cuatro tomines.

—A los Ayudantes à seis.

—Y à los Alferezes à cinco pesos y cuatro tomines.

Y aunque veo que por la escesiva abundancia de reformados no habiendo mas que diez y seis sencillos Españoles no es vastante el situado anual, no lo puedo remediar por no hacer novedad, y asi dexo al soberano arbitrio de V.A. el que indistintamente se socorran segun los sencillos dichos reformados como se practica en el Real Campo de Manila.

Finalmente por la cortedad y miseria de estas islas, pues en esta Ciudad y sus reducciones, y en los cinco partidos de su jurisdiccion segun el Padron general de los naturales de el tiempo de mi antecesor no llegan à setecientos indios, y asi la sindicacion de su Gobernador que es el unico residenciado no necesita de el término de sesenta dias, sino de solos treinta pues en su tanto este Gobierno lo considero tanto quanto es un Alcalde mayor de Filipinas, y en superlativo grado muy inferior en quanto à combeniencias pues aunque gozo ochocientos veinte y cinco pesos de sueldo al año, no tengo absolutamente accion para ninguna inteligencia, y habiendo sido tan crecidos los gastos que hice en mis despachos y los que actualmente hago sin duda alguna me habré de quedar muy empeñado sin tener con que costear mi residencia y asi me parece ser combeniente para esta con el término de solos treinta dias se confiera al Gobernador subcesor y no à distinta persona que cause crecidos salarios al residenciado.

La divina Magestad guarde à V.A. en su mayor grandeza para la conservacion y aumento de esta Cristiandad.

Agaña y Abril veinte y cuatro de mil setecientos veinte y seis años.

Manuel de Argüelles Valdés.

Translation.

Authenticated copy of the records of proceedings about the consultation of General Manuel de Argüelles, the present Governor of the Marianas, in which he reports their condition, as a result of a decision to withdraw the administrators of the five districts made by the man who succeeded Captain Luís Antonio Sanchez de Tagle.

Almighty Sir:

It behooves me, as your Governor deputized to administer these Islands, to bring to the sovereign attention of Your Highness, their miserable state on account of a decision taken by the interim Governor, who remained in charge in the absence of my predecessor, Don Luís Antonio Sanchez de Tagle. He abolished and withdrew the administrators of their five districts (named Mayors, but without any responsibility for justice), who looked after the provisioning of the established Infantry of this Royal

garrison. Such a decision adversely affected not only said establishment but also all of the residents. I have come to believe that, in spite of the main reason for the withdrawal of said administrators which was to alleviate the natives, the very opposite happened; indeed, the miserable people are now more burdened, with not even the smallest district with 20 Indians being free of this contribution, such that during the term of the previous governor they were not so harassed and the soldiers not so lacking in food supplies, because of the elimination of the administrators, and because of the typhoon of 3 December last that flattened these Islands. That is why I consider myself incapable of finding anything that might remedy this situation, a solution that would not disturb the public peace that I wish to maintain at all costs, for one thing, to prevent their complaining to your Royal person (may God save him) and to Your Highness about my good behavior, as happened to my predecessor, Don Luís. In fact, the man did no harm to the soldiers nor to the natives, whom he paid for their personal work more than any previous Governor before him, as proven(?) by the fact that during his term the Indians hanged themselves for personal reasons, whereas during my term one man hanged himself, not because of the workload, but on account of adultery and a fight he had with the husband of his accomplice, and because these natives are but neophytes and very native, in that they are prone to despair. The other thing is that I do wish to live in continuous mortification, since this government is overseen by a Vice-protector of the natives, a religious who, in spite of instruction he has from your royal attorney, involves himself into the most minor operations of the soldiers. It can be inferred—and it is confirmed by said interim Governor—that the elimination of said administrators was at the request of the Vice-protector, with the ensuing consequence that the food supplies of the establishment are purchased from the Indians with money from the Royal subsidy, without any left over afterwards to succor the two companies of Spanish soldiers, or the one company of Filipinos that exist at present.

In former times, when there was a large number of Indians in these Islands, for their pacification it was proper to have a Governor and said three companies of soldiers, but, given the few remaining, I am of the opinion that, to keep them peaceful, it is sufficient to have one Officer with 24 soldiers paid 5 pesos, for a total of 3,000 pesos for their maintenance and clothing per year. This sum would be delivered to the Vice-Provincial, for him to distribute the yearly succor, consisting of food and ammunition, thus saving over 10,000 pesos to the Royal treasury, from the little over 20,000 pesos budgetted for the yearly subsidy of this Royal garrison. Even if the posts of Governor, and soldiers, be not eliminated in the manner that I mention, it should not be assumed that they would be able to repel any invasion from enemy or pirate ships which usually anchor in the anchorages of these Islands, for lack of redoubts, fortresses or citadels. In the past, my predecessors have at times made use of the hillocks and hills that they have provided with a few artillery guns, from the only 15 pieces available: 5 8-pounders; 4 6-pounders; 2 4-pounders; and 4 falconets that are 3-pounders, without any protection whatever. The same thing happens to the other anchorages and the whole Island. Furthermore, the soldiers are only good for gossiping, and for liaisons that disturb the

public peace, something that forces me to behave with some sagacity and prudence, contenting myself with doing even more than I should for the defence of your patronage and Royal jurisdiction, regarding which I may perhaps be allowed to presume that it will be of the sovereign pleasure of Your Highness to inform yourself from those who are going aboard the small boat, about my proceedings, and about the things I mention in this consultation, in which I humbly beg Your Highness to please deign to consult your President, regarding another individual who might come to replace me, because I do not wish to risk losing my [good] credit and reputation that I have maintained so far, and gained while filling various posts in your Royal service.

From said interim Governor I received on the account of the subsidy of this Royal garrison the sum of 8,334 pesos 3 tomins 9 grains, but I doubt if I will be able to meet next month's commitment, unless I avail myself of some effects seized from Don Luís, because I found the succor of the infantry to be obligated in the following manner:

- 10 pesos to each retired **Spanish** Major;
- 8 pesos to each Captain;
- 7 pesos to each Adjutant;
- 6 pesos to each Lieutenant; and
- 5 pesos 4 tomins to each Sergeant. And
- 7 pesos to each retired **Pampango** Master-of-camp;
- 7 pesos to each Major;
- 6 pesos 4 tomins to each Captain;
- 6 pesos to each Adjutant; and
- 5 pesos 4 tomins to each Lieutenant.

There is such an excessive number of retired personnel—I see that only 16 Spaniards belong to other ranks—that the yearly subsidy is not sufficient, but I cannot remedy this situation because I do not wish to make changes, and thus I leave it to the sovereign judgment of Your Highness to consider them the same way as the retired other ranks in the Royal camp of Manila.

Finally, on account of the shortages and poverty of these Islands; indeed, in this city and its suburbs, and in the five districts of its jurisdiction, in accordance with the general census of the natives taken during the term of my predecessor, the number of Indians does not reach 700. So, the syndication of their Governor, who is the only person audited, does not need more than 60 days to be completed, but only 30, since I consider the Governor here to be just like a Provincial Mayor in the Philippines, and in an even inferior position relative to him with regards to amenities; indeed, although I enjoy a salary of 825 pesos per year, I simply do not have his freedom of action or room to maneuver. The expenditures that I made in my despatches, and those that I am making now, have been so much greater that I will no doubt find myself over-extended, not counting the expenses of my personal audit. So, it seems to me proper to recommend

a limit of 30 days for the audit of the next Governor, and to no other person who might cause inflated salaries to the one being audited.¹

May the Divine Majesty in His greater wisdom save Your Highness for the preservation and increase of this Christian community.

Agaña, 24 April 1726.

Manuel de Argüelles Valdés.

Editor's note.

The Audiencia held meetings to discuss the above consultation, and the most specific suggestion made was that the salary of any one soldier in Agaña be at the rate of 2 pesos and 1 cavan of rice instead. Some open hearings were also held in October 1726; 4 Filipino witnesses who had visited Guam came up from Cavite, but they had no detailed knowledge of administrative affairs in the Marianas. In early January, they succeeded in getting a knowledgeable witness to appear, as follows:

F2. The deposition of Captain Pedro de la Cueva

Original text in Spanish.

... Capitan Don Pedro de las Cuebas [sic], vecino de esta Ciudad y residente en los estramuros de ella, persona que ha tenido asistencia en dichas Islas Marianas, de quien dicho señor recibido Juramento... siendolo primeramente [preguntado] si sabe ó tiene noticia de los Administradores que los Gobernadores de dichas islas ponian en algunas poblaciones à quienes davan el nombre de Alcaldes, que tenian à su cargo la provision de bastimentos para los infantes del Presidio de dichas Islas...

Dixo que con ocasion de haber estado desde el año de setecientos à setecientos y tres, y despues que vino à estas Islas bolbió à aquellas islas de Marianas à donde estubo de imbernada tiempo de un año experimento lo pingue de aquellas islas y vió en varios Pueblos unos hombres casados de buen vivir con el nombre de Alcaldes (sin serlo) solo si por nombramiento del Gobernador de aquellas islas para efecto de que por su medio los naturales de cada pueblo sembrasen Maiz, Nica, Dago, Suni, Camote, que sirven de pan, y a que criasen gallinas, ganado de cerda, todo para mantenimiento de la infanteria de dicha Isla, y sus Cabos militares, y con que asi mismo regalan y proveen de refresco al Galeon que de Nueva España aporta à dichas Islas sin que dichos hombres tubiesen administracion alguna de justicia mas de el hacer el que dichos naturales estubiesen ocupados en dicho exercicio y sin titulo alguno y responde.

Preguntado si dichos Administradores eran útiles à dicho Gremio de Infanteria y à los naturales de dichas Islas, ó si al contrario perjudicaba à dicho gremio y à los naturales:

Dixo que segun lo que vio y experimento en el tiempo que dexe referido tiene por cierto eran útiles à uno y otro gremio los dichos administradores pues por su medio los

¹ Ed. note: Original meaning unclear.

naturales se aplicaban à hacer dichas sementeras y criar dichas aves y ganados con que proveía la infanteria y oficiales como para proveer de refresco al Galeon que aporta à dichas islas como dexa dicho y responde.

Preguntado si con la estincion de dichos administradores se ha experimentado provecho ó daño à dicho gremio de aquellos naturales con especialidad han sentido algun alivio, ó por el contrario, han sido mas gravados, y si en el Campo de dicho Presidio se ha experimentado falta de bastimentos ó abundancia de ellos, o si se han encarecido ó abaratado por dicha causa:

Dixo que como dexa dicho ha veinte años que pasó à estas islas y asi no puede con afirmatiba decir sobre la instincion de dichos administradores, provecho ó daño que pudo haber resultado à los naturales de aquellas islas, y solo le parece que à haberse estinguido no puede ser de ningun alivio à la infanteria y naturales pues à los unos les hará falta el mantenimiento y à los otros por la falta que reina en ellos no puede ser de ningun provecho pues no habiendo quien les mande trabajar, no lo harán pues segun experimento aun pagandoles el trabajo personal por ligero que fuese escusaban de hacerlo, y si lo hacian eran impelidos de mala gana y que la ociosidad puede causar los daños que se experimentan y han padecido esas y las que padecen otras Ciudades populosas y responde.

Preguntado si considera que bolbiendose à poner dichos Administradores en los Pueblos segun y como estaban antiguamente se seguirán algunos incombenientes ó inquietudes con que se perturbe la república de los naturales se alteren.

Dixo que segun la esperiencia que tubo el tiempo referido siendo los Administradores de buenas costumbres y celosos del servicio de ambas magestades no puede [ser] dañoso su restablecimiento pues no se puede seguir ninguna inquietud que perturbe la paz de aquellas islas antes si de que no esten abastecidas de dichos mantenimientos y los naturales sin la ociosidad y peligro que de ello puede redundar en bien de sus almas y servicio de ambas Magestades y responde.

...

Preguntado si sabe que número de naturales habrá al presente en dichas islas y si para tener quietos y pacificos el dicho número que existiere sera preciso mantener dicho Presidio con las Compañias de Infanteria Española, y de naturales Filipinos que actualmente hay y ha habido ó si vastaran los veinte y cinco soldados con un Cabo socorrido al Cabo con veinte y cinco pesos al mes, y los soldados à cinco pesos como consulta el Gobernador.

Dixo que no puede decir el número de naturales que al presente hay en dichas islas, solo si que por el año de setecientos y cinco por el padron que se hizo y vio el Capitan declarante à lo que se quiere acordar habria entre Indios é Indias y sus hijos pequeños como tres mil quinientos poco mas ó menos y para tenerlos sugetos y pacificos tiene por cosa cierta vastaran cuarenta soldados con su Cabo, y que de este mismo dictamen eran los Sargentos mayores Don Francisco Medrano, y Don Antonio Villamor Gobernadores que fueron de aquellas Islas y en comprobacion de ello vio el Capitan testigo que el año de setecientos y tres el dicho Sargento mayor Don Francisco Medrano con-

sultó en razon de ello al Rey Nuestro Señor remitiendo dicha Consulta por duplicado al Conde Tonrrubio(?) que residia en la Corte, y aunque en dicha consulta no espresaba dejar de Cabo ni gente sino el recibir dichos naturales Chamorros à la provincia de Leite, siendo de su real agrado sin mas gastos que el situado de un año de dichas islas y con su industria, y aunque asi se consultó con listas y gastos testimoniados con el Capitan declarante no supo si llegaron ó no à manos de S.M. y segun la noticia que al presente tiene de que en dichas islas habrá tan solamente como ochocientos naturales no hay duda es mucha la situacion que al presente tiene de Infanteria que lo guarnece Española y pampanga y tambien le parece al Capitan declarante ser corto el númevro de veinte y cinco hombres con su Cabo como consulta el Gobernador de dichas Islas, y le parece al Capitan declarante que aumentandose algunos mas será suficiente para la guarnicion de los pocos naturales que al presente hay reducidos à un Pueblo y al presidio y en quanto al socorro asi mismo le parece al Capitan declarante es corto el de cinco pesos por no poder mantenerse comer y vestir ademas de la municion que se les da en cada un año por haberlo de comprar de géneros que se llevan de estas Islas ó se conduce de la Nueva España que les tiene mucho costo y no pueden pasar con licencia como ni tampoco el Cabo respecto de que será persona graduada y de familia y responde.

Preguntado si el numero de soldados que hoy existen en dicho Presidio y han existido hasta el presente con las armas de fuego serán suficientes para impedir lleguen à dar fondo en los Puertos y surgideros de dichas Islas, navios de corsarios ó piratas ó que hechen gente en tierra para hacer agua y bastimentos, y en que conformidad se han defendido los Gobernadores de dichas islas en ocasiones las que han aportado à ellas dichos corsarios ó piratas y que efecto han conseguido en las defensas que hubiesen hecho:

Dixo que el tiempo que estubo en dichas islas no aportó ningun corsario ó pirata y aunque fueron los dos Gobernadores que conoció de valor, soldados y se hallase en el Puerto con toda su gente de armas no podian resistir à dos lanchas de piratas ó corsarios si iban ciento y cincuenta hombres que mientras los de dichas Islas hacian un tiro los corsarios ó piratas dispararian cuatro con poca pérdida de su gente y mucha de la tierra y se harian dueños de ellas por la poca practica y disciplina militar pues de ciento que habria solos treinta podrian manegar dichas armas de fuego, y con la pausa referida pues por lo que hace à los naturales de aquellas Islas no se puede fiar para semejantes resistencias aunque hubiesen muchos mas que al presente hay, y lo ubo, al tiempo que estubo en dichas Islas y hay tubo por cierto y en las ocasiones que han aportado à dichas Islas los Navios de corsarios y piratas[.] respecto de la poca resistencia que hay y dexa dicho los Gobernadores motibado de ello no emprenderian resistencia alguna y los recibirian con demostraciones politicas por no esponerse al riesgo de perder dichas islas con el de[s]credito de las armas Católicas responde.

...
... afirmó y ratificó siendo leida esta su declaracion de verbo ad verbum, declaro ser de edad de cincuenta años, y lo firmó con dicho Señor de que doy fé.

Doctor Martinez.

Pedro de la Cueba.

Ante mi Bentura de Rosas y Céspedes escribano receptor.

Translation.

... Captain Pedro de las Cuevas [sic], a resident of this City living outside the walls, a person who has served in said Mariana Islands, whose oath was taken... who was first asked if he knew or had any knowledge of the administrators whom the Governors of said Islands placed in some towns, and gave them the title of Mayors, and who were entrusted with getting food supplies for the infantrymen of the garrison of said Islands...

He declared that, on the occasion of having lived there between 1700 and 1703, and after he came to these Islands he returned to those Mariana Islands where he spent the winter, the space of one year, he experienced the fertility of those Islands and he saw in various towns some married men of good conduct with the title of Mayors (who were not mayors, except so named by the Governor of those Islands) for the purpose of obtaining through their means that the natives of each town would sow corn, *nica*, *dago*, *suní*, sweet potatoes, that replace bread, and to have them raise chickens and pigs, all of which were for the maintenance of the infantry of said Island, and of its military officers. They also supply the refreshment for the galleon that comes from New Spain and makes a stop at said Islands. However, said men have nothing to do with justice, their only job being to make sure that said natives remain busy in said exercise; they have no letter of appointment as such, and so he answers.

Asked if said administrators were useful to said infantry establishment and to the natives of said Islands, or if, on the contrary, they are detrimental to said garrison and natives:

He declared that, according to what he saw and experienced during the time referred to above, he is sure that said administrators were useful to both groups; indeed, it is through this means that the natives apply themselves to said plantations and to the raising of chickens and pigs, with which they supply the infantry and officers, as well as the provisioning of refreshments to the passing galleon, as he has already said, and so he answers.

Asked if the recent elimination of said administrators has resulted in some benefit or harm to the natives as a whole, specially if they have felt some relief, or else, if they have been more burdened, and if the military men of said garrison have experienced a lack of food supplies or an abundance of them, or if they have become more expensive, or less expensive, as a result.

He declared that, as he has already mentioned, it has been 20 years since he passed to those Islands, and so, he cannot say with certainty whether the recent elimination of said administrators was useful or not, for the natives of those Islands, but what he can say is that this elimination could not have been of any relief to the infantry and natives; indeed, the former would miss their supplies and the latter would suffer from the same lack, because it is a fact that if no-one makes them work, they do not work. According

to his experience, even by paying them for their personal work, though little, they found excuses not to work, and if they did, they were motivated by ill will, such that idleness can cause the harms that have been experienced overthere, the same way as in other populated cities, and so he answers.

Asked if he thinks that putting back said administrators in the towns, just as they were before, would result in some advantages or lead to potential disturbances on the part of the native population, should they rebel:

He declared that, according to the experience he gained during the above-mentioned stay, when the administrators were of good character and anxious to serve both their Majesties, their restoration cannot be harmful. In fact, it cannot result in any disturbance to the peace of those Islands, but the opposite might occur if they are not supplied with said maintenance, and if the natives remain idle, a risky situation for the good of their souls and the service of both their Majesties, and so he answers.

...

Asked if he knows how many natives there are at present in said Islands and if, in order to keep them quiet and peaceful, no matter how many of them there might be, it would be necessary to maintain the garrison with its companies of Spanish and Filipino infantrymen, with the present or previous totals, or if it would be enough to have 25 soldiers with one officer, the officer being paid 25 pesos per month and the soldiers 5 pesos, as the Governor recommends:

He declared that he cannot say how many natives there are at present in said Islands, but that in the year 1705, according to the census then taken and what the Captain declarant himself saw and can recall, there would have been about 3,500 of them, including men, women and their small children. To keep them submissive and peaceful, he is sure that 40 soldiers with one officer would be enough, and that Majors Francisco Medrano, and Antonio Villamor, former Governors of those Islands, were of the same opinion. To prove this point, the Captain declarant was a witness, in 1703, when Major Francisco Medrano made recommendations to the King our Lord on this matter, by sending a report in duplicate to Count Tonrrubio [sic = Adanero?] who lived at court, and although said consultation did not mention an officer or men, but the idea of moving said Chamorro natives to the province of Leyte, if it be of his royal pleasure, without any expenditures other than a sum equivalent to the subsidy of said Islands for one year, and with their industry; however, although the report said so, with lists and budgets witnessed by the Captain declarant, he never learned whether or not it reached the hands of H.M.¹ According to recent news, said Islands would have only about 800 natives at present, and if so, there is no doubt that the actual strength of the garrison, made up of Spanish and Pampango infantrymen, is high, but the Captain declarant is also of the opinion that 25 men with one officer, as recommended by the Governor of

1 Ed. note: This report seems never to have reached Madrid. It may have been suppressed by the Count of Lizarraga who replaced Gov. Cruzat in 1700, or someone in his administration, in view of the strong opposition of the Jesuits (see HM10:339).

said Islands, is too small a number. The Captain declarant thinks that by increasing this number by a few more men, the garrison would then be adequate for the few natives who have now been reduced to one town and to the garrison, As far as the salary is concerned, the Captain declarant says that 5 pesos is not enough for a man to support himself, eat and clothe himself, in addition to the ammunition that is given them every year, since they have to buy it with the goods that are brought from these Islands, or carried from New Spain; such goods cost them a lot and neither they nor the officer can get permission to come over. With respect to this officer, he should be a commissioned officer, and married, and so he answers.

Asked if the number of soldiers, actually present in said garrison, or existing in the past, with their firearms, would be sufficient to prevent pirate ships, or others from putting men ashore to get water and food supplies, and from anchoring in the ports and anchorages of said Islands, and in which manner have defended themselves the Governors of said Islands on occasions when said pirates have visited the Islands in the past, and what effect has had the opposition that they might have made:

He declared that no pirate or corsair visited said Islands when he was there, and that although the two Governors whom he knew as men of valor would have been in the port with all of their soldiers and firearms, they could not have resisted two launches full of pirates or corsairs, with perhaps 150 men, because while the defenders might fire one shot, the corsairs or pirates would fire four, with few losses on their side, whereas many men would be lost ashore, and they [i.e. the former] would become owners of the land, on account of the little practice or military discipline [of the latter]. Indeed, out of every 100 men, there might be only 30 able to handle said firearms, and with the speed mentioned above. As far as the natives of those Islands, they cannot be trusted to offer any resistance under such circumstances, though there might be a larger number of them than at present, as in the past when he was there, and when some corsairs or pirates did visit said Islands. With regard to the little resistance available, as he has just said, the Governors, motivated by this, would not offer any resistance and would welcome them with a show of civility, in order not to expose themselves to the risk of losing said Islands, with the [resulting] loss of prestige for the Catholic arms, and so he answers.

...
... he affirmed and ratified his declaration, after it was read back to him word for word, declaring that he was 50 years old, and he signed it, along with said gentleman, for which I vouch.

Dr. Martinez.

Pedro de la Cueva.

Before me, Ventura de Rosas y Cespedes, notary receiver.

Editor's notes.

Similarly, the deposition of Captain Nicolas Conejo was also taken; his last stay in Guam had been between 1702 and 1706. He held views similar to Captain Cueva.

Captain José Lopez de Castro was also interrogated in April 1727; he had served three times in the Marianas, firstly from 1699 to 1704, then two and one more years during Pimentel's times. His views were similar, except that he recommended a garrison of 40-50 men, instead of the 25 proposed by Gov. Argüelles. Captain Castro was then 50 years old. The declaration of the 55-year-old Major José de Sandoval (born at Valladolid) was also recorded; he had served in the Marianas for 30 years, from 1696 to 1726. Although he had himself been a town mayor, his answers did not differ from those above. On 31 May 1727, the Audiencia decided to send a full copy of the transcripts to Fr. Cantova, who had come from Agaña, for his comments, who agreed, with the permission of his Superior, Fr. Diego de Otazo. Surprisingly, Fr. Cantova was basically in favor of the Argüelles proposal, not only a reduction in the number of soldiers, but also in the number of missionaries, down to 3 priests and 1 brother. His full opinion is as follows:

F3. Letter from Fr. Cantova to the Audiencia, dated Maysilo Ranch, 18 June 1727

Original text in Spanish.

Muy Poderoso Señor

El Padre Juan Antonio Cantova, Religioso Presbitero de la Compañia de Jesus

En obediencia à la carta de ruego y encargo de V.A. y en virtud de la licencia que tengo de mi prelado sobre los puntos contenidos en una consulta hecha à V.A. por el Gobernador actual de las islas Marianas inserta en este espediente certifico lo siguiente:

Lo primero por la esperiencia que he tenido por quatro años que he residido en las Islas Marianas, y por las noticias conteste de muchas cartas que despues de mi arribada à estas islas de Filipinas he recibido de los moradores de aquel presidio, certifico haber sido parecer comun de los religiosos y seculares, que moran en dichas Islas Marianas: Que era absolutamente conveniente y necesario al bien comun de aquellas islas y de sus habitadores extinguir las plazas de Alcaldes que habia casi en todos los pueblos de doscientas ó trescientas almas entre grandes y pequeños por el gravisimo perjuicio que se seguia en lo espiritual y temporal à los naturales y poco ó ningun provecho al gremio de la infanteria; y me consta que cuando el Gobernador interino Capitan Don Juan de Ojeda que gobernó esas islas en ausencia del propietario Capitan Don Luis Antonio Sanchez de Tagle estinguíó esas plazas lo hizo no solo con aprovacion de los religiosos doctrineros sino tambien de casi todos los Capitanes reformados (que son muchos) los cuales vinieron en ello por las razones que cada uno dió por escrito y lo firmó.

De todo lo cual parece se infiere, que fué bien hecha la estincion de dichas plazas de Alcaldes, y que de ningun modo combiene restablecirlas. Mucho menos razon habrá para este restablecimiento en caso que la infanteria se reduzca à menos numero, como propone la Consulta. Pues el empleo de dichos Alcaldes (prescindiendo de sus intelegencias particulares) era cuidar que en cada pueblecillo ó rancheria, hiciesen los naturales

varias sementeras de arroz, maiz, sandias, melones, y raizes de la tierra, y criasen cerdos y aves en pocilgas y gallineros que llaman del Rey, y se ocupasen unos en guardar dia y noche las sementeras especialmente de melones y sandias, dejando muchos por ello de oir misa y la doctrina, aun en los dias de fiesta, otros en pescar, otros en cazar cerdos del monte, para el abasto de la infanteria y asistencia del Gobernador; en estos y otros servicios personales tenian los Alcaldes atareados à los Indios la mayor parte del año; pues solo en las sementeras, que vulgarmente llaman del Rey, los ocupaban en cada pueblo como de comunidad y à dos y à tres dias cada semana, y cuando menos un dia sin falta sin darlos de comer las mas de las veces y aun lo mas comun sin otra paga que unas pocas ojas de tabaco, estas y otras sin razones en los años pasados se pretendieron sanear con el colorado pretexto de que era asi necesario para la manutencion de la infanteria que solia tener ciento y cuarenta plazas con poca diferencia; luego si la Infanteria se reduce à mas corto numero como propone la consulta y hacerse aun aquel pretesto de poner dichos Alcaldes para que soliciten tantos bastimentos, pues siendo tanto menor el numero de los soldados no habra necesidad de tantas contribuciones, fuera de que parece se halla mas conforme à las leyes divinas y humanas, y especialmente à las municipales de Indias que los Gobernadores de Marianas por medio de los Gobernadorcillos de los Pueblos procuren con eficacia con todos los indios capaces de trabajar hagan sus sementeras de arroz, maiz, y raizes de la tierra para que abunden los bastimentos y estos con el real situado se compren de los mismos indios por sus justos precios en la cantidad que fuere necesaria para la Infanteria como se practica en estas Islas Filipinas.

Pero por que aun dada esta providencia pueden todavia los naturales padecer notable vejacion en los precios ó por que se les tomen sus frutos, y generos à menos precio de lo que valen; ó por que sean compelidos à recibir en paga en lugar de dinero algun genero que ellos no necesitan y no quieren pudiera V.A. ocurrir à estos desordenes mandando por su real provision lo primero que se reformen en Marianas con acuerdo del Gobernador y de los Padre Vice-Provincial y Rector del Colegio de San Juan de Letran dos aranceles; el uno con la tasacion de los precios de todos los frutos y generos de la tierra y el otro con la asignacion de los jornales que se deben pagar à los indios que trabajaren en sementeras, cazas[,] pescas[,] cortes de madera, acarretos, viages de bancas y otros servicios personales, asi de hombres como de mugeres en servicio de vuestra Real Persona, de vuestro Gobernador, de los padres Ministros, y otras personas particulares, con toda individuacion. Lo segundo que estos aranceles se guarden, y cumplan indefectiblemente, y no se innoben ni alteren por vuestro Gobernador sino con acuerdo y voto concorde de dichos Padres Vice-provincial y Rector, como en otros tiempos pasados lo mandó este Superior Gobierno (cuyo Superior decreto he leído) para obviar semejantes agravios que padecian los pobres. Lo tercero que no sean compelidos los indios à recibir géneros y frutos para sus servicios personales, sino que se les dexen como es justicia su total libertad para escoger el dinero en lugar del género.

Lo segundo certifico y asi lo siento como lo expresa la consulta, que aunque no se suprima el Gobierno y Presidio de Marianas en la forma y número de soldados que

tiene al presente; no se puede defender de los navios enemigos, si acaso en numero de ellos de dos ó tres intentaren invadirla, y mas si los enemigos tienen noticia de los surgideros, y sus entradas, y de como está aquello todo abierto sin murallas ni fortalezas, las cuales tampoco se pueden hacer segun el estado presente de aquellas islas por la gran falta de la gente de trabajo.

Por otra parte el aumentar el numero de los soldados no sera sino añadir gastos à vuestras reales Caxas y trabajos à los indios. Antes tengo por combeniente à vuestro Real Servicio que se reformen mas de la mitad de las plazas; y soy del mismo sentir que el Consultante que para tener à los indios pacificos es suficiente un Cabo con veinte y cuatro soldados; sin embargo, atendiendo à otras circunstancias me parece este numero nimiamente corto. Lo primero por que veinte y cuatro soldados son pocos para asistir à todas las guardias y demas obligaciones de la milicia y para formar dos cuerpos de Guardia el uno en la Ciudad de Agaña, la cual nunca se desampara de Infanteria; y el otro en el Puerto de Umatag donde à temporadas suele residir el Gobernador. Y si algunos de los veinte y cuatro soldados enfermasen de calenturas, y otros achaques que no son incurables por los cuales no se les suelen borrar las plazas, mucha mas falta y desamparo quedaria el cuerpo de guardia y presidio. Lo segundo por que por estar este presidio de Marianas à la puerta de las islas Carolinas y Palaos, combiene que número competente de infanteria para que haya de que echar mano en caso que mande Vuestra Real Persona (que Dios guarde) intentar otra vez la espediccion y conquista de dichas Carolinas, y Palaos, como fué servido mandarlo por su real cédula del año de setecientos y quince en la cual ordenaba à su Gobernador y Vuestro Presidente que providenciase con toda prontitud y vigilancia que el Patache regular de Marianas llevase de este Puerto de Cavite Maestro de Carpinteria, Calafates y clavazon vastante para fabricar en dichas islas Marianas una embarcacion à proposito para la comunicacion con las Carolinas, y Palaos, para cuya conquista y reduccion mandava se sacasen de Marianas veinte y cinco soldados con un Cabo y dos Padres Misioneros, unos y otros respectivamente asistidos con el mismo estipendio con que Vuestra Real persona (que Dios guarde) los socorre en Marianas, y pasasen con el patache, y la otra embarcacion à tomar asiento en alguna de aquellas muchas islas para alumbrar aquellas inmensa region de infieles que vienen en las sombras de la gentilidad con la luz del Santo Evangelio. Y por que se espera que el piadoso ánimo de Vuestra Real persona (que Dios guarde) como tan celoso de la gloria de Dios, y de la combersion de las almas, buelva à despachar nueva Cedula para que esa espediccion y conquista se lleve à debida ejecucion en conformidad de lo mandado por dicha cédula del año pasado de setecientos y quince parece será combeniente que se mantenga el Presidio de Marianas con algun numero competente de soldados para los espresados efectos.

Por tanto lo siento en este punto, es que se reduzca la infanteria de aquel Presidio à cinquenta plazas repartidas en dos Compañias la una de Españoles, la otra de Pampangos, mandadas por un Cabo Superior. La Compañia de los Pampangos es muy necesaria en aquellas islas; pues sirve no solo en los empleos de la milicia sino tambien en obras de Carpinteria y otros oficios y faxinas necesarias en el Presidio, en las cuales no se

suelen ocupar los Españoles. Estas dos Compañias se podran mantener con suficiente sueldo, vastimentos, vestido, municion, polvora, y balas de Arcabuz con ocho mil pesos al año incluso el socorro del Cabo, que parece debiera ser a lo menos de cuarenta pesos al mes, incluso tambien otros gastos comunes, y ordinarios del gremio de la infanteria como son la fiesta anual de la limpia Concepcion que corre por cuenta de los soldados[,] la Botica y medicinas para los enfermos[,] los salarios del Cirujano (pues el médico lo tienen de valde por ahora en un hermano de nuestra Compañia) del armero[,] del Mayordomo y criados de la estancia de Apurguan donde se cria el ganado bacuno manso para las raciones de los soldados y para el refresco de las naos de Castilla, y otros gastos extraordinarios que se ofrecen frecuentemente en la conservacion y aderezo de los Reales edificios, los cuales padecen mucho por los frecuentes uracanes que infestan aquel Pais; y en las fabricas de embarcaciones necesarias para la conduccion y transporte de los vastimentos y del real situado à la Ciudad. Pues como quiera que en aquellas Islas no hay otro haber Real de que hechar mano todos los referidos gastos se sacan del situado de la Infanteria. Con esta reforma se ahorraran las Reales Caxas de Mexico mas de doce mil pesos cada año de los veinte mil, y mas pesos de la dotacion anual de aquel presidio.

Las referidas cincuenta plazas, parecen suficientes para los espresados fines de mantener pacificas las islas Marianas y de conquistar las Carolinas, y Palaos pero para tener alguna prevencion para el caso de invasion de algun navio enemigo del cual como venga solo, no será difícil el defenderse habiendo prudencia y actividad en el Cabo, parece será oportuno formar otras tres compañías de milicia sin sueldo ni racion una de Españoles y otra de mestizos y otra de pampangos con sus Capitanes, y Oficiales, como se estila en estos estramuros y pueblos cercanos à Manila, dandole à cada uno su arma de fuego alisionandolos de cuando en cuando con el exercicio militar haciendolos marchar en las funciones publicas cuando marcha la infanteria ó en otras distintas ocasiones y guardandoles sus fueros para que esten pronto à acudir con las armas cuando fueren llamados à los órdenes del Cabo Superior.

Lo tercero que propone la Consulta de que se entregue el situado de la infanteria al Padre Vice-Provincial de aquellas Misiones para que por su mano la distribuya en socorro bastimento y municion à los soldados; digo no ser combeniente por los muchos disturbios seculares que trahe inevitablemente consigo esa ocupacion por lo cual aunque al principio de aquella conquista corrió por algunos años el Real Situado por mano del Reverendo Padre Vice-Provincial sin embargo se vieron los Padres tan acosados de las molestias de los soldados que por mano del Procurador general de estas Islas, que era el Padre Magino [Sola] se presentaron repetidos memoriales à Vuestra Real Persona (que Dios guarde) para que se digna se exonerar los de aquel cargo como los exoneró mandando por su Real cédula (que yo he leído y se guarda en el archivo de aquella mision) que el situado de la Infanteria corriese en adelante por mano de su Gobernador en aquellas islas.

Lo cuarto en orden al aumento, y variedad del sueldo con que son socorridos los Capitanes y demas oficiales reformados por cuanto me puedo acordar certifico ser asi

verdad como relata la consulta y para remediar algunos inconvenientes que de ello se siguen tengo por acertado el dictamen del consultante de que sean socorridos indistintamente los reformados como los sencillos como se practica en este Real Campo de Manila[.] solo se me ofrece poner en la suprema consideracion de Vuestra Alteza que si entre los reformados hubiese alguno ó algunos de los antiguos conquistadores de aquellas islas parece que con ellos se pudiera usar alguna distincion à titulo de recompensas supuesto que {h}alla no hay otras {in}combeniencias con que premiarlas.

Lo quinto en lo que dice la Consulta en el último párrafo que en toda la Ciudad y sus reducciones y en los cinco partidos de su jurisdiccion no llegan a setecientos los indios, debe haber equivocacion en el Padron que cita, ó por indios se debe entender familias por que segun el Padron General de aquellas islas que hicieron los Padres Ministros tres años ha entre Españoles, indios y mestizos de todo sexo y edad pasaban de tres mil almas, siendo asi que los Españoles y mestizos con todos los Pampangos no llegarian à quinientas almas, verdad es que ya los naturales serán menos que entonces pues es cierto que menguan notablemente en cada año.

Lo sexto tocante à lo que pide se le abrevie el término de la residencia à solos treinta dias y se confiera el cargo de dicha residencia al Gobernador subcesor y no à distinta persona[.] no es materia sobre la cual debo yo hablar por ser uno y otro puntos de derecho sobre los cuales provera V.A. lo que fuere de su mayor servicio de Dios y de vuestra real persona (que Dios guarde) y del mayor alivio del suplicante en cuanto fuere posible que si el gobierno de Marianas se reduxere à un Cabo Superior en la forma arriba espresada sera consiguiente reducir tambien a solos treinta dias el término de la residencia.

Esto es cuanto puedo certificar y declarar sobre los puntos de la citada Consulta y por ser verdad todo lo que llevo certificado y declarado, lo firmé en la estancia de May-silo en diez y ocho de Junio de mil setecientos veinte y siete años.

Juan Antonio Cantova.

Translation.

Almighty Sir:

Father Juan Antonio Cantova, priest and religious of the Society of Jesus.

In obedience to the letter of request of Your Highness, and by virtue of the permission that I have from my superior, regarding the points contained in a consultation made to Your Highness by the actual Governor of the Mariana Islands, enclosed in this file, I certify the following:

Firstly, based on the experience that I have after residing in the Mariana Islands for four years [1718-22] and on news gathered from many letters that I have received from residents of that garrison, after my arrival at these Philippine Islands, I certify that the common opinion of the religious and secular personnel living in said Mariana Islands was: That it was absolutely appropriate and necessary for the common good of those Islands and their inhabitants to eliminate the posts of Mayors that existed among almost all of the towns, big and small, with anywhere from 200 to 300 souls each, on

account of the very serious prejudice that resulted for the natives in things spiritual and material, and for the little or non-existent benefit to the established infantry. I have learned that when the interim Governor, Captain Juan de Ojeda, who governed those Islands in the absence of the officially-appointed Governor, Captain Luis Sanchez de Tagle,¹ abolished those posts, he did so not only with the approval of the religious ministers but also of almost all of the retired Captains (who are many) who agreed with this move for the reasons that each one gave in writing in signed statements.

Consequently, it appears that one can infer that the elimination of said posts of Mayors was a good thing, and that it would not be proper to re-establish them. There would be even less reason to re-establish them in case the infantry be reduced to a smaller number, as proposed in the consultation. Indeed, the employment of said Mayors (not considering their individual intelligences) was to make sure that in every small village or hamlet the natives would make various plantations of rice, corn, watermelons, ordinary melons, and local root crops, and would raise pigs in pig-pens and fowls in cages that they refer to as belonging to the King, and would spend their time watching over the plantations day and night, specially the melon patches, with the result that many would not come to hear mass and the doctrine, even on holidays, while others went fishing, others hunting wild pigs in the bush, for the provisioning of the infantry and to assist the Governor. At these and other personal services would the Mayors keep the Indians busy for most of the year; in fact, in just the plantations, which they commonly say belong to the King, they kept them busy in every town, as work gangs, for two or three days of every week, and at least one day, without giving them anything to eat most of the time, and generally even without any other payment than a few leaves of tobacco. Such were the presumed reasons used in years past under the colored pretext that it was necessary for the maintenance of the infantry which usually numbered 140 positions, more or less; then, if the infantry be reduced to a smaller number, as proposed in the consultation, and if that same pretext be called upon to place said Mayors to ensure supplies, well then, with a smaller number of soldiers, it should not be necessary to have so many contributions, beyond what seems reasonable under divine and human laws, and specially those concerning municipalities in the Indies, which the Governors of the Marianas through the Mayors of the towns can call upon to make all the able-bodied Indians work in their plantations of rice, corn, and local root crops so that food supplies be abundant, but this food should be purchased from the said Indians with money from the royal subsidy at just prices and at quantities necessary to feed the infantry, as practiced in these Philippine Islands.

However, because in spite of this provision the natives could still suffer some important vexation in the pricing of their products and goods, or because they might simply be taken from them, at prices lower than their value; or else because they might be compelled to receive a payment other than money, for instance, some goods that they do

1 Ed. note: When Sanchez left, he appointed Major Sandoval to replace him; there is no confirmation, or explanation, of Sandoval being supplanted by Ojeda.

not need or want, Your Highness could prevent such disorders by issuing a royal provision, firstly, that two tariffs be established in the Marianas with the agreement of the Governor and of the Fathers Vice-Provincial and Rector of the College of San Juan de Letrán, i.e. one for standard prices for all local products and goods, and the other for standard wages to be paid to Indians who work in planting, hunting, fishing, wood-cutting, cartage, canoe transport and other personal services, not only the men but also the women in the service of your Royal person, of your Governor, the Father Ministers, and other individuals, very well specified. Secondly, these tariffs should be adhered to, and complied with without fail, and no changes or alterations should be made to them by your Governor without the express agreement of said Fathers Vice-Provincial and Rector, as this Superior Government had decreed a long time ago (I have read this decree) to prevent similar wrongs being done to the poor people. Thirdly, that the Indians not be compelled to receive goods and products in exchange for their personal services, but that they be left justly free to choose their payment, in money instead of in kind.

The second thing which I certify, something with which I am in agreement with the consultation, is that although the Governor's post be suppressed and the garrison of the Marianas be changed in its form and present number of soldiers, defence against enemy ships is impossible, should two or three of them try at once to invade the Island, the more so if they have knowledge of the anchorages and their passages, and about the open situation without walls nor forts, which cannot even be built, given the present condition of those Islands, for the great lack of workmen.

On the other hand, an increase in the number of soldiers would simply mean an increase of expenditures for your royal treasury and more labor for the Indians. Rather, I think it would be proper for your royal service to retire more than half of the positions, and I agree with the consultant when he says that in order to keep the Indians peaceful it is sufficient to have one officer and 24 soldiers; nevertheless, given other circumstances, it seems to me that this number is much too small. Firstly, because 24 soldiers is too small a number to be present at all of the watches and other duties of the militia and to form two guard platoons, one for the city of Agaña, which is never left without some infantrymen, and another for the port of Umatac, where at times the Governor resides. And, should some of the 24 soldiers become sick from fevers, and other illnesses that are not incurable (in such cases their positions are not usually taken from them) the lack of them would be much more felt, guard duty or the garrison neglected. Secondly, because the Mariana garrison is at the door of the Caroline and Palau Islands, it would be appropriate to have a suitable number of infantrymen at hand should your Royal person (whom may God save) attempt once again an expedition to and conquest of said Caroline and Palau Islands, as you were pleased to order by your royal decree of 1715, in which you ordered your Governor and your President to provide promptly and carefully for the regular Mariana patache to carry from this port of Cavite a master carpenter, caulkers and enough iron to build in said Mariana Islands a suitable vessel for navigation between them and the Caroline and Palau Islands. For

said conquest and reduction, you ordered that 25 soldiers be taken from the Marianas, plus one officer and two missionary Fathers, both groups being paid the same stipends that your Royal person (whom may God save) as those of the Marianas, as they were supposed to go with the patache and the other vessel to form a settlement in one island among the many islands there, in order to enlighten that immense region of heathens who live in the shadows of heathenism with the light of the Holy Gospel. And because it is hoped that the pious mind of your Royal person (whom may God save), being so zealous of the glory of God and the conversion of souls, will renew the despatch of a new decree to have that expedition and conquest carried out exactly as expressed in what was ordred in said decree of 1715, it would be proper for the garrison of the Marianas to have some suitable number of soldiers for the purposes intended.

Consequently, my opinion is that the infantry of that garrison be reduced to 50 positions, divided in two companies, one Spanish and the other Pampango, under the authority of one commissioned officer. The company of Pampangos is very necessary in those Islands; indeed, they not only serve in military tasks, but also in carpentry work and in other duties and required routines within the garrison that are usually not assigned to Spaniards.¹ These two companies could be maintained with sufficient salary, food supplies, clothes, ammunition, gunpowder, and bullets for muskets, with 8,000 pesos per year, including the salary of the officer, who should receive at least 40 pesos per month, and including also other common and ordinary expenses of the infantry corps, such as for the annual feast of Our Lady of Conception that is celebrated at the expense of the soldiers, the pharmacy, and medicines for the sick, the salaries of the surgeon (whom they get for free now since he is a brother of our Society), of the armourer, of the Majordomo and those who serve in the ranch of Apurguan where the domesticated cattle is being raised for the rations of the soldiers and for the refreshment of Spanish ships, and for other extraordinary expenditures that occur frequently to make repairs to the Royal buildings, which suffer greatly from the frequent typhoons that blow in that country, and to build the necessary boats to convey and transport the food supplies and the royal subsidy to the city. In fact, since there is no other royal income to take advantage of in those Islands, all of the above-mentioned expenses are taken from the subsidy of the infantry. With this reform, the royal treasury of Mexico would save over 12,000 pesos every year, out of the 20,000 or more that represents the yearly subsidy of that garrison.

The above-mentioned 50 positions seem sufficient for the said purposes of peace-keeping in the Mariana Islands and for the conquest of the Caroline and Palau Islands, but in order to have some reservists in case of an invasion by some enemy ship (which, if it comes alone, it would not be difficult to defend against, if the officer be prudent and active), it would seem appropriate to form three other companies of militiamen without wages or rations, one Spanish, one of half-breeds, and one of Pampangos, each

1 Ed. note: As general cooks, cleaners, personal servants to officers, whereas the Spaniards were armourers, occasional gunners, mayordomos, etc.

with its Captains and officers, as is done overhere in the towns outside the walls and in the vicinity of Manila, by giving each man a firearm, and calling them all from time to time to drill them, and having them take part in marches along with the infantry or on many other occasions, and by keeping them in shape so that they may be ready to take part in firefights whenever they might be called, in accordance with orders from the Commander.

The third thing recommended by the consultation is for the subsidy of the infantry to be delivered into the hands of the Father Vice-Provincial of those missions, for him to personally distribute it in the form of supplies and ammunition to the soldiers. I declare this as improper, on account of the many secular disturbances that this occupation would necessarily entail; that is why, although at the beginning of that conquest, the royal subsidy was administered by the Reverend Father Vice-Provincial, nevertheless, the Fathers became so encumbered by the bothers from the soldiers that the Procurator General of these Islands (who was then Fr. Magino [Sola]) was asked to intervene and he presented repeated petitions to your Royal person (whom may God save) so that you would be pleased to exonerate them from this chore, as indeed you did by your Royal decree (which I have read, a copy of which is preserved in the archive of that mission) for the subsidy of the infantry to be administered from then on by your Governor of those Islands.

The fourth thing, concerning the increaso and new scale of salaries for the Captains and other retired officers, as far as memory serves, I certify that what the consultation says is true, and in order to remedy some disadvantages that ensue from it, I believe that the consultant is quite right in recommending that the retired personnel be paid the same as the serving members, as is the practice in this Royal camp of Manila. My only concern, which I wish to bring to the attention of Your Highness, is that, if some old conquerors of those Islands be still found among the retired personnel, it would seem proper for them to be paid some extra amount, under the guise of a reward, since there do not exist any other means from which to do so.

The fifth thing mentioned in the consultation in its last paragraph, i.e. that in the whole city and its reductions and in the five districts under its jurisdiction there are no more than 700 Indians.¹ This must be a mistake in the census mentioned there, unless the word Indians refers only to families, because, according to the general census of those Islands made by the Father Ministers three years ago, if one counts the Spanish, Indians and half-breeds of both sexes and all ages, the number was beyond 3,000 souls; now, given that the number of Spanish and half-breeds, plus all of the Pampangos, does not reach 500 souls, it is also true that the number of natives would be smaller than before, because it is true that there is a significant decrease in their number every year.

The sixth request that he made for a shortening of the period of the audit to 30 days and for said audit to be done by the incoming Governor rather than a distinct person, this is not a matter about which I must say anything, because both suggestions are legal

1 Ed. note: See previous Doc. 1727E, where it is proved that there were 3,000 of them.

in nature. Your Highness should provide whatever would be for the greater service of God and of your royal person (whom may God save) and for the greater relief of the supplicant as much as possible, but if the government of the Marianas be reduced to one Senior Officer in the above-mentioned manner, it would follow therefore that the period of the audit be also reduced to 30 days only.

This is all I had to certify and declare about the points of the above-mentioned consultation, and since what I have certified and declared is the wholly true, I have signed my name, at this ranch of Maysilo on 18 June 1727.

Juan Antonio Cantova.

F4. Letter from the Marquis of Torrecampo, dated Manila 30 June 1727

Original text in Spanish.

El marques de Torrecampo, Gobernador y Capitan General de Filipinas, da cuenta à V.M. de que habiendo representado el Gobernador interino de Marianas, à aquella Real Audiencia sobre varios puntos, entre ellos propone la extincion del Gobierno de aquellas Islas sus oficiales y Infanteria, dexando en solo un Cabo Superior que lo comande y en veinte y cinco soldados que la guarnezcan y representa à V.M. los graves daños que de practicarse asi se originarán à su misma Real Hacienda y à todas las Islas Filipinas por los fundados recelos de que los enemigos se apoderen de dichas Islas Marianas para asegurar mejor sorprender los Galeones de aquella carrera.

Señor

Con el motibo de haber representado à esta real Audiencia el General Don Manuel de Arguelles y Valdés Gobernador interino de las Islas Marianas el miserable estado de aquellas Islas por causa de haberse quitado por su interino antecesor los administradores de los Partidos que corrian con los vastimentos de la Infanteria de aquel Presidio cediendo esta suspension en detrimento y desalibio de aquellos naturales por el mayor trabajo que se les ha recrecido, y mas falta de dichos vastimentos arbitrando al mismo tiempo que por ser el número de los indios de aquellas Islas tan corto que no llegan à setecientos consideraba quedase reducido aquel Gobierno al Comando de un Cabo Superior despachado con este Titulo con el sueldo de veinte y cinco pesos cada mes y con veinte y cinco soldados solamente para su guarnicion y defensa dandoseles à estos à cinco pesos de socorro à cada uno; con cuya representacion esta Real Audiencia deliveró lo que por los Autos que remite en esta ocasion à V.M. con consulta reconocerá en la qual he firmado como Presidente por no embarazar à sus ministros la livertad con que deben manifestar à V.M. su dictamen; y siendo el mio muy contrario à su parecer me hallo precisado como Gobernador y Capitan General de estas Islas à representar à V.M. lo mas combeniente à su real servicio sobre el punto principal que incluye dicha representacion de quedar guarnecidas aquellas islas solamente con veinte y cinco soldados y Cabo que se menciona; en cuyos términos debo poner en la soberana noticia de V.M. que de hacerse cualquiera novedad en minorar la infanteria, Cabos

y oficiales con que hoy se conservan aquellas Islas se dará motivo à los enemigos piratas que con tantas ansias han solicitado en todos tiempos hallar el abrigo de su acogida para lograr la ocasion de sorprender los Galeones de esta carrera de vuelta de Nueva España, pues aunque el número de su dotacion y poca fortificacion que al presente tiene quiera considerarse no sea suficiente para resistir à los dichos enemigos la experiencia ha demostrado hasta ahora del recelo con que han vivido para no poner pie fixo en aquel distrito; y cuando no lo intenten hacer los referidos piratas (que será en mi dictamen cosa increíble) lo pretenderán Superiores providencias de los enemigos de V.M. à la novedad que correrá del desamparo de dicha infanteria para los fines de su mayor comodidad, de los vageles que por sus factorias tramitan por el mar del sur à Canton Reyno de la China à sus contrataciones y à todas las demas factorias permitidas por sus soberanos que tienen en la costa de Choromandel hasta el Cabo de Buena Esperanza particularmente las de Batavia y Malaca que son cerca de dichas Islas Marianas con la mira al mismo tiempo de vigiar con sus embarcaciones y apresar los Galeones de esta Carrera que buelben de Nueva España con el Real situado de V.M. para estas islas y permiso de esta contratacion como llegará à suceder por ser el único paso el de aquellas islas para encaminarse à estas las Naos de esta Carrera por los muchos vajos que à corta distancia que se aparten demuestran tener, cuyo desconsuelo en estos navegantes con los fundados temores de ser apresados de los enemigos se hace tan sensible como se dexa percibir de los daños que puedan ocasionar en la mayor aniquilacion de todo este comercio de que depende la conservacion de estas Cristiandades, que con tanto afán y a costa del Real Patrimonio de V.M. han florecido hasta ahora; mayormente cuando del mismo hecho de donde se considera el ahorro à la real hacienda de V.M. resultará su mayor atraso en ella en los inevitables daños que llegarían à lamentarse de las perdidas de las naos y de providencias dispuestas por V.M. para evitar el perjuicio con creditos consumos de su real erario:

y siendo digno todo lo referido de ponerse en la soberana consideracion de V.M. en ocasion que se remiten los referidos autos no he dudado, puesto à sus reales Pies de manifestar lo que sobre su assumpto se me ofrece, como asi mismo el significar à V.M. se deben ya considerar las referidas Islas Marianas no tanto por que en ellas halla menos naturales que las eviten, como porque siendo como son la garganta por donde han de pasar al cuerpo principal de estas islas para la conservacion [y] las providencias dispuestas por V.M. peligraran en grave daño del servicio de Dios y de V.M. C.C.R.P. guarde su Divina Magestad como la Cristiandad ha menester.

Manila y Junio 30 de 1727.

El Marques de Torrecampo.

Translation.

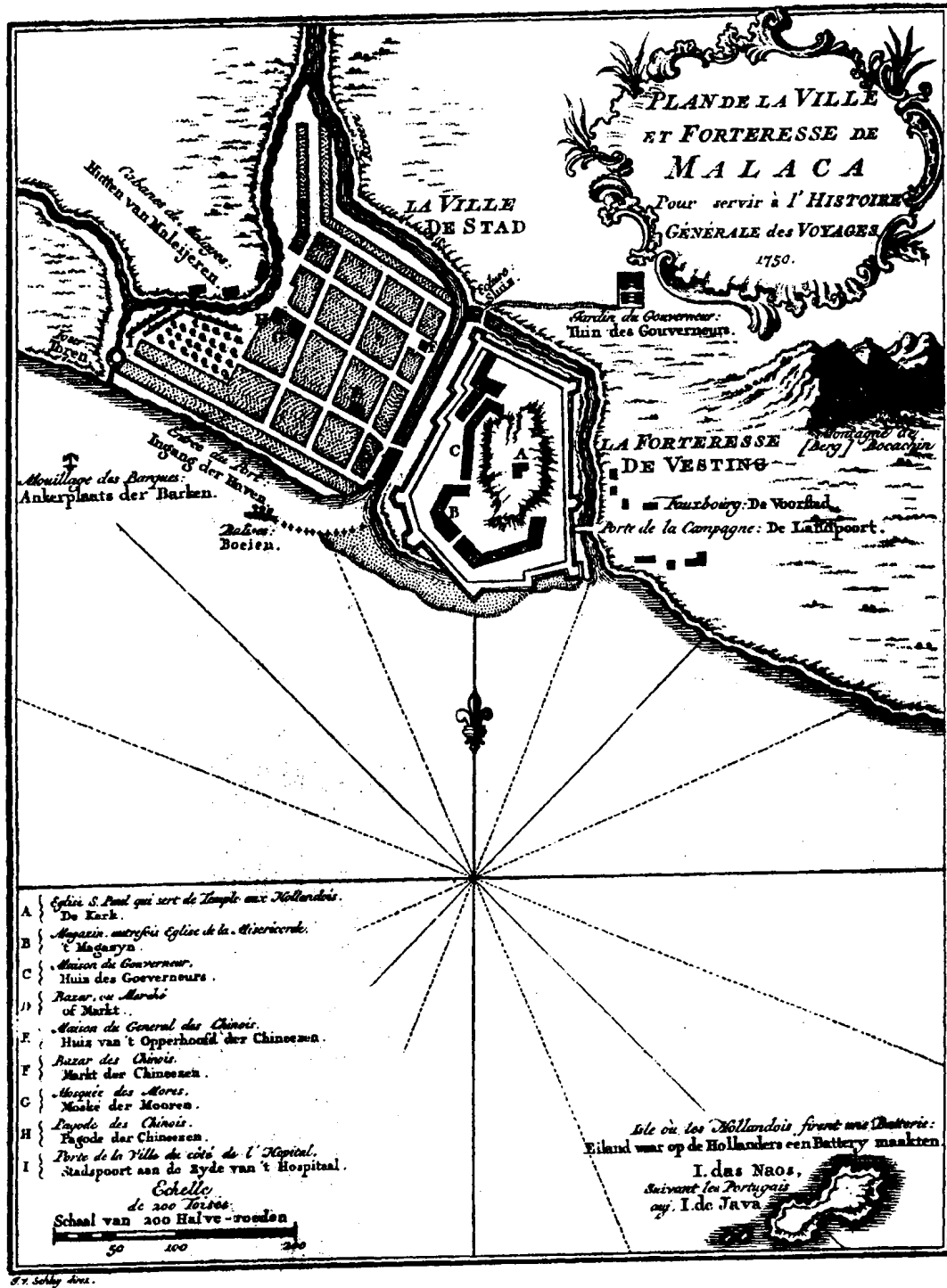
The Marquis of Torrecampo, Governor and Captain General of the Philippines, reports to Y.M. that, after the interim Governor of the Marianas had made representations to the Royal Audiencia of those Islands concerning various points, among them the suppression of the Governor of those Islands, his officers and infantry, leaving only a

senior officer in charge, with 25 soldiers as a garrison, he represents to Y.M. the serious harm that would result to your Royal treasury and to all of the Philippine Islands if such a measure were adopted, because of the reasonable fears that enemies might take possession of said Mariana Islands the better to catch the galleons of that run by surprise.

Sire:

The cause of this letter is a report that General Manuel de Argüelles y Valdés, interim Governor of the Mariana Islands, has made to this Royal Audiencia on the miserable condition of those Islands because his interim predecessor had recalled the administrators of the districts who looked after the supply of food to the infantry of that garrison, with this suspension resulting in a detriment and not a relief to those natives on account of the greater amount of work that they must do, and in a greater lack of the food supplies in question; furthermore, he thinks that, since the number of the Indians of those Islands is so small that it does not reach 700,¹ their government should be reduced to a Commanding Officer with this title and a salary of 25 pesos per month and with 25 soldiers only for their garrison and defence, with a salary of 5 pesos per month each. This Royal Audiencia discussed this representation, as can be seen from the records of proceedings that I remit to Y.M. on this occasion, with recommendations, where I have signed as President so as not to impede your ministers from freely expressing their opinion to Y.M. but, since my own opinion is very contrary to theirs, I am obliged as Governor and Captain General of these Islands to represent to Y.M. what is most appropriate to your Royal service, concerning the main point included in said report, that of leaving those Islands garrisoned by only 25 soldiers and one officer. I must bring to the attention of Y.M. that any change toward a reduction of the infantry, officers and officials who presently ensure the preservation of those Islands would give a motive to piratical enemies to take advantage of a shelter, which they have sought for so long and with so much anxiety, from which to surprise the galleons of this run when they return from New Spain; indeed, although the present establishment and little fortification make one consider them insufficient to resist said enemies, experience so far has shown that they fear invading that district; and while said pirates did not try so far (something that I find incredible), the superiors of the forces enmical to Y.M. would surely do so, upon learning of the abandonment of said infantry, for the purpose of giving greater facilities to their ships that transit through the South Sea on their way to Canton, Kingdom of China, to trade, and to all of the other trading posts permitted by their sovereigns, established from the Coromandel Coast to the Cape of Good Hope, specially those of Batavia and Malacca that are close [sic] to said Mariana Islands, combined with the purpose of having their ships watch for and capture the galleons of this run when they return from New Spain with the Royal subsidy of Y.M. for these Islands and the permitted trade, as this would surely happen on account of those Islands being the sole stopover made by the galleons of this run on their way

1 Ed. note: See above footnote.



The Dutch trading post and fort of Malacca. (From De Brosses' Voyages, edition of 1756).

here, because of the many shoals that experience has shown to exist a short distance from them if they were to stray from them: such a disconsolateness it would be for these navigators with their reasonable fears of being captured by enemies—it would be a sorrowful situation—along with the potential damages that would be occasioned by the greater annihilation of this whole trade upon which depends the preservation of these Christian communities that have flourished so far thanks to the great zeal of Y.M. and at the expense of your Royal patronage, the more so if one considers the added costs that would impinge upon the Royal treasury of Y.M. because of the inevitable harms that would result from the losses of galleons and from additional measures taken by Y.M. to avoid the prejudice, thus consuming more money from your Royal treasury.

Since this is all worthy of being reported to the sovereign attention of Y.M., on the occasion of remitting the above-mentioned records of proceedings, I have not hesitated, while at your Royal feet, to bring forward my opinion on this subject; in addition, I think I should add that the above-mentioned Mariana Islands should be now considered not so much from the point of view of their having fewer natives but that of their being the main channel through which these Islands must go through for their own preservation [and] the provisions issued by Y.M. would be endangered, with great harm done to the service of God and that of Y.M. whose royal Catholic person may the Divine Majesty save, as Christendom needs.

Manila, 30 June 1727.

The Marquis of Torrecampo.

F5. Royal consultation dated 13 July 1728

Source: AGI Fil. 95-2-73.

Original text in Spanish.

Don Francisco Xavier de Goyeneche.

Don Manuel de Silva.

Don Diego de Zuñiga.

Don Gonzalo Machado.

Don Diego de Rojas.

Don Manuel de Vadillo.

Don Antonio de la Pedrosa.

Don Gonzalo Baquedano.

Don Antonio Aguado.

Marques de Almodovar.

Marques de Montemayor.

Don Juan Joseph Motilua.

Don Antonio Sopeña.

Don Matheo Ybañez.

Don Juan Pizarro.

Don Fernando Verdes.

Señor

De orden de V. Magd. remitió Don Joseph Patiño con papel de cinco de Junio próximo pasado dos Cartas del Marques de Torre Campo Gobernador de las Yslas Philipinas de fechas de treinta de Junio del año pasado de mil setecientos y veinte y siete para que viendose en el Consejo informe à V.M. lo que sobre su contenido se le ofreciere, y pareciere.

En ellas refiere haver representado à aquella Audiencia, el Gobernador interino de las Yslas Marianas entre otros puntos que mediante ser tan corto el numero de los Yndios de aquellas Yslas que no llegan à setecientos le parecia quedase reducido aquel Gobierno al comando de un Cabo superior con veinte y cinco pesos al mes, y veinte y cinco soldados para su guarnicion dandose à cada uno cinco pesos de socorro, y que en esta inteligencia delibero la Audiencia, lo que constara por la representacion y autos que esta remite, en que expresa haver firmado como Presidente por no impedir à aquellos Ministros la libertad con que deben manifestar su dictamen; pero, que siendo el suyo muy contrario tenia por preciso representar que de hacerse la nobedad de minorar la Ynfanteria, Cabos, y oficiales que subsisten en las referidas Yslas, se dara motibo à los Piratas que siempre han solicitado el abrigo de su acogida, para sorprehender los Galeones de aquella Carrera de buelta de Nueva España, y tambien lo pretenderan superiores Providencias de los enemigos de V. Magd. para la mayor comodidad de los vageles que por sus factorias transitan à Canton, Reyno de China, y à las demas contrataciones que ay en la Costa de Choromandel, hasta el Cavo de Buena Esperanza principalmente las de Batabia y Malaca, que son cerca de dichas Yslas Marianas, con la mira de apresar los Galeones de Philipinas, por ser el unico paso para ellas, el de las mencionadas Marianas, cuyo desconsuelo en los Navegantes de aquella Carrera se hace tan sensible, como se deja perceber de los daños que pueden ocasionarla total ruina del Comercio de aquellas Yslas de que depende la conserbacion de sus Christiandades, y mayormente quando en lo que se considera el aorro de la Real Hacienda resultara su mayor atraso, por los inevitables perjuicios que se experimentarían de las perdidas de Naos, y providencias que seria necesario aplicar para evitar estos daños; Añadiendo el expresado Gobernador que havindose informado de los Padres de la Compañia de Jesus de aquella Ciudad, y del Padre Juan Antonio Cantoba de la misma Religion que abia llegado de las mencionadas Yslas Marianas, sobre el numero de setecientos naturales, que representó el Gobernador de dhas Yslas abia en ellas; Certifican estos Religiosos llegaran à tres mil Almas las que allí residen incluyendose la Ynfanteria.

El Consejo en vista de las mencionadas cartas, y de lo que en su inteligencia dijo el Fiscal; Hace presente à V.M. no haverse recibido hasta aora la representacion y autos que refiere el Gobernador de Philipinas remite la Audiencia, sobre el punto, que ba expresado; Y que siendo preciso tenerlos presentes para poder exponer su dictamen; es de parecer se deberan esperar à fin de que en su vista y la de estas representaciones se pueda informar à V.M. con mas pleno conocimiento.

V.M. resolvera lo que fuere mas de su Real agrado.

Madrid à 13 de Jullio de 1728.

Translation.

Francisco Xavier de Goyeneche.
Manuel de Silva.
Diego de Zuñiga.
Gonzalo Machado.
Diego de Rojas.
Manuel de Vadillo.
Antonio de la Pedrosa.
Gonzalo Baquedano.
Antonio Aguado.
The Marquis of Almodovar.
The Marquis of Montemayor.
Juan José Motilua.
Antonio Sopeña.
Mateo Ibañez.
Juan Pizarro.
Fernando Verdes.

Sire:

By order of Your Majesty, Don José Patiño remitted, with a note dated 5 June last, two letters from the Marquis of Torrecampo, Governor of the Philippine Islands, dated 30 June of last year 1727, for the Council to review and report to Y.M. what they think and recommend about their contents.

In said letters, it appears that the interim Governor of the Mariana Islands represented to that Audiencia, among other points, that the number of their Indians was so small that it did not reach 700, and he was of the opinion that the government overthere should be reduced to the command of one officer with 25 pesos per month, and 25 soldiers for their garrison, with each of them to receive 5 pesos in wages, and that the Audiencia deliberated on the matter, as shown in the representation and records of proceedings that he remitted, in which he said he had signed as President, so as not to prevent those Ministers from expressing their opinions freely, but that his own opinion being very contrary to theirs, he thought it necessary to represent the fact that if the existing infantry, officers and officials were to be reduced, the pirates would be given an opportunity to occupy the shelter of their choice that they have always sought, to surprise the galleons of that run upon their returning from New Spain, and also that the superior instances of the enemies of Your Majesty would seek it for the greater commodity of the ships that go from their trading posts to Canton, Kingdom of China, and to their other trading posts along the Coromandel Coast and as far as the Cape of Good Hope, specially those of Batavia and Malacca, that are close to said Mariana Islands, for the purpose of capturing the Philippine galleons, since the Marianas represent the only passage to reach the Philippines, and it would be a disconsolateness to the navigators of that run, a sorry situation, as one can imagine the harms that could be done,

resulting in the total ruin of the trade of those Islands, upon which depends the preservation of their Christian communities, in addition to the consideration of the resulting savings for the Royal treasury, which would rather be negated, on account of the inevitable prejudices that the losses of galleons would bring, and the provisions that would have to be taken to prevent such damages. The above-named Governor adds that, having informed the Fathers of the Society of Jesus in that city, and Father Juan Antonio Cantova of the same order having come from the above-mentioned Mariana Islands, regarding the number of 700 natives, that the Governor of said Islands had stated, those Religious certify that there are 3,000 inhabitants overthere, including the infantrymen.

The Council, in view of the above-mentioned letters, and what the Fiscal said about them, represent to Y.M. that it has not yet received the representation and records that the Governor of the Philippines said were being remitted by the Audiencia, regarding the point in question, and, since it is necessary to have them on hand in order to make recommendations, they are therefore of the opinion that they must wait for them, to be able to report to Y.M. with greater knowledge of the contents of said representations.

Y.M. will decide what may be of your Royal pleasure.

Madrid, 13 July 1728.¹

1 Ed. note: The matter was picked up again by the Council of the Indies in June 1729. (see Doc. 1729A). In 1755, the abolition of the government of the Marianas was again discussed (see Doc. 1745A and 1756A).

Document 1728C

Extracts from the Gazette of Mexico for 1728 and 1729

Source: Orozco's Documentos para la historia de Mexico—Segunda série, Tomo IV (México, Escalante, 1855). Available as 337LAF at the Biblioteca Nacional, Mexico.

Original extracts in Spanish

Número 1.—México, Enero 1° de 1728.

Acapulco.—*El galeon de Filipinas nombrado **Sacra Familia**, que viene á cargo del general D. Pedro Gonzalez de Rivero, salió del puerto de Cavite el dia 7 de Julio de 727, y dió fondo en éste el dia 8 de Enenro de este año: trae la carga correspondiente al permiso que está concedido al comercio de aquellas islas, y para que ejecute con brevedad su retorno á ellas, va S.E. aplicando los medios convenientes, y ha nombrado por capitán de la compañía de 50 hombres (que ha mandado reclutar para el espresado puerto á fin de reforzar las islas), á D. Alonso Gil Gonzalez.*

En este galeon vino el Sr. D. Julian de Velasco, oidor de la real audiencia de Manila, con plaza de alcalde de corte á la de México.

...

Número 3.—Marzo de 1728.

Acapulco.—*El lunes 29, á las dos de la tarde, se hizo á la vela, con tiempo favorable, D. Pedro Gonzalez del Rivero, con el galeon de su cargo, nombrado **Sacra Familia**, en el que va el Ilmo. Sr. Dr. D. Carlos Bermudez de Castro, arzobispo de la metropolitana de Manila, &c.*

...

Número 14.—Enero de 1729.

México.—*El 30, en que hubo S.E. noticia de haber dado fondo el 26 en el puerto de Acapulco, el galeon de Filipinas, nombrado **Nuestra Señora de Guia**; se repicó generalmente, como es costumbre, por tan feliz suceso.*

...

Puerto de Acapulco.—Llegó á este puerto el galeon de Filipinas nombrado **Nuestra Señora de la Guia, Santo Cristo de la Misericordia, y San Francisco de las Lágrimas**, el dia 26, habiendo salido del Cavite el dia 10 de Julio del año pasado de 1728 á cargo de D. Antonio de Rojas; y á fin de que se restituya con toda brevedad á aquellas islas á conducir el situado de ellas, va S.E. aplicado todas las providencias que lo faciliten.

Dan por noticia de aquellas islas, haber llegado con salud el Ilmo. Sr. Dr. D. Carlos Bermudez de Castro, arzobispo de Manila y que murió el Ilmo. Sr. Dr. D. Fr. Sebastian de Foronda, obispo de la santa iglesia de Zebú.

...

Número 16.— Marzo de 1729.

Acapulco.—El dia 31 de éste, á las tres de la tarde, emprendió con gran felicidad su tornaviaje para las islas Filipinas, el galeon nombrado **Nuestra Señora de Guia**, que (por muerte del general D. Antonio Fernandez de Rojas, á cuyo cargo vino) va al de D. Francisco Antonio de Abarca y Valdes: va en este galeon el brigadier de los reales ejércitos D. Fernando de Valdes y Tamon, caballero del Orden de Santiago, y electo gobernador de aquellas islas.

...

Translation

Nº 1.—Mexico, 1 January 1728.

Acapulco.—The Philippine galleon named **Sacra Familia**, coming under the command of General Pedro Gonzalez de Rivero, left the port of Cavite on 7 July of 1727 and anchored today, 8 January 1728. She brings the permitted cargo for the trade of those Islands, and in order for her to return as fast as possible, His Excellency is applying the appropriate means, and has appointed Don Alonso Gil Gonzalez, as captain of the company of 50 men (whom he had ordered recruited to send to said port as reinforcements for the Islands).

Aboard this galleon came His Lordship Julian de Velasco, member of the Royal Audiencia of Manila, with an appointment in the Audiencia of Mexico as its majordomo.

...

Nº 3.—March 1728.

Acapulco.—On Monday 29th, at 2 p.m., the galleon named **Sacra Familia** set sail with fine weather. She is commanded by Pedro Gonzalez del Rivero. His Lordship

Carlos Bermudez de Castro, Archbishop of the metropolitan church of Manila is aboard her, etc.¹

...

N° 14.—January 1729.

Mexico.—On the 30th, the day that His Excellency was informed that the Philippine galleon named **Nuestra Señora de Guía** had anchored in the port of Acapulco on the 26th, the bells were rung as usual for such a happy event.

...

Port of Acapulco.—On the 26th, there arrived at this port the **Philippine galleon** named **Nuestra Señora de la Guía**, **Santo Cristo de la Misericordia**, y **San Francisco de las Lágrimas** which had left Cavite on 10 July of last year 1728 under the command of **Don Antonio de Rojas**; and in order to have her return as soon as possible to those Islands with their subsidy, His Excellency is applying all of the measures necessary.

The news they bring from those Islands state that His Illustrious Lordship, Carlos Bermudez de Castro, Archbishop of Manila, arrived there safely, and that His Illustrious Lordship, Fray Sebastian de Foronda, Bishop of the holy church of Cebu, has died.

...

N° 16.—March 1729.

Acapulco.—On the 31st, at 3 p.m., the galleon named **Nuestra Señora de Guía** began her return voyage to the Philippine Islands with great rejoicing, but, on account of the death of General Antonio Fernandez de Rojas, under which she had come, she now goes under the command of Don Francisco Antonio de Abarca y Valdés. Aboard this galleon also is Brigadier of the Royal Armies, Don Fernando de Valdés y Tamón, Knight of the Order of St. James, and Governor-elect of those Islands.

...

¹ Ed. note: Archbishop Castro stepped ashore at Guam and baptized an infant (ref. B&R 51:309). He died a year later, at the age of almost 62.

 Document 1728D

Subsidy for the Marianas, for 1728

Source: AGNAHH 1242/3, fol. 113-116.

Subsidy sent aboard the galleon *Sacra Familia*

Original text in Spanish.

Contaduria de Real Hacienda. Año de 1728.

Despacho que se hizo a las Yslas Philipinas de el Situado tocante a ellas y al referido año de 1728 en el Galeon nombrado Sacra Familia que el citado año hizo tornaviage à aquellas Yslas.

...

Señores Oficiales Reales de la Real Hacienda y Caja de la Ciudad de Manila.

*El Situado de doscientos y cinquenta mil pesos que en reales y generos toca a esas Yslas, por este año de mil setecientos y veinte y ocho, que a de conducir a ellas el Galeon nombrado **Sacra Familia**, se compone de las partidas siguientes:*

...

Misiones y Presidio de Marianas.

Veinte y ocho mil trescientos treze pesos dos tomines y un grano: los veinte mil quinientos y cinquenta pesos de ellos, para el Governador, Sargento mayor, y sesenta soldados de la Dottacion del Presidio de Marianas; y los siete mill setecientos sesenta pesos dos tomines y un grano restantes, para doze Religiosos de la compañía de Jesus, nueve Sacerdotes, y tres Coadjutores, empleados en Misiones de aquellas Yslas, predicando el santo Evangelio, adelantando su nueva Christiandad, {y augmentando nuestra Santa Fé,} en servicio de la Divina Magestad, y del Rey nuestro Señor, uno y otro por el Situado correspondiente a este año, incluyendose en la ultima de las dos partidas el estipendio asignado al Seminario de los Niños Marianos, donde al cuidado de dhos Padres son ynstruidos en las costumbres Christianas y Politicas. Como tambien lo correspondiente a la limosna de vino y azeite, despues de rebajadas algunas cantidades, segun lo que produjo la vista de las Certificaciones presentadas para este yntento

..... 28,313p 2t 1g

...

Dios guarde a V.Ms. muchos años.

Mexico a 24 de Febrero de 1728.

Sor. Don Angel de Villegas y Puente
Pedro de Larburu

Translation.

Accounting Department of the Royal treasury. Year of 1728.

Despatch made to the Philippine Islands of the subsidy meant for them and for the said year of 1728 aboard the galleon named *Sacra Familia* which made her return voyage to those Islands that same year.

...

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

The subsidy of 250,000 pesos in cash and goods meant for those Islands for this year of 1728 that the galleon named ***Sacra Familia*** must convey thither, consists of the following entries:

...

Missions and Garrison of the Marianas.¹

—28,313 pesos 2 tomins and 1 grain, 20,550 pesos of which are for the Governor, the Sergeant-Major, and the 60 soldiers on the establishment of the Garrison of the Marianas, and the remaining 7,760 pesos 2 tomins and 1 grain are for the 12 Religious of the Society of Jesus, 9 priests and 3 coadjutor brothers, who are employed in the missions of those Islands, in preaching the holy Gospel, fostering their new Christian community, {and propagating our Holy Faith,} in the service of the Divine Majesty, and that of the King our Lord. Both sums represent the subsidy corresponding to this year. The latter of the two entries includes the stipend allotted to the Seminary of the Mariano children, where they are taught Christian and civilized customs under the care of said Fathers. Also included is the amount corresponding to the alms for wine and oil, after certain sums were subtracted, in view of the Certificates that were presented to that effect 28,313p 2t 1g

...

May God save Your Graces for many years.

Mexico, 24 February 1728.

Don Angel de Villegas y Puente

Pedro de Larburu

¹ Ed. note: Although I do not always say so, the subsidy for the Marianas was independent of the Philippine subsidy, i.e. over and above the regular 250,000 pesos sent to Manila.

Document 1728E

Captain Boisloré—Part 8

Source: AGI Escribanía de Cámara 405C.

Letter from the Governor of the Philippines, dated Manila 4 July 1728

Note: The transcript that accompanied this particular letter is about 5-cm thick and contains 577 folios.

Original text in Spanish.

El Marques de Torrecampo Governador y Capitan General de las Islas Philipinas y Presidente de la Audiencia de Manila.

Ynforma à V.M. sobre los puntos mas principales que contiene una copia de Carta de Don Juan de Boislore que se le remitio adjunta al Real Despacho que çita, y se refiere para la justificacion de lo que informa à varios Recaudos en Testimonio; con los que justifica la incertidumbre de lo expressado por dicho Boislore en su Carta; y dize, que sera conveniente mande V.M. se vean con brevedad los Autos del Comisso de este Sugeto para que sea removido de aquellas Islas, donde tiene por nociva su demora.— Señor.

Por Real Zedula, su fha en Madrid à veinte y dos de Diciembre de mill setecientos y veinte y cinco, se sirve V.M. mandarme que sobre el contenido de una Carta de Don Juan de Boislore, su fha en esta Ciudad à veinte y ocho de Diciembre de setecientos y quinze cuya copia vino adjunta al Real Despacho, informasse à V.M. con justificacion sobre los puntos de su contenido: varios son los que toca la referida Carta, pero los mas dirigidos à el assumpto del Barco y Hazienda que se le comisso à dicho Boislore por el Conde de Lizarraga governando estas Islas el año passado de setecientos y catorçe; punto sobre que no puedo informar à V.M. otra cosa que lo mismo que sera constante de los Autos, los que oy tiene remitidos V.M. con los demas Papeles de su materia à Sala de Justicia para que se les dè el curso que corresponda; y pendiente este, no pude tener coconimiento de esta causa, como no tratado en mi tiempo, y remitida en su estado y conclusion à V.M. aunque extrajudicialmente me hallo informado de Personas fidedignas, que à lo executado por el Conde de Lizarraga en aquel tiempo dio suficiente motivo el mucho desahogo y el ningun aprecio con que dicho Boislore recibio las Or-

denes del Governador en la Provincia de Ylocos, à donde decia hallarse de arribada y que lo expressado constará de sus Cartas respuestas à dhos Ordenes, y acumuladas al Processo.

Otros puntos toca en la referida Carta à varios assumptos de que con Autos por lo que aqui consta, està dado quenta à V.M. por Ministros que entendieron en aquellos negocios tratados, y seguidos entre partes; Con que inspeccionada por sus Capítulos la citada Carta solo debo en cumplimiento de mi obligacion, y obedeciendo el Real Mandato, informar à V.M. sobre aquellos primeros puntos con que Don Juan de Boislore introduce su Carta; y antes de hablar de estos, debo poner en la Real noticia de V.M. que por lo mismo que me hà mostrado la experiencia en el manejo de este Gobierno, caminó dho Boislore con demaciada ligereza en su Informe, dandose à conocer por apasionado, por descomponer aquellos Ministros que tuvieron conocimiento de su causa; y esta evidencia, la hace palpable la misma generalidad con que informa sin la consideracion debida, à que hablando con V.M. debia sin exceder la ponderacion, arregarse puntualmente à la verdad, por que mal pudo este Sugeto averiguar por tan menor lo que informa quando se hallaba en prission que pondera por su Carta; habla de distintos Sugetos que ya son difuntos, y con expecialidad del Conde de Lizarraga, y del Licenciado Don Gregorio Manuel de Villa Oydor que fue de esta Real Audiencia; por lo que hace à dho Don Conde de Lizarraga, es digno de reparo, que aviendosele tomado su Residencia por el Doctor Don Julian Ignacio de Velasco Oydor Honorario de esta Audiencia y Cathedratico de Leyes, no parece, que Don Juan de Boislore se presentasse, ni pidiesse contra dho Conde los perjuicios, agravios, y demas que prepondera averle causado, siendo assi que al tiempo de la Residencia se hallaba en libertad de poderlo executar, y sin impedimento alguno que le obstasse.

Al Licenciado Don Gregorio Manuel de Villa le atribuye tambien distintas operaciones en el uso de las Comisiones de su cargo, pero en la realidad es el Informe muy contrario à lo operado por aquel Ministro, cuyo desinteres y rectitud se hizo practica al tiempo de su fallecimiento, porque aviendo muerto debajo de unas Disposiciones muy Xpnas, no se le hallo caudal alguno, de tal suerte que el Sargento mayor Don Juan Manuel Perez de Tagle se vio precissado à costearle los funerales con aquella desencia correspondiente à la Dignidad de su Plaza; Es constante, que este Ministro pidio perdón de algunas cantidades que distintos Sugetos le suplieron para mantenerse el tiempo que gobernando en interin el Doctor Don Joseph de Torralba le tuvo desterrado en la Provincia de Iloylo, y Yo debo assegurar à V.M. que en el tiempo que le alcanzè, conocè lo mismo que llevo expressado, y notè la falta que hizo su Persona à la brevedad de los Despachos, y à los negocios de entidad que se fueron ofreciendo; no se excedio menos Don Juan de Boislore en lo que por su Carta dispone contra el Capitan Don Juan de Lozada Escribano que fue en la causa del Comisso la buena opinion de este Sugeto y su conocida inteligencia en el manejo de Papeles la tiene executoriada en los muchos años que hà sido Escribano publico de los del numero, sin que en todo este tiempo aya dado la mas minima nota de menos legal en el cumplimiento de su oficio, antes bien lo contrario quando por su conocida actividad se le han fiado los primeros

negocios; fue Escribano de las Residencias del Maestre de Campo Don Domingo de Zabalburu, y del Conde de Lizarraga, aviendose dado tanto lugar en estos ejercicios, que los primeros Ministros en las Comisiones de mas entidad han hecho siempre eleccion de su Persona por la gran confianza que se tiene de su obrar, motivo porque Yo le nombrè para la Pesquisa y Residencia del mariscal de Campo mi Antecesor; en la que se me hizo mas creible lo que ya avia oydo de este Sugeto; por lo que acabada la Residencia, le puse en el Despacho del Oficio de Gobierno, que oy queda sirviendo en Arrendamiento con exacta puntualidad, esmero, y aplicacion: y al mismo tiempo actuando en la causa contra Oficiales Reales en que entiende por Comission el Doctor Don Francisco Lopez Adan, quien por la entidad de este negocio no quiso fiarlo de otro Escribano. Pruebas Reales unas y otras de la ninguna justificacion con que Don Juan de Boislore passò à informar à V.M. de este, y de los demas Sugetos que van expressados contra quienes nada de lo que depone pudiera provar: por lo que me parecio que en este punto no debia passar à nueva averiguacion quando no encontraba fundamento en lo informado [a] V.M. De lo hasta aqui expressado, se dexa conocer el animo con que dho Boislore despuso de las personas, y Ministros que intervinieron en su causa, pareciendole, ó que no se avia manifestado agravio.

*En los demas puntos que toca, y yo informare à V.M. lo que he tenido por conveniente, no es dificil de entender el artte con que dho Don Juan de Boislore assienta tantas y tan diversas propossiciones, infiriendose de estas, que el principal assunto de este sugeto, no fue otro, que el de assentar por este medio el facil comercio de los de su nacion en estas partes, y en dos Americas, en las que estaba muy versado por los muchos años que de las Provincias del Perú venia à comerciar à los Reynos de China en un Patache de su comando, bajo el paliado Titulo de Guarda Costas del Señor Rey Xptianissimo, que no tuviesse otro exercicio que el de Mercantil es manifiesto por el Processo de su causa, por que así lo confiessa; y por que aun desde aqui ha pretendido tener Comercio con la Factoría francesa que está en Pulicheri, esta assentando en su Informe, que el año de setecientos y catorze vino à esta Ciudad, y Puerto de Cavite un Capitan Frances llamado Larrigne Busson [sic] del Puerto de San Malo con Mercadurias de la Europa que vendio en estas Islas: y averiguada la venida de este Patache por los Libros de Vissitas, y por el testimonio que dió el escribano de Minas y Registros, como parece de los recaudos y Testimonios adjuntos, consta, que el dia dos del mes de Junio del año de setecientos y catorze se vissito en el Puerto de Cavite dho Patache, nombrado **San Francisco Xavier** del cargo de Don Pedro de la Viña [sic = Lavigne] de nacion Frances, que vino de la Costa de Choromandel, reduciendose los Generos de su carga à solas ropas de algodón, y otros texidos de aquella Costa[,] Fierro, Clavazon, Anclas, y Jarcia; y ni en este, ni en los demas Pataches que han venido desde el año de mill setecientos y catorze hasta el de setecientos y veinte y siete, ni se halla, que sean cada año tantos en numero como dize dicho Boislore, ni que se componga su carga de generos de la Europa, por que si de estos vengán algunos, nunca son de quenta de la carga principal, ó señorío de los Barcos, y solo víenen à reducirse à unas y otras piezas que suelen traer los Marineros en las Caxas de su permissio. Tambien consta de dho testimonio que por*

lo que hace á los Champanes de la China, lleguen estos á diez y ocho ó veinte pues es instrumental que ha avido año desde el catorze al veinte y siete que no há venido champan ninguno, que otras vezes han venido diez ó doze, y muchas menos, como sucede al presente: pues en este año de setecientos veinte y ocho solo han venido seis Champanes, y quatro Pataches, unos y otros de las partes permitidas al comercio, y no de las que cita, el Informe de don Juan de Boislore; Refiero en este punto á la instrumental constancia de dho Testimonio, por el que se vendra en conocimiento del numero de Pataches, y Champanes que desde el año de setecientos y catorze se han admitido al trafico, como también los generos de mercaderias de que se há compuesto su carga; y siendo innegable que la mayor parte de lo conducido en estas Embarcaciones, se reduce á ropas y generos que se consumen en la tierra para su gasto: mal puede lo que queda de mercaderias de las que se remiten á Nueva España llegar á cubrir la cantidad de novecientos mil pesos, en que dho don Juan de Boislore estima la carga de los Galeones de esta carrera á Nueva España, ni se hace creible que estos Vassallos debajo de solo el permiso de trescientos mill pesos, embarcassen novecientos mill pesos bajo la certidumbre de que solo se les permiten seiscientos mill pesos de retorno; Con que como avían de querer arresgar sus haciendas para que en la Nueva España se les quedassen, no solo el procedido de sus facturas, y lo que les rendiesse la fería, sino tambien parte de sus principales; y si uno ó otro año se excediesse en el permiso, como podían continuadamente ni con que caudales reportar todos los años la remission de novecientos mill pesos con solo el retorno de seiscientos mill, porque aun que dicho Boislore en su Carta dá por assentado el retorno de dos millones: esta proposicion tiene de arbitraría la misma incertidumbre con que se assentó estendiéndose su contexto á comprehender sin excepcion á todos los Ministros que V.M. tiene en Nueva España, pues sin el permiso de estos no se pudiera hacer un tan excessivo retorno como el de dos millones todos los años; Prueba Real de que el concepto que hizo dho Boislore fue parto de la vulgaridad, como tambien lo es la especie que toca en el modo de los Repartimientos del Buque de los permisos del Galeon que se señala á los Vezinos todos los años; dá por assentado que este le hacia el Conde de Lizarraga, y el Lizenciado Don Gregorio Manuel de Villa utilizandose, y perjudicando á los Vezinos: la misma verdad convenze de incierta esta proposición, por que como consta de uno de los testimonios adjuntos el modo de hacer los Repartimientos se reduce á que en conformidad de las Reales Ordenes de V.M. se remitan todos los años por el Escribano mayor del ayuntamiento las Listas del Vezindario á este Gobierno en donde se celebra Junta de Repartimiento que se compone del Gobierno el Oydor mas antiguo, un Alcalde Ordinario un Regidor y el Fiscal de esta Audiencia por que aunque son llamados los Reverendos Arzobispos nunca han concurrido; y en esta conformidad teniendose presente el arqueo de cada Galeon se reparten sus boletas cumplimiento a los trescientos mill pesos del permiso á solos los sugetos y Vezinos que vienen en la Lista remitida por la Ciudad como assi consta de dicho testimonio, no señalandose buque á otra Persona alguna que no sea del Vezindario; y es Digno de la Soberana atención de V.M. el que desde el año de setecientos y catorze hasta el passado de setecientos y veinte y siete nunca assistio ni fue llamado á

estos Repartimientos el Lizenciado Don Gregorio Manuel de Villa á quien Don Juan de Boislore quiso ímputarle contra toda razon y justicia los excéssos que nunca pudo cometer en los expressados Repartimientos porque nunca llevo el caso de que asistiése á ellos como Ministro, y assi se expresa de los testimonios del Escribano mayor de este Gobierno y del Ayuntamiento que hablan en esta razon por lo constante de los Repartimientos anuales desde el año de setecientos, y catorze hasta el de veinte y siete.

*En consecuencia de lo mandado por V.M. se previene en dhos Repartimientos y assi se practica, que el que no tuviere que embarcar debuelva las boletas para que en la Junta se aplíquen á los Comerciantes que los quisieren por el precio á que se regularen, y este se dá á los interezados que las devolvieron; De esta practica mal entendida por Don Juan de Boislore hizo argumento para decir á V.M. en muy diverso sentido que se bendían los buques al arbitrio del Gobierno Conde de Lizarraga. Hablando dho Boislore de los Galeones de esta Carrera, y con especialidad el Galeon **Sto. Xpto de Burgos** que hizo viage el año passado de setecientos catorze dá por assentado á V.M. que para el manejo de estos Galeones se ocupan quinientos, ó seiscientos hombres: que estos hacen una travessía de cinco ó seis meses sin embarcar mas agua que para dos meses, fiandose en la llovediza; con cuyo motivo se muere la mitad del equipage, y quando no llueve, ay Oficiales que venden á los pobres el agua por el precio que les parece; Examinada esta proposicion por lo que suena, sin embargo de constarme lo contrario, mandé á Oficiales Reales certificassen la dotacion de gente de mar, viveres y peltrechos de dho Galeon **Sto. Xpto de Burgos** expressando, si en los viages que hizo á Nueva España navegó debajo de una misma dotacion, y assi mismo las piezas de numero, y marca que el año passado de setecientos y catorze se manifestaron y registraron, y sí fueron las correspondientes al Arqueo de el Galeon, repartidas al Vezindario con correspondencia á los trescientos mill pesos del permiso, con inclusion por mayor de los Generos de Mercadurias de que se compuso su carga[.] consta por dha Zertificacion Testimoniada en el adjunto, que entre Oficiales, artilleros, Marineros, Grumetes españoles, y sencillos, se embarcaron dho año de mill setecientos y catorze, y los subsecuentes que hizo viage dho Galeon ducientas y diez y siete Personas de Plaza, y para las Raciones de esta gente ducientas y sesenta y dos arrobas de carne de Baca; trescientas y veinte y cinco arrobas de carne de Cerdo; cinco mill pollos; noventa cavanos, ó fanegas de Mongos, ocho cavanos de sal en grano; ducientas gantas de vino blanco de la tierra; cien cavanos de arroz limpio; cinquenta de Arroz en cascara: mill quinientos y veinte y cinco arrovas de viscocho; ciento y cinquenta tinajas, y ducientos Barriles de agua; y para los enfermos, Gallinas, Medicinas, y lo demas necessario; Consta assimesmo que se embarcaron los generos de mercadurias correspondientes a los trescientos mill pesos del permiso en las piezas de numeros, y marca repartidas al Vezindario; de donde se hace evidente que lo informado por dho Don Juan de Boislore, no es conforme, ni en este, ni en los demas puntos que contiene su Carta á la realidad del hecho, y que nunca pudiera verificar lo contrario; pues á mas de lo constante de dhas Zertificaciones es cierto, que quantos navegan esta carrera á mas de la Racion que V.M. les señala se les permiten su rancho y aguada que llevan con toda desencia, y no ignora dho Don Juan de*

Boislore por lo que le há enseñado la experiencia en los años que á que se mantiene en estas Islas, y que su Informe hecho á V.M. en aquel tiempo fue nacido de su propia pacion, y por eso se excedio en ponderarlo, como lo hace, quando habla del Numero de Sangleyes que habittan en los extramuros, diciendo, que llegan á quinze mill; y por certificacion de Oficiales Reales que vá entre las testimoniadas, hecha la Regulacion por quinquenio de lo que contribuyen los de esta Nacion por sus Licencias, solo corresponde desde el año passado de setecientos y quinze á dos mill trescientos treinta y seis Sangleyes Infieles y á novecientos setenta y un Cristianos cuya diferencia á los quinze mill que se supone se hace notables.

No es menos expressiva la ponderacion de dho Informe en el modo de la Fabrica de los Galeones, y en el de sus carenas, porque la certidumbre en este punto le sera constante á V.M. por la razon individual que este Gobierno y Oficiales Reales dan á V.M. siempre que le ofrece la ocacion de las Fabricas y carenas de los Galeones: que estas no pueden executarse en otra forma que en la que está practicada y recebida desde los principios, de tal suerte que siempre que se há intentado novedad en estte punto, los mismos efectos han enseñado lo cierto; y me remito á la quentta que tengo dado á V.M. de la Fabrica del Galeon que se há hecho en el Puerto de Cavite en menos tiempo del de un año, con la circunstancia de los notables ahorros con que se ha fabricado, y ser un Galeon que por sus medidas y Fortaleza se debe singularizar entre los que hasta aqui se han Fabricado; quedandome á mi la Gloria de aver en esto servido á V.M. y conseguido esta Fabrica en medio de la escazes de los tipos, y de la falta de medios, valiendome de distintos arbitrios los que me hán facilitado el deseado fin, y en que há consistido el total alivio de esta republica no llevandome otro zelo que el de continuar el cumplimiento de mi obligacion y en la que me han puesto las Confianzas que V.M. se há dignado hacer de mi persona en los empleos que me há conferido su Real beneficencia; y debajo de este conocimiento debo assegurar á V.M. que en todo lo expressado por esta hablo con la sinceridad correspondiente á lo mismo que tengo experimentado, y mas quando hallandome á los fines de mi Gobierno no se puede decir que me mueva alguna inclinacion ó utilidad. Conosco, Señor, que en lo que á V.M. há informado Don Juan de Boislore há faltado en un todo, procediendo sin reflexa y sin atender á las gravissimas circunstancias que concurren en lo que informa. A mi me há parecido no hacer averiguacion publica por que necessariamente los interesados viendo padecer sus creditos era preciso que se moviessen á la defensa, y perturbassen la quietud publica: considerando también el que Don Juan de Boislore nada podia justificar de lo que propone. Lo cierto es que su Demora en estas Islas las tengo por nociva, y seria conveniente de que V.M. se sirviesse librar sus Reales Ordenes para que con la mayor anticipacion se viesse la causa del Comisso del Barco de dho Boislore; y de su Resolucion resultasse el transporte de su persona á la presente que fuesse del Real agrado de V.M. cuya Catholica y Real Persona guarde Dios lo que la Cristiandad há menester.

Manila y Jullio 4 de 1728.

El Marques de Torrecampo.

Translation.

The Marquis of Torrecampo, Governor and Captain General of the Philippine Islands and President of the Audiencia of Manila.

Reports to Y.M. concerning the more important points contained in a letter from Juan de Boisloré that was remitted to him along with the Royal despatch quoted by him, and he refers for the justification of his report to various enclosures, which he uses to justify the untruthfulness of what Mr. Boisloré said in his letter, and he adds that it would be appropriate for Y.M. to order that the proceedings into the confiscation affecting this individual be looked into forthwith, so that he may be removed from those Islands, where he is of the opinion that his presence continues to be harmful.—

Sire:

By Royal decree dated Madrid 22 December 1725, Y.M. was pleased to order me to check the contents of a letter from Juan de Boisloré dated Manila 28 December 1715, whose copy was attached to the Royal despatch, and report to Y.M. with justification about the points contained therein. Said letter contains various points, but regarding those most concerned with the ship and property that were confiscated from said Boisloré by the Count of Lizarraga while he governed these Islands in 1714, I cannot report to Y.M. anything besides what already appears in the records of proceedings, the same ones that Y.M. has referred to the law-court, along with the other documents treating of this matter, so that justice may follow its course; and, while this is pending, I cannot take cognizance of this case, since it did not take place during my term, not until it be remitted to Y.M. in a conclusive state, although unofficially I have been told by trustworthy persons that what the Count of Lizarraga did in his time was motivated by the great brazenness and depreciation with which said Boisloré received the orders of the Governor in the Province of Ilocos, where he claimed to find himself in distress, as can be seen in the letters that he wrote in answer to said orders, and appearing in the case file.

Other points in the letter in question refer to various matters that are treated in records of proceedings (enclosed) wherein the Ministers who were involved with them and the parties concerned do inform Y.M. about it all. Hence, having inspected the headings of the above-mentioned letter, the only thing left for me to do to comply with my obligation, and obey the Royal mandate, is to inform Y.M. regarding those first points used by Don Juan de Boisloré to begin his letter, but before I do so, I must bring to the Royal attention of Y.M. that, based on what experience has taught me in managing this government, said Boisloré treats matters too lightly in his report, revealing himself to be passionate, in order to set at odds those Ministers who took cognizance of his case; and this becomes more obvious when he uses generalities rather than give due consideration, specially when such should have been used when addressing Y.M., and he should have closer attention to the truth, although this individual could hardly have been able to discover it, since he was then in jail, as he admits in his letter. He talks about various persons who have since died, specially the Count of Lizarraga, and Licen-

ciate Gregorio Manuel de Villa, late member of this Royal Audiencia. As far as said Count of Lizarraga is concerned, it is worth noting that, when Doctor Julian Ignacio de Velasco, honorary member of this Audiencia and Professor of Laws took his management audit, the record does not show that Don Juan de Boisloré presented himself, nor did he make any claim against said Count for the damages, and other wrongs which he did him, although at the time of the audit he was then at liberty to do so, and without any impediment to stop him from doing so.

He also attributes many abusive operations to Licenciado Gregorio Manuel de Villa when he carried out his commissions, but in reality the report is very contrary to the proceedings used by that Minister, whose disinterestedness and rectitude were made evident at the time of his death, because he died with the best of Christian dispositions and no money at all was found, so that Sergeant-Major Juan Manuel Perez de Tagle had to pay to arrange for a funeral corresponding to the dignity of his post. The record shows that this Minister begged forgiveness from various individuals who had loaned him money for his maintenance at the time that Doctor José de Torralba was governing by interim and had exiled him to the Province of Iloilo. And I must assure Y.M. that since I have met him, I have found out the same attitude in him, and have noted that he does not respond quickly to despatches, and has failed to take care of important business that came up. Don Juan de Boisloré was even more excessive in his letter when he attacked the good reputation of Captain Don Juan de Losada, who acted as notary in the case of the confiscation. The man has proven his recognized intelligence in the handling of documents during the many years that he has been Notary public of that and other cases, without committing the least illegal act in the accomplishment of his duties; to the contrary, he was entrusted with front-line business on account of his well-known activity; for instance, he acted as the notary involved in the management audits of Master-of-camp Domingo de Zabalburu, and of the Count of Lizarraga, and performed so well in these exercises that top Ministers assigned more important business had always selected his person, on account of the great trust they had in his experience, reason for which I myself have appointed him as investigator in the management audit of the Field Marshall, my predecessor, with the result that I became more aware of the truth of what I had been told about this individual. That is why, once the audit was over, I placed him in the Government administration office, where he is now looking after rental income with timeliness, care and application; and at the same time, he is involved with the case against the Royal official that Doctor Francisco Lopez Adán has been commissioned to hear; given the import of this business, said judge refused to put his trust in any other clerk. Such examples are proofs indeed that Don Juan de Boisloré had no justification to inform Y.M. about this man, and the other individuals mentioned above, against whom he could not prove anything that he alleged. Therefore, it seemed to me useless to have this point investigated anew, when I found no necessity for it, in order to inform Y.M. From what has been mentioned so far, it becomes clear that said Boisloré was rather haughty in disposing of the persons, and Ministers, who intervened in his case, when it seemed to him that they had done him some harm.

Regarding the other points in his letter, I will inform Y.M. about my conclusion: it is not difficult to see the trickiness that said Don Juan de Boisloré used in so many allegations, and it is easy to infer from them that the main business of this individual was no other than an attempt to hide the ease with which the people of his nationality trade in these parts, and in both of the Americas, about which he was very conversant on account of the many years that he spent in the Provinces of Peru, coming to trade in the Kingdoms of China with a patache under his command, under the guise of the title of Coast Guard of His Lordship the Most Christian King, when he had no other business than that of a merchant, as proven by the proceedings of his case, because he so confessed himself, and also as proven by the fact that even from here he has tried to trade with the French trading post that is in Pondichéry. It is written in his report that in the year 1714, there came to this city and port of Cavite a French captain named Larrigne [rather Lavigne] Busson [sic = Brisson?] from Saint-Malo with merchandise from Europe that he sold in these Islands; when the arrival of this patache was checked out in the Books of Port Visits, as verified by the clerk of Mines and Registers, as shown in the records of testimonies and declarations (attached), we learn that on the 2nd of the month of June 1714, said patache was visited in the port of Cavite: it was named the **San Francisco Xavier** commanded by Don Pedro de la Viña [rather Lavigne], of French nationality, who came from the Coast of Coromandel; the types of cargo on board were cotton goods and other stuff from that Coast, iron, spikes, anchors, and rigging.¹ Neither this case or any of the other pataches that have come between 1714 and 1727, reveal that there was as great an annual number as said Boisloré says, or cargos of European goods, because whenever some do come, they are never part of the main cargo, or belonging to the ships, but they are only a few bundles that the sailors usually carry in the crates permitted to them. Also, as far as Chinese champans are concerned, the record shows that they reach 18 to 20 [per year]; in fact, between 1714 and 1727, there have been some years when not a single champan came, and other years when there were 10 or 12, and at times fewer, as occurs at present. Indeed, this year 1728, only 6 champans have come, and only 4 pataches, both types being within the permitted trade, and not the numbers mentioned in the report of Don Juan de Boisloré. Regarding this point, I refer to a document enclosed in the records of proceedings, showing exactly the number of pataches and champans that have been permitted to trade since 1714, as well as the types of merchandises that constituted their cargos. It is undeniable that the greater part of what was carried aboard these vessels had to do with clothing and goods that are consumed locally; therefore, how can what is left of the merchandises be remitted to New Spain and be worth as much as 900,000 pesos, which is the value of the cargo estimated by Don Juan de Boisloré carried to New Spain by the galleons of this run? Neither is it credible that the maximum amount of 300,000

1 Ed. note: Boisloré called it the François of St-Malo (see HM12:611), but he could have been confused. Still, the François that had visited Manila earlier had been condemned and sold in India; it is therefore possible that it could have been renamed as well.

pesos permitted to these vassals would result in 900,000 pesos worth being loaded, under the reality that they will be only allowed to bring back 600,000 pesos? Why would they want to risk their properties, only to see them remain [unsold] in New Spain, not only the proceeds of their invoices, and the profits from the fair, but also part of their principals? What if some year they exceed the permitted amount? How then could they year after year send 900,000 pesos worth of goods, knowing that they can bring back only 600,000 pesos? Said Boisloré goes even so far as to say that they bring back 2 millions; such a supposition is absurd, and so is the one in which he says that all of the Ministers that Your Majesty has in New Spain are involved without exception;¹ indeed, without the permission of these gentlemen one could not gather as great a return as 2 million pesos every year, a real proof that the conceptual basis used by said Boisloré was the product of vulgarity, and so too was that used to describe the manner of the yearly distribution of permitted loads aboard the galleon among the residents. He states that the Count of Lizarraga did it, with the connivance of Licenciado Gregorio Manuel de Villa, with prejudice to the residents. The truth renders this allegation false, because, as shown in one of the enclosed documents, it is sufficient to say that the manner of distributing the loads is in accordance with the Royal orders of Y.M.: every year the Lists of Residents are submitted to this Government by the Chief Clerk of the municipal council, then a Distribution Meeting takes place at which those representing the Government side are the dean of the Audiencia, one ordinary member of the municipal council, one alderman, and the Fiscal of this Audiencia, but none of the Reverend Archbishops, because they never show up, even though they are always invited. The capacity of each galleon is then taken into account in the distribution of the allotted bundles making up the 300,000 pesos of the permission to only the individuals and residents whose names are shown in the List remitted by the City, as confirmed by said testimony. No cargo space is assigned to any person who is not a resident, and it is worth the sovereign attention of Y.M. to say that since 1714 until last year 1727, never was Licenciado Gregorio Manuel de Villa present at those distribution meetings; nevertheless, Don Juan de Boisloré accuses him, against any reason or justice, of excesses that he could never have committed, because he never took part in the above-mentioned Distribution Meetings as Minister, and so say the testimonials presented by the Senior Clerk of this Government and of the Municipal Council that refer to this matter, concerning the yearly distributions made from 1714 and 1727.

As a consequence of the orders of Y.M. relating to said distributions, such is the practice; for instance, the person with nothing to send returns his permits so that the Meeting may apply them to the traders who wished to have them for the price earmarked for same, and this money is given to the interested parties who turned them in. This practice, so badly misunderstood by Don Juan de Boisloré, was twisted into an argument presented to Y.M. in which he alleged that ship space was sold according to the whim of the Governor, the Count of Lizarraga. Speaking of the galleons of this run,

1 Ed. note: Boisloré accused only those in Manila.

and specially of the galleon **Santo Cristo de Burgos** that made the voyage in 1714, said Boisloré informs Y.M. with assurance that the handling of these galleons employs from 500 to 600 men; that they take from 5 to 6 months to make their crossing without taking on board more water than the ration for two months, relying on rain for the rest, for which reason half of the crew die, and when it does not rain, there are officers who sell water to the poor people at wishful prices. Upon examining this allegation, at face value although I knew it to be false, I ordered the Royal officials to certify the complement of seamen, food supplies and equipment of said galleon Santo Cristo de Burgos, stating whether or not the galleon in question had made her voyages to New Spain every time with the same complement, and the same number of marked pieces [of cargo] than were registered on the manifest of 1714, and whether or not they corresponded to the lading capacity of the galleon, distributed among the residents and totalling the 300,000 pesos of the permission, including a general description of the cargo, i.e. the goods loaded as merchandises aboard her. Said Certification, part of the enclosed records of proceedings, shows that among the officers, gunners, seamen, Spanish and ordinary ship's boys, in said year of 1714 and in subsequent years that said galleon made a voyage, there embarked aboard her 217 persons with positions, and for their rations were loaded the following:

- 262 arrobas of beef;
- 325 arrobas of pork;
- 5,000 chickens;
- 90 cavans, or fanegas, of mungo beans;
- 8 cavans of crushed salt;
- 200 gantas of locally-produced white wine;¹
- 100 cavans of clean rice;
- 50 cavans of husked rice;
- 1,520 arrobas of biscuit;
- 150 jars and 200 barrels of water;

and for the sick: mature fowls, medicines, and other necessities.

The record shows also that the trade goods that were taken on board corresponded to the 300,000 pesos permitted in numbered and marked pieces, distributed among the residents. Hence, it is made evident that the information supplied by said Don Juan de Boisloré is not correct. Neither on this point, nor on the other points contained in his letter is he close to the reality of the situation, and he could never have proven the contrary. Indeed, in addition to what is stated in said Certifications, it is true that all persons travelling this route are permitted to bring, over the standard rations, their own food and water supplies in decent amounts, a fact that said Don Juan de Boisloré does not ignore, now that experience gained over his years in these Islands has taught him that the report he sent to Y.M. long ago was born out of his own passion. That is why he also went to excess when speaking of the number of Chinese who live outside the

1 Ed. note: "Tuba," a product of the coconut tree.

walls; he said that there are 15,000 of them, whereas, by certification of the Royal officials, included among the records, the last five-year census of the taxes paid by those of that nationality, in accordance with their licenses, in the past year of 1715, their number amounted to only 2,336 heathen Chinese and 971 Christian Chinese—a marked deviation from the supposed number of 15,000.

The remarks made in said report about the manner of building the galleons, and their careenages, are no less kind, because the truth in this point will be made evident to Y.M. when considering the particular attention given by this Government and the Royal officials to the building and careenage of galleons: they cannot be carried out in any but the standard way practiced and accepted since the beginning; in fact, whenever some change has occurred about this point, the results themselves have pointed out what was the sure method. I remit myself to the accounts that I have sent to Y.M. about the building of the galleon that has been built in the port of Cavite in less time than one year, and that involved notable savings made in her construction, although she was an outstanding galleon, given her dimensions and strength, and compared to those built so far.¹ I am proud to have done this service to Y.M., achieving this construction amid shortages of all kinds, and the lack of resources, making use of various excise taxes to achieve the desired end, which was the total relief of this Republic, carried as I was by no other zeal than that of complying with my duty, the one that Y.M. was pleased to entrust me with in making use of my person in the assignments that your Royal generosity has conferred upon it. Finally, it is in this vein that I assure Y.M. that everything that I have expressed in this letter was done with the sincerity that I have always shown, and the more so when I find myself at the end of my term, it cannot be said that I am moved by some private inclination or benefit. I know, Sire, that what Don Juan de Boisloré has said to Y.M. has failed completely to properly inform you, as he proceeded without reflection and without paying attention to the very serious circumstances entailed in what he said. I have been of the opinion that a public inquiry was unnecessary, because it would necessarily have harmed the reputations of the interested parties, and would have made them adopt defensive measures, that would have disturbed the public peace; furthermore, I considered that Don Juan de Boisloré could not possibly prove his allegations. What is true, however, is that I consider his residence in these Islands harmful, and it would be appropriate for Y.M. to be pleased to issue Royal orders to expedite the hearing of the case of the confiscation of the ship of said Boisloré, the outcome of which might result in the expulsion of his person to parts that would suit the Royal pleasure of Y.M., whose Catholic and Royal person may God save, as Christendom needs.

Manila, 4 July 1728.

The Marquis of Torrecampo.

1 Ed. note: He refers to the galleon named Nuestra Señora de Guía.

Documents 1728F

Design of a boat for use by the Jesuits in the Carolines

Source: AHN 5352 tomo I.

Notes: In translating F2 below, I have been guided by a letter from J. Bankston to G. Geiyer Anderson, dated Bisbee, Arizona, 5 October 1984 (MARC Library, Guam), and by Captain Timoteo O'Scanlan's Diccionario marítimo español (Madrid, 1974).

F1. Letter from the Warden of Cavite, Juan Domingo Nebra, dated 13 December 1728

Original text in Spanish.

Muy Ylustre Señor.

Don Toribio José Miguel de Cosío y Campo, Caballero del orden de Calatrava Marques de Torre Campo, del Consejo de su Magestad, Gobernador y Capitan General de estas islas, y Presidente de la Audiencia y Real Chancilleria que en ellas reside &.

Muy Ylustre Señor; en obediencia del superior orden de V. Señoria, por sus Cartas que me entregó el sargento mayor Buterte llame à la Maestranza de esta Rivera para que explicase el mapa que manifiesto de las medidas que há de tener el barco para su construccion, y se ha de llevar en rosca à las islas marianas, y habiendolo explicado con claridad y distincion quedaron enterados de todo, como tambien con el referido Mapa y se hizo la Memoria por menor que acompaña à esta de las maderas que se necesitan de cada corte, como se expresan en ella, incluyendo las treinta Curbas para el Patache que es quanto se me ofrece participar à V. Señoria sobre este asunto cuya muy ilustre persona Guarde Nuestro Señor muchos años como se lo suplico y ha menester.

Cavite y Diciembre trece de mil setecientos veinte y ocho.

Muy ilustre Señor.

Besa la mano de V. Señoria su menor soldado.

Juan Domingo Nebra.

Translation.

Most Illustrious Sir:

Don Toribio José Miguel de Cosío y Campo, Knight of the Order of Calatrava, Marquis of Torrecampo, King's Counsel, Governor and Captain General of these Islands, and President of the Audiencia and Royal Chancellery residing therein, etc.

Most Illustrious Sir: In obedience of the superior order of Your Lordship in your letters that were delivered to me by Major Buterte, I called the shipbuilders of this shore to have him explain how to build the boat, whose design drawing (attached) he showed with the required dimensions, those of the boat that is meant to be taken to the Mariana Islands once the hull is complete. After clear and detailed explanations were given, they remained fully informed, and with the above-mentioned drawing. Then the detailed list of the required lumber (attached) from each timberyard was prepared, as shown therein, including the 30 knees for the patache.¹ That is all I have to report to Your Lordship about this matter. May Our Lord save your most illustrious person for many years as I beg Him and is right.

Cavite, 13 December 1728.

Most Illustrious Sir.

Your least soldier who kisses the hand of Your Lordship,
Juan Domingo Nebra.²

F2. List of the timber required to build the boat designed by Major Buterte, dated Cavite 13 December 1728

Original text in Spanish.

Memoria de las medidas de las maderas, que se necesitan para fabricar una embarcacion.

El sargento mayor Buterte dió las medidas y memoria de las maderas que se necesitan para fabricar una embarcacion de veinte y dos codos y medio de quilla limpia, de codillo à codillo; siete y medio codos de manga; tres codos y un cuarto de plan; tres codos de puntal, desde encima de la quilla hasta la tabla de la cubierta; tres codos y tres cuartos de lanzamiento de Proa; un codo y un cuarto de Popa; tres codos de razel de Popa desde encima de la quilla hasta el pie de la aleta; dos codos y un cuarto de razel de proa desde encima de la quilla hasta la roda, de seis puntos de grueso y siete puntos de peralto.

Se ha de arbolar como champan de mayor y trinquete y las velas de manta doble de Ilocos[s] con paques [sic] cuyo palo mayor ha de tener de largo de punta à punta treinta codos y de bugeo [=boxeo] dos codos y cinco puntos en lo mas grueso, y en el remate

1 Ed. note: Additional lumber required for the renovation of the patache Dolores.

2 Ed. note: Nebra had been master of the galleon Burgos in 1716-17, and had commanded the patache Dolores in 1725. He was to become commander of the galeon Guía in 1735-36.

de arriba un codo y medio; el palo de trinquete se ha de tener por el largo veinte codos y de bugeo codo y medio por lo mas grueso, y por el remate un codo de bugeo.

El coral ha de tener de pie cinco codos y medio y de brazo cuatro codos y medio, de bragada un codo y medio, à el grueso doce puntos; el codaste ha de tener cinco codos y tres cuartas de largo, de ancho un codo por el pié y por el remate seis puntos, y de grueso seis puntos.

El pie de Roda ha de tener desde el codillo hasta el caperol seis codos y tres cuartos de largo del codillo, para el pie cinco codos, siete puntos de peralto y de grueso seis puntos.

La orbitaria(?) ha de tener cinco codos de pie desde el codillo hasta la punta del pie, y del codillo para el brazo cuatro codos, de ancho, quince puntos, y de grueso dos puntos.

La cinta ha de tener nueve puntos de ancho y tres puntos de grueso.

El plan ha de tener de grueso seis puntos, y las estemenaras lo mismo por el pie; y por la punta cinco puntos.

La aleta ha de tener seis puntos de grueso desde el pie hasta el yugo, y desde el yugo para arriba cinco puntos.

El yugo ha de tener de largo cinco codos y medio y de grueso ocho puntos, en cuadro; cuatro manos para las cintas y durmientes; dos buzarda[s] de nueve puntos de largo, y de grueso siete puntos para la fugonadura del palo mayor; nueve baos de siete puntos de ancho, y de grueso seis puntos, y de arqueadura seis puntos.

El timon ha de tener siete codos y un cuarto de largo, y el demas repartimiento que demuestra el mapa ha de llenar [=llevar] tres macho(?).

La tablazon ha de tener de grueso para el fondo desde la quilla à la cinta dos puntos, y desde la cinta à la borda punto y medio. Las de la cubierta un punto y medio; y los de la toldilla un punto.

Para la construccion del referido barco, se necesitan las maderas siguientes:

Del corte de la pampanga: veinte y dos estemenaras, de siete puntos de grueso, y seis codos de largo;

Veinte y dos hasta del mismo grueso y largo;

Quince planes de siete puntos de grueso, y cuatro codos y medio de largo;

Seis singlones de siete puntos de grueso, y cuatro codos de largo;

Seis piques de siete puntos de grueso, y tres codos y medio de largo;

Dos manos de cintas de diez puntos de grueso y lo mas largo que se pudiere;

Dos manos de durmientes de cuatro puntos y medio de grueso, y lo mas largo que se pudiere hallar;

Dos manos para contra durmientes de cuatro puntos de grueso, y de largo lo mismo;

Un pie de roda de quinze codos de largo;

Un coral de seis codos de pernada, y cinco codos de brazo;

Dos aletas de siete puntos y medio de grueso, y seis codos y medio de largo;

Un cochinato de seis puntos de grueso, y tres codos y medio de largo;

Treinta curvas de siete puntos de grueso, y dos codos y medio de pernada, y dos codos de brazo.

Seis bigatortes [sic] de siete puntos de grueso y tres codos y medio de largo;

Dos manos de trancañiles de ocho puntos de grueso, y diez codos de largo;

Dos busardas de once puntos de grueso y cinco codos de largo;

Hasta aqui ha de ser toda madera de molave.

Nueve guijos para durmientes, cintas, latas, barengas, quilla y sobrequilla;

Un pimpollo para palo mayor de palo maria de[] Monte de dos codos y medio de bugeo desde el pie al medio, y de alli al remate un codo y medio y tres cuartos, y treinta y un codos de largo;

Un pimpollo del mismo palo para trinquete de veinte y un codos de largo y un codo y trece puntos de bugeo, desde el principio al medio y de alli al remate veinte puntos.

Para el Patache "Nuestra Señora de los Dolores".

Treinta curvas de tres codos de pernada, y dos codos y medio de brazo;

Del corte de la Laguna:

Veinte tablones de laguan para tablazon de dicho barco.

Cavite y Diciembre trece de mil setecientos veinte y ocho años.

Juan Domingo Nebra.

Translation.

List of the dimensions of the lumber required to build a boat.

Sergeant-Major Buterte gave the dimensions and list of the lumber that is required to build a boat with a keel length of 22-1/2 cubits,¹ between the inner angles;² 7-1/2 cubits in breadth; 3-1/4 cubits in width of the floor-timber; 3 cubits in depth of hold, from above the keel to the deck board; 3-3/4 cubits of flare at bow; 1-1/4 cubits of flare at stern; 3 cubits for the dead-rising frame at the poop, from the top of the keel to the foot

1 Ed. note: O'Scanlan says that one cubit is exactly equivalent to 24 inches and 9 lines (Burgos measures, which are the same as the old English measures). Therefore, the length of keel of this boat was about 46 feet, so that its overall length could have been 60 feet.

2 Ed. note: The inner angles of the sternpost and stem respectively.

of the fashion-piece; 2-1/4 cubits for the corresponding frame timber at the bow, from the keel to the stem, which is to be 6 points wide and 7 points deep.¹

It should be rigged like a champan, with a main-mast and a foremast.² The sails are to be made of Ilocos canvas, doubled, and quilted.³ The main-mast must be 30 cubits tall, 2 cubits and 5 points in circumference at the bottom, and 1-1/2 cubits at the top; the foremast must be 20 cubits tall, 1-1/2 cubits in circumference at the bottom, and 1 cubit at the top.

The sternpost-knee must be 5-1/2 cubits horizontally, 4-1/2 cubits vertically, 1-1/2 cubits for the elbow, and a thickness of 12 points. The sternpost must be 5-3/4 cubits in length, 1 cubit in width at its base and 6 points at the top, and 6 points in thickness.

The stem must be 6-3/4 cubits in length from the heel to its head, 5 cubits for its foot, 7 points in depth and 6 points in width.

The [curved] stem-knee must be 5 cubits in length, from its heel to the end of its base, and 4 cubits from its heel to its elbow, 15 points in width, and 2 points in thickness.

The wale must be 9 points in width and 3 points in thickness.

The floor timber must be 6 points thick, and the futtocks the same at the base, and 5 points at the tip.

The fashion-piece must be 6 points thick from its foot to the transom, and 5 points from the transom up.

The transom must be 5-1/2 cubits long and 8 points thick, square in shape; 4 spans for the wales and clamps; 2 breasthooks of 9 points in length, and 7 points in thickness for the partners [i.e. support base] of the main-mast; 9 beams 7 points in width and 6 points in thickness, and 6 points of curvature.

The rudder must be 7-1/4 cubits in length, shaped in accordance with the drawing; it must carry 3 pintles(?).

The strakes must be 2 points thick on the bottom from the keel to the wales, and 1-1/2 points from the wales to the gunwale. The deck-boards must be 1-1/2 points thick, and those of the poop deck 1 point.

1 Ed. note: A point as a unit of linear measurement is not defined in dictionaries; it was perhaps equivalent to one "pulgada", or inch.

2 Ed. note: As O'Scanlan insinuates (op. cit.) a champan in the Philippine context was just another name for a patache, although a patache usually had 3 masts and the main-mast disproportionately larger than the other two, the foremast leaning forward appreciably. Our boat, being shorter than a patache, apparently had but two masts. I think that such a one-deck 60-foot boat had a capacity under 100 tons; a patache would have been twice as big, and the smallest galleon at least 3 times the size.

3 Ed. note: The original text uses the word "paques", which is either "piqués", or "pacages." In the first case, it would mean that the canvas was indeed quilted, with thread made of the same cotton (ref. B&R 18:178). In the second case, one could interpret this to mean that the sails other than the main-sails were made of ordinary, single-ply canvas (ref. O'Scanlan).

[Therefore,] for the construction of the boat in question, the following lumber is required:

From the timberyard in Pampanga:

- 22 futtocks, 6 points thick and 6 cubits long;
- 22 more, up to the same thickness and length;
- 15 floor-timbers, 7 points thick and 4-1/2 cubits long;
- 6 risers, 6 points thick and 4 cubits long;
- 6 forks, 7 points thick and 3-1/2 cubits long;
- 2 spans of wales, 10 points thick and as long as possible;
- 2 spans of clamps, 4-1/2 points thick and as long as can be found;
- 2 spans of cross-clamps, 4 points thick and of equal length [as the clamps];
- 1 stem, 5 cubits long;
- 1 sternpost-knee, 6 cubits for the curved part and the arm 5 cubits long;
- 2 fashion-pieces, 6-1/2 points thick and 6-1/2 long;
- 1 breasthook, 6 points thick and 3-1/2 cubits long;
- 30 knees, 7 points thick, 2-1/2 cubits the curved part, and 2 for the arm;
- 6 “bigatortes” [sic],¹ 6 points thick and 3-1/2 cubits long;
- 2 hands of stringer-plates, 8 points thick and 10 cubits long;²
- 2 breast-hooks, 11 points thick and 5 cubits long;

The above lumber must be of *molave* wood.³

- 9 “guijos” for clamps, wales, beams, floor-timbers, keel, and keelsons;⁴

—1 log for the main-mast, of *palo maria* “from the bush,” 2-1/2 cubits in girth from its foot to the center, and from there to its tip 1-1/2 cubits to 3/4 cubit, and 31 cubits long.⁵

—1 log of the same wood for the foremast, 21 cubits long, 1 cubit and 13 points in girth from its foot to the center, and from there to its tip 20 points;

1 Ed. note: Not in dictionaries. Perhaps a transcription error for “batiportes” which means port-cells, for gun ports.

2 Ed. note: “Trancaniles” could also mean waterways, those leading to scuppers.

3 Ed. note: *Molave* is *Vitex geniculata*. It yields a very hard Philippine wood that became harder when placed in water (ref. B&R 12:245; 18:173; 37:251).

4 Ed. note: The *guijo*, or *guiso* tree is *Dipterocarpus guiso*. Its wood is red in color and it is strong, durable, tough, and elastic (B&R 18:170) and never rots in the water and teredo worms cannot penetrate it (B&R 48:296).

5 Ed. note: The *palo maria* is *Calophyllum inophyllum*. Its wood is light, exceedingly tough, and reddish in color (B&R 18:169). The expression “de Monte” which I have translated by “from the bush”, could be “de Monte[guas]” instead, and that is a variety of the “maria” (B&R 18:172).

For [repairs to] the patache **Nuestra Señora de los Dolores:**

—30 knees, bottom part 3 cubits and the arm 2-1/2 cubits;

From the timberyard in Laguna:

—20 boards of *laguan* for the decking of said ship.¹

Cavite, 13 December 1728.

Juan Domingo Nebra.

¹ Ed. note: *Laguan*, or *lauan* is *Dipterocarpus*, or *Anisoptera thurifera*, according to B&R 18:171; 37:251; 48:297. It is a Philippine tree yielding reddish white or ashy wood with brown spots. It is resistant to cannon balls.

Documents 1729A

Special report on the Mariana Islands, by Antonio de Echandia, dated Madrid 6 July 1729

Source: AGI Ultramar 561, bundle 20, folios 177-185.

Note: Antonio de Echandia was one of the deputies sent to Madrid by the residents of the Philippines some 6-7 years earlier (ref. B&R 44:286).

A1. Letter of transmittal, dated 27 June 1729

Original text in Spanish.

De acuerdo del Consejo paso á manos de V.M. las tres cartas adjuntas, dos del Gobernador de Filipinas de 30 de Junio de 1727, y la otra de la Audiencia de Manila de tres de Julio del mismo año con un testimonio de Autos sobre la representacion hecha por el Gobernador de las Yslas Marianas, proponiendo se estinga aquel Gobierno quedando solo un Cabo Superior para su Comando á fin de que en inteligencia de todo informe V.M. lo que se le ofreciere y pareciere para ponerlo en noticia del referido Consejo.

Dios guarde á V.M. muchos años como deseo.

Madrid 27 de Junio de 1729.

Don Geronimo de Uztariz.

[A1] *Sr. Don Antonio de Echandia.*

Translation.

With the agreement of the Council, I forward to Y.M. the three attached letters, two from the Governor of the Philippines dated 30 June 1727,¹ and one from the Audiencia of Manila dated 3 July of the same year, along with a record of proceedings concerning the representation made by the Governor of the Mariana Islands, recommending the abolition of the Governorship, reducing it to one Senior Officer as Commander, in order for Y.M., once fully informed, to be able to decide what you please and so inform the above-mentioned Council.

1 Ed. note: Doc. 1727F4.

May God save Y.M. for as many years as I wish.
 Madrid, 27 June 1729.
 Don Gerónimo de Uztariz.

[To] Don Antonio de Echandia

A2. Report of Antonio de Echandia

Original text in Spanish.

Obedeciendo con la puntualidad correspondiente á mi obligacion el orden de el Consejo, para que sobre el contexto de dos Cartas de 30 de Junio de setecientos veinte y siete de el Marques de Torrecampo, Gobernador de las Filipinas, una de 3 de Julio de dicho año de la Real Audiencia de Manila y los Autos, que esta hizo en virtud de la Consulta de 24 de Abril de 726 hecha por D. Manuel de Arguelles y Valdes, Gobernador interino de las yslas Marianas sobre que el Gobierno y Capitania General de ellas se reduzga á un Cabo Superior, y que la Guarnicion asignada para su defensa, y conservacion se minore á el numero de 25 soldados con los demas puntos que incluyo de que abajo me haré cargo para sobre ellos, y lo antecedente debo manifestar con sinceridad Cristiana y con reflexion de la gravedad de la materia lo que á mi cortedad se le ofrece para lo que es preciso tener presente la disposicion de dichas Islas Marianas, su situacion, importancia de mantenerlas con toda defensa, exercicios de los naturales, y modo con que muchos años ha se gobernaban los Religiosos Misioneros de ellas, y los Gobernadores en quien parece se varió por el Gobierno interino que quedó en dichas islas en la ausencia que de ellas hizo Don Luis Sanchez de Tagle.

La cordillera de las Yslas Marianas empieza desde el Japon y corre en varios modos segun todos los Geógrafos hasta los Galapagos confinantes con las costas del Reyno del Perú; y hallandose las islas Filipinas al Oeste de las marianas es preciso el que los Navios que navegan de Manila al Puerto de Acapulco, habian de montar á la ida dichas Marianas por altura de veinte grados, si da lugar á ello el tiempo y sino se van á buscar otras bocas, ó pasajes que estan en distintas alturas hacia el Norte, porque para el Sur, no se puede en el tiempo que se ejecuta dicho viage bajar, asi por lo arriesgado de los pasos como por ser preciso subir á la altura de polo, hasta encontrar con los vendabales, pero á la buelta de Nueva España para las Filipinas saliendo de Acapulco que está en diez y siete grados y medio se navega hasta bajar á doce grados por cuya altura se sigue el viage, que es regularmente de setenta á setenta y cinco dias, poco mas ó menos hasta llegar á la Ysla de Guajan que es la Capital de las islas Marianas, infiriendo de tan dilatado viage lo apreciable que será para los navegantes de aquella carrera el coger alli refresco de frutas, Aves, Carnes, y Agua, pues á no ser por este refugio, se haria mucho mas penosa la navegacion y cuasi evidente en todos los viages la penuria y falta de Agua, habiendo de sacar toda la necesaria de Acapulco, y ejecutandose los viages por los meses de Abril, mayo, Junio y Julio, que son los mas rigurosos de calor en la Torrida Zona, agregandose á esto que los navios ademas de la gente de su Tripulacion

y los pasajeros mercaderes, llevan anualmente ocho ó nueve compañías de Soldados[,] Artilleros, y gente de mar para refuerzo de los presidios de Filipinas y reemplazos de los muchos marineros que allí se necesitan, y las Misiones de los Religiosos que es muy raro el año que no pasen una ú dos.

Y si para todo este numero de gente que serán de setecientas á ochocientas personas, se hubiese de llevar toda el agua para cuatro, ó cinco meses por las contingencias del mar, no pudieran los Navios llevar otra carga alguna; punto de vastante consideracion para que con todo cuidado se procure mantener dichas Yslas Marianas.

*Por lo antecedente es muy apreciable la representacion que hace el Marques de Torre-campo de que los Piratas ó alguna Nacion estrangera solicite apoderarse de dichas islas, asi para sorprender los navios de la Carrera de Filipinas á la Nueva España, conociendo ser el paso por el de dichas Yslas preciso, y el riesgo de los muchos vajos, que viendo por otro rumbo estraviar el viage, de que hay ejemplar con un Navio nombrado **Santa Rosa**, que de milagro se escapó de naufragio, en que perecia toda la gente y carga, despues de haber estado varado mas de veinte y cuatro horas en un vajo, á que dio motibo la noticia que en una banquilla que á todo riesgo se despacho de las Marianas á encontrar dicho Navio, se le dió al cabo de estarle esperando tres navios enemigos.*

El segundo motibo que puede ser incentibo para que las naciones intenten con todas fuerzas dominar dichas islas, será para tener escala que facilitar de ida y buelta la navegacion de sus factorias, y reyno de la China, á los del Perú y Nueva España, para en uno y otro introducir el Comercio ilícito de que se seguira notable perjuicio al de España y mucho mayor á los vecinos de Manila.

Quando dichas islas Marianas se conquistaron se hallaron unas ocho ó diez de ellas pobladas de Indios, que despues se han ido minorando por cuya causa se tubo por combeniente asi por ahorrar el trabajo y riesgos que todos los dias se experimentaban por los Religiosos Misioneros en los transitos que por mar era preciso hiciesen en varias distancias de unas á otras Yslas, como por beneficio de los naturales reducirlos todos á cuatro islas, que son Guajan, la Capital, La Zarpana, Rotta, y Tinian, que son las mas contiguas y á esta mutacion atribuyen algunos la continua mortandad de dichos naturales, y ellos como neofitos, y Cristianos mas por fuerza que de voluntad dicen haberles prevenido las epidemias, de que han muerto tantos de haber mudado de religion, lo que puede ser les motibe [sic] viendose sin sugesion de vastantes soldados á sublevarse como lo han intentado en algunas ocasiones pero mas abiertamente en tiempo que gobernaba dichas Yslas Don Damian de Esplana y en la muerte del célebre Padre Misionero San Vitores.

Habrá veinte y cuatro á veinte y cinco años que el Gobierno de Manila ordenó al de Marianas despachase cuatro ó seis embarcaciones de las que usan allí los naturales y en ellas se embarcasen dos hombres españoles de toda actividad y inteligencia para que desde aquella Ysla Capital fuesen reconociendo todas las que hay hasta la que llaman el bolcan grande, que está en altura de veinte y cinco grados y viesen si en alguna de ellas habia Puerto ó Puertos en que pudiese surgir navios, y en particular los de la Car-

ra de Nueva España, para que estos en caso, que antes ó despues de montar la cordillera de dichas islas les acaeciese el desarbolar con algun temporal, ó abrir algun agua tubiesen mas pronto remedio para hacer el viage sin verse precisados á no ejecutarlo por haber de earribar á Filipinas para evitar una total perdida; y en ninguna de dichas islas no solo se encontró puerto para el efecto referido, pero ni aun playa en que pueda surgir embarcacion de ningun porte, y solo en la citada Capital de Marianas hay algunos surgideros, siendo el mejor y mas principal el de Umata, donde dan fondo los Navios que van de Acapulco, y el mejor Puerto que hay en dicha Ysla, es el de Merizo, en donde entro á invernar el Patache que cada bienio se despacha de Manila á la referida Yssla, aunque la entrada de dicho Puerto es vastante arriesgada por los muchos vajos y arrecifes que tiene, no obstante es capaz que entren en el fragatas de treinta cañones, como sucedió el año de diez y siete, que cogió dicho Puerto una Fragata Francesa que pasaba del Reyno del Perú al de China, y el año de veinte y uno ó veinte y dos, entro tambien en dicho Puerto con su Navio el pirata Lisperton [i.e. Clipperton]; lo que se pudiera evitar haciendo un fuerte de diez á doce cañones, cuya fabrica no fuera muy costosa habiendo ingeniero militar que dirigiese su construccion, en atencion á que en la Compañia de soldados Pampangos no faltaran Oficiales de Canteria y Albañileria, y la piedra tenerla á mano, y facilidad para hacer la cal.

Los naturales de dichas Yslas Marianas son sumamente floxos, y nada aplicados al trabajo, lo que puede proceder de lo ardiente del Pais al que ayuda mucho el que para sustentarse no necesitan de sembrar frutos porque la providencia divina les ha puesto el Pan sin el coste de beneficio alguno en los arboles, que producen una fruta del tamaño de un Pan de Ballecai, con poca diferencia, la cual cogida en sazon se asa en la lumbre, ó en horno y quitada la cascara se parte en revanadas como si fuera Pan, y lo comen tambien los Religiosos y demas Españoles, y porque no se conserva en los arboles todo el año para el tiempo que falta se guarda abiscochada como el Pan, y con dicha fruta y pescado que cogen sin mas alimento se mantienen como lo hacian antes de la conquista.

En dichas islas no hay comercio alguno, ni para que pudiera haberlo, producen frutos algunos por cuya causa no pagan tributo aquellos naturales commutandoseles este en el trabajo de las sementeras de arroz y maiz, estancias de ganado bacuno, y de cerda con que se mantenía el gremio de los soldados de los cuales será preciso siempre mantener en los pueblos para que los hiciesen trabajar á sus horas, uno de aquellos que el Gobernador de Marianas en su consulta llama Alcaldes, sin que para quitarlos obste el decir que son viciosos, y escandalosos, proposicion generalmente oida de todos los Religiosos de Filipinas y Marianas, como si todos los Españoles que transitan y residen en los Pueblos de Yndios habian de ser precisamente malos, y los Religiosos todos Santos y prudentes.

Esta dispuesto el que el situado de dichas islas Marianas se entregue en las Caxas Reales de Mexico la parte que corresponde á los Religiosos Misioneros al Padre Procurador que en aquella Ciudad tiene su Provincia de Filipinas y la correspondiente á la Infanteria al Apoderado del Gobernador de dichas Yslas; y asi los géneros como los

Reales se embarcan en partida de registro de el Navio que sale de Acapulco, y llegado á Marianas se les entrega y dan recibo de todo los dos Superiores, y el dinero lo remiten desde alli separadamente á su Procurador y Apoderado para que lo emple en Cacao, Azucar, Chocolate, Arina, Pan avizcochado, Tabaco de Oja, vino de Coco, lienzos de todas calidades, géneros de seda, y todo lo demas que se considera necesario para un pais, en donde nada de todo lo dicho hay por otras manos haciendose la provision para dos años, que es cuando va el Patache de Manila[.] recibidos estos géneros en Marianas el Gobernador pone los suyos en una tienda para que la Ynfanteria á cuenta de sus sueldos vaya tomando lo que es del gusto de cada uno, sin que por otro medio que los dichos puedan conseguirlos como se verificará si llegare el caso de suprimirse el gobierno, y en cuyo asunto me explicara con mas claridad, á no embarazarme la Caridad Cristiana, no debiendo omitir que este punto es la raiz y centro de donde provienen todas quimeras que apunta Don Manuel de Arguelles en su Consulta, inteligibles, solo a quien tiene esperiencia, practica, y que por lo mismo la Real Audiencia de Manila, en las diligencias y consulta se da por desentendida.

El Gremio de los Soldados de Marianas, mediante las sementeras que se hacian por los naturales y ganados que criaban se les daba todos los dias por la mañana por desayuno su racion de poleadas de arina de maiz, á medio dia su olla, y á la noche lo mismo, esto á los solteros que á los casados se les daba sin guisar la racion para que ellos con su familia la compusiesen á su modo, con cuya buena providencia les quedaban libres la mayor parte de los sueldos para vestirse y andar decentes, lo que ahora no sucedera con lo nuevamente dispuesto, de que se les de en dinero mensualmente á cada uno para que compre la comida, de que resultará que lo mas lo jugarán y se moriran de hambre y andaran en cueros, y el dinero vendrá á parar no en los naturales que han de vender los (vestidos) bastimentos, sino en la parte donde menos se piensa, y los Indios en este Caso (no obstante, que serán los menos utilizados) parece es consiguiente, el que hayan de pagar tributo, cosa que les ha de hacer muchisima novedad, porque aunque sean medio bárbaros no estrañaran tanto el recibir como el pagar, y mas cuando ellos hasta de muy pocos años á esta parte no hacian aprecio alguno de la plata estimando en mucho mas el tabaco y otras cosas para su uso, y por lo mismo cualquiera particular que los ocupaba en su trabajo se lo pagaba en los géneros referidos.

Quejase D. Manuel de Arguelles del Vice-Provincial de los Indios pues se pasa á mas de lo que es de su obligacion prevenido por instrucciones fiscales lo que se me hace muy creible pues es apetito general de cuasi todos los Religiosos Misioneros aun sin especial Real encargo el querer superitar á los Ministros Reales de que se siguen gravisimos inconvenientes y perturbacion de la paz publica y esto se verificará mas bien en Marianas en donde por la mucha ociosidad no faltaran parcialidades que fomenten de una y otra parte tales chismes que puedan ocasionar alguna sublecion que puede evitarse con Reales Providencias, teniendose presente el que ya en los mas de los Misioneros que pasan á Yndias, no reside solo aquel ardiente celo primitivo de la salvacion de las almas aunque este siempre le tomen por velo para otros fines y intereses particulares.

Considera mi corta capacidad tan precisa la manutencion y conservacion de las Yslas Marianas que si llegase el Caso de extinguirse los naturales de ellas, fuera siempre de sentirse llevasen familias de Filipinas para tener pobladas las cuatro, y de esto se sigue el que asi para conservarlas pacificas como para precaberlas de otro ageno Dominio es muy necesario se mantenga el Gobierno y Capitania General con las dos Compañias de soldados Españoles, y la otra de Pampangos en la misma conformidad que hasta aqui, y no como propone dho Don Manuel de Arguelles de que se reduzca á un Cabo con veinte y cinco soldados considerando este numero por suficiente para que se mantengan pacificos los Indios, lo que no sucedirá antes sí[,] muy al contrario por las razones siguientes.

La primera porque si un Gobernador y Capitan General que cuasi siempre son hombres de mucha representacion, tanto por su persona como por el caracter, y que se considera puesto por S.M. no puede resistir á las operaciones y oposiciones de los de su jurisdiccion que se puede espresar subceda con un Cabo, que será algun pobre reformado, ó cuando mas algun criado de el Gobernador de Manila, que cualquiera de ellos será nombrado, ó por el interes, ó la contemplacion, y de cualquier modo se sigue el ningun aprecio y obediencia que le tendran asi los soldados, como todos los demas de las Yslas.

La segunda razon es el que los Gobernadores de Manila anualmente mudaran los Cabos segun la conveniencia que de ello pudiere seguirles, y lo mas cierto será que dicho empleo se hará vendible de que no pueden resultar buenas consecuencias como se experimento en el tiempo que el Gobierno de Filipinas estuvo subordinado al Virey de Mexico que todos los años embiaba un Gobernador motibo porque se segregó.

La tercera es que aunque no sean mas los Indios que al presente existen que setecientos como dice el Gobernador porque desde luego me persuado padece equivocacion y que para decir familias dijo Indios es muy corto numero el de 25 soldados, lo que se prueba con que aun aora doce años los Gobernadores recelosos de la ferocidad y mala sugesion de dichos Indios iban á misa y estaban en la iglesia escoltados de seis á ocho soldados con cuerda calada[,] cosa muy ociosa á no vivir recelosos los que estan pocos años no parece haberse podido extinguir.

La Cuarta es el ser asi mismo corto numero de Guarnicion para ocurrir á qualquiera urgencia que pueda ofrecerse en alguna de las otras tres islas que deben considerarse espuestas á los [mismos] accidentes que la Capital, en la que no estan todos los Indios y que los que habitan en aquellas como menos sugetos pueden ser los que muevan alguna sublevacion y en lo que no ha cargado la consideracion Don Manuel Arguelles.

La Quinta: para mantener toda la guarnicion que hasta aqui ha habido en dicha isla Capital, es el ser necesaria para defenderla de cualquiera invasion de enemigos ó piratas por el decir que no podrá esto embarazarse con todo el numero que tiene de soldados, es voluntario, y querer corroborar ciertos antecedentes que omito referir porque no parezca este papel mas acusacion que informe, pues es notorio el que con cuatro Cañones en lo alto de un montecillo se pusieron se le embaraso al Pirata Lisperton el desembarco, y entrada de su Navio en el Puerto de Merizo y esto mismo se podrá repetir

en todas las ocasiones que se ofrezcan habiendo para ello el competente numero de gente de guerra para cuya disciplina, y buen Gobierno es muy combeniente el que los Gobernadores, y Sargentos Mayores que alli se embiaren sean sobre buenos soldados de buen juicio y temerosos de Dios mediante lo cual se conseguirá mantener en paz aquellos dominios tan necesarios para la Real Corona como se infiere de lo dicho antecedentemente.

Madrid y Julio 6 de mil setecientos veinte y nueve.

Antonio de Echandia.

[P.S.] Muy Señor mio: Debuelbo á V.S. las dos Cartas del Gobernador de Filipinas de treinta de Junio de mil setecientos veinte y siete, y la otra de la Audiencia de Manila de tres de Julio de dicho año, el testimonio de Autos sobre la representacion de el Gobernador de las Yslas Marianas y juntamente el papel en que se contiene lo que sobre todo el asunto se me ha ofrecido que me holgaré sea de la satisfaccion de el Consejo.

Dios guarde á V.S. muchos años como le deseo.

Madrid y Julio seis de mil setecientos veinte y nueve.

Besa la mano de V.S. su mas seguro servidor.

Antonio de Echandia.

[A] Señor Don Geronimo de Uztariz.

Translation.

Obeying as promptly as I must the order of the Council, for me to take note of the two letters dated 30 June 1727 from the Marquis of Torrecampo, Governor of the Philippines, another one dated 3 July of said year from the Royal Audiencia of Manila, and the records of proceedings undertaken following the consultation of 24 April 1726 by Don Manuel de Argüelles y Valdés,¹ interim Governor of the Mariana Islands regarding their Governorship being reduced to one Senior Officer, and that the garrison assigned to their defence and preservation be reduced to 25 soldiers, along with the other points that he included, the same that I will deal with below, with their backgrounds. I must report with Christian sincerity and with reflection, given the gravity of the matter, what my dull mind thinks, taking into account the condition of said Mariana Islands, their situation, the importance of maintaining them in a ready state of defence, the practices of the natives, and the methods used a long time ago when their Religious Missionaries governed them, and those used by the Governors, methods that seemed to have been modified by the interim Governor who was left in said Islands after the departure of Don Luís Sanchez de Tagle.

The island chain of the Mariana Islands begins from Japan and runs in various directions, according to all of the geographers, as far as the Galapagos that lie close to the coast of the Kingdom of Peru. Since the Philippine Islands are west of the Marianas, it is necessary for the ships sailing from Manila on their way to the port of Aca-

¹ Ed. note: Doc. 1727F1.

pulco to pass above said Marianas at a latitude of 20 degrees, weather permitting, otherwise they must seek other straits or passages that are at various latitudes towards the north, since it is impossible for them to cross more to the south, at the time [of year] of the voyage in question, given the risks involved in said passages; in addition, they must seek a more northerly latitude in order to find the monsoon winds. However, on the return voyage from New Spain to the Philippines, they depart from Acapulco which is in 17°30' and sail down to 12° at which latitude they pursue their voyage, which regularly takes from 70 to 75 days, more or less, until they reach the Island of Guajan, which is the capital of the Mariana Islands. One can easily infer from such a long voyage the importance for the navigators of that run to stop there to gather fruits, fowls, meat, and water. In fact, if this refuge were not there, the navigation would be so much more arduous, specially on account of lack of water during all of the voyages, since all of the water required must be taken out of Acapulco and the voyages in question take place during the warmest months of the Torrid Zone, that is, the months of April, May, June, and July. Furthermore, the ships carry, in addition to their crew, passengers and merchants, the yearly quota of 8 or 9 companies of soldiers, gunners, and seamen for the reinforcement of the garrisons in the Philippines and for the replacement of the many seamen needed there, plus the mission bands of Religious (it is a rare year without 1 or 2 such bands on board).

And, if it were necessary to carry on board all of the water required by this number of people—anywhere between 700 and 800 persons—for 4 months at sea, and even 5 months in emergency cases, the ships could not carry any other cargo: a point of sufficient importance to have us maintain said Mariana Islands.

One antecedent mentioned by the Marquis of Torrecampo in his representation is very appreciable: pirates or some foreign nation could try and take possession of said Islands, not only to capture the ships of the Philippine-New Spain run, now that they know of their necessary passage via said Islands, and the danger posed by the many shoals if the route be changed, of which there is one example, that of a ship named **Santa Rosa** that escaped shipwreck by miracle, one in which all of the people and cargo would have been lost, after she remained grounded on a bank for over 24 hours; the cause of this incident was the news that a canoe, despatched at great risk from the Marianas, had brought to her, that there were three enemy ships waiting for her there.¹

The second reason why foreigners could possibly try and take possession of said Islands might be to use them as a stopover for their voyages between their trading-posts and the Kingdom of China to those of Peru and New Spain, in order to carry on an illicit trade that would result in notable harm being done to Spanish trade, specially trade carried out by the residents of Manila.

When said Mariana Islands were conquered, there were about 8 or 10 of them inhabited by Indians, who have been decreasing in number from then on, reason for which it was considered appropriate, not only to save labor and risk to the Religious Mission-

1 Ed. note: This happened in 1686.

aries who had to travel by sea every day, covering various distances between the islands, but also to benefit the natives, to reduce them all to four Islands, that is, Guajan, the capital, Zarpana, Rota, and Tinian,¹ that are the most contiguous. Some claim that this population move was the cause of the continuous death rate of said natives; they were neophytes, or Christians, more by force than willingly, they say, and they were caught in epidemics that caused so many deaths, because they changed their religion. That could have been the motive that led them to rebel on many occasions, when there was an insufficient number of soldiers, but most openly during the terms of Don Damian de Esplana as Governor, and specially when they killed the famous missionary Father, Sanvitores.

About 24 or 25 years ago, the Government of Manila ordered that of the Marianas to despatch 4 to 6 canoes, of the type used by the natives there, and aboard them two Spaniards known to be active and intelligent to go from that capital island and reconnoiter all of them as far at the island called the Big Volcano which is in a latitude of 25° in order to find out if there were any port or ports where ships could anchor, specially those of the run to New Spain, so that, either before or after passing the chain of said Islands, in case of their being dismasted by some storm, or leaking badly, they might have a remedy closer at hand, without being forced to go back in distress to the Philippines, and thus avoid a total loss. However, at none of said islands did they find a port for the intended purpose, not even a beach where any vessel of any tonnage could anchor, except at the above-mentioned capital island of the Marianas where there are some anchorages, the best and most important of which is at Umatac, where the ships coming from Acapulco anchor. The best port in said Island is really that of Merizo, where the patache that is despatched every two years from Manila to said Island goes in and spends the winter season, although the entrance of said port is rather dangerous on account of the many shoals and reefs there; nevertheless, it is spacious enough for 30-gun frigates to enter it, as happened in the year 1717, when a French frigate that was going from the Kingdom of Peru to that of China chose that port,² and also in 1721 or 1722 when Lisperton [rather 1721, Clipperton], the pirate, went into that port. This could be prevented by builing a fort with from 10 to 12 guns; its construction would not be very costly, if a military engineer were available to supervise it, if only the company of Pampango soldiers included some officers knowledgeable about masonry and carpentry, since there are stones handy and facility for making lime.

The natives of said Mariana Islands are extremely lazy, and not at all inclined to work, something that could come from the hot climate of the country, aided somewhat by the fact that they do not need to sow any fruits in order to sustain themselves, because divine Providence has placed bread on trees and made it available for free. Such trees produce a fruit of the size of a loaf of Ballecai(?) bread, more or less; said fruit being collected during its season is then roasted on a grill or in an oven and, once the

1 Ed. note: Only three islands, since Zarpana and Rota are the same island.

2 Ed. note: This must have been the **Pontchartrain** of St-Malo, Captain Louis Roche.

crust has been removed, it can be split into slices, just like bread. The Religious and other Spaniards also eat it, and because it is not available on trees the year around, for such times of lack, it is kept toasted, like bread. Said fruit, plus the fish they catch, constitute the food with which they maintain themselves, just as they did before the conquest.

In said Islands there is no trading whatever, nor is it possible that there be; they produce few things. That is why those natives pay no tributes, but in exchange they must work in plantations of rice and corn, in cattle ranches and piggeries, with which the soldiers of the garrison maintain themselves. By the way, it will always be necessary to keep one soldier in every town, to make them work according with their schedule, of the type that the Governor of the Marianas calls Mayors in his consultation, although to get rid of them some say that they are vicious, and scandalous; such an allegation is generally heard from all of the Religious in the Philippines and Marianas, as if all of the Spaniards passing through or residing in Indian towns were necessarily bad men, whereas all Religious saintly and prudent men.

The normal practice is for the subsidy of said Mariana Islands to be found in the Royal treasury of Mexico and have the part corresponding to the Religious Missionaries delivered to the Father Procurator whom their Philippine Province has in that city, and the part corresponding to the Infantry delivered to the Agent of the Governor of said Islands. Thus, the goods as well as the monies are embarked and registered aboard the ship that leaves from Acapulco. Upon arrival at the Marianas, they are delivered to the two Superiors, who gave receipt for them. The money is remitted from there to their Procurator, or Agent, for them to spend in buying cocoa, sugar, chocolate, flour, biscuit, tobacco leaves, coconut wine, cloths of all categories, silk stuff, and everything else that is considered necessary for a country where nothing like that can be found or obtained in any other way, while making a provision for two years, which is the interval between visits by the patache from Manila. Upon receiving these goods in the Marianas, the Governor has some of his servants sell them to the Infantrymen from a store, debiting their salary accounts whenever they buy something that pleases them. There is no other way for them to obtain said goods, as would become evident if the Governor's post were eliminated. About this matter, I would explain myself more clearly, but Christian charity prevents me from doing so, but I must not omit to say that this matter is at the root and center of all of the schemes noted by Don Manuel de Argüelles in his consultation, schemes that are understandable only to someone with experience, and practice, and something that the Royal Audiencia of Manila is unaware of when dealing with petitions and consultations.

The soldiers of the Marianas as a group, by means of the plantations cared for by the natives, and of the cattle that they raised, received rations every day, porridge of corn meal in the morning, and kettles of meat at noon and in the evening. Such were the rations of the unmarried soldiers, whereas the married ones would get their ration uncooked, so that they and their family could cook them as they saw fit. With such a good arrangement, they were free to spend their wages in clothing, to walk about de-

cently dressed, something that will no longer happen with the new arrangement, if they are given their monthly wages in money, to buy their food with; the result will be that most of them will spend this money gambling and will die from hunger and will walk around naked. The money will end up in the hands of the natives, the sellers of the food supplies, and be spent on what can least be expected; the Indians in this case (though they will be the least beneficiaries), it seems to me that it follows that they will have to pay tribute, something that will be very strange to them, because, though half barbarian, they will not mind receiving money as much as paying it out, the more so when until a few years ago they did not appreciate money at all, and esteemed tobacco and other useful articles more, and they were paid for their work with these commodities.

Don Manuel de Argüelles complains about the Vice-Provincial [rather Protector] of the Indians; indeed, he went beyond his duty, as provided for in fiscal instructions. I think that the complaint is very credible; indeed, it is a general desire of almost all of the Religious Missionaries, even without special Royal mandate, to want to lord it over the Royal Ministers, with the very serious disadvantages that follow and the disturbance to public peace. This is more likely to happen in the Marianas, where, because of the great idleness, there would be no lack of disputes fomented by so many rumours on both sides that might lead to some revolt; this can be prevented with Royal provisions, keeping in mind the fact that in most of the Missionaries passing to the Indies nowadays, there is no longer that burning zeal for the salvation of souls, although they still refer to it, the better to hide their real purposes and special interests.

In spite of my dullness, I consider that it is so necessary to keep and preserve the Mariana Islands that, should their natives disappear one day, it would always be a good idea to bring families from the Philippines to maintain the four islands in question inhabited. It follows that if they are to be kept at peace, as well as to keep them out of the hands of another foreign power, it is very necessary to maintain a Governor and Captain General with the two companies of Spanish soldiers and one of Pampango soldiers, as has been done so far, and not as proposed by said Don Manuel de Argüelles, that is, that they be reduced to one Commander with 25 soldiers, considering this number as sufficient to maintain the Indians peaceful, something that would not happen; rather, the very opposite would happen, for the following reasons:

Firstly, because a Governor and Captain General who is almost always a person of mark, as an individual as much as by his character, one considered to have been appointed by H.M., can resist the operations and oppositions of those within his jurisdiction, whereas this would not happen with a Commanding Officer, who would be a poor retired officer, or worse, some follower of the Governor of Manila; no matter which type be appointed, either on account of self-interest or opportunity, they would not be appreciated or obeyed, either by the soldiers or the rest of the inhabitants of the Islands.

The **second reason** is the fact that the Governors of Manila would mutate the Commanding Officers once a year, in accordance with the benefit they could derive from same, and the most certain thing is that such a post would become saleable and nothing good can come from that, as was experienced during the time that the Governor of

the Philippines was subordinated to the Viceroy of Mexico, when every year he would send a new Governor, reason for which he was segregated.¹

The **third** one is that, even if the Indians were at present only 700 in number, as the Governor says (of course, I am persuaded that he made a mistake, saying Indians when he meant to say families of Indians), 25 soldiers is too small a number, something that can be proven by the fact that 12 years ago² the Governors, fearful of the ferocity and bad subjection of said Indians, would go to mass and be present in church only when escorted by 6-8 soldiers with muskets at the ready, something very unnecessary if they were not living in fear of them, fear that may not have disappeared these last few years.

The **fourth** is that such a number of soldiers in the garrison would also be too small to face any potential emergency that might happen in any of the other three islands, which must be considered as prone to incidents as the capital, where not all the Indians reside, and that the inhabitants of the other islands, being less subject, could be those who might start a revolt, something that Don Manuel Argüelles did not consider.

The **fifth** reason to maintain the whole garrison that has existed in said Island up to now, is the necessity of defending it against any invasion from enemies, or pirates. It can be said that this whole number of soldiers could not prevent such an invasion: perhaps so, but certain past incidents (which I omit to mention, so as not to change this paper into an accusation, rather than an informative report) have proven that only four guns placed on top of a hillock were sufficient to prevent Clipperton, the pirate, from effecting a landing, and from entering the port of Merizo with his ship. Such an event could repeat itself on any future occasion, if only there be the proper number of military men, well disciplined and managed. It is very appropriate that the Governors, and Sergeant-Majors, who are sent there be very good soldiers, with good judgment and God-fearing men, thanks to whom those necessary dominions will be kept at peace for the Royal Crown, as can be implied from the above presentation.

Madrid, 6 July 1729.

Antonio de Echandia.

[P.S.] My dear Sir: I return to Your Lordship the two letters of the Governor of the Philippines dated 30 June 1727, and the other from the Audiencia of Manila dated 3 July of said year, the record of proceedings regarding the representation of the Governor of the Mariana Islands and also the paper that reflects what has occurred to me in the matter. I wish it will be satisfactory to the Council.

May God save Your Lordship for as many years as I wish.

Madrid, 6 July 1729.

Your most trustworthy servant, who kisses the hand of Your Lordship,

Antonio de Echandia.

[To] Don Gerónimo de Uztariz.

1 Ed. note: Factual error; the viceroys never had such an influence.

2 Ed. note: By this remark, we can infer that Echandia visited Guam in 1717.

Document 1729B

Subsidy for the Marianas, for 1729

Source: AGN AHH 1243.

Subsidy sent aboard the galleon Nuestra Señora de Guía

Original text in Spanish.

Señores Oficiales Reales de la Real Hacienda y Caja de la Ciudad de Manila.

*El situado dozcientos, y cinquenta mill pesos que en Reales y Generas, toca â essas Yslas por este año de mill setezientos y veinte y nueve que ha de conducir â ellas el Galeon nombrado **Nuestra Señora de Guía** se compone de las partidas siguientes:*

...

Misiones y Pressidio de Marianas.

Veinte y nueve mill ziento zinquenta y tres pesos zinco tomines y nueve granos, los veinte mill quinientos y çinquenta pesos de ellos para el Governador y Sargento maior, y sesenta soldados de la Dotaçion del Presidio de Marianas; y los ocho mill seis çientos tres pesos zinco tomines y nueve granos restantes para doze Religiosos de la compaña de Jhs, nueve sacerdotes, y tres coadjutores, empleados en las Misiones, de aquellas Yslas, predicazion del santo Evanjelio, adelantamiento de la nueva Cristianidad, en serviçio de la Divina Magestad, y del Rey nuestro Señor[;] uno y otro por el situado correspondiente a este año, yncluiendose en una de las partidas el estipendio del Seminario de los Niños Marianos, donde al cuidado de dhos Padres, son ynstruidos de costumbres Cristianas, y politicas, como tambien, lo correspondiente a la limosna de vino, y Azeite, despues de acreçidas algunas cantidades, segun lo que produjo la vista de las Zertificaçiones presentadas para este yntento 29,153 p 5t 9g

Mexico â 9 Marzo de 1729 años.

Dor Don Joseph de Ozaeta

Don Manuel Angel de Villegas y Puente

Pedro de Zarburu

Translation.

Gentlemen Royal officials of the Royal treasury in the City of Manila.

The subsidy of 250,000 pesos in cash and goods meant for those Islands for this year 1729 which the galleon named **Nuestra Señora de Guía** must convey thither, consists of the following entries:

...

Missions and Garrison of the Marianas.

—29,153 pesos 5 tomins and 9 grains, 20,550 pesos of which are for the Governor and Sergeant-Major, and the 60 soldiers on the establishment of the Garrison of the Marianas, and the remaining 8,603 pesos 5 tomins and 9 grains are for the 12 Religious of the Society of Jesus, 9 priests and 3 coadjutor brothers, who are employed in the missions of those Islands, in preaching the holy Gospel, fostering the new Christian community, in the service of the divine Majesty, and that of the King our Lord. Both sums represent the subsidy for this year. Included in one of the entries is the stipend of the Seminary of the Mariano children, where they are taught Christian and civilized customs under the care of said Fathers. Also included is the amount of the alms for wine and oil, after certain sums were added, in view of certificates that were presented for that purpose 29,153p 5t 9g

...

Mexico, 9 March 1729.

Don José de Ozaeta

Don Manuel Angel de Villegas y Puente

Pedro de Larburu

Subsidies for the 1730-34 period.

The same file contains the details of the subsidies for the 1730-34 period. The subsidy for 1730 was 28,433 pesos, including the stipends for 10 priests and 3 coadjutor brothers. The subsidy for 1731 was 27,487 pesos, including the stipends for 10 priests and 3 brothers. That for 1732 was 27,414 pesos, including the stipends for 9 priests and 3 brothers. That for 1733 was 28,790 pesos, including the stipends for 10 priests and 3 brothers. That for 1734 was 27,422 pesos, including the stipends for 9 priests and 3 brothers; there was also paid to Fr. Diego de Otazo, superior of a mission band, the sum of 10,319 pesos.

[For Doc. 1729C, see pp. 643-652.]

Documents 1730A

Preparations for Fr. Cantova's expedition to the Carolines, 1728 and 1730

Sources: Unless otherwise indicated, the major source is AGI Fil. 320 (formerly 69-2-2); cited by Astrain VII, 769, 773, 774, 777; copies exist in AHN Ultramar 5352, exp. 2, and in Colección Pastells, Fil. 8, fol. 239-301.

Note: This part of the file is summarized also in AGI Fil. 418.

A1. Petition of Fr. Provincial Pedro de la Hera

Note: Fr. de la Hera was Jesuit Provincial of the Philippines from 1726 to 1730.

Original text in Spanish.

Muy Ilustre Señor.

Pedro [de] la Hera, de la Compañía de Jesus, Provincial de esta Provincia de Filipinas, considerando la obligacion precisa que le incumbe por su instituto, y por su oficio de atender y procurar la salvacion de las almas, ya en el cultivo de los convertidos, ya en la conversion de los infieles, y en especial de los Gentiles de las islas de Palaos, por la satisfaccion con que S. Magestad (Dios le guarde) se ha dignado de encargar su conversion à la solicitud y cuidado de la Compañía, acude al piadoso celo de Vuestra Señoría para que en consecuencia y conforme à lo mandado y dispuesto por su Magestad, coopere al logro y mas favorable exito de tan santo y piadoso intento.

No consta hasta ahora que haya havido descubrimiento, en que ninguno de nuestros Catolicos Monarcas se haya visto mas justamente empeñado que al presente de las islas de Palaos; pues con el motivo de haber llegado desgaritadas varias veces à muchas de estas islas, y de las Marianas, algunas embarcaciones de Palaos; solicitó esta Provincia de la Compañía, cuyo cuidado despertó à la casualidad, ó Providencia de llegar casi siempre à sus islas estos miserables necesitados para que hiciese las mas vivas diligencias para repartir el pan de la Doctrina Evangelica à quienes con tanta instancia, gobernados sin duda de superior impulso, le pedian. Propúsose el caso en Roma, con la ocasion de pasar à aquella Corte, por Procurador General de esta Provincia el Padre Andres Serrano: esta gustosissima noticia llevó de espiritual consuelo al fervoroso animo de nuestro Santisimo Padre Clemente XI, quien en cumplimiento de el cargo en que se hallaba de Universal Pastor del Mundo, expidió sus Breves Apostolicos à nuestro Ca-

tolicísimo Monarca, y à su glorioso y Cristianísimo Abuelo El Señor Luis XIII, el grande. Hallase nuestro poderosísimo Rey empeñado à un mismo tiempo de tan supremo[s] y tan reverentemente amados Principes. Diose en Paris à la estampa el mapa que con las confusas noticias de los Indios se habia formado, y aunque en la graduacion de la latitud y longitud en la extension y en los rumbos padecieron alguna equivocacion, no lo hubo en la realidad de las islas, las cuales ponen ya los mapistas modernos con nombre de nuevas Filipinas dedicadas al nuevo Filipo.

*Movido el Rey de tan soberanos empeños y mucho mas de la obligacion en que se halla de adelantar las conversiones de estos dominios y descubrimientos despachó sus Reales rescriptos à los Ylustrísimos Señores Arzobispos de Mexico y Manila, al Exelentísimo Señor Virrey de Nueva España, y al Señor Don Domingo de Sabalburu que gobernaba entonces estas islas, y de las expresiones del Real despacho de doce de Noviembre de mil setecientos y seis se evidencia el deseo con que su Magestad insta para el logro de este descubrimiento, advirtiendo à dicho Señor Gobernador **esté desvelado en la mas puntual** execucion de todo lo que le manda, de manera por ningun caso debe de ponerse en practica desde luego y sin la menor retardacion, y que de lo contrario, se dará su Magestad por deservido y que en la residencia le haría muy especial y riguroso cargo, **con el singular capitulo de ella.** En cumplimiento de tan preciso mandato de su Magestad se despacharon en dos ocasiones algunas embarcaciones que tubieron el infeliz exito que es notorio, habiendo perecido ya en la consecucion de empresa tan deseada, cinco Jesuitas que expusieron honorosamente sus vidas por el logro Espiritual de aquellas almas.*

Ynformado su Magestad, de tan infelices sucesos, no desmayó en la empresa ni se entibió su espiritu para aplicar su poderoso brazo à esta Espiritual y temporal conquista, despachando su Real Zedula el año de mil setecientos y quince, que para en ese superior Gobierno, en cuyas Cristianas y piadosas expresiones se ve el ardiente zelo de su Real animo, por que razon no se haya dado cumplimiento à esta Real Zedula, no me consta, ni me conviene ni toca averiguar los poderosos aunque ocultos y secretos motivos que habrán tenido los predecesores de V. Señoria à quienes se dirigió el Real rescripto, solo sé, que de parte de la Compañia, siempre hemos estado prontos à cumplir lo que nos encarga la confianza de su Magestad sin que hayan cambiado los animos de los que quedan la muerte y naufragio de los cinco Jesuitas que han perecido en el descubrimiento de estas deseadas islas y no pudiendo contenerse nuestros deseos à vista de la retardacion que se experimentaba; considerando que el llegar casi todos los años à nuestros pueblos de Marianas, una ó dos embarcaciones de Palaos, no solo era llamarnos en su socorro al impulso de tan eficaces arribadas, sino que en cierto modo era increparnos de cobardes; se hizieron varias diligencias y esfuerzos desde aquellas islas enviando el año de veinte y dos una embarcacion en que con un Misionero con algunos Palaos y entonces segun lo natural se hubiera conseguido la empresa, si el Cabo y Piloto hubieran querido con eficiencia y hubieramos continuado hasta el logro ó nuestras fuerzas fueren bastantes por si solas para esta expedicion, pues à eso nos obliga no solo la profesion de nuestro Instituto, sino la dignacion de su Magestad en confiarnos

tan gloriosa empresa, y si qualquier vasallo que se precie de fiel y de leal debe cumplir aun la mas leve insinuacion de su Principe, como podriamos nosotros dejar de poner todo el esfuerzo posible en un asunto en que vemos el mayor empeño de Nuestro Catolico Monarca, estimulado del Sumo Pontifice, de su Cristianisimo Abuelo, y lo que es mas de la obligacion precisa en que confiesa hallarse.

Siempre esperaba impaciente nuestro deseo, la execucion de tan santos intentos, y ahora con el motivo de haber visto y confirmado el Ilustrisimo Señor Arzobispo algunos de aquellos Indios desgaritados, al pasar por Marianas, se han exitado y avibado mas nuestros deseos à la solicitud de el logro, pues movido de compasion al ver que aquellos miserables estando tan cerca de Dominios tan Catolicos, no participen la luz de la verdad evangelica, no hallandose noticioso de las apretantes zedulas de su Magestad, para este fin le escribio solicitando de su religiosa piedad, y Cristiano zelo, las providencias convenientes para esta expedicion, lo que dará motivo para que su Magestad heche menos el cumplimiento de su Real Despacho, y aunque este no se dirigió à nosotros, hasta la dignacion de su Magestad en confiarnos esta empresa para que nos parezca culpable aun la mas leve omision que haya de nuestra parte.

*Y atendiendo al mas feliz logro de esta expedicion, me parecia conveniente que en la rivera de Cavite se fabricase un **barco de buque proporcionado**, y se lleve en cuarteles en el Patache, con la clavazón y demas adherentes necesarios para poderse arimar y hacer à la vela desde Marianas, y embarcarse en el los Padres, con los Indios Palaos ya Cristianos que de mas confianza se hallan en aquellas islas, y para lo cual mandase V.Señoria al Governador de Marianas facilite todos los medios que conduzcan à este fin; se descubren en este medio algunas conveniencias, lo primero porque si el Patache, por algun accidente, se ve obligado à tomar el rumbo de Manila, los Padres no se vendran de [ar]rivada acá, sino que ó proseguirán su derrota, ó arribarán à Marianas, desde donde podran volver à tentar el viaje en tiempos favorables; lo segundo porque dicho barquillo será la seguridad y alivio del Patache en aquellos mares no bien reconocidos aun, para reconocer baxos, y buenos surjideros; lo tercero porque llegando à tomar tierra, quedan ya los Padres desde luego aviados para el fin que manda su Magestad vayan los carpinteros, y para cualquier otro caso que les pueda suceder, lo cual no será así, si quedan sin embarcacion ninguna solo con la esperanza de las que se hubieren de hacer por cuatro carpinteros fuera de que no puede ser notable el gasto en dicha fabrica, pues parece no será necesario añadir oficiales sobre lo que ya paga su Magestad en la rivera y las obras ó palos que no sirvan para las obras mayores seran muy suficientes para la de dicho barquillo, y con el no habrá necesidad de que vayan los cuatro carpinteros, y así se escusan los sueldos que se les habian de dar por dos años.*

Todo lo cual pongo en la alta consideracion de V.Señoria para que dé las providencias que à su comprension le parecieren mas convenientes para el fin que se pretende y no dudo que de esta vez se consiga empresa tan deseada, tan del agrado de Dios, de tanto provecho de aquellos ciegos gentiles, tan del empeño de su Magestad, y tan de nuestra obligacion, y siempre se atribuirá al piadoso y Cristiano zelo de V.Señoria su feliz logro, en quien aseguramos el acierto, el desempeño, y la direccion, portandose

V. Señoria à un mismo tiempo, como zeloso propagador de la Religion, como vasallo fiel de su Magestad, y como especial favorecedor nuestro.

Pedro de la Hera.

Translation.

Most Illustrious Sir:

I, Pedro de la Hera, of the Society of Jesus, Provincial of this Province of the Philippines, considering the necessary duty imposed upon me by my Institute, and by my post, which is to take care and obtain the salvation of souls, either by cultivating those already converted or by converting the heathen, and specially the heathen of the Palau Islands,¹ in order to satisfy His Majesty (may God save him) who has been pleased to entrust their conversion to the application and care of the Society, do appeal to the pious zeal of Your Lordship so that, as a consequence of and in accordance with the orders of His Majesty, you cooperate to the success and more favorable outcome of such a holy and pious project.

So far it is not clear whether the Palau Islands have really been discovered, a project to which our Catholic Monarchs had so justly committed themselves; indeed, as a result of some canoes from the Palaus having drifted at various times to many of these Islands, and to the Marianas, this Province of the Society, whose care was awakened by the fate, or Providence, of these miserable and needy people having drifted almost always to their islands, made requests to have the most lively efforts made in order to distribute the bread of the Gospel doctrine to those who sought it with so much insistence, no doubt guided by superior impulse. The case was brought up in Rome, on the occasion of Father Andrés Serrano going to that court as Procurator General of this Province. This very happy news brought spiritual consolation to the zealous spirit of our Most Holy Father, Clement XI, who, to comply with his duty as Universal Shepherd of the World, issued his Apostolic Briefs to our Most Catholic Monarch, and to his glorious and Most Christian Grandfather, King Louis XIV, the Great. Our almighty King found himself compelled at the same time by two Princes, so superior and so reverently beloved as they. There was published in Paris the map of the islands that had been drawn from confused information from the Indians, and although there were some mistakes made in the scales for latitude, longitude, and directions, there was no mistake made in the identification of the islands, and such islands are now charted by modern map-makers who have baptized them New Philippines, dedicating them to the new Philip.

The King was moved by such powerful recommendations and much more **by his duty to foster the conversions of these dominions and their explorations**. He despatched his Royal edicts to their Most Illustrious gentlemen, the Archbishops of Mexico and of Manila, to His Excellency the Viceroy of New Spain, and to His Lordship, Don Domingo de Zabalburu, who was then governing these Islands. From the express-

1 Ed. note: Palau in this context means the Carolines in general.

ions used in the Royal despatch dated 12 November 1706, it becomes obvious that His Majesty seriously wishes the success of this exploration, thus warning said Governor **to be vigilant in the most timely** execution of everything he orders, to such an extent that he was to put it into practice, regardless of difficulties and without the slightest delay, otherwise His Majesty would consider himself badly served, and he would be judged very severely and rigorously on this score in his management audit, **where this project would appear as a special chapter**. In compliance with such a precise order from His Majesty, some vessels were despatched on two occasions but they had the unhappy result that is notorious; five Jesuits perished in the pursuance of such a desired enterprise, as they honorably exposed their lives for the spiritual benefit of those souls.¹

Once His Majesty had been informed of so many unsuccessful attempts, he did not become discouraged or veer from his plan to lend his powerful hand to this spiritual and temporal conquest; he despatched a Royal decree in 1715, addressed to this superior Government,² in which he used Christian and pious words to express the burning zeal of his Royal mind. How come this Royal decree was not obeyed, I do not know, but it is not my place to investigate the powerful, though secret, reasons that the predecessors of Your Lordship, to whom the Royal edict was addressed, might have had [for not obeying it]. What I do know, however, is that on the part of the Society, we have always been ready to comply with what His Majesty entrusted to us, without our mind having changed, in spite of the death and shipwreck of the five Jesuits who have perished in the exploration of these islands, so much sought after,³ and, not being able to contain our desires in view of the delay being experienced, considering that one or two canoes from Palau arrive almost every year at our towns in the Marianas, and so dare us to succor them, with their very efficient arrivals, and in a certain way they rebuke us as cowards. Various measures and efforts were made from those Islands, by sending in 1722 a vessel aboard which was one missionary and a few Palaos and then the enterprise should normally have succeeded, if the Commander and Pilot had really wanted to succeed, and if we had gone ahead but our own strength was not sufficient alone to achieve the purpose of this expedition; indeed, not only the constitution of our own Institute obliges us to do so, but also the honor that His Majesty has done us by entrusting us with such a glorious enterprise. If any vassal who considers himself a faithful and loyal servant must comply with even the least insinuation of his Prince, how could we not make all possible efforts in such a matter, in which we can see a greater commitment on the part of our Catholic Monarch, stimulated by the Supreme Pontiff, by his Most Christian Grandfather, and furthermore, when he confesses that he finds himself much obliged to respond.

1 Ed. note: They were Fathers Dubéron, Cortyl, Serrano, Crespo, and Brother Baudin.

2 Ed. note: Doc. 1715F7.

3 Ed. note: Fr. Hera is not being frank here; he was not without knowing that it was the Jesuits themselves who had stalled the implementation of the exploration in May 1718 when they claimed a lack of available missionaries (see HM12:111).

Our eagerness was always in check, ready to make such holy attempts, but more so recently when His Illustrious Lordship, the Archbishop, saw and confirmed some of those Indian drifters when he passed by the Marianas,¹ at which time our desires were excited and revived in the hope of achieving success; indeed, moved by compassion at seeing those miserable ones being so close to such Catholic territories, and yet not sharing in the Gospel truth. As he was unaware of the specific decrees of His Majesty on the subject, he wrote to him to solicit from his religious piety and Christian zeal the appropriate provisions for this expedition, and this will give reason to His Majesty to find out that his Royal despatch has not been obeyed. And, although this despatch was not addressed directly to us, the honor that His Majesty had done us by entrusting us with this enterprise makes us feel guilty if there is the slightest omission on our part.

So, in order to ensure the success of this expedition, it seemed to me appropriate to have **a boat of a suitable size** built on the shore of Cavite, and have it taken in quarters aboard the patache, along with the iron works and other necessary rigging and equipment to be able to make it ready and sail with it from the Marianas, with the Fathers aboard it and some of the more trustworthy Palau natives who can be found in those Islands and are already Christian. To this effect, Your Lordship should give orders to the Governor of the Marianas to provide all of the means conducive to this purpose. The obvious advantages of this means are: firstly, because if the patache should on account of some accident be forced to return to Manila, the Fathers would not end up here but would either pursue their voyage or return to the Marianas, whence they would once again attempt the voyage when favorable weather returned; secondly, because said small boat will offer security and support to the patache in those seas that have not yet been surveyed very well; thirdly, because, upon landing, the Father would, of course, already have provisions for the purpose mandated by His Majesty, if carpenters were present, and for any other case that might happen. This would not be the case, if they be left without any vessel, but only with the hope that four carpenters would build them one. Besides, the cost of said construction cannot be notable; in fact, it seems that it would not be necessary to add officers over and above those whom His Majesty supports along the shore, and the works or masts that are of no use to larger projects would be very sufficient for the construction of this small boat. With it there would be no need to send four carpenters along, and thus the wages that were to have been paid them for two years can now be saved.

I place this whole matter at the high consideration of Your Lordship so that you may give the provisions that seem to you more appropriate for the purpose intended, and I do not doubt that this time the desired enterprise will succeed, one that is so agreeable to God, so useful to those blind heathen, and one whose success will always be credited to the pious and Christian zeal of Your Lordship, in whom we trust for decisive measures and direction. At the same time, let me wish Your Lordship good health, as a zealous propagator of Religion, as a faithful vassal of His Majesty, and a special friend of ours.

1 Ed. note: Archbishop Bermudez de Castro stepped ashore at Guam in June 1728.

Pedro de la Hera.

[Following a favorable recommendation from the Fiscal, a general meeting of the Finance Committee was held on 2 December 1728, at which Fr. Hera and Fr. Cantova were present and expressed their opinions, as follows:]

A2. Opinion of Fr. Pedro de la Hera, dated Manila 2 December 1728

Original text in Spanish.

Muy Ilustre Señor.

Remitiendome en los puntos que toca al parecer del Padre Juan Antonio Cantova, el cual es tambien de mi aprobacion; no puedo dejar decir que esta empresa de las Carolinas ó Palaos, es muy de la obligacion de todos nosotros; lo primero por ser de la mayor Gloria de Dios, porque en ella se interesa el logro de la sangre de Cristo Nuestro Señor, en la salvacion de aquellas almas, por quienes la derramó, no menos que por nosotros, quienes si nos hallaramos en la ignorancia en que ellos se hallan, pero con el conocimiento que ahora tenemos de cuan necesaria es la noticia de la fé para la salvacion. Es cierto que desearamos que los ya Catolicos, nos la comunicasen y que juzgariamos les corria obligacion de ello. Lo segundo, por ser tan de empeño de su Magestad (que Dios guarde) esta empresa lo cual no necesita de mas ponderacion que de leer sus Reales Rescriptos. Lo tercero porque la obligacion grave que confiesa su Magestad y reconoce en dichas sus Reales zedulas de procurar la conversion de los infieles la descarga su Magestad por lo que toca à estas islas primeramente en V. Señoria y despues en todos nosotros, asi seculares como Religiosos; digo en todos nosotros porque es cierto que este Presidio[.] está Nao que va y viene à Acapulco todos los años, y todos los gastos que hace su Magestad en estas islas, no son por nosotros, sino por los Indios, para que sean amparados y defendidos los que ya recibieron la Fé, y para que se procure la recibir los aun infieles, y porque para esto son necesarios los Españoles y esta Ciudad; por eso conserva con tanto costo suyo las cosas dichas, faltaran Indios convertidos ó Indios que convertir, y à buen seguro que no gastarian su Magestad ni un real para que tubiese Ciudad de Manila en estas islas, con que es bien aloava [=alojada?] la obligacion que todos nosotros tenemos es descargo de la de su Magestad, quien por esto, y para esto mantiene esta Ciudad, cuyos Apoderados en la Corte, no se olvidaron de alegar el motivo de la conversion de los gentiles para merecer de su Magestad la Real Zedula, que consiguieron à favor de este Comercio, en el cual hecho, confesaron la obligacion que voy diciendo, y quizas fué el unico, ó à lo menos el mas eficaz motivo que inclinó à su Magestad para concederles las gracias que pedian.

Supuesto, pues, esta obligacion es consiguiente la de poner los medios conducentes à su cumplimiento y buen logro; el que para la empresa de las Carolinas se me ofrece à mí, no solo conveniente, sino precisamente necesario por las razones expresadas en mi consulta, es el de un barquillo, el cual se haga en la rivera de Cavite, y se lleve en cuarteles en el Patache de Marianas para que allá se arme, mas, porque contra esto se pueden

ofrecer algunas dificultades, quiero satisfacer como pueda à las que à mí me ocurren; la primera dificultad, es la que puede haber en la rivera para hacerse, atendida las otras obras de su Magestad, à esto digo, que como sobre los carpinteros necesarios para las otras obras, se añadan los necesarios para la de dicho barquillo de los muchos que al presente estan sin plaza aclarada, y como sobre las maderas necesarias para dicho barquillo en los cortes que al presente hay es cierto que ya no puede haber dificultad por parte de la rivera, y por consiguiente parece no ser necesario pedir informe à Cavite sobre ello, pero conozco lo que resulta por los sueldos que se añadirán, y por eso desde luego si por esta parte la hubiere, me obligo en nombre de mi Religion à pagar el valor de dicho barquillo à trueque de que no se malogre esta empresa tan de la Gloria de Dios, tan del empeño de su Magestad, y tan del bien de las almas; la segunda dificultad es la que puede haber para su embarque en cuarteles, la cual no creo halla de haber quien la ponga, por no oponerse à lo que tanto desea su Magestad y cuando alguno hubiere no merecerá ser oido, asi por lo que dice el General Don Antonio de Roxas en su representacion de que por ser al presente los Pataches mayores que en lo antiguo puede ya embarcarla en piezas una galeota, y algo menor será el dicho barquillo siendo el Patache el mayor que hasta ahora ha ido à Marianas, como porque se debe tener presente que dicho Patache no se ha concedido para el comercio como la Nao, sino para otros destinos expresados en la Real Zedula de su Magestad, en que concede dicho Patache à peticion de mi sagrada Religion, los quales deben tener el primer cumplimiento y entre ellos tiene lugar el presente barquillo, el cual ante todas cosas deberá ser embarcado en la bodega para asegurar al que lleguen todas sus piezas, pues de otra suerte será malogrado el trabajo, porque una sola que se pierda ya no se podra armar en Marianas y no llendo en la bodega ciertamente se perderan muchas que será lo primero y no arrojen alguna si hay temporal, y asi espero deberé à V.Señoria el favor de que mandará à un tiempo que dicho barquillo en piezas se embarque lo primero de todo en la bodega, para asegurar asi el que llegue y se pueda armar, y que con el se logre esta empresa tan deseada y encomendada de su Magestad; este es mi parecer, salvo meliori.

Manila y Diciembre dos de mil setecientos veinte y ocho.

Pedro de la Hera, Provincial de la Compañia de Jesus de estas Islas Filipinas.

Translation.

Most Illustrious Sir:

While referring to the points raised by Father Juan Antonio Cantova, who has my entire approbation,¹ I cannot, however, omit to say that this enterprise of the Carolines, or Palaos, is very much the duty of all of us: firstly, because it is for the greater glory of God, because in it is implicated the blood of Christ our Lord and the salvation of those souls, for whom He spilled it, not less than for us. Let us consider a situation in which we would find ourselves similarly blind, but with the knowledge that we do have about the need to have faith to be saved. It is true that we would wish those who are already

1 Ed. note: See A3 below.

Catholic to contact us, as we would judge them obligated to do so. Secondly, because this enterprise is a commitment made by His Majesty (may God save him) and does not need to be emphasized; suffice to read his Royal decrees. Thirdly, because the grave obligation that His Majesty confesses he has in his Royal decrees to obtain the conversion of the heathen, His Majesty turns it over, as far as these Islands are concerned, firstly to Your Lordship and then to all of us, civilians as well as Religious. I repeat, to all of us, because it is true that this garrison, this galleon that goes to and comes back from Acapulco every year, and all of the expenditures that His Majesty makes in these Islands, are not meant for us, but for the Indians, in order for those who have already received the faith to be protected and defended, and for those who are still heathen to be given it, and because for this the Spanish are necessary and this city too, that is why he preserves it all with said things at such great cost. If there were no converted Indians, or Indians yet to be converted, one can be sure that His Majesty would not waste one real to maintain a city such as Manila in these Islands. Therefore, the obligation that we all have to discharge the obligation of His Majesty is well placed; that is why he maintains this city, whose deputies at court did not forget to allege the motive of the conversion of the heathen to get from His Majesty the royal decree that they did get in favor of this trade and, once they had it, they confessed the obligation that I am talking about, and perhaps this was the only, or at least the most efficient, reason why His Majesty decided to concede the favors that they asked.

Therefore, given this obligation, it follows that we must take the measures leading to its accomplishment and success. As far as I am concerned, what I consider not only appropriate but really necessary for the success of the enterprise of the Carolines, according to the reasons I stated in my consultation, is the availability of a small ship, to be built on the shore of Cavite, and taken in quarters aboard the Mariana patache, in order to be assembled there. However, because there might arise some difficulties in doing this, I wish to overcome as much as possible those that are in my power. The first difficulty is that which might occur along the shore, given the other works in progress belonging to His Majesty; to this I declare that, as for the other projects involving a greater number of carpenters when needed, those necessary for the project of said small ship be added, out of those whose position is not permanent at present. And, regarding the lumber necessary for said small ship, in the timberyards there exists enough at present, it is then certain that there cannot be any difficulty on the part of the shore. Consequently, there is no need to ask Cavite for a report about it, but I recognize that there might be a problem with the additional wages and that is why, should there be a problem on their part, I oblige myself on behalf of my Order to pay the value of said small ship, to make doubly sure that this enterprise will not fail, one that is so much to the glory of God, the obligation of His Majesty, and the welfare of souls. The second difficulty is that which might occur with the loading in quarters; I do not think that there will be any objection, because this would be to oppose the wish of His Majesty, but if there were, it should not deserve being heard: not only because of what General Antonio de Roxas said in his consultation, that the pataches nowadays are so much

bigger than in the past that they can carry a galliot in quarters, and there would be no problem with a smaller boat, given that said patache is the largest that has ever been to the Marianas;¹ and also because one must keep in mind that said patache was not granted to the trade, like the galleon, but for other purposes expressed in the Royal decree of His Majesty, the one in which he granted said patache at the request of my sacred Order. Said purposes must be satisfied first, and among them figures the present small ship, which will have to be loaded before anything else inside the hold, to make sure that it will arrive with all of its pieces; indeed, it would be in trouble in any other way, as it could not be assembled in the Marianas if just one piece were to be missing, because it did not go inside the hold; if on deck, there would certainly be some pieces lost overboard, as they clear it whenever there is a storm. So, I hope to get from Your Lordship the favor that you will order that at the time of loading [the patache] all of the quarters of said small ship will be loaded first and placed inside the hold, to make sure that it will arrive that way, ready to be assembled. May it guarantee the success of this enterprise, so desired and recommended by His Majesty. This is my opinion, *salvo meliori*.²

Manila, 2 December 1728.

A3. Opinion of Fr. Juan Antonio de Cantova

Original text in Spanish.

Muy Ilustre Señor.

[Confusion between Santa Rosa Bank and Carolina Island]

*Para el mas breve y facil logro de la conversion de las Islas Carolinas y Palaos, y con el mayor ahorro de las Reales cajas, son de parecer se comienze por la Isla Carolina que es la mas inmediata al Sur oueste de la Isla de Guahan Capital de las Marianas y distante della unas veinte leguas, poco mas ó menos, segun la demarcacion [de] un mapa Frances constante en los autos que existen en este superior Gobierno sobre este asunto, y corresponde à lo que me tiene referido el Hermano Pedro Martin de nuestra Compañia, el cual vio clara y distintamente à la dicha Isla Carolina el año de mil seiscientos noventa y seis, estando dado fondo con el Patache **Concepcion** sobre el baxo de Santa Rosa de donde navegando hacia Marianas con viento galerno y bonancible llego à Guahan en el espacio de unas diez horas, lo que puedo yo afirmar acerca de su distancia es que yo mismo con muchos companeros vi à esa isla Carolina desde un cerro alto de Guahan con anteojo de larga vista, y no siendo la Carolina tierra muy alta segun me dijeron sus naturales, se infiere que no puede ser mucha su distancia supuesto que desde Guahan se divisa.*

1 Ed. note: That was the Dolores.

2 Ed. note: Latin phrase meaning: "Save for a better one."

Los motivos que se me ofrecen para comenzar la predicacion del Santo Evangelio desde esta isla Carolina, son primeramente por ser la mas inmediata à las Marianas y que puede servir de escala para las otras, y no hay razon para que se pase à otras mas distantas dejando esta à las espaldas; segundo porque el Cacique ó Señor principal de esa isla con su muger y un hijo, y otras veinte y siete personas de otras islas de su cordillera, ya estubieron en Marianas donde los Padres se esmeraron en agasajarlos à todos, y si los beneficios amansan hasta à las fieras, será cosa natural que ese Cacique y los de su comitiva reciban con alguna humanidad à los Padres que los recibieron y trataron à ellos con tanto cariño; tercero por ser los moradores de esas islas mas inmediatas à las Marianas de genio mas docil, politico, apacible y humano, que los naturales de las otras islas mas cercanas à estas Felipinas y es mas conforme à la prudencia comenzar por mas facil y seguro, que por lo mas dificil y dudoso; de la docilidad y genio apacible de esos naturales de Carolinas, fui testigo yo mismo, y lo fueron todos los Religiosos y seculares que trataron en las islas Marianas à los dichos treinta desgarrados, de los cuales los veinte despues de diez meses se volvieron à sus islas, y los otros diez se quedaron en Marianas, donde se bautizaron, y poco despues algunos de ellos murieron Cristianamente, y los que quedaron exemplarmente, y pueden servir à los Padres de guia y lengua para sus islas.

*En confirmacion de esto tengo en mi poder dos distintas relaciones del derrotero del Capitan Don Bernardo de Egui; el cual el año de mil setecientos y doce, en el torna viaje de Marianas para estas Filipinas con el Patache **Santo Domingo**, habiendo declinado al Sur, para ir en demanda de las Islas de San Andres, donde se decia haber quedado desamparados dos Padres de la Compañia de Jesus, con otras diez personas, descubrió en su derrota dos Cordilleras de islas, la primera en diez grados de latitud boreal, y en tres grados de longitud al Oeste de Guahan, y à estas islas las llamamos Carolinas; la segunda en siete grados de [latitud boreal, y en siete grados de] longitud al oeste de Guahan, y estas son propriamente las Islas de los Palaos: habiando pues ido à bordo del Patache muchos Indios de ambas cordilleras, repararon los nuestros que los naturales de Carolinas, eran de genio muy apacible y humano, y los de las Islas Palaos, no podian disimular su genio bárbaro y cruel, y confesaba uno de estos mismos Palaos, que en algunas de sus islas mataban à los hombres, y se los comian, lo mismo dijeron otros Palaos que fueron à bordo del Patache **Santisima Trinidad**, en que iba de Cavo el sargento mayor Don Francisco Padilla, por el mes de Diciembre del año de mil seteciento y diez, como refiere el hermano Esteban Baudin de nuestra Compañia que iba en dicho Patache; esta barbaridad de los Palaos, es tan aborrecida de los Carolinos, que oyendose estos llamar en Marianas con el nombre de palaos, se ofendian de ello, y preguntados porqué, respondian, porque los Palaos son mala gente que mata à los hombres y se los come; por cuya causa no se atreven los Carolinos, à aportar à las Islas de los Palaos, por temor de ser muertos y comidos de ellos; finalmente que los Carolinos no sean crueles, ni carniceros se confirma con la noticia cierta de que viven entre ellos algunos Indios Marianos, los cuales habiendo llegado desgarrados por tempestad à las*

Islas Carolinas, fueron recibidos con agasajo, y les dieron tierra para hacer sementera y mugeres para casarse con ellas.

Supuesto pues la docilidad de los naturales de Carolina, de donde es razon como queda dicho, que se comienze la predicacion del Santo Evangelio ya no son necesarias tantas prevenciones de Galeotas, soldados, pertrechos, y armas, como propuso en su parecer el año pasado de mil setecientos y diez y ocho el General Don Antonio de Roxas Adelantado de Palaos, cuyas proposiciones son muy prudentes y tendrian lugar en caso que se debiere dar principio à la Conquista, como en los años pasados se pretendia, por las mismas Islas de los Palaos, asi por ser esos Isleños muy barbaros y carniceros, como por estar esas islas en paraje muy remoto para el socorro en caso de algun lewantamiento pues estan distante mas de ciento y ochenta leguas del Cavo del Espiritu Santo, y casi otro tanto de Marianas, y mas de ciento y diez leguas al este del Presidio de Çaraga[.] las cuales razones cesan, comenzandose la Conquista desde la Carolina, y asi soy de parecer que vayan los Padres Ministros sin escolta de soldados, asi por no ser necesaria dicha escolta para la seguridad de los Ministros, como por ser embarazosa al fin de los Ministerios.

Digo, no ser necesaria la escolta, lo primero porque como queda provado los naturales de Carolinas no son de genio barbaro y carniceiro, antes muy docil y apacible; lo segundo porque el mismo Presidio de Marianas por ser tan cercano les servirá à los Ministros de sombra; pues ya saben los Carolinos que en Marianas hay dicho Presidio, saben su cercania, y saben que si ellos mataren à los Padres, tendran luego sobre si al castigo, sin que tengan ellos armas de fuego, ni de acero, ni uso de flechas para resistir à nuestras armas; de esta suerte se han mantenido los Ministros en las mismas Islas Marianas sitas al Norte, y mas distantes del Presidio que la Carolina de Guahan, y asi tambien se mantienen los Ministros en muchas partes de estas Islas Filipinas à la sombra de Manila, ó de algun otro Presidio aunque muy distante; lo tercero, porque muchos de estos Carolinos, ya tienen experimentado en Marianas el buen trato de los Padres de la Compañia de Jesus de lo qual habrá corrido la fama por sus islas, y por ser gente tan pobre por el interes de algunos donecillos que pueden esperar de los Padres, es cosa natural que los reciban con agasajo.

Digo tambien ser conveniente para el fin de los Ministerios, que es la conversion de aquellos infieles, el que vayan los Ministros sin escolta de soldados: lo primero, por la soltura de las costumbres con la cual suelen destruir los soldados, lo que edifican los Padres; lo segundo, por la dificultad del mantenimiento, por ser esas islas muy pobres sin otro pan que raices de la tierra y frutas de arboles, y sin ninguna especie de ganado, y llevar los bastimentos de Manila seria muy arriesgado y muy costoso, y mas con la circunstancia de que el Patache que lleva las provisiones de Manila, no va sino de dos à dos años por alguna arribada por cuya causa serian los soldados en grandes necesidades, y trabajos por falta de municiones y bastimentos, y como suele ser gente de tan poco zelo y sufrimiento, habria peligro de que ellos mismos en lugar de amparar à los Padres, se amotinaren contra ellos, por considerar ser ellos la causa de que estan padeciendo aquellos trabajos; lo tercero, por los desafueros y vejaciones que suelen hacer

los soldados à los Indios por donde cobrará(?) horcar(?) los naturales de aquellas islas à los Ministros del Evangelio sabiendo que con ellos ha de ir una gente tan descomodada y perjudicial por cuyo motivo convidandome à mi los Carolinos arriba mencionados para sus islas, me decia que llevase conmigo cuantos Indios y criados yo quisiese, pues todos nos recibirian con buena voluntad, pero que en todo caso no llevase conmigo ningun soldado porque ya tenian experimentado el mal trato de ellos en Marianas; lo cuarto por el embarazo porque en los principios es necesario que los Ministros, vayan discurriendo por varias islas para atraer con dones y agasajos à los Señores de ellas que pueden ayudar mucho à la pronta promulgacion del Santo Evangelio, y para disfrutar las primicias de la tierra en las Almas de los niños y adultos enfermos de peligro administrandoles con la brevedad posible el Santo Baptismo para lo cual es necesario que los Ministros vayan à la ligera, sin mucho acompañamiento por ser este de mucho embarazo y no menos gasto.

*Con cuyo presupuesto lo que los Padres de la Compañia de Jesus, necesitan para el buen logro de esta empresa tan del servicio de ambas Magestades, parece se reduce à estas tres cosas; la primera que este superior Gobierno mande hacer en Cavite **una embarcacion afregatada de veinte y dos codos y medio de quilla y su correspondiente de Manga con cubierta y doce bogas**, para que pueda navegar à la vela y à la boga cuando sea necesario, asi por las calmas, como por las corrientes que hay entre esas islas, de cuya embarcacion se hizo cargo de darme la planta con todas sus medidas, un sugeto de toda satisfaccion y experiencia en la facultad, y esta se habrá de llevar en cuarteles dentro del Patache con la clavazon, velas, jarcias, anclotes y demas pertrechos necesarios para armarla en Marianas: lo segundo, que el Governador de Marianas les dé à los Padres la gente necesaria para marear la dicha embarcacion que se reduce à catorce hombres los cuales deberan ser todos Indios Pampangos.] Marianos ó Mestizos hechos à todo trabajo con sus competentes salarios, à costa del Real situado de aquel Presidio en lugar de los veinte y cinco soldados que debiera suministrar en virtud de la ultima zedula de su Magestad expedida à once de Noviembre de mil setecientos y quince, y dicha gente deberá estar subordinada à los ordenes del superior de la Mision, como lo está en las Misiones de Californias, y como expresamente lo manda su Magestad en su Real Zedula expedida, sobre este asunto à doce de Noviembre de mil setecientos y seis, y para mayor prevencion contra cualquier peligro aunque remoto de levantamiento de los Indios, parece ser conveniente que esos mismos marineros sean hombres que sepan manejar armas de fuego y las llevan ocultas mientras no obligue la defensa à sacarlas; estos catorce hombres estando en tierra podran dividirse en dos cuadrillas, la una para estar guardando la embarcacion, la otra para ir acompañando à los Padres. Por cuya respecto será necesario que se lleven de acá à lo menos doce escopetas, doce pistolas, y doce espadas, con alguna provision de polvora y balas, por ser el Presidio de Marianas muy falto de armas y municiones; la tercera que el mismo Governador de Marianas despache otra embarcacion en conserva de la de los Padres, con algunos soldados y carpinteros para que ayuden à levantar como se pudiese una pequeña Yglesia y casa para los Padres, y antes de volver esta embarcacion*

à Marianas se haga entender al Cacique de la isla donde se haya de tomar asiento que aquellos soldados estan alli por defensa y resguardo de los Padres, pero que se volverán à Marianas dando el Cacique por rehenes algunos de sus hijos y de los demas principales los cuales se llevaran à Marianas, para criarse en el colegio de niños que está á cargo de los Padres de la Compañia de Jesus, por este medio parece que dara del todo asegurada la vida de los Padres sin necesidad de escolta que esté de pie firme con ellos y asi podrá volver à Marianas la embarcacion del Gobernador à dar cuenta de lo sucedido, y de la isla en que quedan los Reales y del rumbo para ir à ella; finalmente parece será combeniente que este superior Gobierno mande apretadamente al que fuere de cabo del Patache de Marianas, que al torna viaje, salga convoyando à la embarcacion de los Padres hasta dejarlos en la Carolina, y que allá los ayude por algunos dias con la gente de mar à levantar Yglesia y Casa, para que à la vuelta pueda dar cuenta à este superior Gobierno del paraje y estado en que se hallare la nueva mision. Este es mi parecer, salvo siempre el mejor, y lo firmo en Manila y en dos de Diciembre de mil setecientos veinte y ocho años.

Juan Antonio Cantova, de la Compañia de Jesus.

[Decision of the Meeting]

Y teniendo asi mismo presente los señores Presidente y Oidores, haberse noticiado por el Gobernador de Marianas no necesitan de tanta infanteria como la que tiene en aquel Presidio; uniformes los señores Oidores y dichos Jueces Oficiales reales, fueron de parecer que su Señoria, el dicho señor Presidente continúe las Providencias sobre el referido descubrimiento de las referidas Islas Paiz ó Palaos, para la predicacion del Santo Evangelio en sus habitantes, como lo previene à su Magestad, dando todas las providencias que conduzgan al intento de su mayor y feliz logro en la conformidad que se expresa en los pareceres supra insertos de los Reverendos Padres Pedro de la Hera y Antonio Cantova, librando despacho al Gobernador de dichas Islas Marianas para que la embarcacion que en ellas se armare para el fin ya dicho la apreste con los bastimentos necesarios y bastantes para un año, y con veinte soldados de guarnicion ó mas, si se necesitare para la defensa de ella, y resguardo de los Misioneros, en la isla que arribare, y el señor Oidor Decano, añadió que admitia la oferta que hacia el Reverendo Padre Provincial en el reporte del costo del barco que se ha de llevar en cuarteles para dicho descubrimiento.

Que oido por su Señoria el señor Marques de Torre Campo, Presidente Gobernador y Capitan General de estas Islas, se conformó en todo y por todo, con el parecer de esta junta, y mando se guarde y observe lo resuelto en ella segun y como se expresa y se libren la providencia conducente al intento del mejor exito de dicha resolucion por ser conforme à la mente de su Magestad (Dios le guarde) y lo firmó su Señoria con los señores Oidores Oficiales reales, dichos Reverendos Padres, y yo en fé de todo ello.

*El Marques de Torre Campo
Doctor Don Francisco Martinez
Doctor Don Francisco Lopez Adan*

José Sarmiento de Vera
Juan Angel de Liaño
José Antonio Nuño de Villavicencio
Pedro de la Hera
Juan Antonio Cantova
Ante mi, Juan de Losada.

Translation.

Most Illustrious Sir:

[Confusion between Santa Rosa Bank and Carolina Island]

To achieve the conversion of the Caroline and Palau Islands more rapidly and easily, and with greater savings to the Royal treasury, it is thought preferable to start from Carolina Island, which is the closest, southwest of the Island of Guajan, capital of the Marianas and distant about 20 leagues from it, more or less, according to a measurement taken from a French chart kept in the records of proceedings of this superior Government regarding this matter.¹ It corresponds to the island mentioned to me by Brother Pedro Martín of our Society, who saw said Carolina Island clearly and distinctly in 1696, when he was aboard the patache **Concepción** that ran aground on top of Santa Rosa Bank.² From there, by sailing towards the Marianas with a moderate northeast wind, it made it to Guahan in the space of about 10 hours.³ What I can say myself about its distance is that I too saw Carolina Island from a hill on Guahan with a telescope, where I was with many companions.⁴ And since Carolina is not a very high land, according to what its natives have told me, one can infer that its distance cannot be much, given that it can be sighted from Guahan.

The reasons that makes me think to start preaching of the Holy Gospel at this Carolina Island are primarily because it is the closest one to the Marianas and it may serve as a stopover for the others; besides, there is no reason why one should go on to other, more distant, islands and leave this one behind. Secondly, because the main chief, or lord, of that island, along with his wife and one son, and 27 other persons from other islands in his archipelago, have already visited the Marianas, where the Fathers vied with one another in welcoming them all. And if good treatment tames even wild beasts, it will be natural for that chief and those of his retinue to receive very humanely the Fathers who have welcomed and treated them with so much affection. Thirdly, because the inhabitants of those islands that are closer to the Marianas are more docile, sociable, and humane in character than the natives of the other islands that are closer to the Phil-

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- 1 Ed. note: The chart that accompanied the letter of Fr. Clain, and published by Fr. LeGobien.
 - 2 Ed. note: It is strange that Fr. Cantova refers to this Jesuit as a Brother, since he was much senior to him and was already a Father and Procurator by 1696 (see HM9 & 10).
 - 3 Ed. note: The distance is short but the wind was contrary. Brother Martín saw a cloud, because it is impossible to see any land other than Guam while at Santa Rosa Bank.
 - 4 Ed. note: He could not have seen anything other than the Bank, or some cloud bank.

ippines. And it is proper for any prudent person to start with something that is easier and safer than with something more difficult and doubtful. I can vouch for the docility and peaceful nature of the natives of those Carolines, as I was an eyewitness, and so were all of the Religious and civilians who dealt with said 30 drifters in the Mariana Islands, 20 of whom returned to their islands after 10 months, while the other 10 remained in the Marianas, where they were baptized, although some of them died in a Christian manner a little afterwards. Those who have remained live in an exemplary manner and may be used by the Fathers as guides and interpreters for their islands.

To confirm this I have in my possession two distinct narratives of the voyage of Captain Bernardo de Egui, he who in 1712 made a return voyage from the Marianas to these Philippine Islands with the patache **Santo Domingo**, having come down in latitude to go in search of the Islands of San Andrés, where it was said that two Fathers of the Society of Jesus had been stranded, with 10 other persons. He discovered along his course two archipelagos of islands: the first one in 10° lat. N., and 3° longitude west of Guahan (these islands we call Carolines); the second one in 7° [lat. N., and 7°] longitude west of Guahan (these are properly called the Palaos). When many Indians from both archipelagos went on board, our people noticed that the natives of the Carolines were very peaceful and humane people, but those of the Palaos Islands could not hide their barbarous and cruel nature. One of these same Palaos confessed that in some of their islands they killed men and ate them. The same thing was said by other Palaos who went aboard the patache **Trinidad** whose commander was Sergeant-Major Francisco Padilla, during the month of December 1710, as reported by Brother Esteban Baudin of our Society who was aboard said patache. This barbarity of the Palaos is so abhorred by the Carolinians that, when the latter heard themselves called Palaos in the Marianas, they were offended by it, and when asked why, they answered that the Palaos are bad people who kill men and eat them, and that is why the Carolinians do not dare stop at the Islands of the Palaos, for fear of being killed and eaten by them. Finally, the fact that the Carolinians are not cruel, nor flesh eaters, is proven by the certain notice that some Mariano Indians live among them; the latter have drifted to the Caroline Islands because of storms, and they were made welcome, given land for planting purposes and women for wives.

So, given the docility of the natives of Carolina, it stands to reason, as we have said, that the preaching of the Holy Gospel should begin there, and that so many preparatives of galliots, soldiers, equipment and weapons, as General Antonio de Roxas, the Frontier Governor of Palaos, had proposed in his written opinion of 1718. His proposals are very prudent and would still be necessary in case of a conquest, as was the idea then, to begin with a [military] conquest of the Islands of the Palaos themselves, not only because the islanders there are very barbarous and cannibals, but also because those islands are in a very remote neighborhood for help to get there in case of some rebellion; indeed, they are distant over 180 leagues from Cape Espiritu Santo, and almost as far from the Marianas, and over 110 leagues east of the garrison of Caraga. Such reasoning does not apply if the conquest is begun from Carolina, and so, I am of

the opinion that the Father Ministers go without an escort of soldiers, not only because such an escort is not necessary for the safety of the Ministers, but also because they would be bothersome for the purpose of the ministries.

I declare that an escort will not be necessary: firstly, because it has been proven that the natives of the Carolines are not of a barbarous and carnivorous nature, rather they are docile and peaceful; secondly, because the garrison of the Marianas itself, being so close, would provide protection in the background for the Ministers; indeed, the Carolinians already know that there is a garrison in the Marianas, they know of its proximity, and they know that if they were to kill the Fathers, they would then have to face the punishment, meanwhile they have no firearms, no steel, nor the use of arrows to resist our weapons; even in the northern Mariana Islands, that are farther from the garrison than Carolina is from Guahan, this is the way that the Ministers have maintained themselves, and so is the way that Ministers maintain themselves in many parts of these Philippine Islands, under the protection of Manila, or of some other garrison, though very distant; thirdly, many of these Carolinians have already experienced in the Marianas the good treatment of the Fathers of the Society of Jesus, whose fame would have spread over their islands, and because they are such poor people that on account of the interest of some small gifts they can hope to get from the Fathers, it is only natural that they will receive them with kindness.

I declare also that it is appropriate for the purpose of the ministries, which is the conversion of those heathen, that the Ministers go without an escort of soldiers: firstly, because of their dissoluteness that usually destroy what the Fathers build. Secondly, because of the difficulty of maintenance, on account of those islands being very poor, without any other bread than local root crops and fruits from the trees, and without any sort of cattle; to bring food supplies from Manila would be very risky and very costly, with the additional risk that the patache that carries provisions from Manila every two years is subject to returning in distress, something that would place the soldiers in great need, and in difficulties for lack of ammunitions and food supplies, and since they are usually persons with little zeal and hardiness, there would be the risk that they might themselves mutiny against the Fathers, instead of protecting them, if they ascribe to them the cause of their own sufferings. Thirdly, because of the outrages and vexations that the soldiers usually inflict upon the Indians, hence the natives of those islands would block(?) the Ministers of the Gospel from bringing along people who are so immoderate and harmful. When the above-mentioned Carolinians were inviting me to their islands, they told me that I could take along as many Indians and servants as I wished, but in no case should I bring along any soldier, because they were already aware of their misconduct in the Marianas. Fourthly, because of the bother, because in the beginning it is necessary for the Ministers to go rapidly through various islands to attract their chiefs with gifts and kindness as they can help much with the quick propagation of the Holy Gospel, and to enjoy the first local fruits in the souls of children and of adults who are seriously sick, by administering Holy Baptism to them as quickly as

possible; that is why the Ministers travel with little baggage and not many companions, because they would be too bothersome and cost too much.

With regards to the budget required by the Fathers of the Society of Jesus for the success of this enterprise, that is so much to the service of both their Majesties, it seems that it can be summarized to three things: firstly, the superior Government should order the construction in Cavite of **a frigate-type vessel of 22-1/2 cubits in keel length, with a proportional breadth, covered with a deck and positions for 12 rowers**, so that it may be able to sail and be moved with oars whenever necessary, not only during calm weather, but also to fight the currents that exist among those islands. The design of this vessel, with all of its dimensions, has been provided me by an individual of complete satisfaction and experience in this type of work.¹ Such vessel would have to be taken in quarters inside the patache, with its iron works, sails, riggings, small anchors, and other equipment required to assemble it in the Marianas. Secondly, the Governor of the Marianas should give to the Fathers the personnel necessary to manage said vessel, that is, a total of 14 men, who should all be Pampango or Mariano Indians, or half-breeds, capable of doing any work, with their appropriate salaries, at the expense of the Royal subsidy of that garrison, instead of the 25 soldiers whom he should have provided by virtue of the last decree from His Majesty issued on 11 November 1715. Such personnel must be subordinated to the orders of the superior of the Mission, as those in the Missions of California are, and as His Majesty has expressly ordered it in his Royal decree issued about this matter and dated 12 November 1716. Also, for greater insurance against any risk, though remote, of some rebellion on the part of the Indians, it seems appropriate that these same seamen be men knowledgeable in the handling of firearms, which they should keep hidden unless it be necessary to take them out for defence. These 14 men, once ashore, could be divided into two squads, one remaining to guard the boat, the other to accompany the Fathers. For this purpose, it will be necessary to bring from here at least 12 light muskets, 12 pistols, and 12 swords, with some supply of powder and balls, since the garrison of the Marianas is very short of weapons and ammunition. Thirdly, the Governor of the Marianas should despatch another boat in convoy with that of the Fathers, with a few soldiers and carpenters, to lend a hand in building a small church and house for the Fathers, and before this boat returns to the Marianas, the chief of the island where the settlement will have to be built is to be made to understand that those soldiers are there for the defence and protection of the Fathers, but that they would return to the Marianas, when the chief, as well as the other leading men, would give some of their sons as hostages, to be raised in the College for boys that is in the care of the Fathers of the Society of Jesus, since this appears to be a means to ensure the safety of the Fathers, without the need for an escort that would remain permanently with them. Thus, the Governor's boat could return to the Marianas to report on the events, on the island where the royal settlement was made

1 Ed. note: He refers to Major Buterte (see Doc. 1728F). The design in question does not refer to oars; in such a case, it would be a galliot type, rather than a frigate type of boat.

and the direction to sail to get there. Finally, it seems that it would be appropriate for this superior Government to issue strict orders to the captain of the Mariana patache, to have it, upon its return voyage, accompany the Fathers' boat until both have reached Carolina Island; once there its seamen should help for a few days with the construction of the church and residence, in order for them to be able, once back in Manila, to report to this superior Government about the eventual location and condition of the new mission. This is my opinion, save for a better one, and I sign my name, in

Manila, 2 December 1728.

Juan Antonio Cantova, of the Society of Jesus.

[Decision of the Meeting]

And the gentlemen President and Members of the Audiencia, having considered what the Governor of the Marianas had said about that garrison not needing so many infantrymen, the Members and Royal officials were unanimous in their opinion that His Lordship, the said President, should pursue the exploration of the above-mentioned Pais or Palaos Islands, for the purpose of preaching the Holy Gospel to their inhabitants, as stated by His Majesty, and should issue all of the provisions that might lead to the greater success of the venture, in line with the opinions expressed above by the Reverend Fathers Pedro de la Hera and Antonio Cantova, thus sending a despatch to the Governor of said Mariana Islands, for him to make ready the boat that will be assembled there with the food supplies necessary and sufficient for one year, and with 20 soldiers for a garrison, or more, if considered necessary for its defence, and the protection of the Missionaries, in the island where they would arrive. His Lordship the Dean of the Audiencia added that he accepted the offer made by the Reverend Father Provincial, concerning the cost of the boat that must be taken in quarters for said exploration.

Once this was heard by His Lordship, the Marquis of Torrecampo, President Governor and Captain General of these Islands, he agreed completely with the opinion of this meeting, and ordered the execution of what was decided in it, in accordance with what was expressed in it, and there should be a provision issued, to achieve the purpose and the greater success of said decision, since it is in agreement with what His Majesty (may God save him) has in mind, and His Lordship signed it, along with the gentlemen Members of the Audiencia, the Royal officials, said Reverend Fathers, whereof I give faith.

The Marquis of Torrecampo.

Doctor Francisco Martinez.

Doctor Francisco Lopez Adán.

José Sarmiento de Vera.

Juan Angel de Liaño.

José Antonio Nuño de Villavicencio.

Pedro de la Hera.

Juan Antonio Cantova.

Before me, Juan de Losada.

[Fr. Hera presented another petition, which led to a general meeting of the Finance Committee on 16 June 1730, which was presided over by the new Governor, Fernando Valdés Tamón. After this meeting, Fr. Cantova presented another petition, as follows:]

A4. Petition of Fr. Cantova, dated 22 June 1730

Original text in Spanish.

Juan Antonio Cantova de la Compañía de Jesus, que esta proximo à hacer viage à las islas Marianas para transportarse à predicar el santo Evangelio à los gentiles de las Islas Carolinas y Palaos, en conformidad de lo que su Magestad (que Dios guarde) tiene mandado por sus Reales zedulas y de lo que ultimamente quedó determinado por la Real junta de Hacienda celebrada por Vseñoria el dia diez y seis del presente mes y año, ante Vseñoria como mejor lugar haya con todo rendimiento se presenta y dice:

Que para el buen logro y seguridad de la susodicha empresa son necesarios los Per-trechos y armas siguientes:

- Primeramente cuatro pedreros de à dos libras de bala, con cien balas;*
- Item veinte escopetas con mil balas;*
- Item veinte g[u]arnieles y veinte frascos para polvora;*
- Item doce pistolas con docientas balas;*
- Item diez arrobas de polvora de municion;*
- Item dos arrobas de polvora fina;*
- Item doce chusos;*
- Item doce chafarotes;*
- Item doce hachas, doce asuelas, y doce asadones;*
- Item doce barrenas de diferentes tamaños;*
- Item doce fierras grandes con sus baras de hierro y cuatro limas;*
- Item doce fierras pequeñas;*
- Item cinquenta escoplos surtidos de varios tamaños;*
- Item cien tinajas de vizcocho para la gente de mar y escolta;*

todo expresa el suplicante que el fervoroso zelo de Vseñoria en el servicio de ambas Magestades, se digna à mandar lo librar en los Reales Almacenes, y lo que no hubiese existentes, se dignará Vseñoria mandar que se haya en las Reales oficinas y que se embarque en el Patache, que esta proximo para hacer viage à las Islas Marianas.

Otrosi, que aunque en este primera expedicion podra servir la embarcacion de los Padres de Marianas, por cuanto considera el suplicante ser necesario se hagan en Marianas como manda su Magestad otras dos embarcaciones pequeñas que para el fin se juzga seran aproposito[.] la una de diez y ocho codos de quilla, y la otra de nueve codos, suplica à Vseñoria se sirva mandar que el Maestro de las obras de la ribera de Cavite forme una Memoria de la clavazon, perneria y demas pertrechos de mantas para velas, jarcia, brea, y herramienta para la fabrica y avio de dichas embarcaciones, cuya Memoria, siendo Vseñoria servido podra mandar se ejecute y se embarque en dicho Patache

con los cuatro soldados carpinteros que para este efecto manda su Magestad se embarquen desde Cavite.

Otrosi, por quanto es necesario el auxilio del Gobernador de las Islas Marianas, asi para la fabrica de dichas embarcaciones, como para el avio de gente y matalotaje que manda su Magestad se saque de dichas Islas Marianas, pone el suplicante en la alta consideracion de Vseñoria, se sirva ordenar al que ahora sale despachado por Vseñoria à tomar posesion de aquellos cargos el que coopere à la dicha expedicion por todos los medios posibles, y especialmente con aplicar la compania de los Panpangos, que milita en aquel Real Campo al corte y apresto de las maderas y à la fabrica de dichas embarcaciones, y que tenga apercebida la gente que pediesen los Padres, como no pasen de veinte y cinco hombres los cuales deberan estar prontos à embarcarse cada y quando dispusieren los Padres la salida, y deberan ser electos a satisfaccion del superior que fuere de la Mision à cuyas ordenes debe ir subordinada la gente con su Cavo como expresamente lo manda su Magestad en su Real zedula sobre este mismo asunto, dirigida à su Gobernador y Capitan General de estas Islas Filipinas, su fecha en diez y nueve de Octubre de mil setecientos y cinco y que la gente vaya corrida por un año, ó à lo menos por seis meses, con el mismo sueldo que perciben en Marianas[,] mande hacer prevencion de carnes, arroz, maiz, y raices de la tierra en la cantidad que se considerare ser necesaria para la manutencion de dicha gente por el espacio de seis meses, y que esta providencia de bastimentos la repita de seis, en seis meses embiando este socorro con el barco que tiene su Magestad en las Islas Marianas, por tanto:

A Vseñoria pide y suplica se digne proveer como el suplicante lleva pedido, favor y merced que espera de la grandeza de Vseñoria &c.

Juan Antonio Cantova.

Manila y Junio veinte y dos de mill setecientos y treinta años.

Translation.

I, Juan Antonio Cantova of the Society of Jesus, am about to make the voyage to the Mariana Islands, and go on to preach the Holy Gospel to the heathen of the Caroline and Palao Islands, in accordance with the orders of His Majesty (whom may God save) in his Royal decrees and with the decision recently taken by the Royal Treasury Committee that was held by Your Lordship on the 16th of the present month and year. As the best place available to me, I appear before Your Lordship with all due respect, and declare:

That, in order to ensure the success and security of the above-mentioned enterprise, the following equipment and weapons are necessary:

- firstly, 4 mortars for 2-pound balls, and 100 such balls;
- 20 light muskets with 1,000 balls;
- 20 leather pouches and 20 powder-horns;
- 12 pistols with 200 bullets;
- 10 arrobas of gunpowder—ammunition-grade;
- 2 arrobas of gunpowder—fine grade;

- 12 halberds;
- 12 cutlasses;
- 12 axes, 12 hatchets, and 12 hoes;
- 12 augers of different sizes;
- 12 big iron tool kits(?) with their iron bars and 4 files;
- 12 small iron tool kits(?);
- 50 assorted chisels of various sizes;
- 100 jars of biscuit for the seamen and escort;

all of which the supplicant requests from the burning zeal of Your Lordship in the service of both Majesties, to please order that they be issued by the Royal warehouses, and should any thing not be in stock, Your Lordship be pleased to order them made in the Royal workshops, and have them placed on board the patache that is about to make the voyage to the Mariana Islands.

In addition, that, although the boat of the Fathers of the Marianas might serve in this first expedition, still the supplicant considers it necessary that two other small boats be built in the Marianas, as His Majesty orders, for the purpose judged appropriate for them, that is, one of them to be 18 cubits in length of keel, and the other 9 cubits;¹ hence, he begs Your Lordship to please order the Master of works along the shore of Cavite to provide a list of the iron works, bolts and other equipment, such as sail-cloths, rigging, tar, and tools for the construction and readiness of said boats; said list, should Your Lordship agree, could be ordered delivered and loaded on board said patache with the four soldier-carpenters whom His Majesty orders be embarked from Cavite for that purpose.

Besides, since the help of the Governor of the Mariana Islands is necessary, not only for the construction of said boats, but also to provide the men and sea supplies that His Majesty orders be taken from said Mariana Islands, the supplicant represents to the high consideration of Your Lordship that you should entrust the man being now despatched by Your Lordship to take possession of those duties, with an order to collaborate with said Expedition by all the means possible, and specially with the application of the company of Pampangos that is stationed in that Royal camp to cutting timber and prepare the lumber for the construction of said boats, and that he should have in readiness the personnel eventually requested by the Fathers, since they do not exceed 25 men, who must be ready to embark at whatever time the Fathers should decide to leave, and they should be selected at the satisfaction of the eventual superior of the mission, at whose orders the personnel in question, and their officer, are to be subordinated, as expressly ordered by His Majesty in his Royal decree regarding this very matter, addressed to his Governor and Captain General of these Philippine Islands, dated 19 October 1715, and that the personnel be rotated every year, but not more often

1 Ed. note: So, it seems confirmed that the larger boat that had been built along the shore of Cavite was shipwrecked with the patache Dolores in 1729, and that Fr. Cantova had decided to rely on Guam boats only.

than every six months, with the same salary that they receive in the Marianas, that you should order him to make reserves of meat, rice, corn, and local roots in a quantity that he thinks necessary for the maintenance of said personnel for the space of six months, and that said provision of food supplies be repeated every six months, by sending this succor with the boat that His Majesty owns in the Mariana Islands. Consequently:

He begs and beseeches Your Lordship to be pleased to provide as the supplicant has requested, a favor and mercy that he hopes to receive from the greatness of Your Lordship, etc.

Juan Antonio Cantova.

Manila, 22 June 1730.

[The royal officials agreed, except for the (flint-lock) light muskets, which they said were in short supply and should be replaced by arquebusses or muskets fired with matches. The Governor-elect of the Marianas, Captain Diego Felix de Balboa, was notified, as requested.]

A5. Brief presented by Fr. José Bejarano, S.J., Procurator General

Original text in Spanish.

Muy Ilustre Señor.

El Padre José Bejarano de la Compañía de Jesus, y su Procurador general de estas islas, ante Vseñoria se presenta, dice:

Que para el uso de su derecho necesita de dos traslados juridicos que hagan fé de las nuevas diligencias hechas para el descubrimiento de las islas Carolinas; por tanto:

A Vseñoria pide y suplica se sirva de mandar se le den los dichos traslados como lleva pedido, merced con justicia que espera de la grandeza de Vseñia, y en lo necesario &c.

José Bejarano

Translation.

Most Illustrious Sir:

Father José Bejarano of the Society of Jesus, and its Procurator General of these Islands, appears before Your Lordship, declaring:

That for his legal use, he needs two authenticated copies of the new measures taken for the exploration of the Caroline Islands. Consequently:

He begs and beseeches Your Lordship to be pleased to order that he be given said copies as he has requested, a favor which in justice he hopes to received from the greatness of Your Lordship, and which is necessary, etc.

José Bejarano.

Documents 1730B

Proposals for a new eastward route for the galleons north of Luzon Island

B1. Proposal made by Admiral Enrique Hermán, chief pilot of the galleon *Sacra Familia*, dated Manila 13 January 1730

Sources: AGI Fil. 95-3-87, fol. 1v-15v; copy in AGI Fil. 156. Note: It is part of a case file that was originally attached to a letter from the Gov. of the Philippines dated 25 June 1731. See also Doc. 1754C.

Original text in Spanish.

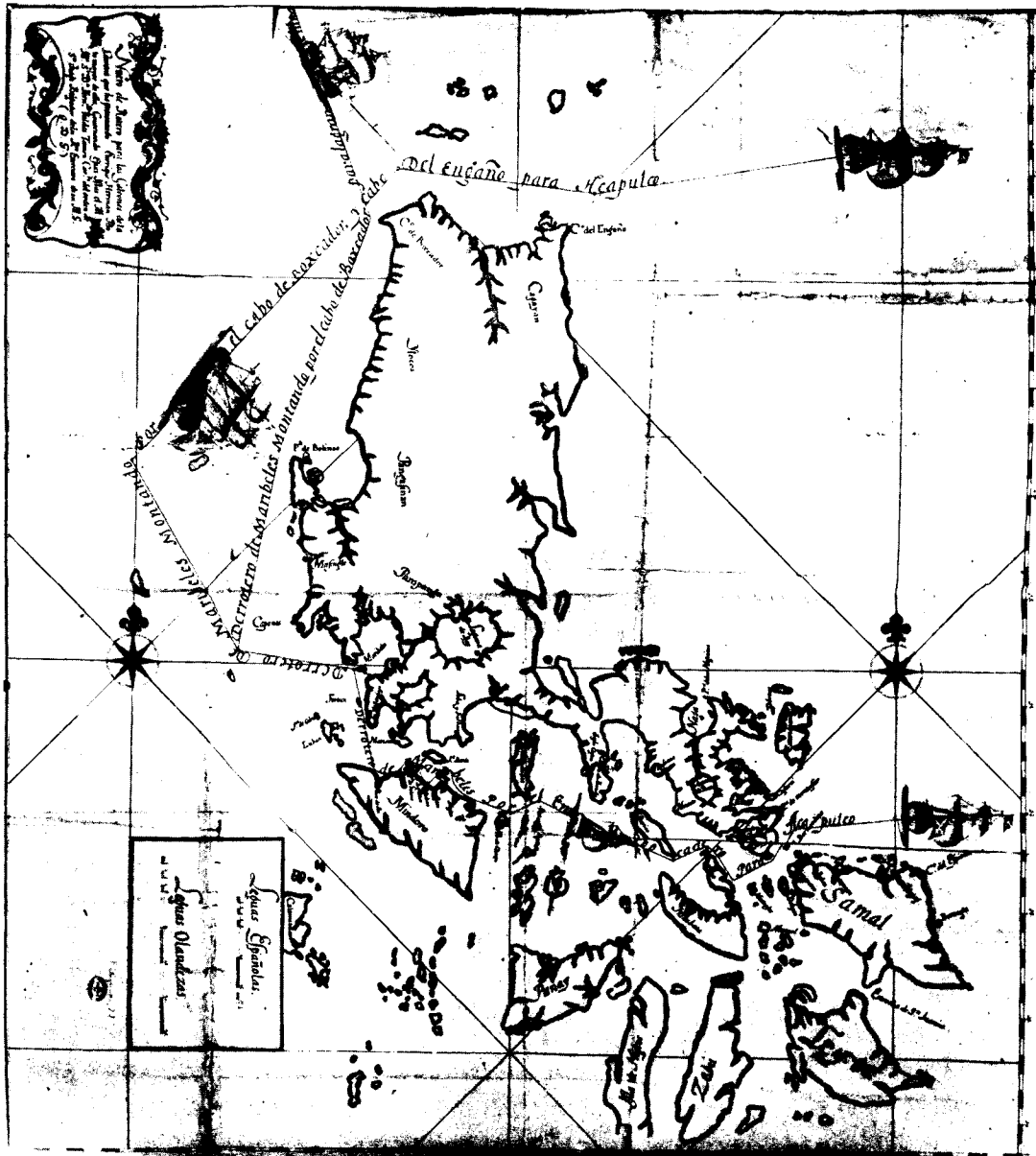
Representacion del Almirante Enrique Herman sobre el nuevo derrotero de los galeones de las Islas Philipinas.

Muy Ilustre Señor Brigadier Don Fernando Valdes Tamon del Consejo de su Magestad Cavallero del orden de Santiago Governador y Capittan General de estas Yslas Philipinas y Presidente de la Real Audiencia y Chanzilleria que en ellas Reside.

Muy Illustre Señor.

Es constante de las historias, que las mayores proesas que venera el mundo, sean devido a los Gefes de ygal gerarquia a la de Vseñoria logradas. Estas no pocas vezes, por medio de los mas humildes, que no pudiendo por si manifestar su lealtad en servicio de ambas Magestades lo an conseguido mediante a los superiores que mereciendo las primeras confianzas de las magestades an atendido a los pequeños que exercen los Ministerios exemptos de la grandeza, los muchos exemplares, que a la discreta Prudencia de Vseñoria no pueden ocultarse me alientan a proponer lo que mi cortedad alcanza sobre el derrotero del Galeon que anualmente se despacha a la Nueva España por el Real Zituado de estas Yslas[,] mucho mas me esfuerza el justificado publico, notorio, recto zelo de Vseñoria en la administracion de justicia[,] yntegridad en el Gobierno[,] atencion a la utilidad publica, aumento, y acreces [sic] de Real haver y a no ser mi pequeñez asegurar, que el Altissimo en rremuneracion de tan ynzaciable anelo facilitara que en el felis Gobierno de Vseñoria logren estas Yslas el mejor veneficio que pueda rresultarles observandose, y practicandose el derrotero que rrepresentare.

Supongo Señor mi cortedad en el empleo Nautico que exerso, y venerando como desde luego venero los adelantamientos y alcanzes de los grandes pilotos practicos y ynteligentes en la carrera de estas Yslas que unanimes y conformes aya seguido el Derrotero de el Galeon por el desembocadero de ellas mas sin embargo soy de sentir ser



Proposal for a new galleon route, by Enrique Hermán. *The caption reads, in Spanish: "Nuevo derrotero para los Galeones de la Carrera que ha presentado Enrique Herman Piloto mayor de ella, Governando estas Islas el Muy Illustre Señor Don Fernando Valdés Tamón Cavallero del Orden de Santiago Brigadier de los Reales Exercitos de su Magestad (que Dios guarde)" which means: "New route for the galleons of the run, presented by Enrique Hermán, chief pilot of it, while these Islands were governed by the Most Illustrious Don Fernando Valdés Tamón, Knight of the Order of St. James, Brigadier of the Royal Armies of H.M. (whom may God save)." (From AGI M. y P. Fil. 23).*

combeniente haga su derrota luego que salga de Mariveles mar afuera a montar el cavo de Engaño que es la ultima tierra por la banda del Norte, de estas dichas Yslas y siguiendo este Derrotero se liverta de los continuos peligros que en los accidentes de mar le amenasan yrremediabiles en lo humano segun rreglas Naoticas y solo milagrosamente pueden safar de qualesquiera que acontescan no es menester Señor en el caso presente arreglarnos a las que nos ministran los authores de la Marina quando la experiencia nos pone a la vista el eminente riesgo de el Embocadero y el rremoto peligro montado dicho cavo de Engaño, y para el integro conosimiento de mi propuesta se a de dignar Vseñoria tener presente que desde que monta el Galeon la punta de Santiago hasta llegar a desembocar, y apartarse de San Bernardino distancia de quince a veinte leguas, no ay parage en dicho embocadero que navegando o da[n]do fondo el Galeon entrandole algun temporal yrremediablemente se pierde sino es auxiliado de el favor Divino. Digan lo los rrepetidos exemplares que en nuestros tiempos lloran los abitatores de estas Islas.

*El Galeon **San Joseph** a cargo del General Don Joseph Madraso, y su Piloto mayor el Almirante Lascano se perdio en la punta de Calavite, Yslas de Mindoro.*

*El Patache **Nuestra Señora del Rosario** a cargo del General Don Joseph Madaria[ga] su Piloto mayor el General Don Anttonio Fernandez de Roxas se perdio en los Naranjos.*

*El Galeon **Santo Christo de Burgos** a cargo del General Don Francisco Sanchez de Tagle su Piloto mayor el Capitan Don Anttonio Perez Gil, se perdio da[n]do fondo en el surgidero de Ticao, y la misma ruyna huvieran padesimo los Galeones, que expresar e que no permite pasar en silencio la fuersa de segorisar [sic] y haser patente mi dictamen a no haver los favorisido (mi dictamen digo) la Divina Misericordia.*

*El mismo Galeon **Sancto Christo de Burgos** al cargo del General Don Francisco de Olavide siendo su Piloto mayor el Capitan Alverto de Arrieta; Da[n]do fondo en la Isla de Biri, de tornabuelta de su viage le faltaron todas las anclas con la fuerza del corriente, y mando el Piloto mayor por ser la noche obscura marear las velas con la proa mar afuera, y discurriendo los Pilotos que con el biento que soplabá que era por el Bendabal se hallaria la mañana siguiente en la Boca de Palapa y se hallo con la fuerza del corriente embocado el Galeon por entre los Bajos de Calantas y Naranjos, en frente de la Isla de Ticao milagrosamente.*

*El Galeon **Nuestra Señora de Begoña** en su primer viage a cargo del General Don Fernando de Angulo su Piloto mayor el Capitan Pantaleon Fernandes Cassado nabegando con bientos favorables faltandose yntempestivamente estos le arrebató el corriente, y lo llevo de parte de noche dentro de los Naranjos, y sin saver por donde entro el mismo corriente le sacó por otra boca milagrosamete.*

El mismo Galeon a cargo del General Don Francisco Echeveste su Piloto mayor el que hace esta presentacion aviendo salido de Ticao con viento favorable le arrebató un ylero [sic] de corrientes y le llevo sobre dichos Naranjos tan cerca que la gente de mar con palor desatracaron el Galeon de las piedras y solo por milagro patente livertamos de tan eminente peligro.

El mismo Galeon estando a cargo de[!] que rrepresenta(!) y da[n]do fondo en el Real de Calomotan con ocho cables buenos y de toda satisfacion le entro un temporal que todos le faltaron y baro sobre un bajo de arena que a no aver barado con mar baja, y cesado ynmediatamente el biento, y sin perder ora de tiempo a fuerza de diligencias saca[n]dolo del parage donde avia barado se hubiera perdido yrremediablemente.

*El Galeon **Sacra Familia** a cargo del General Don Pedro Gonsales Rivero y Quijano su Piloto mayor el que rrepresenta aviendo salido de Ticao con viento favorables, en la mediania de los bajos de Calantas y Naranjos, entre seis y siete de la noche, nos entro una colla de bendabal tan favorable y tan resia que fue presiso asegurar las gabias para que los masteleros no faltaran y a el mismo tiempo comenso el corriente a entrar para dentro con tanta fuerza y remolinos que la Barca que venia por la popa se anegó y llenó de agua de suerte que nos obligo a cortar el virador y largarla y desde la siete de la noche hasta las dos de la mañana se mantubo el Galeon parado como si estubiera dado fondo y si como la Misericordia Divina nos embio el viento tan rrecio y tan favorable no lo hubiera escaseado sin duda ninguna hubiera dado el Galeon sobre los bajos de dichos Naranjos y Calantas y si [sic = se] hubiera perdido.*

*El mismo Galeon **Sacra Familia** hallandose de tornabuelta de su viaje en frente de la Isla de Capul y faltandole el biento lo arrebató un ylero de corriente para la Ysla de Muertos y por no peligrar el Galeon sobre dicha Ysla se dio fondo con una ancla y habiendo faltado este dio fondo con otro y permitio la Misericordia Divina que la segunda cable lo mantubo hasta el dia y como falto la primera hubiera faltado el segundo cable en evidente peligro hubiera hallado de perderse el Galeon porque es este un paraje muy peligroso por allarse una piedra muy serca de dicha Ysla de Muertos de hechura de una Banca puesta boca bajo que no tiene mas de dos brasas y media de agua por ensima de dicha piedra distancia de tiro de un escopeta de dicha Ysla y cortando el segundo cable con perdida de dos anclas escapo el Galeon milagrosamente.*

Señor[,] raro es el Galeon que desembocando por el Embocadero, o embocando no lleva su evidente peligro de perderse.

En otras dos ocaciones el mismo Galeon en la una a cargo del General Don Juan Domingo de Nebra su Piloto mayor Don Franzisco de Salazar y en la otra a cargo del General Don Domingo Gonzales Cosio su Piloto mayor el Almirante Don Joseph Martines de Bargas baró sobre las Ysletas de Baco que por via de milagro escapo con perdida de dos anclas en la primera.

*El Galeon **Nuestra Señora de Guia** a cargo del General Don Antonio Fernandez de Rojas su Piloto mayor dicho Don Antonio Perez Gil baró sobre las mismas Ysletas, y con perdida de dos anclas escapo milagrosamente.*

*Muchos Navios y Pataches que en otros tiempos se han perdido en dicho embarcadero [rather Embocadero] pudiera expresar y por no mortificar la atencion de Vseñoria los paso en silencio y solo recuerdo los Pataches: el uno que se yba a las Yslas Palaos en el Gobierno de el Señor Don Domingo Zabalburu que se perdio a vista de Marinduque; **San Bernardino** en el Gobierno de el Señor Don Fausto en la Ysla de Burias y de los Galeones **Sancto Christo de Burgos** y **San Francisco Xavier** que no avido*

*la mas minima noticia de su ynfausta perdida pudiera afirmar la a causado dicho embocadero por la demora que en el padecen los Galeones, para desembocar y lo mismo sienta de las arribadas de los Galeones **Nuestra Señora de Begonia** a cargo del General Don Joachin de Ursua, y la **Sacra Familia** a cargo del General Don Juan Domingo de Nebra que no pudieron lograr su viaje a la Nueva Spaña y no me queda duda en mi dictamen conformandome con las rreglas Nauticas pues es constante que rregularmente se dilatan los Galeones en dicha Embocadero el que menos quarenta dias para desembocar no por otra razon que esperar vientos favorables para seguir su viaje por que los que ventean en aquel tiempo son Lesnordeste, Leste lesueste [sic] y sueste contrarios todos a la navegacion por dicho embocadero, ya que rrecomienda mi pequeñes a el justificado zelo de Vseñoria especial rrefleccion.*

*Estos mismos vientos Señor que en aquel entonzès reynan contrarios en el Embocadero son favorables a la Derrota de mi propuesta pues saliendo de Mariveles a montar la tierra de Capones y costeandola hasta montar el Cavo de Bojeador y despues costear la tierra de Cagayan a pasar el Cavo de Engaño es viaje con dichos vientos de siete a ocho nueve dias el que mas, y con Bendabal de cinco a seis desembocando en el todo a engolfarse en mar ancha se ara seguir el viaje a Nueva España sin rreclar bajos pues solo se encuentran en el espresado derrotero dos que nombran de mar singulo a gran distancia y assi aun padeciendo algun temporal en los nueve dias se halla el Galeon en mar ancha donde con livertad puede correr precautelandose de dichos vajos por estar marcados en el mapa de este Archipiélago, menos puede temerse arribada en los Galeones respecto de adelantarse mas de quarenta dias en la navegacion y supuniendo que solo navegue en cada veinte y quatro oras siete Leguas y media computando media con otro abanza tresçientas y monta las Yslas Marianas y se halla en treinta y seis grados escasos de latitud y treinta y ocho de Longitud que es quasi norte, y sur de la Ysla que llaman Rica de plata Libre de poder arribar y por el contrario tomando el Galeon la Derrota por el embocadero se atraza el mismo tiempo y se expone a la contingencia que entrandole algun temporal antes de montar Marianas se ven precisado arribar à otras Yslas asi lo a manifestado la experiencia en las arribadas de dichos Galeones **Sacra Familia** y **Nuestra Señora de Begonia** y otros muchos, pues a el primero aviendole entrado un temporal el dia veinte y siete de Octubre en Latitud de veinte y ocho grados y Longitud de dies y ocho por [no] haver montado dichas Yslas por el atrazo del tiempo se bide [=vió] presiado arribar lo que no le hubiera sucedido tomando la Derrota que propone el que rrepresenta pues aviendolas montado dicho dia se hallará en dichos treinta y seis grados de latitud y treinta y ocho de longitud y es congeturable no hubiera experimentado tan recio el temporal ni tan encontradas las mares por hallarse en el meridiano de Rica de plata pues es cierto que los navegantes de esta carrera tienen la experiencia que los maiores temporales y mas peligrosos que padecen los Galeones son de Marianas a el Embocadero tambien seria muy posuble [sic] que no le alcanzara dicho temporal que es mucha diferencia la de tresçientas leguas de distancia lo mismo se puede computar de la arribada de **Nuestra Señora de Begonia** pues aunque no en el meridiano de Rica de plata se hubiera hallado en el meridiano de Rica*

de oro por la diferencia de los meridianos en que se hallaron dichos Galeones quando arrivaron.

Plantandose y observandose Señor en lo venidero esta Derrota se logra el aorro de mas de quarenta dias de navegacion a la yda estos mismos es muy posible se adelanten en el tornaviaje y puede el Galeon hacerse a la vela del Puerto de Acapulco el primero dia de Marzo con sobrado tiempo para la feria embarque de plata y de bastimentos y consiguira el entrar en el Embocadero por fines de Mayo o principios de Junio que estan las brisas en su fuerza viento favorable para su entrada y se libertará la gente de mar del continuado trabajo en las incesantes faenas de dicho Embocadero y descansados podran tolerar y rreparar qualquiera accidente que acontezca.

Estas razones Señor y otras que en caso necesario expondre son las que mueben mi lealtad y corta inteligencia haçer esta representasion con desnudo Catholico Christiano zelo y assi la integridad y rectitud de Vseñoria se [h]a de dignar de estimarla no como proposecion [sic] de mi pequeñes sino como dispoesion [sic] acordada en el prudente integro Gobierno de Vseñoria sin apreciar fantasticas razones que la ydea de algunos con poca o ninguna inteligencia puedan fabricar para desbaneser este publico veneficio y privar a Vseñoria de esta Gloria que la Divina providencia tiene reservada a su grandeza pues en el asunto solo pueden espresar su sentir personal inteligentes en la Marina practicos y versados en la navegazion[.] hago me cargo Señor no faltara quien proponga que experiencia me asiste en la expresada Derrota para intentar mober el superior animo de Vseñoria a que en lo de adelante observe y practique sin atender a los credidos yntereses del Real herario de estas Yslas y particulares de el vezindario que se aventuran en el Galeon[.] argumento mui debil y su satisfacion la comprehenden las razones que ban expuestas y de que arè patente demonstracion con el mapa de este Archipelago en las manos y quando esto no bastare tiempo oportuno es Señor de nombrar Pilotos y Marineros practicos e ynteligentes que hagan ynspeccion del Derrotero propuesto y lo hallaran segun y conforme mi rrepresentacion y a los que lo executaren à otros qualquiera pilotos y marineros les preguntara mi cortedad como libertaran en el Embocadero un Galeon de un temporal y otro qualquiera accidente de mar y les preguntarè en que tiempo es mas temible un accidente (en lo natural hablando) en quarenta dias, o en nueve inclusive estos en los primeros abra Señor persona que se atreva a rresponder aver mas contingencia en los nueve dias, que en los quarenta, no es presumible semejante respuesta, luego a concequencia se deve conçeder Derrotero mas combeniente el de mi rrepresentacion que el de Embocadero.

El desinteres legalidad que profeso le consta a esta Novilissima ciudad de experiencia en el Puente de el Tuley grande que los capitulares confiaron a mi corta inteligencia cuya fabrica execute formando los en tierra numerando la trabason y ligacion de piedras y despues fabrique en el Agua sin cajones con las mismas trabasones y ligaciones en fondo de tres brazas poco mas o menos arreglandome a las que ministra el Arte, y lo que a muchos parecio ympocible practicar convencio la experiencia y suspendiendo mortificar la superioridad de Vseñoria juro à Dios Nuestro Señor y la Santa Cruz no con pretender malicia mi rrepresentacion y executar la en cumplimiento de mi

obligacion y con expecialidad en la ocacion presente en que a sido servido Vseñoria nombrarme Piloto mayor de el Galeon que ha de haser viaje este presente año a la nueva España en el qual y en todo lo mas que Vseñoria me mandare executar sacrificare mi vida con siega obediencia[.]

*La Divina Magestad guarde la Muy Yllustre persona de Vseñoria muchos años[.]
Manila y Henero treze de mill settecientos y treinta[.]
Besa la mano de Vseñoria su humillde criado,
Henriquez [sic] Herman.*

Translation.

Representation of Admiral Enrique Hermán regarding the new route for the Philippine galleons.

Most Illustrious Sir, Brigadier Fernando Valdés Tamón, King's Counsel, Knight of the Order of St. James, Governor and Captain General of these Philippine Islands and President of the Royal Audiencia and Chancellery residing there.

Most Illustrious Sir:

History records that the greatest feats admired by the world are those achieved by leaders of the caliber of Your Lordship. Oftentimes, many such feats have been achieved by means of the most humble of men, who could not on their own show their loyalty to the service of both their Majesties, but have done so by means of their superiors who enjoy the trust of kings and the support of their subordinates, as they carry on the ministries from which persons of rank are excluded. The many examples, that cannot be unknown to the discreet prudence of Your Lordship, push me to recommend what my limited mind thinks of the route of the galleon that is despatched every year to New Spain to get the Royal subsidy of these Islands. However, I am motivated even more by the well-known justice, and righteous zeal of Your Lordship in the administration of justice, your integrity in governing, care for improving the public good, and the Royal treasury. In spite of my shortcomings, I dare say that the Almighty, to reward such an untiring longing, will make it possible for these Islands to achieve, during the term of office of Your Lordship, the best advantage that might result from putting into effect the [new] route that I will recommend.

I presume, Sir, that I am dull in the nautical job that I exercise, and I must respect, as I do, the progress and advances made by the great coastal pilots and those of the run of these Islands who have unanimously followed the route of the galleon by way of the Desembocadero.¹ Nevertheless, I am of the opinion that it would be appropriate to have her make her route this way: after leaving Mariveles, get to the high seas and past Cape Engaño, which is the last sight of land on the north coast of these Islands. By following this route, she frees herself of the continuous dangers that, on account of accidents at sea, threatens her irremediably, humanly speaking, according to nautical rules, when only a miracle could clear her from potential disasters. In the present case, Sir, it

1 Ed. note: The Entrance Channel, or Strait, of San Bernardino.

is not necessary to follow what authors on sea matters prescribe when experience places before us the obvious danger of the Embocadero as compared with the remote danger of said Cape Engaño. In order to fully understand my proposal, Your Lordship should please keep in mind the fact that, when the galleon is past Santiago Point but still sailing through the Embocadero, a distance of from 15 to 20 leagues, there is no neighborhood in said Embocadero where the galleon can find sea room or an anchorage in case of some storm, when she would be irremediately lost, unless God intervene. The proof of this is given by many examples that the inhabitants of these Islands have deplored in our times:

The galleon **San José**, under the command of General José Madrazo, with Admiral Lazcano as chief pilot, was lost on Calavite Point, Mindoro Island [in 1697].

The patache **Nuestra Señora del Rosario**, under the command of General José Madaria, with General Antonio Fernandez de Roxas as chief pilot, was lost in the Naranjo Islands [in 1709].

The galleon **Santo Cristo de Burgos**, under the command of General Francisco Sanchez de Tagle, with Captain Antonio Perez Gil as chief pilot, was lost when dropping anchor in the anchorage of Ticao Island [in 1726], and the same disaster could have happened to the galleons that I will mention—as I cannot omit to mention them in order to give force to my proposal and make my opinion an obvious choice—had it not been for the intervention of Divine Mercy.

The same galleon **Santo Cristo de Burgos**, under the command of General Francisco de Olavide, with Captain Alberto de Arrieta as chief pilot, while anchoring at Biri Island, during her return voyage [in 1705], had all her anchors fail due to the force of the current; it was a dark night, and the chief pilot ordered the sails raised and the bow pointed offshore; the pilots were discussing that the wind that blew then, a monsoon wind, would take them to the channel of Palapag by the next morning, but the galleon was carried off by the strong current and found herself miraculously between the Calantas and Naranjo Shoals and Ticao Island.

The galleon **Nuestra Señora de Begoña**, during her first voyage under the command of General Fernando de Angulo, with Captain Pantaleon Fernandez Casado as chief pilot, was sailing with favorable winds when they suddenly failed and the current grabbed her and pushed her during the night upon the Naranjo Islands, and she passed right through them by some miracle [in 1710].

The same galleon, under the command of General Francisco Echeveste, with yours truly as her chief pilot, had just left Ticao with a favorable wind when she was hit by a stream of waves that pushed her upon said Naranjos, so close that the seamen, white with fright, managed to keep the galleon off the rocks and we escaped such an obvious danger by miracle [in 1717].

The same galleon, under the command of [...] yours truly, anchored off the royal camp at Calomotan with eight good cables that made her safe, but a storm arose that made all the cables fail; she ran aground on a sand bank, and would have been irreme-

diably lost, if it had not been low tide and the wind had not abated then and there; within the hour, after great efforts, she was freed from the spot where she had run aground.¹

The galleon **Sacra Familia**, under the command of General Pedro Gonzalez Rive-ro y Quijano, with yours truly as chief pilot, had left Ticao with favorable winds; in the neighborhood of the Calantas and Naranjo Shoals, between 6 and 7 p.m., we were hit with a blast of monsoon wind, so favorable and stiff that we had to fasten the topsails so that the masts would not break; the current began to flow inward [i.e. contrarywise] at the same time with so much force and whirlpools that the boat tied astern was swamped with water and sank; we had to cut the voyal to release it. From 7 p.m. until 2 a.m., the galleon just stood still as if she had been moored and as if the Divine Mercy had sent us this very stiff and favorable wind; without a doubt, had the wind abated, the galleon would have been pushed upon the said shoals of Calantas and Naranjos, and would have been lost [in 1727].

The same galleon **Sacra Familia**, during her return voyage [in 1728], found herself off Capul Island when the wind failed her and a stream of waves pushed her towards the Island of the Dead; so as not to place the galleon at risk, one anchor was dropped but it failed, another one was dropped and, thanks to Divine Mercy, this cable held until dawn; had the second cable failed as the first one, the galleon would have been in obvious danger of being lost, because this neighborhood is very dangerous, since there is a [summerged] rock very close to said Island of the Dead, shaped like an upside-down canoe and no more than 2-1/2 fathoms of water on top, at a musket shot from the shore of said Island, but, by cutting the second cable the galleon escaped miraculously, with the loss of only two anchors.

Sir, it is a rare occurrence when a galleon that is leaving, or entering, the Embocade-ro is not in obvious danger of being lost.

On two other occasions, this happened to the same galleon: the first time, when under the command of General Juan Domingo de Nebra, with Francisco de Salazar as chief pilot,² and the second time, when under the command of General Domingo Gonzalez Cosio, with Admiral José Martinez de Vargas as chief pilot, but she escaped miracu-lously, only losing two anchors the first time.

As for the galleon **Nuestra Señora de Guía**, under the command of General Anto-nio Fernandez de Roxas, with said Antonio Perez Gil as chief pilot [in 1728], she ran aground on the same islets, but again, with the loss of two anchors, she escaped mira-culously.

Many ships and pataches have at other times been lost in said Embocadero, and I could mention them in detail, but in order not to bore Your Lordship I will omit them. However, let me just mention, from among the pataches, one that was going to the

1 Ed. note: Since Herman was never in command of a galleon, and since this incident seems to have happened in 1722, when Aguirre was in command (see B2 below). I conclude that Herman was chief pilot and that there is one line missing in the transcription.

2 Ed. note: Probably in 1719, or 1722.

Palaos Islands¹ during the term of His Lordship, Don Domingo Zabalburu, and was lost in sight of Marinduque; the **San Bernardino**, during the term of His Lordship, Don Fausto [Cruzat], upon Burias Island, and from among the galleons: the **Santo Cristo de Burgos** [in 1693] and the **San Francisco Xavier** [in 1705] that have not been heard from at all; one could say that said Embocadero was the cause of their loss, because of the delay that galleons encounter there before exiting from it. I feel the same way about the return in distress of the galleon **Nuestra Señora de Begonia**, under the command of General Joaquin de Ursua [in 1715], and that of the **Sacra Familia**, under the command of General Juan Domingo de Nebra.² Both failed to make their voyage to New Spain and I am quite certain of my opinion, while respecting the nautical rules; indeed, the record shows that the galleons regularly waste time in said Embocadero, at least 40 days to make it through, for no other reason than to await favorable winds to pursue their voyage, because those that blow then are ENE, ESE and SE, all contrary to the navigation through said Embocadero, something that my small mind recommends to the justified zeal and special reflection of Your Lordship.

The same winds, Sir, that are then prevailing but contrary in the Embocadero are favorable to the route that I recommend; indeed, the route that goes from Mariveles, past the headland of Capones, coasting as far as Cape Bojeador, and after that, coasting along the shore of Cagayan, and then rounding Cape Engaño, is a voyage with said winds blowing for 7-8 days, 9 at most, and then with the monsoon for 5-6 days, one will leave the land behind and continue in the high sea as far as New Spain, without any fear of shoals; in fact, only two shoals can be found along the above-mentioned route, those called "Mar singulo" [sic]³ at a great distance. Thus, even if the galleon were to encounter some storm, after 9 days, she would reach the open sea where she could freely avoid said shoals, as they appear on the chart of this Archipelago. The return in distress of the galleons is even a more remote possibility, because they would be over 40 days ahead in their navigation; supposing that they cover an average of only 7-1/2 leagues every 24 hours, that means an advance of 300 leagues, past the meridian of the Mariana Islands and in a position of almost 36° latitude and 38° longitude, which is almost on the meridian of the Island named **Rica de Plata**, free of any potential return, whereas, to the contrary, if the galleon follows the route through the Embocadero, she is delayed by the same amount of time and is exposed to the possibility of meeting with a storm before passing the meridian of the Marianas, when she would have to divert to other islands, such as happened in the returns in distress of said galleons **Sacra Familia** and **Nuestra Señora de Begonia** and many others. In fact, the former was hit by a storm on 27 October in a latitude of 28° and longitude of 18°, because she had [not] passed said Islands on account of the delay, and she was forced to return, something that would not have happened, had she taken the route proposed by yours truly;

1 Ed. note: The Santísima Trinidad in 1711.

2 Ed. note: Either in 1717, or in 1718 (see B2 below).

3 Ed. note: Bad transcription for Parece Vela, I think.

indeed, had she done so, on same date she would have been beyond them in 36° of latitude and 38° of longitude, and it is possible to assume that she would not have experienced such a stiff storm, nor met with such rough seas, on account of being on the meridian of Rica de Plata, inasmuch as it is true that those sailing this run have experienced the worst and most dangerous storms affecting the galleons between the Marianas and the Embocadero. One can also assume that said storm would not extend beyond 300 leagues, a great distance indeed. The same effect can be calculated in the case of the return of the **Nuestra Señora de Begonia**; indeed so, though not in the meridian of Rica de Plata but in that of Rica de Oro, on account of the difference in the longitudes where said galleons were when they turned back.

Sir, by adopting and following this new route in future, over 40 days will be saved on the first leg of the voyage of the galleons, it is very possible that their return voyage can be scheduled earlier, by having the galleon sail from the port of Acapulco on the 1st of March, with more than enough time left for the fair, loading of the silver and food supplies, with the resulting arrival at the Embocadero at the end of May or beginning of June, when the tradewinds are prevailing and are favorable to its entrance, thus freeing the seamen from having to work continuously at the incessant tasks demanded by said Embocadero, and they would then be rested and able to put up with any sudden potential accident, and repair its damages.

These reasons, Sir, and others that I will present, if considered necessary, are those that motivate my loyalty and short intelligence to make this presentation with a plainly Catholic and Christian zeal, and so, the integrity and righteousness of Your Lordship must deign to esteem this proposal, not as coming from my shortcomings but as a disposition taken by the prudent, and upright government of Your Lordship, without paying attention to the fantastic reasons that the mind of some people with little or no practical experience might fabricate to make this public advantage disappear and to deny to Your Lordship the glory that Divine Providence has reserved for your greatness;¹ indeed, only persons knowledgeable in nautical matters and experienced in the navigation can express their opinion in this matter. I bet you, Sir, that there will be no lack of persons who will ask the question, what experience do I have of the above-mentioned route to make me try and change the superior mind of Your Lordship to adopt it and follow it in future, without considering the increasing interests of the Royal treasury of these Islands and the individual ones of the residents who invest in the galleon—a very weak argument, refuted by the reasons that I have mentioned and that I will demonstrate, with a chart of this archipelago in my hands. When the right time comes, Sir, some coastal pilots and seamen could make an inspection of the proposed route and I am sure that they will find it as I have represented it. My dull mind might then be able to ask these people, and any other pilots and seamen how they would free a gal-

1 Ed. note: The author has in mind the objections of the traders, who would then be unable to smuggle contraband goods on and off the galleon at the usual places between Manila Bay and the Embocadero.

leon from a storm within the Embocadero, or any other sea accident, and I will ask them when is an accident (a natural one, that is) more to be feared, during 40 days, or during 9 days. Although one can imagine that some person might say that the possibility would be greater during 9 days, rather than 40 days, it is not sensible that there be such an answer; therefore, one must admit that the route I propose is more appropriate than the route via the Embocadero.

My disinterestedness and lawful proceedings were proven to this very new city, with the experience of the bridge referred to as the Big Tuley¹ that the aldermen entrusted to my short intelligence and whose construction I carried out, by first preparing the juncture and union of the stones ashore, numbering them and then re-assembling the same junctures and unions in the water approximately 3 fathoms deep, without any coffer dam, by following the rules of this science; some critics who had said that this seemed impossible, were later convinced by the experience. I give up bothering the superior mind of Your Lordship and I swear to God our Lord and the Holy Cross that my representation is not made out of malice, that it was done to comply with my duty and specially on the present occasion that Your Lordship has deigned to appoint me chief pilot of the galleon that must make her voyage this year to New Spain. In this and other assignments that Your Lordship wishes to order me to carry out, I will sacrifice my life with blind obedience.

May the Divine Majesty save the Most Illustrious person of Your Lordship for many years.

Manila, 13 January 1730.

The humble servant of Your Lordship who kisses your hand,
Enrique Hermán.

[The Fiscal recommended a general meeting of pilots to consider the above proposal. The opinions of everyone were submitted in writing.]

B2. The opinion of Admiral Ignacio de Iriberry

Sources: Same as above.

Original text in Spanish.

Muy Yllustre Señor

El Almirante Don Ygnacio de Yriberry, puesto a los pies de Vseñoría.—

*Digo: Que a la consulta del Capitan Don Henrique Herman soy de sentir que los Galeones hagan viage por el Cavo y no por el Embocadero, por los grandes peligros en que me he visto en el assi iendo en plaza de Artillero como de Oficial. Pues el año que pase a estas Yslas con el Galeon **Nuestra Señora de Begonia** a cargo del General Don Fernando de Angulo, nos metio las corrientes en los Naranjos cerca del Patache que se perdio a cargo del General Rojas y haviendonos escapado de esta en la Ysla de Ticao*

1 Ed. note: "Tulay" simply means bridge, in Tagalog.

nos dio una turbonada por el norte que fue presiso largar las quatro anclas y calar masteleros y vergas y a no agarrar una de las quatro anclas nos huviera llevado a la costa de dicha Ysla; y aviendo salido la varca ha haser aguada perdio toda la tinageria por haverse anegado dicha varca, y salio la gente a nado[.]

con dicho Galeon a cargo del General Don Juan Ygnacio de Vertiz nos dio un temporal à buelta de viage en el tablazo de Siboyan que a no llevar personas que huviesen estado en la ensenada de Sogboncogon nos huvieramos visto en grande peligro de perder el Galeon sin poderlo rremediar[.]

*con dicho Galeon **Nuestra Señora de Begofia** a cargo del General Don Francisco Medrano en dicho Tablazo de Siboyan yendo para la Nueva España nos presisó otro temporal que nos hizo arribar a dicha ensenada y despues que abonanzo el tiempo por entre la tierra firme, y la Ysla de Burias pasamos a la de Ticao que fue el primer Galeon que paso por ese paraje y de tornabuelta por havernos calmado los vientos Les-tes, y Nordeste nos echaron las aguas sobre las Yslas de Catanduanes y por no poder coger el Embocadero fuimos à la Encenada de Naga donde embernamos hasta el mes de octubre[.]*

*en el viage de **Sancto Christo** a cargo del General Don Fernando de Angulo estando en frente de la Ysla de Capul, nos dio un temporal nos hizo perder la tierra de vista donde perdimos la varca, y despues de abonansar el tiempo embestimos a la tierra sin varca ni vote que save su Divina Magestad como entramos en la encenada de Albay donde invernamos dos meses y veinte dias y al cavo salimos del dicho Puerto para el de Cavite, y por ser tiempo de Nortes fue presiso arribar al Puerto de Palapa y bolvimos a embernar de nuevo desde el dia quatro de octubre hasta el mes de febrero: el Galeon **Sacra Familia**, a cargo del General Don Juan Domingo de Nebra unos temporales rigurosos padesimos que el ultimo nos desarbolo que fue presiso arribar al Puerto de Bagatao ha arbolar de nuebo para venir al de Cavite[.]*

*con el Galeon **Begofia** a cargo del General Don Joseph de Aguirre estando de imbernados en el Rio de Calomotan nos dio un temporal, que estando el Galeon con quatro anclas en el agua y dos en tierra y dos cables de a seiscientos hilos en los arboles amarrados, se desamarro el Galeon que a no varar en una punta de harena huviera ydo a perderse sobre unos arrezifes que estavan proximos de dicha punta[.]*

*con el Galeon **Sacra Familia** a cargo del General Don Pedro Gonzales del Rivero saliendo del Puerto de San Jazinto, y si los Pilotos hubiera dicho al contra Maestre nuestro Amo seis brazas de Agua y al mismo tiempo dexó caer el ancla dio fondo que fue presisa experarnos toda la noche para ponernos en franquia, me he hallado en los peligros, rreferidos en los viages que tengo hecho en los Galeones pasando en silencio otras muchas en Galeotas, y Champanes por dicho Embocadero por cerrarse toda la tierra con qualquier temporal; Yrlo contrario saliendo del Puerto de Cavite en todo el mes de Junio mediante Dios puede venir de tornabuelta con vientos generales a la boca de Maribeles y librarse de ymbernadas los Galeones y gastos a su Magestad [(Dios guarde).] quando estamos viendo à la vista que los champanes de China y varios mas inferiores que el Galeon de estas Yslas pasean por este camino, y hazen sus viages con*

*mas facilidad podra un Galeon de estos y llevar vensido medio viage saliendo por dicho cavo, pues es notorio que ay Galeon que à llegado a imbernar los dos meses como el Galeon **San Xavier** y io en el Galeon **Sacra Familia** desde siete de Julio hasta el dia quatro de septiembre que desembocamos, y en otros viages un mes y en otras quarenta dias en diferentes Galeones por falta de vendabales que sin ellos no se puede desembocar; y por fin Señor es mi sentir mar por donde correr por ser colchon de Navios y no entre piedras y riesgos cada momento y como llevo rreferido por la poca inteligencia que me asiste de veinte y seis años de navegacion me conformo en todo al dictamen del dicho Capitan Don Enrrique Herman, y juro no ser de malicia ni pacion alguna si por ser conveniente al servicio de Ambas Magestades salvo el mejor dictamen de Vseñoria que sera siempre lo mejor.*

*Umilde subdito de Vseñoria,
Ygnacio Yriberri.*

Translation.

Most Illustrious Sir:

I, Admiral Ignacio de Iriberri, at the feet of Your Lordship, declare:

That, regarding the consultation of Captain Enrique Herman, I am of the opinion that the galleons should make the voyage by the Cape and not by the Embocadero, on account of the great dangers in which I found myself there, not only when I went as a gunner but also as an officer.¹ In fact, the year that I came to these Islands aboard the galleon **Nuestra Señora de Begoña** under the command of General Fernando de Angulo [in 1710], the currents pushed us among the Naranjos, near where the patache commanded by General Roxas was lost [in 1709]. Then, having escaped from there, at Ticao Island we were hit by a squall from the north and it became necessary to let go the four anchors and bring down the masts and yards; if one of the anchors had not caught, it would have blown us to the coast of said Island. When the ship's boat went ashore to get water, all of the water jars were lost when the boat capsized, but the men escaped by swimming.

With the same galleon, under the command of General Juan Ignacio de Vertiz, we were hit by a storm during the return voyage [in 1712] in the stretch off Sibuyan [Island], and if there had not been people in the bay of Sogboncogon, we would have been in great danger of losing the galleon, without any remedy.

With said galleon **Nuestra Señora de Begoña**, under the command of General Francisco Medrano, in said stretch of Siboyan on the way to New Spain [in 1713], another storm hit us and made us return to said bay, and afterwards, when the weather moderated, we went through the channel between the mainland and Burias Island, then on to Ticao Island—that was the first galleon that used this pass. On the return voyage [in 1714], the E and NE winds having failed us, the currents pushed us towards the

¹ Ed. note: From what he says below, it is clear that he never rose above the rank of boatswain's mate.

Catanduanes Islands and we were unable to make the Embocadero. So, we went to the bay of Naga where we wintered until the month of October.

In the voyage of the **Santo Cristo**, commanded by General Fernando de Angulo [in 1717], while we were before Capul Island, we were hit by a storm that made us lose sight of land; we lost the boat there, and after the weather moderated, we went straight for the land without any boat or launch. God only knows how we made it into the bay of Albay, where we remained for 2 months and 20 days, at the end of which we left said port for that of Cavite, but since it was the season of northerlies, it became necessary to return to the port of Palapag and once again we wintered there, from the 4 October until the month of February.

With the galleon **Sacra Familia**, under the command of General Juan Domingo de Nebra, we suffered through some rigorous storms, the last of which dismasted us and it became necessary to turn back to the port of Bagatao for new masts, to return to the port of Cavite.¹

With the galleon **Begoña**, under the command of General José de Aguirre, when we were spending the winter in the anchorage of Calomotan [in 1722], we were hit by a storm when the galleon was anchored with 4 anchors in the water and 2 ashore, plus 2 cables of 600 threads fastened to trees, but the galleon got unmoored and, if she had not run aground on a sand bank, she would have gone further and been lost upon some reefs that are close to said bank.

With the galleon **Sacra Familia**, under the command of General Pedro Gonzalez del Rivero, upon leaving the port of San Jacinto [in 1727, or 1728], if the pilots had not told the boatswain, our superior, “6 fathoms deep” and we had not immediately let go the anchor... The anchor held, but it became necessary to wait out the night before seeking a safer spot.

I have found myself in dangerous situations during the above-mentioned voyages aboard galleons, but will not mention many other voyages made with galliots and champans through said Embocadero, when the land is lost sight of, whenever there is a storm. If, on the contrary, the galleon were to leave the port of Cavite during the whole of the month of June, God helping, she could make the return voyage with the general winds to the mouth of Mariveles and free us from winterings and expenses to His Majesty (whom may God save). When we witness the champans from China and various ships smaller than the galleon of these Islands passing by this route, a galleon would be able to make her voyages more easily than they, having achieved half the voyage by the time she leaves said Cape [Engaño]; indeed, it is notorious that some galleons have wasted two months waiting, for instance, the galleon **San [Francisco] Xavier**, and myself aboard the galleon **Sacra Familia** from 7 July until 4 September when we left the Embocadero, and in other voyages one month, and in others 40 days, with different galleons, for lack of monsoon winds, because without them it is not possible to leave the

1 Ed. note: Along with the brief mention by Herman above, this is a rare reference of an unsuccessful voyage, made either in 1717, or 1718, most probably the latter.

Embocadero. Finally, Sir, it is my opinion that an open sea means sea room for ships, and is preferable at any time to being among rocks and dangers to navigation at all times, as I have mentioned, using the little ability that I have gained during my 26 years as a sailor. I agree fully with the opinion of said Captain Enrique Herman, and swear that I do so, not out of malice or passion, but in the service of both their Majesties, save for the better opinion of Your Lordship, that will always be the best one.

The humble servant of Your Lordship,
Ignacio Iriberry.

[Other pilots gave their favorable opinion, e.g. Captain Juan Estevan Correa, who had performed 13 voyages; Captain Diego Guelche; Pilot Simon Bautete, or Boutet; Captain Agustin Basilio; Manuel de Eguiluz; Captain Felix Duxene [or Duchesne] who had already sailed along the new route; Manuel Rodriguez; Felix Perez; only José Gonzalez Bueno put up some objections. Other favorable opinions were given by Antonio Rodriguez; Luis Duplessí, who must have been a Frenchman. I therefore found it even more interesting to re-discover the track of the French Captain Boisloré who had obviously been in the Philippines for 16 years by this time; the following (B3 below) was his opinion. There was also a pilot by the name of Baltazar de Ampuero y Irlandés. Another was Admiral Juan Carranza who mentioned, among other things, that the galleon **Nuestra Señora del Rosario** in charge of General José Ciriano did not stop at the Marianas in 1707 but went directly to San Bernardino which it reached on 24 June and was forced to winter there. A similar fate happened to the galleon **Santo Cristo de Burgos** in 1720 [rather 1721] when she was in charge of General Juan Ignacio de Vertiz, because she left Acapulco very late, on 11 April. Juan Miguel Machocapelo, Pedro Romero, Mathias Martinez, Luis de Lagarde (who expressed some reservations), José Garces, Carlos Millon, L. Roque, were other seamen who gave their opinion. In spite of all these favorable opinions, the Fiscal recommended that no change be made without a royal decree to authorize it. The whole matter was referred to the opinion of the Manila traders, but they refused to take a stand, pro or con. Before the case file was sent to Spain, however, Captain Hermán was given a chance to reply to the Fiscal's comments.]

B3. Opinion of the French Captain Boisloré

Source: Same as above.

Original text in Spanish.

Al Muy Yllustre Señor Don Fernando Valdes Tamon Cavallero de la Orden de Santiago y Brigadier de los Exercitos Reales de su Magestad Governador y Capitan General de las Yslas Philippinas.

Muy Yllustre Señor.

De Boislore de Nacion frances; Digo que hablando con toda veneracion y respecto à Vseñoria dirè con toda la verdad que profeso y de la poca inteligencia que tengo en

*el Arte de Piloto y es publico y notorio que nunca he echo profecion de el y prometo con la señal de la Santa Cruz de dar mi parecer al proyecto que fue presentado a Vseñoria de la Nueva derota que para mi no es nueva ni en mi consciencia no lo deve ser por el Galeon que hace viaje al Puerto de Acapulco Reyno de la Nueva España pues que es notorio que el Galeon **San Francisco Xavier** viniendo de Acapulco pasando por las Yslas Marianas haziendo su derota acostumbrada para reconocer el Cavo de Espiritu Santo le entro un temporal que le obligo de arribar y tubo la fortuna, es verdad que el Piloto mayor le ayudo mucho y se determino entrar entre el Cavo del Engaño y una Isla que se halla al norte de dicho Cavo quien forma una canal muy ancha y limpia motivo que dio lugar à dicho Galeon de buscar una bahia a donde la hallo y admirable surgidero cerca de Cagaian; pues yo pase el año de setecientos y tres, y setecientos y doce, por dicha canal y afuera de dicha Isla adonde no vide peligro ninguno ni señal de baxo; como tambien es preciso explicarme; que no soy unico pues que pasaron despues la primera vez que yo passe hasta el año de dies y ocho **catorce Navios franceses** como lo pueden certificar los Señores Governadores de las Islas Marianas y con eso Vseñoria me dara licencia de desirle que por el amor de Dios diga a los que oyeren leer la derota que emprende el Almirante Henrique Herman Piloto de su profecion que no es nueva ni nuevo descubrimiento que si lo fuera pudiera dar con mi corta capacidad medio a emprenderla y como no es necesario de esto soy de sentir y de parecer, ya pruebo todos los puntos que alega dicho Almirante para la salvacion de muchas Almas y un beneficio muy Grande à ambas Magestades como tambien a los grandes peligros que expresa dicho Memorial presentado por dicho Piloto mayor Henrique Herman quien lo sabe de experiencia que los Galeones que salen de San Bernardino para Acapulco estan toda la gente y la mayor parte rendidas por lo mucho que han trabajado en dicho Embocadero pues quien puede mas bien explicar los riesgos trabajo perdidas de xarcia cables ancla y fuerça humanas el mismo que presenta el proyecto y que va personalmente de Piloto mayor de el Galeon que con favor de Dios Vseñoria despachara este año ettca[.]*

tambien puedo decir a Vseñoria que he conosido aqui un buen Piloto Andalus llamado el Sargento mayor Don Juan Luis de Acosta bastante viaje tiene hecho por el Embocadero y que sabe muy bien el todo referido por dicha representacion[.]

es preciso explicarme ahora de la brevedad de dos Galeones que fueron al Reyno de la Nueva España, quiero decir que el uno salga por el Embocadero y el otro vaya por el Cavo de Buexador[.] Digo que el que ira por Buxeador llegara à Acapulco à lo menos à la vista de tierra de California antes que el que saliere por San Bernardino llegue a montar Marianas y en peligro de arribar[.] este no es nuevo pues que mayor [rather mejor] camino y derota se puede buscar para abiar [rather obviar] tantos peligros trabajos penalidades miserias y perdidas como lo expresa el Memorial presentado por dicha derota y finalmente Vseñoria a de estar cierto como el tiempo lo dira si acaso se executare dho viaje por Buxeador que sera alabada dicha empresa no digo aqui sino en las quatro partes del mundo y Digo que a la buelta del viage del dicho Galeon, el Piloto mayor de dicho Galeon hara la mapa y Diario para dar à Vseñoria para que luego

la remita a su Magestad (que Dios guarde)[.] se me pasaba un punto que es que el dicho Galeon volviera por la derota acostumbrada que es entrar por el Cavo de Espiritu Sancto y lo hara con mucha felicidad por llegar a veinte y cinco de Abril, y a lo menos à primero de Mayo[.]

Otrosi Digo que los que se opusieren a esta derrota ya sere [=sabre] que no seran gente de Mar ni menos Pilotos y seran enemigo de Dios a un servicio à Dios nuestro Señor y a su Magestad (que Dios guarde) y a un beneficio tan general a esta republica[.] ya no me estiendo mas por desmotibos el primero que no alcanzo à que ningun cristiano pueda oponerse a un bien tan general.

El otro me parece que teniendo Vseñoria el parecer de tantos Pilotos y Gente de Mar todos de unanimes, y Vseñoria junto con todos es preciso se execute dicha derota; y que salga dicho Galeon del Puerto de Cavite con todo lo necesario de municion de guerra y de boca va seguro el viaje.

Finis coronat opus; suplicando a la grandesa de Vseñoria me perdone de mis atrebi- mientos[.] la verdad que professo tiene la culpa; y cesso, no de rogar a Dios Nuestro Señor guarde la Muy Yllustre Persona de Vseñoria los felices años de mi deceo[.]

Tambobon y febrero primero de mill setecientos y treinta años.

Su humilde servidor,

De Voislone.

Translation.

To His Most Illustrious Lordship, Don Fernando Valdés Tamón, Knight of the Order of St. James and Brigadier of the Royal Armies of His Majesty, Governor and Captain General of the Philippine Islands.

Most Illustrious Sir:

From Boisloré, the Frenchman. I declare, with complete veneration and respect for Your Lordship, that I will tell the whole truth that I profess, within the little intelligence that I have of the profession of pilot, as it is public and notorious knowledge that I have never served in said profession, and I promise under the sign of the cross to give my opinion about the project that was presented to Your Lordship for the new route, which in my estimation is not a new one, and I feel that it should not be considered new either for the galleon that makes the voyage to the port of Acapulco, Kingdom of New Spain; indeed, it is notorious that the galleon **San Francisco Xavier**, while coming from Acapulco by way of the Mariana Islands [in 1700], and making her usual route by way of Cape Espiritu Santo, was hit by a storm that forced her to divert, and she was fortunate—true it is that the chief pilot helped her much—in entering between Cape Engaño and an island that is found north of said Cape, forming a very wide pass, free of dangers, reason for which said galleon went in search of a bay. She found one, and that

is the wonderful anchorage near Cagayan; indeed, I myself passed through said channel in 1703,¹ and 1712, and outside of said Island, where I did not see any danger or sign of any shoal, in addition to other ships. I need to explain myself: I am not the only one; in fact, after I passed the first time, and until the year 1718, **14 French ships** have followed me, as can be certified by the gentlemen Governors of the Mariana Islands.² Therefore, Your Lordship will allow me to say that for God's sake you should tell all those who may take cognizance of the route proposed by Admiral Enrique Herman, a pilot by profession, that it is not new, nor is it a new discovery, because if it were, I could in spite of my little ability explain how it could be undertaken, but as it is not necessary, I am of the opinion that all of the points that said Admiral has proposed have already been proven, for the salvation of many souls and such a great advantage to both their Majesties, besides the great dangers mentioned in said Memorial presented by said chief pilot, Enrique Herman, who knows it all from experience that aboard the galleons that leave San Bernardino for Acapulco, the whole crews, or most of them, are exhausted on account of the energy expended in said Embocadero; indeed, who else can better explain the dangers, hardships, losses of rigging, cables, anchors and human energy, if not the man who presented the project and who is going in person as chief pilot of the galleon that with God's favor Your Lordship will despatch this year? etc.

I can also tell Your Lordship that I have known here a good pilot from Andalusia named Sergeant-Major Juan Luis de Acosta, who has completed so many voyages through the Embocadero and who knows very well everything mentioned in said representation.

It is necessary now for me to offer an explanation about the time saved by two galleons that would go to the Kingdom of New Spain. I want to say that one going out by the Embocadero and the other by Cape Bojeador. I declare that the one to go by Bojeador would arrive at Acapulco, at least in sight of the coast of California, before the one that would have left by San Bernardino would make it past the Marianas, and still run the risk of turning back. This is nothing new; indeed, one should look for a better route that would obviate so many dangers, hardships, punishments, miseries and losses, as mentioned in the Memorial presented for said route. Finally, Your Lordship can be certain, as time will prove, if said voyage by way of Bojeador be carried out, that such an enterprise will be praised, I say not just here, but in the four corners, and I declare that upon the return of the galleon in question, her chief pilot should make a chart and logbook to give to Your Lordship, for you to send to His Majesty (whom may God save). I forgot one point, which is that said galleon would return by the usual route, which is coming in by way of Cape Espiritu Santo, and that would pose no problem since she would get there on 25 April, or at least no later than the 1st of May.

1 Ed. note: Again, Captain Boisloré seems to refer to an otherwise unrecorded voyage by what would be the first French ship to cross the Pacific (before the Saint-Antoine, Captain Frondat), but he gives no details here either.

2 Ed. note: See HM11: 16.

Furthermore, I declare that those who might be opposed to this route, will either turn out to be other than seamen, and certainly not pilots and they will be enemies of God, against a service to God our Lord and to His Majesty (whom may God save), and a benefit so general for this Republic, that I do not need to go on giving reasons to the contrary, but I fail to understand how any Christian could be opposed to the general welfare.

One more thing, it seems to me that if Your Lordship agrees with the opinion of so many pilots and seamen, all unanimous, said proposal will no doubt be carried out, and to ensure the success of the voyage, said galleon should depart from the port of Cavite with everything necessary with regards to military and food supplies.

*Finis coronat opus.*¹ I beg the greatness of Your Lordship to forgive me for my boldness; the truth that I professed is to blame. I do not cease to pray God our Lord to save the Most Illustrious person of Your Lordship for as many happy years as I wish.

Tambobong, 1 February 1730.

Your humble servant,
De Boisoré.

B4. Letter from the Governor of the Philippines to the King, dated Manila 25 June 1731

Source: AGI Fil. 95-4-110.

Original text in Spanish.

El Brigadier Don Fernando Valdes Tamon, Governador, y Capt. Gral. de las Islas Philipinas, y Presidente de la Audiencia de Manila.

Repite dar quenta à V.M. con Testimonio de las diligencias, que motivó una representacion del Almirante Enrique Herman, Piloto mayor de aquella Carrera, sobre las conveniencias que resultarian, si los Galeones excusando los precisos riezos del Embocadero de San Bernardino saliendo de Mariveles, fuesen en derechura à montar el Cavo de Engaño, que es la ultima tierra de aquellas Islas, por la parte del Norte.

Señor.

*Por carta de 21 de Junio del año proximo pasado de 1730 tengo dado quenta à V.M. de que con ocasion de haver nombrado de Piloto mayor, del Galeon **Nuestra Señora de Guía**, que aquel año hizo viaje à Nueva España, por el Real Situado, con el Permiso de las Islas, al Almirante Enrique Herman, introdujo el día 13 de Henero de dho año, una representacion, en que haziendo manifiestos los riezos, à que van expuestos los Galeones, saliendo por el Embocadero de San Bernardino, haze al mismo tiempo, constantes las utilidades que podrian resultar de dhos Galeones, saliendo de la boca de Mariveles mar afuera, montasen el Cavo de Engaño, que es la ultima de estas Islas, por la Vanda del Norte, las expresiones de dho Herman, la gravedad, y circunstancias de*

1 Ed. note: Latin phrase meaning: "The end of the work."

este negocio, ponderadas de mi cuydado deseoso del mejor azierto, que no devi sujetar al proprio arbitrio, me hizieron llevar el expediente à Junta de Pilotos, y Practicos, cuyos dictámenes que le será à V.M. constantes del Testimonio adjunto, divididos en opiniones, bolvieron à dexar la dificultad en su punto, y executadas muchas, y particulares diligencias, con que va vestido el expediente, tomè la resoluzion de dar quenta à V.M. para que examinada la materia, se sirva deliverar lo que fuere mas de su Real agrado, cuya C. y R.P. guarde Dios lo que la Christiandad hà menester.

Manila, y Junio 25 de 1731.

Señor.

Don Fernando Valdes Tamon.

Translation.

Brigadier Fernando Valdés Tamón, Governor and Captain General of the Philippine Islands and President of the Audiencia of Manila.

Reports once more to Y.M., along with a record of proceedings, on the paperwork that motivated a representation by Admiral Enrique Herman, chief pilot of that run, regarding the advantages that would ensue, if the galleons would abandon the risky route through the Embocadero and, upon leaving Mariveles, would go straight to Cape Engaño, which is the last headland of those Islands, at their northern end.

Sire:

In a letter dated 21 June of last year 1730, I have reported to Y.M. that, on the occasion of having appointed as chief pilot of the galleon **Nuestra Señora de Guía** that was making a voyage to New Spain, to get the Royal subsidy, with the permitted trade of the Islands, Admiral Enrique Herman introduced, on 13 January of said year, a representation in which he pointed out the obvious risks to which the galleons are exposed, by leaving through the Strait of San Bernardino. At the same time, he states the benefits that could result to said galleons, by leaving through the channel of Mariveles, straight out to sea, off Cape Engaño, which is the last headland of these Islands, on their north side. The statements of said Herman, the seriousness and circumstances of this business, made me reflect upon them and, my desire to be more prudent, and not restrict myself to my own judgment, made me bring the matter up in a Meeting of ocean and coastal pilots, whose opinions can be seen by Y.M. in the enclosed record of proceedings. They were divided in their opinions, which brought back the business to square one. After carrying out many and special inquiries, surrounding this case file, I took the decision of reporting to Y.M. so that, after examining the matter, you be pleased to decide what would be more to your Royal pleasure. May God save the Catholic and Royal person, as Christendom needs.

Manila, 25 June 1731.

Sire:

Don Fernando Valdés Tamón.

B5. The opinion of a Jesuit scholar, Fr. Carlos de la Reguera, dated Madrid 30 November 1733

Source: AGI Fil. 95-4-109.

Original text in Spanish.

[Endorsement:]

Madrid, 30 de Noviembre 1733.

El Padre de la Reguera, Cosmographo de las Yndias.

En cumplimiento del Acuerdo de el Consejo, y en vista de la representacion del Almirante Henrique Herman, en que propuso seria conveniente que el Galeon de Philipinas hiciese su derrota luego que salga de Marivelez, Mar à fuera à montar el Cavo del Boxeador y del Engaño, expresa difusamente las razones en que funda su dictamen para que se siga el derrotero propuesto por el referido Henrique Herman.

El Cosmographo en vista de la representacion hecha por el Almirante Enrique Herman, de ser conveniente que el galeon que sale de Philipinas annualmente para la Nueva España haga su derrota luego que salga de Marivelès mar afuera a montar el Cabo del Boxeador, y del Engaño, ultima tierra por la vanda del Norte De dhas Islas para liberarse de los continuos, è irremediabes riesgos que hai, y se han experimentado en la Navegacion por el derrotero, que hasta aqui se ha seguido entre Islas para salir por el Desembocadero de S. Bernardino: y en vista tambien de los dictámenes, y pareceres de los Pilotos, y Contra Maestres, que compusieron la Junta formada por el Brigadier Don Fernando Valdes Tamon Gobernador, y Capitan General de dhas Islas, y Presidente de la Real Audiencia de Manila: dice que le parece deberse seguir el Derrotero propuesto por dho Enrique Herman por las razones siguientes.

1. Porque la recta razon, y prudencia dicta el que se procuren evitar los riesgos ciertos è indubitables por qualquier medio racional, aunque no sea mas que probable. Y no parece que cabe duda en lo indubitable, y cierto de los riesgos, a que siempre van expuestos los Navios por èl derrotero antiguo; pues en esto convienen todos los de la Junta, y otros que estos mismos citan, y se hallan comprobados con la experiencia de las lamentables desgracias, y perdidas repetidas, que cita la representacion de dho Almirante. Ni que el medio de evitarlos por el derrotero, que propone, sea probable, puede ponerse en disputa, asi por la fuerza de las razones, que propone en su representacion, y que se iran aclarando en este dictamen; como por la autoridad extrinseca de los mas, ó casi todos los que compusieron dha Junta, y de mayor autoridad, è inteligencia en el arte nautica. Bien puede ser, que por el Derrotero, que propone dho Almirante haya tambien riesgos; por que de su naturaleza los lleva el Mar, y la Navegacion; y por eso en qualquiera, que se intenta se va a contingencia de ellos; pero ni ès ni puede ser prudencia proseguir exponiendose à los que ciertamente hai, por evitar los que pueda haber, y por huir los que solo son contingentes, arrojarlos a los induviables, y tantas veces

padecidos; sin que deshaga la fuerza de esta razon el ser ellos ya conocidos, y essotros no, fiandose para evitarlos de la pericia, y destreza de los Pilotos; porque esta, como nota bien dicho Almirante, no basta contra la violencia del Mar, y del viento: Y ademas quien no vè, que el fiarse en esso precisa à buscar, y tener siempre Pilotos, y Marineros diestrissimos, y peritissimos, que no se hallan con tanta facilidad; y hallados estos precisa a un continuado afan, y cuando una Navegacion que no permite el menor descuido, sin exponerse a un inevitable riesgo.

2ª. Porque a poca reflexion se conoce la gran diferencia, que hai de un rumbo, y navegacion, que se ha de hacer entre Islas, a cortissima distancia de tierra, y peñascos, y la que se hace por un Mar abierto, por lo que siempre que la necesidad no precise a elegir la primera, qualquiera que tenga mediana inteligencia del arte nautica evitara esta y elegira la segunda; por que no se le arguya de temerario en la eleccion. Quando se estimara el hallar rumbo, u derrotero para evitar el Canal de Bahama tan Fatal à nuestras Flotas de Nueva España, y quantas veces han intentado nuevos rumbos los Olandeses, y otras Naciones para libertarse, si fuera posible, del celebre estrecho de Magallanes, y lo mismo de otros estrechos? Y la razon de todo esto ès el haver enseñado la experiencia a los Navegantes ser su mayor enemigo la tierra, quando el Mar, y los vientos se enfurecen, por lo que procuran huir, engolpeandose, y buscando el mar ancho quanto les es posible. Entre Islas, las corrientes son siempre violentissimas, y los vientos, o soplan mui fuertes, o calman con gran facilidad, y uno y otro es contrario à la navegacion. Las mareas son mui inquietas, y las turbonadas exponen a cada passo a dár en tierra, como tan inmediata, con inevitable peligro; de lo que aun no les pueden librar las mas veces los puertos aun siendo seguros (los que niega haber dho Almirante en el derrotero antiguo, respondiendò a lo que representa Legarde, y le opone el Fiscal de Manila) porque no pueden tomarse con facilidad, o sin riesgo por necesitar de vientos determinados segun la colocacion de sus bocas. La misma situacion de las Philipinas hace manifesto con solo mirar el Mapa, que dho Almirante presenta, quantas vueltas hai que dár desde el Puerto de Cavite hasta el Desembocadero de S. Bernardino, las que precisan à guñar frecuentemente, y mudar de rumbo, y de quarta de viento, para seguir el agua apartados de tierra en la corta distancia que la dha situacion permite. Todo esto se evita por el Derrotero que propone saliendo desde luego de Maxiveles virando à Ouest, o Poniente en Mar ancho, y sin vuelta alguna hasta tomar la altura precisa para montar los Cabos de Capones, y Bulimao, y desde alli virando a Norte la altura para montar los Cabos de Boxeador, y el Engaño; y montados ellos à no larga distancia podran buscar, y elegir casi los mismos Meridianos, y paralelos, que dirigen el barlovento, y rumbo antiguo hasta el Meridiano de las Marianas, y paralelo de treinta, y dos, ó treinta, y tres grados de latitud septemtrional, que ès la altura que regularmente buscan para navegar desde alli hasta Acapulco. Todos estos mares son libres, anchos, y conocidos segun las deposiciones de los mas inteligentes, y practicos de los que compusieron la Junta.

3. La tercera razon se funda en lo que se acaba de decir: y ès que el derrotero, que propone el Almirante Hermán no se puede llamar absolutamente nuevo, y quando

mucho solo se le podrá dar este nombre por lo que mira a la distancia, que hai desde la salida de Mariveles hasta haber montado el Cabo del Engaño, por no haberse hecho por este Derrotero la navegacion; si bien aun este Mar esta ya varias veces navegado, y reconocido segun el parecer del Piloto Francès de Boislore, y de los Pilotos Don Diego Guelche, y Don Felix Ugene, assi por los navios que han venido de China, como por varios navios Franceses, que dho Deboislore cita; y quando esto no dé toda la seguridad, que se necesita para la salida del Galeon por este derrotero, à lo mas que podrá precisar ès a que se reconozca por embarcacion menos interessada, conformandose en esto con los que en la Junta dieron este voto.

4ª. La quarta razon debe juzgarse de gran consecuencia, y se funda en los treinta, o quarenta dias que el dho Almirante asegura que se puede abreviar la navegacion por el Derrotero, que propone lo que ninguno de los de la Junta impugna aun los opuestos à su dictamen. Porque aun precindiendo de las utilidades, y conveniencias, que expresa dho Almirante en el adelantamiento de la tornavuelta, que son muchas, y mui apreciiables, como lo nota, e insinúa el Fiscal de Manila, yà en la seguridad de los caudales, ya en la brevedad de las noticias, y expedientes, que de esta Corte van à aquellas Islas, y por esso el mas breve, y mejor despacho de las dependencias con la utilidad del bien publico, y comercio de dhas Islas, yà el evitar muchos fraudes al comercio, y hacienda real que por la tardanza, y detencion en el derrotero antiguo, ú se cometen, u hai ocasion de cometerse con la sobrecarga de los navios, y en fin la mayor seguridad, y facilidad del tornaviage por dho embocadero de S. Bernardino, que consiste en la garrantia del tiempo para lograr las brizas, o vientos de Oriente favorables de vuelta à este derrotero, por lo que la navegacion que al salir suele regularmente ser de quarenta dias, y mas hasta desembocar; al entrar volviendo puede ser de quatro, cinco, ú seis dias, quando mas, como lo previene, y asegura dho Almirante; por que aunque los vientos siempre son variables, la experiencia ha enseñado, que hai tiempos en que por lo regular son seguros, y firmes los de alguna quarta, y dho Almirante arguye con la experiencia de ser firmes dhas brizas en el tiempo a que se puede adelantar la tornavuelta. Fuera de todas estas conveniencias, que sin duda son sumamente apreciiables, y deben hacer gran fuerza, se viene desde luego a los ojos el que no se les puede discurrir mayor beneficio a los que navegan, que el abreviarles el tiempo de su navegacion, para que se detengan lo menos, que sea possible en el Mar, en el qual siempre estan expuestos a las borrascas, y tormentas, à la violencia de los vientos, y temporales, y sus mudanzas, a las calmas, y a todas las otras fatales contingencias, que no ignoran, aun los que no han navegado, les pueden sobrevenir, y frecuentemente les sobrevienen mientras se mantienen en el: y assi por sola esta razon (aun quando no huviera tantas) se debe preferir el medio, que los saque quanto mas brevemente sea possible del Mar, a qualquier otro, que los detenga en el; sino en el caso de ser evidentemente arriesgado a mayores males.

5ª. Para la inteligencia de esta quinta razon, que consiste en la mayor facilidad, y seguridad de la navegacion por serle favorables los vientos por el derrotero, que se propone, y contrarios por el antiguo; ès preciso hacerse cargo de que las Yslas Philipinas estan situadas a lo largo de Norte à Sur, o Mediodia entre poco mas de cinco grados

hasta los diez, y nueve de latitud septemtrional, y a lo ancho de Ouest ó Poniente al Lest, ó Oriente entre los ciento, y cinquenta, y seis hasta los ciento, y sesenta, y siete con poca diferencia de longitud; por lo que el derrotero, y rumbo antiguo las atraviesa enteramente del Ouest al Lest. Y esta puede haber sido la razon de haberse seguido hasta aqui este derrotero sin intervenir malicia en los Pilotos, y prescindiendo de los motivos particulares, que apunta la representacion: por que como el viage de Philipinas a Nueva España se hace saliendo de la parte de Ouest de estas Yslas, siguiendo el rumbo, y barlovento a Leste, ès la primera aprehension de los que han de navegar la brevedad en esta travesia, por tomarse este rumbo desde luego: y no se ofrece el irle à buscar tomando la vuelta por la banda del Sur, u del Norte de dhas Yslas y en la realidad; y por su naturaleza seria mucho mas breve este derrotero, a no dilatarle los vientos, y demas inconvenientes, que despues se han experimentado. Y no confirma poco esta especie el que el Piloto Legarde, llevado quizá de esta misma aprehension, pone por ventaja del derrotero por el Embocadero el haber abanzado à Lest (saliendo por el) setenta leguas, y no se hace cargo de que siempre es preciso guiñar, o volver hacia el Norte para buscar la altura de 32 ú 33 grados sobre las Marianas para montar estas Yslas, y que se ganan por el Cabo del Engaño cerca de 90 leguas hallandose al salir por el en 19 grados de altura, y por el Embocadero en 14 con diferencia de 5 grados, como todo se hace evidente en las derrotas, que especifican, y señalan los Pilotos Juan de Equilos, y Joseph Gonzales Bueno. Por la situacion sentada de dhas Yslas manifiestamente se reconoce que a el rumbo, y barlovento del Ouest a Lest, que es el del Derrotero antiguo le son contrarios los vientos Orientales, y casi contrarios los de las quartas entre Lest, y Norte, y Lest, y Sur arrimadas a Lest, por herir la embarcacion por proa, o quasi proa; y los de las quartas, que se arriman al Sur, ó Norte, ó entre Sur, y Ouest, que la hieren de costado, y en otras circunstancias fueran favorables, aqui, por navegar entre Yslas, solo podran lograrse con grave dificultad, cuidado, y faenas; por que arreciando mucho, arrojaràn la embarcacion contra la tierra de una, u otra banda de Sur o Norte de dhas Yslas, con manifiesto riesgo en las arribadas; por lo que ès tantas veces preciso esperar el viento a proposito en lo que consisten las detenciones, que hacen tan dilatada esta navegacion, la qual a poderse lograr con facilidad los Vientos, seria tan breve, como lo muestra lo que queda dho, hablando del tornaviage a tiempo de lograr las Brizas firmes, y favorables a la vuelta.

Por la razon contraria se convence que saliendo de Mariveles, se navega gobernando al Ouest hasta montar el Cabo de Capones, y desde este gobernando al Norte hasta el Cabo de Boxeador; a cuyo rumbo le son vientos favorables todos los Orientales, y los demas, que hemos visto contrarios al rumbo antiguo como en la mayor parte de la salida de las Yslas opuesto; pues en este rumbo, hieren dhos vientos la embarcacion por popa, o quasi popa; y los que la hieren de costado le son tambien mui favorables, pudiendose lograr facilmente, y ganarlos en Mar ancho, y abierto sin el riesgo de arribadas, ni temor de la tierra, y los Pilotos, y navegantes tienen por regla sentada que se navega mucho mas, y con mas facilidad, y seguridad navegando a la bolina, o con viento de costado, que con viento en popa. Y siendo assi que segun la representacion del

Almirante Hermàn, y las deposiciones de los Pilotos de la Junta son los referidos vientos los que reinan, y regularmente ventean en el tiempo de la salida de estas Yslas para Nueva España; no parece se puede dudar de las ventajas, que hace en esta parte el derrotero, que se {pr}opone al que hasta aqui se ha seguido, quedando solo en este rumbo la dificultad de montar los Cabos del Boxeador, y el Engaño, por ser preciso a este efecto llevar el barlovento mismo de Ouest a Lest, que se lleva en el otro Derrotero, y al qual se ha dho ser contrarios, o poco favorables los vientos, que por este tiempo ventean: Pero esta dificultad se puede vencer fácilmente logrando, y ganando qualquier de los vientos de las quartas entre Sur, y Ouest, ó entre Ouest, y Norte, lo que en Mar ancho, y abierto no tiene dificultad, buscando la altura a este efecto; pues solo los vientos Orientales, ó quasi Orientales son los enteramente contrarios a esta embocada, y los de las quartas entre Norte, y Est son peligrosos por el riesgo de las arrivadas à la tierra de dhos Cabos; bien que siempre hai mucho mar en que engolfarse para huir de ella. Todo lo dho será mas cierto, y asegurado si los vientos que se dice corren en el tiempo de la salida, son vientos de Monzon, esto ès corren siempre hacia una parte firmes, y arreglados por el espacio de determinado tiempo hasta mudarse despues a la parte contraria tambien a tiempo determinado.

Con lo dho hasta aqui quedan satisfhas las razones con que impugnan este dictamen los del parecer contrario fundandose este principal, y casi precisamente en haberse seguido siempre el otro derrotero, y ser mejor el mar conocido, que el que no se ha navegado. Si esta razon tuviera alguna eficacia, careciera sin duda la España de los bellos descubrimientos que logra con tanta utilidad, y gloria de la Nacion, y entre ellos del de las mismas Yslas Philipinas, los quales todos se han hecho por mares no coconidos, ni jamas navegados, sin que haya detenido el arresto Español, esta que siempre es preciso confessar la dificultad, y quando le quisieramos conceder alguna fuerza à esta razon, solo la puede tener en el caso de no haber tantos, y tan conocidos, y padecidos riesgos en el Mar, que hasta aqui se ha navegado, los que como queda dho se van a huir (aunque sea con alguna contingencia, que siempre es precisa) por el nuevo rumbo, que se propone.

El peligro de los baxos llamados el Placel, el de la Plata, y Pedro Sesi que opone el Fiscal de Manila, ès remotissimo, estando, como manifiesta el Almirante Herman, distantes del derrotero, y rumbo que se ha de seguir el que menos mas de 60 leguas, y alguno mas de 200 y segun esto hai mas playa de Mar, que la que tiene por algunas partes el Mediterraneo en la distancia de las Costas de España a las del Africa. Ni son menores las distancias de Mar a las costas de la China, de Camboya, y Tunquin, por lo que tampoco se deben recelar mas las arrivadas a Reinos estraños en dhos Mares, que se pueden recelar en el Mediterraneo a las costas enemigas de Berberia; sino ès en una deshecha borrasca en que en uno, y otro Mar ès igual este riesgo, y ha sucedido irremediabilmente algunas veces. Ni debe passarse en silencio en orden a este assunto el que en qualquier rumbo que se siga en el viage de Philipinas à Acapulco ha de llevarse el Barlovento à buscar la altura de 33 grados para montar las Marianas bien cerca de las

Yslas del Japon, por lo que se debía recelar mas la arrivada à estas tierras. Que es lo que siente el Cosmographo.

Madrid, en su Collegio Imperial de la Compañia de Jesus a 30 de Noviembre de 1733 años.

Carlos de la Reguera.

Translation.

[Endorsement:]

Madrid, 30 November 1733.

Father de la Reguera, Cosmographer of the Indies.

In compliance with a decision of the Council, and in view of the representation of Admiral Enrique Herman, in which he proposed as appropriate that the Philippine galleon make her route by leaving Mariveles, going to the high sea, up past Cape Bojeador and Cape Engaño, he expresses in detail the reasons on which he bases his opinion that the route proposed by the above-mentioned Enrique Herman should be followed.

The Cosmographer, in view of the representation made by Admiral Enrique Hermán, to the effect that it would be appropriate for the galleon that leaves the Philippines yearly for New Spain to make her way, as soon as she gets out of Mariveles, to the high sea towards Cape Bojeador, and Cape Engaño, last headland on the north side of said Islands, in order to be free of the continuous and irremediable dangers that exist and have been experienced in the navigation by the route followed until now among the Islands, i.e. to leave by the Strait of San Bernardino. And in view also of the expert opinions of the pilots and boatswains who attended the Meeting held by Brigadier Fernando Valdés Tamón, Governor and Captain General of said Islands, and President of the Royal Audiencia of Manila, declares that his opinion is that the route proposed by said Enrique Hermán must be followed, for the following reasons:

1º Because righteous reason and prudence dictate that one must avoid certain and unavoidable dangers by whatever rational means, though they be no more than probable. And it seems that there are no doubts about the real dangers to which ships are exposed along the old route; indeed, all those involved in the Meeting agree with this, and other persons whom they quote, and they [i.e. the dangers] have been proven by experience with the deplorable misfortunes, and repeated losses that the representation of said Admiral mentions. There is no doubt either that the probability of their being avoided along the proposed route can be disputed, not only by the strength of the reasons advanced in his representation, and that will be clarified in this opinion, but also by the extrinsic authority of most of those who attended said Meeting, and by the greater authority and intelligence they show in nautical science. It is very possible that the route proposed by said Admiral has some dangers also, because the ocean, and navigation upon it, have them by their very nature. That is why one is aware of dangers whenever one sails. However, it is never prudent to expose oneself voluntarily to dangers that are known to exist, in order to avoid probable dangers [elsewhere], and to flee those that

are uncertain, to throw oneself upon those that are unavoidable, and oftentimes fatal. Still, reason admits that the former dangers are already known, and the latter ones not, and one must always trust the expertise and skill of the pilots, but they, as said Admiral has pointed out very well, are not enough against the violence of the sea and the wind. In addition, who does not see that trust in them implies that one must look for, and always have very skilled and expert pilots and seamen; they cannot be so easily found and once found a continuous effort has to be made, and when a navigation that does not allow the least carelessness, that would pose an unavoidable risk.

2° Because little reflection is necessary to recognize the great difference between a route that must be made among islands, and at a short distance from land, and rocks, and another that takes place in the open sea, such that unless necessity forces one to select the first, anyone with an average knowledge of the nautical sciences would avoid the former and select the second option, so that no-one will call him foolhardy. What if one were to find a route to avoid the Bahama Channel, so fatal to our fleets from New Spain, and how many times have the Dutch, and other nationalities too, tried to find a new route to free themselves from the famous Strait of Magellan, if at all possible, and the same with other straits. The reason of all of this is because experience has taught sailors that land is their greatest enemy, when the sea and the winds get furious, so that they try and flee from it by heading seaward, preferring an open sea whenever possible. Among islands, the currents are always most treacherous, and the winds blow strongest, or they abate very easily; either possibility poses a problem to navigation. Tides are very problematic too, and squalls expose ships to an unavoidable danger, land being so near. That is why ports, though safe, do not always protect them in that situation, but said Admiral declared that there are no such ports along the old route, when he answered the question of Mr. Legarde and the opposition of the Fiscal of Manila. Why? Because they cannot be taken so easily, or without risk, since some specific winds are required to enter them, according to the layout of their entrance passages. The same situation obviously exists in the Philippines, if one simply looks at the chart that said Admiral exhibits: so many turns to make between the port of Cavite and the Strait of San Bernardino! They force the ships to frequently tack, to change direction, and to seek the proper wind, to stay within the channel and away from the land as much as possible, but it is always a short distance away. All of this can be avoided along the proposed route, by heading west toward the high sea as soon as leaving Mariveles, and without any turns being required, until gaining some latitude to round Cape Capones, and Cape Bulimao, and from there turning north to gain enough latitude to round Cape Bojeador, and Cape Engaño. In order to round these capes at not too great a distance, they will be able to seek downwind, and almost choose the same meridians, and parallels, than along the old route until the meridian of the Marianas, and parallel of 32° or 33° of latitude north, which is the latitude that is normally sought to take them from there as far as Acapulco. All of these seas are free of dangers, wide open, and well known, according to the depositions of the most knowledgeable and practical pilots who attended the Meeting.

3° The third reason is based on what has just been said, that is, that the route proposed by Admiral Hermán cannot absolutely be called new, when it could only be called new on account of the distance involved between the exit at Mariveles and past Cape Engaño, because this route was never used for the run before. However, it was used, according to the opinion of the French pilot, De Boislóré, and the pilots, Don Diego Guelche and Don Felix Ugene [= Duchesne], not only by ships that came from China, but also some French ships mentioned by said De Boislóré. While this does not give the complete safety necessary for launching the galleon by this route, the most that can be required is that a survey of it be made by a smaller vessel, in accordance with the suggestions made by those who were at the Meeting and proposed this alternative.

4° The fourth reason must be judged as consequential, and is based on the 30 or 40 days that said Admiral claims could be saved by sailing along the proposed route, and this contention was not challenged by any of those attending the Meeting, not even those opposed to his opinion. Why? Because, even disregarding the benefits, and advantages, expressed by said Admiral, in being able to make an earlier return voyage, and they are many and very appreciable, as noted, and insinuated, by the Fiscal of Manila, such as greater safety for the funds [carried on board], or a shorter delay in getting news and the files that go from this court [of Madrid] to those Islands, hence a quicker and better despatch of the business at hand, with advantages for the public good, and trade of said Island. Another advantage is the avoidance of the many frauds to the trade, and Royal treasury, that, on account of the delay, and stops made along the old route, were committed, or could be committed, resulting in ships being overloaded. Finally, there would be greater safety and ease in the return voyage by said Strait of San Bernardino, that would come from guaranteeing the tradewinds, i.e. the easterly winds favorable to the return voyage along this route; hence, the voyage, which in an eastward direction usually takes 40 or more days, could, upon returning, be made in 4 or 5 days, 6 at most, as stated by said Admiral, because, though the winds are always variable, experience has shown that there are times when winds from certain quarters blow safely and constantly, and said Admiral argues that experience has shown said tradewinds to be constant during the period corresponding to an early return voyage. Besides all of these advantages, which no doubt are extremely appreciable, and must be of much weight, it is, of course, obvious to all that the best advantage for any traveller is to shorten the time of his voyage, to save him time, specially when the voyage is made at sea, where he is always exposed to squalls, and hurricanes, to violent winds, and storms, and their variations, to calm weather, and all of the other potential emergencies that are not unknown, even to those who do not sail, that may occur, and do occur, while they remain at sea. So, for this reason alone (even if there were not so many others) one must prefer the means to take them out of the sea as fast as possible, to any other means, that would detain them there; otherwise, it would be to expose them to obvious risks and greater evils.

5° To understand this fifth reason, which consists in the greater ease and safety of the navigation that comes from winds favorable to the proposed route, and contrary

to the old one, it is necessary to consider that the Philippine Islands are situated along a North-South axis, that is, between a little less than 5° and 19° of latitude north, and East-West, more or less between 156° and 167° of longitude; that is why the old route crosses them entirely from west to east. This could have been the reason why this route has been followed so far, through no malice on the part of the pilots, even disregarding the individual reasons, mentioned in the representation; because, as the voyage from the Philippines to New Spain is made by leaving from the western side of these Islands, following the course, and downwind toward the east, it is the first apprehension of those who must sail it is, how short can this crossing be, since they are naturally not given the option of seeking speed, by going around these Islands by either the south or the north side of them? In reality, and naturally, this [old] route would be much faster, if only the winds, and other disadvantages, that have been experienced afterwards did not delay it. Pilot Legarde was perhaps subject to this same apprehension when he brought this point up; he considers it an advantage of the route by way of the Embocadero that a progress of 70 leagues eastward along it can be made, but he forgets that one must always tack, and then must turn northward to seek the latitude of 32° or 33° above the Marianas in order to get beyond these Islands, and also that almost 90 leagues can be saved by way of Cape Engaño, given that its latitude of this departure is 19° , whereas that of the Embocadero 14° , a difference of 5° as recorded in the sailing directions exhibited by Pilots Juan de Equilos and José Gonzalez Bueno. From the very layout of said Islands, it is obvious that any easterly wind is contrary to a west-to-east course, that of the old route, and that winds from the NE and SE quarters are almost contrary to it, as they hinder the vessel by the bow, or almost so; and the winds from the north, or south, or from the SW quarter, would affect the sides, and in other circumstances that would be favorable, but here, on account of having to sail among islands, they could be taken advantage of with great difficulty, care, and many maneuvers, because if they should become brisk, they would throw the vessel against land on either side, on either the south or north side of said Islands, at obvious risk of turning back in distress. That is why so many times it is necessary to wait for the appropriate wind, hence the delays that make this voyage so long, but if the winds could more easily be taken advantage of, it would be so much shorter, as shown by what was said above, when referring to the return voyage made at the time of the constant tradewinds, favorable to the return.

By the contrary reason, one is convinced that, upon leaving Mariveles and steering west until Cape Capones has been rounded, and from there steering north until Cape Bojeador, along which course all of the easterlies are favorable, and the other winds, that we have seen were contrary to the course along the old route, and for the most part opposed to the departure from these Islands, well, along this course said winds blow astern, or almost so, and the cross-winds are also very favorable, so that the wide open sea can be reached without the risk of returns in distress, or any fear of land. Pilots, and sailors in general, consider it an established rule that one can sail much better, and much more easily and safely, while tacking, or with cross-winds, than with the wind astern.

This being so, and given the representation of Admiral Hermán, and the depositions of the Pilots of the Meeting, regarding the winds that prevail during the time of the departure from these Islands for New Spain, it does not seem possible to doubt the advantages of the proposed route over the one followed so far, for this part of the voyage, and that the only difficulty left along the new route is that of rounding Capes Bojeador and Engaño, because the same westerly wind is required to accomplish this, as in the other route, where it was said that the winds blowing at that time were contrary, or not much favorable. However, this difficulty can be overcome easily, by taking advantage of any wind blowing from the SW and NW quadrants, which can be done easily in the open sea, while seeking the appropriate latitude; indeed, only the easterlies, or quasi-easterlies, are completely contrary to this venture, while those from the NE quadrant{s} are dangerous on account of the risk of being pushed toward said Capes, though there is always plenty of sea room available to escape this fate. Everything said so far will be more certain and assured, if only the winds that are said to prevail at the time of departure would be monsoon winds, because they always blow in one direction, constantly and regularly, for a specific period of time, until they change and blow in the opposite direction, also at a fixed time period.

With what has been said so far, the objections put forward by the parties opposing this opinion have been effectively overcome; their main objection is based on the fact that the old route has always been followed in the past, and a known sea is better than one upon which one has never sailed. If this reason had any validity, Spain would no doubt have missed all of the beautiful discoveries that she achieves, with so much benefit and glory to the nation, and among them, the discovery of the Philippine Islands themselves; all such discoveries have been made through unknown seas, and routes never sailed before, without any of this having stopped Spaniards, though admittedly there were difficulties, and should we wish to grant some value to this objection, we can only do so in the case when there are not so many known dangers to navigation, as suffered so far, whereas those that have been mentioned above can be avoided (though there be some probability of trouble, but that is normal) by following the new, or proposed, route.

The danger presented by the shoals called Placeres, or Silver Shoals, and those of Pedro Sesi, raised by the Fiscal of Manila as an objection, is very remote, because they are, as Admiral Hermán said, far away from the route and courses to be followed by at least 60 leagues, and some over 200 leagues away, and therefore there is more sea room than in some parts of the Mediterranean between the coasts of Spain and those of Africa. The sea distances to the coast of China, of Cambodia, and Tonquin, are no less, so that there is no need to fear returns in distress to foreign countries either, not more so than in the Mediterranean towards the enemy coasts of Barbary, unless caught in some destructive squall, something that can happen in either sea, where the risk is the same, and this does happen sometimes. Regarding this matter, one should not omit to say that, no matter what courses are followed during the voyage from the Philippines to Acapulco, one must be taken there by winds that blow astern, and they can be found

by seeking a latitude of 33° in order to pass the meridian of the Marianas, quite close to the Islands of Japan; hence, one can fear more having to go there in distress than to any other country. This is the opinion of the Cosmographer.

Madrid, in your Imperial College of the Society of Jesus, on 30 November 1733.
Carlos de la Reguera.

B6. The opinion of Pedro Manuel Cedillo, royal cosmographer

Source: AGI Fil. 95-4-115.

Original text in Spanish.

El Director de la Academia de Marina desta Ciudad de Cadiz, en vista de la representacion que hizo el Almirante Don Enrique Herman al Brigadier Don Fernando Baldes Tamon, Governador y Capitan General de las Yslas Philipinas, y Presidente de la Real Audiencia de Manila, en que le parece ser conveniente que el Galeon que sale de dhas Yslas annualmente para la Nueva España, haga su derrota desde Marivelez mar afuera à montar el Cabo de Boxeador, y del Engaño ultima tierra por la banda del Norte de dhas Yslas, para por este medio oviar los continuos, é inevitables riesgos que ay en la navegacion que hasta aqui se ha seguido entre Yslas para salir por el desembo-cadero de San Bernardino; y assimismo en vista de los pareceres de los Pilotos y contra Maestres de la Junta que se celebró pare este efecto, en que el mayor numero conviene en ser mas breve y segura la nueva derrota:

dize, que segun la delineacion del Mapa que acompaña a los autos, y lo que afirma dho Almirante Don Enrique con la experiencia de muchos años de los vientos que reynan en los parages de su derrota, le parece ser muy probable la que propone, saliendo de Marivelez a montar los Cabos de Boxeador y del Engaño, y que sea mejor que la antigua del embocadero de San Bernardino, y que se conseguiran las ventajas que propone de seguridad, brevedad, alivio de la gente de Mar.

Mas porque algunos de los de dha Junta dissienten desto y en la acertada deliberacion se interesa tanto el mayor servicio de Su Magd. (que Dios guarde) y el bien universal de los Havitadores de dhas Yslas Philipinas, no le parece que aya otro medio mas conveniente en esta materia totalmente practica para ducidir la duda que el de el experimento con una fragata (como la propone el fiscal de Manila, y la piden tres de los de la Junta) la qual llebe a lo menos dos Pilotos de los de mayor zelo y experiencia que hagan la derrota propuesta hasta montar el Cabo del Engaño que es lo dificultoso de ella; con lo qual se coseguirá ó el desvanecer las obgeciones puestas por el Piloto Don Luis de la Garde, y recelos de otros de la Junta, ó lograr el desengaño de que no es conveniente: assi lo siente el Director.

*Cadiz y febrero ocho de mill setecientos y treinta y quatro.
Pedro Manuel Cedillo.*

Translation.

The Director of the Naval Academy in this city of Cadiz, in view of the representation made by Admiral Enrique Hermán to Brigadier Fernando Valdés Tamón, Governor and Captain General of the Philippine Islands, and President of the Royal Audiencia of Manila, in which he is of the opinion that it would be appropriate for the galleon that leaves said Islands yearly for New Spain to follow a route from Mariveles seaward as far as rounding Cape Bojeador and that of Engaño, the last headland of said Islands on their north side, so that by this means may be obviated the continuous and unavoidable risks that are present along the route that has been followed so far, among islands, to depart from the Strait of San Bernardino, and also in view of the opinions of the pilots and boatswains of the Meeting that was held to this effect, in which most of them agreed that the new route would be quicker and safer, does declare:

That, according to the indications of the chart included in said record of proceedings, and the declaration of said Admiral Don Enrique who has many years of experience with the winds that prevail in the neighborhoods of his route, he is of the opinion that the proposal seems very probable, by leaving Mariveles and go past Capes Bojeador and Engaño, and that it would be better than the old route by way of the Strait of San Bernardino, and that the alleged advantages of safety, brevity, and relief of the seamen would indeed be achieved.

However, because some of those present at said Meeting objected and a well-meaning discussion in the interest of His Majesty (whom may God save) and that of the universal good of the inhabitants of the Philippine Islands, he is of the opinion that there is no other means more appropriate in this regard that to decide the matter practically, and thus remove any doubt, by having a frigate (as recommended by the Fiscal of Manila, and requested by three of those present at the Meeting), with at least two pilots on board, from those among the most zealous and experienced. They should cover the proposed route as far as rounding Cape Engaño, which is the difficult part of it. Hence, the result will be, either a disappearance of the objections put forward by Pilot Luis de Lagarde, and the fears of others at the Meeting, or else become disillusioned and accept that it is not appropriate. So is the opinion of the Director.

Cadiz, 8 February 1734.

B7. Letter from the King to the Governor of the Philippines, dated San Ildefonso 26 July 1734

Source: AGI Fil. 333, libro 13, fol. 171v-173, pp. 404-407.

Original text in Spanish.

Al Governador de Philipinas ordenandole rehaga la experiencia del nuevo derrote-ro que propuso el Almirante Henrique Herman para el Galeon de aquellas Islas en la forma que se expresa.

El Rey

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

*En carta de 25 de Junio del 1731 disteis quenta con testimonio de que con motivo de haver nombrado por Piloto mayor del Galeon **Nuestra Señora de Guia** (que el año de 1730, fue a N^a España por el situado de esas Islas) al Almirante Henrrique Herman, os represento los riesgos a que hiban expuestos los Galeones saliendo por el embocadero de San Bernardino y la seguridad de su viage, si dexando esta derrota, fuesen por la voca de Marivelez Mar afuera asta montar el Cabo del Boxeador y del Engaño, ultima tierra por la vanda del Norte de esas Islas; y que habiendo comvocado una Junta de Pilotos y praticos fueron de paracer unos se pusiese en egecuzion el nuebo derrottero y otros que no se hiziese novedad en el antiguo lo que me participavais para que en su inteligencia deliverase lo que fuese mas de mi Real agrado.*

Y habiendo visto en mi Consejo de las Indias la zitada carta y testimonio, con lo que dijo mi fiscal, y Informaron el Padre Carlos de la Reguera Cosmographo de ellas y Don Pedro Cedillo Director de la Academia de la Marina en Cadiz: He benido sobre consulta del referido mi Consejo de 22 de Dziembre proximo pasado en conformarme con el dictamen del referido Don Pedro Cedillo quien expuso que segun la delineacion del Mapa que acompañaava a los autos y lo que afirmava el expresado Henrrique Herman con la experiencia de muchos años de los vientos que reynan en su derrota le parecia seria muy probable la que proponia el enunciado Herman saliendo de Marivelez a montar a los cavos del Boxeador y del Engaño y que se conseguirian las ventajas de seguridad, brebedad y alivio de la gente de Mar y habitadores de esas Islas.

In cuiá consecuencia os ordeno y mando dispongais se haga esta experiencia con una fragata en la qual vayan a lo menos dos Pilotos de los de mayor zelo y practica y sigan la derrota propuesta saliendo desde Marivelez Mar afuera a montar el Cavo del Boxeador y del Engaño, ultima tierra por la vanda del Norte, de esas Islas, para por este medio, obviar los continuos e inevitables riesgos que expreso se avian seguido entre Islas para salir por el Desembocadero de San Bernardino y de lo que executareis y resultare me dareis quenta para hallarme enterado.

Fha en San Ildephonso à 26 de Jullio de 1734.

Yo el Rey.

Por mandado del Rey nuestro Señor,

Don Juan Bentura de Maturana.

Translation.

To the Governor of the Philippines, ordering him to re-do the test of the new route proposed by Admiral Enrique Hermán with the galleon of those Islands in the manner expressed therein.¹

The King.

¹ Ed. note: The decree is here badly summarized; only a trial run with a frigate was being considered.

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

In your letter dated 25 June 1731, you reported, along with a record of proceedings that, on the occasion of your having appointed Admiral Enrique Hermán chief pilot of the galleon **Nuestra Señora de Guía** (which went to New Spain in 1730 to get the subsidy of those Islands), he represented to you the risks to which the galleons were exposing themselves by leaving through the Strait of San Bernardino and the safety of their voyage, if they abandoned this route, and went instead seaward from the channel of Mariveles, then past Cape Bojeador, and Cape Engaño, the last headland of those Islands on their north side; and that, having called a Meeting of ocean and coastal Pilots, some of them were of the opinion that the new route should be implemented, but others did not wish to abandon the old route. This you reported to me so that, once informed of it, I may decide what would be of my Royal pleasure.

And this matter having been seen in my Council of the Indies, with the above-mentioned letter and record of proceedings, plus the opinion of my Fiscal, and the report of Father Carlos de la Reguera, Cosmographer of the Indies, and that of Don Pedro Cedillo, Director of the Naval Academy in Cadiz: I have decided, following the consultation of my Council of 22 December last, to accept the recommendation of the above-said Don Pedro Cedillo, who explained that, according to the indications of the chart enclosed with the record of proceedings and the declarations of the above-said Enrique Hermán, a man with many years of experience of the winds prevailing along his route, he was of the opinion that the route proposed by said Enrique would be very probable, that of leaving Mariveles, up past Capes Bojeador and Engaño, and the advantages of safety, brevity and relief for seamen and the inhabitants of those Islands were indeed attainable.

Consequently, I order you to arrange for a trial run to be carried out with a frigate, aboard which there should be at least two pilots from among the most zealous and skilled ones available, and they are to follow the proposed route, going seaward from Mariveles, up past Cape Bojeador and Cape Engaño, the last headland on the north side of those Islands, so that by this means may be obviated the continuous risks encountered among islands on the way out by the Strait of San Bernardino, and you are to report to me on the execution and result of same, so that I may be kept informed.

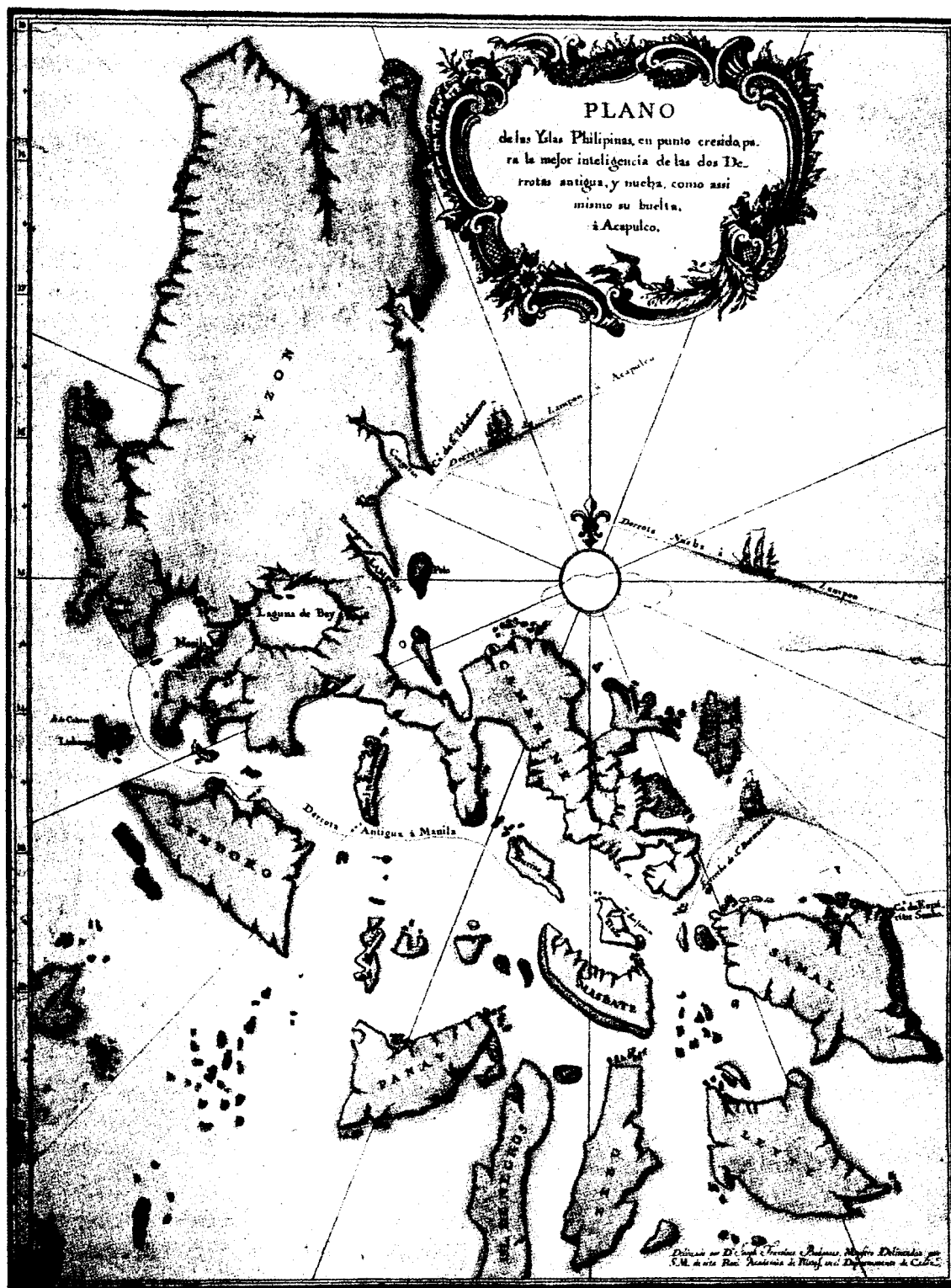
Made in San Ildefonso, 26 July 1734.

I the King.

By order of the King our Lord,

Don Juan Ventura de Maturana.¹

¹ Ed. note: The Governor of the Philippines wrote two letters in answer to the King, one dated 14 June 1740 and the other dated 27 June 1741. In 1740, a test run was finally attempted by the patache **Nuestra Señora del Rosario** that left Manila Bay at the end of February under the command of pilot Manuel Correa. As he was very conscious of the opinion of the Manila traders, he finally recommended against the new route.



Proposal for a new galleon route, by José F. Badaraco. Proposal for the use of the east coast, drawn by the master draftsman of the Royal Academy of Pilots in the Department of Cadiz, ca. 1740.

B8. Letter from the King to the Governor of the Philippines, dated Buen Retiro 12 December 1741

Source: Same as B7 above.

Original text in Spanish.

Al Gobernador de Philipinas, avisando el recivo de su carta en que participá avia salido una fragata afin de reconocer los cavos de Engaño y Boqueador para facilitar la salida de los Navios de la Carrera de Nueva España, y previniendole se espera de cuenta de las resultas de esta providencia.

El Rey.

Gobernador, y Capitan General de las Islas Philipinas y Presidente de mi Real Audiencia de ellas que reside en la Ziudad de Manila.

En carta de 14 de Junio del año proximo pasado disteis cuenta de que por maior embarazos que se avian ofrecido en los dos años antecedentes, y por falta de Pilotos de satisfaccion no se pudo dar cumplimiento a lo que os mande en punto de que se hiciese reconocimiento de los Cabos de Engaño, y Bogeador para facilitar la salida de los Navios de la Carrera de Nueva España; pero que en el mes de Marzo del mismo año despachasteis una fragata a fin de hacer el expresado reconocimiento llevando para ello las hordenes, que os parecieron correspondientes y que en la primera ocasion que se ofreciese dariais noticia de la resulta de esta providencia.

Y aviendose visto en mi Consejo de las Indias la referida carta, ha parecido avisaros de su recivo como lo executo y preveniros se queda esperando remitais con la brevedad posible razon formal, y justificada de quanto se hubiere observado en este asunto.

Fecha en Buen Retiro a 12 de Diziembre de 1741.

Yo el Rey.

Por mandado del Rey nuestro Señor,

Don Fernando Tribino.

Translation.

To the Governor of the Philippines, acknowledging the receipt of his letter in which he reported that a frigate had gone out to survey Capes Engaño and Bojeador to facilitate the departure of the ships of the run of New Spain, and warning him that the results of this measure would be awaited.

The King.

[To the] Governor and Captain General of the Philippine Islands and President of my Royal Audiencia there, residing in the City of Manila.

In your letter dated 14 June of last year, you reported that, on account of major difficulties encountered during the previous two years, and for lack of qualified pilots, it was not possible to give compliance to what I had ordered you to do with regards to the carrying out of a survey of Capes Engaño and Bojeador, to facilitate the departure of the ships of the run of New Spain, but that during the month of March of the same

year you despatched a frigate for the purpose of doing said survey, with appropriate orders from you and that at the first opportunity that became available you would give notice of the result of this measure.

And the letter in question having been seen in my Council of the Indies, I have decided to acknowledge the receipt thereof, as I do now, and to warn you that I will remain in hope of receiving as soon as possible an official and detailed report of the observations made in this matter.

Made in Buen Retiro, 12 December 1741.

I the King.

By order of the King our Lord,
Don Fernando Triviño.

B9. Royal consultation dated Madrid 10 December 1743

Source: AGI Fil. 96.

Original text in Spanish.

Don Joseph de Carvajal, y Lancaster.

Marques de Montemayor.

Don Antonio de Sopena.

Marques de la Regalia.

Don Joseph Cornejo.

Don Pedro Domingo de Contreras.

Don Joseph de la Quintana.

Don Estevan Joseph de Abaria.

Marques de Torrenueva.

Señor

*Don Fernando Valdès Tamon, Governador, y Capitan General que fuè de las Islas Philipinas, dió cuenta en carta de 25 de Junio del año de 1731 de que con motivo de aver nombrado por Piloto mayor del Galeon nombrado **Nuestra Señora de Guia** (que en el de 1730 fuè à la Nueva España por el Situado de las referidas Islas) al Almirante Don Henrique Herman, le representó este los riesgos à que iban expuestos los Galeones saliendo por el desembocadero de San Bernardino; y la seguridad de su viage, si dexando esta derrota fuesen por la boca de Marivelez mar à fuera, hasta montar los Cabos de Boxeador, y del Engaño, ultima tierra por la banda del Norte de las mismas Islas; y que aviendo convocado aquel Governador una Junta de Pilotos y practicos fueron unos de parecer de que se pusiese en execucion el nuevo Derrotero, y otros de que no se hiciese novedad en el antiguo; lo qual puso el Consejo en la Real noticia de V.M. en Consulta de 22 de Diciembre del año de 1733 siendo de parecer de que se mandase al mencionado Governador, y Capitan General que dispusiese se hiciese la experiencia del nuevo Derrotero propuesto por el referido Don Henrique Herman, con una Fragata, en la qual fuesen à lo menos dos Pilotos de los de mayor zelo, y practica, y que*

siguesen la derrota propuesta, saliendo de Marivelez mar à fuera, à montar los Cabos de Boxeador, y del Engaño, ultima tierra (como va dicho) por la banda del Norte de las mencionadas Islas, à fin de que por este medio se obviasen los continuos, y inevitables riesgos que expresó el referido Herman, averse experimentado entre Islas para salir por el desembocadero de San Bernardino, y que al mismo tiempo se le ordenase que de lo que de la referida experiencia resultase diese cuenta puntualmente.

*Aviendose conformado V.M. con el expresado dictamen, se expidió la Cedula correspondiente arreglada à él con fecha de 26 de Julio del año de 1734 à la qual ha satisfecho Don Gaspar de la Torre, actual Governador, y Capitan General de las expresadas Islas en carta de 27 de Junio del año de 1741 diciendo que no aviendose podido executar inmediatamente la referida experiencia, por falta de Embarcaciones, y otras razones que su antecesor tuvo presentes, y que averiguada por él la importancia de que se ponga en practica el nuevo Derrotero, y aviendo oido bastantes dictámenes, todos conformes, en que será de conocida utilidad al publico, y al mayor servicio de V.M. la consecucion de la nueva derrota, tomó la providencia de que no se aprestase Embarcacion competente, en tiempo oportuno, en que fuesen a hacer el reconocimiento necesario los Pilotos Manuel Correa, y Joseph Macias Garcia, quienes emprendieron su viage por el mes de Febrero del año de 1740 y siguieron su derrota conforme à las instrucciones que se les dieron; y el referido Manuel Correa formó su Diario, y Derrotero; y que no aviendo surtido el buen efecto que se deseaba en la navegacion de ciento, ó más leguas mar à fuera, al Este del Cabo del Engaño, arribó à las Costas de Cagayan por Julio del mismo año; y los mencionados Manuel Correa, y Joseph Macias Garcia, informaron al Governador de los inconvenientes que avian reconocido en su viage, y hacian impracticable la salida de los Galeones por el nuevo Derrotero; sobre lo qual dice el mismo Governador que pareciendole, que este negocio era de la mayor importancia, formó Junta general de Pilotos, y que los que concurrieron à ella reconocieron el Derrotero que formó Don Henrique Herman, y el que traxo formado el referido Manuel Correa, y convinieron todos (à excepcion del enunciado Correa, Joseph Macias, su acompañado, y Manuel Galvez) en que no abria dificultad alguna estimable para que los Navios no pudiesen hacer su viage por la nueva derrota, y proposicion de Don Henrique Herman, fundandolo en distintos exemplares de los Navios estrangeros que en varios tiempos avian hecho su viage por aquellos mismos rumbos con mucha felicidad; redarguyendo [sic] las proposiciones de Manuel Correa con las razones, y fundamentos de los pareceres que dieron, y constan del Testimonio de Autos que acompaña el enunciado Don Gaspar de la Torre; el que añade, que hà tenido por conveniente el no continuar otro reconocimiento de los mencionados Cabos de Boxeador, y del Engaño, hasta que enterado V.M. de todo, y de lo que se demuestra en un **Mapa** de las Costas reconocidas que hà remitido se sirva V.M. de mandar lo que fuere más de su Real servicio, y beneficio del Comercio de aquellas Islas.*

Lo que resulta del Testimonio de Autos, que acompaña con su carta el mencionado Don Gaspar de la Torre, es, que los Pilotos Manuel Correa, y Joseph Macias Garcia, que fueron à hacer la experiencia del nuevo Derrotero propuesto por el Almirante Don

Henrique Herman, expresaron difusamente los motivos, y fundamentos por que fueron de sentir de que la nueva derrota que se proponia, era mucho mas peligrosa, y expuesta à mayores, y mas contrarios accidentes que la antigua, y en especial por la mucha corriente que continuamente tienen las aguas en toda la Costa de Cagayan desde el Cabo de Boxeador hasta el del Engaño, para el Norueste, Norte, y Nordeste, como tambien por los vientos Sures, Suestes, y Lesuestes, que casi siempre reynan en aquellas Costas por los meses de Junio, y Julio, segun lo avian experimentado en el curso de su viage, y del reconocimiento que hicieron, por cuyo motivo, si montado el Cabo de Boxeador, mientras llegasen à la punta de Pata, à donde empieza la Sonda de aquella Costa que dista once leguas del referido Cabo, les cogiesen algunas calmas, entonces por razon natural, sotaventados para el Norte por las corrientes se verian precisados à salir sin poder coger la Costa de Cagayan, y sin el refresco, y aguada que deberian hacer, lo qual es de mucho inconveniente; à que se añade ser mas arriesgada la nueva derrota, si al salir desembocando por el Cabo del Engaño les faltase viento favorable ó vendabal, como es muy factible, antes de enmararse hasta cien leguas; los quales reparos, y otros muchos que expresaron, no se experimentarían saliendo las Embarcaciones por el desembocadero de San Bernardino, como hasta entonces se avia practicado.

En la Junta general de Pilotos que convocó el mencionado Governador Don Gaspar de la Torre en 20 de Enero del año de 1741 en que concurrieron Don Ricardo Bucher, Don Guillermo Jordan, Monsieur Dujardin, Don Francisco Briton, Don Francisco Alegre, Don Gaspar Tome de Leon, Don Manuel Estacio, Don Lorenzo de Celaya, y Don Pedro Laborda, dixeron todos que aviendo examinado el escrutinio hecho por los mencionados Manuel Correa, y Joseph Macias Garcia, y el parecer de estos Pilotos que queda expresado hallaban que no obstante èl, serà mas conveniente el que se practique el nuevo Derrotero propuesto por los Cabos de Boxeador, y del Engaño, para la Nueva España, y no por el desembocadero de San Bernardino por donde se está practicando, y à su tornaviage al contrario, segun los fundamentos, y razones que individualmente expresaron apoyados con muchos exemplares de Navios, que en diferentes ocasiones avian hecho su viage por el nuevo rumbo propuesto por el mencionado Almirante Don Henrique Herman, sin aver encontrado riesgo, ni peligro; y que lo mismo avian experimentado los expresados Pilotos que compusieron la Junta en repetidos viages que avian hecho con Navios de todas partes; por lo qual podian asegurar aver visto, y reconocido desde Marivelez hasta las Islas de los Babuyanes, y que no se ofrecia el mas minimo embarazo que pueda impedir la nueva derrota que se intenta haciendo su viage los Navios que salieren para la Nueva España debaxo de las reglas que tambien expusieron en su dictamen.

[The opinion of Pilot Manuel Galvez]

Assi mismo resulta del citado Testimonio de Autos que el mismo Governador Don Gaspar de la Torre mandó al Piloto Don Manuel Galvez, que como inteligente, y practico que era en la navegacion de aquellas Islas y sus Costas, dixese si seria mas conveniente para la seguridad de los Galeones que annualmente se despachan à la Nueva

*España, el que hiciesen su viage por el desembocadero de San Bernardino, como hasta entonces se avia practicado, ó por el nuevo rumbo propuesto de los Cabos de Boxeador, y del Engaño; y lo executó expresando, que en el enunciado desembocadero de San Bernardino no advertia mas peligro, que el de que sucediendo un recio temporal, por tener pocas distancias à donde correr, podia ser muy factible una desgracia; pero que esta seria no pudiendo advertirlo el diestro Piloto, pues anteviendo el Caris del temporal, (cosa muy conocida de los practicos de aquella Carrera) tenia muy buenos Puertos à donde meterse, y asegurarse, respecto de que en la distancia de ochenta leguas, que se regulan desde Marivelez al desembocadero de San Bernardino, hay mas de quince Puertos todos sondeados, reconocidos, y dados por buenos para todo genero de Embarcaciones, además de que por muy recio que sea el temporal, como el viento sopla, por qualquiera parte que venga, al abrigo de tierra, no levanta mar alguna, motivo por que el diestro Piloto aunque se halle empeñado de tierra, puede regir sus velas, y proejar al viento, por ser los enunciados Galeones de buenos hombros para la vela, y con esta diligencia libertarse del peligro, como dice aconteció con el Galeon **Nuestra Señora de Guía**, y con el Patache **Nuestra Señora de la Concepcion** el año de 1738: Que los peligros que segun su experiencia reconoce de que se practique el nuevo Derrotero, son el de que si sucediese en la Costa desde Marivelez al Cabo de Boxeador un desgarron del viento Oeste, que es lo regular en aquellas Islas, y le cogiese à dos, ó tres leguas de tierra no pudiendo como no podrá regir sus velas por la mucha mar que en aquella Costa levanta el enunciado viento, será preciso hacerse pedazos en ella, y peligrar vidas, y haciendas, porque aunque la derrota se haga pasando de diez, à doce leguas de tierra no siempre podrá executar por la contingencia de los vientos; y en comprobacion de ello refiere, que en los años de 1733, 1734 y 1736, se perdieron varios Champanes de la China con el mencionado viento en la Costa de Ilocos, y en las Isletas de las Beatas, que miran al Norte de la Costa de Cagayan en donde se tragó el mar un Patache de Macao; por cuyos malos sucesos, y otros semejantes que individualmente expresa, concluye diciendo que no tiene por conveniente el que se haga novedad en la Derrota que hasta ahora se hà practicado.*

El Consejo, en vista de todo lo que queda expresado, de los dictámenes dados por Cosmographos, y sugetos practicos en la navegacion del Océano, y de lo que hà expresado el Fiscal; es de parecer de que respecto de tratarse de la decision de un punto tan importante, y controvertido, y en que se interesa tanto el Real servicio de V.M. las utilidades de su Erario, y la Causa publica, y beneficio comun del Comercio, Vecindario, moradores, y naturales de aquellas Islas; y considerando al mismo tiempo, que si se pudiese dirigir la navegacion del Galeon de ellas, que pasa à la Nueva España, por el nuevo rumbo propuesto de los Cabos de Boxeador, y del Engaño, sin mayores inconvenientes, ni peligros, que los que se han experimentado por el antiguo del desembocadero de San Bernardino, no hay duda alguna en que se lograrían muy considerables ventajas en la mayor brevedad de su viage, y menores fatigas, y gastos de la gente; se responda al Gobernador, que ha sido reparable el que en un negocio de tanta gravedad, y consecuencias, no hubiese convocado nueva Junta de Pilotos para examinar las razones que

contiene el ultimo, y particular dictamen del Capitan, y Piloto Don Manuel de Galvez, que son las que pueden hacer alguna fuerza para dificultar el nuevo rumbo propuesto; y que se le ordene, y mande, que la convoque inmediatamente, y disponga concurren en ella todos los que se hallaron en la antecedente, y con especialidad Don Henrique Herman; y que en el caso de que por todos ellos, unanimes, y conformes, se declaren, y estimen por mal fundadas, y por insubsistentes las razones de Don Manuel de Galvez, haga que el primer Galeon que saliere para Acapulco siga el nuevo Derrotero de los Cabos de Boxeador, y del Engaño; fiando su direccion à uno de los Pilotos de mayor experiencia, y de mejores credits en la Nautica; exhortando à todos ellos, al tiempo de la convocacion de la Junta, à que digan su sentir arreglado al movimiento interior de su conciencia, sin mezcla de pasion, interes, ó tema de defender obstinadamente sus particulares opiniones, por tratarse de un asunto de tanta importancia para el bien publico; pero que si no salieren sus votos unanimes, y conformes, disponga que se convoque la Junta general del repartimiento del buque del Galeon; citando anticipadamente à todos los sugetos que la componen, para que en ella, y con la asistencia de los Regidores, y principales Comerciantes, y vecinos de la Ciudad de Manila, se examinen muy maduramente las razones, y fundamentos de unos, y otros Pilotos, y se tome la resolucion que parezca mas acertada; de cuyas resultas darà cuenta con la justificacion necesaria; pues como los individuos de la Ciudad, y de la mencionada Junta, son los principales interesados en el Comercio de aquellas Islas, y los que mas inmediatamente han de experimentar las utilidades, ó los perjuicios de la nueva providencia propuesta, parece justo, y preciso, que en el caso de discordia de los Pilotos, se les oiga, y atienda, para la ultima determinacion que se huviere de tomar.

V.M. resolverà lo que fuere más de su Real agrado.

Madrid 10 de Diciembre de 1743.

Translation.

Don José de Carbajal y Lancaster.

The Marquis of Montemayor.

Don Antonio de Sopeña.

The Marquis of La Regalia.

Don José Cornejo.

Don Pedro Domingo de Contreras.

Don José de la Quintana.

Don Estevan José de Abaria.

The Marquis of Torrenueva.

Sire:

Don Fernando Valdés Tamón, the former Governor and Captain General of the Philippine Islands, reported in a letter dated 25 June 1731 that, on the occasion of his having appointed Admiral Enrique Hermán chief pilot of the galleon **Nuestra Señora de Guía** (that went to New Spain in 1730 to get the subsidy of the above-mentioned

Islands), the latter represented to him the risks at which are exposed the galleons that leave by the Strait of San Bernardino, and the safety of their voyage, if they were to abandon said route in favor of heading seaward from the channel of Mariveles, up past Cape Bojeador, and Engaño, the last headland of said Islands on their north side; and that, said Governor having called a Meeting of ocean and coastal pilots, some of them were of the opinion that the new route should be adopted, but others wished no change in the old route. The Council brought this matter up to the attention of Y.M. in a consultation dated 22 December 1733, with its recommendation for the above-mentioned Governor and Captain General to be issued an order to arrange for a trial run along the new route proposed by the above-said Enrique Hermán with a frigate aboard which at least two pilots should go, from among the most zealous and skilled, and that they were to follow the proposed route, by leaving Mariveles seaward, then north past Cape Bojeador, and Cape Engaño, the last headland (as was said) on the north side of the above-mentioned Islands, so that by said means be obviated the continuous and unavoidable risks which said Hermán declared having experienced among islands in order to depart by the Strait of San Bernardino, and that at the same time he was to be ordered to give a timely report of the eventual results of said experiment.

Y.M. having agreed with the above-mentioned opinion, a decree was issued on 26 July 1734 to that effect, and it was obeyed by Don Gaspar de la Torre, the present Governor and Captain General of the above-said Islands, in a letter dated 27 June 1741, in which he said that he had been unable to carry out the experiment immediately, for lack of vessels, and for other reasons that his predecessor had put forward, but that, once he had been made aware of the importance of implementing the new route, he had listened to many opinions, all of them unanimous, emphasizing the known usefulness to the public, and to the greater service of Y.M., of implementing the new route. He issued orders to have a suitable ship made ready, and for Pilots Manuel Correa and José Macías García to leave at an opportune time, and make the necessary survey. They in turn began their voyage during the month of February of 1740 and they followed the route proposed in the instructions issued to them; the above-mentioned Correa made a logbook and sailing directions, but since the desired effect had not been attained of sailing 100 or more leagues to the eastward of Cape Engaño, he turned back to the coasts of Cagayan in July of the same year. Said Manuel Correa and José Macías García reported to the Governor about the disadvantages they had recognized during their voyage, such that they made impracticable the departure of the galleons by the new route. The Governor himself adds that he was of the opinion that this business was very important. To this effect, he called a general Meeting of Pilots, and those who attended reviewed the route proposed by Don Enrique Hermán, and the sailing directions made by the above-said Manuel Correa. They all agreed (except for the above-mentioned Correa, José Macías, his mate, and Manuel Galvez) that there would not be any real difficulty with the ships making their voyage by the new route, as proposed by Don Enrique Hermán, and they based themselves on numerous examples of foreign ships having at various times made their voyage along this same route, and happily so, thus

refuting the arguments of Manuel Correa, with the justifications for their opinions, as recorded in the proceedings, enclosed by said Don Gaspar de la Torre. He himself adds that he did not think it necessary to undertake another survey of the above-mentioned Capes Bojeador and Engaño, until Y.M. had been informed of everything, and as shown in a **chart** of the coasts that were reconnoitered, which he also remitted. Y.M. will please order what may suit your Royal pleasure for your Royal service, and the benefit of the trade of those Islands.

An inspection of the record of proceedings accompanying said letter of the above-mentioned Gaspar de la Torre revealed that Pilots Manuel Correa and José Macías García, who carried out the experiment along the new route proposed by Admiral Enrique Hermán did express themselves fully, giving their reasons and bases for their opinions about the new route, which they said was much more dangerous, and exposed to greater and more contrary accidents, than the old one, specially on account of the strong current that continuously agitate the waters along the whole coast of Cagayan, from Cape Bojeador as far as Cape Engaño, running NW, N, and NE, as well as the winds from S, SE and ESE that almost always prevail along that coast during the months of June and July, as encountered during the course of their voyage, and from the survey they made. For which reason, once Cape Bojeador has been passed, while coasting as far as Pata Point, which is distant 11 leagues from said Cape, and where the wide bay of that coast begins, they encountered a few calm periods; then, for natural reasons, they drifted northward on account of the currents and they could no longer make a stopover along the coast of Cagayan, and remained without the refreshment, and water, that they had to have. This is very disadvantageous, they said. They add that the new route would be more risky, if upon departing from Cape Engaño the favorable wind, or monsoon, should fail—something that is very possible—before reaching 100 leagues in the open sea. Said cautionary notes, and many others that they mentioned, would not apply if the vessels leave by the Strait of San Bernardino, as has been the regular practice until now.

In the general Meeting of Pilots that the above-mentioned Governor, Don Gaspar de la Torre, convened on 20 January 1741, which was attended by Don Richard Boucher, Don Guillaume Jordan, Monsieur Dujardin, Don Francisco Briton, Don Francisco Alegre, Don Gaspar Tomé de León, Don Manuel Estacio, Don Lorenzo de Celaya, and Don Pierre Laborde, they all said that, after examining the survey made by the above-mentioned Manuel Correa and José Macías García, and the opinion of these Pilots that was mentioned previously, they found that, notwithstanding it, it would be more appropriate to implement the new route proposed by way of Capes Bojeador and Engaño, to go to New Spain, and not by way of the Strait of San Bernardino, as is the regular practice, but not so for the return voyage, according to the bases and reasons they individually gave, supported by many examples of ships that have on different occasions made their voyage by the new route proposed by the above-mentioned Admiral Enrique Hermán, without them having encountered any risk, or danger. The above-mentioned pilots attending said Meeting had themselves made repeated voyages aboard

ships coming from various parts. Consequently, they could state having seen, and reconnoitered from Mariveles as far as the Babuyan Islands, and there was not the least problem that could impede the new route, if the ships going to New Spain wish to use it, provided they follow the rules that they also expressed in their opinion.

[The opinion of Pilot Manuel Galvez]

The above-said record of proceedings also shows that the same Governor, Don Gaspar de la Torre, ordered Pilot Manuel Galvez, as a knowledgeable and experienced person about the navigation of those Islands and their coasts, to declare if it would be advantageous for the safety of the galleons that are despatched yearly to New Spain to make their voyage by the Strait of San Bernardino, as practiced until then, or by the new route proposed by way of Capes Bojeador and Engaño. He did so, and affirmed that the above-mentioned Strait of San Bernardino is dangerous only when a severe storm occurs, because there is no much sea room, and a mishap is very possible, but this would not happen to a skilled pilot; indeed, by watching the sky and foreseeing a storm (something very well known to the pilots of that run), there are very good ports where he can go in, and be safe. In fact, along a distance of 80 leagues, counting from Mariveles to the Strait of San Bernardino, there are more than 15 ports, all surveyed, reconnoitered, and judged good enough for any kind of vessels. Besides, no matter how severe the storm in question, since the wind is blowing, and no matter from which direction, because of the shelter offered by the land, the sea does not rise at all, reason for which the skilled pilot, although he finds himself bound by the land, can arrange his sails and make headway against the wind, because the above-mentioned galleons carry their sails well, and with this maneuver they can avoid danger. This, he says, is what happened to the galleon **Nuestra Señora de Guía**, and to the patache **Nuestra Señora de la Concepción** in 1738.¹ According to his experience, the dangers that exist along the new route are that if there should happen, along the coast from Mariveles to Cape Bojeador, some blast of westerly, which is the regular wind in those Islands, and if he be at two, or three, leagues from shore, he could not rearrange his sails because of the heavy seas that the above-mentioned wind would cause on that coast; he would necessarily crash upon it, with the loss of lives, and properties, because, although the route is made by passing 10-12 leagues offshore, he will not always be able to maintain this distance, because of the unpredictability of the winds. To prove this point, he says that in the years 1733, 1734 and 1736, various Chinese champans were lost with the above-mentioned wind on the coast of Ilocos, and on the Islets of the Beatas, that lie off the north coast of Cagayan, where the sea swallowed up a patache from Macao. On account of such bad outcomes, and similar ones that he mentions in detail, he concludes by saying that he does not think it appropriate to make changes to the route that has been followed until now.

1 Ed. note: This is the only mention that I have found of this patache, which must have been the name of the patache that went to the Marianas in 1738.

The Council, in view of everything that has just been said, of the opinions given by Cosmographers, and individuals experienced in the navigation of the ocean, and what the Fiscal said about it all, is of the opinion that, since a decision has to be made on such an important and controversial point, and one that involves the Royal service of Y.M. so much, the income of your Treasury, the public good, and the common profits of the trade, the residents, inhabitants, and natives of those Islands, and considering at the same time, that if the navigation of their galleon that travels to New Spain by the new route proposed by Capes Bojeador and Engaño, without greater disadvantages, or dangers than those that have been experienced by the old route by the Strait of San Bernardino, there is no doubt at all that very considerable advantages would be gained in shortening the voyage, and reducing the hardships, and expenses to the people. The Governor is being sent an answer, telling him that he should have been more careful with a business of such gravity, and consequences; he should have called another Meeting of Pilots to examine the reasons contained in the last, and individual, opinion of the Captain, and Pilot, Don Manuel de Galvez, which are the reasons that can have some strength against the proposed route, and he is ordered to call one immediately, and arrange for all those who attended the previous one to be present, specially Don Enrique Hermán; and that in case they should all be unanimous and agreeable, let them declare and judge the reasons offered by Don Manuel de Galvez to be badly founded, and not substantial, then let the first galleon to go to Acapulco follow the new route by Capes Bojeador and Engaño. The direction of this galleon should be entrusted to one of the pilots with greater experience and fame in nautical science. The Governor should exhort all of those present at the Meeting to state their opinion freely, in accordance with their own conscience, without any passion or self-interest mixed in, or persistence in defending obstinately their individual opinions, because the matter in question is one of such importance for the public good. However, should their votes not come out unanimous, and in agreement, then he is to arrange for the convening of the general Meeting of the distribution of lading space aboard the galleon. He is to make sure that all of the individuals that compose it are invited, so that therein, and with the attendance of the aldermen and principal merchants, and residents of the City of Manila, be examined very deeply the reasons, and bases of the pilots on both sides of the issue, and then take the resolution that appears more correct. He is to report on the results thereof with the necessary justification; indeed, since the individuals of the City and of the above-mentioned Meeting, are the principal interested parties in the trade of those Islands, and those who would benefit the most from the profits, or damages of the new measure proposed, it seems only fair, and necessary, in case of discord among the Pilots, for them to be heard once more, before a final decision is taken.

Y.M. will decide what may be of your Royal pleasure.

Madrid, 10 December 1743.¹

1 Ed. note: The King agreed and the Council saw the matter again on 22 January 1744, ordering the following letter to be despatched.

B10. Letter from the King to the Governor of the Philippines, dated Aranjuez 16 May 1744

Source: AGI Fil. 334, libro 15, fol. 264v-271v, pp. 578-592.

Original text in Spanish.

Al Governador de Philipinas ordenandole, que forme una Junta compuesta de los sugetos, que se expresan, à fin de que en ella se tome la resolucion que mas convenga, sobre el derrotero que huvieren de llevar los Galeones que se despachan de aquellas Islas à la Nueva España.

El Rey

Governador, y Capitan General de las Islas Philipinas, y Presidente de mi Real Audiencia de ellas, que reside en la Ciudad de Manila.

En carta de 27 de Junio del año de 1741, me disteis cuenta de que aunque por Cedula de 26 del Julio del de 1734, fui servido de mandar à Don Fernando Valdés Tamon vuestro antecesor en esos cargos, que dispusiese el hacer la experiencia del nuevo Derrotero que propuso el Almirante Don Henrique Herman, para que el viage de los Galeones, que se despachan de esas Islas à la Nueva España, se hiciese por la boca de Marivelez mar afuera hasia montar los Cabos del Boxeador, y del Engaño, ultima tierra por la banda del Norte de las mismas Islas, para evitar por este medio los riesgos à que iban expuestos saliendo por el Desembocadero de San Bernardino; no se avia podido executar inmediatamente la referida experiencia, por falta de embarcaciones, y otras razones, que el mencionado vuestro antecesor tuvo presentes; por lo qual, y por aver vos averiguado la importancia de que se ponga en practica el nuevo Derrotero, y aviendo oido bastantes dictámenes, todos conformes en que sera de conocida utilidad al publico, y a mi mayor servicio, la consecucion de la nueva derrota, tomasteis la providencia de que se aprestase embarcacion competente, en tiempo oportuno, en que fuesen à hacer el reconocimiento necesario los Pilotos Manuel Correa, y Joseph Macias Garcia, quienes emprendieron su viage por el mes de Febrero del año de 1740 y siguieron su derrota conforme à las Instrucciones que se les dieron; y que el referido Manuel Correa formó su Diario, y Derrotero y no aviendo surtido el buen efecto que se deseaba en la navegacion de ciento, ó mas leguas, mar afuera al este del Cabo del Engaño, arribó à las costas de Cagayan por Julio del mismo año; y que los mencionados Manuel Correa, y Joseph Masias Garcia, os informaron de los inconvenientes que avian reconocido en su viage, y hacian impracticable la salida de los Galeones por el nuevo Derrotero; sobre lo qual decis, que pareciendo os, que este negocio era de la mayor importancia, formasteis Junta general de Pilotos, y que los que concurrieron à ella reconocieron el Derrotero que formó Don Henrique Herman y el que hizo el referido Manuel Correa, y convinieron todos (à excepcion del enunciado Correa, Joseph Macias, y Don Manuel de Galvez) en que no habia dificultad alguna estimable, para que los Navios no pudiesen hacer su viage por la nueva derrota, y proposicion de Don Henrique Herman, fundandolo en distintos exemplares de los Navios extranjeros, que en

varios tiempos avian hecho su viage por aquellos mismos rumbos con mucha felicidad; redarguyendo [sic] las proposiciones de Manuel Correa con las razones, y fundamentos de los pareceres que dieron, y consten del Testimonio de Autos que acompañais; á que añadís aver tenido por conveniente el no continuar otro reconocimiento de los mencionados Cabos de Boxeador, y del Engaño, hasta que enterado Yo de todo, y de lo que se demuestra en el Mapa de las Costas reconocidas, que aveis remitido; mandase lo que fuese mas de mi Real servicio, y beneficio del Comercio de esas Islas.

Y aviendose visto en mi Consejo de las Indias la citada carta, y Testimonio de Autos, que con ella acompañais, y examinadose en él los pareceres de los Pilotos que concurrieron á la Junta que formasteis, y el que particularmente os dio Don Manuel Galvez; y en vista tambien de los dictámenes dados por Cosmographos, y sugetos practicos en la navegacion del Oceano, y de lo que expuso el Fiscal; me consultó sobre todo el referido mi Consejo en 10 de Diciembre del año proximo pasado, haciendome presente, que respecto de tratarse de un punto tan importante, y controvertido, y en que se interesa tanto mi Real servicio, las utilidades de mi erario, y la causa publica, y beneficio comun del comercio, vecindario, moradores, y naturales de esas Islas; y considerando al mismo tiempo, que si se pudiese dirigir la navegacion del Galeon de ellas, que pasa á la Nueva España, por el nuevo rumbo propuesto de los Cabos de Boxeador, y del Engaño, sin mayores inconvenientes, ni peligros que los que se han experimentado por el antiguo del Desembocadero de San Bernardino, no hay duda alguna en que se lograrían muy considerables ventajas en la mayor brevedad de su viage, y menores fatigas, y gastos; hé resuelto ordenaros, (como lo executo) que luego que recibais este Despacho convoqueis nueva Junta, en que concurren todos los Pilotos que se hallaron en la antecedente, y con especialidad Don Henrique Herman, (sino huviere fallecido, como se tiene entendido) á fin de que en ella se examinen las razones que contiene el ultimo, y particular dictamen del Capitan, y Piloto Don Manuel de Galvez, que son las que pueden hacer alguna fuerza para dificultar el nuevo rumbo propuesto; y en el caso de que por todos ellos, unanimes, y conformes, se declaren, y estimen por mal fundadas, y por insubsistentes las razones del mencionado Don Manuel de Galvez, dispondreis, como os lo mando, que el primer Galeon que saliere para Acapulco siga el nuevo Derrotero de los Cabos de Boxeador, y del Engaño, fiando su direccion á uno de los Pilotos de mayor experiencia, y de mejores creditos en la Nautica; y exhortando á todos ellos, al tiempo de la convocacion de la Junta, á que digan su sentir arreglado al movimiento interior de su conciencia, y sin mezcla de pasion, interes, ó tema de defender obstinadamente sus particulares opiniones, por tratarse de un asunto de tanta importancia para el bien publico; y sino salieren sus votos unanimes, y conformes, dispondreis, que se convoque la Junta general del repartimiento del buque del Galeon, citado anticipadamente á todos los sugetos, que la componen, para que en ella, y con la asistencia de los Regidores, y principales comerciantes, y vecinos de esa Ciudad, se examinen muy maduramente las razones, y fundamentos de unos, y otros Pilotos, y se tome la resolucion que parezca más acertada; de cuyas resultas me dareis cuenta con la Justificacion necesaria, pues como los individuos de la Ciudad, y de la mencionada

Junta, son los principales interesados en el comercio de esas Islas, y los que mas inmediatamente han de experimentar las utilidades, ó los perjuicios de la nueva providencia propuesta; ha parecido justo, y preciso que en el caso de discordia de los Pilotos, se les oiga, y atienda para la ultima determinacion, que se huviere de tomar en este asunto.

Fecha en Aranjuez, á 16 de Mayo de 1744.

Yo el Rey.

*Por mandado del Rey Nuestro Señor,
Don Fernando Triviño.*

Translation.

To the Governor of the Philippines, ordering him to call a Meeting to be attended by the individuals mentioned therein, so that the most appropriate decision be taken regarding the route that should be followed by the galleons despatched from those Islands to New Spain.

[Summary: The details given are simply repetitions of other documents, above and below, except for the mention of the rumor that Admiral Hermán had died.]¹

B11. Letter from the King to the Governor of the Philippines, dated Buen Retiro 18 January 1752

Source: AGI Fil. 335, libro 16, fol. 254v-255, pp. 523- 525.

Original text in Spanish.

Al Governador de Philipinas, ordenandole evaque promptamente las diligencias mandadas practicar por la Cedula que se cita sobre el nuevo rumbo de los Galeones de aquellas Islas, y que dé cuenta de sus resultas.

El Rey

Governador, y Capitan General de la Islas Philipinas, y Presidente de mi Real Audiencia de ellas que reside en la Ciudad de Manila.

En carta de 22 de Junio de 1747, dió cuenta con Autos el Obispo Governor interino que fue de esas Islas de aver recibido la Real cedula de 16 de Mayo de 1744, en que se prevenia á su antecesor en ese Gobierno convocase una Junta en que concurriesen todos los Pilotos de esas Islas para examinar en ella las dudas, y reparos, que se ofrecian sobre el nuevo derrotero de los Galeones por los Cabos del Engaño, y del Bogueador, expresando, que asi por falta de Pilotos practicos que avia, como por hallarse ausentos los que se mandaban convocar no se havia dado cumplimiento á la citada Cedula, y que

¹ Ed. note: This letter was answered by the Governor on 22 June 1747, but the new route was not popular with the merchants and the matter dragged on.

quedaba advertido de continuar las diligencias empezadas à este fin, hasta que quedasen cabalmente perfeccionadas.

Y habiendose visto en mi Consejo de las Indias, la referida carta, y testimonio con lo que sobre su contenido expuse mi Fiscal, y teniendose presente ser esta materia de tanta importancia y interes a mi Real servicio, causa publica, y beneficio comun del comercio[,] vecindario, y moradores de esas Islas si se llegase à establecer el nuevo rumbo del Galeon que pasa à Nueva España por los cabos del Engaño, y del Bojeador, y lo mucho, que conviene que no se retarde el providenciar en este expediente; ha parecido haceros recuerdo de la citada cedula, y ordenaros, y mandaros (como lo executo) que enterado de lo prevenido en ella, procureis se evacuen promptamente las diligencias correspondientes con la mayor brevedad, y que me deis cuenta de sus resultas, por ser asi mi voluntad.

Yo el Rey.

*Por mandado del Rey nuestro Señor,
Don Joseph Ignacio de Goyeneche.*

Translation.

To the Governor of the Philippines, ordering him to promptly transact the proceedings ordered by the decree mentioned therein, regarding the new route of the galleons of those Islands, and to report on their results.

The King.

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

In a letter dated 22 June 1747, the Bishop acting as interim Governor of those Islands reported, with the case file enclosed, that he had received the Royal decree dated 16 May 1744, in which his predecessor in that government was ordered to call a Meeting that was to be attended by all of the Pilots of those Islands to examine the doubts, and cautions, that might be offered regarding the new route of the galleons by Capes Engaño and Bojeador, but he reported that, on account of the lack of experience of the pilots who were on hand and the absence of those who had been ordered to attend, the above-mentioned decree had not been obeyed; however, he remained aware that the proceedings should continue for this purpose, until they were satisfactorily brought to an end.

And, this letter having been seen in my Council of the Indies, along with what my Fiscal said about it, keeping in mind that this matter is one of great importance and interest to my Royal service, the public good, and the common profit of the traders, residents, and inhabitants of those Islands, if the new route for the galleon that goes to New Spain by Capes Engaño and Bojeador were to become established, and the appropriateness of no further delay in treating this case file; I have decided to remind you of the above-mentioned decree, and order you (as I do now), once you have taken note of said file, to try and transact the corresponding steps as soon as possible, and to report to me on their results, as such is my will.

I the King.
By order of the King our Lord,
Don José Ignacio de Goyeneche.¹

¹ Ed. note: For follow-up, see Doc. 1754C. To anticipate somewhat, the first galleon to try the new route did not do so until 1779, almost 50 years after it was first proposed by Admiral Hermán.

Documents 1731A

Father Cantova's expedition to the Carolines (continued)

General sources: Unless otherwise indicated, the major source is AGI Fil. 320 (formerly 69-2-2); cited by Astráin VII, 769, 773, 774, 777; copies exist in AHN Ultramar 5352, Part 2, and in Colección Pastells, Fil. 8, fol. 239-301.

A1. Letter from Fr. Victor Walter to Fr. Bernard Schmiz, dated Falalep [Ulithi] 10 May 1731

Sources: Stöcklein's Welt-Bott, tome 29(?), n° 608; copied in Spillmann's Über die Südsee (Freiburg, 1902), pp. 232-233; also in Die Katholischen Missionen of 1886; translated by the Micronesian Seminar.

Note: Fr. Victor Walter was born near Brixen, in the Tyrol region of Austria on 14 August 1689. He joined the Jesuits in 1708 and was first meant for the mission of South America, but he was transferred to the Mariana Mission and arrived at Guam in 1724. He failed twice in the attempt to establish a mission in the Carolines. In 1736, he became Visitor and Vice-Provincial of the Mariana Mission, where he died on 12 December 1745. The original report was probably written in German, as this was the habit of Fr. Walter (see Doc. 1734B).

Published text in German.

Brief R.P. Victoris Walter, Der Gesellschaft JEsu, aus der Ober-teutschen Provinz, Missionarii in denen Carolinischen Insuln; An R.P. Bernardum Schmiz, Missionarium aus der Unterrheinischen Provinz, gemeldter Gesellschaft. Geschrieben zu Falalep, einer Carolinischen Insul, dem 10. May 1731.

Inhalt. I. Unfruchtbarkeit deren Carolinischen Insuln. II. Beschaffenheit des Volcks allda. III. Ihr Lieb zum Glauben, besonders der Jugend. IV. List des Teufels in Verhinderung desselben. V. Ihr Müsiggang. VI. Hochschätzung des Eisen-Gezeugs. Der Brief lautet, wie folgt:

Ehrwürdiger Pater in Christo!

Das gegenwärtige Schreiben ist eine Fortsetzung dessen, was ich an Euer Ehrwürden vor meiner Abreis aus denen Marianisch- in die Carolinische Insuln berichtet. Die Reis, welche ich mit R.P. Antonio Cantova dem 11. Hornung angetreten, ist also glücklich abgeloffen, daß wir schon dem 2. Merzen, ohne vom Meer und Winden eine Verfolgung zu leiden, in denen Inseln Lamoy, oder wie sie die Spanier nennen, Garbanços

angeländet. Es ist Euer Ehrwürden ohne diesem das Lager und Eigenschafften dieser, wie sie die Lateiner tauffen, Cicer- oder Erbsen-Insuln schon bekannt. Man zehlet derer zwar an der Zahl drey und dreyssig, werden aber nur acht davon bewohnt, und sind auch diese also unfruchtbar, daß die arme Inwohner kaum das zur Nahrung Nothwendige allda finden. Wann nicht der allgemeine Vatter aus seiner weisesten Vorsorg diese Insuln, besonders die, aus welcher ich schreibe, mit Palm-Bäumen reichlich versehen hätte, wurden die unglückseelige Falalepaner vor Hunger sterben müssen. Sie wissen vom Fleisch nichts; indem es da weder Vögel noch Horn-Vieh gibt: sogar leiden sie in vielen Orten Mangel am süßen Wasser, dessen Abgang der Safft deren Palm-Früchten ersezen muß. Diese Früchten haben ihnen bishero zur täglichen Speis gedienet: jetzt haben wir einen Versuch gethan, und Türkisches Getraid angesäet, um künftighin auch Brod für sie zu backen; müssen aber mit Forcht erwarten, ob nicht das schädliche Ungeziefer, die Erd-Mäus, den Saamen, ehe er Wurzel fasse, auffressen, und also unsere Hoffnung zu Schanden richten werde.

Was diese Insulaner selbst anbelanget, ist es ein Volck, das zwar viele Merckmal einer natürlichen Ehrbarkeit von sich gibt, und das wilde Laster der Unzucht hasset, doch gehen sie, ausser den mittleren Theil des Leibs, welchen sie mit einem aus denen Fäsern einer gewissen Baums-Rinde gewebten Schurz bedecken, ganz bloß. Sie zeigen gegen uns viele Lieb und Hochachtung: sie haben uns in unserer Ankunfft eine ziemlich weite Hütten zur Wohnung überlassen, wo wir indessen, bis uns zu einen besseren Behausung das nothwendige Bauholz anderstwoher (dann hier ist dergleichen nicht zu finden) wird zugeführt werden, zwey Altär aufgerichtet, und alltäglich das heilige Meß-Opfer verrichtet, mit nicht geringen Wolgefallen und Bewunderung deren Hayden, welche sich bey dem Thor der Hütten zahlreich einfinden, unserem GOTTes-Dienst mit Ehrenbietigkeit beywohnen, und nach demselben die Christliche Lehr aufmercksam anhören. Weilen sie weder Gözen, noch Gözen-Tempel und Pfaffen haben, machen wir uns Hoffnung, daß ihre Bekehrung nicht allzu schwer fallen werde, besonders der Jugend, welche wie sie mehr Fähigkeit, so auch mehr Eifer zu unserer heiligen Glaubens-Lehr traget. Es find schon viel aus diesen kleinen, welche das Vatter unser, Ave Maria, Glaub in GOTT, die zehen Gebott und anderes mehr in Laüf Zeit begriffen haben; worzu viel gedienet hat, daß wir ihnen alle unsere Geheimnüssen in ihrer Mutter-Sprach, und zwar in Gesängen, vorgetragen, welche sie jetzt zu Haus, auf denen Gassen, auf dem Meer und überall absingen. Durch die Hülf GOTTes haben wir ihnen ob denen aberglaubischen Mißbräuchen dieses Landes ein so grossen Eckel beygebracht, daß sie selbe schon öffentlich verlachen, ihre Eltern mit Gewaalt zuruck ziehen, hiemit dem Teufels-Dienst einen mercklichen Einhalt thun. Diese klein Aposteln werden der glückseelige Werkzeug seyn, mit welchem wir, weilen in so viel und abgelegenen Insuln unsere Mühe allein bey weiten nicht erklecklich wäre, den heiligen Glauben werden ausbreiten können. Wir werden bald den ersten Tauff dieser jungen Neulinge, und zwar mit sonderem Gepräng vornehmen; weilen sie allbereit das Nöthige alles schon begriffen: mit denen älteren, ob sie schon von dem heiligen Glaub keinen Abscheu, ja vielmehr zu selbem eine Begierd zeigen, wird es etwas langsamer hergehen, theils wegen ihrer angewohnten

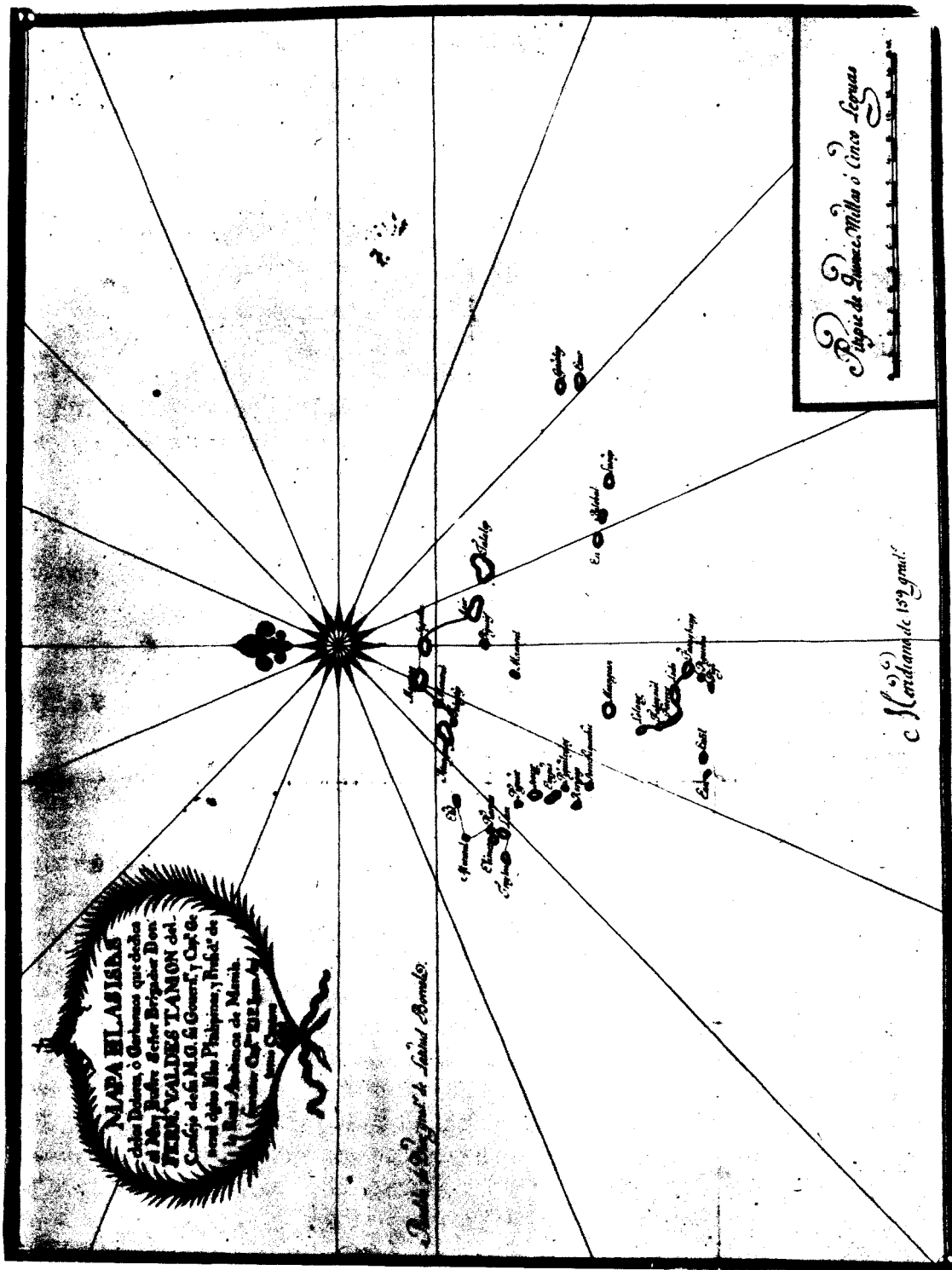
Aberglauben, die sie härter ablegen: theils wegen ihrer Unbeständigkeit, die uns bezwinget, ihnen mit grösserer Behutsamkeit den heiligen Tauff zu reichen: unterdessen haben wir mit diesem Heil-Wasser schon 127 Kinder, die sie selbst zu uns gebracht, als die Erstling dieser neuen Christen-Gemein abgewaschen.

Dieser glückliche Anfang machet uns ungemainen Muth, daß wir allem Ungemach, so auf diesen sehr müheseligen Insuln unausbleiblich noch bevorstehet, und aller Arbeit, die der mühesame Bau dieser Distel-vollen Erden unentbehrlich erforderet, herzhafft entgegen gehen, und die Schanz, die wir in Händen haben, wider allen Anfall der Höllen, mit unserem Schweiß, Leben und Blut zu behaupten suchen werden.

Bald nach unserer Aukunfft, als ein fast allgemeines Hals-Haupt- und Brust-Wehe die arme Inwohner überfallen hatte, nahm die Seelen-Feind die Gelegenheit, uns, als ob wir dieses Ubel mitgebracht hätten, und noch vieler künftigen Urheber seyn wurden, bey ihnen verhasset zu machen: Allein GOtt hat die Seuche in wenigen Täg gütigst abgewendet, und denen einfältigen Leutlein den geschöpften Argwohn gänzlich benommen, also, daß sie jetzt eben so häufig, als die erste Täg geschehen, wieder zur Christen-Lehr erscheinen.

Zu wünschen ist, daß sie die erste Grund-Säz unseres Christenthums bald ergreifen, auf daß wir sie weiters zu einem sittlichen Leben; zur Abstellung vieler Mißbräuchen und Ausrottung eingerissener Lastern anführen können. Der Müssiggang wird der erste Feind seyn, den wir werden bestreiten müssen. Weil sie kein Oberhaupt haben, auch ihren Thamoles oder Herren weder Ehrenbietigkeit noch Gehorsam erzeigen, ist niemand, der sie zur Arbeit anhalten dürffe: vom Feldbau haben sie Lebenslang nichts gehört; und der Fisch-Fang, dem sie bisweilen abwarten, beschäftigt sie nur zur Nachts-Zeit: die müssige Zusammenkünften, in welchen sie unter unangenehmen Geschrey den ganzen Morgen verschwenden: und die Bäder, deren sie sich Nachmittags täglich gebrauchen, machen sie ganz weich, träg, und allem dem, was die mindeste Beschwerlichkeit mit sich bringet, abhold. Viele Stunden verzehren sie im Schloff, mit Tanzen und Springen: mit Salben und Schmieren, und halten die albere Menschen sich um desto schöner zu seyn, wie mehr sie von Palm-Oel überlaufen, mit roth und weisser, aus der Insul Yap, wohin sie sich jährlich, den Tribut abzuzinsen, verfügen, hergeholten Farben, am ganzen Leib, auf eine recht schröckbare Art angestrichen sind. Um diese Schönheit ihrer Gestalt sorgen sie sich allein; nach anderen Dingen, weilen sie der Armut und Elends schon gewohn, streben sie nicht. Ihr ganzer Reichthum bestehet in ihrer Hütte, und einer aus Palmen-Blättern geflochtenen Decke; ausser diesen haben und verlangen sie auch nichts.

Der Eisen-Zeug allein, nachdem wir selben mit uns hieher gebracht, reizet sie, als eine ihnen fremde Sach, sehr an, und gebrauchen sie sich die Heftigkeit ihrer Begierd nach demselben auszudrucken der ungeschickten Gleichnuß: Wie ihr, sagen sie, nach dem Himmel, so verlangen wir nach dem Eisen. Uns wird nun obliegen, daß wir uns des ihnen so beliebten Eisens als eines Schlüssels gebrauchen, mit welchem wir uns in ihre Herzen, ihnen aber den Eingang in den Himmel eröffnen mögen.



First map of Ulithi by Fr. Cantova, 1731. (From AGI MP Fil. 24).

Euer Ehrwürden wollen diese unsere Bemühungen mit ihrem beständigen Angedencken im Opfer der heiligen Meß befördern, in welche ich mich und meinen Gespan, der sich auf die Ruckreis in die Marianische Insuln, Lebens-Mittel abzuholen, anschicket, höflichst empfehle.

Falalep, dem 10. Tag des Maymonats, 1731.

Euer Ehrwürden

Demütigster Diener in Christo

Victor Walter, S.J. Missionarius.

Translation, by P.H.

Letter from Rev. Fr. Victor Walter of the Society of Jesus, from the Upper German Province, missionary in the Caroline Islands, to Rev. Fr. Bernard Schmiz, missionary from the Lower Rhine Province, of the same Society, written in Falalep, a Caroline Island, on 10 May 1731.

Contents: I. Infertility of the Caroline Islands. II. Character of the local population. III. Their love for the Faith, particularly the youth. IV. Craftiness of the Devil in the hindrance of same. V. Their idleness. VI. High esteem for iron implements. The letter reads as follows:

Reverend Father in Christ!

The present writing is a continuation of what I reported to Your Reverence before my departure from the Marianas for the Caroline Islands. The voyage, which I began with Fr. Antonio Cantova on 11 February, went off so successfully that we landed on the **Lamoy Islands**, or as the Spaniards call them, the Garbanzos, on 2 March without being bothered by the sea or winds.¹ The location and characteristics of these, *Cicer*, as the Latins call them, or Chick-pea Islands, is already known to Your Reverence. There are 33 of them, of which only 8 are inhabited, and these too are so barren that the poor inhabitants scarcely find the necessities for sustenance there. If the Father of all men, in His most wise providence, had not richly provided these islands, particularly the one from which I write, with palm trees, the unfortunate Falalep people would surely die of hunger. They know nothing of meat, since there are neither fowls nor cattle there. In many places they even suffer from a lack of fresh water, the absence of which is replaced by the juice of the palm nuts. These nuts have served them up to now for daily nourishment; now we have made an attempt and sowed Indian corn, in order to bake bread for them in the future. But we have to anxiously wait and see if that harmful vermin, the field-mouse [rather rat], eats up the seed before it takes root, and thereby destroys our hope.

¹ Ed. note: Actually, it appears that only part of the Ulithi Group might have been called Lamululutup, i.e. Lamuy + Ulutup, by the natives at that time.

As far as these islanders themselves are concerned, they are a people who give many indications of a natural respectability and who hate the savage vice of fornication; yet they go completely naked, except for the middle part of the body which they cover with a loincloth woven from the fibers of the bark of a certain tree. They show us much love and esteem. On our arrival they let us have a rather roomy hut as a dwelling, where, until the necessary wood for a better lodging is brought in from elsewhere (as none of that sort is to be found here), we have erected two altars and celebrated the Holy Sacrifice of the mass daily, with no small pleasure and admiration of these heathen, who appear at the door of the hut in numbers, attend our divine service with reverence, and afterwards listen attentively to Christian teaching. Since they have neither idols nor idol temples or priests, we permit ourselves the hope that their conversion will not be too difficult, specially with the youth, who bring more ability and also more eagerness to our holy doctrine. There are already many of these little ones who have grasped the Lord's Prayer, Hail Mary, the Creed, the Ten Commandments, and much else in a short time. This was greatly aided by the fact that we taught them all our mysteries in their mother tongue,¹ namely in songs, which they now sing at home, in the streets, on the sea and everywhere. Through the help of God we have instilled in them such a great loathing of the superstitious practices of this country that they openly laugh at these, forcefully restrain their parents from participating in them, and thereby appreciably check the service of the Devil. These little apostles will be the blessed instrument with which we hope to spread the holy Faith in many of the remote islands that we ourselves cannot visit. Since they already understand everything necessary, we will soon undertake the first baptism of these young catechumens, with special pageantry to be sure. Although they already show no aversion to the holy Faith, but rather an eager desire for it, it will proceed somewhat more slowly with the older people, partly because of their accustomed superstitions which they renounce with difficulty, partly because of their inconsistency which constrains us to extend holy baptism to them with greater discretion. In the meantime, we have already baptized 127 children, whom they themselves brought to us, with the water of salvation as the first-born of this new Christian community.

This happy beginning gives us extraordinary courage to boldly face all the hardships that are before us on these very toilsome islands and all the work that the painstaking cultivation of this earth full of thorns inevitably demands, and we will endeavor to make good with our life, sweat, and blood the chance that we have at hand, against all attacks from Hell.

Soon after our arrival, when a throat, head and chest ache had fallen upon almost all the poor inhabitants, the Enemy of the soul took the opportunity to make us hated among them, as if we had brought this evil and would be the cause of more in the future, but in a few days God most graciously diverted this epidemic and thoroughly

1 Ed. note: One of the catechists was originally from Mogmog, and was one of those who had drifted to Guam 6 years earlier (see A3 below).

removed this suspicion from the simple people. As a result, they again show up for Christian instruction just as often as they did on the first days.

It is to be hoped that they will soon grow to understand the foundation of our Christianity, so that we can lead them further towards a moral life, to the renunciation of many bad customs and to the destruction of prevalent vices. Idleness is the first enemy which we will have to combat.

Since they have no paramount chief and show their *Thamoles*, or chiefs, neither respect nor obedience, there is no-one to urge them on to work. In their whole life they have never heard anything about agriculture. Fishing, to which they sometimes apply themselves, occupies them only at night. The leisurely meetings, in which they spend the whole morning amid wild screaming, and the baths which they take every afternoon, make them quite weak, sluggish, and disinclined to everything that brings the least amount of hardship. They waste many hours in sleeping, dancing, jumping, smearing and massaging with oil, and the silly people consider themselves more handsome when they drip with palm oil and when they are painted in a most terrible fashion with red and white paint. The paints are obtained from the Island of Yap, where they go yearly to pay their tribute. They care only for this beauty of their body and do not strive after other things, as they are already used to poverty and misery. Their entire wealth consists of their hut and a blanket woven from palm leaves; beyond these they have and demand nothing.

Just the iron implements which we brought here with us attract them very much as something strange to them, and in order to express the strength of their desire for it, they made use of the awkward comparison: "As you," they say, "long for Heaven, so we long for iron." It will now be up to us to make use of this popular iron as a key with which we can open for ourselves a way into their hearts and unlock for them the gate of Heaven.

May Your Reverence promote these endeavors of ours by continuously remembering them in the Sacrifice of the Holy Mass, to which I most respectfully commend myself and my comrade, who is preparing for the voyage back to the Mariana Islands to obtain provisions.¹

Falalep, 10 May 1731.

Your Reverence's

Most humble servant in Christ,
Victor Walter, S.J. Missionary.

1 Ed. note: About 2 weeks later, at the moment of departure, Fr. Cantova decided to stay and sent Fr. Walter to the Marianas in his place (see below).

A2. Letter from Fr. Cantova to Fr. de la Hera, dated Falalep, Dolores Islands [Ulithi], dated 12 May, but postscript dated 27 May 1731

Notes: This letter was edited by Carrasco and published in the Boletín de la Sociedad Geográfica de Madrid 10:2 (1881): 263-279. Translated into French in the Bulletin de la Société Académique Indo-Chinoise (Paris), July 1881. The manuscript is entitled: "Descubrimiento, y descripción de las islas de los Garbanzos" [Discovery and description of the Chick-pea Islands, i.e. Ulithi]. Fr. Cantova's report was also commented upon in German in Stöcklein's Welt-Bott, vol. 33, n° 667. Translated by Micronesian Seminar.

Original text in Spanish.

Mi Padre Provincial Pedro de la Hera.

P.C.

*Gracias à Dios que por su infinita misericordia se ha dignado traernos à estas Islas de los Garbanzos que son casi al centro de las Carolinas para alumbrar con la luz de su santo Evangelio à los innumerables gentiles que pueblan este Archipiélago[.]*¹

*El día once de Febrero de este presente año nos hizimos à la vela en Marianas el Padre Victor Valter y yo con doce soldados de escolta y ocho grumetes, y el día dos de Marzo llegamos à tomar puerto en estas Islas que apellidamos de los Dolores por haverlos descubierto en día de viernes y segundo día de la novena que hacíamos à Nuestra Señora de los Dolores[.] saltamos en tierra en la Ysla de Mogmog morada del Tamol ó Señor [de] estas Islas pero por ser Isla tan pequeña que apenas tendra una legua de boxeo y que no tiene lugar para sementeras y mucha falta de agua buena para beber[.] me determine de pasar à tomar asiento en esta Isla de Falalep que [es] la mayor de todas estas Islas aunque tendra de boxeo apenas dos leguas[.] aqui tenemos bastante lugar para sementera pero ay tal plaga de ratones que nos comen el Maiz sembrado y resembrado que nos dejan en duda de poder lograr este año ninguna cosecha hasta que se vayan consumiendo con las ratoneras[.] con una de las quales hecha à modo de un pequeño corral de pescado cogimos la otra noche cincuenta y cinco ratones en termino de tres horas, y asi se van cogiendo muchos todos los días[.] demoran estas Islas que son treinta y seis al sudueste de Marianas en distancia de unas ochenta leguas todas pequeñas y solo ocho pobladas, como demuestra el **mapa adjunto** en el qual las Islas que son pobladas tienen la letra P[.]*

Estoy con el cuidado de juntar toda la gente en una ó dos Islas pero no puede ser luego y es menester ir con el pie de plomo[.]²

Asi estas Islas como otras muchas de este Archipiélago estan sujetas al Rey de Yap[.] Isla grande y muy poblada que demora al Oes-sudueste de estas Isl[et]as en distancia

1 Ed. note: From this point onward, the letter is essentially the same text as the version sent to his colleagues (see A3 below).

2 Ed. note: This sentence has been removed for the report sent to the Marianas (A3), and that sent to the Governor (A4). Other exclusions appear in square brackets below.

de unas cincuenta leguas[.] [Estando ya las cosas de esta nueva Christiandad algo asentadas dexare aqui al Padre Victor y yo me pasare à Yap, y si vinieren otros Padres aunque fueran una docena no serian de sobra segun la multitud de Islas que ay pequeñas y grandes en las quales se pueden formar una muy dilatada Christiandad.]

La casa que por aora tenemos es un camarin, que segun la costumbre de estas Islas sirve de posada à los huéspedes. Las caidas del techo son tan bajas que se levantan del suelo apenas tres palmos. Toda la casa esta llena de puertas, pero tan bajas que para entrar y salir es menester ir à gatas y nos costo trabajo el componer una puerta para poder entrar y salir parados y fue poco el provecho porque las llaves del camarin que mantienen todo el edificio estan altas del suelo unos seis palmos y à cada rato es fuerza ir bajando la caveza so pena de dar cavezadas en estos atravesaños[.] ni tenemos esperanza de conseguir casa mejor en estas Isletas [à lo menos por algunos años] por la suma falta de palos: pues no ay sino cocales y otros pocos arbolitos de poco ó ningun provecho[.] en este camarin conpusimos con bastante decencia un [hueco para] capilla donde colocamos por Titular à Nuestra Señora del Loreto con misa cantada [y salva de mosquetes y artilleria.] no se [h]artan estos naturales de venir à ver y admirar la hermosura de esta Divina Señora y de su Santisimo Hijo y dicen que no pueden dejar de creer en Dios, pues le veen por sus ojos y ven à su Madre[.] luego tomamos por Patron [de esta Isla y] de este Pueblo de Falalep à Nuestro Padre San Ignacio [haviendo precedido su novena que acabamos con misa cantada].

Uno de mis primeros cuidados fue asegurar la casa con una buena cerca[.] luego fui à dar una vuelta por estas Islas à enarbolar cruces[.] bautisar à los niños y catequisar de paso à los adultos[.] los niños ya bautisados hasta el dia de la fecha son ciento veinte y siete[.] las almas que tengo empadronadas en las ocho Islas pobladas son quinientas noventa y dos y la distribucion que tenemos en la doctrina en esta: despues de la misa (à la qual asisten muchos fuera de las puertas por las quales estan mirando con admiracion y silencio aquel Santo Sacrificio) bamos enseñando à los hombres grandes y pequeños, las oraciones y las preguntas de la doctrina que he traducido en su lengua, la qual es muy diferente de todos los Idiomas de Philipinas y Marianas, pero se rresa mucho con la lengua de Ulie [i.e. Woleai] que yo habia aprendido en Marianas[.] luego por la tarde enseñamos de la misma suerte à las mujeres, y acuden à la doctrina muchos de ambos sexos y de todas edades con deseo de aprenderla y bautisarse.

Y en las otras Islas donde nosotros no asistimos ban enseñando la señal de la Cruz y las oraciones algunos muchachos y quanto antes embiare otros mejor instruidos [para que hagan el oficio de catequistas]; todas las noches resamos los de casa todos juntos el Sancto Rosario y la Letania de la Virgen y cantamos la Salve con notable gusto de estos Indios que quisieran saver el mismo reso y canto para acompañarnos [en el obsequio de la Virgen Santisima].

Es digna de reparo la singular providencia con que Dios nos deparo un interprete natural de estas Islas[.] este es un mozo el qual bolbiendo de Yap el año de mill setecientos veinte y cinco y con treinta y cinco bancas de su comitiva algunas de estas Islas y otras de Ulie. Por un [contra-] tiempo que les cogio en la travesia, se aparto de las demas

*bancas, y encontro el Patache en que iba de Gobernador à Marianas el General Don Manuel de Arguelles el qual convido à todos los que iban en la banca (que eran muchos hombres mujeres y niños)] para que deixasen su banca y se fuesen con el à Marianas[.] quatro mossos, y entre ellos nuestro Interprete, que se llama **Digal**, dexaron la banca, y se fueron à Marianas, los demas tubieron miedo y se fueron en demanda de su tierra[.] pero asi estos como todos los demas de las otras treinta y quatro bancas se perdieron [porque hasta el dia de oy no parece ninguno de ellos] estando pues estos quatro en Marianas los tres que eran de otras Islas se bolvieron à su tierra; y solo nuestro interprete quizo quedarse para hacerse Christiano. Quatro años estubo sirviendo al General Arguelles, y despues de su muerte passo à servir à los Padres[.] quando yo llegue à Marianas le halle todavia en estado de catecumeno, y aunque me pedia el Bautismo se lo dilato porque aunque sabia el reso y la doctrina en Castellano no entendia su sentido; y como {yo} tenia intencion de pasar à las Islas de Ulie cuja lengua sabe este mozo[.] traduje con su ayuda las oraciones y preguntas de la doctrina en este Idioma[.] con lo qual quedo hecho bastantemente capaz de los misterios de Nuestra Santa fee, y le baptise [el dia de Pasqua de Reyes de este presente año con el nombre de **Gaspar de los Reyes**] y se ha mostrado hasta aora mui fiel muy solido en la fee y de buenas costumbres y nos ayuda mucho con su persona y con sus parientes que son los mas principales de esta[s] Isla[s][.] por este respecto escribe à los Padres Procuradores que procuren alcanzarle de su Magestad la merced de Maestre de Campo de estas Islas para que los demas se alienten à favorecer à los Ministros del Evangelio.*

*Viven estos Indios con alguna racionalidad en poblaciones cerca de las playas con sus casitas juntas[.] su[s] bastimento[s] no es casi otra cossa que coco porque aunque tienen algunas [sementerillas de dos generos] de rayces es cossa corta y poco grata al gusto[.] ay arboles frutales de **Rimay** y otros que llaman **Afuch**, pero poco[s.] su bebida ordinaria es [tuba y] agua de coco[.] y raro es el yndio que bebe agua natural[.] es gente de genio alegre y holgazan casi todo el dia y la noche se les ba en cantar y parece[n] un coro de Capuchinos que estan cantando Maytines y [son] muy amigos de danzas[.] especialmente las noches de Luna pero bailan separadamente los hombres de las mugeres de suerte que al baile de las mugeres no pueden asistir los hombres **et viceversa** y como no tienen uso de instrumentos musicos danzan al compas de su mismo canto[.] los hombres, aunque no todos, se labran y pintan todo su cuerpo y tienen grandes agujeros en las ternillas de las orejas y otro agujero mas pequeño en la ternilla de la nariz y en estos agujeros traen manojitos de flores ó yervas olorosas y sarsillos de abalorios que ellos labran de cascara de coco y de concha y casi todos asi hombres como mujeres traen à la sintura una pretina de dos ó tres dedos de ancho compuesta de cuentecillas blancas y negras[.] no traen los varones mas vestido que un bajaque à modo de un paño (con que se cubren por delante, para no quedar del todo indecentemente desnudos, a modo de un paño) de manos¹ que texen de abaca [estas Indias] no sin alguna curiosidad de labores: y los tienen de color amarillo muy encendido que van à*

1 Ed. note: This bracketed phrase appears in the version sent to his colleagues in the Marianas.

comprar à Yap y es cosa entre ellos de tan gran estimacion y con el mismo color se pintan sus rostros y sus cuerpos asi hombres como mujeres[.] el vestido de las mujeres consiste en un tapiz del mismo genero que les alcanza desde la sintura hasta las rodillas [pero poco à poco se iran poniendo en la modestia Christiana.] los mozos y mozas son muy amigos de engalanarse la caveza el cuello y los brazos y las piernas con guirnaldas de flores yervas olorosas y [h]ojas blancas de coco[.] lo que mas estiman estos Indios es el fierro que aprecian tanto como en otras naciones el oro[.] y preguntando yo à uno de ellos en quanto estimaba el hierro me respondió con este desatino: [“]sabes lo que es el cielo pues asi como [à el cielo estimamos nosotros el hierro.[”]

*Tocante à su[s] creencia[s] son puros gentiles y creen que ay varios spiritus que ellos llaman **Elluz**¹ de los quales temen y esperan pero solamente cosas temporales porque ignoran totalmente lo que nos espera con la otra vida; y aunque dicen que las almas [despues de] desatadas del cuerpo van al Infierno no saben en que ultimamente paran [ni que cosa es Infierno.] tienen algunas oraciones para rogar à su **Elluz** que les de mucha **tuba**, **rimay**, **pesca** etc., pero no tienen templo ni altar ni Idolo ni sacrificios si no es algunos cocos que le ofrecen al pie de algun arbol donde piensan que asiste el **Elluz**[.] los dias pasados haviendo yo concertado con un Indio que limpiase un pedaço de tierra para sementera de Maiz, le mande que cortase unos arboles que hacian mucha sombra[.] que en Philipinas pienso se llaman [nonos o] **baletes**, pero [el Indio] no se atrevio à cortarlos diciendo que alli asistia el **Elluz** y que dies [/20] personas en diferentes tiempos se havian muerto por haverse atrevido a quererlos cortar[.] yo cogi un bolo y comenze à cortarlo y luego mande prosiguiese un soldado hasta deribararlo quedandose los Indios admirados de que à nosotros no nos suceda por eso ningun [/algun] daño[.] en cada pueblo ay unas dos casas apartadas de las [de]mas, à donde van à parir las mugeres y se quedan alli [por] tres meses; y alli tambien se rretiran las que padecen el ordinario achaque del menstruo, apartadas por algunos dias de toda comunicacion con los hombres; y eso con tal rigor que ningun hombre puede pasar serca de esas casas ni comer de lo que se cocina para esas mugeres so pena de enfermar, ó de morir[.]*

Tienen otras muchas vanas observancias en comer, en vestir, y en pescar pero confio en Dios que poco à poco se les ira quitando pues ven que nosotros que hacemos burla de ellas estamos buenos y sanos[.] ay algunos Brujos los quales nos daran algo que hacer pero ya los muchachos hacen burla de ellos, y nos avisan cuando les ven hacer alguna de sus ceremonias supersticiosas. Aviendo yo ido à una de estas Isletas distante unas quatro leguas de esta cavecera para empadronar sus moradores bautizar à los niños y catequizar un poco a los adultos[.] un bruxo de esa isla nos amenaso que abia de hacer venir un Baguio sobre nosotros para que nos aogaramos en la buelta pero fue Dios servido confundir al Brujo con darnos la buelta feliz[.] confesando los Indios que no pueden nada sus Dioses contra nuestro Dios.

1 Ed. note: Simply spelled Eluz in one version, probably to indicate that the double -l was not pronounced the Spanish way.

*Aqui tenemos suma falta de bastimentos[;] por ese mande apercevir el Barco para ir à Marianas à cargar arroz maiz y carne y procuraré ir antes que llegue el Galeon para conseguir [de los Padres Procuradores] dos compañeros para estas Misiones[.] harto siento el apartarme de aqui en estos principios pero es necesario que yo vaya para que el Barco no se baia à Philipinas y el Padre Victor queda seguro porque ademas que yo no llevare mas que dos ó tres soldados que aqui no sirven de nada quedandose los demas para defensa del Padre[.] casi todos los principales de estas Islas con el **Tamol** estan de nuestra parte[.]*

Dios nuestro Señor por su infinita bondad se digne prosperar y adelantar esta nueva Christiandad y me guarde V.R. muchos años.

De estas Islas de los Dolores y Mayo doce de mill setecientos treinta y un años.

Muy siervo de V.R.,

Juan Antonio Cantova.

P. S.—Despues de escrita esta y con el Barco ya apercebido para Marianas me determine quedarme en estas Islas, y embiare al Padre Victor Valter, para que solisite en Marianas nuestro socorro.

*La causa de esta mudanza ha sido el haver reconocido en los naturales de esta Isla notable mudanza y especialmente el **Tamol** de esta Isla (aunque se esfuerza para mostrarnos buena cara) he reconocido que tiene el animo mui alterado desde que llegaron aca unas bancas de la Carolina en las cuales vino un Indio de las Islas de **Ulie** que ya estuvo en Guahan y presumo que este mozo les ha llenado los oidos à estos naturales con los muchos trabajos que tienen en Marianas los Indios por causa de aquel Presidio[.] por este motivo nos hemos reselado que estando yo ausente aya algun alzamiento, el qual puede ser se evite con el Divino Favor, estando yo presente.*

Y porque el Barco no va seguro sin un Padre mi compañero me ha aconsejado à que le dexé ir à su Reverencia y que yo me quedo por parecer que estos naturales me tienen à mi mucho respeto[;] por lo que toca à cojer las Islas Marianas no es dificil por ser cordillera seguida de islas altas[.] la mayor dificultad consiste en acertar à la buelta con estas Isletas por ser tan pequeñas y tan bajas pero ira con el Padre un Mestizo español de Marianas al qual he enseñado un poco del Arte de Navegar y de observar el sol[.] y para la mayor seguridad escribio al General del Galeon que deje en tierra en Marianas à aquel Piloto Irlandes llamado Daniel de Obreyan [=O'Brien] que aora dos años se embarco conmigo en el Patache y este año pasado se embarco en el Galeon en plaza de Artillero y escribo al mismo Piloto alentandole para que se quede para venir de Marianas con el Barco à estas Islas[.] yo pues me quedo no sin algun temor de que se malogren estos felizes principios[.] yo tendre por suma dicha el morir por quien murio por mi en una Cruz pero sentiria en el alma el que perdiese esta nueva Christiandad.

Dios nuestro Señor tenga misericordia de estos pobres y les borre del corazon sus malos intentos, si acaso los tienen, y me guarde à V.R. muchos años.

De esta Isla de Falalep y Mayo veinte y siete de mill setecientos treinta y un años.

Mui siervo de V.R.,

Juan Antonio Cantova.

Translation.

My Father Provincial, Pedro de la Hera,

Thanks be to God, who through His infinite mercy has deigned to bring us to the Garbanzo [i.e. Chick-pea] Islands, which are almost in the center of the Caroline Islands, in order to bring the light of the Gospel to the unnumerable gentiles who live in this archipelago. On 11 February of the present year [1731], we set sail from the Marianas. Father Victor Walter and I had 12 soldiers as an escort and 8 ship's boys. On the 2nd of March we made port at one of these islands, which we named "Islas de los Dolores," because they were discovered on a Friday and the second day of our novena to Our Lady of Sorrows. Then we set foot on the Island of Mogmog, the home of the **Tamol**, or lord of the islands. But since this island was so small, hardly a league in circumference, with little land for cultivation and no supply of good drinking water, I decided to go on and settle at the Island of Falalep. This is the largest of all the islands, nearly two leagues in circumference. Here we have plenty of room for cultivation, but there is such a plague of rats, which eat our corn, that it has to be planted and replanted. These rats cause great concern as to whether we will be able to obtain any harvest this year, at least until we start catching them in some rat traps. In one of these, shaped like a small fish trap, we caught 55 rats in three hours. In this way we hope to keep catching a large number each day. These 36 islands, which are located to the southwest of the Marianas, at a distance of some 80 leagues. All of them are small and only 8 are inhabited; these are shown on the **enclosed map** by the letter P.¹

At the moment I have the task of assembling all the people on one or two islands. But I cannot do it right away. It is necessary to move with leaden feet.

These islands, like many others of this archipelago, are subject to the King of Yap. Yap is large and very populated, and is about 50 leagues [west] southwest of these islands. As soon as Christianity has more or less taken root here, I will leave Father Victor behind and go to Yap. Even with a dozen Fathers, there would be no lack of work because on many of the islands, both large and small, one can form a big Christian community.

The house which we have at present, is one which, according to the customs of these islands, is set aside for guests. The [edges of] the roof is so low that it is hardly 3 palms from the ground. There are door openings on all sides, but so low that one must go in and out on all fours. It required a great deal of work to make a doorway by which we could enter and go out without bending down. But it helped very little because the beams inside the house which support the entire building are about 6 palms from the ground, and it is difficult to lower one's head each time to avoid bumping into the cross-

¹ Ed. note: As none of the 4 charts published in this volume has the letter P (meaning Poblada) next to any of the islets, they must all be copies of the original Cantova charts, which are no longer extant.

beams. We have no hope of finding a better house in these islands for at least a few years, because of the scarcity of wood. There are only coconut trees and other small trees of little or no value. In our house we arranged a corner for a chapel in good taste, where we placed Our Lady of Loreto, as patroness. Then we sang a mass, and fired a salute with our muskets and guns. These natives never tire of coming to see and admire the beauty of Our Lady and her Holy Son. They say they cannot but believe in God, since they see Him and His mother with their own eyes. Then as patron of Falalep we chose our Father St. Ignatius, since the mass we sang concluded a novena in his honor.

Afterwards one of my first concerns was to protect the house with a good enclosure. Later I went on a tour of these islands to erect crosses, baptize children, and teach catechism to the adults. We have already baptized some 127 children. I have enrolled 592 souls in the 8 populated islands. This is the method we use in explaining the doctrine:

After mass (at which many attend while standing out of doors watching the Holy Sacrifice in wonder and silence), we teach the men, young and old, the prayers and give instructions in doctrine, which I have translated into their language, and which is very different from all the languages of the Philippines and the Marianas, but it is close to the language of **Ulie** [Woleai], which I had learned in the Marianas. In the evening we teach the women in the same way. Many of all ages and both sexes come to the instructions in their desire to learn and be baptized. On the other islands, where we have not worked, a few boys are teaching the sign of the cross and some prayers. As soon as possible I will send better instructors to act as catechists. Each night we say the Holy Rosary together at our house and the Litany of Our Lady. We sing the *Salve*, which pleases these Indians very much. They want to know the same prayers and songs in order to accompany us in our prayers to Our Lady.

It is worth taking note of the singular Providence of God by which a native interpreter from these islands was sent to us. He is a young man who, while returning from Yap in 1725 with 35 canoes in company, some from these islands and others from Ulie, because of a storm that struck them during the journey, was separated from the other canoes. He found the patache in which the governor, General Don Manuel Argüelles, was going to the Marianas. All were invited (men, women, and children) to leave their canoe and come with him to the Marianas in his vessel. Four young men, and among them our interpreter, named **Digal**, left their canoe and went on to the Marianas. The rest were afraid and decided to return to their own land. But these, like all the rest in the 34 canoes, were lost. Up to this very day none of them has appeared. But after the four young men arrived in the Marianas, three of them returned to their own islands. Only our interpreter wanted to stay and become a Christian. He served General Argüelles for 4 years and, after the latter's death, he helped the Fathers. When I arrived in the Marianas I found him still a catechumen, and although he asked me for baptism, I put it off, because, although he knew the prayers and the doctrine in Spanish, he did not understand their meaning. Since I intended to go to the Islands of Ulie, whose language this young man knew, I translated with his assistance the prayers and instructions in doctrine into that language. With this he became better able to understand the

mysteries of our Holy Faith and I baptized him on the feast of the Epiphany in the current year and gave him the name of **Gaspar de los Reyes**. He has proven himself to be very loyal, with a deep faith and possessed of fine habits. He and his relatives, who are prominent in these islands, help us very much. For this reason, I am writing to the Father Procurators to obtain from His Majesty the title of Master-of-camp for him in these islands, so that others may wish to help and show favor to the missionaries of the Gospel.¹

These Indians live, with some comfort, in villages near the beaches where their houses are close together. Their food supply consists of coconuts. Although they have cultivated the land with two kinds of root crops, they are in short supply and not very tasty. There are fruit trees, such as breadfruit and another they call *Afuch*, but just a few of these.² The ordinary drink is *tuba* (from certain palm trees and coconut water and rare is the Indian who drinks fresh water. The people are naturally cheerful, and lazy; indeed, they spend practically the whole day and night in song. They appear as a choir of Capuchins singing Matins. They love to dance, specially at night when the moon is out. The men dance separately from the women, so that the men cannot attend the women's dances and vice versa. And since they do not use any musical instruments, they dance to the rhythm of their own singing. Most of the men work at painting [i.e. tattooing] their whole body and they put large holes in the lobes of their ears and smaller holes in the lobes of their noses. In these holes they place small bundles of fragrant flowers or herbs, and earrings of baubles, which they make from coconut and tortoise shell. Nearly all (men and women) wear around their waist a belt or girdle of 2 or 3 fingers in width, made of small black and white beads. The men wear nothing but a loincloth, (with which they cover themselves in front, so as not to remain completely and indecently naked; it looks like a handkerchief)³ which they [these Indian women] weave from *abaca* [i.e. hemp], not without some intricate designs. Some are dyed a brilliant yellow with a dye which they go and buy in Yap. The people esteem it so highly that they even paint their faces and bodies with it, men as well as women. The dress of the women consists of a mat made of the same material, which covers them from the waist down to the knees. But, little by little, they will begin to accept the modesty of the Christian world.⁴ The boys and the girls love to decorate their heads, neck, arms and legs, with garlands of flowers and fragrant herbs and the white leaves of the coconut. What these Indians esteem most of all is iron. They value it as much as other nations esteem

1 Ed. note: This particular letter may never have been written. There is no trace of it, or mention, elsewhere.

2 Ed. note: Indeed, according to a modern PALI Carolinian dictionary, *Afuusch* is *Cratæva speciosa*, a species of fruit-bearing tree.

3 Ed. note: This bracketed part appears in the version addressed to the Marianas.

4 Ed. note: Perhaps meaning that the priests were making them wear bras, in church at least. From personal experience, I know that Ulithian women are not made to cover their breasts in Catholic churches nowadays, perhaps the only place in the world where this is occurring.

gold. I asked one of them how much he loved iron, and he answered with this diatribe: "You know what Heaven is like? Well, we ourselves esteem iron just like Heaven."

In their beliefs they are pure gentiles. They believe there are various spirits which they call **Elluz**. They fear them and hope to receive from them only temporal things because they ignore completely what awaits us in the next life. And although they say that souls, after being freed from the body, go to hell, they do not know where they will ultimately end up, nor what hell is. They pray to **Elluz** to give them much **tuba**, bread-fruit, fish, etc. but they have no temple, no altar, no idol, no sacrifice, but some coconuts which they offer at the foot of some tree where they think that **Elluz** resides. After making an agreement with an Indian to clear a piece of land for cultivation of corn, I ordered him to cut down some trees that gave a great deal of shade; I think that in the Philippines, these trees are called *nonos*, or *baletes*.¹ However, the Indian did not want to cut them down, saying that **Elluz** lived therein, and that 10 people died at different times for having dared to try and cut them down. I took a long knife and started to cut it down and then ordered a soldier to continue. The Indians remained astonished that no harm come to us.² In each village there are one or two houses separated from the rest where the women go to give birth, and remain there for three months. Women also go there during menstruation to be separated for a few days from contact with men. Severe sanctions forbid a man to pass near these houses, or eat what was cooked for those women, at the risk of sickness, or death.

They have other observances while eating, or while dressing, or fishing, but I pray to God that little by little they will stop, for they see that we who laugh at them are healthy and sound. There are a few witch doctors who will give us some trouble. But now the boys laugh at them and let us know when they see them performing their superstitious rites. On a trip to one of these islands, about four leagues from the main island, to instruct its residents, baptize the children, and catechize a few adults, a witch doctor threatened us with a typhoon and death by drowning on the return trip. But God confounded the witch doctor by giving us a fine return trip and He was served by making the Indians admit that their gods can do nothing against our God.³

Here supplies are short. And I have asked for the boat to go up to the Marianas to bring rice, corn, and meat. I will try to go there before the galleon arrives, to obtain two companions for these missions from the Father Procurators. I feel very sad at leaving here, but it is necessary that I go before the ship departs for the Philippines. Father Victor remains safe, since I am taking only 2 or 3 soldiers, who are useless here. The other soldiers will stay to defend the Father. All the prominent men of these islands, including the **Tamol**, are on our side.

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- 1 Ed. note: According to B&R, the "nono(g)" tree is the Morinda, but the "balete" corresponds to the *Ficus urostigima* (whose bark, by the way, can be used for clothing).
 - 2 Ed. note: Not right then, but they were both massacred soon after this letter was written.
 - 3 Ed. note: The final paragraph of the version addressed to the Marianas is different (see A3 below), which summarized what he says here in his postscript.

May God, Our Lord, in His infinite kindness deign to make this new Christian community prosper and advance, and may He protect Your Reverence.

From these Islands of Our Lady of Sorrows, 12 May 1731.

Your Reverence's servant,
Juan Antonio Cantova.

Postscript.

After I wrote this letter and was already on the boat prepared to leave for the Marianas, I decided to remain in these islands, and I asked Father Victor Walter to solicit help in the Marianas for me. The reason for this is change, specially in the **Tamol** of the island (although he makes an effort to show a happy face); I noticed that his spirit changed as soon as some canoes arrived from the [other] Carolines. In one of them came an Indian from the Island of **Ulie** who had previously been in Guahan. I presume that this young man has filled the ears of these natives with news of all the work that the Indians in the Marianas are forced to do because of the garrison. For this reason we were afraid that during my absence there might be an uprising, which could be avoided by the grace of God, if I were there.

Since the boat would not sail safely without a priest, my companion, Father Victor, has advised me to let His Reverence go along. So, I will remain, since it seems that these natives have great respect for me. As far as finding the Mariana Islands, it is not difficult, as they are part of a chain of high islands. The major difficulty consists in finding our way back to these small and low-lying islands. A Spanish half-breed from the Marianas will accompany the Father;¹ I have taught him a little of the art of navigation, and how to observe the sun. For greater security I am writing to the general of the galleon, for him to leave in the Marianas that Irish pilot, Daniel de Obreyan [i.e. O'Brien], who sailed with me in the patache two years ago, and this past year he embarked in the galleon, as a gunner. And I am writing to this pilot himself, urging him to remain in the Marianas so that he might come from there with the boat to these islands. But I will stay quite fearful that these happy beginnings may be ruined. It will be my supreme joy to die for Him who died for me on the cross. And I will feel very sorry if this new Christian community is lost.

May God our Lord have mercy on these poor people, and erase from their hearts evil intentions, if perhaps they have them. And may He save Your Reverence for many years.

From this Island of Falalep, 27 May 1731.

Your Reverence's servant,
Juan Antonio Cantova.

1 Ed. note: His name was probably Joaquin Ignacio Maldonado (see Doc. 1731B5).

A3. Letter from Fr. Cantova to the missionaries in the Marianas, dated Falalep 27 May 1731

Note: According to Fr. Spilimbergo (see Doc. 1734C), this letter was addressed to his colleagues in the Marianas. Only the opening and closing paragraphs are radically different from the previous letter to Fr. Provincial (A2 above).

Original text in Spanish.

Relacion que hace el Padre Juan Antonio Cantova de su viaje y asiento en las Yslas Carolinas.

*El dia onze de Febrero de este presente año salimos de Marianas el Padre Victor Walter, y yo con doce soldados y ocho grumetes, y el dia dos de Marzo llegamos à tomar puerto en estas Islas que apellidamos de los Dolores por haverlas descubierto el dia de viernes y segundo dia de la Novena que haciamos à Nuestra Señora de los Dolores[.] saltamos en tierra en la Isla de Mogmog morada del **Tamol** señor de estas Islas pero por ser tan pequeña que apenas tendra una legua de bojeo sin tierras para sementera y sin agua buena para beber me determiné de pasar à la Isla de Falalep que es la maior de estas Islas y tendra de bojeo apenas dos leguas. Aqui tomamos asiento y hicimos sementeras pero la plaga de ratones nos destruyeron el Maiz sembrado y resembrado sin esperanza de cosecha, mas para matarlos hicimos una ratonera à modo de corral de pescado y en tres oras cogimos cincuenta y cinco, y assi se van cogiendo cada dia muchos. Estas Islas que son treinta y seis estan al sudueste de Marianas en distancia de unas ochenta leguas, todas [son] pequeñas y solo ocho pobladas como demuestra el **Mapa adjunto** en el qual las Islas que son pobladas tiene la letra Q [rather P].*

...

[The official report (A2 above) is then copied by Fr. Cantova, with some variations. Wherever there are differences, they are pointed out in the text of the above report. The final paragraph is as follows:]

*Por la suma falta, que tenemos de bastimentos aviamos determinado que bolviessse el Barco à Marianas à cargar de arros, maiz, y carne, antes que llegasse el Galeon para traer dos Compañeros a la nueva Mission, y estava yo en ir en el; porque no se fuese el Barco à Philipinas; pero estando ya prevenido todo para la partida, le pareció a mi Compañero el Padre Victor Walter, que me quedase yo; porque se reconoció notable mudanza en los naturales de estas Islas, y especialmente en el **Tamol** de esta Isla. He reconocido que tienen el animo muy alterado, desde que llegaron aca unas bancas de las Carolinas, en las cuales vino un Indio de la Isla de Ulie, que estubo en Guahan, y presumo que este mozo les ha llenado los oydos à estos naturales de los muchos trabajos que tienen en Marianas los Indios por causa de aquel presidio. Por este motivo nos hemos rezelado no ayga algun levantamiento, el que puede ser se evito con el Divino favor estando pressente. Y porque el Barco no yba seguro sin Padre mi compañero el Padre Victor me aconsejo, le dexase a su Reverencia y que yo me quedasse, por parecer que estos naturales me tenían mucho respecto. Por lo que toca à coger las Islas Maria-*

nas no es difícil por ser cordillera seguida de las Islas altas. La mayor dificultad consiste en acertar a la vista con estas Islas por ser tan pequeñas, y tan baxas. Pero irá con el Padre un Mestizo Español de Marianas à el qual he enseñado un poco del arte de navegar, y a observar el sol. Yo pues me quedo no sin algun temor de que se malogren estos felizes principios. Yo tendre por suma dicha de morir, por quien murio por mi en una Cruz. Pero sintiria en el alma, que se perudiesse esta nueva Cristiandad. Dios Nuestro Señor tenga misericordia de estos Pobres, y les borre del Corazon sus malos intentos, si acaso lo tienen.

Fecha en esta Isla de Falalep, May 27 de 1731.¹

A4. Letter from Fr. Cantova to the Governor of the Philippines, dated Falalep 25 May 1731

Source: This is the covering letter that accompanied a duplicate copy of his main report.

Original text in Spanish.

Muy Illustrisimo Señor.

La Gracia, y la Paz de Nuestro Señor Jesu Christo salude, y vizzite à V.S. y prospere con felizes aciertos todas las conductas de su Gobierno.

Escribo de las Islas de los Garbanzos que son parte de las Carolinas, y Puerta de los Palaos. Ellas son treinta y seis, pero solamente ocho pobladas; y todas pequeñas, como lo demuestra el Mapa, que acompaña à esta; y forman casi un círculo, cuió centro demora en nueve grados, y cinquenta, y quatro minutos de latitud boreal, y casi tres grados al Oeste de Marianas; y corren norte sur unos catorze minutos, y Leste Oeste unos veinte y dos minutos.

*El dia once de Febrero de este presente año, me hize a la vela en Marianas con otro Padre Missionero, doze soldados de escolta, y ocho grumetes: y el dia dos de Marzo llegamos à tomar puerto en estas Islas, que apellidé **De los dolores**, por averlas descubierto en dia de viernes, y segundo dia de la novena que hacíamos en el barco à la Señora Dolorosa. Saltamos en tierra en la Isla de Mogmog; donde recide el Señor (que aqui llaman Tamol) de estas Islas y la dediqué al glorioso Patriarcha San Joseph. Pero por ser Isla muy corta, y no haver agua buena para beber, ni tierra para sembrar; determine passar à tomar asiento en esta Isla de Falalep, que es la maior de todas estas Isletas; donde al presente estamos con la tierra quieta, y la gente pacifica, pero con las armas listas, y con una buena cerca para la seguridad del Real, y de nuestras vidas, porque aunque estos naturales son muy manzos, au en estas Islas unos advenidizos [sic] de la Isla de Yapo [sic], los quales desde quando nosotros aportamos à estas Islas, se ofrecieron al Tamol de ellas, para pelear con nosotros pero el Tamol no les dio oydos, por agradecer al averle traído nosotros un pariente suyo, que se avia desgaritado à Marianas.*

¹ Ed. note: Fr. Spilimbergo, in his manuscript in ARSI, wrongly corrected this date to 27 March 1732.

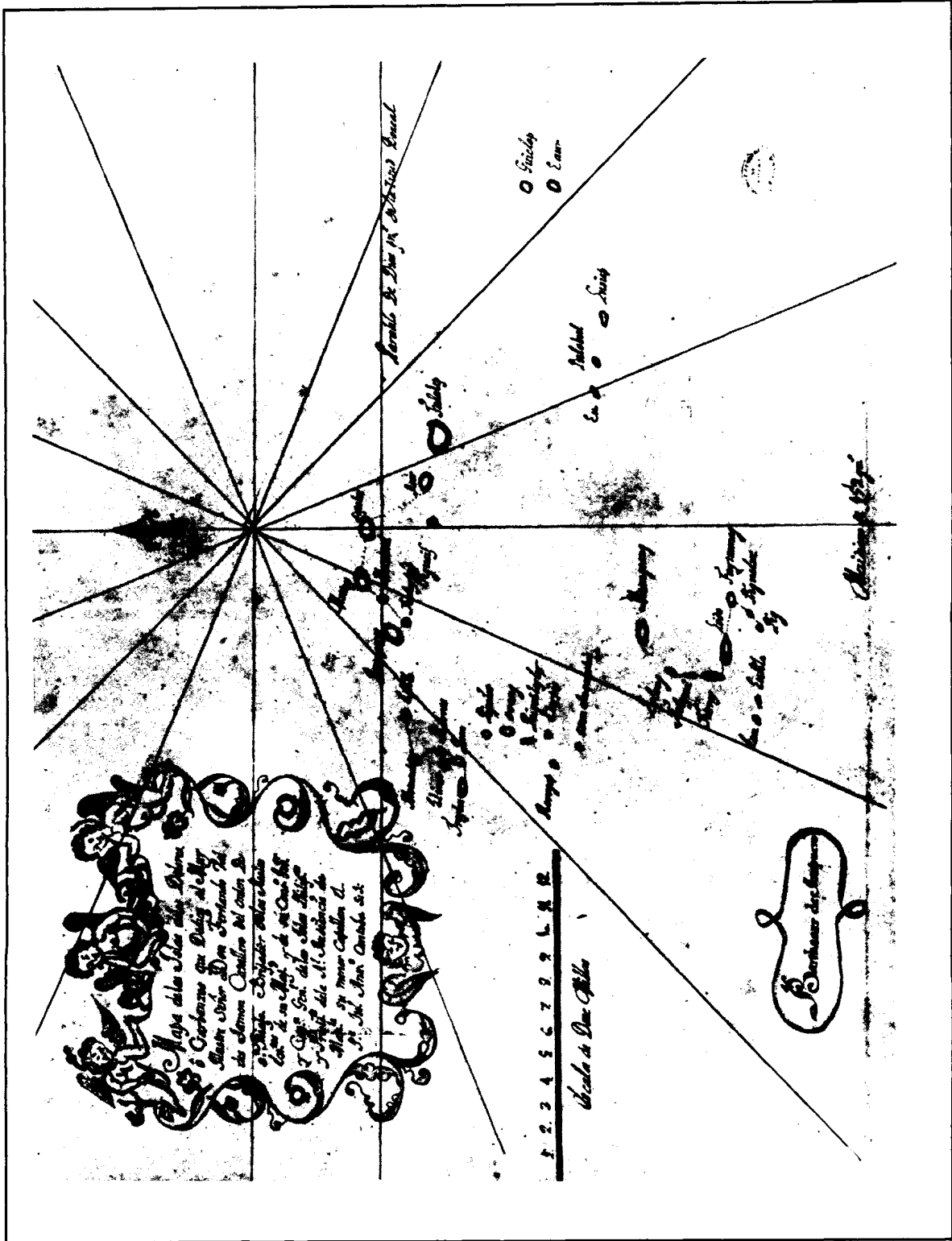
Assi estas Islas, como otras de este Archipiélago, son tributarias del Rey de dha Isla de Yapó, tierra algo grande, y muy poblada, que demora al oessudueste de estas Isletas, en distancia de unas cinquenta leguas. Y al sursudueste de Yapó en distancia de unas veinte y cinco leguas estan las Islas de Panleu, tambien grandes, y muy pobladas de gente Caribe, que tiene su Rey distinto de el de Yapó. A todas estas Islas me llevan mis anhelos; pero por ser gente mas belicossa, necessito de alguna maior prevencion de gente, y de armas. Por cuió respecto, suplico à V.S. que teniendo presente lo mucho que el Rey Nuestro Señor (que Dios guarde) encarga esta empresa, por lo que interesa en ella nuestra sancta feé catholica, y el servicio de ambas Magestades, se sirva providenciar, que el Governador de las Islas Marianas destaque de aquel Presidio, otros dies hombres de mi satisfacion, en caso que yo los pida para esta empresa. Y que en el primer Patache, que saliere del Puerto de Cavite para dhas Islas Marianas, se embarquen ocho Pedreros, con ducientos cartuchos de metralla; ocho Arcabuzes bien acondicionados, con quatro mill balas: seis pares de Pistolas, con quinientas balas: ocho tinajas de polvora gruessa, y dos tinajas de polvora fina, cien granadas, dos cajas de guerra, y dos banderas. Y que al tornaviage de Marianas el Patache dè la buelta por estas Islas, donde ay buenos surgideros, para su franquia, y nos trayga lo referido, y el situado de la Mission, y escolta como lo ordena su Magestad. En lo qual no se extraviarà mucho el Patache de su viage y quando mas se le dilatarà la buelta unos dies, ó doze dias.

En interin iremos reduziendo con el favor de Dios los naturales de estas Islas, donde tenemos ya cienta, y cinquenta y dos Angelitos, reengendrados à Jesu Cristo en las Aguas del santo Bautismo; y quanto antes se bautizaran otros muchachos, que ya saben el rezo y la Doctrina Christiana, que hè traducido en su lengua, la que es muy diferente de todos los Idiomas de las Islas Philippinas y Marianas. Y à su tiempo se bautizaran tambien los adultos, los quales acuden todos los dias, en bastante numero de ambos sexos, y de todas hedades, à aprender el rezo, y à ser instruidos en los Misterios de nuestra santa Feé: No sera pequeña Gloria de V.S. el que en tiempo de su Gobierno se enarbole con las Armas Reales, el estandarte de la Santa Cruz en muchas Islas; y que su Divina Magestad sea conocido, y adorado de muchas gentes que antes adoraban à los Demonios.

Al presente estoy esperando tiempo y viento favorable para bolver con el barco à Marianas, à solicitar bastimentos de que ay suma falta en estas Islas, assi por la cortedad de ellas, y la floxedad de sus naturales, como por la plaga de los ratones, que infestan muchas de estas Islas, y especialmente la de nuestra morada, donde nos talaron las ratas tres sementeras de maiz, ya nazido, y resebrada dos, y tres vezes; por cuiá razon me vi precissado à mandar hazer sementera, aunque con notable incommodidad, en otra Isla algo apartada, y despoblada, donde no ay semejante plaga.

Dios nuestro Señor por su infinita misericordia conserve, y aumente esta nueva Christiandad; y prospere la Muy Illustre Persona de V.S. los muchos años que yo deseo, y hè menester.

De este pueblo de Falalep, y Mayo, veinte y cinco de mill setecientos, y treinta y uno.



Third map of Ulithi by Fr. Cantova, 1731. Re-drawn in Manila by the Irish pilot, Balthasar Ampuero. (From AGI MP Fil. 25 bis).

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*Muy Ilustre Señor,
Besa la mano de V.S. su menor siervo, y Capellan.
Juan Antonio Cantova.*

Relacion que haze el Padre Juan Antonio Cantova de su viage y asiento en las Islas Carolinas.

El dia once de febrero de este presente año salimos de Marianas...

Translation.

Most Illustrious Sir:

May the grace and peace of Our Lord Jesus Christ greet and visit Your Lordship and make you prosper with successful accomplishments during your term of office.

I am writing from the Garbanzos [= Chick-pea] Islands that are part of the Carolines, and the doorway to the Palaos. They are 36 in number, but only 8 of them are inhabited, but all are small, as shown on the chart (enclosed), and they form almost a circle, whose center lies in 9°54' lat. N., and almost 3° west of the Marianas. They are laid out from north to south over 14 minutes, and from east to west about 22 minutes.

On the 11th of February of this year, I sailed from the Marianas with another missionary Father, 12 soldiers as an escort, and 8 ship's boys. On the 2nd of March, we arrived and made port in these Islands, that I [re-]named **the Dolores Islands**, because they were discovered on a Friday, and the second day of a novena to Our Lady of Sorrows that we had begun aboard the boat.¹ We stepped ashore at Mogmog Island, where the Lord of these islands (who is called Tamol here) resides, and I dedicated it to the glorious Patriarch St. Joseph. However, because it is a very small island, and without any good water to drink, or land for plantations, I decided to go and settle at this Island of Falalep, which is the largest of all of these islets, where we are at present. The land is quiet, and the people peaceful, but we remain with weapons at the ready, and with a good fence for the security of the Royal camp, and of our lives. Because, although these natives are very submissive, there are in these islands some men who have come from the Island of Yapó [i.e. Yap]; they, ever since we made port at these Islands, have offered themselves to their Tamol to fight with us, but the Tamol did not let them, because he is thankful to us for having brought him a relative of his who had drifted to the Marianas.

These islands as well as others in this archipelago are tributaries of the King of said Island of Yapó [sic], a rather large island and very populated, which lies WSW of these islets at a distance of about 50 leagues. And to the SSW of Yapó, at a distance of about 25 leagues, are the Islands of Panleu [i.e. Palau], also large, and very populated by cannibals, and they have their own King different than that of Yapó. I dream of conquer-

¹ Ed. note: Dolores means Sorrows. This name, which did not stick, did not therefore come from the patache Dolores, that had already been shipwrecked two years earlier, as I had first thought. By the way, the name of the boat he used, if any, remains unknown.

ing all of these islands, but since they are more war-like people, I need a larger supply of men, and weapons. To this effect, I beg Your Lordship to take into account the eagerness of the King our Lord (whom may God save) when he entrusted this enterprise, because it involves the interest of our holy Catholic faith, and the service of both their Majesties, and to please issue a provision to the Governor of the Mariana Islands, for him to detach 10 more men satisfactory to me from that garrison, in case I should want them for this enterprise. And let the first patache to leave the port of Cavite to go to said Mariana Islands carry 8 mortars, with 200 cartridges for them; 8 arquebusses, in good condition, with 4,000 bullets; 6 pairs of pistols, with 500 bullets; 8 jars of rough powder, 2 jars of fine powder, 100 grenades, 2 war drums, and 2 flags. And let the Mariana patache, when making its return voyage, pass by these Islands, where there are good anchorages with lots of sea room; and let it bring us the above supplies, and the subsidy of the Mission, and the escort, as His Majesty has ordered. By the way, the patache would not stray much from its [regular] voyage, and would be delayed by some 10 days, 12 at most.

In the meantime, God helping, we will continue to reduce the natives of these Islands, where we have already got 152 little Angels, who have been reincarnated in Jesus Christ, through the waters of holy baptism; and soon other boys will be baptized, who already know some prayers and the Christian catechism, that I have translated into their language, which, by the way, is very different from all of the languages spoken in the Philippine Islands and the Marianas. In time, adults will be baptized as well; some of them, of both sexes and of all ages, flock every day in rather large numbers, to learn prayers, and be instructed in the mysteries of our holy faith. It would not be a small glory for Your Lordship if, during your term of office, the Royal standards were raised, along with the standard of the Holy Cross, in many islands, and for His divine Majesty to be recognized, and worshipped by the many peoples who were worshipping the devils before.

At the moment, I am waiting for favorable weather and wind, to return with the boat to the Marianas, to solicit food supplies, of which there is an extreme lack in these Islands, not only on account of their smallness, and the laziness of their natives, but also on account of the plague of rats that infest many of these islands, specially the one where we live, where the rats have destroyed three plantations of corn, already germinated, and replanted two, and three times. That is why I was forced to order the making of a plantation, though with some inconvenience, on another, uninhabited, islet, located at some distance, where there is no similar plague.

May our Lord, in His infinite mercy, preserve and increase this new Christian community, and may the Most Illustrious person of Your Lordship prosper for as many years as I wish, and need.

From this village of Falalep, 25 May 1731.

Most Illustrious Sir:

The least servant, and chaplain, of Your Lordship who kisses your hand,
Juan Antonio Cantova.

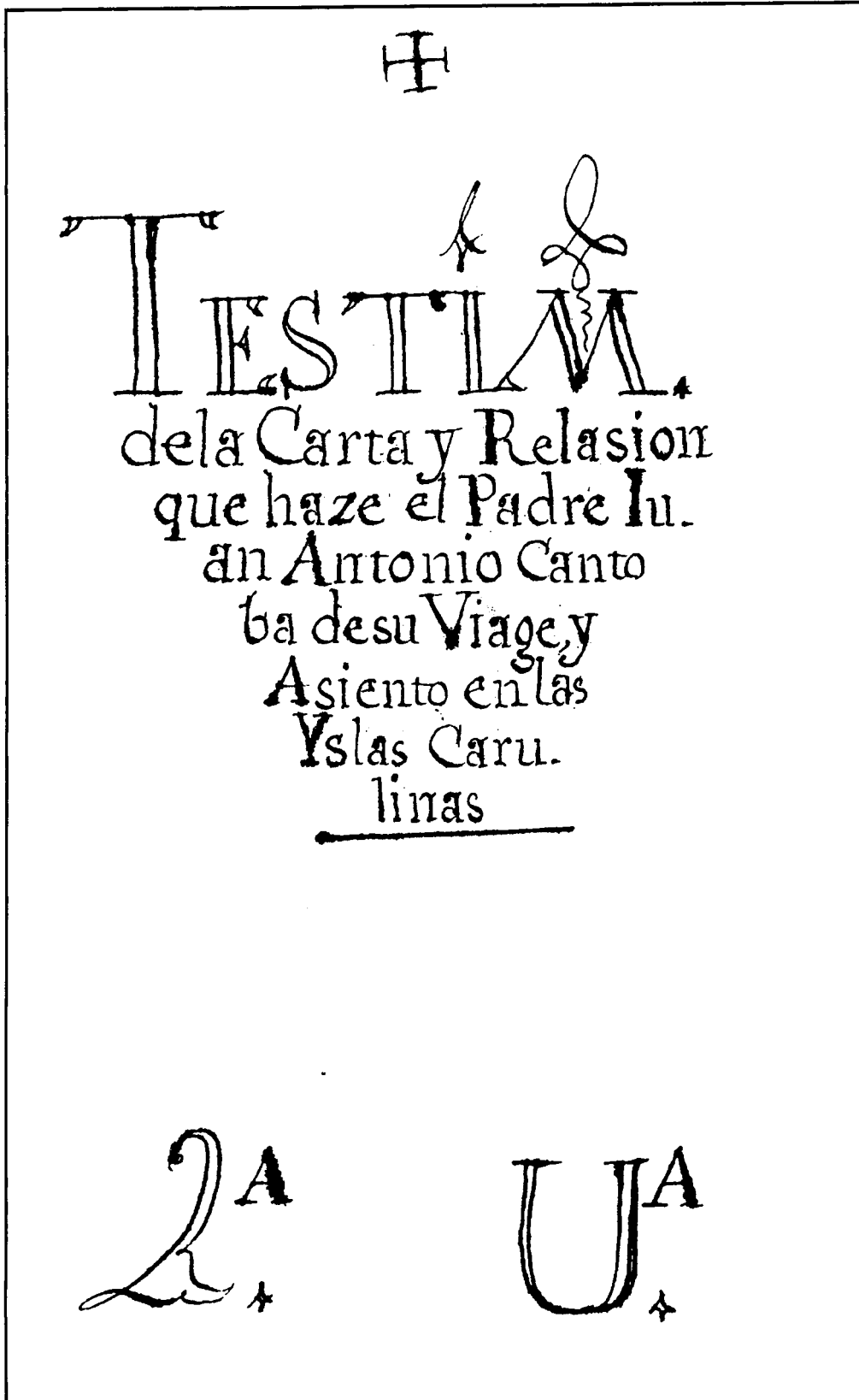
Narrative made by Father Juan Antonio Cantova of his voyage to and settlement in the Caroline Islands.

On the 11th of February of this year, we left the Marianas...

...

[The rest of this report is almost an exact copy of A2 above.]

[Facing page:] **Cover page of the case file on the settlement at Ulithi Atoll.**
This particular case file dates from 1731 and was sent from Manila to Spain by the second route, i.e. via the coast of Coromandel. (From AGI Fil. 320).



Documents 1731B

Official reports from Manila about the voyage to Ulithi

Source: AGI Fil. 320, with copies in AHN Ultramar 5352, part 2.

B1. Letter from Governor Valdés Tamón to the King, dated Manila 3 June 1731, repeating a previous letter about a failed expedition to the Carolines

Original text in Spanish.

El Brigadier Don Fernando Valdes Tamon, Gobernador y Capitan General de las Islas Filipinas, y Presidente de la Audiencia de Manila.—

Repite dar quenta à V.M. con Testimonio, de que havindose por el arrivo, y Perdida del Patache de Marianas, frustrado las Providençias libradas para la expedicion de las Islas Palaos, se eligió el medio, de que en el Nuevo Patache, continuasen los Religiosos destinados, para en las Marianas se façilitase, por aora el modo de poder introducir en aquellas Yslas, que todo es constante del mençionado Testimonio.

Señor.

De haver librado las Providençias, que se pudieron à efecto, de que los Religiosos de la sagrada Compañia de Jesus, que se hallava con el designio de ir, al descubrimiento de las Islas Carolinas, se embarcaron en el Patache de Marianas, hè dado quenta à V.M. el año pasado, de 1730 por Carta de 15 de Junio, del thenor siguiente:

Señor; con la ocasion del arribo, y perdida del Patache, que el año inmediato pasado, yva a las Yslas Marianas, se frustraron las providençias entonces libradas para la expedicion, y descubrimiento de las Islas Palaos, ó Carolinas, y porque para pasar a dhas Marianas, en el Nuevo Patache, hizo representacion en este Gobierno el Prelado Superior de la sagrada Compania de Jesus, proponiendo, que de su parte se hallava en animo de que fuesen los Religiosos de su obediencia, destinados para dichas Carolinas; en cuya inteligencia, llevado este negocio à Junta[s] de Hazienda, y hablandose de este negocio, con las circunstancias que pide su gravedad, se dieron aquellas Providencias que por aora permitio el tiempo, y lo adelantado de la salida del Patache, para que pudiesen embarcarse dhos Religiosos y façilitar en Marianas el modo mas façil, ó posible à la empresa, como es constante del Testimonio adjunto, concurriendo yo por mi parte

en lo que ha ofrecido la ocassion, por los deseos de ver conseguida una expedición tan del agrado de V.M. y que puede ser medio a la extensión de muchas Xptiandades...

Y solo me ofrece aora, añadir por aviso que me dio aquel Governador de Marianas de haver llegado dhos Religiosos à ellas, y que a toda prissa, quedaban aviandose de embarcazion competente, y lo demas neçesario para pasar à su empresa de las referidas Islas Carolinas.

Dios Guarde la C. y R.P. de V.M. como la Xptiandad ha menester.

Manila y Junio 3 de 1731.

Señor.

Don Fernando Valdes Tamon.

Translation.

Brigadier Fernando Valdés Tamón, Governor and Captain General of the Philippine Islands, and President of the Audiencia of Manila.

He repeats a report to Y.M., enclosing a record of proceedings, regarding the return in distress, and loss of the Mariana Patache.¹ Being thus frustrated the measures taken for an expedition to the Palaos Islands, there was selected the alternative of sending the Religious aboard the new patache, so that in the Marianas they could find the means of being able to introduce themselves into those Islands, as explained further in the above-mentioned proceedings.

Sire:

I have reported to Y.M. last year, in a letter dated 15 June 1730, about my having issued provisions, which were put into execution, for the Religious of the sacred Society of Jesus, who planned to go to the exploration of the Caroline Islands; in effect, they boarded the Mariana patache. The letter in question reads:

“Sire: Upon the occasion of the return in distress, and loss of the patache that last year [1729] was going to the Mariana Islands, the measures that were taken then for the expedition and exploration of the Palaos, or Caroline, Islands, were frustrated. And, because the Superior of the sacred Society of Jesus made a representation to this Government, saying that, on his part, he was of a mind to send the Religious under his authority, destined for said Carolines, to said Marianas with the new patache, this business was referred to the Treasury Committee, where it was discussed at some length, given its gravity, and those measures were given, as permitted by the shortage of time, and the imminent departure of the patache, to have said Religious board it and to have facilities provided them more easily in the Marianas, as recorded in the enclosed record of proceedings. As far as I am concerned, I have done what I could under the circumstances, because of my wish to see this expedition, so much to the liking of Y.M., succeed and become the means to extend many Christian communities...”

For now, all I can add is that I have been advised by the Governor of the Marianas that said Religious have arrived there, and that they were working very fast to make

1 Ed. note: That of the patache Dolores, in 1729.

ready a suitable boat, and the other necessities to undertake their expedition of said Caroline Islands.

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

Manila, 3 June 1731.

Sire:

Don Fernando Valdés Tamón.

B2. Letter from the Audiencia of Manila, dated 30 June 1731

Original text in Spanish.

Los Oficiales Reales de Philipinas. Repiten dar cuenta à V.M. con testimonio de las previas diligencias y resolucion de Junta General de Hacienda para las providencias con que se fomentó la Empreza del descubrimiento de las Islas Palaos, sobre que con santo designio instaron los Rev. Padres de la sagrada Compañía de Jesus.

Señor.

En despacho de 7 de Jullio del año proximo pasado, dimos cuenta à V.M. con testimonio que haze constar las previas diligencias, y resoluzion de la Junta General de Hazienda, para las providencias con que se fomentó y habilitó en lo que fue practicable la empresa à que con santo designio instaron los Reverendos Padres de la Sagrada Compañía de Jesus, para el descubrimiento de las Yslas que dizen Palaos; á cuyo efecto se embarcó en el Patache que salió el año proximo pasado para las Islas Marianas el Padre Juan Antonio Cantova varon de conocido espiritu, y por cuyo medio (si ya fuese tiempo que la Divina Magestad permita el beneficio que se franquea á aquellos infieles) se deben prometer correspondientes fructos, y no menos triste [sic] á la Catolica Real magnificiencia de V.M. Y no hallandonos con noticia de haber llegado a las Reales manos de V.M. lo repetimos en esta en conformidad de la Real deliberacion de V.M. cuya C.R.P. guarde Dios como la Cristiandad ha menester para su defensa y propagacion.

Manila y Junio 30 de 1731.

José Antonio Nuño de Villavicencio

Licenciado Bernave Antonio de Avecilla

Francisco Antonio Calderon de la Barca.

Translation.

The Royal officials of the Philippines. They repeat their report to Y.M., enclosing a record of the previous measures and decision taken by the General Meeting of the Treasury for provisions to support the enterprise of the exploration of the Palaos Islands, which the Reverend Fathers of the Society of Jesus had requested, with saintly intentions.

Sire:

In a despatch dated 7 July of last year [1730], we reported to Y.M., along with a record of proceedings, that show the previous deliberations and decision of the General Meeting of the Treasury, for provisions to encourage and enable, as practically as

possible, the enterprise that the Reverend Fathers of the Society of Jesus, moved by a holy design, had requested, for the exploration of the Islands called Palaos. To this effect, Father Juan Antonio Cantova, a man of known spirit, boarded the patache that went last year to the Mariana Islands, and by this means (if the time had come for the divine Majesty to allow the benefit to be extended to those heathen) one should expect corresponding fruits, but we are saddened by the fact that nothing about this had reached the hands of the Catholic and Royal magnificence of Y.M., whose Catholic and Royal person may God save as Christendom needs for its defence and propagation.

Manila, 30 June 1731.

José Antonio Nuño de Villavicencio.

Licentiate Bernabe Antonio de Avecilla.

Francisco Antonio Calderón de la Barca.

B3. Letter from Governor Valdés Tamón, dated Manila 15 July 1731

Original text in Spanish.

El Brigadier Don Fernando Valdes Tamon Gobernador y Capitan General de las Islas Philipinas y Presidente de la Audiencia de Manila.

Da quenta à V.M. de los Efectos que à producido la nueva Mission de las Carolinas, ó Palaos à que saio destinado el Padre Juan Antonio Cantova de la Compañia de Jhs y que con el motivo de haver venido de arribada la Valandra en que dho Padre se condujo à unas Islas que llaman los Garbanzos de donde remitio su embarcazion à Marianas por Bastimentos, se entendio el estado de aquella empresa por cartas y Diarios, de que remite Testimonio adjunto à los Mapas de aquellas Islas; y expresa la necesidad de medios para ocurrir a las providencias que se piden, si V.M. no se sirve mandar se aprompten Caudales à este y otros destinos.

Señor

El año pasado de 1730 salio de estas Islas para las Marianas, el P. Juan Antonio Cantova de la Compañia de Jesus con el destino de pasar a las Carolinas, ó Palaos para lo que llevó las prevenciones que parecieron Competentes, y ayer, 14 del Corriente con el motivo de haver dado fondo en el Puerto de Cavite una Valandra, se averiguo ser la en que dicho Religioso se havia conducido a dichas Carolinas, y que habiendo surgido en unas Islas pequeñas que llaman los Garbanzos, y despachado con un Religioso la Valandra à solicitar Bastimentos en Marianas, no pudiendo cogerlas se desgaritaron, hasta venir à entrar por el Embocadero. El mencionado Padre Cantova con Carta que escribe à este Gobernador con los sucesos de su viaje, y Mapas de aquellas Islas dà razon de su estado; haze distintas expreciones las que son constantes del Testimonio adjunto, sobre cuió contenido por la precission del Despacho, y estar los Navios para hacerse a la vela no hè dado providencia alguna a las que pide dicho Padre concurrirè por aora en quanto me sea posible, deviendo poner en la soberana atencion de V.M. que en los nuevos

gastos, y extraordinarios que se van ofreciendo es imposible que estas Reales Caxas puedan reportarlos quando no tienen otros fondos que los con que se mantienen los precissos destinos, y aun para estos no alcanza, como tengo en otras manifestado à V.M.

No es dudable que la empresa de este Religioso es mui gloriosa, y proprio del Instituto de su sagrada Religion, pero quando faltan medios necesarios à conseguir, y mantener todo se frustra, mi sentimiento es inexcusable quando considero que a mas de los grandes gastos que se estan haziendo en Samboanga antes de encontrar el remedio de estos ya se bienen ofreciendo otros de nuebo, y como en estos àhogos se vè empeñada la confianza que Vuestra Magestad quizo hazer de mi persona, me pongo en la obligacion de hablar con la ingenuidad, verdad, y Lizura que piden unas materias de tanto pezo, haziendo presente à V.M. que ni el Presidio de Samboanga podrá mantenerse, ni conseguirse la empresa comensada en los Palaos si V.M. no se digna de mandar àpromptar caudal efectivo aplicado con separacion à uno, y otro destino.

Guarde Dios la Catholica y Real Persona de V.M. lo que la Xptiandad à menester. Manila y Julio 15 de 1731.

Señor.

Don Fernando Valdes Tamon.

Translation.

Brigadier Fernando Valdés Tamón, Governor and Captain General of the Philippine Islands and President of the Audiencia of Manila.

He reports to Y.M. about the effects that has produced the new Mission of the Caroline, or Palaos, Islands, where Father Juan Antonio Cantova of the Society of Jesus went, and on the occasion of the arrival in distress of the sloop aboard which said Father had gone to some Islands that they call the Garbanzos, from where he sent his boat to the Marianas to get food supplies, the status of this enterprise has been understood through the letters and logbooks, copies enclosed, and attached to charts of those Islands; and he expresses the need for means to pay for the provisions requested therein, unless Y.M. be pleased to order special funds for this and other purposes.

Sire:

Last year 1730, Fr. Juan Antonio Cantova of the Society of Jesus left these Islands for the Marianas with the intention of going to the Carolines, or Palaos, and he carried with him suitable orders. Yesterday, the 14th of the current month, a sloop anchored at the port of Cavite. It was the boat that had carried said Religious to said Carolines. This sloop had anchored at some small islands they call Garbanzos, and been despatched with one Religious to solicit food supplies in the Marianas, but it could not find them, and they became lost, and they diverted to the Embocadero. The above-mentioned Father Cantova, in a letter he wrote to this Governor, with the events of his voyage, and charts of those Islands, reports on their condition, and makes distinct statements, as shown in greater detail in the enclosed record of proceedings. Unfortunately, the short time remaining for the despatch of the ships that are ready to leave has

prevented me from issuing any order to satisfy the requests made by said Father.¹ For now I will contribute as much as I can, but I must bring to the sovereign attention of Y.M. that, given these new and extraordinary expenditures, this Royal treasury finds itself unable to raise them from any other fund, because they are all used for their own precise purposes, and even for these they are insufficient, as I have reported to Y.M. in other letters.

There is no doubt that the enterprise of this Religious is very glorious and proper to the Institute of his sacred Order, but the necessary means to pursue it have yet to be found; meanwhile, to try and do everything is frustrating. I have the unavoidable feeling that, in addition to the great expenditures being made in Zamboanga, before a remedy can be found for these, here come some new ones that have to be met also. And, as the trust that Your Majesty placed in my person is put in jeopardy by these projects, I am obliged to speak with the ingenuity, truth, and candor required by these matters, of so much importance, by telling Y.M. that neither the garrison of Zamboanga will be maintained, nor the enterprise begun in the Palaos continue, unless Y.M. be pleased to order that some cash be found soon, and applied to either project, with their own separate entry [in the account books].

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

Manila, 15 July 1731.

Sire:

Don Fernando Valdés Tamón.

B4. Declaration of Fr. Egidio Viban [sic], in July 1731

Original text in Spanish.

Muy Ilustre Señor

El Padre Egidio Viban de la Compañía de Jesus Provincial de esta Provincia ante V. Señoría parece y dice, que habiendo puesto el Rey Nuestro Señor (Dios le guarde) à cargo de su Sagrada Religion el descubrimiento, Reduccion y Conservacion à nuestra Sancta Feé Catholica de unas Yslas que estan à la banda del sur, respecto de las Yslas Marianas, y llaman comunmente de Palaos, sobre que se han hecho varias diligencias en varios tiempos; y el año proximo passado salio de la Ysla de Guahan en su busca el Padre Juan Antonio Cantova con orden y aprovacion de V. Señoría y habiendo llegado el tiempo que Dios ha querido usar de su infinita Misericordia con aquellos Gentiles y alumbrar con la luz del Evangelio à aquellas almas que havitavan en la region de la sombra de sus herrores y engaños, se à servido su Magestad descubrir lo que tanta solicitud, empeño y sangre nos ha costado como se vee por la carta que dicho Padre Juan Antonio Cantova me escribe su fecha de doce de Mayo de este presente año desde

1 Ed. note: Two new shiups went to Acapulco in 1731: the Nuestra Señora de Covadonga, and the San Cristobal. The idea was for one of them, probably the San Cristobal, to divert to Ulithi on the return voyage.

la Ysla de Falalep de que hago presentacion en toda fuerza para que V. Señoria por superior Decreto mande se me reciba informacion juridica al thenor de los articulos que contiene y mande darme testimonio por triplicado de todo lo que se declare y actuare para que en virtud de ello se pueda solicitar en Mexico el estipendio de los dos mill pesos que manda su Magestad por su Real Zedula de dies y nueve de Octubre de mill setezientos y cinco se libren en aquellas reales caxas y se conducan en los Galeones de esta Carrera para la manutencion de los Padres Misioneros que se ocuparen en la reduccion de dichas Yslas.

Por todo lo qual, a V. Señoria pido y suplico mande recibir dicha informacion y darme los testimonios, segun y como llevo pedido para que en los Galeones que estan de proximo para hacerse à la vela al Puerto de Cavite de Acapulco se pueda remitir para dicho efecto: Gracia y merced que espero recibir de la generosidad de V. Señoria, &c.

Egidio Viban.

Translation.

Most Illustrious Sir:

Father Egidio Viban of the Society of Jesus, Provincial of this province, comes before Your Lordship to remind you that the King our Lord (may God save him) has entrusted to his Sacred Order the exploration, reduction and preservation to our Holy Catholic Faith of some Islands that are to the south of the Mariana Islands and are commonly called the Palaos, about which various endeavors have taken place at various times. In the past year, Father Juan Antonio Cantova left the Island of Guahan in search of them, with an order from and the approval of Your Lordship. The time has come for God to show His infinite mercy to those heathen and to enlighten them with the light of the Gospel and to help those souls living in the darkness of error and confusion. Your Lordship knows quite well the anxiety, the efforts, and the blood it has cost us. This can be seen from the letter which Father Juan Antonio Cantova wrote to me, dated Falalep Island, 12 May of this year.¹ I am presenting it to Your Lordship in order that you may issue a decree that my lawfully-given information has been received according to the tenor of the articles it contains, and that I be given copies in triplicate of all that is to be declared. With this in hand, one can solicit in Mexico the stipend of 2,000 pesos, which His Majesty grants in his royal decree of 19 October² 1705, and which is to be paid by the royal treasury and brought aboard the galleons of that run for the maintenance of the missionary Fathers, who are going to be in charge of the reduction of said Islands.

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- 1 Ed. note: It was addressed to the former Provincial, Fr. de la Hera (Doc. 1731A2). Since we know that the next Provincial, elected in 1730, was the Belgian Jesuit, Fr. Gilles Wibault, we learn here that he had hispanicized his name to Egidio Viban.
 - 2 Ed. note: Carrasco made a transcription error, in saying December, in the article published in Madrid.

Consequently, I beg Your Lordship to be pleased to accept the aforesaid information and give me the requested copies in return, so that a despatch may be remitted aboard the galleons that are about to sail soon from the port of Cavite for Acapulco: a favor which I hope to get from the generosity of Your Lordship.

Egidio Viban.¹

B5. Declaration of Joaquin Ignacio Maldonado

Original text in Spanish.

En la Ciudad de Manila en veinte de Julio de mill setezientos treinta y un años.

Yo el General Don Miguel de Allanegui escrivano mayor de la superior Governacion y Guerra de estas Yslas: en virtud de la comission que se me confiere por el superior Decreto de arriba recivi Juramento à Joachin Ignacio Maldonado, natural que dijo ser de la Ciudad de Agaña de las Yslas Marianas testigo presentado por el Muy Reverendo Padre Provincial de la Sagrada Compañia de Jesus Egidio Viban, quien lo hizo por Dios Nuestro Señor y la señal de la Cruz en forma de derecho, so cargo de el prometio decir verdad en lo que supiere y fuere preguntado. Y siendolo por los puntos que incluye la carta del Reverendo Padre Juan Antonio Cantova de la misma Compañia de Jesus, que se le fue leyda y enterado de su contenido, Dijo:

*Que con ocasion de haverse embarcado el Reverendo Padre Victor Valter de compañero con el dicho Reverendo Padre Juan Antonio Cantova en el Barco que se despacho para las Carolinas, se embarco el que declara sirviendo à dicho Reverendo Padre Victor, y salieron de dichas Yslas Marianas el dia once de Febrero de este año y à los veinte dias de navegacion llegaron à tomar Puerto à una Ysla que llaman **Mogmog**, que por ser pequeña, pasaron à otra Ysla maior nombrada **Falalep**, que dista de la primera como dos leguas, desde donde se ven las otras Yslas que la rodean y son treinta y seis, que son las que llaman Garbanzos, y segun à oydo decir que ya desde ellas hace cordillera para las Yslas Palaos.*

Y habiendose desembarcado los dichos Reverendos Padres en la dicha Ysla [de] Falalep con parte de la gente del Barco, que fueron los soldados españoles con sus Arca-buces y Alfanges, les recibieron en la Playa de dicha Ysla los Yndios entre hombres y mujeres à su parecer tendrian en numero mas de ciento, demostrando regosijo, y que los hombres no tenian vestido mas que bajaques de un genero como el Medriñaque y sin ningun armas; y las mugeres con su tapiz del mismo genero desde la sintura hasta la rodilla, sin chininas; y uno de ellos, que parecio titularse principal de aquella Ysla guio à los Padres à un camarin grande, que tienen para los huespedes, donde dichos Reverendos Padres como eran los siete de la mañana, mandaron poner con la decencia que se pudo un altar para celebrar el Santo Sacrificio de la Misa, y con efecto se dixo la Misa, y todos los Ysleños con grande admiracion, estuvieron viendo hasta que

1 Ed. note: A decree signed by the Governor of the Philippines on 19 July 1731 ordered that a copy be sent to Crown Attorney Bedoya. Another decree soon ordered the inquiry to proceed.

se acabo, y todos con demostraciones de alegría, y en dicho camarín tomaron posada dichos Reverendos Padres, quienes, por medio de un natural de aquellas Yslas que estubo en dichas Marianas desgaritado les comenso à comunicar la Doctrina Cristiana à los dichos Ysleños, quienes luego al punto demostraron su docilidad y se bautisaron grande numero de niños y con la ocurrencia de las otras Yslas inmediatas, discurre que llegaron à mas de ciento y cincuenta los dichos Bautisados que como son muy pacificos aquellos naturales se espera de ellos su adelantamiento en la Doctrina Cristiana, y con brevedad recibiran el Santo Evangelio. Y que por lo que hace à [=ya se ha visto de la] dicha Ysla aunque no es grande tienef[n] lugar bastante donde hacer sementeras, solo que la multitud de ratones no da lugar à que puedan sembrar cosa, que no lo destruyan; Pero que las diligencias que se han echo se han cogido grande numero de ellos, que no pone duda el que declara se iran consumiendo dichos ratones; y no ha visto que los dichos Ysleños tengan adoracion alguna, ni Idolos, ni sacerdotistas.

Y que aprestandose el Barco para ir à dichas Marianas por bastimentos muchos de los Ysleños quisieron embarcarse y como no se les permitio por dichos Reverendos Padres solo se quedo uno en el Barco y vino à hasta esta Ciudad y que todo lo que lleva declarado es la verdad so cargo del juramento que tiene fecho en que se afirmó, y ratificó, y que es de edad de veinte años y lo firmó de que hago fee.

Joachin Ignacio Maldonado.

Miguel de Allanegui.

Translation.

City of Manila, 20 July 1731.

I, General Don Miguel de Allanegui, senior notary for the Administration and War Branch of the government of these Islands:

By virtue of the commission granted to me by the above-mentioned superior decree, I have received the oath from Joachin Ignacio Maldonado, who claims to have been born in the City of Agaña in the Mariana Islands,¹ and was proposed as a witness by the Most Reverend Father Provincial of the sacred Society of Jesus, Egidio Viban. He swore to our Lord with the sign of the cross, and he promised to tell the truth as to what he knew and would be asked. And he was questioned with regards to points included in the letter of the Reverend Father Juan Antonio Cantova of the same Society of Jesus, which was read to him. Once informed about its contents, he Declared:

That, on the occasion of the Reverend Father Victor Walter having embarked in company with the Reverend Father Juan Antonio Cantova in the boat that was dispatched to the Carolines, this witness, being a servant of said Reverend Father Victor, also embarked. They left said Mariana Islands on February 11th of this year and after 20 days of navigation they arrived and made port at one Island which they call **Mogmog**, but that it was too small, and they passed to another, larger, Island called **Fala-**

1 Ed. note: This must have been the name of the half-breed to whom Fr. Cantova had taught some navigation principles.

lep which is distant from the first by about 2 leagues. From there, one can see the surrounding islands, which are those they call Garbanzos, and according to what he had heard, there begins a chain of islands as far as the Palao Islands: And, after said Reverend Fathers had disembarked at said Island of Falalep with part of the men from the boat who were Spanish soldiers with their arquebusses and swords, they were welcomed on the beach of said island by what seemed to be over 100 Indian men and women, showing happiness. The men were naked except for loin-cloths made of a sort of *medriñaque*¹ and without any weapons whatever and the women with their mat of the same material from the waist down to the knee, but without a blouse. One of them, who appeared to be the chief of that island, guided the Fathers to a large shed that they have for guests, where said Reverend Fathers, as the time was 7 in the morning, ordered that an altar be placed [there] with decency, in order to celebrate the Holy Sacrifice of the mass. Indeed, mass was said and all the islanders watched with amazement until it was over, and all with a great show of happiness. Said Reverend Fathers took their lodging in said shed. Then, through a native of those Islands who had drifted before to the Marianas, they began to explain the Christian doctrine to said islanders, who then at once showed their docility and a large number of children were baptized. As they flocked in from other islands in the vicinity, this witness conjectures that the number of baptized may have reached over 150 and, since they are very peaceful, one can hope that they will make progress in the Christian doctrine and will soon receive the Holy Gospel. And, given what is presently known of said Island, though it is not big, there is enough space where plantations can be made, except that the multitude of rats might not let them sow anything with impunity. However, efforts have been made to catch a large number of them, and this witness says that there is no doubt that said rats will decrease in number. Besides, he has noticed that said islanders have no worship, no idols, and no-one acting as priests.

When the boat was made ready to go to said Marianas for food supplies, many of the islanders wanted to board the boat, but they were not allowed to do so by the Reverend Fathers, except one who remained aboard and came as far as this City. Finally, everything this witness has declared he holds to be the truth, under the oath that he has made, in faith whereof he has signed his name and ratified it, and he is 20 years of age. In testimony whereof, I have signed it also.

Joachin Ignacio Maldonado.

Miguel de Allanegui.

1 Ed. note: Word used by the Spanish in the Philippines to mean a cloth made from abaca, or hemp, fiber.

B6. Declaration of Fr. Victor Walter

Original text in Spanish.

Yncontinenti el dicho Muy Reverendo Padre Egidio Viban ... presento por testigo al Reverendo Padre Victor Valter que ... Dijo:

Que hallandose en las Yslas Marianas se embarco de Misionero en compañía del dicho Reverendo Padre Juan Antonio Cantova en un Barco de dies codos de quilla con veinte y cinco personas, y los doce de ellos soldados Españoles con un Cavo[,] ocho Pampangos y cinco muchachos servientes, y se levaron el dia onze de Febrero de este presente año, y despues de veinte dias que estuvieron navegando llegaron à los dos de Marzo à las Yslas que en el ultimo derrotero del Capitan Don Bernardo de Egui se nombran Garbanzos entre las quales esta la Carolina y que dicho derrotero es del año de mill setezientos y doze, y dichas Yslas se hallan à la banda del Sur ó parte Austral siguiendo el rumbo del sudueste entre las Yslas de Yap, Olu, y Carolina en nueve grados y cincuenta y quatro minutos de latitud septemtrional como ochenta leguas de distancia de Marianas, y que cree que dichas Yslas son de las contenidas en la relacion que hizo al Rey nuestro Señor (que Dios guarde) el Reverendo Padre Andres Serrano de dicha Compañia de Jesus y las que su Magestad por sus Reales Zedulas ha mandado descubrir[,] pues se hallan à la parte Austral de dichas Marianas que fueron las señas que se pudieron dar entonces de dichas Yslas para distinguir las de estas Yslas Philipinas que se hallan al Oeste y de las que miran al Japon que estan al Norte de Marianas, y que entonces llamaron à las Yslas de este Archipielago de Pais ó de Palaos, dando por nombre General à todas las Yslas el que era proprio y especifico de una de ellas[,] de donde eran naturales los que entonces se desgarraron à la Ysla de Samar, que se llamava de Pais assi como este Archipielago en que nos hallamos se llamo en lo antiguo de Celebes, dando por nombre general à todas las Yslas el que era peculiar de una[,] y Mapas cosmografos y Autores estrangeros llaman à estas Yslas la Manila, ó Luzones, dando à todas ellas el nombre propio y peculiar de esta Ysla y de esta Ciudad, y nosotros llamamos oy generalmente Philipinas à todas estas Yslas siendo assi que una de ellas que era la de Tandaya[,] ya que es Samar[,] segun el cronista Herrera, y Leyte segun Grijalva y Colín, fue la que se llamo con el nombre peculiar de la Philipina, del mismo modo todo este conjunto de Yslas las llamo el Padre Serrano en su relacion, y en su consecuencia el Rey Nuestro Señor Yslas de Pais ó de Palaos tomando el nombre la Ysla de donde eran los primitivos desgarrados[.]

que dichas Yslas que aora llaman Garbanzos hacen un Archipielago ó Cordillera à dicha parte Austral ó del sur, de suerte que desde ellas ay comunicacion mas ó menos inmediata de unas que de otras con las Yslas de Pais ó de Palaos, y Carolina, de modo que todas ellas aunque con diversidad de nombres son de las contenidas en dicha relacion y Zedulas Reales con el nombre de Yslas que estan a la parte Austral ó à la Banda del Sur de Marianas[.]

y que la gente que encontraron en dichas Yslas es apacible, manza y docil y con grandes muestras de cariño y sin recelo recibieron à dichos padres aviendo ido su Tamol ó

Reyezuelo à dicha embarcacion con varios principales en donde se mantuvieron un dia mientras les prevenian la casa para hospedarlos, y al tiempo de salir los llevaron como en andas en sus mismos brazos sin dejar de poner el pie en tierra hasta que los dejaron en la casa que estaba prevenida.

Que en dichas Yslas se han Bautisado en los tres meses que estubo alli dicho Reverendo Padre declarante ciento y cincuenta niños y que estan catiquizando los Adultos todos que ay en las Yslas yvan aprehendiendo el rezo y Misterios de nuestra Sancta Fee, y se hallan promptos para recibir el Santo Evangelio[,] que es gente pacifica y puramente Gentiles sin estar inficionados de Mahometismo ni otro especial error.

Que las Yslas descubiertas son treinta y seis y de ellas ocho pobladas donde se hallaron como seiscientas almas y que son pequeñas[,] pues Falalep donde ultimamente quedo el dicho Padre Juan Antonio Cantova tendra como legua y media de bojeo y que en ellas hay mucha comodidad de comunicar unas con otras, y que como cinquenta leguas de distancia se halla la Ysla de Yap donde esta el Reyezuelo principal y donde ay mayor numero de gente y otras comodidades por ser la Cavezera de todas ellas y que cree que la Ysla de Pais ó Palaos se podra hallar sin mucha dificultad por los mismos Yndios practicos de este Archipiélago entre los quales ay algunos ladinos de los desgarrados à estas Yslas y que en dichas Yslas nuevamente descubiertas se halle algun surgidero de bastante fondo y abrigo[.]

*Que uno de los que llevavan por practico é interprete y se avia desgarrado à Marianas donde avia estado quatro años es natural de Mogmog que fue la primera donde llegaron y cree piadosamente dicho Reverendo Padre declarante que este Yndio fue instrumento tomado por especial Providencia de Dios para esta espiritual conquista por ser muy principal entre ellos y à cuio respecto y patrocinio atribuyen el agasajo tan singular con que recibieron à dichos Reverendos Padres[,] y que el Yndio llamado **Angol** que aora se aya en esta Ciudad es natural de la Ysla de Falalep una de las nueve descubiertas y que todavia se halla Gentil y se le esta catequisando para recibir el Santo Bautismo[.] todo lo qual dijo ser verdad so cargo del Juramento que tiene fecho con especial licencia que dijo tener del dicho Muy Reverendo Padre su Provincial y ella se afirmo y ratifico, y que es de edad dispuesta por derecho, de que hago fee.*

Victor Valter de la Compañia de Jesus Sacerdote y Misionero de las Yslas Carolinas.

Miguel de Allanegui.

Translation.

Immediately thereafter the Most Reverend Father Egidio Viban... presented as a witness Reverend Father Victor Walter who ... Declared:

That, while he lived in the Mariana Islands, he embarked as a missionary companion of said Reverend Father Juan Antonio Cantova in a boat measuring 10 cubits of keel length¹ and 25 persons, 12 of whom were Spanish soldiers with one officer, 8 Pam-

1 Ed. note: At 2 feet per cubit, this was a tiny boat indeed. No wonder it remained nameless.

pangos and 5 servant boys. They set sail on February 11th of this present year and after 20 days at sea arrived on March 2nd at the Islands that are given the name of Garbanzos [i.e. Chick-pea] Islands in the last logbook of Captain Don Bernardo de Egui, among which is Carolina Island;¹ said logbook is dated 1712. Said islands are located to the south or austral side, following a southwest bearing, between the Islands of Yap, Olu, and Carolina in 9 degrees 54 minutes of latitude north at 80 leagues from the Marianas.² He thinks that said Islands are those referred to in the narrative that Reverend Father Andrés Serrano of said Society of Jesus wrote to the King our Lord (God save him), and those that His Majesty in his royal decrees had ordered be explored, given that they are found to the southward of said Marianas, a manner of referring then to said Islands in order to distinguish them from these Philippine Islands that are to the westward of the Marianas and from those that bear toward Japan that are to the northward of the Marianas. And that the islands of this archipelago were then called the Pais or Palaos; thus they applied this name to all the Islands, though it was but the specific name of one of them, from where had come the natives who drifted at that time to the Island of Samar, whose island of origin was called Pais. A similar thing happened to this [Philippine] archipelago where we are now; it was called Celebes [sic] in the old days, as this name, specific to one island, was applied to all the islands. Similarly, foreign maps, cosmographers and authors call these islands the Manila or Luzon Islands, thus giving to all of them what is the proper and particular name of this island and of this city. We ourselves generally refer to all these islands with the name Philippines, although it was first applied to the Island called Tandaya, that is Samar, according to the historian Herrera, or Leyte, according to Grijalva, Colín;³ it was the one that was first given the name Filipina. The same process was used by Father Serrano in his narrative, and consequently the King our Lord, in referring to the whole group with the name Islands of Pais or Palaos, used the name of the island or origin of the native drifters.

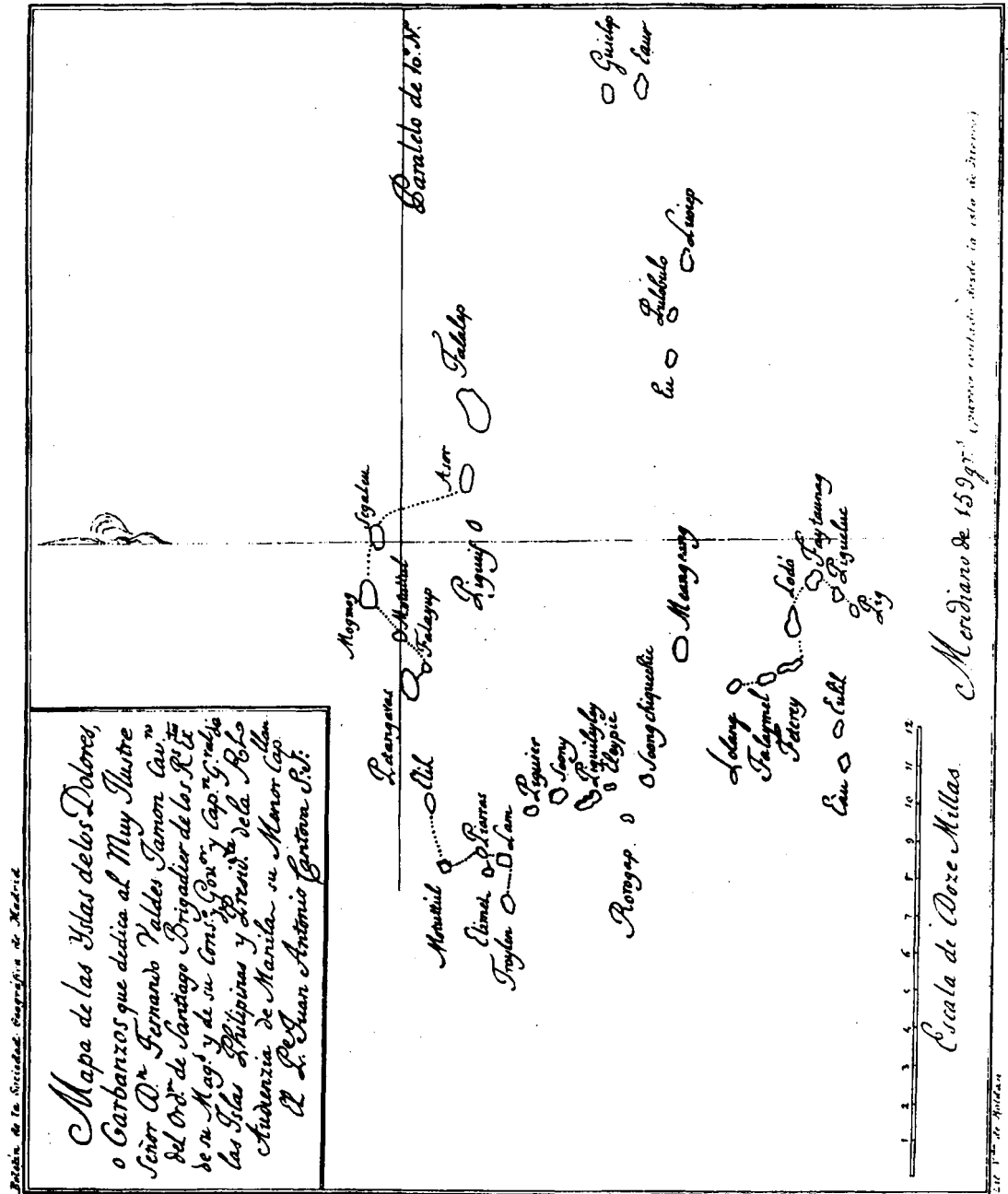
That said Islands, which are now called Garbanzos, make an archipelago or chain of islands toward the austral side or to the south, in such a way that there is a more or less close contact between any one of them and the Islands of Pais or Palaos and Carolina, in such a way that all of them, although they bear a diversity of names are those described in said narrative and royal decrees with the general name of "islands located on the austral side or to the southward of the Marianas."

That the people who were found living in said Islands are peaceful, tame and docile, giving great signs of affection. They received the Fathers without shyness; in fact, the **Tamol** or petty king came himself with various leading men to visit them in said vessel, where they stayed for one day, while they were making ready the house to lodge them, and at the time of disembarking they were carried as on a stretcher in the arms of these

1 Ed. note: Wrong interpretation; the Carolina Island discovered in 1686 was Yap.

2 Ed. note: Yap and Carolina were one and the same island, placed at different longitudes on the chart.

3 Ed. note: Herrera was right: Tandaya = SW area of Samar.



Fourth map of Ulithi by Fr. Cantova, 1731. As published in the Bulletin of the Madrid Geographic Society in 1881. The longitude is said to be probably west of the Island of Hierro in the Canary Islands.

same men, who refused to let them set foot ashore until they had left them in the house that had been made ready.

That in the three months that said Reverend Father declarant was in said Islands, there were baptized 150 children, and that all the adults who live in the Islands are being catechized, and they are learning the prayers and the mysteries of our Holy Faith, and they are ready to receive the Holy Gospel. That they are peaceful people and entirely heathen, without any infection from Mohammedanism or any other specific error.

That the islands discovered are 36 in number, and 8 of them are populated with about 600 souls. That they are small; indeed, Falalep, where said Father Juan Antonio Cantova remained in the end, would have a circumference of about a league and a half, and that it is easy to maintain contacts among the islands. And that the Island of Yap is located at a distance of about 50 leagues; there lives the main petty king, along with a much larger population and other commodities, on account of it being the capital of all of them. And that he believes that the Island of Pais or Palaos will be found without much difficulty by means of local Indians who are knowledgeable pilots of this archipelago, some of whom speak Spanish as they have drifted to these [Philippine] Islands. And that in said newly-discovered Islands there is an anchorage deep enough and sheltered.¹

That a man in their company, the local pilot and interpreter, had once drifted to the Marianas where he had been for four years; he is a native of Mogmog which was the first island where they touched, and the said Reverend Father declarant piously believes that the Indian in question was the instrument chosen by special Providence of God for this spiritual conquest, on account of his being very prominent among them and the very special welcome given to said Reverend Fathers can be attributed to this reason and his patronage. And that the Indian named **Angol**,² who is now in this city, is a native of Falalep Island, one of the nine islands discovered, and that he is still a heathen, and is being catequized in order to receive Holy Baptism. He declares that all he said under oath is true, and that he has a special permission from the Most Reverend Father his Provincial to do so, which he affirms and ratifies, and that he is of legal age. In faith whereof, we sign our names.

Victor Walter, priest of the Society of Jesus and Missionary to the Caroline Islands.
Miguel de Allanegui.

B7. Declaration of José Aparicio de Velasco y Ayala

Original text in Spanish.

En la Ciudad de Manila en veinte y uno de Julio de Mill setezientos treinta y uno el Muy Reverendo Padre Provincial de la Sagrada Compañia de Jesus Egidio Viban para

1 Ed. note: He was referring to the lagoon of Ulithi in general, and specifically to the lee side of Falalep, where the settlement and new mission station were located.

2 Ed. note: Angol was like his nickname; it means "show-off" in Carolinian.

esta su Informacion presento por testigo à Joseph Aparicio de Velasco y Ayala[,] soldado que dijo ser de Infanteria Española que milita en la Ciudad de Agaña de las Yslas Marianas... Dixo:

*Que con ocasion del despacho que se hizo en dichas Yslas Marianas de un Barco en que fueron dos Padres Misioneros de la Compañia de Jesus Juan Antonio Cantova y Victor Valter fue tambien despachado el que declara con otros doze compañeros soldados para la guarda y custodia de dichos Reverendos Padres, y aviendo navegado como veinte dias llegaron à una Ysla nombrada **Mogmog** y aunque los Ysleños mostraron mucha sagacidad con dichos Reverendos Padres no pudieron tomar asiento en ella respecto à ser pequeña à cuiã causa pasaron à otra Ysla mayor que distaria una legua donde tomaron Puerto y dicha Ysla se llama **Falalep** donde desembarcaron dichos Reverendos Padres, y el que declara con sus compañeros, y llegados à la playa de dicha Ysla les recibieron grande multitud de Ysleños que entre hombres niños y mujeres tendrian como ducientos los quales demostrando grandisimo afecto y cariño[,] recibieron à dichos Padres y les llevaron à un camarin grande donde les hisieron tomar posada y viendo esta afavilidad dispusieron los Padres la colocacion de una Imagen de Nuestra Señora de Loreto con la mayor decencia que se pudo y un altar en que luego al instante se celebrou el Santo Sacrificio de la Misa, todo à vista de dichos Ysleños quienes con grande admiracion demostraron bastante regosijo, y despues dichos Reverendos Padres por medio de un Indio natural de dicha Ysla que se avia desgarrado à Marianas y llevaron dichos Reverendos Padres por su interprete fueron catequizando à aquellos naturales quienes sin ningun trabajo se redujeron à aprender la Doctrina Christiana y mui promptos para recibir el Santo Bautismo y con efecto se bautisaron mas de ciento y cinquenta niños y muchos de las otras Yslas inmediatas se iban assi mesmo reduciendo à imitacion de los de esta Ysla, las quales serian como treinta y seis entre grandes y pequeñas[,] que no pone duda el que declara el que en sus naturales se vera en breve tiempo el logro de la estension de nuestra Santa Fee Catholica.*

Que la vestidura que tienen los hombres bajaques y las mujeres tapiz desde la cintura hasta las rodillas de un genero como el medriñaque y sin chinina; y que en quanto à el estado de la dicha Ysla Falalep tienen bastante lugar donde poder sembrar cosas comestibles à no haver la peste de ratones, pero que puede ser que en el discurso del tiempo se vayan consumiendo con la diligencia que han echo de cogerlas[.]

Y haviendo llegado el caso de aprestarse el Barco para yr por bastimentos à dichas Marianas pretendieron muchos de los dichos Yndios embarcarse y no permitieron los dichos Reverendos Padres mas que à uno que oy se aya en esta Ciudad, y que todo lo que lleva declarado es la verdad so cargo del Juramento que tiene fecho en que se afirmo y ratifico y declaro ser de hedad de veinte y seis años, y lo firmó de que hago fee.

Joseph Aparicio de Velasco y Ayala.

Miguel de Allanegui.

Translation.

In the city of Manila on 21 July 1731, the Most Reverend Father Provincial of the sacred Society of Jesus, Egidio Viban, presented for this inquiry as a witness, José Aparicio de Velasco y Ayala, a soldier belonging to the Spanish Infantry stationed at the city of Agaña in the Mariana Islands... He Declared:

That on the occasion of the despatch that was made in said Mariana Islands of a boat aboard which sailed two missionary Fathers of the Society of Jesus, Juan Antonio Cantova and Victor Walter, the declarant was also despatched with 12 other soldiers his companions for the escort and defence of said Reverend Fathers, and having sailed about 20 days they arrived at one Island named **Mogmog** and, although the islanders showed much keenness toward said Reverend Fathers, they could not make a settlement there, because the island is too small, and consequently they went on to another, bigger, island distant one league, where they made port, and said Island's name is **Falalep**, where said Reverend Fathers disembarked, along with the declarant and his companions. Upon arriving at the beach of said Island a large crowd of islanders received them; counting men, children, and women, their number would be about 200. Said people showed a very great affection and warmth. They welcomed said Fathers and took them to a big shed where they invited them to make their lodging, and seeing this affability, the Fathers arranged the placement of a statue of Our Lady of Loreto with the greatest decency possible and an altar upon which was immediately celebrated the holy sacrifice of the mass, completely in sight of said islanders, whose display of delight caused great admiration, and afterward said Reverend Fathers through the services of an Indian, a native of said Island(s) who had drifted to the Marianas and whom said Reverend Fathers took along as an interpreter, they were catequizing those natives who, without any opposition, were reduced to learning the Christian doctrine and are mostly ready to receive holy baptism, and in effect more than 150 children were baptized, and many of the other islands in the vicinity were also being reduced to the imitation of the people of this island. Said islands would be about 36 in number, counting big ones and small ones. The declarant has no doubt that soon the extension of our holy Catholic faith will be successful with their natives.

That the clothing worn by the men are loincloths and that worn by the women are mats from the waist down to the knees of a type similar to *abaca* cloth but without blouses, and that concerning the condition of said Falalep Island, there would be enough places to sow food crops, if it were not for the plague of rats, but it may be that in the course of time they will disappear as a result of the effort that is being made in catching them.

And that, when the time arrived to make the boat ready to fetch food supplies in said Marianas, many of said Indians tried to board, but said Reverend Fathers did not allow them, with the exception of one who is today in this city, and that everything declared is the truth, made under oath, which is affirmed and ratified, and he declared that he is 26 years of age, and in faith whereof we have signed our names.

José Aparicio de Velasco y Ayala.

Miguel de Allanegui.

B8. Declaration of Juan Antonio Viveros

Original text in Spanish.

Incontinenti dicho Mui Reverendo Padre Provincial presento por testigo à Juan Antonio Viveros soldado de Infanteria española que milita en la Ciudad de Agaña... Dixo:

*Que lo que puede declarar es que como tal soldado fue despachado entre otros onze sus compañeros para que embarcase con los Padres Misioneros de la Compañia de Jesus Juan Antonio Cantova y Victor Valter que fueron al descubrimiento de las Yslas Carolinas ó Garbanzos y à los veinte dias de navegacion dieron con una Ysla nombrada **Mogmog** donde sin embargo de la demostracion que hizieron de sagacidad los Ysleños pasaron à otra Ysla nombrada **Falalep** por ser mayor y de comodidad.*

Y habiendo desembarcado en ella los Reverendos Padres recibieron los de la dicha Ysla con mucho regosijo y les llevaron à un Camarin que tiene para los huespedes y hizieron que en ella tomasen posada y como era de mañana los dichos Reverendos Padres dispusieron el que se pusiese Altar para celebrar el Santo Sacrificio de la Missa y colocaron en ella la sagrada Imagen de Nuestra Señora de Loreto à vista de aquellos Ysleños quienes en la celebracion de la missa estubieron muy atentos[,] que en numero serian como ducientos de todos sexos y despues como demostraron mucha afabilidad con los dichos Reverendos Padres y los que fueron concurriendo de las otras Yslas inmediatas que en numero son como treinta y seis les fueron cathequizando y enseñando la Doctrina Christiana por medio de uno de las mismas Yslas que llevaron de interprete desde Marianas donde estubo por haverse desgarrado en los años pasados y como dichos Ysleños se aplicaron de tal manera à querer ser Christianos consiguieron los dichos Reverendos Padres à baptisar mas de ciento y cincuenta niños y los Ysleños mui promptos tambien ya para recibir el Santo Bautismo que no duda el declarante que en la presente ocasion estaran ya muchos Bautizados, pues no tienen Dioses en que Idolatrar; y que sus vestiduras solamente son en los hombres bajaques y las mugeres tapiz de la sintura hasta las rodillas de un genero como medriñaque; y que en dicha Isla tienen lugar para hacer sus sementeras aunque al presente no se ha podido conseguir por las muchas ratas que ay en ellas, pero con la diligencia que se ha estado haciendo para cogerlas y se cogen con abundancia puede ser que se consuman con el transcurso del tiempo, y que estando para salir el barco de aquella Ysla para ir por bastimentos à las Yslas Marianas pretendieron muchos Ysleños embarcarse y no consintieron los dichos Reverendos Padres mas que à uno que se aya oy en esta ciudad. Y que todo lo que lleva declarado es la verdad so cargo del juramento que tiene fecho, en que se afirmóo, y rati-ficó, y declaró ser de hedad de mas de veinte y seis años, y lo firmó de que hago fee.

Juan Antonio Viveros.

Miguel de Allanegui.

Translation.

Immediately afterwards, said Most Reverend Father Provincial presented as a witness Juan Antonio Viveros, a soldier of the Spanish Infantry stationed at the city of Agaña... who Declared:

That what he can declare is that he was one of 12 soldiers despatched to accompany the missionary Fathers of the Society of Jesus, Juan Antonio Cantova and Victor Walter aboard the boat going to the exploration of the Caroline or Garbanzos Islands, and after 20 days or so of sailing, they ran into one Island named **Mogmog** where, in spite of the keenness shown by the islanders, they went on to another Island named **Falalep**, on account of its greater suitability.

And, the Reverend Fathers having disembarked there, the people of said Island received them with much delight and they took them to a shed reserved for visitors and they made them take it for their lodging, and as it was morning said Reverend Fathers arranged for an altar to be set up to celebrate the holy sacrifice of the mass and they placed upon it the sacred statue of Our Lady of Loreto in full view of those islanders who were present at the celebration of the mass and remained very attentive; their number was about 200, of all sexes, and afterwards they showed much affability toward said Reverend Fathers, the same with those who flocked in from the other islands in the vicinity. That the islands are about 36 in number, and they were catequized and taught the Christian doctrine by means of an interpreter, a native of these same Islands, whom they brought from the Marianas where he had drifted in years past, and as said islanders applied themselves so well to become Christians, said Reverend Fathers were successful in baptizing over 150 children and the islanders are also now very ready to receive holy baptism. That the declarant has no doubt that many would already have been baptized by now, given that they have no gods to worship as idols. And that their clothing consists only in loincloths for the men and, for the women, a mat from the waist down to the knees of a type similar to *abaca* cloth. And that in said Island they have a place to make their plantations, although this has not been possible so far on account of the presence of many rats, but with the effort that is being made to catch them—and they are being caught in abundance—it may be that they will disappear in due course. And that, as the boat was about to leave that Island to fetch food supplies in the Mariana Islands, many islanders tried to board but said Reverend Fathers did not allow them, except one who is presently in this city. And that everything already declared is the truth... He is 26 years of age, in faith whereof we sign our names,

Juan Antonio Viveros.

Miguel de Allanegui.

B9. Opinion of the Fiscal

Original text in Spanish.

El Fiscal de su Magestad à visto las cartas del Reverendo Padre Juan Antonio Cantova... por lo que en estos terminos no halla reparo para que se le aprompte à dicho

Padre Cantova los dies hombres mas que pide se le remita del Presidio de Marianas con los demas peltrechos de armas Polvora y Balas de esta Ciudad en el Patache que saliese del Puerto de Cavite para dichas Marianas. Por cuia Providencia sin embargo de la dada à los dies y seis de Junio del año pasado de setezientos y treinta [,] y siete Bu^a de este Expediente Mandara V. Señoria si le pareciere se convoque à nueva Junta.

Manila Agosto nueve de Mill setezientos y treinta y un años.

Licenciado Bedoya.

Translation.

The Fiscal of His Majesty, in view of the letters from Reverend Father Juan Antonio Cantova... consequently, I have no objection to said Father Cantova being handed over quickly the 10 additional men whom he requests be sent from the Garrison of the Marianas, along with supplies of weapons, powder and balls from this City aboard the Patache that will depart from the port of Cavite bound for said Marianas. By this provision, notwithstanding the measure taken on 16 June of last year 1730 (see folio 7 verso of this file), Your Lordship might choose to call a new Council meeting.

Manila, 9 August 1731.

Licentiate Bedoya.

B10. Petition presented by Fr. Francisco Mendez

Original text in Spanish.

Mui Illustre Señor.

El Padre Francisco Mendez de la Compañia de Jesus y su Procurador General en estas Yslas ante V. Señoria se presenta en la mejor forma que de derecho pueda y Dixo:

Que el Padre Victor Valter de la misma Compañia ha llegado à estas Yslas y Ciudad de Maniila desgarrado porque navegando de las Yslas nuevamente descubiertas para las Marianas à fin de conducir bastimentos y otras cossas nesessarias para la nueva Mision los vientos destes y nordestes que constantemente soplaron por muchos dias no dieron lugar para arribar à dichas Yslas Marianas y formado de la necesidad y porque se le ivan acavando los bastimentos que sacaron ubo de encaminarse à estas Yslas y por quanto en las nuevamente descubiertas quedava el Padre Juan Antonio Cantova de la misma Compañia en gravisimo nesecidad y falta de un todo no solo para sustentar la vida sino tambien para llevar adelante los buenos principios que Dios Nuestro Señor sea servido dar à aquella Mision y ser obligacion nuestra acudir à tan grave necesidad con el mas prompto socorro que se pueda[,] me ha parecido suplicar à V. Señoria se digne atender con su christiano zelo à tan gloriosa empresa dando aquellas providencias que le autorisa la de V. Señoria puede facilmente disponer y en las cuales parece imposible embiarse dicho socorro y primeramente porque la Balandra ó barco que vino dicho Padre Victor Valter no parece competente para bolver à las sobredichas Yslas y llevar el socorro nesessario[,] me es preciso suplicar à V. Señoria rendidamente se digne

mandar aprestar una embarcacion competente y suficientemente aviada para dicho fin[.]

Lo segundo por quanto los Padres en aquellas Yslas nesesian de una embarcacion competente para proseguir los descubrimientos y otras cosas qual es la que aora vino, y no haver allado ni oficiales ni herramientas ni aun material seguros en lo visto hasta aora para hacer dicha embarcacion en caso de ser impossible la vuelta de la que aora vino como parece ser, ó. rreducida à quarteles como puede averiguarse por personas inteligentes es nesesia tambien interponga V. Señoria su autoridad para que se reconosca y vea si puede reducirse à quarteles y conducirse dentro de la embarcacion suplicada y no pudiendose estof[,] se digne mandar la construccion de otras semejantes en la ribera del puerto de Cavite con la mayor presteza posible de modo que puede llevarse en la forma dicha y assimismo destinar carpintero y Oficiales de Rivera que alla puedan armarla.

Por tanto: a V. Señoria pido y suplica que haviendome por presentado se digne proveer las cosas que lleva suplicadas en que espero recibir grande merced de la gran Piedad y Christiano Zelo de V. Señoria etc^a

Francisco Mendez.

Translation.

Most Illustrious Sir:

Father Francisco Mendez of the Society of Jesus and its Procurator General in these Islands, appears before Your Lordship in the best manner that is legally possible, and Declares:

That Father Victor Walter of the same Society has arrived at these Islands and City of Manila in distress, because he had been sailing from the newly-discovered Islands back to the Marianas in order to fetch food supplies and other necessities for the new Mission, when the easterly and northerly winds that blew constantly during many days did not make an arrival at said Mariana Islands possible, and under duress and because the food supplies on board were diminishing, he had to make his way to these Islands and because Father Juan Antonio Cantova of the same Society remains in extreme need at the newly-discovered Islands, being completely devoid of everything, not only to sustain life but also to carry on with the good beginnings that God our Lord has deigned to give to that Mission, and because it is our obligation to attend to such a serious need with the quickest of succors possible, that it seemed to me proper to beg Your Lordship to please take care with your Christian zeal of such a glorious enterprise, by giving those provisions for which the authority of Your Lordship can easily arrange but it now seems impossible to send said succor, firstly, because the sloop or boat with which said Father Victor Walter came does not appear to be suitable to return to the above-mentioned Islands, yet it is necessary to send the succor, and I am obliged to humbly beg Your Lordship to please order that a suitable craft be made ready and sufficiently outfitted for said purpose.

Secondly, as long as the Fathers in those Islands need a suitable craft to proceed with the explorations and other things, such as the one that came was used for, and since a sure source of either officers or tools or even material has been found up to now to build said craft, in case the return voyage of the one that came turns out to be impossible, as it seems to be, or else reduced to pieces as can be ascertained by knowledgeable persons, it is also necessary for Your Lordship to interpose your authority so that it be surveyed and have it decided if it can be reduced to pieces and carried on board the craft that is requested and, should this not be possible, may you please order the construction of other similar ones on the shore of the port of Cavite with all speed possible, so that it may be carried in the above-said manner, and in addition to despatch a carpenter and officers from said shore to re-assemble it overthere.

Consequently: He begs and beseeches Your Lordship, now that he has presented his case, to please provide the things that he has solicited, which he hopes to receive as a favor from the great piety and Christian zeal of Your Lordship, etc.

Francisco Mendez.

[The Warden of Cavite was asked for his opinion, which was as follows: The small ship requested by Fr. Mendez could not be built as a kit, as no small ship going to the Marianas could carry another of the same size, although in parts. Such a large boat would require the following crew: 2 pilots, 1 boatswain, 1 boatswain's mate, 1 constable, 1 pharmacist, 1 carpenter, 1 caulker, 1 driller, 12 seamen, and 20 ship's boys.]

[The Royal Officials were of the opinion that the estimated costs of the venture would amount to 1,648 pesos. In November 1731, a smaller boat was ordered built in pieces at Cavite to be carried to Guam aboard the annual patache, as the one that drifted with Fr. Walter was considered no longer suitable. However, in the meantime, the patache in question had gone to Canton, and it was suggested that a frigate then being built could be diverted to Guam but it was not big enough to accommodate the dismantled boat.]

B11. Intervention of Fr. Mendez

Original text in Spanish.

El Padre Francisco Mendez de la Compañía de Jesus y su Procurador General en estas Yslas ante V. Señoría se presenta y dice:

Que se le ha notificado las diligencias hechas sobre el negocio de las Yslas Carolinas y las providencias dadas por V. Señoría por las quales repite rendidamente las devidas gracias; pero que por quanto este tiempo de Nortes y brisas no parece oportuno para emprenderse el viage segun lo han mostrado repetidas experiencias de los años pasados y por otra parte sean nesesario por lo que à su Religion toca dar quenta y satisfaccion cumplida à su Reverendisimo Padre Preposito General de la Compañía sobre la retardacion de este Socorro pretendido le es tambien necesario suplicar à V. Señoría se digne mandar consultar à Pilotos y personas practicas de estos mares si es ó no oportuno

tuno el tiempo de Nortes y Brisas ó si es nesesario aguardar los primeros bendabales de fines de Mayo ó principios de Junio en que por ser menos recios y menos oscuros pueden ayudar mejor al viage y embarazar menos el descubrimiento de tierras bajas quales son dichas Yslas.

Por lo qual, a V. Señoria pido y suplico se digne proveer como llevo suplicado y caso de negar los Pilotos ser oportuno el tiempo de Nortes y Brisas para emprenderse el viage y asegurar el socorro mandar se me den una ú dos copias juridicas de su parecer en que espero recibir Merced de la grandeza y piedad de V. Señoria etc^a

Francisco Mendez.

Translation.

Father Francisco Mendez of the Society of Jesus and its Procurator General in these Islands appears before Your Lordship and Declares:

That he has not been notified of the efforts made regarding the business of the Caroline Islands and the provisions given by Your Lordship, for which he humbly says thank you once again. However, inasmuch as in this season of northerly and easterly winds it seems untimely to begin a voyage, according to what many experiences have shown in past years, and on the other hand, it being necessary to fully inform their Most Reverend Father General in charge of their Order concerning internal matters and the delay of the succor being sought, he is also obliged to beg Your Lordship to please order a consultation of Pilots and of seamen expert in these seas, to determine whether or not the season of northerly and easterly winds is timely, or if it is necessary to wait for the first monsoon winds at the end of May or beginning of June, when winds are less stiff and the skies less obscure, and could help make the voyage easier and interfere less in the discovery of lands as low-lying as said Islands.

Consequently, I beg and beseech Your Lordship to please provide what I have solicited, and in case the Pilots should state that the season of the northerlies and easterlies is not timely to begin the voyage and deliver the succor, may I please be given one or two certified copies of their opinion, which I hope to receive as a favor from the greatness and piety of Your Lordship, etc.

Francisco Mendez.

[A meeting of pilots was convened on 18 December 1731. Their opinion was that, since it was necessary to despatch the Mariana vessel directly to Guam, the boat to the Carolines should be sent from there in June.]

B12. Detailed budget for the relief expedition to the Carolines

Relief crew for the boat that is to be despatched this year [1732] to the Caroline Islands:

—1 Chief Pilot for 11 months:	458p 2t 8g ¹
—1 Pilot's Mate, same period:	229p 1t 4g
—1 Boatswain, idem period:	229p 1t 4g
—1 Constable:	137p 4t
—1 Pharmacist, same:	137p 4t
—1 Caulker, same:	137p 4t
—1 Carpenter, same:	137p 4t
—2 "Pandays" [smiths] @ 91p 5t 4g each makes:	183p 2t 8g
—1 driller:	91p 5t
—12 seamen @ 91p 5t 4g each makes:	1,500p
—20 ship's boys @ 55p each makes:	1,005p

Necessary supplies for said voyage:

—344 arrobas of sea biscuit @ 5p per picul makes:	312p 5t 9g
—116 cabans and 11 gantas of clean rice @ 24p 4t per caban makes:	174p 5t 7g
—156 arrobas and 2 pounds of dry beef, jerked, at 2p/arroba makes:	312p 1t 5g
—52 arrobas and 10 ounces of pork @ 2p per arroba makes:	89p 0t 11g
—1,892 dried dog-fish @ 5p per 120 makes:	76p 4t 8g
—19 cabans and 17 gantas of mongo beans, counting 24 gantas in each caban @ 2p per caban makes:	39p 3t 4g
—8 cabans of vinegar from "tuba" @ 1t per jar without the crate:	1p 0t 0g

	[Total:] 5,132p 5t 8g

29 March 1732

[The Jesuits were asked to pay this amount into the Government coffers, if they wanted Fr. Cantova relieved that year, but Fr. Mendez objected, citing many precedents, etc. On 21 May 1732, a Treasury council meeting was held, in which it was said that the royal coffers were empty, that even their own salaries were not being paid on time, so that the Jesuits were being asked only to **loan** the amount to the Government. The Jesuits responded by proposing a direct route to Falalep, in order to reduce costs. On 11 June, another meeting of the pilots was convened to discuss this last proposal.² The pilots were of the opinion that it was impossible to go directly from the Philippines

1 Ed. note: Pesos, Tomins, y Granos.

2 Ed. note: The name of the chief pilot of the galleon Nuestra Señora de Guía on the way to Acapulco that year was Felix Perez. The name of the captain of the Mariana patache (named San Fernando) was José Zacarias.

to the Carolines at the time, i.e. June, on account of prevailing bad weather in the destination area. They suggested that, either the Mariana patache **San Fernando**, or the new frigate, touch at the Carolines on its return voyage, the former from Guam and the latter from Acapulco.]

[When pressed for money, the Jesuits said they had only 1,648 pesos cash-in-hand to contribute. On 5 July, Antonio José de Rosa, wrote from Cavite to say that the 22-cubit boat was finished, in pieces, and ready to be loaded aboard the patache **San Fernando**, and that he was awaiting further orders. On 7 July 1732, the Royal Officials put the finishing touch to the necessary orders.]¹

1 Ed. note: As the patache San Fernando crashed upon arrival at Guam, the small boat must have been OK, as it seems to have been assembled, rigged, and used by Fr. Walter to return to Ulithi in 1733.

Document 1731C

The mission band of 1730 left some members in the Marianas

Sources: AGI Contratación 5550/3 (formerly 45-2- 7/10); copy in the Colección Pastells, Fil. 16, folio 147 et seq.

A mission band of 32 Jesuit religious for the Philippine Islands.

[Endorsement:] Year of 1730.—Main Accounting Office of the House of Trade.—Royal decree and other papers concerning the outfitting of the said Mission that boarded the ship named **Pettencia**, alias **Blandon**, that left bound for Havana, on His Majesty's service, in the said year of 1730.

...

Presentation of the candidates.

I, Father Gaspar Rodero of the Society of Jesus, Procurator general of the Indies, and Superior of the missions overthere, do certify that the subjects listed below belong to the mission of the Philippines, and left the respective colleges on the dates given:

1. Fr. [sic] Juan García, from Caravaca, left Madrid on 2 August 1729.
2. Fr. Joseph Valero, from Aragon, left Barcelona on 17 August 1729.

...

16. Fr. Joseph Kropf, Bavarian, left Lavdinberga on 14 May 1729.

...

28. Fr. Livino Serveli [sic], Roman, left Rome on 6 July 1729.

...

31. Fr. Joseph de Bobadilla, Procurator General of this Mission of the Philippines.

...

Jhs

Gaspar Rodero

Physical inspection of the subjects.

...

Fr. Joseph de Bobadilla, Superior of the said Mission, 48 years old.

...

2. Fr. Joseph Valero, priest, born in Hinojosa, Diocese of Teruel, 31 years old, full body, scar in the middle of the forehead, and cross-eyed.

...

9. Fr. Joseph Kropf, priest, born in Amberga, Diocese of Ratisbona [i.e. now in Slovakia], 30 years old, tall, white complexion, light brown hair, blue eyes, and narrow beard.

...

19. Father [sic] Livino Screvel [=Lewin Schrevell], priest, born in Ghent, in the same Diocese, 36 years old, tall, white complexion, blue eyes, and light brown hair.¹

...

29. Father [sic] Juan García, Coadjutor,² born in Carabaca, Diocese of Murcia, 27 years old, small body, dark complexion, black hair, and scar on the forehead above the left eye.

...

Port of Santa María, 25 October 1730.
[unsigned]

1 Ed. note: He could not, therefore, be considered Roman, as is stated earlier, although that is where he was at the time of his posting.
2 Ed. note: The contradiction is removed, once it is recognized that he was a coadjutor brother.

 Document 1732A

Report on the Caroline Islands by Fr. Joseph Kropff, dated Acapulco 6 March 1732

Source: Stöcklein's Welt-Bott XXVII, n° 540. The editor of this series, begun by Fr. Stöcklein, was then Fr. Peter Probst.

Notes: Fr. Kropff was on the way to the Philippines with Fr. Bobadilla. He reports what he has heard from the latter about the various attempts to explore the Carolines, since 1707. The words Palao and Caroline were then used interchangeably to mean the whole archipelago, including the Palau Group.

Original text in German.

Bericht von denen östern aufgesuchten, und endlich entdeckten, auch würcklich bestigenen Carolinischen Inseln, sonst Palaos genannt, eingesendet von R.P. Josepho Kropff, aus der Ober-Teutschen Provinz S.J. Missionario auf denen Philippinischen Inseln.

Aus dem Bericht, den unsere Philippinische Patres sowol schon in verflossenem, als in dem noch lauffenden Jahr-Hundert von verschiedenen bald zu denen Philippinischen, bald zu denen Marianischen, bald zu anderen benachbarten Inseln angekommenen Fremdlingen eingeolet, ist man zur Erkenntnuß gelanget, daß von denen Marianischen Inseln gegen Süden hinab noch mehr, und zwar nicht wenig Inseln seyn müssen, so mit ungläubigen Eiländern angefüllet wären. Da hatte sich also bald bey denen Unserigen ein Apostolische Begierd entzündet, diese Inseln anzuschauen, und mit dem so nohtwendigen Liecht des wahren Evangelii ihre in der dicken Finsternuß des blinden Unglaubens sitzende Eiländer zu erleuchten. Allein man kunte in vorigem Jahr-Hundert aus vielen Ursachen zu Vollführung so heiliger Begierden nicht schreiten, sonderbar da man noch genug zu thuen hatte die Marianische Mission recht einzurichten, und auf festen Fuß zu setzen. Die Zeit ware nemlich noch nicht angekommen, daß sich GOTT deren besagten Eiländern erbarmen solte, weilen vielleicht unsere oder ihre Sünden einer so grossen Gnad im Weeg stunden. Unterdessen tratte dieses 18te Jahr-Hundert herein, und ereignete sich gleich die erste Jahr desselben, daß wiederholter Massen einige Leute von öfters bemeldten Palaos mit ihren Barquen aus dem rechten Rhombo oder Fahrt-Strassen verleitet worden, und endlich bey denen Philippinischen Inseln angeländet haben.

Solchen Zufall namen unsere Patres für eine Ermahnung GOTTes an, sich nun alles Ernsts dahin zu bewerben, damit die Palaos aufgesuchet, und vor dieselbige eine Mission gestiftet wurde. Sie bringen dann die Sach bey dem Madritischen Hof an, und erlangen ungeachtet der in Spanien wegen dem damaligen heftigen Successions-Krieg verwirten Sachen von seiner jetzt regierenden Catholischen Majestät ohne sonderbarer Beschweruß nicht allein die Erlaubnuß der Palaischen oder Carolinischen Mission einen Anfang zu machen, sondern auch eine erkleckliche Stiftung für deroselben Fortsetzung, und Erhaltung.

Als nun Anno 1707 für die Philippinische Provinz aus Europa eine neue Mission zu Manila angelanget, befande man sich im Stand einige Missionaries in denen Philippinischen Inseln etwas leichters zu entberen, und denen Palaos zukommen zulassen. Wurde also unser Pater Josephus Bobadilla, dem Ursprung nach ein Spanier, der Geburt nach ein Alexandriner aus dem Mayländischen, geheissen sich zur neuen Mission in denen Palaos zu richten, und von dem etlich Jahr zuvor mit seinem Weib, und einem Söhnlein an die Philippinische Küsten geworffenen Palaer, der von denen Unserigen in einem für ihn, und die Seinige bestellten Haus erhalten wurde, die Palaische Sprach zu erlernen. Andere behärige Anstalten wurden auch vorgekehret, und die Sach also beförderet, daß man das gleich darauf gefolgte Jahr die Palaos aufzusuchen unter Seegel gehen künnte, wie es auch würcklich geschehen. Pater Bobadilla stosset dann auf einem Patache von Manila ab, und wurde der Lauf, so gleich auf die gedachte Inseln zugerichtet. Allein der Patache ist kaum bey dem Embocadero de San Bernardino in das freye Meer hinaus gekommen, als er sich von denen gegen Sud hinab gehenden Corrientes, oder Meer-Strom übermeistert, und zu der Gegend, wo Mindanao herum lieget, verleitet schen muste.

Weilen dann kein Möglichkeit ware auf die rechte Fahrt- Strassen zu kommen, entschlosse man sich, um die Sud- und West- Küsten von dem Eiland Mindanao zu schiffen, und nach Manila zuruck zu kehren, welches auch erfolget; womit dann die Palaos vor dieses Jahr unentdeckt verblieben; jedoch ist man nicht gar ohne aller Entdeckung nach Haus gekommen. Dann als man unterhalb der Mittags-Küsten von Mindanao etwann vierzig Meilen von dieser Insel gegen Sud hinab West-werts [sic] fortschiffete, traffe man auf ein zwar kleines, jedoch bewohntes Eiland, und stige Pater Bobadilla in Begleitung des Pilots, und einiger anderen von dem Schif, so auf allen Fall ihr Gewehr und Geschoß mit sich genommen, auf dasselbe hinaus zum einen frischen Land-Luft zu schöpfen, und zu sehen, was es darauf gäbe. Sie hatten aber kaum den ersten Fuß an das Land gesetzt, als sich alles, was lauffen kunte, in die Gebürge hinauf geflüchtet, und aus dem Staub gemachet. Einzige wenige Weiber und Kinder, die Schwachheit halber denen Flüchtigen nicht nachfolgen konten, liessen sich in denen hin und her aufgebauten Häusern autressen, aber so voll der Forcht und Schröckens. daß ungeachtet sich dieselbe um verborgen zu seyn, mit Decken und Matten zugedecket, sie dennoch gar bald durch ihr eigenes Zitteren verrahten wurden. Pater Bobadilla aber machte ihnen mit seinem Gefehrten mit freundlichen und liebeichen Zeichen, und Gebärden ein Herz, und fanden sich die flüchtige Eiländer, nachdem die Forcht und Besorgung eines

Ubels vorbei ware, auch nach und nach bey denen fremden Gästen ein. Unter denen ware einer, so dem Patri, und seinem Gesellen ein schriftliches Patent aufwiese, in welchem zu lesen ware: Monsieur Capitaine, aus welchem abgenommen wurde, daß etwann die Herren Holländer, die unweit darvon etwas mehreres gegen Suden hinab die Moluccas besitzen, und sich vielleicht auch der Herrschaft über besagtes kleines Eiland angemasset, denselben Eiländer zum Capitaine, und Ober-Haubt seiner Lands-Leuten gemacht, und ihme darüber sothanes Patent ausgegertiget. Ubrigens sahen sowol Leute, als Schwein, Katzen, und dergleichen Thier in dem entdeckten Eiland sehr mager, und schwach aus. Solches mag von dem alldortigen Luft, oder von der Nahrung herkommen. Die Insel hat einen Überfluß von Coccus- Bäumen, und trincken die Inwohner kein anderes Wasser, als das ihnen die Coccus-Nüsse mittheilen: wie sie dann von eben diesem Wasser auch kochen.

*Der Pilot, so den P. Bobadilla begleitete, truckte die mit sich gebrachte Flinten auf ein Katz loß, die aus Forcht gleichfalls in die Flucht, und auf einen hohen Coccus-Baum hinauf gekletteret ware, und trafte sie so wol, daß sie über den Baum herab burzelte, worüber sich die zusehende Eiländer sehr verwunderet, mithin zu erkennen gaben, daß ihnen das Geschoß nicht viel bekannt wäre. Nichts desto weniger sollen sie vor etwann sechzig Jahren Christen, und folgentlich mit Portugesen, oder Spaniern in einiger Handlung und Bekanntschaft gewesen seyn, und haben die mit Patre Bobadilla auf das Eiland hinaus getretene Spanier einen Petrero [sic = Pedrero], oder kleines verrostetes Stücklein angetroffen, daß sie zu Schif gebracht, und darvon geführet. Was die Häuser belanget, waren sie nicht übel gebauet, sie bestunden in einem viereckichten, und wol eingerichteten Gebäu, so in der Mitte einen Saal hatte, worinnen die Kinder herum liefen. Bey denen vier Ecken des Gebäues ausserhalb des Saals waren gewisse Kämmerlein, zu welchen eine Porten aus dem Saal hineinführte, da wohnten Mann und Weib, die von denen Kindern abgesonderet lebten. Ihre Schiflein oder Barquen waren kaum Mannslang, und beynebens so eng, daß kaum eine Person darinnen Raum zu sitzen fande, solche treiben sie vermög eines Ruders schnell fort, sie bedienen sich auch des gedachten Ruders, daß sie mit einer Bewegung von der Rechten zur Lincken schwencken, so hurtig und behend, daß es verwunderlich ist. Eines aus dergleichen Schiflein name der Pilot Kurzweil halber auf den Rucken, und truge es mit sich an den Bort des Patache, dasselbige denen Fürwitzigen zu Manila schon zu lassen. Dieses ist nun die Beschreibung des Eilands, so Pater Bobadilla in seiner Ruck-Reise nach Manila entdeckt, und bestigen, deme er in Ansehen deren so düren und mageren Einwohnern den Nammen **la isla de los Flacos** geschöpffet.*

Das anderte Jahr darauf, das ist: 1709 giengte Pater Bobadilla abermal gegen die Palaos unter Seegel, könte derselben aber eben so wenig ansichtig werden, als das vorige Jahr, ungeachtet, daß er in dieser Schiff-Fahrt sechs Monat zugebracht hatte; die immerbar anhaltende Brissas, oder Ost-Winde, so dem Schiff allzeit auf die Popa zustoseten, nöthigten den Pilot einen beständigen Sic-Sac zu machen, und bald gegen Norden hinauf, bald gegen Suden hinunter zu seegelen, jedoch also: daß man allezeit in der Gegend des achten, und zehenden Grads Norder-Höhe verbliebe, weiln die Palaos sich

in derselbigen solten finden lassen. Endlich da kein Hofnung mehr seyn wolte vor sich zu kommen, noch die gesuchte Eilande zu finden, wurden die Seegel, wiederum nach Haus zu kehren gewendet, nachdem man nicht allein etliche gefährliche Ungewitter, sondern auch noch viel anderes Ungemach während so langer Schiff-Fahrt ausgestanden. Dann es fiengebereits an, sowol das Holz für den Herd, als auch das Wasser, und Essen für den Tisch zu mangelen dergestalten, daß man eine Maaß des süßen Wassers mit einer Maaß gesalzenem Meer-Wasser mischen, und die Bretter, mit welchen das innre Schiff, und ihre Kämmer gefütteret waren, abnehmen, und in der Küche verbrennen muste.

Man hielt sich für glücklich, daß man an dem Fest-Tag unsers heiligen Stiffers Ignatii einen grossen Tuberon [sic = Tiburon], welcher sich um das Schiff herum blicken liesse, gefangen hatte, der so dann auf etliche Tag zur Speis dienen, und genug seyn muste. Auf solche Weis liesse auch die anderte Aufsuchung der Palaos fruchtloß ab.

Man liesse sich aber durch sothane unglückselige Ausgänge einer so heiligen Bemühung nicht abschrecken, und name im Jahr 1710 das Werck abermal vor die Hand. Zwey Fahr-Zeug wurden darzu ausgerüstet, eine Balandra nemlich, und ein Patache. Die Balandra ungeachtet, daß sie kleiner ware, wurde zur Capitana, und der Patache zur Almiranta gemachet; weilen sich mit der Balandra leichter voraus gehen, und sowol dem Meer-Grund, als denen Küsten, und Häfen der zu auffindenden Inseln besser, und mehr in der Nähe nachsuchen liesse. Auf die Capitana dann Schiffte sich P. Bobadilla ein, auf die Almiranta aber die zwey Patres Tuberon [sic] und Cortil beyde geborene Flamander. Die Almiranta gienge voraus, und legte sich in einem dem Embocadero de San Bernardino ligenden See-Hafen unterdessen vor Ancker, bis gleichwol die Capitana nachkommen mögte: diese saumete sich nicht lang, folgte der Almiranta bald nach, und erreichte bereits die Gegend, wo dieselbe vor Ancker lage. Allein da sie in gedachten Hafen auch einlaufen wolte, übersahe sich der Pilot, und die Balandra bliebe zwischen denen all dort verborgenen Schroffen sitzen, und hat gestrandet, doch noch so glücklich, daß sowol die Leute, als Waaren könten ausgeschiffet, und ans Land gebracht werden. Zu diesem Unglück stossete noch, daß sich Pater Bobadilla mit der rohten Ruhr behaftet befande, und mithin gemüssiget wurde für dießmal zu Haus zu bleiben.

Da unterdessen wenigstens der Patache, so die Almiranta abgeben solte, gegen die Palaos unter die Seegel gegangen, auf welchem sich die zwey Patres Tuberon, und Cortil, wie auch der etwas weiters oben gedachte Palaer samt seinem Weib, und Söhnlein befanden, damit nemlich dieser bey glücklicher Besteigung der Palaos einen Dolmetsch, und getreuen Gehülffen abgeben mögte.

Der so gute Anschlag hätte auch bald gerahten, dann man endlich denen Palaos so nahe auf die Spur gekommen, daß sich bereits eines aus diesen Eilanden sehen liesse. Man eilete dann Schnur-grad darauf zu, und konte man nun billich hoffen für dieses mal das heilige Vorhaben gänzlich auszuführen. Allein der vorbrüchige Eifer einiger von dem Schiff, und die darüber gekommene Corrientes haben gemacht, daß alles nicht allein einen abermalig-fruchtlosen, sondern auch betauerlichen Ausgang genommen, ehe das entdeckte Eiland noch erreicht wurde; dann da man darvon noch zimlich ent-

fernet ware, konten einige nicht mehr warten, warffen sich in den ins Wasser gesetzten Boot über Hals und Kopf hinein, und zohen durch ihre Beyspiel, und Zusprechen unter anderen auch die zwey Patres Missionarios nach, denen sich gleichfalls der obbesagte Palaer beygesellet. Diese dann, so in allen etwann zehen bis zwölf Personen ausmachten, und sich weder mit Lebens-Mitteln, noch anderen Nohtwendigkeiten versehen hatten, ruderten mit allen Kräften, und Eilfertigkeit der Insel zu, als die ihre Hofnung allbereit verschlungen hatte, konten aber derselben niemals habhaft werden, ja wurden durch den anwachsenden Meer-Strom immer mehr und mehr auf die Seiten gerissen, deme sie sich, weilen die gänzlich entkräftete Arm kein Ruder mehr rühren konten, endlich völlig überliessen, und letztlich von dem Patache aus dem Gesicht verloren wurden; dieser wolte nachfolgen, um die Verlorene aufzusuchen, und wieder einzuholen, allein er gerichte einem anderen Meer-Strom in den Lauff, so ihn nicht allein von dem entdeckten Eiland hinweg, sondern auch wieder zu denen Philippinischen Inseln zuruck geführet: mithin giengen die vom Boot verloren, und ist bis heut unbekannt, wie es ihnen endlich ergangen seye.

Dann obwolen in dem bekannten Welt-Botten Patris Josephi Stöcklein Tom. II, parte IX, N. 222, Fol. 6, ein aus Canton von Patre Philippo Cazier S.J. Missionario den 5ten Novemb. 1720¹ abgeschickter Brieff zu beglauben scheint, daß der von dem Patache abgerissene Boot die Palaos erreicht habe, und Patres Tuberon, und Cortil von denen alldortigen Eiländern seyen umgebracht worden, ist doch dieses ein lautere Muhtmassung, so Pater Bobadilla widerspricht, dessen Meinung nach dieselbe mit ihren Gefehrten vielmehr von dem Hunger, als von Leuten seynd aufgerieben worden. Deme seye, wie ihm wolle, so hat auch diese dritte Schiff-Fahrt nicht mehr Nutzen gebracht, als, daß man die Palaos gesehen, und ihre Lage, auch Gegend in etwas angemercket hat.

Der Seelen-Eifer unserer Philippinischen Gesellschaft ruhete nicht. Man schickte 1711 das vierte Mal neue Missionarios die Palaos wieder aufzusuchen. Diese waren P. Andreas Serrano (welcher die 1707 zu Manila angelangte neue Mission, worunter unsere allhiesige drey Patres Procuratores, Josephus Bobadilla, Bonaventura Plana, und Augustinus Soler begriffen waren, aus Europa gebracht) und P. Ignatius Crespo, wie auch der Bruder Estevan Banden.² Die drey dann giengen zu Cabite unter Seegel, und wolten aus denen Philippinischen Inseln auf die Palaos zufahren. Allein ehe sie noch in das freye Meer gelanget, ist das Schiff, welches sie zu denen Palaos führen solte, bey Marinduque herum aufgefahren, und samt dem aufgehabten Volck gescheiteret, und seynd mit ihnen auch unsere Missionarii zu Grund gegangen.

So viel auf einander gefolgte Unglücke, und frucht-lose Unternemmungen in Aufsuchung deren Palaos bewogen endlich die Unserige zu glauben, daß die Zeit noch nicht müste gekommen seyn, so GOtt der Bekehrung deren Palaer von Ewigkeit zu bestimmen beliebet; zohen dann die Hand von dem angefangenen Werck ab, und verschoben

1 Ed. note: See Doc. 1720D.

2 Ed. note: Brother Étienne Baudin.

die Ausführung desselben auf ein andere Zeit, da etwann der vorsichtige und gütige Himmel das Gefallen haben mögte unseren Begierden, und Bemühungen günstiger zu willfahren. Mithin bliebe die Aufsuchung der öfters benannten Eilanden fast ganzer 18 Jahr unterwegs, bis nemlich der heilige Geist in unseren Philippinern neue Begierden angezündet/ und sonderlich Patrem Joannem Antonium Cantova, welcher aus der Mayländischen Provinz als Missionarius ad Philippinas geschicket worden, dahin bewaget, daß er die Sach an gehörigem Ort auf ein neues anbrachte, und sich um die endliche Entdeckung der Palaos alles Ernsts anname, welches auch ganz eifrig von ihm in das Werck gesetzt worden.

Dann 1729 (eben im Jahr, da unser gegenwärtige Mission von Adm. Rev. Patre Michaele Angelo Tamburino nach denen Philippinischen Inseln zu gehen geheissen worden, ist P. Cantova von denen Marianischen Inseln abgefahren, und mit einem Patache denen Palaos abermal nachzusuchen abgeseegelt. Weilen aber GOTT für dieses Jahr mit seinen guten Begierden zu frieden seyn wolte, als verhängete er, daß der Patache in die Corrientes verfiere, die ihn dann aus dem Rhombo hinweg gerissen, und zu denen Philippinischen Inseln verleitet haben, allwo er noch über das so unglücklich gewesen, daß er in dem Port gescheitert, und samt denen Leuten, und eingeschiffen Sachen zu Grund gegangen. Pater Cantova allein hatte das Glück den Schiff-Bruch nur anzusehen, weil er schon zuvor an das Land gestiegen, und mithin zu Manila wiederum angelanget.

*Dieses neue Unglück, und frucht-los abgelauffenes Aufsuchen dieser Inseln Palaos brachte ihnen einen neuen Nammen auf, und wurden dieselbige von denen Spaniern **las islas encantadas**, die verzauberte Inseln genennet; als wann nemlich die Höll denen Glaubens-Predigern dergleichen Spiel bishero angerichtet, Weeg und Eingang zu denen Palaos durch ihre von GOTT zugelassene Macht versperrt hätte. P. Cantova, der wol wuste, daß endlich die Porten der Höllen, und alle ihre Macht dem allmächtigen Arm des jenigen weichen müsten, deme auch das Meer, und Winde gehorsamen, liesse sich durch sothane neue Benamsung der Palaos nicht irren; er empfahle die Sach als sein eigenes Geschäfte dem Himmel, und dachte auf ein neue Schiff- Fahrt zu denen Palaos, wie er sich dann nicht lang zu Manila aufgehalten, und bald mit einem Patache nach denen Marianischen Inseln abgeseegelt; da kehrte er in aller Eil die gehörige Anstalten vor, richtete den mit sich gebrachten Patache zurecht, und schickte sich mithin zu seiner anderten Schiff-Fahrt für die Palaos oder Carolinische Inseln.*

Als nun der 11te Hornung des Jahrs nach Christi Geburt 1731. angelanget, begabe sich Pater Cantova von denen Marianischen Eilanden unter Seegel, und name den Rhombo; so ihn zu denen Palaos führen solte. Sein Mit-Gesell ware Pater Victor Walter, welcher 1721 samt Pater Xaverio Uhrfaher aus unserer geliebten Ober-Teutschen Provinz nach Ostende in Niderland abgegangen, und von dort aus nach Cadiz geseeglet, allwo sie sich mit denen übrigen unter dem Pater Augustino Soler versammelten Philippinischen Missionariis vergesellschaftet, und im Jahr 1722 mit denen Azogues gegen Vera-Cruz unter Seegel gegangen. In Neu-Spanien hielten sie sich so lang auf, bis der Philippinische Galleon bey Acapulco angeländet, auf dem sie zu denen Marianischen

Inseln geschiffet, und alldort bis Anno 1731 beysammen verblieben; Da Pater Victor Walter sas hohe Glück gehabe zu einem Gefehrten Patris Cantova in einem so heiligen Unternemmen von GOTT durch die Oberen auserwählet zu werden.

*Nun aber das Schif, in welchem die neue zwey Palaer-Missionarii von denen Marianischen Inseln abgestossen, bestunde nur allein in einem grossen Barquo, so mit 8 Grumetes, oder jungen Boots-Knechten versehen ware. Dann sich mit kleinen Fahr-zeugen besser zu dem Land hinfahren lasset, sowol das Land, als sein Meer-Gegend, See-Häfen, und dergleichen auszukundschaften. Der Pilot von diesem Barquo ware P. Cantova selbst, welchen sich in der Schif-Fahrt-Kunst dem Seelen Heil zu Lieb abgerichtet, und allbereit darinnen wol erfahren ist, wie ein solches von ihm sein Mitgefahrt Pater Walter in dem anhers geschickten Brief anrühmet. Der Apostolische Seelen-Eifer nemlich machet die Nachfolger des Weil-Apostels Pauli allen alles, und kan kein Kunst, noch andere Sach, so weltlich, oder gleichgültig seyn, daß sie von der Sinnreichen Liebe GOTTes, und des Nächstens zu der Hoheit eines geistlichen Werck-Zeugs die Ehre GOTTes und seiner Kirche auszubreiten nicht möge erhebt werden; unser Pilot dann hat den Rhombo seiner Schiff-Fahrt so gut auf die Palaos zu richten gewust, daß er dieselbige nach einer achtzehen tägigen (einer zwar langsamen, wann man ihre geringe Entlegenheit von denen Marianischen Eilanden betrachtet) doch glücklichen Reise den ten Merz an einem Freytag, nicht allein entdeckt, sondern auch erreicht, ja würcklich bestiegen, und zu bewohnen angefangen hat. Die erste Sorg Patris Cantova, und seines Gefehrten, des Patris Walter ware die Herberg mit einem vesten aus Gebüsch geflochtenem Zaun zu umgeben, sich und die Seinige vor allem Anfall zu versichern, auf verschiedenen Orten deren Inseln Creutz aufzurichten, die Kinder zu tauffen, und denen erwachsenen die Christliche Lehr einiger Massen zu erklären. Damit aber dieselbige desto leichter und geschwinder mögte ausgebreitet werden, ware sein meistes Absehen die Knaben in der Christen-Lehr und Christlichen Gebettern wol zu unterrichten, damit er diese als so viel junge Aposteln das Evangelium zu verkünden aussenden könnte. Alles hatte ein gutes Aussehen: und die Missionarii machten sich gute Hofnung diese Inseln in kurzer Zeit mit neuen Christen anzufüllen: und dieses um so viel mehr, je weniger die Einwohner dieser See-Erbsen (dann das will das Spanische Wort Garbanzos, wie die Eilande von denen Spaniern genennet worden, sagen) von anderen Lastern, den Aberglauben ausgenommen, wissen, also daß man sich sonderbar wegen ihrer Ehrbarkeit verwunderen muß. Die Weiber haben ihre Bäder ganz besonder, und darf sich da kein Manns-Bild einfinden. So bald die Sonne untergegangen, ist es keinem mehr erlaubt in das Haus verehelichter Personen hinein zu treten. Ubrigens so viel ich theils aus einem Brief Patris Cantova, theils Patris Victoris Walter gelesen hab, seynd die entdeckte Inseln Garbanzos, oder *las Islas de los Dolores* (also hat sie Pater Cantova zu Ehren der schmerzhaften Mutter GOTTes benennet, weilen eben jener Freytag, an welchem er sie entdeckt hat, der zweyte Tag, der zu Ehren dieser schmerzhaften Mutter angestellten Neun-Tägigen Andacht ware) Diese Inseln, sprich ich, seynd so nahe bey einander gelegen, daß eine von der anderen nur zwey Meilen entfernt ist: sie seynd so klein, daß Falalep im Umkreis nur zwey, die übrige ein einzige Meile en-*

thalten. Sie stehen unter dem König von Yap. Yap ist eine ungefehr fünfzig Meilen von denen Palaos gegen Sud-West zu Süden entlegene grosse Insel, und noch weiter gegen Sud-Westen befinden sich die grosse Eiländer Panleu. Da nun auf der Insel Falalep die Mission einen glücklichen Fortgang hatte, und Pater Cantova von denen erst gemeldeten Eilanden berichtet worden, ware der Seelen-Eifer dieses Missionarii also bald auch auf jenes weitschichtige Feld bedacht, den Evangelischen Saamen all dort anzüden; und weilten ohne dem die Lebens-Mittel für die mitgebrachte Schiff-Knecht allgemach zu mangelen begunten, beschlosse er seinen Fahr-Zeug zu besteigen, und von denen Marianischen Inseln einige Noht-durften abzuholen, zugleich auch bey denen Obern noch um zwey Missionarios anzuhalten, damit wann die Mission auf denen Palaos wurde fest gestellet seyn, er das Glaubens-Liecht auf die Insel Yap, und die übrige oben angeregte übringen könnte.

Es ware schon alles zur Abreis fertig, als ungefehr ein Garbanzer von denen Marianischen Inseln, wohin er vor Jahren von denen Corrientes getragen worden, auf die Insel Falalep zuruck gekommen, und weilten er etwann Zeit seines Aufenthalts auf denen Marianischen Inseln einige Klagen wider die Spanische Behertschung gehört hatte, sprengte er wider die Missionarios nachtheilige Reden aus, mit Vermelden, daß vielleicht solche Leute nur daher gekommen wären, damit sie das Spanische Joch, unter welchem er die Marianer seufzen gehört hätte, auch denen Inwohnern dieser Inseln aufbürdeten. Dergleichen Reden verursachten bey denen Indianern zum wenigsten einen Argwohn; und fienge die Zuneigung zu denen Patribus an in etwas zu mancken, also daß der Pater Cantova, anstatt sich zu Schif zu begeben, durch Einrahten Patris Walter für besser hielte auf der Insel zu verharren, und denen Eiländern den geschöpften Argwohn desto leichter zubenennen, als welcher der Sprach schon kündig mit ihnen besser umzugehen wuste. Er sendete derowegen den Pater Walter auf der Missions-Balandra gegen die Marianische Inseln; er erreichte aber anstatt dieser die Philippinische Inseln, wohin er ebenfalls von denen Corrientes gerissen wurde. Ist also vonnöhten, daß Pater Walter von denen Philippinischen seinen Lauff auf die Marianische Inseln nemme; was indessen mit P. Cantova geschehen, werden wir zu seiner Zeit berichten können. So bald wir zu Manila werden angekommen seyn, wird es sich zeigen, wer aus uns von Europa frisch-gekommenen Missionariis das grosse Glück haben werde den Pater Walter zu denen Garbanzos zubegleiten, und in dem all dort neu angelegten Weinberg des Herrn zu arbeiten.

Acapulco den 6ten Merzen 1732.

Aller Ehrwürdigen Vätter und Brüder meiner wertesten Ober-Teutschen Provinz

Diener in Christo

Josephus Kropff, S.J. Missionarius Philippinus

Translation, by P.H.

Report on the often-sought, finally discovered and actually entered Caroline Islands, also called Palaos Islands, by Reverend Fr. Joseph Kropff, Missionary of the Society of Jesus, from the Upper German Province, in the Philippine Islands.

From reports which our Philippine Fathers have obtained in the last century as well as in this century from foreigners who arrived sometimes at the Philippines, sometimes at the Mariana Islands, and sometimes at other islands, it has been recognized that quite a few other islands must be situated south of the Marianas that are populated by heathen islanders. Soon our missionaries developed an apostolic desire to find these islands and to carry forward the necessary light of the true Gospel to enlighten the islanders who are still in the darkness of blind heathenism. However, in the last century, it was not possible for a number of reasons to implement this holy desire because it was difficult enough to establish the Mariana mission and to place it on a solid footing. The time had not yet come when God would show His mercy to those islanders, perhaps because our sins, or theirs, were in the way of such a great mercy. In the meantime the 18th century arrived, and in the very first year of the same, it occurred repeatedly that some people from the often-mentioned Palaos were driven off course or through the wrong straits, and landed in the Philippine Islands.

Such coincidence, our Fathers interpreted as God's reminder that now everything should be tried to find the Palaos and to found a mission there. They took the matter to the Court in Madrid. In spite of turbulence in Spain at the time, due to the fierce War of Succession, they had no difficulty in obtaining permission from the now ruling Catholic Majesty to begin preparations for a mission to the Palaos or Caroline Islands, and they also obtained considerable funds for continuing and maintaining the same.

When in 1707 a new mission band from Europe to the Philippine Province arrived at Manila, it became easier to do without some missionaries in the Philippines and to assign them to the Palaos. Thus our Fr. José Bobadilla, a Spaniard by origin, but born in Alessandria near Milan, was ordered to prepare for the new mission to the Palaos and to learn the Palao language from a Palao Islander who several years earlier had been stranded on the Philippine coast with his wife and a young son and who was kept by our people in a house provided for him. Other measures were taken, and preparations were made to sail to the Palaos in the following year, which indeed happened. Fr. Bobadilla sailed from Manila in a patache and set his course for the said islands. But as soon as the patache reached the open sea in the San Bernardino Strait, it was driven by the southerly current down to the area of Mindanao.

[Possible re-discovery of Palmas, or Miangas, Island]

While there was no possibility of reaching the right strait, it was decided to sail around the southern and western coasts of Mindanao and to return to Manila, which they did. This meant that the Palaos remained undiscovered that year. However, they

reached home not without any discovery. Sailing below the southern coast of Mindanao for about 40 miles toward the southwest [sic], they found a small but inhabited island.¹ Fr. Bobadilla accompanied by the pilot and some others, disembarked and, taking their rifles and ammunition with them, went on land to have a breath of fresh air and to see what the island contained. They had hardly set foot on land when everyone who could run fled to the mountains to hide. Only a few women and children who could not follow because they were weak were found in the houses which stood here and there, but they were so full of fear and terror that they covered themselves with blankets and mats to hide, although they were soon discovered because of their shaking. Fr. Bobadilla and his companions gave them courage with friendly signals and gestures. When their fear in expectation of calamity had dissipated, the islanders who had fled also gradually came to see the foreign guests. Among them was one who showed the Father and his companions a written patent which was addressed to "Monsieur le Capitaine," which indicated that the Dutch, who are in possession of the Moluccas further to the south may have thought they might also rule this small island, had appointed the said islander as Captain and chief of his people and issued a patent accordingly.² All the people as well as the pigs, cats and other animals on the discovered island looked very thin and weak. The reason may be the air in that place, or the food. But the island has an abundance of coconut trees. The inhabitants drink no water, only the liquid from the coconuts, which they even use for their cooking.

The pilot who accompanied Fr. Bobadilla, fired his rifle at a cat which out of fear had fled and climbed a high coconut tree. He hit the cat which fell out of the tree, and this greatly surprised the islanders, which showed that they did not know much about firearms. Nevertheless they are said to have been Christian 60 years ago, when they knew and traded with either Portuguese or Spaniards. The Spaniards who had gone to the island with Fr. Bobadilla found a mortar, a small rusty piece, which they brought to the ship and took with them. As far as the houses are concerned, they were not badly built. They consisted of a square, well-appointed building with a hall in the middle in which the children ran around. At the four corners of the building outside the hall were certain rooms from which doors led into the hall; here, man and wife lived separate from the children. Their boats or barques were hardly as long as a man and so narrow that a person hardly had room to sit in it. They propel these with an oar which they move from right to left, so quickly that it is amazing. For fun, the pilot took one of these boats on his back and carried it aboard the patache, in order to show it to the curious in Manila. This then was the description of the island which Fr. Bobadilla dis-

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- 1 Ed. note: I think that Fr. Kropff made a mistake in translating "south-east" by "south-west." The Sarangani Islands are large and were well-known, whereas the small and isolated island of Miangas, or Palmas, at over 45 miles to the south-east of Cape San Agustin, fits the description quite well. The original inhabitants may have come from the Carolines (see HM 4:250).
 - 2 Ed. note: A probable misinterpretation of a letter, in French, that must have been a note addressed to the captain of any passing ship.

covered and set foot on during his return voyage to Manila. Because of its thin and emaciated inhabitants, he gave it the name of "Island of Skinny People."

The following year, that is to say in **1709**, Fr. Bobadilla sailed again for the Palaos, but again he could not find them any more than in the previous year, although he spent six months at sea. The continuous tradewinds or easterly winds constantly drove the ship backward, always forcing the pilot to zigzag, and to tack either to the north or to the south without, however, leaving the region between the 8 and 10 degrees of latitude north, where the Palaos were thought to be. Finally, when there was no hope of making any progress or to find the islands, the sails were turned for the homeward journey, but not before several dangerous storms and many other hardships had been encountered on the long voyage. There was already a shortage of wood for the stove, of drinking water and food for the table. One measure of fresh water had to be mixed with one measure of salty sea water. The boards which lined the ship on the inside and served as panelling for the cabins were removed and burned in the galley.

They considered themselves lucky that on the feast-day of our holy founder, St. Ignatius, they caught a large shark that had shown itself around the ship; it served as food for several days, and it had to be enough. Thus, the second search for the Palaos ended in failure as well.

However, the unfortunate outcome of such holy efforts did not deter them. In **1710**, the task was taken in hand once more. This time, two vessels were equipped for it, namely one sloop and one patache. Although the sloop was smaller, it became the flagship, while the patache became the almiranta. It was easier for the sloop to lead the way and to explore the depth of the sea, as well as the coasts and harbors of the islands to be found, because it could sail closer to them. Fr. Bobadilla went aboard the flagship, while Father Tuberon [rather Dubéron] and Cortil, both natives of Flanders, boarded the almiranta. The almiranta sailed first and anchored in a seaport situated in the San Bernardino Strait, until the flagship could follow. The latter did not wait long but soon followed the almiranta and reached the area where it had anchored. However, when it prepared to enter the said harbor, the pilot made an error, and the sloop became lodged between sunken reefs, and was shipwrecked. Fortunately, however, the people were saved and the cargo could be unloaded and taken ashore. To add to this mishap, Fr. Bobadilla found that he had contracted a bloody dysentery and therefore had to stay home this time.

In the meantime, the patache, which was supposed to be the almiranta, had sailed for the Palaos. Aboard it were Fathers Dubéron and Cortil as well as the above-mentioned Palao Islander (with his wife and young son) who was to act as interpreter and loyal assistant, should they be lucky enough to reach the Palaos.

This good plan almost worked, for the Palaos were finally located, and one of the islands was already in sight. The ship sailed straight toward it, and it was reasonable to expect that this time the holy task would be completed. However, the unwarranted eagerness of some men from the ship as well as the interfering current had the result that the undertaking was again not only fruitless but also tragic. Before the discovered

island was reached and while the ship was still at quite a distance from it, some could not wait and jumped head over heel into the boat that had been lowered into the water. The two missionary Fathers followed their example and urging, as did the above-mentioned Palao Islander. These approximately 10 to 12 people, who were equipped neither with food nor other necessities, rowed toward the island with all their might and at great speed. However, the island quashed their hopes. They were never able to reach it, and the increasing ocean current pulled them more and more off course. Soon they were too weak to keep rowing. The boat simply drifted, and the patache finally lost sight of it. The patache wanted to follow and search for the lost boat and to catch up with it, but it was swept up by another ocean current which carried it not only away from the discovered island, but back to the Philippines. Those in the boat were lost, and their fate is unknown to this day.

According to Welt-Bott by Fr. Stöcklein, vol. II, part IX, N° 222, fol. 6, a letter written by Fr. Philippe Cazier, Missionary of the Society of Jesus, from Canton on 5 November 1720, seemed to indicate that the boat torn away from the patache had reached the Palaos, and that Fathers Dubéron and Cortil were killed by the islanders there, but this is pure speculation.¹ Fr. Bobadilla disagrees. In his opinion, they and their companions were killed by starvation and not by the islanders. Be that as it may, the only use of this third voyage was that the Palaos had been sighted, and that their location had been noted.

The devotion of our Society in the Philippines did not rest. In 1711, missionaries were sent for the fourth time to find the Palaos. They were Fr. Andrés Serrano (who in 1707 had brought the new mission band to Manila from Europe, including our three Fathers Procurators José Bobadilla, Buenaventura Plana and Augustin Soler), and Fr. Ignacio Crespo as well as Brother Estevan Banden [i.e. Étienne Baudin]. These three sailed from Cavite, and their plan was to reach the Palaos from the Philippines. However, even before they reached the open sea, the ship which was to take them to the Palaos ran aground near Marinduque and was lost with everyone on board, including our missionaries.

So many mishaps and fruitless enterprises in their search for the Palaos finally made our missionaries believe that the time had not yet come when God wished to order the conversion of the natives of the Palaos. They abandoned the incomplete project and postponed its implementation to another time, when a provident and merciful Heaven would be more favorably inclined toward our desires and efforts. Thus almost 18 years passed without an effort to reach the said islands, until the Holy Ghost again stirred the interest in our Philippine missionaries. In particular, Fr. Juan Antonio Cantova, who had been sent by the Milan Province as a missionary to the Philippines, wanted to

1 Ed. note: Not really so. Fr. Kropff was misinformed. See the primary-source documents under 1710.

make a new beginning at an appropriate place, and he seriously planned the discovery of the Palaos, which he organized in a diligent manner.

In 1729 (the year when the Most Reverend Fr. Michelangelo Tamburini¹ ordered our present mission band to the Philippines), Fr. Cantova left [for] the Mariana Islands and sailed to be satisfied with his good intentions for that year, and He ordained that the patache fell victim to the currents which drove it off course and to the Philippine Islands, where the ship was unlucky enough to sink in port. All aboard as well as the cargo went to the bottom. Only Fr. Cantova was fortunate. He witnessed the shipwreck, but he had already gone ashore; he therefore was able to make his way to Manila.

This new mishap, and the unsuccessful search for the Palaos, earned them a new name: the Spaniards now called them **las Islas Encantadas**, the Bewitched Islands, as if Hell itself had played games with the preachers of the faith, blocking the way and the entrance to the Palaos with its powers which God tolerates. Fr. Cantova, who knew that the portals of Hell and all the powers of Hell will eventually have to succumb to the almighty arm of Him who commands the oceans and the winds, did not fear this new name of the Palaos. He commended the matter to Heaven as his own affair and planned a new voyage to the Palaos. He did not stay in Manila for long, but soon sailed in a patache for the Mariana Islands.² There he hurriedly made the necessary arrangements, modified the patache he had brought with him and then prepared for this next voyage to the Palaos, or Caroline Islands.

On 11 February 1731 A.D., Fr. Cantova sailed from the Mariana Islands and set the course that was to take him to the Palaos. His companion was Fr. Victor Walter, who had left our beloved Upper German Province for Ostend in the Low Countries in 1721 together with Fr. Xavier Urfahrer to sail for Cadiz, where they had met the other Philippine missionaries assembled under Fr. Augustin Soler, who all sailed for Veracruz with the Quicksilver Fleet. They stayed in New Spain until the Philippine galleon reached Acapulco, and it took them to the Mariana Islands where they remained together until 1731. Then Fr. Victor Walter had the good fortune to be picked by God through the Superiors to accompany Fr. Cantova on such a holy mission.

However, the ship, in which the two new Palao Island missionaries sailed from the Marianas, was nothing but a large barque, manned by 9 ship's boys, or young deck hands. It is better to sail to those islands with small vessels to explore the sea around them, sea ports, etc. The barque's pilot was Fr. Cantova himself, who had learned the art of navigation for the sake of salvation, and who, as his companion, Fr. Walter, wrote in the letter he sent to us, was already well experienced in it. The apostolic devotion of the successors of the Apostle to the World, St. Paul, is so great that no skill or other endeavor is too wordly or indifferent so it could not be raised by God's profound love to the level of a spiritual tool for the honor of God and His Church. So well did

1 Ed. note: He was General of the Jesuits from 1706 to 1730. However, the first voyage of Fr. Cantova took place in 1722; in 1729, he tried to go from Manila to Guam.

2 Ed. note: He did, in fact, stay in Manila for 8 years, from 1722 to 1730.

our pilot know to set his ship's course for the Palaos that after 18 days (a slow journey, considering how close the Palaos are from the Marianas, but a happy one) they not only sighted the Palaos, but reached them, actually setting foot on them and starting to live there. Fr. Cantova's and his companion's (Fr. Walter's) first concern was to surround their shelter with a solid fence made of woven branches to secure themselves and their crew against any attack, to erect crosses in several places on the islands, to baptize the children and to explain some of the Christian doctrine to the adults. To make it easier and faster for him to disseminate this doctrine, he placed the greatest emphasis on teaching the boys Christian doctrine and Christian prayers, so that he could send many of them as young apostles to preach the Gospel. Everything looked well, and the missionaries could hope to fill these islands with new Christians within a short time, specially since the inhabitants of these chick-peas (this is what the word "garbanzos" means by which the islands are known to the Spaniards) do not have many vices other than their superstition, and one has to marvel at their virtue. The women have their very own baths where no men are allowed. As soon as the sun goes down, no-one is allowed to enter the house of married people. As I have learned partly from a letter by Fr. Cantova, partly from a letter by Fr. Victor Walter,¹ these newly-discovered Garbanzo Islands (or "**Islas de los Dolores**," which Fr. Cantova has so named in honor of Our Lady of Sorrows, because the Friday on which he discovered them was the second day of the novena in honor of this Lady) lie very close together at distances of only about two miles from each other. They are very small. Falalep is only two miles around, the others only one mile around. They are ruled by the King of Yap. Yap is a large island about 50 miles southwest of the Palaos.² Even farther southwest are the large Panleu Islands [i.e. modern Palau]. Since the mission on Falalep proceeded well, and Fr. Cantova had been told about those other islands, the missionary's devotion was soon directed also toward planting the seed of evangelism in that faraway field. Because food was already in short supply for the deck hands, he decided to board his vessel and fetch some necessities from the Mariana Islands, but also to ask the Fathers Superior for two more missionaries. He was hoping to carry the light of the faith to the Island of Yap and the other above-mentioned islands as soon as the mission on the Islands of the Palaos had solidified.

Everything was ready for sailing when suddenly a Garbanzo Islander, who had been carried to the Mariana Islands by the currents years ago, returned to the Island of Falalep. Because he had heard some complaints against Spanish domination during his stay in the Mariana Islands, he now spread detrimental gossip against the missionaries, saying that these people had come only to burden the islanders with the same Spanish yoke under which he had heard the Mariana Islanders sigh. Such talk caused at least some suspicion among the Indians, and their affection for the Fathers started to wane somewhat. Upon Fr. Walter's advice, Fr. Cantova decided to remain on the island

1 Ed. note: Document 1731A1.

2 Ed. note: Only Ulithi atoll is meant here.

rather than board the ship. Since he was better able to converse with the islanders in their language, it was easier for him to remove their suspicion. He therefore sent Fr. Walter to the Mariana Islands aboard the mission's sloop. However, he reached the Philippines instead, because the currents drove him there. It is therefore necessary for Fr. Walter to sail to the Mariana Islands from the Philippines. We will be able to report at a later date what has happened with Fr. Cantova in the meantime. As soon as we arrive at Manila, it will be decided who among the missionaries freshly arrived from Europe will have the good fortune to accompany Fr. Walter to the Garbanzos and to work there in the newly-planted vineyard of the Lord.

Acapulco, 6 March 1732.

To all the Reverend Fathers and Brothers in my dearest Upper German Province,

Servant in Christ,

Joseph Kropff, Society of Jesus, missionary for the Philippines.

Document 1732B

**Revised orders for the management of the
Manila-Acapulco galleons****Letter from the King to Governor de la Torre, dated
Aranjuez 26 April 1742**

Source: AGI Fil. 334, libro 15, fol. 40-41, pp. 131-133.

Note: Reference is made to a book of instructions printed at Manila: Valdés Tamón, Fernando. Instrucciones y ordenanzas que han de observar los generales... (Manila, 1732). These instructions were the forerunner to more detailed ordinances published in 1757 (see Doc. 1757B).

Original text in Spanish.

Al Governador de Philipinas: previniendole se han aprobado las instrucciones que formo su antecesor Don Fernando Valdes Tamon para lo generales, y demas gente de mar, y guerra de los galeones de aquellas Islas.

El Rey.

Don Gaspar de la Torre Gentilhombre de mi Camara Brigadier de mis exercitos Governador y Capitan General de las Islas Philipinas, y Presidente de mi Real Audiencia de ellas.

En carta de 6 de Julio del año de 1732 dio cuenta Don Fernando Valdes Tamon, vuestro antecesor en esos cargos de que habiendo hallado las Instrucciones que se davan a los Generales, y Almirantes de los Galeones de esa carrera con muchos abusos, corrigio, y añadió en ellas algunas circunstancias las quales se empezarian a practicar por el General de la Nao que quedava para despacharse al Puerto de Acapulco en el citado año de 1732, y lo continuarian los demas, entretanto que, en vista de ellas, me dignase de tomar la providencia que tubiese por combeniente.

Y aviendose visto en mi Consejo de las Indias, un trasumpto impreso de la nuevas Instrucciones, y ordenanzas mandadas publicar por el referido Don Fernando Valdes Tamon vuestro antecesor con lo que acerca de ellas dijo mi Fiscal, y consultadome sobre ello en 11 de Octubre del año de 1737, atendiendo a que se ha reconocido que los Capítulos que comprehenden son muy arreglados, y conformes a lo que deben observar los Generales, Almirantes, y demas gente de mar, y guerra de los Galeones que de esas Islas hacen viage a la Nueva España; he resuelto aprobar (como apruebo) las citadas

instrucciones, y en su consecuencia coordeno, y mando, cuydeis de la puntual observancia de ellas que assi combiene a mi servicio.

Fha en Aranjuez a 26 de Abril de 1742.

Yo el Rey.

*Por mandado del Rey nuestro Señor,
Don Fernando Triviño.*

Translation.

To the Governor of the Philippines, advising him that the Instructions that his predecessor, Don Fernando Valdés Tamón, wrote for the generals, the seamen and marines of the galleons of those Islands have been approved.

The King.

Don Gaspar de la Torre, Gentleman of my Chamber, Brigadier of my armies, Governor and Captain General of the Philippine Islands, and President of my Royal Audiencia there.

In a letter dated 6 July 1732, Don Fernando Valdés Tamón, your predecessor in that post, reported that he had found that the Instructions there were being given to the Generals and Admirals of the galleons of that run had been much abused; so, he corrected them and added a few circumstances. The implementations of them began with the General of the galleon that was then about to be despatched to the port of Acapulco in said year of 1732,¹ and the future generals will continue to carry them out, until such time as I, in view of them, would take the decision that would be appropriate.

And a printed copy of the new Instructions and ordinances, which the above-said Don Fernando Valdés Tamón, your predecessor, had ordered published having been seen in my Council of the Indies, along with what my Fiscal said about them, I was consulted about it on 11 October 1737, and it was recognized that the chapters contained therein are well arranged, and suitable for their observance by the Generals, Admirals, seamen and marines of the galleons that make the voyage from those Islands to New Spain: I have decided to approve (as I do now) the above-referenced instructions, and as a consequence, I order you to make sure that they be observed exactly, as such is proper for my service.

Made at Aranjuez, 26 April 1742.

I the King.

By order of the King our Lord,
Don Fernando Triviño.

[See Appendix 1 for the Instructions themselves.]

1 Ed. note: This was General Francisco Sanchez de Tagle, in command of the galleon Nuestra Señora de Guía.

Document 1732C

The Inquisition to their Commissioner in the Marianas, dated 1732

Source: AGN Inquisición 650, folios 448-448v.

Letter dated Mexico 6 March 1732

Original text in Spanish.

Al Comisario de las Yslas Marianas en que da haber muerto el Comisario que se hallaba 1º lugar, y aber entrado el, en el [blank] en caso de hallarse en esas Yslas el Padre Joseph Bonani, nombrado Comisario en 3º lugar, no tendra que proponer mas que uno.

En este Tribunal se recibio la de nuestro Comisario su fecha de 22 de Mayo del año proximo pasado, en que da cuenta, haver fallezido el Padre Ignazio de Ybarguen; que obtenia el 1º lugar en la Comisaria de esas Yslas Marianas, y que por falta del nombrado en 2º Padre Antonio Cantova que se alla en Philipinas, havia pasado nuestro Comisario á entregarse de los papeles de dha Comisaria, y en su bista emos mandado avisar de su recivo, y dezirle esta bien se hiziese cargo de dhos papeles y que no se duda se aplicara como lo promete, á executar lo que ocurriese y se ofreciese del Ministerio de tal Comisario; y respecto de que en tales distancias es nezesario por lo que pueda acaezzer aya quienes tengan el segundo y 3º lugar en caso de no haber bueltto a esas dhas Yslas el referido Padre Cantova nos ynformara nuestro Comisario de los Religiosos, mas aproposito que huviese en ellas para que mandamos despacharles nombramientos de tales comisarios en dhos 2º y 3º lugar; y por lo tocante a las dudas que propone nuestro Comisario, le dezimos que las denunciaiones que recibiese, y demas diligencias que se ofreciesen, executiendolas a de remitir originales a este Santo Oficio, quedando copia autentica de ellas en ese archibo por las contingencias que en tan dilatada navegacion pueden acaezzer; no es nezesario debolver las cartas originales que por este tribunal se escriben, pues en el quedan registradas; y en orden á la frecuencia, con que se deven leer, y publicar los edictos generales de la fee, se le prebiene que de tres en tres años, en el terzero y quarto Domingo de quaresma como en la Instruccion impreso que trata de dha letura se adbierte, y ordena lo qual obserbara nuestro Comisario que guarde Dios &^a

*Inquisicion de Mexico Marzo 6 de 1732.
Señores Inquisidores Nabarro, Tagle, y Clavijo; ante el Secretario Carranza.*

Translation.

To the Commissioner of the Mariana Islands, in view of the fact that Commissioner N° 1 has died, and he having replaced him, in case Father José Bonani, the N° 3 Commissioner, be found in those Islands, then he does not need to recommend more than one other candidate.

The letter from our Commissioner dated 22 March of last year has been received by this Tribunal.¹ It contained the news of the death of Father Ignacio de Iburguen, who was our N° 1 Commissioner in those Mariana Islands, and that in the absence of Father Antonio Cantova, the N° 2 Commissioner, who is in the Philippines, our [remaining] Commissioner had then taken over the papers of said office. And in view of this, we have ordered you to be sent an acknowledgment of the receipt of your letter, and to be told that it is all well that you took charge of the papers and that there is no doubt that you will apply yourself, as you promise, in the accomplishment of anything that might offer in the exercise of your ministry as said Commissioner. Given the vast distances involved, it is necessary to have someone else take over, eventually, and fill the position of N° 2, and N° 3 also, if the above-said Father Cantova has not returned to those Islands; therefore, our Commissioner will advise us of the more appropriate Religious overthere, for us to order that they be despatched their appointments as Commissioners N° 2 and N° 3. With respect to the doubts that our Commissioner has, we tell him that whatever denunciation he might receive, and other proceedings that might offer, he is to carry them out, sending the original copies of them to this Holy Office, and retaining a certified copy of them in his archives there, for any eventuality that might occur [to the originals] in the course of such a long navigation. It is not necessary to send back the original copies of the letters he receives from this tribunal, because they remain copied in our letter-books. Regarding the frequency of publication for the general edicts of the faith, he is told to publish them every three years, on the third and fourth Sunday of Lent, as mentioned in the printed Instruction specific to said reading, where it is said what our Commissioner must do.

May God save, etc.

Inquisition of Mexico, 6 March 1732.

The gentlemen Inquisitors, Navarro, Tagle, & Clavijo; before Secretary Carranza.

¹ Ed. note: Rather, in 1730, I think, as Fr. Cantova had not yet returned to Guam.

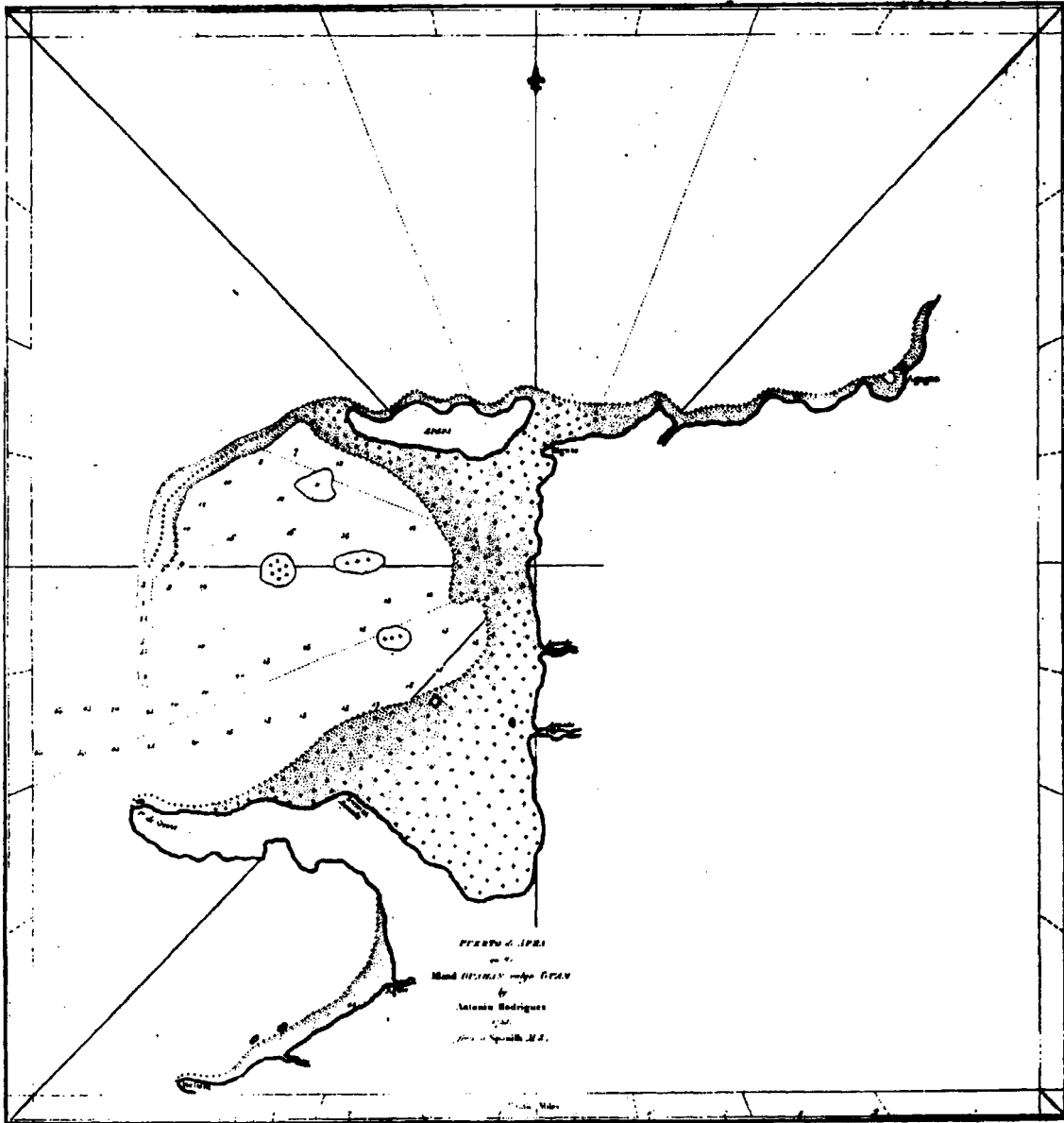


Chart of Apra Harbor, Guam, by Antonio Rodriguez, 1733. Copied from a Spanish manuscript by Alexander Dalrymple in 1781. The provenance is no doubt from the English occupation of Manila in the 1760s.

Document 1732D

The shipwreck of the patache San Fernando at Guam in 1732

Source: AGI Fil. 333, libro 13, fol. 201-201v, pp. 463-464.

Letter from the King to the Audiencia of Manila, dated Buen Retiro 22 December 1734

Original text in Spanish.

*A los ofiziales Reales de Philipinas abisandoles el recivo de su carta en que partiziparon la perdida del Barco **San Fernando** y ordenandoles den quenta de las providencias que se hubiesen tomado para averiguar dha perdida.*

El Rey

Ofiziales de mi Real Hazienda de la Ziudad de Manila en las Islas Philipinas.

*En carta de 20 de Jullio de 1733 disteis quenta de que haviendose despachado el año de 1732 por el tiempo regular a las Islas Marianas el Varco nombrado **San Fernando** para conducir el situado de ellas se tubo notizia por unos Indios que desgarrados llegaron al Puerto de Palapa que el referido varco se havia perdido por el mes de Noviembre hallandose ya en sus costas y que por ese Gobierno se havian dado las providenzias convenientes afin que se reziviere declarazion a dhos Indios para saver la forma y modo en que havia suzedido esta perdida de que discurriais daria quenta el Governador de esas Islas de lo que se hubiese averiguado en este asunto.*

Y haviendose visto en mi Consejo de las Indias la referida carta, a parecido abisaros de su recivo y ordenaros y mandaros (como lo hago) que en la primera ocasion que se ofreziere me deis quenta de lo que resultare de las providenzias que se hubieren dado para averiguar la perdida del espresado varco.

Fho en Buen Retiro a 22 de Diziembre del 1734.

Yo el Rey.

*Por mandado del Rey nuestro Señor,
Don Juan Bentura de Maturana.*

Translation.

To the Royal officials in the Philippines, acknowledging the receipt of their letter in which they report the loss of the ship **San Fernando** and ordering them to report on the measures that they took to investigate said loss.

The King.

Officials of my Royal Treasury in the City of Manila in the Philippine Islands.

In a letter dated 20 July 1733 you reported that the ship named **San Fernando** had been despatched at the regular time to the Mariana Islands with their subsidy, but it had been learned through some Indians who drifted to the port of Palapag that the ship in question had been lost during the month of November, when it was already upon its coasts, and that the appropriate measures had been taken by that Government, in order to have said Indians make declarations, to find out how this loss had occurred, and that the Governor of those Islands intended to report on the matter, once the inquiry was over.

And the above-mentioned letter having been seen in my Council of the Indies, I have decided to acknowledge the receipt thereof, and to order you (as I do now) to report at the first opportunity that may present itself on the result of the measures that you might have taken to investigate the loss of the above-mentioned ship.

Made in Buen Retiro, 22 December 1734.

I the King.

By order of the King our Lord,
Don Juan Ventura de Maturana.¹

¹ Ed. note: Neither the letter from the Audiencia dated 20 July 1733, nor their answer to the King's letter, could be found in the archives at AGI.

Document 1732E

Official government report on Fr. Cantova's expedition to the Carolines

Sources: AGI Fil. 320: copy in AHN Ultramar 5352, part 2.

Letter from Governor Valdés to the King, dated 6 July 1732**Original text in Spanish.**

El Brigadier Don Fernando Valdes Tamon, Gobernador y Capitan General de las Yslas Filipinas y Presidente de la Audiencia de Manila.—

Da quenta à V.M. del estado, y progreso del nuebo descubrimiento de las Islas Carolinas, ó Palaos, y remite Testimonio de las ultimas diligencias executadas para introducirle socorro, a que ha concurrido la parte de la Comp^a de Jesus con 1,648 pesos 4 tomines, pide, que V.M. mande reintegrar à aquellas Reales Caxas los costos causados, constantes del Testimonio y que en lo de adelante haviendose de mantener aquella Mision se le situe cantidad destinada que venga en quenta aparte.

Señor.

Los años pasados de veinte y nueve treinta y treinta y uno, se dió cuenta á V.M. por este Gobierno con testimonio de diligencias y Autos formados sobre el descubrimiento de las Yslas de los Palaos, ó Carolinas, que ha emprehendido la sagrada Compañia de Jesus; y habiendo logrado despues de tantas dificultades como se ofrecieron en otros tiempos, el que se introduyese en dichas Yslas el Padre Juan Antonio Cantova, le fué preciso despachar de la Ysla donde hizo su asiento para las Marianas al Padre Victor Valter su compañero á solicitar socorro por lo destituido que se hallan aquellas Yslas de granos y ganados, y no habiendo podido dicho Padre Victor Valter coger las Marianas por ser las corrientes muy recias y poco suficiente la embarcacion se vió precisado arribar á estas Yslas, entrando por el embocadero el mes de Julio del año inmediato pasado, y consideradas las circunstancias del estado de aquella Mision, por lo que escribió dicho Padre Juan Antonio Cantova, expresó su compañero y manifestó el Mapa, habiendose discurido distintos medios de introducir el socorro en aquellas Yslas, y ofrecidose distintas dificultades para su practica, se tomó por ultima deliveracion, con acuerdo de inteligentes, que siendo el tiempo mas proporcionado para ir de las Marianas á las Carolinas a mediado de febrero se introduyese en el Patache para dichas Ma-

*rianas el socorro, la gente y lo necesario para las Carolinas con un Barco pequeño en rosca que se mandó fabricar, para que aquellos Padres Misioneros le tubiesen á su disposicion, y aunque la parte de la sagrada compañía de Jesus á los principios que se trató este negocio ofreció concurrir con todos los gastos que se causasen, hecha la regulacion por oficiales Reales de mas de cinco mil pesos, se desistio la parte de lo ofrecido pretesando que se habia variado el medio propuesto de que el socorro para las mencionadas Yslas, saliese en defrejhura desde esta Ciudad; y premeditado el punto conferido y tratado en distintas Juntas, todo constante en el Testimonio adjunto vino a combenir la parte de la sagrada Compañia de Jesus, en dar un mil seiscientos cuarenta ocho pesos, y cuatro tomines para ayuda de los costos que se causasen; y habiendolo asi ejecutado, queda todo prevenido para el embarque en el Patache **San Fernando**, que este presente año hace viage á las Yslas Marianas, con la orden de que á su torna vuelta venga á reconocer las Carolinas, introducirle su socorro y dejar en ellas el Barco pequeño que va en rosca y se ha de armar en Marianas.*

De el mismo Testimonio se hará manifiesto á V.M. el estado de aquellas Yslas, su situacion y lo difical, que será por tan bajas reconocerlas en todos tiempos, como asi mismo los grandes costos que causaran sus socorros y como estas Reales cajas estan exhaustas de medios como tengo representado á V.M. mal podran reportar los nuevos gastos que causare el mantener aquellas Misiones, de cuya concurrencia en dichos gastos para en lo de adelante, ya se viene escusando la parte de la Compañia de Jesus, con que será preciso que deseando el Catolico [zelo] de V.M. el que esta nueva reduccion se adelante, se digne mandar que se reintegren los costos hasta aqui causados los que se expresan en el Testimonio y se situe cantidad destinada que venga en cuenta aparte, para las mencionadas Yslas, por el beneficio de aquellos pobres naturales que despues de tantos años han conseguido de la piedad Divina que se oiga en la cortedad de sus tierras la voz del Santo Evangelio en no pequeña gloria á V.M. cuya C.R.P. guarde Dios lo que la Cristiandad ha menester.

Manila y Julio seis de mil setecientos treinta y dos.

Señor.

Don Fernando Valdes Tamon.

Translation.

Brigadier Fernando Valdés Tamón, Governor and Captain General of the Philippine Islands and President of the Audiencia of Manila.—

He reports to Y.M. on the condition and progress of the new exploration of the Caroline, or Palaos, Islands and he remits the record of the last proceedings in order to introduce there some succor, part of which was contributed by the Society of Jesus, that is, 1,648 pesos and 4 tomins. He begs Y.M. to please reimburse to that Royal treasury the costs involved, as shown in the record, and in future let a sum of money be authorized for that Mission, on a separate account for this purpose.

Sire:

In the past years 1730 and 1731, this Government reported to Y.M., along with a record of the measures and proceedings regarding the exploration of the Islands of the Palaos, or Carolines, that the sacred Society of Jesus had undertaken, and has since achieved after so many difficulties, such as occurred in times past, with the introduction in said Islands of Father Juan Antonio Cantova. It became necessary for him to despatch from the island where he made his settlement to the Marianas Father Victor Walter, his companion, to solicit succor, on account of the destitute condition of those Islands in grains and cattle, but said Father Victor Walter was unable to reach the Marianas on account of very strong currents and the small size of the vessel; he saw himself obliged to turn in distress to these Islands, coming in through the Embocadero during the month of July of last year. After considering the circumstances of the condition of that Mission, according to the letter written by said Father Juan Antonio Cantova, the declaration of his companion and the evidence of the chart, various means of getting succor to those Islands were discussed, including the various difficulties of doing so; the final deliberation that took place, with the advice of experts, was that the most appropriate time to go from the Marianas to the Carolines is the middle of February. Accordingly, it was decided to place the succor, the men and the necessities for the Carolines aboard the Mariana patache, along with a small boat in pieces that was ordered built, for those missionary Fathers to have it at their disposal. And although the sacred Society of Jesus at the beginning of this business offered to contribute all the ensuing costs, once a budget exceeding 5,000 pesos had been calculated by the Royal officials, it withdrew its offer, protesting that the [original] project, of sending the succor from this city directly to the above-mentioned Islands, had been modified. Once the points in question had been discussed in various Meetings, all recorded in the proceedings (enclosed), the Society of Jesus finally agreed to give 1,648 pesos and 4 tomins, as a partial contribution to the overall costs. This was accepted and the succor, etc. were loaded on board the patache **San Fernando**, which makes the voyage to the Mariana Islands this year. It carried an order to make its return voyage by way of the Carolines, to introduce their succor there, and leave there the small boat that goes in pieces and is to be assembled in the Marianas.

From the same record of proceedings, Y.M. will appreciate the condition of those Islands, their situation and the difficulty of sighting them at all times, as well as the great expenses that their succors will cause and, since this Royal treasury is without funds, as I have reported to Y.M., it will hardly be able to sustain any of the new expenditures for the maintenance of those Missions, specially since the contribution of the Society of Jesus is a one-time affair; that is why it will be necessary, if the Catholic zeal of Y.M. wishes to have this new reduction proceed further, for you to be pleased to order that the expenses made so far, as shown by the record, be reimbursed and that a sum destined to the above-mentioned Islands be budgetted for, in a separate account. for the benefit of those poor natives who after so many years have obtained from the Divine mercy that the words of the Holy Gospel be heard in their small islands, at no

small glory to Y.M., whose Catholic and Royal person may God save as Christendom needs.

Manila, 6 July 1732.

Sire:

Don Fernando Valdés Tamón.

Notes: In 1769, there were seized among the Jesuit papers in Manila, some account books with the list of the items sent from Mexico to the College of Guam, for the following years: **1732, 1764, and 1765** (ref. AHN Clero Jesuitas, Leg. 891, doc. n° 1, fol. 425v).

Documents 1733A

The Inquisition to their Commissioner in the Marianas, dated 1733

Source: AGN Inquisición 650, folios 455v-456v.

A1. Letter dated Mexico 14 March 1733

Original text in Spanish.

Al Comisario de las Yslas Marianas remitiendole el edicto.

Con esta remitimos a nuestro Comisario de las Yslas Marianas el edicto adjunto del Excelentísimo Señor Obispo Inquisitor General en que nuebamente se repite y publique el del Excelentísimo Señor Don Diego de Arze y Reynoso del año de 1660 para que luego que lo reciba haga que el notario de este Santo Oficio en un dia festivo lo lea, y publique en la Yglesia de esta cavezera de esas Yslas, despues del Evangelio de la misa mayor que en ella se zelebrara y que fecho se fixe en la parte acostumbrada de dicha yglesia remitiendonos zertificazion de su execuzion y cumplimiento.

Guarde Dios a nuestro Comisario &^a

Inquisicion de Mexico Marzo 14 de 1733 años.

Sres. Inquisidores Navarro, Tagle y Clavijo, ante el Secretario Carranza.

Translation.

To the Commissioner of the Mariana Islands, remitting the edict.

With the present we remit to our Commissioner of the Mariana Islands the attached edict from His Most Excellent Lordship, the Bishop Inquisitor General, for the repetition and new publication of the edict first issued by His Most Excellent Lordship, Don Diego de Arce y Reynoso, in 1660, so that as soon as received the notary of this Holy Office will read it on a holiday, and publish it in the church of the capital of those Islands, after the Gospel at the high mass that will be celebrated therein, and, once over, it is to be fixed to the usual place in said church, and you are to send us a certification that this was indeed done and carried out.

May God save our Commissioner, etc.

The Inquisition of Mexico, 14 March 1733.

The gentlemen Inquisitors, Navarro, Tagle, & Clavijo, before Secretary Carranza.

A2. Letter to Fr. Bonani, dated Mexico 16 March 1733

Original text in Spanish.

Al Padre Joseph Bonani Vize Provinzial de las Yslas Marianas y Comisario de este Santo Oficio deziendole no a lugar a lo que se pide de que recayga el empleo de Comisario en el Vize Provinzial.

Por parte del Padre Agustin Soler Procurador General de la Provincia de la Compañía de Jesus de Philipinas y de las misiones de esas Yslas Marianas, se represento en este Tribunal, que estando para salir de ellas para la de los Palaos el Padre Phelipe María Furnari Comisario de este Santo Ofizio, seria combeniente que el Ministerio de tal Comisaria estuviera anexo al de Vize Provinzial de las dichas Yslas por los fundamentos que expresa y que al presente lo hera nuestro Comisario Padre Joseph Bonani; y en vista de dicha representacion se á acordado dezirle no se puede despachar nombramiento de Comisario en la forma referida, para el que en lo adelante fuese tal Vize Provinzial y sí solo se da y confiere facultad, para que quando llegase el caso de no haver Comisario nombrado por este Santo Ofizio en esas dichas Yslas pueda evaquar y executar lo que ocurriese, y se ofreziere tocante y perteneziente a el, el Vize Provinzial que entonzes fuese, pero con el cargo, y obligacion de dar cuenta al Tribunal en primera ocassion proponiendo sugetos los mas aproposito para tales Comisarios como lo podra hazer en respecto de esta nuestro Comisario respecto de haver quedado solo.

Guarde Dios &^a

Inquisicion de Mexico 16 de Marzo de 1733 años.

Sres. Inquisidores Nabarro, Tagle y Clavijo.—Por ante el Secretario Carranza.

Translation.

To Father José Bonani, Vice-Provincial of the Mariana Islands and Commissioner of this Holy Office, telling him that there is no reason for the job of Commissioner to fall to the Vice-Provincial, as he requested.

On the part of Father Augustin Soler, Procurator General of the Society of Jesus for the Province of the Philippines and the missions of those Mariana Islands, representation was made in this Tribunal to the effect that Father Felipe María Furnari, Commissioner of this Holy Office, being about to leave from there and go to the Islands of the Palaos, it would be proper for the ministry associated with that post to be attached to that of the Vice-Provincial of said Islands, for the reasons that he states and that at present is filled by our Commissioner, Father José Bonani. In view of said representation, it was decided to tell you that the appointment of Commissioner cannot be despatched in the manner in question, that is, to whomever would be Vice-Provincial in future. However, he is given the authority, should the case arise that there no longer be any Commissioner appointed by this Holy Office in said Islands, the then-Vice-Provincial may transact and carry out what may occur, and offer regarding and belonging to him, but he would remain obliged to report to the Tribunal at the first

opportunity, with a recommendation on the more appropriate individuals for such Commissioners, as he might do, now that our Commissioner has been left alone.

May God, etc.

The Inquisition of Mexico, 16 March 1733.

The gentlemen Inquisitors, Navarro, Tagle, & Clavijo, before Secretary Carranza.

Document 1733B

Letter from Fr. Bonani to Fr. Bombardi, dated Guam 20 May 1733

Sources: Stöcklein's Welt-Bott XXVII, n° 541; copy of the original in Archivo Histórico de la Provincia de Aragon, Barcelona, ms. E-I-a-18.

Note: Fr. Bonani reports his own transfer from Rota to Guam in 1729, and the sorrowful result of the 1731 Cantova expedition to the Carolines, and the shipwreck suffered by Fr. Walter. Since this shipwreck occurred in 1732 (see Doc. 1732D), it appears that this letter was written in 1732, and only completed in May 1733.

Published text in German.

Brieff Patris Josephi Bonani, Missionarii auf denen Marianischen Inseln, aus der Oesterreichischen Provinz der Gesellschaft JEsu, An Rev. Pater Udalricum Bombardi, der Zeit des Collegii und der Universität derselbigen Gesellschaft zu Grätz Rectorn.

Geschrieben auf der Marianischen Insel Guahan den 20ten May 1733.

Inhalt. I. Pater Bonani bauet in seiner neuen Kirch der Mutter GOTTes einen Altar. II. Er meldet von denen aufgesuchten, und glücklich gefundenen Inseln Palaos. III. Pater Victor Walter, welcher von Adm. Rev. Patre Cantova einige Nohtdürften für die neue Mission beyzuschaffen, zuruck geschicket worden ware, leidet bey denen Marianischen Inseln Schiff-Bruch.

Ehrwürdiger Pater in Christo!

P.C.

Je minder ich mir eingebildet hatte, daß Euer Ehrwürden hinführo mit mir einen Brieff-Wechsel fortsetzen wurden, desto schätzbarer und angenehmer ware jenes, ob schon kurze, Schreiben, welches dieselbige im Brach-Monat 1729. mit einigen Geistlichen Geschencken an mich ergehen lassen, und mir eben im Brach-Monat 1731. ist eingehändiget worden. Je grösseren Trost ich nun an der Gedächtnuß eines so aufrichtigen Freundes empfunden hab, desto aufrichtigeren Danck sage ich Euer Ehrwürden sowol für diese, als für die überschickte Bildnussen, unter welchen, da ich die Inspruggische Gnaden-Mutter in ihrer Bildnuß ersehen, hab ich mich von zärttesten Thränen

nicht enthalten können, angesehen mir also bald die Gutthaten, und sonderbare Gnaden zu Gemüht gekommen, welche mir die Wunderthätige Mutter sowol zu Insprug, als zu Passau erweisen. Ich empfunde auch also bald in mir einen heimlichen Antrieb der Himmels-Königin unter dieser Vorstellung der sogenannten Mariæ-Hülff-Bildnuß in einer ganz neuen Kirch einen Altar aufzubauen: und hab desentwegen neinen Geistlichen Kram emsig durchsuchet, ob ich nicht etwann ein auf Papier getrucktes Mariæ-Hülff-Bild in gehöriger Grösse finden wurde, welches mir zu diesem Absehen dienen mögte. Und in der That hab ich eines, obschon ganz alt, und abgenutztes gefunden, welches die Insprugische und Passauische Bildnuß lebhaft vorstellt, dieses hab ich mit sorgfältigem Fleiß zusammen gerichtet, und mit frischen Farben übermalen lassen, und zur öffentlichen Verehrung auf den Altar gestellt.

Die alte Gewohnheit alle Samstag in der Fruhe ein gesungenes Lob-Amt, Abends aber die Lauretanische Lob-Sprüch mit meinem versammelten Volck abzusingen ist schon vor Jahren eingeführt worden: und diese wird anjetzo mit grösserem Eifer fortgesetzt. Was wurde erst geschehen, wann ich ein von einem nicht so viel Kunst- als liebreichen Pemsel entworfenes Mariæ-Hülff-Bild auf den Altar zu stellen hatte? Ich zweifle ganz und gar nicht, daß die aufrichtige Freundschaft bey Euer Ehrwürden, als einem besonderen Liebhaber unserer allerliebsten Mutter so viel vermögte, das dieselbige meinen Begierden willfahren wurde, wann nicht gleichsam so unüberwindliche Beschwernussen etwas dergleichen in so weit entfernete Eilande zu überschicken in dem Weeg stunden. Ich befridige mich gern mit deme, daß Euer Ehrwürden mich in ihrem Gebett, und heiligen Meß-Opfern der Himmels-Königin anbefehlen, damit sie mich zu einem mindesten Leib-eigenen aufnehmen, und meine mühesame Arbeit, die ich zum Heil meiner armen Indianern verrichte, mit ihrem liebsten Sohn genehm halten wolle.

Wann wir auch keine irrende Schäflein in den Schaaff-Stall Christi bringen, ist es doch kein Kleines die reissende Wölff; ich verstehe die arglistige Teuffeln, und die weltliche Miedling abzuhalten, damit jene die neue Heerd Christi nicht betriegen, diese aber mit unmenschlichen Auflagen nicht untertruckten, oder durch ärgerliche Beyspiel von dem Weeg des HErrn ableiten. Gibt es sonst nicht viel zu arbeiten, so gibt es von diesen beyden Feinden desto mehr zu leiden. Ich fänge erst jetzt an jene Wort des gekrönten Propheten recht zu verstehen. **Bene patientes erunt, ut annuncient.** Ps. 91, v. 15.

Wir hoffen, daß die Zeit bald kommen werde, daß sich ein grösseres Feld eröfne den Evangelischen Saamen auszuwerffen: wo es dann an Arbeit nicht mangeln wird. Ich verstehe die Volckreiche Insel Jap. Und obschon, nachdente P. Joannes Antonius Cantova zweymal einen vergeblichen Versuch gethan hatte, auch das dritte Mal anstatt neue Inseln zu entdecken, 1722. auf die Philippinische Eilande zuruck getrieben worden, und aus Besehl der Oberen all dort vier Jahr die GOTTes-Wissenschaft ausgeleget, hat er doch nach überwundenem sehr harten Widerstand sowol von Seiten der Geistlichen, als weltlichen Obrigkeit, endlich von beyden die erwünschte Erlaubnuß erhalten, diesen Wasser-Zug zum viertenmal zu wagen.

Er bestiege Anno 1729. das Schiff, und richtete den Lauff nach unseren Marianischen Inseln; allein nachdeme er drey Monat auf dem Meer herum geirret, haben die widrige

Winde das Schiff abermal auf die Philippinische Inseln zuruck geworffen, und er hat noch darzu im Port gescheitert, mit Verlurst aller Sachen, welche er für die vermeinte Mission durch sechs Jahr gesammelt, und muste noch GOtt dancken, daß er sein Leben gerettet hat.

Der Eifer Patris Antonii liesse sich durch dieses Unglück nicht abschrecken, er lasset seinen Fahr-Zeug so gut als möglich ausbesseren, und gehet, zwar nicht ohne grosser Gefahr doch unter dem Schutz der allerseligsten Lauretanischen Jungfrau, welche er zu seiner Schiff-Patronin erwählet, dero Bildnuß aber auf seine Flaggen mahlen, und aufstecken lassen, beherzt unter Seegel, und ist im Wein-Monat 1730. bey uns angeländet. Wir haben ihn allda mit allen Lebens-Mitteln versehen, und einen Fahr-Zeug zugerichtet seine erwünschte Inseln zu erreichen. Eines gienge noch ab: nemlich er hatte Erlaubnuß einen Gefehrten mit sich zu nemmen, der von dem Pater Superior solte benennet werden. O wie hab ich mich bemühet, wie heftig gebetten, daß ich dieser Mitgefahrt seyn könnte: allein! doch fiele das Looß auf einen anderen Tiroler von Brixen, nemlich auf den Pater Victor Walter, einen eiferigen Apostolischen Mann aus der Ober-Teutschen Provinz.

Den 11ten Hornung 1731. seegelten sie ab: und wir erhielten noch selbiges Jahr eine von Pater Antonio Cantova an den General Procurator abgefertigte Nachricht von dem guten Fortgang der Carolinischen Mission, welchen ich Euer Ehrwürden getreulich mittheile. Seit zwey Jahren aber haben wir von ihnen keine Nachricht bekommen. GOTT stärke die eiferige Patres, und segne ihre Arbeit.

Ich wolte den Brieff schon schliessen, da hörte ich unverhoft, daß ein Schiff, welches schon zwey Jahr ausgeblieben, angekommen, und auf demselbigen Pater Victor Walter, mit nöhtigen Lebens-Mitteln versehen, dem P. Cantova bey denen Garbanços beyzuspringen angelendet seye. Aber (wie GOtt wunderbar ist in seinen Anbettens-würdigen Anschlägen) da das Schiff würcklich in den Port einfuhre, scheiteret dasselbige, und ist der mehreste Theil der EB-Waaren, die Nochtwendigkeit für unsere Mission, und was uns am meisten schmerzete, aller Zeug zu Ausrüstung eines neuen Schiffs für die Carolinische Mission zu Grund gegangen, das Eisen allein, so wir den Fahr-Zeug zu befestigen nöhtig hatten, ist errettet worden. Jetzt strecken wir die Händ zur neuen Arbeit dapfer aus, damit wir mit unserem Schiff-Bau aufs wenigst zu Ende dieses Monats fertig werden, und es abstossen können zu erfahren, ob Pater Cantova sich noch in diesem Leben befinde, oder zu einem besseren übergangen seye.

Ich befinde mich seit dem 16ten Christ-Monat 1729. auf der Insel Guahan, wohin mich der Gehorsam von der Insel Rota übersetzt hat. Es hätte wenig gefehlet, daß ich denen Meer-Fischen auf dieser Schiff-Fahrt zur Speise worden wäre, wir hatten uns wegen bevorstehender augenscheinlicher Gefahr schon zu dem Tod bereit: nachdeme wir aber den gnädigen Meer-Stern, ich sage die Allerseligste Mutter GOTTes, und unsern heiligen Vatter Ignatium um Beystand, die arme Seelen um Hülf angeruffen hatten, haben wir um Mitternacht das Land glücklich erreicht. Eines deren zwey anderen Schiffen, die uns begleitet, ist den anderen Tag um Mittag, das andere nach dreyen Tügen in den Port eingelauffen. Es wartet ohne Zweifel ein anderer Tod auf mich. GOtt

gebe! daß, was es immer für einer seye, er zur Ehre GOTTes, und vieler Seelen Heil gereiche. Letztlichen befehle ich mich in Euer Ehrwürden und aller Freunden heiliges Gebett, und Meß-Opfer. Dergleichen geistliche Beysteuern ist uns sehr nohtwendig, damit wir desto mehr zu bevorstehenden Mühewaltungen von GOtt gestärcket worden.

Auf der Marianischen Insel Guahan den 20ten May-Monats 1733.

Euer Ehrwürden

Diener in Christo,

Josephus Bonani S.J. Missionarius.

Translation, by P.H.

Letter from Fr. José Bonani, missionary in the Mariana Islands from the Jesuit Province of Austria, to Rev. Fr. Udalrico Bombardi, formerly missionary of the said Society in China, at present Rector of the College and University of said Society in Graz.

Written on the Island of Guam, Mariana Islands, on 20 May 1733.

Contents: I. Fr. Bonani is building an altar to the Mother of God in his new church. II. He reports about the Palaos Islands which were searched for and finally found. III. Fr. Victor Walter, who was sent back by the Most Rev. Fr. Cantova to procure some necessities, was shipwrecked near the Mariana Islands.

Reverend Father in Christ:

Peace of Christ!

The less I had hoped that Your Reverence would continue a correspondence with me, the more appreciative and pleased I was to receive your letter, even though it was short, which you sent me in June 1729, together with some spiritual presents, and which I received in June 1731. The more comfort I felt to be remembered by such a true friend, the more I thank Your Reverence for those presents as well as for the pictures you sent. When I found a picture of Our Lady of Mercy of Innsbruck among them, I could not hold back my tears because I remembered the good deeds and special favors which Our Lady of Mercy of Innsbruck and of Passau had done me. As soon as I saw this picture of the so-called Lady of Mercy, I felt inside me a powerful urge to erect an altar to the Queen of Heaven in a very new church, using this image. For that reason, I have looked through all my spiritual things, hoping to find a paper print of Our Lady of Mercy in the right size which might serve me for just that purpose. And indeed I have found one, albeit very old and worn print, which is a lifelike representation of the Innsbruck and Passau pictures. I have taken much pain to restore it. I had it painted over with fresh colors and then placed it upon the altar where it can be publicly admired.

Some years ago the old custom had been introduced here to assemble my people on Saturday morning to sing hymns of praise and in the evening to sing the Litany of our

Lady of Loreto. We are now continuing this custom with even greater devotion. I wonder what would happen if I could place upon the altar a picture of Our Lady of Mercy painted by a brush other than that which we used, which was guided not so much by art as by love? I do not doubt that the true friendship which you, Your Reverence, as a special admirer of our most loved Lady, feel would make it possible to fulfill my wish if it were not for the virtually insurmountable obstacle that such an item cannot be sent to islands so far away. I will gladly be satisfied if Your Reverence would commend me to the Queen of Heaven in your prayers and holy sacrifices so that she will accept me as a low servant and with her dearest Son look kindly upon the arduous work which I am doing for the salvation of my poor Indians.

Even though we may not be driving any stray lambs into the sheep-fold of Christ, it is by no means an easy task to keep the ravenous wolves, i.e. the cunning devils, away from corrupting the new flock of Christ and to keep the worldly soldiers away so they do not suppress them with inhuman demands or lead them astray from the path of the Lord by their bad example. Although there is not much work otherwise, these two foes are giving me plenty of trouble. It is only now that I begin to understand the words of the glorious prophet: *Bene patientes erunt, ut annuncient* (Psalm 91:15).¹

We hope that the time will come soon when a larger field will open in which we can plant the seed of the Gospel, and where there will be no lack of work. I mean the populous Island of Yap. Fr. Juan Antonio Cantova, after making two attempts to discover the islands, was driven back to the Philippines during his third attempt in 1722 as well, where he was ordered by his Superiors to interpret God's teachings for four years. Finally he overcame some very hard resistance from the clergy as well as from the worldly authorities and was finally given permission to venture on his fourth ocean voyage.

He boarded the ship in 1729 A.D. and set his course for our Mariana Islands. However, after being tossed about on the ocean for three months, the contrary winds again drove him back to the Philippines, where his ship became stranded in a port. He lost all the things which he had collected for the planned mission over a period of six years, and he had to thank God for saving his life.

The devotion of Fr. Antonio was not diminished by this mishap. He had his vessel repaired as well as possible. Not without great risk, but under the protection of the Blessed Virgin of Loreto, whom he had selected as patron saint for his ship and whose picture he had painted on its flags and hoisted, he bravely set sails. He landed here in October 1730. We supplied him with all necessary food items and provided him with another vessel in which he could reach his islands. I should also mention that he was permitted to take one companion with him who was named by our Father Superior. O how I tried, how I prayed to be that companion, but alas, the chosen man was another

¹ Ed. note: A Latin phrase from the Vulgate Bible meaning: "They waited very patiently, until they were announced." The reference given corresponds to Psalm 90 in English Bibles: "When he calls me, I will answer him."

Tyrolean, from Brixen, namely Fr. Victor Walter, a devout apostolic man from the Upper German Province.

On 11 February 1731, they sailed off. In the same year we received a message sent by Fr. Antonio Cantova to the Procurator General, about the good development of the mission in the Caroline Islands, which I have already reported faithfully to Your Reverence. We have not had news from them for two years now. May God strengthen the devout Fathers and bless their work.

I just wanted to close this letter, when I unexpectedly learned that a ship, which had been overdue for two years, had landed and delivered said Fr. Victor Walter who was bringing the necessary food items to Fr. Cantova in the Garbanzos Islands. But (how strangely are God's admirable ways), when the ship entered the actual port,¹ it sank. Most of the food, the necessities for our mission and—most pitiful of all—all equipment for outfitting a new boat for the Caroline Island mission ended up on the bottom. Only the iron with which we had to reinforce the vessel was saved. Now we bravely extend our hands to perform new work, hoping to finish our ship-building at least by the end of this month, so that we can sail and find out whether Fr. Cantova is still in this life or whether he has moved on to a better life.

Since December 1729, I am on the Island of Guahan, to which I was ordered to move from the Island of Rota. I came close to being food for the fishes of the sea during that voyage, but we had already prepared to die because it was apparent that danger was near. However, after we had asked the merciful ocean star, i.e. the Most Blessed Mother of God, and our Holy Fr. Ignatius for assistance and the poor souls for help, we finally reached land by midnight. Without a doubt, another kind of death is waiting for me. I hope to God that whatever death it may be, it will be for the glory of God and the salvation of many souls. To the latter I commend myself to the holy prayers and sacrifices of Your Reverence and those of all our friends. Such spiritual support is very necessary so that God will strengthen us even more for our coming efforts.

On the Island of Guahan, Mariana Islands, 20 May 1733.

Your Reverence's

Servant in Christ,

José Bonani, missionary of the Society of Jesus.

1 Ed. note: The port of Merizo in Guam.

Documents 1733C

The missionaries who left Spain in 1733 and 1735

Sources: For C1, AGI Fil. 95-4-98; for C2-C3, AGI Contratación 5550/4 (formerly 45-2-7/10), with copy in Colección Pastells, Fil. 16, folios 166 et seq.

C1. Petition of Fr. Otazo seen by the Council of the Indies in July 1733

Original text in Spanish.

*Marques de Belzunze.
Don Manuel de Silba.
Don Diego de Zuñiga.
Don Diego de Rojas.
Don Antonio de la Pedrosa.
Marques de Almodovar.
Marques de Montemayor.
Don Antonio Sopena.
Don Matheo Ybañez.
Don Fernando Verdes.
Don Antonio Alvarez de Abreu.
Don Joseph de Baldivieso.
Don Andres de Orueta.*

Señor

Diego de Otazo de la Compañia de Jesus Procurador general por su Provincia de Philipinas,

Ha representado que al cargo de ella se hallan las dilatadas Misiones de Mindanao, y Zamboanga las que continuamente se han hido adelantando, y que al presente está encargada de las nuebas y numerosas de las Yslas de los Garvanzos en medio de las Carolinas, y Palaos, necesitando para todas de mucho numero de Misioneros con que poderlas asistir y mantener, y que siendo asi que en la ultima Mision se concedieron 40 sugetos, solo se llevaron 32 desde cuyo tiempo han fallecido 60 en las referidas

Misiones, por lo que carezen de operarios, y que para que puedan atender a lo mucho que cada dia se aumentan, suplicava à V.M. fuese servido concederle licencia para poder llevar 60 Misioneros con los Coadjutores correspondientes, incluyendose en ellos los ocho que se quedaron de la Mision antecedente.

El Consejo en vista de esta instancia, y de dos Cartas del Governador y Audiencia de Manila de 30 de Junio y 10 de Jullio de 1731, en que ponderan la falta de operarios con que se halla la referida Provincia y la solicitud, y cuydado con que proceden estos Religiosos à la enseñanza de los Yndios, y cumplimiento de su obligazion, con lo que en la inteligencia de todo expuso el fiscal considerando que desde la ultima Mision que se concedió en el año de 728 de 40 sugetos, abran muerto muchos de ellos, que faltaron otros habiendo de pasar muy largo tiempo interin que llegan ha aquellas Yslas los que ahora hayan de hir, y que tambien en este viage podran fallecer algunos, ha que concurre haver asentado dejaron de llevar 8 sugetos en la Mision antecedente, por cuias razones, y ser muy combeniente que las citadas Misiones se hallen surtidas de Ministros evangelicos que es necesario aumentar por causa de los Ynfieles que se reduzen à nuestra santa fêe, y los que se necesitan para la asistencia de la nueba Mision de las Yslas de los Garvanzos (de que se ha encargado esta Provincia) es de parecer el Consejo que V.M. se sirva conceder al expresado Diego de Otazu la licencia que solicita para bolberse a las expresadas Yslas Philipinas, y llevar consigo 50 Religiosos, con los Coadjutores correspondientes, incluyendose en ellos los 8 que dejaron de pasar en la Mision antecedente, mandando que lo que importare el haviamiento, y demas necesario asta llegar à ellas se les pague en las Cajas de la Veracruz, y en su defecto en las de Mexico del caudal que hubiere en ellas procedido de Mesadas Eclesiasticas, y en su falta de qualesquiera de Real Hazienda.

Y respecto de tener V.M. resuelto à Consulta deste Consejo de 11 de Diziembre de 1724 se le informe el coste que tendrà el havió, y pasage de las Misiones que desde entonces fuesen à las Indias, Haze presente à V.M. que segun el informe que ha echo la Contaduria de él, son necesarios para los referidos 51 Religiosos sacerdotes, y los cinco Coadjutores correspondientes 1.750 mil 794 maravedis de vellon, los 1.522 mil 554 maravedis de ellos por lo que corresponde à los expresados sacerdotes, à razon de 29850 maravedis cada uno, 190 mil 740 por los 10 Ducados que se les dan por hir por la Nueva España, y los 37500 maravedis restantes por los cinco Coadjutores al respecto de 7500 maravedis cada uno, à que tambien se ha de añadir el gasto que han de hacer desde los Colegios donde salieren hasta llegar à Cadiz, contandoles à razon de 7 reales al dia, y ocho Leguas de camino en cada uno, y 2 reales por cada dia de los que se detubieren en aquella Ciudad aguardando embarcazion, ha que asimismo se ha de agregar el coste de esta, al qual no pudiendose dar punto fijo se encarga al Ministro que tiene à su cargo la intenzia de Marina procure el mayor veneficio, y ahorro de la Real Hazienda en el ajuste del flete de los mencionados Religiosos.

V.M. resolberà lo que fuere mas de su Real agrado.

Madrid 8 de Jullio de 1733.

Translation.

The Marquis of Belsunse.
Don Manuel de Silva.
Don Diego de Zuñiga.
Don Diego de Roxas.
Don Antonio de la Pedrosa.
The Marquis of Almodovar.
The Marquis of Montemayor.
Don Antonio Sopeña.
Don Mateo Ibañez.
Don Fernando Verdes.
Don Antonio Alvarez de Abreu.
Don José de Orueta.

Sire:

Diego de Otazo of the Society of Jesus, Procurator General for their Province of the Philippines, has represented that the faraway missions of Mindanao, and Zamboanga, are in charge of the Society; they are making progress continuously, but now that it has been charged with the new and numerous islands of Garbanzos in the middle of the Carolines, and Palaos, they need a large number of Missionaries to be able to attend to them and to maintain them. Given that the last mission band was granted 40 subjects and that only 32 went over, and since that time 60 Jesuits have died in the above-mentioned missions, that is why they lack workers. In order to be able to attend to the great need, that increases day by day, he begged Y.M. to be pleased to grant him permission to be able to take 60 Missionaries, plus the corresponding number of Coadjutors, including the eight left over from the previous mission band.

In view of this petition and of two letters from the Governor and from the Audiencia of Manila, dated 30 June and 10 July 1731, in which they point out the lack of workers with whom the above-mentioned Province finds itself and the solicitude and care with which these Religious teach the Indians, and comply with their duty, plus what the Fiscal said about all this: considering that since the last mission band of 40 individuals that was granted in 1728, many of them would have died, and that many more would die before those destined to go to those Islands do get there, and that some may even die during the voyage, he concurred with the fact that 8 individuals were left over from the previous mission band. For such reasons, and the appropriateness that said Missions be well supplied with Gospel Ministers, and be augmented on account of the number of heathen to be reduced to our holy faith, in addition to the number needed to take care of the new Mission of the Garbanzos Islands (a new responsibility of this Province), the Council is of the opinion that Y.M. should be pleased to grant to the above-said Diego de Otazo the permission that he solicits to go back to the above-said Philippine Islands, taking along with him 50 Religious, with the corresponding number of Coadjutors, counting the 8 who were left over from the previous mission band,

and to order that their outfits and other necessities until they reach there be paid out of the treasury of Veracruz, failing which that of Mexico, out of any fund reserved for church pensions, and failing which from any fund available to the Royal treasury.

However, since Y.M. has decided in a consultation of this Council dated 11 December 1724 that you should be informed ahead of time of the cost of the outfits and fares of the mission bands that would thereafter go to the Indies, the Council tells Y.M. that, according to the report made by its Accounting Department, the budget for the above-mentioned 51 Religious priests, and the 5 corresponding Coadjutor brothers, will be 1,750,794 maravedis in gold, of which 1,522,554 maravedis correspond to said priests, at the rate of 29,850 maravedis each, 190,740 representing the 10 ducats that must be given them as they go to New Spain, and the remaining 37,500 maravedis for the 5 Coadjutors, at the rate of 7,500 maravedis each, to which must also be added the expenses that they have to make from the Colleges where they will come from until they reach Cadiz, counting that at the rate of 7 reals per day and 8 leagues covered each day, plus 2 reals per day for those who will have to wait in that city until boarding time, to which must also be added the cost of the fares, for which no exact figure can be obtained, but the responsibility for getting the best deal, and saving for the Royal treasury, in arranging the fares of the above-mentioned Religious is left to the Navy procurement office.

Y.M. will decide what may be of your Royal pleasure.

Madrid, 8 July 1733.

C2. Petition of Fr. Gomez, dated Cadiz 8 August 1733

Original text in Spanish.

[Endorsement:] 1733.—*Una Mision de 30 Religiosos de la Compañia de Jhs, para las Islas Philipinas por cuenta de 51 Religiosos y 5 Coadjutores de su Principal concecion.—Contaduria Principal de la Contratacion. N° 4.—Real Cedula y demas papeles tocantes a la avilitacion de esta Mision que se embarco en el Navio de S.M. nombrado San Antonio de Padua su Capitan el Conde de Vera, comandante de los de Azogues que salieron para Nueva España en el año de 1733.—28 religiosos.*

Miguel Gomez de Peralta en nombre del Padre Diego de Otazu de la Compañia de Jhs, Procurador General de la Provincia de Philipinas, en le mejor forma que aia lugar paresco ante V.S. y hago exhibicion del Real despacho de Su Magestad y Cedula por los que se le concede a dicho Padre mi parte licencia para llevar a dichas Provincias en los presentes Navios de Azogues una Mission compuesta de cinquenta Religiosos sacerdotes y cinco Coadjutores, cuio haviamiento y viatico se les ha librado en las Cajas Reales de la Veracruz, ó Mexico; y por la nomina que en debida forma presento solo consta hallarse prompts veinte y ocho de los Sacerdotes y dos Coadjutores; y respecto de que por la Carta Orden expedida a V.S. que asimismo presento, se previne se haia de dar

por mi parte fianza para la remision de la dicha Mision, ofresco para ella à Don Lorenzo Thomati, vezino de esta Ciudad y de su Comercio, por tanto:

A V.S. suplico aia por exhibidos dichos Real Despacho y Cedula, y por presentadas dichas nomina y orden; y en su vista se sirva mandar se admita la referida fianza y fecha y otorgada por la Contaduria Principal de esta Real Audiencia se ajuste y liquide el importe de lo que correspondiere de costos en conformidad de lo que en dicho Real Despacho se previene y se de el Despacho de embarcacion necesario para los presentes navios de azogues haciendose a su tiempo la reseña que en todo recibire merced &a.

Miguel Gomez de Peralta.

Translation.

[Endorsement:] 1733.—One mission band of 30 Religious of the Society of Jesus, for the Philippine Islands, part of the main grant of 51 Religious and 5 Coadjutors.—Main Accounting Office N° 4 of the House of Trade.—Royal decree and other papers regarding the outfitting of this mission band that boarded His Majesty's ship **San Antonio de Padua**, its captain the Count of Vera, commander of the Quicksilver Fleet that left for New Spain in the year 1733.—28 Religious.¹

I, Miguel Gomez de Peralta, on behalf of Father Diego de Otazo of the Society of Jesus, Procurator General of the Province of the Philippines, in the best form possible, appear before Your Lordship and exhibit the Royal despatch from His Majesty and decree by which he grants to said Father, my party, permission to take to said Provinces aboard the present quicksilver fleet a mission band of 50 Religious priests and 5 Coadjutors, whose outfitting cost and travel expenses are to be paid by the Royal treasury in Veracruz, or Mexico. As per the roll call which I present in due form, there are only 28 priests and 2 Coadjutors available. Regarding the bond which, according to the letter-order issued by Your Lordship, I must provide for the remittal of said mission band, I offer Don Lorenzo Thomati, a resident and merchant of this city, as my bondsman. Consequently:

I beg Your Lordship to consider as exhibited said Royal despatch and decree, and as presented said roll call and order; and in view of them, may you please order the acceptance of said bond, and the granting and payment by the main office of this Royal Audiencia of the pro-rated sums that might correspond in accordance with said Royal despatch, and to deliver the necessary authorization for boarding the present quicksilver ships, leaving the physical inspection until a later, more suitable, date. I hope to get everything that I ask as a favor, etc.

Miguel Gomez de Peralta.

¹ Ed. note: According to the list compiled by Ternaux-Compans, there were only three ships in this fleet: the capitana San Antonio de Padua, the almiranta San Francisco, and a ship named La ninfa americana. The fleet arrived at Veracruz on 6 January 1734.

C3. Physical inspection of 12 August 1733

...

1. Fr. Diego de Otazo, Procurator and Superior, 57 years old.

...

13. Fr. Wolcango Vertold [sic],¹ priest, native of Austria, Diocese of Psafia [sic = Passau], 31 years old, M.C.,² slim, white complexion, blond, wide forehead with two moles on the right side, and one on the left of the face.³

14. Fr. Wolcango Staimbeck, priest, native of Salzburg, Archdiocese of Salzburg, 31 years old, M.C., slim, white complexion, blond, blue eyes.⁴

...

C4. The three missionaries who followed them in 1735

Source: AGI Contratación 5550/9.

[Endorsement:] 1735.—Mission of 3 Religious of the Society of Jesus for the Province of the Philippines, who were taken in charge by Fr. Juan de Guendulain, Superior of a mission band of 45 going to Mexico.—Cadiz 3 November 1735. Main accounting office of the House of Trade.

[Editor's notes: There is a petition presented by Fr. Gaspar Rodero on behalf of Fr. Diego de Otazo, whose mission band of 1733 left with only 30 out of 56 individuals allowed. The following three future missionaries for the Marianas arrived at the Port of Santa Maria (i.e. Cadiz) only in 1735; in any case, there was no fleet in 1734. The fleet of 1735, under the command of General Manuel Lopez Espinosa, consisted of 4 warships and 11 merchantmen. They departed Cadiz on 22 November, and arrived at Veracruz between 18 February and 5 March 1736. For this small band, Fr. Guendulain presented a separate roll call, as follows.]

Catalog of the Missionary Fathers of the Society of Jesus assigned to the Mariana Islands.

—Fr. **Domingo Carlone**, priest, born in the City of Graz, in the Archdiocese of Salzburg, 32 years old, departed from Indenburg on 5 April 1735.

—Fr. **Francisco Reitemberger**, priest, born in the City of Prague, in Bohemia, Archdiocese of the said city, 27 years old, departed from the College of Olmutz on 4 April 1735.

-
- 1 Ed. note: Also written wrongly as Barcold, by Fr. Roldan on 3 August, i.e. correctly as Wolfgang Berchtold.
 - 2 Ed. note: Another abbreviation, which seems to have replaced the former B.C.; they are "mediano cuerpo" [=literally average body] and "buen cuerpo" respectively.
 - 3 Ed. note: Fr. Berchtold had begun his voyage from Etenga, or Etinga, on 2 April 1733.
 - 4 Ed. note: Fr. Stainbeck had begun his voyage from Newburg on 2 April 1733.

—**Brother Joseph Francisco Xavier Martineli**, student, born in Castillo de Laiatico, Diocese of Volterra in the Province of Pisa, 25 years old, departed on 29 April 1735 from the Novitiate of San Andres in Rome.

Juan de Guendulain of the Society of Jesus, Procurator of the Province of New Spain in Mexico, do certify that the three above-mentioned subjects of the Society are destined for the missions that the said Society has in the Philippine Islands.

Port of Santa María, 30 July 1735.

Juan de Guendulain.

 Documents 1733D

Two letters by Fr. Malinsky, missionary in Negros Island, Philippines

Source: Fr. Stöcklein's Welt-Bott, documents n° 609 and 610.

D1. Letter from Fr. Antonio Xavier Malinsky to the Rector of the College of Brno, dated Cabayan, Negros Island, 21 April 1733

Note: Cabajan, pronounced the German way; it corresponds to the town of Cauayan in Negros Occidental.

Original text in German.

Erster Brief R.P. Anton. Xav. Malinsky, Soc. JESu Priestern aus der Böhemischen Provinz, und Missionarii deren Philippinischen Insuln; An den Ehrwürdigen P. Rector, des Collegii S.J. zu Brünn.

Geschrieben in der Insul der Schwarzen, bey S. Paul, dem 21. April. 1733.

Inhalt. I. Reis-Beschreibung von Acapulco nach Manila, und von dannen in die Insul deren Schwarzen...

Ehrwürdiger in Christo P. Rector!

Von denen äussersten Gränzen deren Philippinischen Eyländern, an welche ich, unter dem Geleit GOTTes, dem 11. Heumonats voriges 1732ten Jahrs angelanget bin, kommen Euer Ehrwürden diese meine Zeilen zu, in welchen ich sowol von dem Verlauff meiner fast vier-monatlichen Reis, als von der Beschaffenheit des Volcks, Lands und Mission, in welcher ich mich jezt befinde, einen kurzen Bericht abstatte.

*Drey und dreyssig an der Zahl, alle aus der Gesellschaft JESu gesammlete neue Aposteln, stosseten wir von dem Hafen Acapulco in Neu-Spanien dem lezten Merzen gemeldetes Jahr ab, und begaben uns in das weite Meer, das stille genannt, hinaus. Die Schiffahrt ware, wie gewöhnlich, manichen Ungemachen von Wind und Witterung unterworfen, doch haben wir durch die Gnad GOTTes keinen anderen mercklichen Schaden erlitten, als daß einer aus unserem Mittel, der aus Sardinien in diese Eyländer herübergeschiffet, durch einen frühzeitigen Tod hingerissen, und mit allgemeiner Be-
daurung in diesem Meer begraben worden. Die übrigen ländeten wir gesund dem 11. Heumonats in dem Port unweit Manila an, dem 13ten aber zu Manila selbst, allwo wir*

nach dem Gebrauch dieser Ort, aus dem Schiff in schönster Ordnung erstlich in die Kirch, von dannen nach abgesungenem Ambrosianischen Lob-Gesang in das Collegium abgeführt, und sowol von denen Unserigen, als Vornehmeren der Stadt, besonders denen Abgeordneten verschiedener geistlichen Ordens-Ständen höflichst sind begrüset worden.

...

Besehle mich demütigst

Euer Ehrwürden

In der Insul der Schwarzen, aus der Mission S. Paul, in der Dorffschafft zu Cabajan, dem 21. April. 1731.

Demüdigster Diener in Christo

Antonius Xaverius Malinsky, S.J. Missionarius.

Translation, by P.H.

First letter of Rev. Fr. Antonio Xavier Malinsky, priest of the Society of Jesus from the Bohemian Province, and Missionary in the Philippine Islands, to the Reverend Father Rector of the Jesuit College of Brno.

Written in San Pablo in Negros Island, on 21st April 1733.

Contents: I. Account of his voyage from Acapulco to Manila, and then to Negros Island...

Reverend Father Rector in Christ!

These lines, Your Reverence, are coming to you from the extreme limits of the Philippine Islands, where I arrived under the guidance of God on 11 July of last year, 1732. I am giving a brief report about my journey which lasted almost four months, about the condition of the people, the land and the mission in which I find myself at present.

The 33 of us, all new apostles collected from the Society of Jesus, sailed on the last day of March of the said year from the port of Acapulco in New Spain, setting sail in the vast sea called the Pacific. As usual, the voyage was subject to the many hardships of wind and weather, but thanks to the grace of God, we suffered no other noticeable losses except that one in our midst, who had sailed to these islands from Sardinia, suffered an early death and was buried at sea, to everyone's sorrow. We others arrived in good health on 11 July at the port close to Manila, and on the 13th we landed at Manila itself, where, in keeping with the local custom, we were led in procession from the ship directly to the church, and from there, after having sung Ambrosian hymns of praise, to the College, where we were politely welcomed by our own people as well as by the more distinguished persons of the town, specially the representatives of various religious orders.

...

From the Mission of San Pablo and village of Cabayan in Negros Island, on the 21st of April 1731.

Your Reverence's humble servant in Christ,

Antonio Xavier Malinsky, Missionary of the Society of Jesus.

D2. Letter from Fr. Malinsky to Fr. Caldonazzi, dated Cabayan 2 February 1734

Original text in German.

Zweyter Brief R.P. Ant. Xav. Malinsky, Missionarii der Gesellschaft JESU aus der Böhemischen Provinz, An R.P. Constant. Caldonazzi, derselben Gesellschaft und Provinz.

Geschrieben in der Insul deren Schwarzen, in der Mission des Heil. Pauli zu Cabajan, dem 2. Hornung, 1734.

Inhalt. ... V. Marter V.P. Joannis Antonii Cantova, Missionarii auf denen Carolinischen Insuln, und einiger Christen...

Ehrwürdiger Pater in Christo!

...
Und der glorreiche Blutzug Christi, V.P. Joannes Antonius Cantova, ein Welscher von Geburt, den die unmenschliche Inwohner derer Carolinischen Insuln aus Haß des Glaubens auf eine grausame Art um das Leben gebracht, vielleicht, damit er die unfruchtbare Erden dieser Eyländer, welche er mit seinem Schweis eine geraume Zeit umsonst besuchtet, durch sein vergossenes Blut fruchtbarer machte. Er ist schon der dritte aus denen Missionarien dieser Insuln, denen der Palm der Marter allda zu Theil worden! und wurde unfehlbar der vierte, P. Victor Walter, der Gespan V.P. Cantova, gewesen seyn, wofern er nicht eben jene Zeit, wo seinen Gesellen dieses Glück zugestossen, in die Marianische Insuln abgereiset wäre, um Lebens- und andere Nothwendigkeiten herbey zu schaffen. Was P. Victor nicht erlanget, ist anderen Christen, besonders die mit V.P. Cantova aus Manila in die Carolinische Insuln herüber getreten, mit gröstem ihrem Trost zu Theil worden, welche alle die Barbarn durch einen gewalthätigen Tod hingerichtet, und ihre entseelte Körper an das Ufer des Meers hingeworffen haben: des seelig-verschiedenen Patris Leichnam haben sie in die Erd eingescharrret, und die Grabstatt mit einem Dach zu mehrerer Sicherheit versehen, vielleicht, auf daß dieser kostbare Schatz von denen Christen zu seiner Zeit erhoben, und zur gebührenden Verehrung in ein besseres Ort solte übertragen werden.

...
Cabajan, dem 2. Hornungs. 1734.

Euer Ehrwürden

Unwürdiger Diener

Antonius Xaverius Malinsky, S.J. Missionarius.

Translation, by P.H.

Second letter from Rev. Fr. Antonio Xavier Malinsky, Missionary of the Society of Jesus from the Bohemian Province, to Rev. Fr. Constantino Caldonazzi, of the same Society and Province.

Written in Negros Island, in the Mission of San Pablo or Cabajan, on the 2nd of February 1734.

Contents: ... V. Martyrdom of the Ven. Fr. Juan Antonio Cantova, missionary to the Caroline Islands, and of some Christians...

Reverend Father in Christ!

...
Father Juan Antonio Cantova, an Italian by birth, has been killed in a cruel manner by the inhuman inhabitants of the Caroline Islands out of hate for the Faith, perhaps so that he might make the unfruitful soil of these islands, which he watered with his sweat for a considerable time in vain, more fertile by his blood. He is already the third of the missionaries to these islands to whom the palm of martyrdom was imparted. The fourth one too, Fr. Victor Walter, the comrade of Fr. Cantova, would certainly have been murdered also, had he not sailed to the Marianas to procure provisions and other necessities at the time when his companion partook of this fate. What Fr. Walter did not attain fell to the lot of the Catholic Tagalogs, who followed Fr. Cantova from Manila to the Carolines, much to their consolation. They have all suffered a violent death at the hands of the barbarians. Their bodies were thrown off the beach, but the body of the blessed deceased Father was buried in the ground and the grave covered with a sheltering roof, perhaps so that this costly treasure might be raised by the Christians of a later time for fitting reverence, and moved to a better place.

...
Cabayan, 2 February 1734.

Your Reverence's unworthy servant,

Antonio Xavier Malinsky, Missionary of the Society of Jesus.

Documents 1734A

Request of Fr. Otazo for funds for the Carolines

Source for all 3 documents: AGI Fil. 320 (and not in 1051).

A1. Letter from Fr. Diego de Otazo, undated, but Madrid January 1734

Original text in Spanish.

Señor.

Diego de Otazo de la compañía de Jhs y su Procurador por la Provincia de Philipinas à V.M. dice, que por el Testimonio que a este acompaña, consta, como el Padre Juan Antonio Cantova de la misma compañía fue embiado desde Manila à Marianas, para que desde alli passase con otro de la misma compañía al descubrimiento de la Ysla Carolina; y que havindose executado assi, arribó à unas Yslas, que por pequeñas, las llaman de los Garbanzos, sitas en medio de la Carolina, y de las llamadas vulgarmente de los Palaos, y lo demas que se contiene en el mencionado Testimonio.

Y porque de estas Yslas es facil la comunicacion tanto con la Ysla Carolina, como con las de Palaos cuio descubrimiento y conquista espiritual tenia V.M. cometida a la compañía y dado para ello varias Providencias, y entre ellas por Zedula de 19 de Octubre de mil setecientos y cinco, la de que a los Misioneros ocupados en estas Misiones se le asistiese anualmente de vuestras Caxas Reales de Mexico con dos mil pessos; Pidio Egidio Bibao [sic] Provincial de la compañía en las Yslas Philipinas el presentado adjunto testimonio para el efecto de su Libranza.

Pero por la dificultades, que en el cumplimiento de la referida Cedula se pueden ofrecer, y por ser mas facil, mas seguro, y menos costoso, y mas conforme a la providencia que V.M. tiene dada para su asistencia, (es a saver por medio de el Barco mismo, que de Manila va à Marianas a llevar el socorro a su Presidio y Misioneros, volbiendose este por las mencionadas Yslas de Palaos;) le a parecido de su obligacion repressentar à V.M. que estas nuevas Misiones sean reputadas como pertenecientes à las de Marianas, y asistidas como y quando ellas, à razon de trecientos pesos cada Misionero, por haora y mientras que su total y seguro establecimiento no pida otra Providencia.

Suplica a V.M. me de providencia (como lleva pedido, y como pide) la piedad que con semexantes Misiones siempre ha tenido y tiene V.M.

Jhs

Diego de Otazo.

Translation.

Sire:

Diego de Otazo of the Society of Jesus and its Procurator for the Province of the Philippines, declares to Y.M. that the enclosed testimony records how Father Juan Antonio Cantova of the same Society was sent from Manila to the Marianas, for him and another companion from the same Society to go from there to the exploration of Carolina Island; and that, after they did so, they arrived at some islands that are called the Chick-pea Islands, because they are small, and located in the middle of Carolina¹ and of those commonly called the Palaos, and the other things contained in the above-mentioned testimony.

And, because communication from these Islands is easy, not only with Carolina Island but also with the Palaos Islands, whose exploration and spiritual conquest Y.M. had entrusted to the Society and given various provisions for said purpose, among them the decree of 19 October 1705, which states that the Missionaries occupied in these Missions were to be assisted yearly from your Royal treasury of Mexico with 2,000 pesos: Egidio Bibao [sic],² Provincial of the Society in the Philippine Islands, requested in the attached testimony that it be effectively paid out.

However, on account of the difficulties that might be encountered in the accomplishment of said decree, and because it would be easier, safer, less costly, and more in line with the provision that Y.M. gave for their assistance (that is, by means of the very ship that takes the succor to the garrison and Missionaries of the Marianas from Manila, and returning by way of the above-mentioned Islands of Palaos), it seemed to him that it was his duty to represent to Y.M. that these new Missions should be considered as belonging to the Marianas, and assisted in the same manner and at the same time as they, at the rate of 300 pesos for each Missionary, for now, and until such time as they have been totally and securely established, he does not request any other provision.

He begs Y.M. to issue the provision (as he has requested, and as he requests) from the piety that Y.M. has had and continue to have for similar Missions.

Jhs

Diego de Otazo.

[This petition was passed to the Fiscal, and then to the Accounting Department for comments.]

1 Ed. note: Obviously, by Carolina he means the Carolines, plural.

2 Ed. note: Or Viban, i.e. Wibault.

A2. Answer from the Accounting Department, dated Madrid 23 February 1734

Original text in Spanish.

Informe de la Contaduría.

Cumpliendo con el decreto del Consejo de veinte y seis del mes pasado, hemos reconocido la instancia echa por el padre Diego de Otazo de la Compañía de Jesus, y su Procurador en lo respectivo à la Provincia de las Yslas Philipinas, en que representa la falta de asistencia, y manutencion de los Padres Misionistas, en las Yslas de Palaos, ó Carolinas, espresando que los dos mill pesos conzedidos anualmente para ellas, no pueden sufragar, y así mismo todos los antezedentes de esta instancia, con lo respondido en vista de ella, por el Señor Fiscal en siete del propio mes pasado, concluyendo con suplicar à Su Magestad se sirva mandar que estas nuevas Misiones, sean reputadas, y asistidas, como pertenecientes à las de Marianas, consignandoseles en la propria forma, à razon de trescientos pesos à cada Misionero de los que an pasado, ó pasaron à esta nueva Conquista Espiritual, y pequeñas Yslas de los Garbanzos, en cuya inteligencia, devemos hazer presente, que sin embargo de la Zedula de Su Magd. de diez, y nueve de Octubre de mill setezientos, y cinco, en que se mandó al Virrey de Nueva España, hiciese entregar de las Cajas de Mexico, dos mill pesos en cada un año àl Procurador de la referida Provincia de Philipinas que residia en la Ciudad de Mexico para que por este se remitiesen à Manila, respecto de que en las Cajas de esta, no existian caudales [Jaun para los precisos gastos,) cuyo destino fue dirigido à los Misioneros de las Yslas llamadas Palaos, pero faltando en esta Contaduría las quantas de las Cajas de Mexico, (como hicimos presente en representacion de diez, y seis de Marzo de 1732 y reiteramos en informe difuso, de diez de Octubre de mill setecientos treinta, y tres; se lo à pedido berificarse por los libros manuales de las Cajas de aquella Ciudad, que hasta el año de mill setecientos y diez, y ocho, se hizieron los entregos al referido Procurador general, de los espresados dos mill pesos anuales, y que desde aquel año hasta oy, no resulta pagamento alguno; Pero como estos libros no pueden tenerse por quantas formales, es preciso ignorar el paradero de esta consignacion.

En lo respectivo al aumento del situado de Philipinas para la manutencion de estas nuevas Misiones, no senos ofreze que hazer presente, como ni tampoco en lo correspondiente à la regulacion de treszientos pesos à cada uno de los Misionistas, porque esto pende de la Real clemencia de Su Magd.

Madrid veinte, y tres de Febrero de mill setezientos treinta, y quatro.

Don Pedro de Herrera

Don Bernardo Calderon

Translation.

Report from the Accounting Department.

In compliance with the decree of the Council dated 26th of last month, we have taken note of the request made by Father Diego de Otazo of the Society of Jesus, and its Procurator with respect to the Province of the Philippine Islands, in which he represents the lack of assistance and maintenance of the Missionary Fathers in the Islands of Palaos, or Carolines, stating that the 2,000 pesos granted yearly for them cannot help, and in addition the whole background of this petition, including what the Fiscal said about it on the 7th of last month, concluding by begging Your Majesty to be pleased to order that these new Missions be reputed, and assisted, as belonging to those of the Marianas, consigning them in the same manner, at the rate of 300 pesos to each Missionary, already involved, or involved thereafter, in this new Spiritual Conquest, and the small Chick-pea Islands. In this wise, we must point out that, in spite of the decree of Y.M. dated 19 October 1705, in which the Viceroy of New Spain was ordered to pay out of the treasury of Mexico 2,000 pesos every year to the Procurator of the above-mentioned Province of the Philippines, who resides in the city of Mexico, for him to remit them to Manila, regarding that treasury, there were not enough funds (not even for on-going expenses) earmarked for the Missionaries of the Islands called Palaos; however, this Accounting office does not have the accounts of the treasury of Mexico (as we made it known in a representation dated 16 March 1732, and again as part of a general report dated 10 October 1733; they were requested to verify the facts that in the account books of the treasury of that city, until the year 1718, the above-mentioned sums of 2,000 pesos were paid yearly to the above-said Procurator General, and that from that year until now there has not been any payment at all. However, as these books cannot be judged as formal accounts, it is necessary to ignore the whereabouts of this consignment.

Regarding the increase of the subsidy of the Philippines for the maintenance of these new Missions, we have no opinion to offer, because the decision to grant 300 pesos to each Missionary is not our concern, but depends upon the Royal clemency of Your Majesty.

Madrid, 23 February 1734.

Don Pedro de Herrera.

Don Bernardo Calderón.

A3. Decision of the Council, dated 6 September 1734

Original text in Spanish.

Escribase Papel al Padre Gaspar Rodero remitiendole copia del Memorial del Padre Diego de Otazo para que en vista de la instancia que hace Ynforme lo que tuviere entendido en quanto al Estado y Progresos de las Misiones de las Yslas Marianas, con expresion del numero de Religiosos que hay en ellas y Pueblos que tienen reducidos y si falta mucho por reducir, Ynformando lo mismo por lo que toca à las Yslas Palaos, y el estado de su reduccion; como tambien si se han satisfecho anualmente los 2,000 Pesos

asignados desde el año de 1705 ó, por que motivo no se perciben: Y assímismo si es precisa la conquista, y reduccion de las Yslas de Garbanzos para asegurar la Nabegacion à las Marianas, Palaos, y Carolina, con todo lo demas que hubiere y pudiere adquirir cerca de lo expresado.

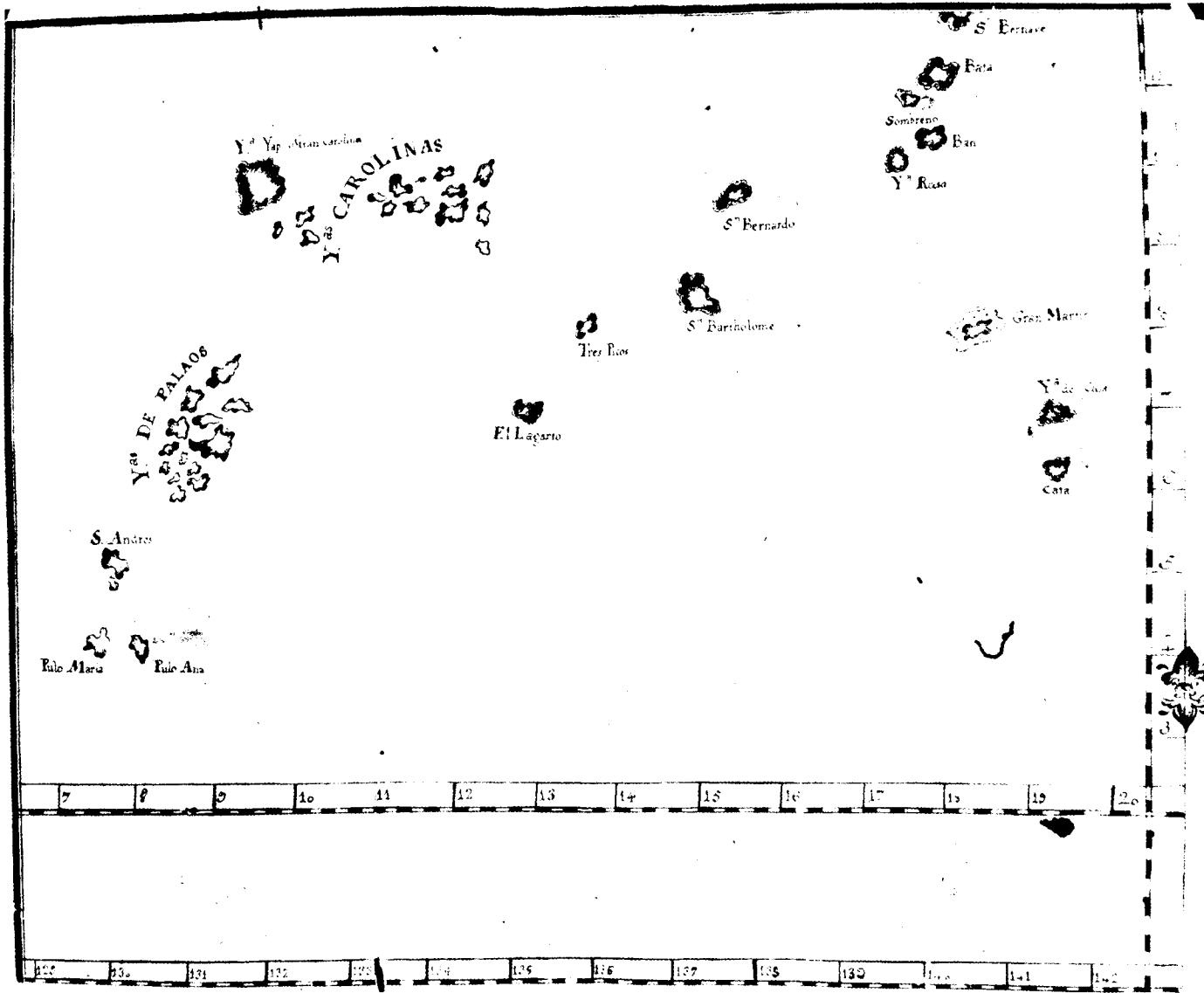
Translation.

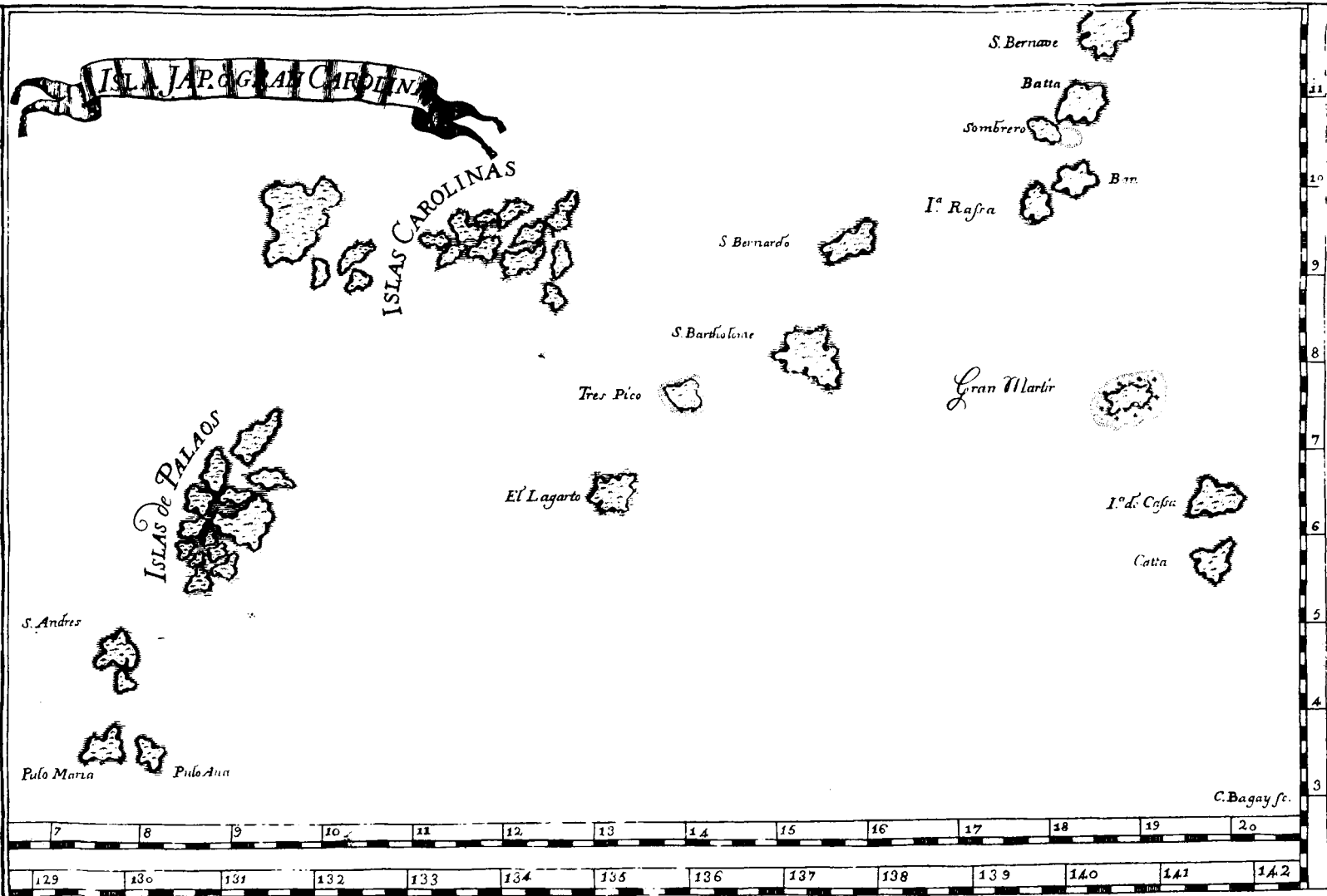
Please write a note to Father Gaspar Rodero, enclosing a copy of the petition of Father Diego de Otazo, for him to take it into account and make a report of what he knows about the condition and progress of the Missions of the Mariana Islands, stating the number of the Religious there, and the towns that they have reduced, and if there is more reduction left to do; as well as if the 2,000 pesos that were assigned since 1705 have in fact been received yearly, or, if not, why are they not perceived? And in addition, if the conquest and reduction of the Chick-pea Islands is necessary to ensure the security of the navigation to the Marianas, Palaos, y Carolina, with everything else that he might find out about this matter.¹

[Next 2 pages:] **Speculative charts of the Caroline Islands, drawn in Manila, after 1712 and before 1788, by someone who was neither a pilot nor a Jesuit. With the exception of the western Carolines, the information shown is very inaccurate and comes from outdated charts. Fr. Cantova's charts were not consulted at all.**

The manuscript copy is from the Museo Naval, Madrid. The cleaner copy is by C. Bagay, a Filipino engraver; it was published in Fray Juan de la Concepción's "Historia general de las Philipinas," (Manila, 1788-92). Note that Yap is identified as Great Carolina Island in the top left corner of both charts. The top longitude scale is East of Cape Espiritu Santo, and the bottom scale is probably East of Cadiz.

1 Ed. note: There is no record of any follow-up, but this is understandable, since the Jesuits had decided to abandon the spiritual conquest of the Carolines, having lost 6 missionaries in the attempt.





Documents 1734B

Events at Ulithi, as reported in the Philippines

B1. Extract from a letter from Fr. Wolfgang Berchtold to Fr. Maliardi, dated Mexico 1 March 1734

Source: ARSI Phil. 13, fol. 365-366v.

Notes: The original letter, whose present whereabouts are unknown, was written in German. This is about Fr. Cantova's expedition to Ulithi, and Fr. Walter ending up shipwrecked at Merizo a year later, before he returned to Ulithi with Brother Lewin Schrebel. Either one of the latter wrote a report to Fr. Berthold, rather Berchtold, a former companion of theirs, who was then working in Mexico. This document proves that Fr. Berthold never served in the Marianas. He was an Austrian, born at Ischl, Passau.

The Italian version (only one extant).

Paragrafo d'una lettera in lingua tedesca dal P. Saverio Maliardi della Compagnia di Genova dal P. Volfango Bectold [sic] della medesima compagnia dal Collegio di S. Francisco Borgia distante un'ora di camino dalla città del Messico in data del primo di Marzo del 1734, e ricevuta il primo di 8bre del medesimo anno.

*L'anno 1725 [sic] capitò alle Isole Mariane, postatovi della tempesta un bastimento delle Isole Caroline, sopra cui eranvi varij dei quegl'Isolani; e trà gli altri un certo **Bigal**, che mostrò gran propensione d'abbracciare la nostra Santa Fede. Visitose d'intorne il P. Gio[vanni] Antonio Cantova della nostra Compagnia e dopo averlo instrutto nelle cose necessarie a sapersi da ogni christiano lo battezzò, e si prese a coltivarlo nello Spirito. Or udendo il P. Cantova da questo Indiano convertito, in quale stato deplorabile per l'eterna salute si ritrovasser i popoli delle Isole Caroline, risolvette di recar loro la luce del Santo Evangelio, e ottenutane da suoi Superiori la facultà alli 4 di Febraio del 1731 parti col P. Vittor Valther tedesco alla volta delle Caroline sopra una nave ben provedata di marinari, e soldati spagnuoli destinata per si gloriosa impresa da quel Commandante spagnuolo.*

*Dopo un viaggio felice di alcune settimane giongero ad una delle Isole Caroline nominata **Falelep**; e postala sotto la protectione di S. Ignazio di Loyola, calarono in terra i due nostri Patri con buona guardia di soldati, e vi furono ricevuti cortesemente. Cominciò il P. Cantova a predicare la Fede di Gesù Christo a quegli Isolani, il di cui linguaggio avea sufficientemente imparato dal sudetto Bigal, che seco evati condotto, accio che gli servisse di guida, ed interprete per il giro di quelle Isole: e mentre veniva-*

no istruite nella Fede Cristiana le persone più adulti, furono presentati per il santo battesimo molti bambini, e teneri fanciulli; e i due [fol. 365v] nostri Padri ne battezzarono fino al numero di 107.

Un principio si felice fece sperar gran cose per la propagazione della Fede in quelle parti. Quindi si resolvette che uno de Padri con alcuni pochi spagnuoli si fermatte in quest'Isola a proseguirvi qualibi altro Gesuita, e far provisione di viveri per il loro mantenimento, giacche in Falelep si penuriava di ogni cosa, e per sino dell'acqua per bere; diletlandosi quel Popolo con frutti, che colà nascono in abbondanzas. Il P. Cantova volle fermar'egli alla coltura di quegl'Isolani con un picciolo [sic] numero di Spagnuoli; e il P. Valther parti con la nave di ritorno alle Mariane. Sone una tempesta, che trasportò il vascello a Manila, da dove il P. Valther nel 1732 parti per le Mariane con la nave, che svole fare ogni anno quel viaggio; la qual nave da un'altra tempesta fu portata al Messico, dove fece naufragio, con essersi salvate le sole persone che ivi vi navigavano.

Per tante traversse non si sbgotti il P. Valther, e non volendo lasciar in abbandono i suoi compagni lasciati alle Caroline; ottenuta un'altra nave con buone provisioni, in compagnia del Fratel Levino Screvel parti dal Messico nel 1733 con gli altri 42 tra soldati e marinari, e doppo una prospera navigazione gionse a Falalep alli 9 di Giugno del medesimo anno 1733. Avvicinatise al lido pui non videro la croce, che il P. Valther vi avea lasciata inalberata, ed egli anche osseniò distrutta, e brugiata la capanna del P. Cantova, che in poca distanza dal mare ni avean fabricata nel primo loro ingresso in quell'Isola. Quindi sospettando di qualche tradimento, niuno de spagnuoli volle scendere a terra; ma della nave il P. Valther interrogò alcuni di quegl'Isolani, che fosse del P. Cantova Missionario, [fol. 366] e degli altri spagnuoli suoi compagni. Risposero quegli con freddezza, e con parole tronche, e poi un di loro soggiunse che il P. con suoi compagni era slogiato di colà, e passato ad altra Isola.

Con ciò più crebbe il sospetto di frode, onde rissoluti di non calare a terra, si fece il P. Valther a chiedere dalla nave un buon soccorso di frutti per se, e suoi compagni, con prometter di pagarli loro molto bene, e questo affine che alcuno di que' Isolani salisse sopra la nave spagnuola, e così poter da lui intendere ciò, che fosse succeduto de spagnuoli, e del P. Missionario rimasti in quell'Isola. Infatti riuscì lo stratagemma. Venne una loro barchetta con diciannove persone cariche di frutta, e uno sali col suo carico su la spagnuola, dove fù accolto con carezze, e ben regalato di varie cose d'Europa. Ciò vedendo un suo compagno sali egli puve sopra la nave, ma assai tosto insospettito gittossi a mare e nuotando ritornò alla sua barchetta, che già ritornavasene alla spiaggia non si sa per qual motivo. Allora i spagnuoli fermaron l'Indiano rimasto su la nave, e lo ligarono con freni, accioche non tentasse egli pure la fuga; e questi con voci estrida avviso i suoi della violenza usatagli, onde si posero quegl'Isolani in armi, e si fecer vedere con varie barchette armate in qualche distanza dalla nave spagnuola, che li fece ritirare a colpi di schioppo, rimarendo morti alcuni, e feriti molti di quegl'Isolani. Con che si fini di comprendere che quelli eran nemici, e che non era prudenza il calare in terra, e così esposti ad una certa morte; onde si risolvosette di ritornare a Manila.

*L'intese poi per viaggio dall'Isolano di Falelep trattenuto tutto il succeduto del P. Cantova, e suoi compagni spagnuoli. Il detto Bigal già da lui battezzato, e con lui remasto in Falelep, fù il primo a tradirlo, e congiurò con i principali dell'Isola di toglier la vita al P. Missionario, e agli altri spagnuoli. Quindi già ordito il tradimento [fol. 366v] cosse ansante il traditore un di dal P. Cantova riferendogli come nella vicina Isola detta **Mo[g]mog** ritrovvasi un povero vecchio moribondo che chiedeva il santo Battesimo. A tale avviso volò il P. Cantova con due soli spagnuoli a Momog, e messo piede a terra mentre cerca soblecite di esser condotto dal moribondo, ecco si vede venire incontro una troppa d'Indiani armati. Allora il Padre fermossi, e chiese che cosa significasse quella gente armata, e gli fu risposto che più non si poteva da loro tollerare la predicazione di quella nova legge tanto opposta alla loro antica, in cui volevano vivere, e morire come i loro antenati, e ciò detto si posero con le loro lance in atto [alto?] di battaglia. Allora il P. Cantova inginocchiatosi alzò le mani al Cielo, e raccomandatosi a Dio, e facendo lo stesso i due spagnuoli suoi compagni, in un subito furon loro addosso gl'Indiani e con tre lance in petto uccisero il P. Cantova, e poi anche le due spagnuoli suoi compagni; e quasi nel medesimo tempo furono anche uccisi tuti gli altri spagnuoli rimasti in Falelep. Un solo giovane che era il sagrestano del P. Cantova fù riservato in vita, e mandato in dono ad un loro principale Isolano, che è quasi il loro Re. Il P. Cantova fu sepolto colà, dove rimase ucciso; i corpi degli spagnuoli furon gettati in mare, e tutto ciò succedette nel 1731 poco doppo che il P. Valther era partito con la nave spagnuola da Falalep per Manila, ma di tutto questo successo se ne attendono in breve le notizie più distinte.*

Translation.

Paragraph of a letter written in German from [rather to] Fr. Xavier Maliardi of the Society of Jesus in Genoa from Fr. Wolfgang Berthold of the same Society from the College of San Francisco Borgia distant one hour by road from Mexico City, dated 1 March 1734, and received on 1 October of the same year. In the year 1725 [sic], there arrived at the Mariana Islands a vessel pushed by a storm from the Caroline Islands, aboard which were various people from said Islands, and among them a certain man named Bigal [rather Digal], who showed a great desire for embracing our Holy Faith. In the neighborhood he met with Fr. Juan Antonio Cantova of our Society and, after he had instructed him in things that every Christian must know, he baptized him, and endeavored to cultivate his mind. Upon hearing from this converted Indian the sad state for their eternal salvation in which the people of the Caroline Islands found themselves, Fr. Cantova decided to bring the light of the Holy Gospel to them, and, having obtained permission from his Superiors, on 4 February 1731 he left with Fr. Victor Valther [i.e. Walter], a German, bound for the Carolines aboard a ship well provided with Spanish seamen and soldiers, which the Spanish commander had made available for his glorious enterprise.

After a safe journey of about a week, he arrived at one of the Caroline Islands named **Falelep**, which he placed under the protection of St. Ignatius of Loyola. Our two Fa-

thers stepped ashore with a good guard of soldiers, and were received politely there. Fr. Cantova began to preach the Faith of Jesus Christ to these islanders, whose language he had sufficiently learned from said Bigal, whom he had brought along to serve him as a guide and interpreter during the visit of that island. While he was instructing the older adults in the Christian Faith, many small children of both sexes were brought over, and the two Fathers baptized up to 107 of them.

Such a happy beginning gave reasons to hope for a great success for the propagation of the Faith in those parts. So, it was decided that one of the Fathers would remain in that island with a few Spanish soldiers and the other Jesuit would go in search of food supplies for their sustenance, since there was a lack of everything in Falelep, even drinking water, except for fruits enjoyed by the local people, since they grow there in abundance. Fr. Cantova wished to remain behind to take care of the islanders with a small number of Spaniards. So, Fr. Walter left with the ship to return to the Marianas. A storm hit them and pushed the small vessel to Manila, whence Fr. Walter left to return to the Marianas in 1732 with the ship that usually makes that voyage every year, but that ship was carried off by another storm to Mexico [rather Merizo, in Guam] where it was wrecked, and only the people who were on board managed to be rescued.

Fr. Walter did not let himself be discouraged by so many difficulties, and not wishing to abandon the companions whom he had left behind in the Carolines, he obtained another ship with a good supply of provisions. With Brother Lewin Schrebel, he left Mexico [rather Merizo] in 1733 with 42 other soldiers and seamen, and after a prosperous voyage he arrived at Falalep on 9 June of the same year 1733. They went near the shore but did not see the cross that Fr. Walter had himself planted there; it had been destroyed. The hut of Fr. Cantova, that had been built a short distance from the shore when they first came to that island, had been burned. So, suspicious of any contact, none of the Spanish wished to step ashore. However, from the ship Fr. Walter questioned some of the islanders, as to what had happened to Fr. Cantova, the missionary, and of the other Spanish in his company. They answered with coldness, and with tricky words, and then one of them admitted that the Father had moved from there with his companions, and gone to another island.

That made the possibility of a fraud more credible. So, Fr. Walter decided not to go ashore, and to take in a good provision of fruits on board, for himself and his companions. He promised them to pay them well for them, and he did that in order to get one of those islanders to come aboard the Spanish ship, and thus be able to learn from him what had happened to the Spanish and the missionary Father who had remained in that island. In fact, the stratagem worked. There came one canoe loaded with fruits with 19 persons aboard, and one climbed aboard the Spanish ship with his load, where he was made welcome with caresses and a gift of various things from Europe. Upon seeing this, one of his companions also climbed aboard, but very much unexpectedly he threw himself overboard and swam back to his canoe, that was already returning to the beach, for an unknown reason. Immediately the Spanish grabbed the Indian who had remained aboard the ship and placed him in irons, so that he would not also take

flight. With a strident voice, he let his people know that force was being used on him. Those islanders then armed themselves, and let themselves be seen with weapons aboard various canoes at some distance from the Spanish ship. The muskets were fired to make them withdraw; a few of those islanders were killed, and many wounded. Finally, it was understood that they were enemies and that it would not be prudent to go ashore, as that would mean a certain death. Therefore, it was decided to return to Manila.

They went off and then, during the voyage, they learned from the islander from Falelep everything that had happened to Fr. Cantova and his Spanish companions. The Bigal who had been baptized, and had remained in Falalep, was the first one to become a traitor, and he plotted with the chiefs of that island to take the life of the missionary Father, and that of other Spaniards. So, having thus arranged the deed, the traitor almost immediately approached Fr. Cantova with the story that on the nearby island of **Mogmog** there was a poor old man who was dying and wished to receive baptism. At such a notice, Fr. Cantova made haste to go to Mogmog, with only two Spaniards. As soon as he stepped ashore, while he was trying to find the way to the dying man's house, suddenly there appeared a band of armed Indians. Instantly, the Father stopped and asked the meaning of those weapons, and he was answered that they could no longer tolerate the preaching of the new law so opposed to their own, in which they wished to continue to live, and die, like their ancestors. That said, they raised their spears as if to fight. Fr. Cantova immediately knelt down and raised his hands toward heaven, and recommended his soul to God. His Spanish companions did the same. In one instant the Indians were upon them and they killed Fr. Cantova with three spears through the chest, and then did the same thing to his two Spanish companions. At about the same time, all the other Spanish who had remained in Falelep were also killed. The life of only one boy, who had served Fr. Cantova as an altar boy, was spared, and offered as a gift to one of their chiefs, who is like a King to them.¹ Fr. Cantova was buried there, on the spot where he died; the bodies of the Spanish were thrown into the sea. All of these things happened a short time after Fr. Walter had left Falalep aboard the Spanish ship to go to Manila in 1731. Soon, however, we expect a more detailed report about this whole affair.

B2. Report made by Governor Valdés Tamón, dated Manila 6 July 1734

Sources: Cited in Fr. Astráin VII, 778 as AGI, former number 69-2-2, renamed Fil. 320 but no longer found there; however, already published by De Brosse, whose French text was translated into English by Callander, as follows:

Memorial by Fernando Valdez Tamon, Governour of the Philippine Islands.

The Fathers Cantova and Walter left Guam the 2d day of February, 1731, and sailed for the new discovered islands. The second of March they arrived safely at one of the

1 Ed. note: The name of this Tagalog boy was Domingo Lisardo.

Carolines, and spent there three months in the exercise of their mission. Finding themselves here in want of every thing, Walter embarked, in order to return to the Marians, and furnish himself with necessaries for the Father Cantova, whom he left in the island, with fourteen inhabitants of the Marians. Contrary winds obliging him to land in the Philippine Isles, he was forced to wait a whole year, in expectation of the ship which goes once in two years to the Marian islands. Thus he did not embark again till November 12, 1732, and after a navigation of three months and an half, had the misfortune to be shipwrecked, just as he got to his intended port. The missionaries, not discouraged, immediately caused fit another vessel, at a great expence, on board of which Walter embarked, May 31, 1733, attended by forty-four persons.

Having sailed nine days, they at last got near these isles, and firing some guns, as a signal, no boat appeared, which made them suspect that the barbarians had killed Cantova. They then entered a sort of bay formed by two islands, one of which is **Falalep**, and coming within pistol-shot of the shore, they could discern that the house was burnt down to the ground, and the cross fixed on the shore was demolished. At last four boats came towards the ship, bringing cocoa-nuts, and these people, being asked what was become of Cantova, answered with an air of embarrassment, that he and his companions were gone to the great island **Yap**, but the terour that was painted in their faces, and the absolute refusal they gave to our proposition of coming on board, though we endeavoured to allure them with biscuit and tobacco, left us no room to doubt, that Cantova and his people had perished by the hands of these barbarians. At last we caught one of the savages, and brought him on board, while the others, jumping into the sea, with great cries, got away by swimming. Next morning we sailed for Yap, but not knowing what course to steer, we spent three days in vain, searching for it. Meanwhile we questioned the Indian we had taken, and assuring him we would do him no harm, if he told the truth, he at last gave us the following account.

Father Cantova had gone to the Isle **Mogmog** to baptize an Indian, accompanied by his interpreter and two soldiers, leaving the others in Falalep to guard their house. He had scarce landed, when the natives got together in great numbers, armed with lances, and surrounded the missionary with loud cries. He asked them gently why they would murder one who had never done them any injury. But they replied, that, as he came to change their ancient customs and institutions, they would have nothing to do with his religion, and with these words they run him through at once with three lances, stripped his body, and wrapping it in a mat, buried it in a little hovel, which method of interment they bestow only on their chiefs. They also massacred his three attendants, and putting their bodies into a boat, let it drive to sea. They next came in their boats to Falalep, where the others had been left. The soldiers, seeing them advance towards the house, fired on them from four small field-pieces they had planted before their gate. This discharge did not intimidate these barbarians, though it killed four men, but they continued to advance, and though the soldiers made a gallant defence, yet were they at last oppressed with numbers, and all massacred. Their bodies were buried by the sea-shore.

There perished on this occasion with Cantova, eight Spaniards, four Indians from the Philippines, and a slave, only one young man escaping, on whom one of their chiefs took pity, and saved his life, by adopting him as his son. The barbarians pillaged the house, and, after dividing the plunder, set fire to it.

 Document 1734C

Biography of Fr. Cantova, by Fr. Spilimbergo

Sources: ARSI Phil. 20, fol. 379-416; published in Mexico in 1740 as: "Carta Del P. Fulcherio Spilimbergo, Provincial de la Provincia de Philipinas, ácerca de la Vida, Virtudes, y gloriosa Muerte del V.P. Juan Antonio Cantova, de la Compañía de Jesus, muerto á manos de los Barbaros Carolinos. Sacala à luz publica el G. D. B. aficionado al V.P.," a copy of which is to be found in TNL Medina 2251.

Notes: Both Fr. Cantova and his biographer were from Italy. See Doc. 1718F for information about Fr. Spilimbergo. The mysterious benefactor who paid to have this biography published in Mexico appears to have been Governor Diego Balboa, who was governing the Marianas when Fr. Cantova left Guam for the last time.

Original text in Spanish

Breve Relacion de la Vida y Virtudes del P. Juan Antonio Cantova muerto por Christo en las Yslas Carolinas en Junio de 1731.

[fol. 381] *Breve Relacion de la Vida, y Virtudes del V.P. Juan Antonio Cantova, y de su gloriosa Muerte por Christo en las Yslas Carolinas.*

Quando llegò à Manila la noticia, de la Muerte del V. Padre Juan Antonio Cantova sucedida en una de las Yslas Carolinas llamada Mogmog, referida por uno de aquellos Indios Infieles, parecio que por entonces bastava el hacer como se hizo una breve, y succincta Relacion del modo, con que le quitaron la vida en odio de Nuestra sancta Feè, que les predicava, dejando para otro tiempo el escribir para la comun edificacion mas despacio, y con mayor extencion sus Religiosas virtudes con las quales se dispuso, y merecio conseguir la palma de su Martirio; pues de ordinario los Martires son santos antes de ser Martires; porque el martirio suele ser premio, y Corona de su sanctidad. Y si se conciderara con atencion toda la serie[dad de] este suceso, parece indubitable, que los designios de la divina Providencia en traer à estas Misiones al Padre Juan Antonio fueron para darle la Corona de Martir, y premiar su sancta vida con tan dichosa Muerte.

Dare principio a esta Carta con referir lo que de Bisayas escrivio un Padre a quien se pidieron algunas Noticias del Padre Juan Antonio Cantova, por aver sido su conovicio, y condiscipulo en su Provincia, y compañero en el camino hasta llegar a estas Misiones de Philipinas. Dize despues assi.

[“]Conocí al Ven. Padre Juan Antonio Cantova desde el mes de Mayo del año de 1701 porque entrando yo entonces en la Compañía le halle Novicio en nuestro noviciado de Genova en donde tuve la dicha de tenerle por Instructor; y despues estudiamos

juntos Rethorica en el seminario de Milan y en el Colegio maximo de la misma Ciudad el Curso de Artes, y aunque nos dividimos despues en el tiempo que enseñamos Gramatica y letras humanas, y en el estudio de la sagrada Theologia, sin embargo tuve siempre mucha comunicazion con su R^a hasta que nos bolvimos a juntar en nuestro viaje à estas Islas Philipinas, por lo qual aseguro, que todo lo que yo declarare del Venerable Padre Cantova lo puedo firmar como cosa cierta.["] Esta protesta, que haze el Padre escriviendo algunas Noticias del Padre Juan Antonio Cantova ha de ser la medida de la Credulidad de todo lo demas, que tuviere esta Carta por averse pasado en silencio lo que no tiene semejante Certidumbre.

Nacio pues el Padre Juan Antonio Cantova, à 15 de Marzo del año de 1686 en la villa de Intra del Arzobispado de Milan situada a la orilla de una laguna, que llaman Lago Maggiore. Sus Padres eran de los mas principales, y conocidos vecinos del lugar; los [fol. 382] quales teniendo un Hermano Canonigo en la Insigne Colegiata de San Estevan el Grande de Milan, luego que tuvieron al hijo en edad suficiente para aplicarse al estudio lo embiaron à essa Ciudad, para que se criase en nuestros estudios debaxo del cuidado, y asistencia de su tio, varon de grande edificacion, y exemplo en aquella gran Ciudad, y que murio tambien con gran fama de santidad, cuya vida escribio despues nuestro Padre Cantova, y aviendo ya entrado en la Compañía y los superiores le dieron permission de escribirla, cosa que causo alguna admiracion por ser el Padre entonces todavia estudiante Theologo y aun no ordenado; pero este que efecto de la mucha estimacion, en que lo tenian desde entonces los Superiores de su Provincia. Aviendo llegado a la Ciudad del Tio luego lo embio a nuestros estudios en aquella muy numerosa universidad y aviendo empesado sus estudios desde los primeros rudimientos de la Gramatica, prosiguió de seglar hasta la Rethorica y en todo el discurso de este tiempo dio tal especimen de si, que dexo a todos admirados, no solo a sus condiscípulos sino à los mismos Maestros; porque en todas las clases, que curso la Rethorica siempre fue de los primeros y mas aprobados; pero la que causaba mayor admiracion, y que le ganaba una especie de veneracion con su condiscípulos era ver como juntava la piedad con las Letras, de modo tal que no admiraban tanto en el la excelencia de su buen entendimiento quanto la Innocencia de sus Angelicas costumbres.

Aviendo ya entrado en el estudio de la Retorica manifesto a su Padre espiritual la vocacion con que Dios le combidava à retirarse del Mundo, y entrarse en la Compañía y empezo luego a tratar con grande fervor del modo de efectuarlo. El unico obstaculo que podia impedir el cumplimiento de sus deseos era lo delicado, y muy enfermiso de su complexion, por lo qual segun la medida de la prudencia humana no parecia probable su admission; pues paresia moralmente cierto que no podria llevar la grave tarea de los estudios en la Religion, y el pezo de la Dissiplina Religiosa[.] sin embargo presentose al Padre Francisco Rasinoli entonces Provincial de la Provincia de Milan, y expuso su pretencion con tanta mayor eficacia, quanto era Mayor el recelo, que tenia de la repulsa; pero presto se desvanecio su miedo con la respuesta del Padre Provincial el qual admirando mas a las prendas muchas del Alma, que a la poca salud del cuerpo luego admitio, embiandolo al Noviciado de Genova adonde se fue con grande consue-

lo a tomar la sotana de la Compañía el año de 1703 à 28 de Marzo. No queria pasar en silencio una, [fol. 383] digamos lo assi como alusion profetica, que hicieron los novicios en su primera entrada en el noviciado[.] compusieron pues como el estilo en aquella Provincia el aposento de primera provacion en que el Padre Juan Antonio Cantova avia de tener los Exercicios Espirituales antes de vestirse la sotana, y en la sobre cama formaron de flores un navio con este mote: **Con Cantova fiel Piloto à el Puerto:** Ellos aludian entonces al nombre del Padre Cantova, y solo al Puerto de la Religion, en que entrava; pero en la realidad bien podia ser alusion tambien a su Navegacion a las Indias, y al Puerto dichoso de las Islas Carolinas, que avia de ser el termino y descanso de todas sus navegaciones, y trabajo.

Acabados pues sus exercicios dio principio a las distribuciones del noviciado con los demas novicios. y desde luego tomo con tanto empeño la exacta obserbancia de todas ellas, y persevero tan constante en su empeño, que en todo el discurso del noviciado no se le noto aver faltado en la mas minima cosa; que no solo fue de edificacion à sus con-novicios sino de admiracion al mismo Maestro de Novicios[.] cumplidos los dos años de su fervoroso noviciado passo à estudiar Rethorica con los nuestros en el Seminario de Milan y despues Philosop[h]ia en el Colegio maximo de la misma Ciudad. Concluido el Curso de Artes quedo alli por un año Maestro de Gramatica, y despues paso a la Ciudad de Bastia Metropoli del Reyno de Corsega para enseñar humanidad, y de ello vino à Pavia para leer Retorica[.] Ultimamente bolvio al Colegio maxximo de Milan a cursar la Theologia, y en todas essas ocupaciones assi de Dicipulo en el estudio de Philosophia, y Theologia, como de Maestro en la Cathedra de Poesia y Retorica dio tal especimen de si, que en la comun estimacion de toda la Provincia tubo pocos Iguales assi en la aplicacion como en el ingenio entre todos sus condicipulos, y commaestros; por lo qual es digno de especial reparo, que en la diversion de los estudios nunca jamas perdio de vista el cuidado de la perfeccion Religiosa perseverando siempre constante en sus devociones, y penitencias con el mismo fervor de espiritu, como si fuera Novicio, y con aquella misma puntual diligencia con que guardo todas las Reglas en el noviciado, las guardo tambien estudiante; siempre aplicado a el estudio, recogido en su aposento, sin que se viesse una sola vez quebrantar el si- [fol. 384] -lencio, ni otra qualquiera regla, aun de las mas menudas cossas que se dize con admiracion de los varones mas perfectos, como de un San Luis Gonzaga[.] de un Hermano Juan Bercmans. de aqui nacio aquella estimacion, o especie de veneracion, como queda dicho, en que lo tenian sus condicipulos; los quales viendo en el un tenor de vida tan constante en la virtud una madures, y seriedad siempre varonil en todas sus cossas, y no aviendo jamas reparado accion que no fuese mui Religiosa[.] solian decir entresi Cantova nunca haciendo [sic] niño. Pero el Padre que escrivio la Carta de los apuntes haze un Elogio mucho mas expressiva de su virtud, pues acaba su carta con estas palabras: [“]Y para decir en breve lo que siento del Venerable Padre Cantova, por lo mucho, que le comunique, y aun en las cossas de conciencias, digo con toda verdad, y aseveracion, que le tuve por Idea de Novicios, quando novicio, y por Idea de Estudiante quando estudiante, y que

tengo razones probabilissimas para juzgar que su Reverencia murio con la Inocencia Bautismal.["]

Estando pues toda su Provincia en grande expectacion de lograr en el Padre Cantova un varon Illustre, que la condecorase no menos con la doctrina, que con la virtud de repente vio cortado el hilo; de todas sus esperanzas porque aviendo el Padre Antonio con repetidas instancias pedido las Misiones de las Indias à N. Padre General su Pateridad determino cumplir sus deseos; y assi le escrivio que pasase luego à Genova, y de alla con la primera oportuna ocaasion se embarcase para ir a Cadiz en donde hallaria àl Padre Procurador de las Islas Philipinas que bolvia à esta su Provincia y que se acompañasse con su R^a para venir a estas misiones, a las quales lo tenia señaladof.] esta noticia esparcida por toda la Provincia fue a todos de grandes admiracion, y ninguno acababa de creerla, no tanto por el sentimiento que les causaba perder un sugeto, que tanto estimaban, quanto por conciderarlo tan falto de fuerzas corporales para un viaxe tan largo y trabajoso pues a mas de ser su Reverencia como se ha dicho, por su misma complexion muy enfermiso, y de poquisima salud, avia padecido muchas y graves enfermedades en el discurso de sus estudios, de modo tal que los Medicos en varias ocasiones lo avian denunciado por tísico, pero Dios, que con su providencia todo lo gobierna, assi como no obstante sus muchos achaques le dio fuerzas para perseverar constante en sus estudios como se ha dicho assi tambien le dio fuerzas para sufrir todas las Incommonidades [sic] de sus largas navegaciones y en esto se vieron muy claro los efectos de la Divina Providencia; porque lo mismo fue [fol. 385] embarcarse en Genova que empessar luego a mejorar de sus achaques, y fortalecerse la naturaleza, y en todo el discurso del viage se adelanto la mejoría de modo tal, que llevo a estas Islas uno de los mas fuertes, y robustos de toda la mission y persevero en su fortaleza, y robustes hasta la muerte[.] en todas las tres Navegaciones de Genova à Cadis, de Cadis à Mexico, y de Mexico à estas Islas siempre dio muestras de su fervoroso zelo, y espíritu Apostolico empleandose continuamente en el provecho espiritual de sus proximos sin distincion de personas.

[Arrival at the Marianas]

Avien[-do] el Almirante de la flota hecho voto de presentar la Bela mayor à la Milagrosa Imagen del Santo Cristo del Buen Viage de la Vera Cruz por el peligro en que se hallo la nao de perderse antes de entrar en el Puerto fue señalado el Padre Cantova para hacer el sermon en accion de Gracias por el beneficio recibido, ni fue menor señal de la estimazion que se avia ganado el que aviendo llegado con la Mission à Mexico, y faltandole todavia algunos meses para acabar de cursar el quarto año de Theologia fue señalado à defender el Acto mayor de toda la Theologia en aquella celebrada y numerosa universidad sin aver mas tiempo para prevenirse que dos meses o poco mas, cosa que en el Padre huviere podido parecer temeridad sino se lo huviera mandado la obediencia, y sino huvieran conocido sus prendas, que aseguraban como sucedio el feliz exito de tan gran funcion.

Hallandose pues expedito en sus estudios para trabajar en la viña del Señor su zelo le tenia tan impaciente que lo fue mismo llegar a vista de Marianas, que presentose al Superior de la Mission pidiendole que lo dexase saltar en tierra, y quedarse en aquellas Islas deseoso de dar principio quanto antes al Ministerio Apostolico con los Indios, a que avia venido, parecia segun la prudencia humana que su Peticion no avia de ser oyda; pero assi como Dios nuestro Señor movio el corazon de Nuestro Padre General para embiarlo a las Indias, assi tambien movio el corazon del Superior de la Mission para dejarlo en las Islas Marianas; pues por este camino la divina providencia lo iba preparando, y encaminò a la Isla Carolina en donde le tenia destinada la Gloriosa Corona de sus trabajos;

Quatro años trabajo en essas Islas[,] es a saber desde los ultimos del mes de Junio de la de 1718, hasta la mitad del año de 1722, mucho hizo y mucho padecio à Gloria de Dios en el discurso de estos cinco [sic] años; y el Padre Vice Provincial de essas Islas presto conoció quien era el Padre Cantova y asi luego le dio campo para exercitar su espiritu, y sus prendas[.] lo hizo Rector del Seminario de los niños[.] este seminario lo fundo, y doto con abundantes [fol. 386] rentas la piedad de Nuestro Catholico Rey mirando unicamente al bien espiritual y tambien temporal de aquellos Pobres naturales, pues aqui se creian los hijos sin gasto ninguno de sus Padres y quando salen del seminario para tomar estado se despiden providos con abundancia de todo lo nesessario[.] aqui aprenden a leer, y a escribir, aqui aprenden a cantar para asistir a los officios Divinos en las Iglecias, aqui se Instruyen en las buenas costumbres y se procura arraygarlos bien en los misterios de Nuestra Santa Feè y asi es indecible el provecho que resulta a todas las Islas de la crianza de aquellos Niños en aquel seminario, tomo pues el Padre Cantova a su cargo este seminario con tanto empeño, que causaba no menor marabilla que edificacion el ver un sujeto de tantas prendas todo ocupado en la educacion de aquellos niños, ya enseñandoles a deletrear, ya corrigiendoles las planas, ya instruyendoles en la doctrina christiana y en las demas oraciones del cathesismo, y lo mas admirable era la suma paciencia, y charidad, con que todo lo hacia.

Pero como esta no fuese ocupacion bastante para su fervor, el Padre Vice Provincial lo señaló en el mismo tiempo por Maestro de los Españoles del Precidio, y con esto tuvo mas campo donde explayar su zelo; y assi luego se aplico a la reformation de sus costumbres, No perdonaba a fatiga, ni a trabajo estudiando siempre nuevas invenciones para apartarlos del vicio y aficionarlos a la virtud christiana; ya socorria a los necesitados, ya a los persiguídos, y todo era para Gloria de Dios[,] exortavalos en las conversaciones{;} particulares y los excitaba en las Platicas y sermones publicos, pero el medio mas eficaz de que se sirvio, fueron los exercicios espirituales de N.S.P. que los dava en la Yglesia al modo que se usa en varias Ciudades de Italia y con este medio hizo muchisimos frutos[.] en sus feligreses; quito muchos abusos, y trajo a muchos a penitencia y en esto el mismo Padre les precedia con el Publico exemplo disciplinandose asperamente.

Pero su zelo aun no se contento con la reforma de varios desordenes, y escandalos publicos cuyo remedio pedia el brazo del Señor Governador pero como el Governador

no lo ignorase, y por motivos particulares los disimulase era el punto muy creticol.] sin embargo juzgado el Padre que convenia para la maior Gloria de Dios, dió manos a la Obra, y empezo a tratar el punto con el Governador y amanejo el negocio con tanta destresa, y prudencia, que el Governador le dio palabra de conbenir en todo lo que fuese nesessario para el buen [fol. 387] exito de la reforma pretendida. Pero poco duro la alegria que avia concebido el Padre por tan favorables expreciones por que el Demonio que nunca duerme para impedir las cossas de la gloria de Dios, y perseguir a sus Missioneros que la procuran empeso à sembrar zizaña entre el Padre y el Governador y crecio tanto que ahogo finalmente todas las esperanzas de cojer el fruto deseado; y no paro aqui el mal porque no solo no quizo cumplir su palabra, sino que quedo muy sentido contra el Padre Cantova y explico su sentimiento con los demas Padres diciendolo que el Padre Cantova pretendia engañarle, obligandolo a mas de lo que devia, y desde entonces se fue aumentando de modo el sentimiento del Governador que llego a dar sentencia de destierro contra el Padre y el ultimo motivo de tan violenta determinacion fue porque el Padre con grande enteresa de animo propia de un Ministro Apostolico, no quiso entregarle los Libros, ni darle las quantas de la Administracion del seminario, como el pedia sin reparar, que no le pertenecia a èl tomar aquellas cuentas, ni registrar los Libros; ni el Padre cumpliendo con su obligacion, podia condecender con semejante pretenxion.

Fue este un golpe muy sencible para el Padre Cantova, no porque le diese pena el destierro intimado; porque el salir de aquellas Islas no era yr desterra, sino salir del destierro. Su pena era porque saliendo de Marianas se le embarasavan los designios, y santos deseos, que tenia muy ensendidos en su corazon de pasar al descubrimiento de las Islas Carolinas, que era el objeto mas tierno de su caridad, y el blanco de todas sus esperansas. Sin embargo quizo Dios, que no se efectuase semejante destierro, porque no hallandose entonces embarcacion para poder transportar al Padre à otra parte, fue preciso suspender la execucion, y en este interín tuvo tiempo el Governador de bolver sobre si, y reconocer el exceso de su precipitada determinacion. Hizo hablar a los Padres deseoso de alguna compesission [sic], y ellos que no aspiraban a otra cosa, sino a la paz se mostraron promptos a qualquier compocicion, que el quiciere hacer con tal que no fuese en perjuicio de sus conciencias. Con esta respuesta se dio por satisfecho. y desistio de su pretencion, y retracto la sentencia del destierro, y con eso fue absoluto de la excomunion, que avia incurrido.

Socegadas de este modo las cosas, se concluyo el tiempo del Gobierno del Padre Vice Provincial, y no aviendo vias para abrir entro en su lugar el Padre Juan Antonio Cantova, a quien le tocaba como Rector del Colegio pero poco duro con el cargo de aquella Vice Provincia, porque de alli a seis, ò siete meses llego à aquellas Islas el Pathache [sic] de Philipinas con nuevo Governador [fol. 388] y con la patente de nuevo Vice Provincial. La llegada de este Pathache fue de grande consuelo al Padre Cantova, porque con la mudanza del Governador esperaba que tambien mudaria semblante el negocio de sus queridas Carolinas. Y no fueron vanas esta vez sus esperanzas; porque el nuevo Governador se mostro muy favorable a la empresa de su descubrimiento. Empeço pues

el Padre Cantova a tratar con mucha fuerza este punto con el nuevo Governador y con el nuevo Padre Vice Provincial y con los demas Padres pero mucho mas lo tratava con Dios en sus oraciones, Sacrificios, y penitencias, que todas las dirigia à este fin. Todas las noches, y esto era a media noche, yba indefectiblemente a la tribuna de la Iglesia, y despues de aver empleado mucho tiempo en una larga, y fervorosa oracion, la remataba con una muy recia Disciplina que duraba mas de un quarto de hora.

[Arrival of Carolinian canoes at Guam]

Estando pues en esta fervor por sus Carolinas, quiso Dios recompensarlos con uno de los maiores consuelos, que se puede imaginar. Fue el caso, y aviendose desgarrado dos embarcaciones de las Islas Carolinas las llevaron los vientos a las Marianas, y fueron a parar a la playa del Puerto donde estava el Padre Cantova. Llego a sus oydos esta noticia, y luego volando fue en busca de sus queridos Carolinos para verlos, y abrazarlos; los llevo al Puerto buscoles casa para hospedarlos, y los proveyo siempre de todo lo necesario, y con abundancia agasajandoles, y regalandolos con un cariño, y amor mas que de Padre, y ellos admirados de tanta Charidad le recobraron tambien un amor, y reverencia mas que à Padre. Dos frutos muy conciderables saco su Reverencia de esta arrivada; el uno fue aprender su lengua a la qual aviendose aplicado con todo empeño, llego en poco tiempo à entenderla, y hablarla, y pudo traducir las Oraciones, y lo mas substancial del Cathecismo, y tambien formar una especie de arte, y bocabulario [sic], y le salio despues mui facil el instruir a todos en los Misterios de Nuestra Santa Fee, y disponerlos para recibir el sancto Baptismo, pero jusgo entonces ser combeniente bautizar a los que querian bolver a sus tierras por no estar seguro si podria ir algun sacerdote con ellos; y asi Bautizo solamente aquellos, que tenian animo determinado de quedarse en Marianas, y a los que por hallarse emfermos estava en peligros de muerte. El otro fruto, que sacò fue el conceguir con facilidad, y presteza el buen exito de su pretencion de yr al descubrimiento de sus Carolinas, pues parece que no podia esperarse mejor ò [fol. 389] ocacion, que la que tenian presente. Quando los Carolinos entendieron, que el Padre Cantova avia de ir con ellos a sus tierras mostraron mucha alegria, y al parecer quedaron muy contento; pero quando supieron, que juntamente avian de ir algunos soldados, se entristecieron, y mostraron grande sentimiento. El Padre bien huviera ydo solo con ellos hechandose del todo en las manos de la Divina Providencia; pero parecio a todos, que seria imprudencia el fiarse de aquellos, que finalmente eran Barbaros, y huvieran podido hazer, lo que quicieran de su persona, sin que jamas se pudiera conceguir noticia alguna de lo sussecido.

[Fr. Cantova's first attempt at reaching the Carolines in 1722]

Hecho pues la determinacion, que el Padre Cantova fueren con ellos, y acompaños de algunos soldados, luego se dispuso el avio, que parecio necesario. El año de 1722 se embarco en una lancha, ò Bote pequeño que le ofrecio el mismo Governador con la escolta de 14, ò 16 soldados que en el mismo tiempo avian de servir de marineros. Tres dias navegaron de concerva las tres embarcaciones, el Bote del Padre y las otras dos de

los Indios Carolinos, pero la noche del tercer dia executaron finalmente lo que tenian trasado los Infieles Carolinos, es a saber apartarse del Bote, y abandonarlos; y quiza la hubieran hecho desde la primera noche, si un Indio principal, a quien el Padre avia hecho embarcar en el Bote com pretexto de que havia de dirigir el rumbo; pero en al realidad por prenda de que no sucediese lo que sucedio; huviere hallado oportunidad de huirse nadando a los suyos como lo hizo solo la tercera noche de la Navegacion. La mañana pues del quarto dia el Padre se hallo solo aviendo perdido de vista las dos embarcassiones de los Indios; le cauzo grande desconsuelo esta novedad, y mucho mas conociendo que sus compañeros no tenian gana de proceguir la derrota a las Islas Carolinas; sin embargo no le falto el animo por esso, y tomando desde entonces a su cargo el gobernar el Barco (pues tambien para esso se avia prevenido, Su Rev^a aviendo mucho tiempo antes prevenido, con aplicarse con bastante empeño al estudio de la Nautica) prociguio su derrota. Pero una noche aviendose recojido para tornar un poco de descanso; el Piloto por descuido, o por malicia se dexo sotaventar de modo tal, que despues con todos los esfuerzos, que hizo el Padre nunca pudo ganar la [fol. 390] altura, de que se avian descaminado, y assi viendo tambien, que ya le avia faltado el bastimiento del agua se vio presissado a dejarse llevar de las corrientes y de el viento acía el embocadero de las Islas Philipinas [sic], y antes de llegar a ellas huvieran perecido de sed, si Dios con especial providencia no le huviera embiado una abundante lluvia, beneficio, que todos recibieron conceguido por las oraciones del Padre Cantova. Cauzo grande admiracion en todos su llegada a esta Ciudad porque todos ignoravan la causa, que fue a todos de grande edificacion quando se supo.

Detuovose casi siete años el Padre Cantova en esta Ciudad de Manila, y recien llegado a ella hizo la profession de 4 Botos el dia 15 de Agosto del dicho año de 1722 y es indecible lo mucho que obro a gloria de Dios, y bien de las almas. Pocos messes despues de su llegada fue señalado a la Cathedra de Theologia, y persevero leyendo en ella los seis años siguientes; pero en esse tiempo se ocupò en todos los empleos, en que puede ocuparse un sugeto de la Compañía, y a el mismo tiempo cumplio con todos con tanta perfeccion que parecia que cada uno de ella en particular era el unico empleo, en que se ocupaba, sus materias todas las dicto tan buenas, y tambien trabajadas, y sobre todo con tanta claridad, aun en los puntos mas difficiles, que causaba admiracion. Jugsaban los superiores que los talentos del Padre Cantova eran para mucho mas, que para sola la Cathedra de Theologia, y assi le señalaron juntamente por Prefecto de la Congregacion de los Españoles, ni quedaron engañados en semejante juicio; porque sin faltar un apize a la obligacion de Maestro, cumplio con toda perfeccion la de Prefecto; pues si en algun tiempo se vio florecer assi en el numero como en el fervor, y frecuencia de los Sacramentos fue en tiempo, que su Rev^a la dirigia como Prefecto. No omitia diligencia ni trabajo que le pareciesse conducente al bien espiritual de su Congregacion. Todas las semanas escribía con mucho cuidado las platicas, que les hacia el Domingo, y assi acudian a oirle con gusto, y provecho. Juntava frecuentemete su Reverencia la consul=ta de los oficiales de la Congregacion, y conferenciaba con ellos el modo de entablar la observancia de todas las reglas, y con esto se veyan obligados a preceder con

[fol. 391] *el exemplo, de lo qual conseguia un notable aprovechamiento de todos los congregantes. Yntrodujo la santa costumbre de ir toda la congregacion en comunidad a viciar los Hospitales, y las Carceles, llevando, los mismos congregantes en ciertos dias determinados la Limosna de Comida, de Vestido, y de dinero à los enfermos, y a los pressos; cosa que servia de grande edificacion a toda la republica; pues los mas principales republicanos concurrían à esta funcion tan piadosa, y humilde. Sin embargo para su zelo eran muy estrechos los terminos de su congregacion, y los congregantes solos no le administraban lo suficiente para saciar la hambre que tenia de trabajar para el bien de su proximo; y assi para aprovechar à todos se entregò a la operatura de la Iglesia como el mas fervoroso operario. Asistia incansable al confesionario, acudia a las confeciones de fuera, a las carceles, à los Hospitales, a los enfermos, a los muribundos de modo que estava en un continuo movimiento, daba los exercicios quando se ofrecia a las Mugerres en la Iglecia, y mucho mas frequentemente a los hombres en el Colegio; su zelo tambien le movio a tomar con mucho fervor el empeño de ayudar en todo lo que podia a unas Pobres Indias, que con el nombre de Beatas se han recojido à vivir como religiosas en una casa cercana à nuestra Iglecia. estas en su principio no eran mas que cinco, ò seis, y en el curso de pocos años se aumentaron de modo que à ora passan de 100. Ellas viven como religiosas, aunque no hacen voto alguno, ni tienen clausura, sim embargo la guardan con tanto rigor, que no salen de casa, sino para ir à nuestra Iglecia à oir Missa, à confesarse, y comulgar, y lo restante del tiempo lo gastan en cassa, en el continuo trabajo de sus costuras, con que ganan su mantenimiento. verdad es, que solo con su trabajo, no pudieran mant[en]erse, pero el buen exemplo, y edificacion, que causa en toda la Ciudad su vida tan exemplar, mueve a muchos piadosos vecinos à socorrerlas de quando en quando con algunas [fol. 392] limosnas, y assi parte de limosna, parte de su trabajo se mantienen siempre con pobreza, pero siempre con lo nessesario. Empeñose pues el Padre Juan Antonio Cantova, en ayudar à estas Pobres asi en lo espiritual, como en lo temporal, y en lo uno, y en lo otro les fue de grandissimo provecho. En lo espiritual, porque viendo ellas la mucha charidad, y paciencia del Padre una gran parte lo avien [sic] escogido por director de sus conciencias, y debajo de su direccion se adelantaron mucho en la perfeccion Religiosa segun la capacidad de unas Pobres Indias. En lo temporal; porque les procuro abundantes limosnas, con las quales (y este fue el blanco, en que miro el Padre) pudieron dilatar su habitacion, pues era tan pequeña para tanto numero, como se avian aumentado, que vivian como ahogadas, y oprimidas en ellas. Añadieron pues una sala en donde se juntan al trabajo de sus costuras, una enfermeria, y una capilla en donde se recojen para sus distribuciones espirituales; y asi la noticia de que el Padre Cantova iba à las Carolinas fue para ellas [... words missing?] un Padre assi espiritual, como temporal. Sin embargo no obstante las sobre dichas ocupaciones, todo esso no le era de embarazo alguno para el desempeño de muchos sermones, asi en Nuestra Iglecia, como en las agenas por combite de los externos en sus fiestas mas solemnes, y de mayor empeño, porque en la realidad entonces sus sermones siempre se mostrava muy eloquente, y erudito, y de una eloquen-*

cia, y erudicion propia de un santo orador, como la dan à conozer los sermones, que salieron a luz a pura instancia de algunos vecinos, que a su costa los imprimieron.

Este tenor de vida tan Apostolico fue causa de que se aumentasen mucho mas sus trabajos, porque aviendo concebido toda la Ciudad una grande, y universal estimacion del Padre.] muchissimos de los vecinos de todo genero, y condicion acudian a su Reverencia unos para consultarle en varias cosas, que se les ofrecian otros para tomar concejo con sus graves negocios, y otros para hallar alivio en sus necessidades. Y su Reverencia como sino tuviera otra cosa, en que pensar, ni que hacer, oya à todos, admitia a todos, y procuraba socorrer à to- [fol. 393] -dos, y assi como el motivo era la sola charidad, assi se empeñaba igualmente para con todos sin distincion de perssonas. Pero lo que merece un especialicimo reparo es, que todos los que acudian a su Reverencia finalmente yban a rematar con sus negocios en una confecion general en ocho dias de ejercicios espirituales; cumpliendose al pie de la Letra lo que decia N.S.P. entrar con la suya, y salir con la nuestra, y con este medio logro el poner a muchos desviados en el camino de su salvacion con la enmienda de sus costumbres.

Este fue el tenor de vida, que guardo siempre el Padre Juan Antonio Cantova en todo el tiempo, que estuvo en esta Ciudad. Sin embargo entre tantas ocupaciones jamas perdio de vista la empresa de sus Carolinas alla siempre estava buelto su corazon, alli aspiravan sus votos, y no tenian otro blanco sus penitencias, y sus oraciones para con Dios. Estando pues para empezar à leer el sexto año de theologia, le parecio; que ya era tiempo de bolver a tratar con todo empeño su negocio. Bien veyá las contradicciones, que avia de tener, y las dificultades, que avia de vencer; pues era una empresa que se avia tentado muchas vezes, y nunca se avia podido conceguir. Lo segundo se avian perdido muchos sugetos en essa expedicion y no parecia bien el exponer à otros inutilmente à semejante riesgo; siendo asi que nunca sobran sugeto en esta Provincia, en que ay tanto que hacer. Lo tercero, que ya se avian hecho mucho[s] gastos assi publicos, como particulares sin fruto, y que no convenia renovarlos inutilmente como lo daba à conocer la experiencia de los passados. Lo quarto, que aquellas Islas eran tan esteriles, que aunque se huvieran descubierto no avia modo de conservarlas. Lo quinto finalmente que no faltarian en estas Islas muchos Gentiles, para que pudieran emplear su zelo los Missioneros en convertirlos, y reducirlos à Nuestra Santa Feè sin ir en busca de otros ò otras Islas. Pero no obstante el pezo de tantas razones, no desistio de su empeño pareciendole, que Dios avia de concurrir a desvanecerlas; y así procuraba satisfacer a todos. Decia, que en las empresas de la gloria de Dios, y bien de las Almas no se ha de poner limite a la Divina providencia, que à su tiempo acabara de perfeccionarlas, si nosotros no faltamos en la perseverancia del trabajo. [fol. 394] A lo segundo decia, que los Missioneros no podian acabar mas gloriosamente que en su oficio de buscar Almas para Dios, y que por esso nunca avian de faltar Missioneros, pues la[s] noticias de muertes tan dichosas eran un efficacissimo combite para traer numerosas Misiones de Europa. A lo tercero que le tocaba a los gastos particulares no perdian el merito de sus Limosnas los que espontaneamente concurrrian à ellas por no lograrse las empresas, y por lo que tocava a los publicos bien conocida era en este punto la pie-

dad, y magnificencia de todos los Reyes de España desde el gran Phelipe segundo que daba por bien empleados todos los gastos, que hacía, para mantener estas Islas, y que estava prompto à aumentarlos aunque en esso no lograrsse otra cosa, que tener una Iglecia en ellas, y un Sacerdote, que dixese Missa, y Baptisase algun niño. A lo quarto decía, que poco importava, que aquellas Islas fuessen esteriles, que se pudiese hacer alguna cosecha de Almas para el Cielo, y que descubiertas una vez se avia de confiar en Dios para discurrir el modo de conservarlas. Finalmente a lo ultimo de los Gentiles que todavia quedavan en estas Islas para convertirse decía que si quedavan mucho, lo cierto era, que esos muchos no quedavan en las Misiones, que estan a nuestro cargo, porque por la Misericordia de Dios cada uno de los Micioneros, assi passados, como pressentes avian trabajado, y trabajan en el distrito, que les avia tocado para reducir a los que quedaban, y los pocos que quedan mas se pueden decir vagamundos, y desertores que Gentiles, y aunque en una, ò otra de nuestras Misiones quedassen todavia muchos Gentiles, esta nueva empresa, decía, no impide, que los Missioneros, que cuidan de aquellas no puedan trabajar como gloriosamente trabajan en su reduccion, y assi como la Mission de Mindanao no hacido [sic] de perjuicio alguno à las otras Misiones assi tampoco lo seria esta que aora se emprendiesse.

Assi se esforzaba el Padre Juan Antonio Cantova para satisfacer à las dificultades, que podian ser de embarazo a su deseada empresa. Pero poco hubiera conseguido, si Dios moviendo los corazones de aquellos que eran de contrario dictamen, no huviera dado [fol. 395] eficacia à sus razones. Conseguida pues la licencia de los superiores, passo a tratar el punto con el Señor Governador y Señores Oydores, y aqui fue su mayor trabajo. Pero finalmente les ganó la voluntad, y se dieron por vencidos à sus instancias; y assi quedo concludo con felicidad su trabajo. Empezo luego a disponer sus cosas para hallarse prompto à salir con el Patache, que de dos en dos años sale de estas Islas para las Islas Marianas, de donde avia despues de proseguir la derrota à las Carolinas. Esparcida ya la noticia de que el Padre Cantova iba à el descubrimiento de las Carolinas muchos vecinos concurren con algunas Limosnas à tan piadosa empresa deseosos de cooperar en algun modo a dar principio à la fundacion de aquella Mission. Llegado el tiempo de salir el Pathache embarcose con gran Jubilo, y alegria el año de 1729 ignorante de la desgracia, que le esperaba; porque despues de aver salido de el embocadero de estas Islas, y navegado con felicidad algunos dias se mudaron tan contrario los vientos, y levantaron unas Mares tan tempestuosas, que no fue posible proseguir su Derrota, y tuvieron por gran dicha el poder arivar otra vez à estas Islas Philipinas estando en un continuo peligro de perderse en las tormentas del golfo. Aviendo arivado la Nao [sic] el Padre se desembarco para bolver por tierra à Manila, porque el Patache por estar muy maltratado avia de tardar mucho tiempo para poder llegar à el Puerto de esta Ciudad.

Esta arriba hizo tanta impression en todos, que dieron por desesperada para siempre la Empreza, y mucho mas quedo despues de mes, y medio luego la Noticia, que el Patache se havia hecho pedazos en la playa con la perdida universal de toda la carga aviendose salvado solo la Gente. Los que avian sido de contrario parecer a la empreza

se confirmaron mucho mas en su antiguo dictamen; y los mismos, que le avian sido favorables tambien mudaron de dictamen conformandose con los demas. Viendo pues el Padre Cantova que ya los tenia a todos por enemigos callo por al- [fol. 396] -gun tiempo dexando sosegar aquellos primeros fervores de tan universsal contradicion, pero con animo constante de bolver como antes à el tratado de su antigua pretencion, y tanto mas confiaba en Dios de salir con ella quanto mas se veyá solo, y desamparado de los hombres.

Passados pues unos tres messes salio de nuevo con su pretencion promovriendola con mayor fervor. Causo admiracion en todos este nuevo empeño del Padre Cantova, y todos le persuadian à dexar una idea, que ya no tenia otra probabilidad, sino la que le daba su sola imaginacion, y que no era prudencia el bolver à tratar una cosa, que ya no avia de tener otro efecto, sino la comun reprobacion. Sin embargo no desistio por esso, y persevero immobile en su demanda[,] cosa que segun las reglas de la Prudencia humana mas parecia vicio de porfia, que virtud de constancia. Pero el exito dio a conocer lo contrario; porque quasi de rrepente se trocaron los animos de modo que dentro de poco tiempo con mas felicidad, que la primera vez, con despachos mas favorables del Gobierno, y con abundancia de Limosnas de particulares consiguio lo que pretendia, y con el primer patache, que salio para Marianas, que fue el año siguiente de 1730, pudo embarcarse otra vez, para poner en execucion su deseada empresa.

Parece quasi indubitable, que su Reverencia tuvo en esta ocasion alguna Luz de lo alto, de que avia de conseguir despacho favorable su pretencion, porque no cavia en su prudencia el mantenerse el solo contra todos, y querer ir adelante contra una corriente tan contraria, y tan universal. A[de]mas de esso el indicio mas cierto son unas propociones que se salieron de la boca, hallandose muy apretado por todas partes de lo que le persuadian à desistir de su demanda. La primera fue en ocacion, que un Padre muy confidente suyo procurava disuadirle del empeño; a quien respondió su Reverencia con estas formales palabras: [“]Padre, las inspiraciones interiores, que experimento son tan vehementes, que no me decian socegar: Y las voces que Dios me da al corazon son tan recias, y tan claras, que me parece, que no cumpliera con mi conciencia sino hiciera lo que hago, y si pudiera hacer [fol. 397] mas me parece, que lo hiciera para cumplir mejor con mi conciencia, y con Dios.[”] Y esta misma respuesta se la repitio el mismo Padre quando despues de tres o quatro dias bolvio a tocar ese punto con su Reverencia. La otra propocion fue en otra ocassion semejante con otro Padre. [“]No dudo, le dixo, y tengo por cosa cierta, que yo ire, y llegarè à las Carolinas.[”] Semejantes propociones tan conformes a lo que despues sucedio; son testimonio quasi innegable, que tenia alguna noticia adelantada de Dios de lo que avia de suceder y este fue el concepto, que hicieron los Padres en oyendola.

Llego pues el Padre Cantova à Marianas por septiembre del mismo año de 1730. No acabaron por esto las contradiciones; porque el Demonio levanto nuevas machinas, para impedir su Ida à Carolinas, y le dio casi mas que hacer en Marianas para procequir su camino, que en Manila para empezarlo; pero como hubiese ya llegado el tiem-

po determinado de la Divina Providencia para el descubrimiento de esas Islas no pudo el Infierno prevalecer à lo que ya estava decretado en el Cielo.

[Second expedition to the Carolines in 1731]

*Aviendose pues dispuesto todo lo neccessario para el viaje, en compa nia de otro Padre de Marianas con la escolta de 12 soldados, y 8 grumetes en una pequena embarcacion, se dio a la vela con indecible jubilo de su Espiritu, a 11 de Febrero del a o de 1731, y en 20 dias de navegacion llego finalmente a tomar Puerto en sus queridas Carolinas dando por muy bien pagados todos sus Cuidados, y trabajos, y peligros passados con el consuelo, que recivio, quando saltando en tierra, empezo à pasear por aquellas tanto tiempo desseadas Playas. Apenas se avia asomado el Barco a vista de tierra quando luego concurrio una gran turba de aquellos naturales a la Playa para ver aquella novedad para ellos estra a. Estavan mirando con susto, pero con maravilla aquella nueva Embarcacion, y el traje de la Gente, que en ella yba tan diferente del suyo; sin embargo viendo que todas las se as eran de paz, y amistad, muchos de ellos se animaron a entrar en sus banquillas, y acercarse a la embarcacion; los Padres y los soldados los combidaron à subir à bordo, y al- [fol. 398] -gunos de ellos entraron en el Barco, y fueron recibidos con grande cortecia, y agasajo, y los regalaron con viscocho, asucar, y otras cosillas, que à ellos por novedad les hicieron grande armonia. Viendo los demas el buen tratamiento hecho con sus compa neros ya sin miedo se arrimaban con sus Banquillas à el Barco deseoso de participar algo de aquellos regadillos, que los Padres yvan repartiendo, viendo pues que tan facilmente avian ganado la voluntad de aquellos Barbaros, se determinaron de ir a dar fondo en una Isla cercana llamada **Mogmog** por la Recidencia del Tamol, que con esse nombre llaman ellos a el Indio principal, que tiene el se orior, de alguna ò algunas de aquellas Isletas, y luego embiaron a dar parte à el dicho Tamol de su llegada. El qual aviendo sabido la mucha affabilidad, y cortecia de aquellos extrangeros, luego fue à la Playa para ir à bordo de la Embarcacion y viciarlos. Lo recibieron los Padres con mayor afabilidad, y cortecia, que avian mostrado con los demas Indios; y despues de una breve conversacion [que] tenia con el Padre Cantova, quien inmediatamente ya sabia hablar en su lengua por haverla aprendido, como queda dicho arriva de un Indio natural de essas Islas, el qual seis a os antes avia llegado à Marianas desgarrado en una de sus pequenas embarcaciones, y con esta ocacion lo avia llevado consigo por interprete, y este despues fue el mayor traidor, y cauza principal de su muerte. Despues de una breve conversassion, como dessia le presentaron unos dulces[,] unos instrumentos para pescar, y unos clavos de hierro, regalo para el muy magnifico, y en particular por los clavos de hierro, por ser el hierro cosa muy rara en aquellas Islas, y assi entre ellos el hierro es de mayor aprecio, y estimacion que el oro, y las hoyas entre nosotros. Y en llegando alguno à conseguir un poco para hacer un cuchillo, una hacha, ò un bolo se tiene por uno de los mas ricos, y mas dichosos. Recivio pues el regalo, y quedo tan contento, y alegre, que se ofrecio prompto à cooperar en todo quanto fuesse de su agrado; [fol. 399] y mando à su gente, que obedeciese a los Padres en quanto les mandasen, y aviendose desembarcado, y buelto à su casa, luego*

mando buscar refresco, y comida para embiarselo, y todo se reducía à un poco de pescado, unos cocos, y unas gallinas, mando tambien prevenir una cassa, ò por mejor decir un camarín para que sirviase de morada para los Padres.

El día siguiente que fue à tres de Marzo saltaron en tierra, en donde los estaba esperando en la Playa una gran turba de aquellos naturales para usar con los Padres la ceremonia, que ellos estilan de mayor benevolencia, y estimacion de llevarlos en hombros como hicieron con gran fiesta, y alegría à la casa, que ya estava prevenida. Aviendo pues llegado à su morada despedieron a los Indios, dandoles muchas gracias del buen afecto, y buena correspondencia que les mostraban. Pero los Indios no savian apartarse de ellos. La primera cossa, que hicieron los Padres fue buscar un Madero grande para formar una Cruz y plantarla delante de su cassa, y no la huvieran hallado si la Divina providencia no lo huviera tenido prevenido de antemano; porque en toda aquella Isla, no se hallava arbol solo que sea de provecho; y assi no ay en ella otra madera, sino la que de quando en quando la mar arroja a la Playa, y quando aquellos Isleños descubren en la mar algun palo, van a porfia en sus banquillas para cojerlo, y el primero que llega se hace Dueño de el, y los demas se lo dejan como conquista suya. Pues algun tiempo antes que llegasen los Padres uno de aquellos Indios avia cojido uno de aquellos palos, y lo tenian tirado en la Playa, para tenerlo prompto a qualquiera ocaasion, que se les ofreciese de servirse de el. Aviendo pues entendido la pesquiza para hallar un palo de buena Madera, luego se le ofreció, y entrego a los Padres y asi pudieron dar cumplimiento à su desseo, y levantar la santa Cruz como estandarte de nuestra santa Feè, y de nuestra Redempcion.

*La segunda diligencia, que hicieron fue disponer un Altar, y todo lo necessario para [fol. 400] decir Missa el día siguiente, y el día 4 de Marzo del año de 1731 fue el día mas dichoso que amanecio en aquella Isla por haver sido el primero, en que se ofrecio el sacro sancto sacrificio, que nos dexo Jesu Cristo en precio, y memoria de la Redempcion del Mundo. Ni se puede explicar el Jubilo, y las lagrimas de consuelo, que deramaron los Padres, por aver sido ellos escogidos los primeros para consagrar aquellas Islas tanto tiempo profanadas de la supersticion, con tan santo sacrificio de la Missa, queria el Padre Cantova dar luego principio tambien a la predicacion del Evangelio, con aquella tal qual noticia, que avia adquirido de su lengua; porque su zelo no dexaba socegar, y no le permitia perder un momento de tiempo, que todo no fuesse empleado à beneficio, y provecho de las Almas. Sin embargo determinaron recorrer primero aquella Isla, para ver si avian de quedar en ella por algun tiempo de asiento, y aviendo registrado juzgaron, que era mas acertado el pasar à otra cercana llamada **Falalep**, que era menos esteril, y mas grande de todas, y por consiguiente mas apropocito para dar principio a la siembra de la semilla Evangelica. Pasaron pues à ella y fueron recibidos con la misma demostracion de amistad, y alegría tambien de aquellos Isleños, como fueron recibidos de los de Mogmog. Levantaron una cassa pequeña como los Indios, y formaron como una capilla para celebrar la Missa; y luego empezaron à comidar à los Indios à oír la explicacion de la Doctrina Christiana, y los primeros rudimientos de Nuestra Sancta Feè, el concurzo era grande y la frecuencia continua, asi*

de los grandes, como de los Pequeños de modo tal que en poco tiempo tuvieron el gran consuelo de Bautizar muchos niños, y muchos adultos. Viendo pues tan felices principios les pareció que ellos solos no bastaban, para recoger toda la mies, que prometían tan abundantes primicias; y así se resolvió el Padre Cantova de volver en el Barco [fol. 401] a las Marianas, para darle alegre noticia de tan felices principios, y traer a trabajar en la nueva viña otros dos Padres Micioneros. Hecha esta determinación mandó disponer el Barco, y disponer las cosas necesarias para el viaje con ánimo de salir quanto antes; pero Dios avia dispuesto otra cosa, y así entraron unos vientos tan contrarios, que por ocho días continuos no pudo salir de la bocana, en donde estaba dado fondo. En este interin repararon los Padres alguna mudanza en los Indios; ya no acudían en tanto número, ni con tanta frecuencia como antes al rezo, y explicación de la Doctrina, ni mostraban tanto cariño, y confianza y poco a poco se iban apartando de su comunicación. Esta novedad tuvo su origen de tres Indios, que en los años passados aviéndose desgarrado à Marianas, alla estuvieron algun tiempo, y despues aviendo hallado ocasión oportuna, volvieron à su Isla que es una de las mas cercanas à Marianas, y apenas dista 40 leguas. Aviendo pues estos tres llegado con sus embarcaciones, y con sus compañeros à Falalep, para comerciar, como suelen entre ssi aquellas Islas, y todo el comercio se reduze à cocos, pescados, y unos paños, que texen las Mugerres de la corteza de algunos arboles con bastante curiosidad. Con esta ocasión movidos del Demonio empezaron à murmurar de los Padres diciendo, que no avian de fiarse de ellos, porque los trayan engaños, y con la nueva religion querian introducir en sus tierras à los Españoles, y despues quedarian esclavos de los Padres, y Criados de los Españoles, como avia sucedido en las Islas Marianas. Esta Diabolica zizaña ha hecho tales raizes en los Corazones de aquellos Naturales, que finalmente con el tiempo atrago toda la semilla recién sembrada del santo Evangelio.

Esta novedad aumento mucho mas en el Padre Cantova la duda que avia concebido, quando empezaron los vientos contrarios, si sería, ò no voluntad de Dios su ida à Marianas, y así avia encargado à sus Compañeros, que cada día encomendasen à Dios muy de veras un negocio muy importante. Una noche pues, despues de aver acabado de rezar el Rosario como solian en vos alta con todos los soldados, y Marineros, se levanto, y dixo promptamente a su Compañero: [“]Padre, yo soy el que he de quedarme; porque así combiene para la maior Gloria de Dios;[”] y dicho esto mando luego embarcar los trastos de su Compañero, y sacar los suyos. Hecha esta nueva determinación luego se mudaron los vientos de contrarios en favorables, y el día siguiente pudo darse a la vela la embarcación con toda felicidad. Quedose pues el Padre Juan Antonio Cantova en las Islas Carolinas, pero para subir poco despues a el Cielo; y esta su quedada, es muy probable, como afirmo despues su Compañero, que fuese especial revelación de Dios; aunque el Padre Cantova en la Carta que escribió à los Padres de Marianas dixo (y aqui la referirè) con mucho disimulo, que el quedar su Reverencia en las Islas fue conforme a el parecer, y conejo de su Compañero.

Relacion que hace el Padre Juan Antonio Cantova de su viaje y asiento en las Yslas Carolinas.

*El día onze de Febrero de este presente año salimos de Marianas el Padre Victor Walter, y yo con doce soldados y ocho grumetes, y el día dos de Marzo llegamos à tomar puerto en estas Islas que apellidamos de los Dolores por haverlas descubierto el día de viernes y segundo día de la Novena que hacíamos à Nuestra Señora de los Dolores[.] saltamos en tierra en la Isla de Mogmog morada del **Tamol** señor de estas Islas pero por ser tan pequeña que apenas tendra una legua de bojeo sin tierras para sementera y sin agua buena para beber me determiné de pasar à la Isla de Falalep que es la maior de estas Islas y tendra de bojeo apenas dos leguas. Aquí tomamos asiento y hicimos sementeras pero la plaga de ratones nos destruyeron el Maiz sembrado y resembrado sin esperanza de cosecha, mas para matarlos hicimos una ratonera à modo de corral de pescado y en tres oras cogimos cincuenta y cinco, y assi se van cogiendo cada dia muchos. Estas Islas que son treinta y seis estan al sudueste de Marianas en distancia de unas ochenta leguas, todas [son] pequeñas y solo ocho pobladas como demuestra el **Mapa adjunto** en el qual las Islas que son pobladas tiene la letra Q.¹*

Estoy con el cuidado de juntar toda la gente en una ó dos Islas pero no puede ser luego y es menester ir con el pie de plomo.²

Asi estas Islas como otras muchas de este Archipiélago estan sujetas al Rey de Yap[.] Isla grande y muy poblada que demora al Oes-sudueste de estas Isl[et]as en distancia de unas cincuenta leguas[.] [Estando ya las cosas de esta nueva Christiandad algo asentadas dexare aquí al Padre Victor y yo me pasare à Yap, y si vinieren otros Padres aunque fueran una docena no serian de sobra segun la multitud de Islas que ay pequeñas y grandes en las quales se pueden formar una muy dilatada Christiandad.]

La casa que por aora tenemos es un camarín, que segun la costumbre de estas Islas sirve de posada à los huespedes. Las caidas del techo son tan bajas que se levantan del suelo apenas tres palmos. Toda la casa esta llena de puertas, pero tan bajas que para entrar y salir es menester ir à gatas y nos costo trabajo el componer una puerta para poder entrar y salir parados y fue poco el provecho porque las llaves del camarín que mantienen todo el edificio estan altas del suelo unos seis palmos y à cada rato es fuerza ir bajando la caveza so pena de dar cavezadas en estos atravesaños[.] ni tenemos esperanza de conseguir casa mejor en estas Isletas [à lo menos por algunos años] por la suma falta de palos: pues no ay sino cicales y otros pocos arbolitos de poco ó ningun provecho[.] en este camarín conpusimos con bastante decencia un [hueco para] capilla donde colocamos por Titular à Nuestra Señora del Loreto con misa cantada [y salva de mosquetes y artilleria.] no se [h]artan estos naturales de venir à ver y admirar la hermosura de esta Divina Señora y de su Santisimo Hijo y dicen que no pueden dejar de creer en Dios, pues le veen por sus ojos y ven à su Madre[.] luego tomamos por Patron [de

1 From here on, Fr. Cantova has copied his official report (Doc. 1731A2) with few small differences.

2 Ed. note: This sentence had been removed for the report sent to the Marianas, but is restituted here, to show that this plan of Fr. Cantova may have led to the alienation of the natives.

esta Isla y] de este Pueblo de Falalep à Nuestro Padre San Ignacio [haviendo precedido su novena que acabamos con misa cantada].

*Uno de mis primeros cuidados fue asegurar la casa con una buena cerca[.] luego fui à dar una vuelta por estas Islas à enarbolar cruces[.] bautisar à los niños y catequisar de paso à los adultos[.] los niños ya bautisados hasta el dia de la fecha son ciento veinte y siete[.] las almas que tengo empadronadas en las ocho Islas pobladas son quinientas noventa y dos y la distribucion que tenemos en la doctrina en esta: despues de la misa (à la qual asisten muchos fuera de las puertas por las quales estan mirando con admiracion y silencio aquel Santo Sacrificio) bamos enseñando à los hombres grandes y pequeños, las oraciones y las preguntas de la doctrina que he traducido en su lengua, la qual es muy diferente de todos los Idiomas de Philipinas y Marianas, pero se rresa mucho con la lengua de **Ulie** [i.e. **Woleai**] que yo habia aprendido en Marianas[.] luego por la tarde enseñamos de la misma suerte à las mujeres, y acuden à la doctrina muchos de ambos sexos y de todas edades con deseo de aprenderla y bautisarse.*

Y en las otras Islas donde nosotros no asistimos ban enseñando la señal de la Cruz y las oraciones algunos muchachos y quanto antes embiare otros mejor instruidos [para que hagan el oficio de catequistas]; todas las noches resamos los de casa todos juntos el Sancto Rosario y la Letania de la Virgen y cantamos la Salve con notable gusto de estos Indios que quisieran saver el mismo reso y canto para acompañarnos [en el obsequio de la Virgen Santisima].

*Es digna de reparo la singular providencia con que Dios nos deparò un interprete natural de estas Islas[.] este es un mozo el qual bolbiendo de Yap el año de mill setecientos veinte y cinco y con treinta y cinco bancas de su comitiva algunas de estas Islas y otras de Ulie. Por un [contra-] tiempo que les cogio en la travesia, se aparto de las demas bancas, y encontro el Patache en que iba de Gobernador à Marianas el General Don Manuel de Arguelles el qual convido à todos los que iban en la banca (que eran muchos hombres mujeres y niños[.]) para que dejasen su banca y se fuesen con el à Marianas[.] quatro mossos, y entre ellos nuestro Interprete, que se llama **Digal**, dexaron la banca, y se fueron à Marianas, los demas tubieron miedo y se fueron en demanda de su tierra[.] pero asi estos como todos los demas de las otras treinta y quatro bancas se perdieron [porque hasta el dia de oy no parece ninguno de ellos] estando pues estos quatro en Marianas los tres que eran de otras Islas se bolvieron à su tierra; y solo nuestro interprete quizo quedarse para hacerse Christiano. Quatro años estubo sirviendo al General Arguelles, y despues de su muerte passo à servir à los Padres[.] quando yo llegue à Marianas le halle todavia en estado de catecumeno, y aunque me pedia el Bautismo se lo dilato porque aunque sabia el reso y la doctrina en Castellano no entendia su sentido; y como {yo} tenia intencion de pasar à las Islas de Ulie cuia lengua sabe este mozo[.] traduje con su ayuda las oraciones y preguntas de la doctrina en este Idioma[.] con lo qual quedo hecho bastantemente capaz de los misterios de Nuestra Santa fee, y le bautise [el dia de Pasqua de Reyes de este presente año con el nombre de **Gaspar de los Reyes**] y se ha mostrado hasta aora mui fiel muy solido en la fee y de buenas costumbres y nos ayuda mucho con su persona y con sus parientes que son los mas prin-*

cipales de esta[s] Isla[s][.] por este respecto escribe à los Padres Procuradores que procuren alcanzarle de su Magestad la merced de Maestre de Campo de estas Islas para que los demas se alienten à favorecer à los Ministros del Evangelio.

Viven estos Indios con alguna racionalidad en poblaciones cerca de las playas con sus casitas juntas[.] su[s] bastimento[s] no es casi otra cosa que coco porque aunque tienen algunas [sementerillas de dos generos] de rayces es cosa corta y poco grata al gusto[.] ay arboles frutales de **Rimay** y otros que llaman **Afuch**, pero poco[s.] su bebida ordinaria es [**tuba** y] agua de coco[,] y raro es el yndio que bebe agua natural[.] es gente de genio alegre y holgazan casi todo el dia y la noche se les ba en cantar y parece[n] un coro de Capuchinos que estan cantando Maytines y [son] muy amigos de danzas[,] especialmente las noches de Luna pero bailan separadamente los hombres de las mugeres de suerte que al baile de las mugeres no pueden asistir los hombres **et viceversa** y como no tienen uso de instrumentos musicos danzan al compas de su mismo canto[.] los hombres, aunque no todos, se labran y pintan todo su cuerpo y tienen grandes agujeros en las ternillas de las orejas y otro agujero mas pequeño en la ternilla de la nariz y en estos agujeros traen manojitos de flores ó yervas olorosas y sarsillos de abalorios que ellos labran de cascara de coco y de concha y casi todos asi hombres como mugeres traen à la sintura una pretina de dos ó tres dedos de ancho compuesta de cuentecillas blancas y negras[.] no traen los varones mas vestido que un bajaque à modo de un paño con que se cubren por delante, para no quedar del todo indecentemente desnudos, a modo de un paño de manos que texen de abaca [estas Indias] no sin alguna curiosidad de labores: y los tienen de color amarillo muy encendido que van à comprar à Yap y es cosa entre ellos de tan gran estimacion y con el mismo color se pintan sus rostros y sus cuerpos asi hombres como mugeres[.] el vestido de las mugeres consiste en un tapiz del mismo genero que les alcanza desde la sintura hasta las rodillas [pero poco à poco se iran poniendo en la modestia Christiana.] los mozos y mozas son muy amigos de engalanarse la caveza el cuello y los brazos y las piernas con guirnaldas de flores yervas olorosas y [h]ojas blancas de coco[.] lo que mas estiman estos Indios es el fierro que aprecian tanto como en otras naciones el oro[.] y preguntando yo à uno de ellos en quanto estimaba el hierro me respondió con este desatino: [“¿sabes lo que es el cielo pues asi como [à el cielo estimamos nosotros el hierro.”]

Tocante à su[s] creencia[s] son puros gentiles y creen que ay varios espíritus que ellos llaman **Elluz**¹ de los quales temen y esperan pero solamente cosas temporales porque ignoran totalmente lo que nos espera con la otra vida; y aunque dicen que las almas [despues de] desatadas del cuerpo van al Infierno no saben en que ultimamente paran [ni que cosa es Infierno.] tienen algunas oraciones para rogar à su **Elluz** que les de mucha **tuba**, **rimay**, pesca etc., pero no tienen templo ni altar ni Idolo ni sacrificios si no es algunos cocos que le ofrecen al pie de algun arbol donde piensan que asiste el **Elluz**[.] los dias pasados habiendo yo consertado con un Indio que limpiase un pedaço de tie-

1 Ed. note: Simply spelled Eluz in one version, probably to indicate that the double -l was not pronounced the Spanish way.

rra para sementera de Maiz, le mande que cortase unos arboles que hacian mucha sombra[,] que en Philipinas pienso se llaman [nonos o] baletes, pero [el Indio] no se atrevio à cortarlos diciendo que alli asistia el Elluz y que dies [/20] personas en diferentes tiempos se havian muerto por haverse atrevido a quererlos cortar[,] yo cogi un bolo y comenze à cortarlo y luego mande prosiguiese un soldado hasta deribararlo quedandose los Indios admirados de que à nosotros no nos suceda por eso ningun [/algun] daño[.] en cada pueblo ay unas dos casas apartadas de las [de]mas, à donde van à parir las mugeres y se quedan alli [por] tres meses; y alli tambien se rretiran las que padecen el ordinario achaque del menstuo, apartadas por algunos dias de toda comunicacion con los hombres; y eso con tal rigor que ningun hombre puede pasar serca de esas casas ni comer de lo que se cosina para esas mugeres so pena de enfermar, ó de morir[.]

Tienen otras muchas vanas observancias en comer, en vestir, y en pescar pero confio en Dios que poco à poco se les ira quitando pues ven que nosotros que hacemos burla de ellas estamos buenos y sanos[.] ay algunos Brujos los quales nos daran algo que hacer pero ya los muchachos hacen burla de ellos, y nos avisan cuando les ven hacer alguna de sus ceremonias supersticiosas. Aviendo yo ido à una de estas Isletas distante unas quatro leguas de esta cavecera para empadronar sus moradores bautizar à los niños y catequizar un poco a los adultos[,] un brujo de esa isla nos amenaso que abia de hacer venir un Baguio sobre nosotros para que nos aogaramos en la buelta pero fue Dios servido confundir al Brujo con darnos la buelta feliz[,] confesando los Indios que no pueden nada sus Dioses contra nuestro Dios.

Por la suma falta, que tenemos de bastimentos aviamos determinado que bolviesse el Barco à Marianas à cargar de arros, maiz, y carne, antes que llegasse el Galeon para traer dos Compañeros a la nueva Mission, y estava yo en ir en el; porque no se fuese el Barco à Philipinas; pero estando ya prevenido todo para la partida, le pareció a mi Compañero el Padre Victor Walter, que me quedase yo; porque se reconocio notable mudanza en los naturales de estas Islas, y especialmente en el Tamol de esta Isla. He reconocido que tienen el animo muy alterado, desde que llegaron aca unas bancas de las Carolinas, en las quales vino un Indio de la Isla de Ulie, que estubo en Guahan, y presumo que este mozo les ha llenado los oydos à estos naturales de los muchos trabajos que tienen en Marianas los Indios por causa de aquel presidio. Por este motivo nos hemos rezelado no ayga algun levantamiento, el que puede ser se evito con el Divino favor estando pressente. Y porque el Barco no yba seguro sin Padre mi compañero el Padre Victor me aconsejo, le dexase a su Reverencia y que yo me quedasse, por parecer que estos naturales me tenian mucho respecto. Por lo que toca à coger las Islas Marianas no es dificil por ser cordillera seguida de las Islas altas. La mayor dificultad consiste en acertar a la vista con estas Islas por ser tan pequeñas, y tan baxas. Pero irá con el Padre un Mestizo Español de Marianas à el qual he enseñado un poco del arte de navegar, y a observar el sol. Yo pues me quedo no sin algun temor de que se malogren estos felizes principios. Yo tendre por suma dicha de morir, por quien murio por mi en una Cruz. Pero sintiria en el alma, que se perdiessse esta nueva Cristiandad.

Dios Nuestro Señor tenga misericordia de estos Pobres, y les borre del Corazon sus malos intentos, si acaso lo tienen.

Fecha en esta Isla de Falalep, May 27 de 1731.¹

¹ Ed. note: Fr. Spilimbergo, in his manuscript in ARSI, wrongly corrected this date to 27 March 1732.

Esta carta, o por mejor decir en esta breve relacion de las Islas Carolinas embiava el Padre Cantova a los Padres de Marianas; pero no llegó a sus manos; porque el Barco, ò fuesse por ignorancia, ò fuesse por malicia del Piloto, fue a dar a Manila. No es creible el consuelo, que cauzaron en el corazon de todos tan à- [fol. 409] -Jegres noticias. Sin embargo no dexaron de causar algun cuidado aquellas palabras, con que el Padre concluya su carta, pues eran indicio muy claro de su peligro. No se descuidaron los superiores y Padres de Manila de solicitar con todo empeño el deseado socorro; pero todos los esfuerzos, salieron vanos; porque no se halló Piloto alguno, que se atreviese a ir en derechura de Manila à Carolinas en un tiempo, en que los mares estavan tan alborotados por la furia de los vendavales; y assi no se pudo conseguir otra cosa, sino que para el año siguientes [sic] se dispuciesse el socorro necessario, que iria en el Patache de Marianas, y de Marianas en otra embarcacion mas pequeña passaria à Carolinas. Esta dilacion tan larga de quasi dos años acabo de amargar todo el consuelo concebido por las noticias, que avian venido tan favorables de la nueva Mission; porque aunque algunos pocos con alegre pronostico decian, que el Padre Cantova aunque solo con su zelo Apostolico avia de sembrar la semilla de Nuestra Santa Fee por todas aquellas Islas. Sin embargo quasi todos se persuadian, que el Padre avia de perecer de miseria por falta de bastimiento ò por mano de los mismos naturales como de hecho sucedio, y se supo por un Indio Carolino, a quien cautivo el Barco, que el año 1733 fue a llevar el socorro a aquellas Islas, y el casso fue de esta manera.

Año de 1732 salio de Manila el Patache de Marianas, en el qual iba el Compañero del Padre Cantova con el socorro de la nueva Mission, y despues de una larga navegacion al entrar en el Puerto de Merizo se hizo pedazos. Se salvo toda la gente, pero se perdio quasi toda la carga, y juntamente el Barco, que llevaba en quarteles, para pasar con el à las Carolinas. Procuraron recoger algunos Palos del Barco perdido, y con otra madera que hallaron en Marianas hicieron con mucho trabajo una embarcacion suficiente, en el qual el Padre con otro Hermano salio de Marianas el ultimo dia de Marzo del año de 1733 con 12 hombres entre soldados [fol. 410] y marineros, y el día 2 de Julio descubrieron la Isla de Falalep por la mañana, y llegaron a media dia a la Playa como un tiro de piedra, Pero los Indios no solo no salieron à encontrarlos como la primera vez sino que todos se huyeron. Esta novedad fue el primer indicio del mal sussesos de aquella Mission, y de la muerte del Padre Cantova, y mas quando vieron la Casa del Padre[,] la cruz, y el camarín, y aun todo el Puerto que ya lo avian mudado à otra parte. Sin embargo desde la embarcacion hicieron señas, y demostraciones de amistad a los Indios, que huyeron[.] quatro de ellos mas animosos entraron en una de sus banquillas, y se azercaron à el Barco. Pero por mas que lo combidavan con afabilidad, y cortecía a subir à bordo nunca quicieron arrimarsse. Les preguntaban del Padre y soldados, y dieron, que avian ydo à otra Isla, y los nuestros hicieron, que creiyan. Les pidieron algun refresco de cocos, y ellos se fueron luego a tierra, y despues de un rato volvieron con otras banquillas, en que vinieron 14 Indios, y unos de ellos se dexo inducir a entrar en la embarcacion, y allí lo agasaharon, y regalaron; viendo esto subio otro, pero apenas entro, quando luego arrepentido salto à el agua y bolvio a su banquilla, con esto

exemplar el otro tambien quería hazer lo mismo, pero lo detuvieron, y no lo dexaron echarse al mar. Aqui empezó una especie de àlboroto entre ellos, y los soldados de la embarcacion viendo esto, sin esperar mas señales de su traicion les dispararon un pedrero, y mataron 3, y hirieron à otros, y todos los demas espantados se huyeron à tierra a nado para llegar mas presto à salvamento y en un momento todos desaparecieron. Los nuestros querían saltar en tierra para cautivar algunos de aquellos Indios, pero por mas que acercasen a tierra nunca pudieron hallar fondo para asegurar la embarcacion, y assí el día siguiente determinaron darse à la vela en busca de la Isla de Yap, que es la maior, y mas populosa de todas las Islas de aquel Archipiélago, y en ella recide el Tamol princip. y es el Reyesuelo de todos las demas, y a quien todos anualmente pagan tributo. Quatro dias gastaron en la demanda de dha Isla; pero viendo que no podían acertar con ella mudaron de rumbo, y pusieron la proa àzia Manila, à donde llegaron el dia catorce de Julio con la Infausta noticia del Levantamiento de los Indios Carolinos, y de la muerte del Ven. Padre Juan Antonio Cantova, que segun la Relacion del Indio, que llevaron presso à Manila, el qual se hallo pressente, y quiza tambien ayudando a ella, sucedio de la manera siguiente.

Haviendo hecho grandissima imprecion en los animos de los Indios los perversos testimonios, que levantaron contra los Padres, y Españoles de Marianas aquellos tres que llegaron à Falalep como arriba se dixo, y perseverando en su diabolica malicia fueron añadiendo mas leña al fuego, que ya estaba ardiendo, y finalmente levantose tal incendio de odio en aquellos Barbaros contra la Santa Fee, y el Padre que la enseñaba, que determinaron darle muerte, y aunque no era menester trabajar mucho en estudiar trazas para matar à quien estaba muy prompto para matar sin resistencia, sin embargo undieron la traicion de este modo. El Intérprete llamado Digal, a quien el Padre avía llevado concigo de marianas, fue el principal traydor, vino, ò fingio venir de la Isla de mogmog, que estava cercana, diciendo, que alla avía dexado un enfermo em peligro de muerte muy desseosso del Baptismo, y suplicaba a su Reverencia que fuesse à baptizarlo antes de morir. El Padre oyendo enfermo, peligro de muerte, y desseoso de Baptizar, fue corriendo a la [fol. 411] Playa para embarcarce luego; dos Soldados le siguieron y se embarcaron en su compañía en la banquilla. Llego à la Isla, y apenas salto en la Playa, quando se vio luego cercado de una gran muchedumbre de Indios todos armados con sus lanzas. Preguntòles el Padre la causa de aquella novedad, y que pretendían con aquellas armas. Respondieron ellos alborotados, que ya estaban cansados de oyrle gritar contra su Ley[,] predicarles òtra nueva, y que no querían seguir otras costumbres, sino las de sus ante passados; y diciendo esto uno de ellos le dio una recia lanzada en el Lado izquierdo. Levanto el Padre las manos, y ojos à el Cielo, como quien se ofrece à Dios por victima del Santo Evangelio, que avía predicado, y luego cayò en el suelo. Le acometieron de nuevo à aquellos Barbaros con otras dos lanzadas, para acabar de matarle, con la una le traspasaron el pecho, y con la otra el mismo lado izquierdo. Y assí como por tres fuentes acabo de derramar todo su sangre en protestacion de nuestra Santa Fee, y de su caridad para con quien avía muerto por el sangrado en la Cruz. Luego que los Indios de Falalep supieron la muerte del Padre dieron sobre los pocos Solda-

dos que avían quedado guardando la Casa; y como los cogieron desprevenidos, è ignorantes de semejante traycion, con poco trabajo, y gran furor los mataron à todos, aunque en aquel primer acometimiento defendiendose como pudieron, mataron à quatro Indios. Los Indios de Mogmog despues de aver muerto al Padre lo desnudaron, y aviendolo embuelto en un petate lo enterraron debaxo de una choza, ò techesuelo, ceremonia para ellos muy honorifica, y que la usan solamente con sus principales, y con los niños inocentes. A los soldados los enterraron à todos en Playa.

Este levantamiento sucedio despues de aver salido el Barco à buscar socorro à Marianas, y fue el dia 4 de Junio del año de 1731. Los que quedaron muertos en aquella Isla fueron 14 hombres es a saber todos los que avían quedado en compañía del Padre Cantova; Solo reservaron vivo un muchacho tagalo natural de Philipinas, que servía al Padre de sacristancillo, ayudandole à Missa, y cuidando de los ornamentos; y despues de algun tiempo lo llevaron à la Isla grande de Yap, en donde recide el Rey, a quien selo presentaron de regalo, y dijo el Indio cautivo, que lo recivio con demostraciones de mucha satisfacion, y agradicimiento y lo tiene, y trata como à hijo suyo. Qual sea el fin de la Divina Providencia de aver conservado la vida à este muchacho, se sabra quando, y como Dios fuere servido de manifestarlo. Lo cierto es, que el muchacho era de muy buenas costumbres, y estava muy bien arraygado en Nuestra Santa Fee. Preguntole un Padre, pocos días antes de embarcarse para las Islas Carolinas si tenia miedo de yr entre aquellos barbaros? Respondiò francamente que no, y que estava prompto à morir por la fee, y que por esto quería seguir à su amo el Padre Cantova, cuya sangre desde aquellas Playas estara siempre clamando al Cielo para que Dios se apiade de sus amados Carolinos. Despues de la muerte del Padre Cantova, entro en aquellas Islas un mal tan contagioso, que hizo grande estrago, y cauzo grande mortandad en ellas, y juntamente bolvio de nuevo la plaga de los mosquitos, que avian quasi del todo desaparecido en virtud de una Novena, que hicieron los Padres à San Ignacio recien llegados à aquellos Indios grande admiracion, y juntamente grande estimacion de nuestra santa fee, por verse libres de la molestia de àquellos animales que para ellos, que van desnudos, era mas tormentosa. Esta pues fue la conclusion de la empresa del Padre Juan Antonio Cantova, a quien Dios tenía prevenido la Corona de Martir en las Carolinas. En toda la serie de este suceso bien se echa de ver, que todo fue dispocion de la Divina providencia, cuyos aciertos no se conocen quando pone los medios, sino solo quando acaba de concluir la cosa a sus fines.

[Father Cantova's virtues]

Para venerar como Santo un Misionero Apostolico basta el aver muerto Martir de Christo, como se puede àfirmar con toda probabilidad del Padre Juan Antonio Cantova, sin embargo, aunque le huviese faltado el Martirio, no le faltaron grandes virtudes, que lo hacian digno de gloriosa memoria. Su martirio es materia de una santa embidia, pero sus virtudes son materia de una santa emulacion. Aviendo pues hecho mension de su martirio, para venerarlo como Martir, parece muy conveniente hacer mension tambien de sus virtudes para imitarle como santo Religioso. Fuera empeño

muy largo el querer hablar de todas y assi hare mencion de algunas solamente de las quales se veyá adornado con especiabilidad [sic].

La primera virtud que resplandecio en el Padre Juan Antonio Cantova, fue el zelo de la salvacion de las Almas[,] virtud proprissima de un Religioso de la Compañia. Este zelo lo tenia en un continuo movimiento para el provecho espiritual de su proximo. El Espiritu Santo en el Cap. 8 de los Cantares da una señal para conocer el zelo verdadero de la salvacion de las Almas, y es compararla con la rabia, que tiene el Infierno de perderlas: Dura sicut Infernus emulatio. La rabia del Infierno es dura, es a saber, molesta; porque no dexa sosegar a los Demonios, para buscar trazas para traer las Almas a la perdicion, y tal era el zelo del Padre Juan Antonio no le dexaba socegar siempre buscando trazar de ganar almas para el Cielo; ya se cervía de concejos, ya de instrucciones, ya de Libros devotos, à unos exhortaba à la frecuencia de Sacramentos à otros à confeciones generales, à otros persuadía entrar en los Exercicios Espirituales: y assi todo su Cuidado era en discurrir modos conducentes al bien de las almas. La rabia del Infierno es dura, porque hace que los demonios aguanten qualquiera trabajo, hasta con- [fol. 413] -tentarse de padecer mayores tormentos por lograr la condenacion de un alma; y tal fue el zelo del Padre Juan Antonio duro, es a saber fuerte para aguantar trabajo, incomodidades, cansancios peligros, y finalmente la misma muerte para lograr la salvacion de los proximos. Ultimamente es dura la rabia del Infierno, porque hace à los Demonios constantes, y pertinazes en su empeño, y tal fue tambien el zelo del Padre Juan Antonio siempre constante, y santamente pertinaz de cooperar a la Salvacion de las Almas. Supero las dificultades, vencio las contradiciones, aunque muchas, y grandes sin desistir un momento de su Apostolico empeño hasta la muerte.

La segunda virtud muy propria suya fue la Humildad. Esta virtud no se dio à conocer a todos en lo exterior en aquel grado tan heroyco en que su Reverencia la poseya, porque no era muy amigo de exterioridades, y assi en este punto sele puede aplicar muy bien lo que N. S. Padre decia del Padre Bobadilla, que era un hypocrita al reves, porque procuraba no parecer Santo como era: assi el Padre Cantova, su humildad era interior del corazon. Erat humilis corde: y assi no parecia lo que era, y a no aver tenido esta virtud muy solida, y bien arraygada en el corazon no era possible, que se mantubiesse en tanta moderacion en los muchos lanzes que sele ofrecieron de graves humil[i]jaciones. Y quizo Dios exercitarlo en esta virtud con semejantes pruebas desde los primeros años que entro en la Compañia, porque desde entonces dispuso Dios, que entrase en el crisol de las humiliaciones para perficionarle en la humildad.

En tercer lugar fue el Padre Antonio Cantova muy devoto del Santissimo Sacramento[,] de la Virgen y del Glorioso Patriarcha San Joachin. La primera cosa, que hacia por la mañana despues de levantarse era ir a la tribuna à visitar el Santissimo Sacramento, y luego bolví a su aposento para dar principio a su Oracion. Lo mismo hacía despues de aver descansado un poco la siesta. Siempre que salía de casa, hacia primero una vici-ta al SSmo. Sacramento y en bolviendo hacia lo mismo, al anochecer tambien vicitaba el SSmo. Sacramento y despues se recogía a estudiar en su aposento. Estas eran las vicitas ordinarias de cada día, à[de]mas de las otras, y que hacía de quando en quando

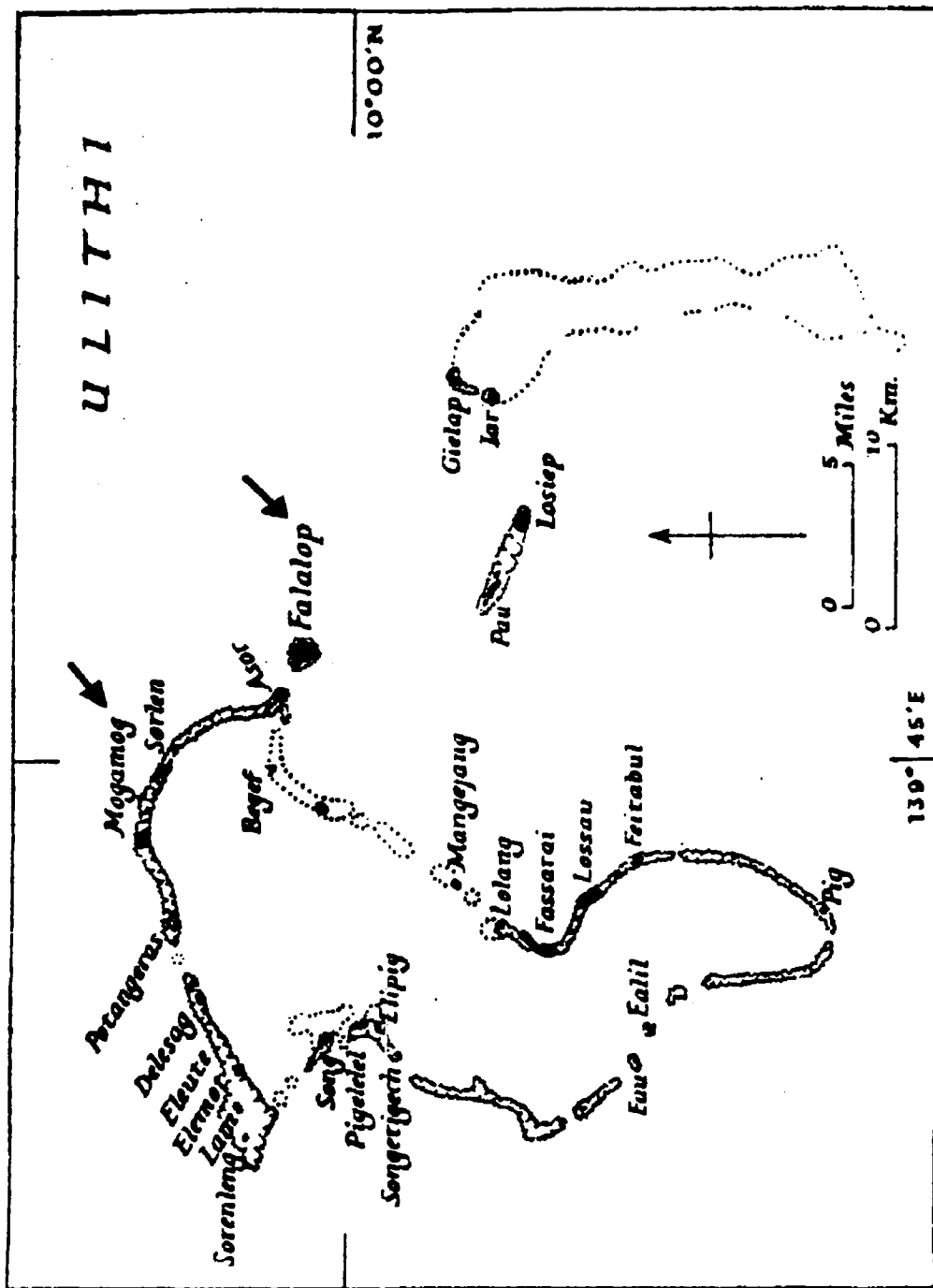
segun le dictaba su Devocion. Por lo que toca a la devocion con la SSma. Virgen, empezò a obsequiarla, como à Abogada, y Madre desde su mas tiernos años, y quando entrò en el Noviciado estaba ya tan encendido en su amor que el Padre que fue su con-[fol. 414] -Novicio, y Compañero de aposento afirma, que aun durmiendo se acordava de su querida Abogada y Madre, y de quando en quando le òya hazer fervorosas saetillas, y devotas jaculatorias, que eran una especie de desahogo de su amante corazon, y algunas veses tambien cantar la Letanía de la SSma. Virgen. Y de aqui nacia aquel cuydado tan grande de imprimir en el corazon de todos su tierna devocion; pero en donde se extremo mas esto su santo empeño en que cuido como Prefecto de la Congregacion de la Puríssima en esta Ciudad de Manila. Es increyble quanto promobio su devocion en sus Congregantes ya con fervorosas platicas, ya en un modo, ya en otro, y mucho mas con la eficacia de su buen exemplo. Lo mismo hizo tambien en aquel poco de tiempo, en que estuvo administrando un Pueblo de Indios, en el qual avía una pequeña Hermita dedicada a la Virgen de los Dolores; y como ya estubiese en gran fervor entre los Indios la devocion à la dha Hermita, por ser entonces recién fundada, el Padre no solo la mantuvo, sino que la adelanto mucho mas con sus modos industriosos que tenía en particular quando se trataba de obsequiar a la SSma. Virgen que era el objeto de su mas tierna devocion. Ultimamente mostrose tambien devoto muy especial del Señor San Joachin, y assi se puso con todo empeño a promover la devocion del Santo. Fundo por medio de un principal vecino la fiesta con una renta muy àbundante, para que se celebrase en su día todos los años con gran solemnidad, como de hecho se celebra. Y su Reverencia desde el primer año tomo à su cargo el hacer el panegirico à su querido Abogado, y fueron 6 años seguidos, y siempre con extra ordinario concurso, y quasi siempre con la àsistencia del mismo Señor Governador todos traidos no menos de su modo excelente de predicar, que de la devocion, que avía altamente impresso en los corazones de los ciudadanos. Y para perpetuar el concurso, y la devocion a su querido Abogado, persuadido con mucha facilidad a sus congregantes, que apropiasen la fiesta à la Congregacion, y la hiciesen como suya, compuso tambien una devota Novena en obsequio del Santo, y la imprimio en un copioso numero de Libritos para repartir a sus Devotos. Assí mismo procurò, y consiguio de una piadosa señora mandasse abrir una Lamina del Santo muy grande, y Hermosa, para fomentar con sus Imágenes su devocion.

Concluyre este punto de sus virtudes, y juntamente esta larga Carta, y breve Historia de su vida diciendo mucho en poco con una sentencia del Cap. [fol. 415] 31 del Eclesiastico, en la qual el Espiritu Santo da un documento, que contiene en si la summa de la perfeccion In omnibus operibus tuis præcellens esto: Procura una suma excellencia en todas sus obras. El empeño del Padre Juan Antonio Cantova en practicar este tan soberano documento fue tal, que se le puede àplicar como elogio suyo caracteristico: Vir præcellens in omnibus operibus suis: porque es cierto, que en todas sus operaciones siempre se mostro excelente, y las hacía todas con perfeccion, y lo mas admirable es, que teniendo siempre muchas entre manos, cumplía con todas cavalmente como si cada una en particular fuesse la unica, que tuviesse de entender. No repito aquí lo que ya

queda dho arriba quando se toco el punto de lo mucho, que trabaja en los 6 años que estubo en Manila, en donde se dio claramente a conocer esta tan apreciable propiedad de hacer con perfeccion todo lo que hacía. Fue siempre mui exacto en la ocupacion de Maestro de Theologia cuydadosissimo en la de Prefecto de la Congregacion, incansable en la de operario, excelente en la predicar, ultimamente pacientissimo en admitir, y oir a todos los que acudían à el para tomar sus prudentes concejos, é instrucciones. In omnibus operibus suis præcellens erat.

Dios nuestro Señor prosiga en adelante, como por su infinita Misericordia lo ha hecho hasta aora en embiar à esta pequeña Provincia de su mínima Compañía semejantes Operarios Evangelicos; para que por medio de sus Apostolicos trabajos, se dilate siempre mas su gloria en el Mundo, y se aumente el numero de sus escogidos en el Cielo.

Fulcherio de Spilimbergo.



Modern map of Ulithi Atoll. *Mogmog* is the islet where *Fr. Cantova* was killed. *Falalep* is where he had established his mission station.

Translation of Fr. Cantova's Biography

Brief account of the life and virtues of Fr. Juan Antonio Cantova who died for Christ in the Caroline Islands in June 1731.

[fol. 381] **Brief account of the life and virtues of the Ven. Fr. Juan Antonio Cantova, and of his glorious death for Christ in the Caroline Islands.**

When the news arrived at Manila of the death of the Venerable Father Juan Antonio Cantova, that occurred at one of the Caroline Islands named Mogmog, as reported by one of those Indian heathen, it seemed sufficient then to write (as was done) a brief and succinct Narrative of the manner in which he lost his life in hate of our holy Faith, which he preached to them, postponing until later the writing at leisure of a more extensive narrative for common edification, and containing the religious virtues, with which he prepared himself for, and merited, the palm of martyrdom. Indeed, martyrs are usually saints before they become martyrs, because martyrdom is usually the prize for, and the Crown of, their holiness. And, if one considers this event attentively and seriously, it seems doubtless that Divine Providence had planned to bring Father Juan Antonio Cantova to these Missions to give him the Crown of martyrdom, and to reward his holy life with such a lucky death.

I will begin this letter by quoting the words of a Father living in the Visayas, to whom were asked a few notices of Father Juan Antonio Cantova, since they had been together in the novitiate, fellow students in their Province, and companions in their travel as far as these Missions of the Philippines.¹ He says the following:

"I have known the Ven. Father Juan Antonio Cantova since the month of May 1701 because that is when I joined the Society. I found him in our Novitiate of Genoa, where I had the luck of having him as teacher. Afterward, we studied Rhetoric together in the seminary of Milan and the arts course in the great College of that city. Although afterward we separated for the time that we taught grammar and literature, and studied sacred theology, nevertheless, I always maintained contact with His Reverence until once again we were together in our voyage to these Philippine Islands. That is why I can affirm that everything I declare about the Venerable Father Cantova, I can vouch for as the truth." This clarification, made by the Father who writes a few notices of Father Juan Antonio Cantova must be the measure of the credibility of everything else that this letter says, since the facts that could not be so confirmed were simply omitted.

So, Father Juan Antonio Cantova was born on 15 March 1686 in the town of Intra, belonging to the Archdiocese of Milan, and situated on the shore of a lake called Lago Maggiore.² His parents were among the more important and well-known people of the

1 Ed. note: Father Spilimbemgo, of course, referring to himself in the third person..

2 Ed. note: Intra must have been a transcription error in the Jesuit records, because there is no such town along the shore of that lake. Instead, I think that the correct name of his birthplace is **Stresa**. This is proven by yet another error in transcription made by the Spanish authorities at Cadiz, where the place name was recorded as Sestri (see HM12:61). Unless Intra was a suburb of Stresa.

place. He had an uncle who was already Dean of the famous College of St. Stephen the Great in Milan. When he reached a suitable age, his parents sent him to that city to study, and he was raised in our studies under the care and assistance of his uncle, a man of great edification, and example in that great city, who also died with a great fame of sainthood. His biography was afterward written by our Father Cantova, after he had already joined the Society. The Superiors gave him permission to write it, something that caused some admiration, since the Father was then only a student of Theology and had not yet been ordained; however, this is a sign of the great esteem that the Superiors of his Province had for him then. Having reached the city of his uncle, the latter sent him to study with us in that very large university. Having begun his studies with the basics of Grammar, he continued as a civilian until Rhetoric. During this whole course of studies, he gave such a good account of himself that he left everyone in wonder, not only his fellow students but also the teachers themselves; indeed, he was always among the first and most highly rated students in all of the courses that he took in Rhetoric. However, what caused greater admiration among his fellow students, and that gained him a sort of veneration, was to see how he joined piety with letters, in such a way that they did not admire the excellence of his good understanding as much as the innocence of his angelic customs.

Once he was already studying Rhetoric, he let his spiritual Father know about the vocation with which God invited him to withdraw from the world and join the Society, and from then on he endeavored with great fervor to find a way to achieve it. The only obstacle that could prevent the accomplishment of his desires was the delicate and very sickly state of his health. That is why, according to human prudence, his admittance did not seem possible; indeed, it seemed morally certain that he would not be able to support the heavy burden of religious studies, and the weight of religious discipline. Nevertheless, he went to see Father Francisco Rasinoli, then-Provincial of the Province of Milan, and exposed his pretension with such great efficacy, the more so when he feared rejection. However, his fear soon disappeared when he received the answer of the Father Provincial, who esteemed the many qualities of his soul over the poor health of his body. He then admitted him, sending him to the Novitiate of Genoa where he went with great consolation and put on the cassock of the Society, on 28 March 1703. I would not wish to omit an event, rather like a prophecy, that the novices made upon his arrival at the novitiate: according to the custom of that Province, the novices went into the cell of the first probation, where Father Juan Antonio Cantova was to make the Spiritual Exercises before putting on the cassock; they arranged it in such a way that they shaped the figure of a ship with flowers upon the bed cover, along with this riddle: **To port with Cantova as my faithful pilot.** They alluded then to the name of Father Cantova, and only to the port of the Order he was joining, but in reality, they could very well have alluded to his voyage to the Indies, and the lucky port of the Caroline Islands, that would be his final port and eternal rest from all of his voyages, and hardships.

Well then, after his exercises were over, he joined the other novices in the regular schedule of the novitiate and from then on he paid attention to observing all of his assigned tasks, and persevered so constantly that during the course of the whole novitiate he was never seen to fail in the least thing, so much so that his fellow novices were edified by it and even the Master of Novices himself was amazed. Once the two years of his zealous novitiate were over, he went to study Rhetoric with our people in the Seminary of Milan and afterward Philosophy in the great College of that city. Once the arts course was over, he remained there for one year as Master of Grammar, and after that he went to the city of Bastia, the capital of the Kingdom of Corsica, to teach literature, and from there went to Pavia to teach Rhetoric. Finally, he returned to the great College of Milan to take courses in Theology, and in all of these occupations, not only as a student of Philosophy and Theology, but also as a teacher of poetry and rhetoric, he gave such a good account of himself that, in the estimation of the whole Province, he had few equals, not only in his application but also in understanding, from among his fellow students, and fellow teachers; that is why it is worth noting here that, throughout the diversion offered by his studies, he never lost sight of caring for religious perfection, always remaining constant in his devotions, and penances with the same zeal of spirit, as if he were still a novice, and with that same exact care with which he obeyed all the Rules in the novitiate, he also obeyed them as a student. He was always busy studying, withdrawn in his cell, and he was never seen to break the rule of silence a single time, nor any other rule, even in the most minute thing, such that is said with admiration about the most perfect models, for example, St. Louis Gonzaga,¹ and Brother John Berkman. Such was the root cause of the admiration, or sort of veneration, as was said, that his fellow novices had for him. They, seeing in his character such a constance in virtue, such a maturity and manly seriousness in all of his doings, and never having seen him do things that were not very religious, used to say among themselves: "Cantova has never been a child." However, the Father who writes a sketch of his life, makes a eulogy of him, expressing his virtue so much better; indeed, he finishes his letter with these words:

"And, to say briefly what I feel about the Venerable Father Cantova, based on my extensive contact with him, and even in matters of conscience, I declare with complete truth, and assertion, that his reputation among novices, when a novice, and among students, when a student, was such that I have reasons to believe very strongly that His Reverence died with the baptismal innocence."

Thus, the whole Province expected great things from Father Cantova, an illustrious man, one who would bring fame to it by his teaching as well as by his virtue, but suddenly the thread of all their hopes was broken, because, Father Antonio having repeatedly made petitions for the Missions of the Indies to our Father General, His Paternity decided to grant him his wish. So, he wrote to him to tell him to go to Genoa,

1 Ed. note: This saint was canonized only much later, while Fr. Cantova was living in Manila in the 1720s.

and from there embark at the first opportunity for Cadiz, where he was to find the Father Procurator of the Philippine Islands, who was returning to this, his Province and he was to accompany His Reverence to come to these missions, to which he had been assigned. This news spread fast throughout the Province and made everyone wonder; no-one could believe it, not only on account of the sorrow that the loss of a much esteemed individual caused them, but also because they considered him so lacking in body strength for such a long and arduous voyage; indeed, in addition to being very sickly in constitution, as we have said, and not very healthy, he had suffered many and serious illnesses during the course of his studies, to such an extent that the physicians on various occasions diagnosed him as suffering from phtisis. However, God, who controls everything through His providence, and also the fact that in spite of his many periods of sickness he never abandoned his studies, as we have also said, gave him strength to bear all of the discomforts of his long voyages, and in this the effects of Divine Providence became very clear, because, no sooner had he embarked in Genoa that his health began to improve, and his nature became stronger; in fact, during the course of the voyage, he improved so much that he was one of the strongest, and most robust, of the members of the mission band, when he arrived at these Islands. He continued to be strong and robust until he died. During all three voyages, from Genoa to Cadiz, from Cadiz to Mexico, and from Mexico to these Islands, he always showed his warm zeal, and apostolic spirit, by keeping busy for the spiritual benefit of his neighbors, without discriminating between persons.

Since the Admiral of the fleet had made the vow of presenting the main-sail to the miraculous statue of Christ of the Good Voyage in Veracruz, on account of the danger in which the galleon had found herself before entering the port, Father Cantova was designated to give the sermon of thanksgiving for the favor received.¹ Such was the esteem that he had gained. Not the least mark of which was gained upon his arrival with the mission band at Mexico; since he still lacked a few months to finish the last year of his course of studies in Theology, he was assigned to defend the final thesis of the whole Theology in that famous and large university there, without having more time to prepare himself than two months, more or less—something that might appear as temerity on the part of the Father, had not obedience ordered him to do so, and had not his qualities been known as making the whole thing possible; he did come out successful from such a great trial.

[Arrival at the Marianas]

Having thus finished his studies and ready to work in the vineyard of the Lord, his zeal made him so impatient to begin that, upon arriving in sight of the Marianas, he presented himself to the Superior of the mission band and requested permission to step

1 Ed. note: Father Cantova sailed in company with Father Procurator Valdivieso in 1717 (see HM 12:61). This quicksilver fleet, commanded by General Antonio Serrano, arrived at Veracruz on 9 October 1717, according to Ternaux-Compans (op. cit.). The name of the admiral is not given.

ashore, and remain in those Islands, desiring to begin as soon as possible his apostolic ministry with the Indians, for which he had come. Human prudence made it appear that his petition would not be heard, but, as God our Lord has moved the heart of our Father General to send him to the Indies, He also moved the heart of the Superior of the mission band to leave him in the Mariana Islands; in fact, Divine Providence had chosen this route and was preparing him and leading him toward Carolina Island, where it held for him the glorious Crown for his labors.

For four years he worked in those Islands, that is, from the end of June 1718 until the middle of 1722. He did much and suffered much for the glory of God during the course of these five [sic] years. The Father Vice-Provincial of those Islands soon got to know who was Father Cantova and so gave him some room to exercise his spirit and his qualities. He made him Rector of the Seminary for boys. This seminary had been founded, and funded with abundant income, by the piety of our Catholic King, who looked only to the spiritual welfare and also the material welfare of those poor natives; indeed, boys were raised here, at no cost to their parents, and when they left the seminary to get married, they are dismissed with an abundant supply of necessities. Here they learn how to read, and write, here they learn to sing when they attend the divine offices in the churches, here they are being taught good customs and efforts are made to give them solid roots in the mysteries of our Holy Faith. So, it is incredible the benefit that results to all of the Islands from the education of those boys in that seminary. Well then, Father Cantova took charge of this seminary with so much application that it caused as much wonder as edification to see an individual of so many qualities being so busy at educating those boys, either teaching them how to form their letters, or correcting their slates, or teaching them the Christian doctrine and the other prayers of the catechism. What was more admirable was the extreme patience, and charity, with which he did it all.

However, as this was not enough to keep him busy enough for his zeal, the Father Vice-Provincial assigned him at the same time to be Teacher of the Spanish of the garrison, and with this he got more room in which to exercise his zeal, and then he applied himself to reform their habits. He did not let fatigue or hardship get in the way, always trying to figure out ways to make them abandon vice and become fond of Christian virtue; either he gave help to the needy, or to those who were persecuted, and he did so for the glory of God, by exhorting them in private talks with them and by exciting them in his public talks and sermons. But the most efficient means that he used was the spiritual exercises of our Holy Father which he would give in the church, according to the custom in various cities of Italy. By this means he gathered very many fruits among his parishioners; he removed many abuses, and brought many to make penance, in which the Father himself led them with the example of disciplining himself harshly in public.

However, his zeal was not even content with the reform of various disorders, and public scandals, for whose remedy the arm of His Lordship the Governor [Pimentel] was necessary, but to make sure that the Governor would not ignore them, and dissemble for personal reasons, the point was very critical. Nevertheless, judging that so

it was proper for the greater glory of God, the Father began by resolutely discussing the point with the Governor, and he treated the affair with so much skill, and prudence, that the Governor gave his word that he would collaborate with everything necessary to ensure the good success of the intended reform. However, the happiness that the Father had conceived, upon hearing such good words, did not last long, because the Devil who never rests, the better to impede the things involving the glory of God, and to persecute His missionaries who try to enhance it, began to sow the seeds of discontent between the Father and the Governor, which grew so much that it finally drowned all hopes of getting the desired fruit. The evil did not stop there, because not only he did not wish to comply with his word, but also he became very resentful of Father Cantova; he went to explain his feeling to the other Fathers, saying that Father Cantova was trying to trick him into doing more than he had to do. From then on, the resentment of the Governor against the Father kept on growing, until such time that he issued an order of deportation against him. The final reason for such a violent decision was because the Father, with the great fortitude of mind possessed by any apostolic Minister, refused to hand over the account books, nor give him a report of his administration of the seminary, as he had asked, disregarding the fact that he had no authority to audit those accounts, nor to review the books; neither could the Father agree to such a pretension, if he wished to do his duty.

This was a very sensitive blow to Father Cantova, not because the decreed deportation gave him sorrow, since to leave those islands was not to be exiled, but rather to leave an exile. His sorrow was that, if he left the Marianas, he would have to abandon the plans, and holy desires, that were burning in his heart, to go to the exploration of the Caroline Islands, as they were the warmest object of his charity, and the target of all his hopes. Nevertheless, God willed that such a deportation did not take place, because there was no boat then that could have transported the Father somewhere else; it became necessary to lift the edict. In the meantime, the Governor had time to think it over and to recognize the excess of his rash decision. He had someone talk to the Fathers, to negotiate some agreement; they, who wished for nothing but peace, said that they were ready to come to any agreement, so long as it did not trouble their consciences. With this answer, the Governor was satisfied, and desisted from his pretension; he withdrew the deportation order, and as a result was absolved of the excommunication that he had incurred.

Peace had returned when the term of office of the Father Vice-Provincial expired, but since there was no envelope to open, he was replaced by Father Juan Antonio Cantova, to whom devolved this post, because he was Rector of the College. However, he did not stay long in charge of the Vice Province, because within six or seven months there arrived at those Islands the patache from the Philippines with a new Governor and the patent for a new Vice-Provincial.¹ The arrival of this patache was a great consolation to Father Cantova, because with a change of Governor, he hoped that the busi-

1 Ed. note: This was the patache San Andrés that brought Governor Sanchez in 1720.

ness of his dear Carolinians would also change. And his hopes were not frustrated this time, because the new Governor showed himself to be very interested in the enterprise of their exploration. Father Cantova then began to explore this matter strenuously with the new Governor and with the new Father Vice-Provincial and with the other Fathers, but he dealt this matter much more with God, during his prayers, sacrifices, and penances, all of which were oriented toward this purpose. Every night, and this was at midnight, he would without fail go to the gallery of the church, and after he had spent much time in a long and zealous prayer, he ended it with a very stiff self-discipline that lasted more than a quarter of an hour.

[Arrival of Carolinian canoes at Guam]

Since he had this fervor for his Carolines, God willed that he should be rewarded with one of the greatest consolations that one can imagine; it happened this way, Two canoes from the Caroline Islands became lost and the winds brought them to the Marianas; they ended up on the beach of the port where Father Cantova was. The news was brought to him and then he went flying¹ in search of his beloved Carolinians, to see them, and embrace them. He brought them to the port and found them some house to lodge them, and he provided them always with necessities, in abundance, entertaining them and making them presents with an endearment and a love greater than that of a father; they, amazed at so much charity, also treated him with a love, and a reverence more than to a father. His Reverence got two very considerable fruits from this arrival. One was to learn their language; he applied himself so completely to this task that within a short time he was able to understand it, and speak it, and he was able to translate the prayers, and the essentials tenets of the Catechism, and also to write a sort of grammar, and lexicon of it.² He then had an easier time to teach to everyone the mysteries of our Holy Faith, and to prepare them to receive holy baptism, but he then thought it was not appropriate to baptize those who wished to go back to their islands, since he was not sure that a priest would go with them. So, he baptized only those who intended to stay in the Marianas, and those who, being sick, were in danger of dying. The other fruit that he got was the easy and ready obtention of the permission to go to the exploration of his Carolines; indeed, it seems that a better opportunity could not possibly exist, than the present one. When the Carolinians understood that Father Cantova was to go with them back to their islands, they showed much happiness, and it seems that they remained very content. However, when they learned that some soldiers would also go, they became sad, and showed great sorrow. The Father would certainly have gone alone with them, and would have trusted the hands of Divine Providence in everything, but everyone [else] thought that it would be imprudent to trust those people,

1 Ed. note: From his parish at Inarajan to Talafofo Beach.

2 Ed. note: Unfortunately, none of these manuscripts has survived.

who were after all barbarians, and who could have done anything they wished with his person, without any news of it ever leaking out.¹

[Fr. Cantova's first attempt to reach the Carolines in 1722]

Once the decision had been made for Father Cantova to go with them, in the company of some soldiers, the outfitting that seemed necessary was then made ready. In 1722, he boarded a launch, or small boat, offered to him by the Governor himself, along with the escort of from 14 to 16 soldiers who were to serve at the same time as sailors. The three vessels sailed for three days in company, that is, the boat of the Father and the two canoes of the Caroline Indians, but on the night of the third day the Carolinian heathen finally put into execution what they had planned, that is, to abandon the boat, and those aboard it. Perhaps they would have done so on the first night, had not an Indian chief, whom the Father had forced to board the boat, under the pretext that he had to show the heading, though it was in reality to serve as a hostage, to prevent what did happen from happening. He might have swam toward his people, as he did do on the third night of the voyage. So, in the morning of the fourth day, the Father found himself alone, having lost sight of the two canoes of the Indians. This incident caused him a great disconsolateness, much more so when he knew that his companions had no desire to pursue the voyage to the Caroline Islands; nevertheless, he did not lose heart for all that, and from then on he took over the direction of the boat and pursued his voyage. Indeed, His Reverence had also prepared himself beforehand for this role, by applying himself determinedly to learning the nautical science. However, one night, as he had retired to get a little rest, the pilot, either out of carelessness, or out of malice, let himself drift downwind to such an extent that afterwards, in spite of all efforts made by the Father, he was not able to regain the latitude that they had lost. In addition, upon realizing that the water supplies were failing, he had to let himself be carried by the currents and the wind in the direction of the Embocadero of the Philippine Islands, but before they got there, they would have perished from thirst, if God with a special providence had not sent an abundant rain, a benefit received by everyone, but obtained by the prayers of Father Cantova. His arrival at this city [of Manila] caused a great stir in everyone, although they all ignored the cause, but when it was learned, everyone was greatly edified by it.

Father Cantova was detained almost seven years in this city of Manila. Soon after he arrived, he made his profession of the four vows, on 15 August 1722. It is indescribable how much he labored for the glory of God, and the good of souls. A few months after his arrival he was assigned the chair of Theology, and he persevered teaching it during the six years that followed. However, during that time he was also busy with all of the occupations of a subject of the Society, and he did so so perfectly that it seems as if each one of them was his only occupation. All of his teaching materials were so

1 Ed. note: Fr. Spilimbergo must have had in mind the first two martyrs who disappeared this way at Sonsorol.

good and so well written, and above all so clearly, even in the most difficult points, that it caused amazement. The superiors thought that the talents of Father Cantova were deserving much more, than a simple chair of Theology. So, they added to it the job of Prefect of the Sodality of the Spaniards. They were not cheated in the bargain, because, without failing in one iota in his duty as teacher, he complied perfectly with the job of Prefect; indeed, if this sodality flourished at any time, not only in number but also in fervor and attendance at the sacraments, it was while His Reverence directed it as Prefect. He did not omit any effort or work that might lead to the spiritual welfare of his sodality. Every week, he wrote with much care the text of the talks that he would give the next Sunday, and so they flocked to hear him willingly, and with some benefit. His Reverence would often call the officers of the sodality to a consultation, and he would discuss with them the manner of installing the observance of all the rules, and in this way they were obliged to show a good example, and he would achieve a notable improvement in all the members. He introduced the holy custom of having the whole sodality go out to visit the hospitals and the prisons on certain days, with the members themselves bringing along alms in the way of food, clothing, and money to the sick and prisoners—something that served as a great edification to the whole community; indeed, the community leaders flocked to take part in such a pious, and humble, exercise. Nevertheless, the boundaries of his sodality were very narrow for his zeal, and the members alone to whom he ministered were not enough to satiate the appetite he had to work for the good of his neighbors; so, in order to be of service to all, he plunged into the service of the Church, as its most zealous of workers. He tended the confessional untiringly, and went outside to hear confessions, to the prisons, the hospitals, to the sick, the dying, such that he was continuously on the move. When the opportunity arose, he gave the exercises to the women inside the church, and much more frequently to the men inside the college.

His zeal also moved him to take on with much fervor the responsibility of helping as much as he could some poor Indian women, who had come together unnder the name of *Beatas*, to live as religious nuns do in a house near our church.¹ They at first were no more than five, or six in number, but in the course of a few years they increased, so that they are now over 100 of them. They live as religious nuns, although they make no vows, nor are cloistered; nevertheless, they stay there with so much rigor that they do not leave the house, except to come to our church to hear mass, to confess themselves, and take communion. The rest of the time they spend indoors, and continuously working as seamstresses, in order to earn their living, though in truth they cannot earn enough to sustain themselves with this work; however, the good example and edification that their exemplary life causes in the city moves many pious residents to succor them from time to time with some alms. Thus, partly with alms and partly with their work they maintain themselves, always poor but always with necessities. Well then,

1 Ed. note: *Beatas* means “the Happy Ones.” This type of congregations of pious women were originally founded for Filipino orphan girls. They were finally suppressed in 1835 (see B&R index).

Father Juan Antonio Cantova began to help these poor women, not only with spiritual matters but also with their material needs, and he was indeed of much help to them on both counts. In spiritual matters, because upon seeing the great charity and patience of the Father, many of them had chosen him as their director of conscience; under his direction they made much progress in religious perfection, within their own limitations as poor Indian women. In things material, because he procured abundant alms for them, and they used those (as the Father had intended) to expand their quarters; indeed, their house was so small for their number, which has grown so large, that they were suffocated in there, so to speak. They then added one hall where they met to work at their sewing, an infirmary, and a chapel where they gathered for their spiritual exercises. So, the news that Father Cantova was going to the Carolines was for them [a blow?]¹ [He had been] a spiritual as well as a material Father to them. Nevertheless, notwithstanding the above-said occupations, all that did not prevent him from preparing many sermons to deliver not just in our church, but in other churches as a guest invited to their more solemn holiday celebrations; in the latter case, he had to make an additional effort, because his sermons were always very eloquent, and scholarly; in fact, they had the eloquence and erudition used by a saintly orator, as can be seen by the sermons that were published, at the request of some residents who paid to have them printed.² This type of apostolic life was the cause of an increase of labor for him, because the whole city had conceived a great and universal esteem for the Father. Large numbers of residents flocked to His Reverence, some to consult him on various matters of concern to them, others to seek counsel about their serious affairs, and still others to find a relief in their needs. And His Reverence, as if he had nothing else to think about, or to do, heard them all, received them all and tried to succor all of them. Since his only motive was charity, he endeavored to help everyone equally, regardless of their status. However, what deserves a special mention is that all those who flocked to see His Reverence would end up their business by a general confession and 8 days of spiritual exercises; thus was accomplished to the letter what our Holy Father used to say: “they come in with their business, and leave with ours.” By this means, he succeeded in steering many deviates toward a better course of actions, for their own salvation, with the improvement of their habits.

1 Ed. note: Some words may be missing from this copy.

2 Ed. note: At least three are extant, with copies in TNL. According to the Isagani R. Medina's catalog entitled: *Filipiniana Materials in the National Library [at Manila]*, they are: 1) #2181: “El camino del cielo ensanchado y abreviado por la sancta bulla de la Cruzada” (a sermon delivered in the Manila Cathedral on 28 October 1724 and published (approx. 58 pages) in Manila by the College of Santo Tomas in 1725); 2) #2183: “Real mavsoleo, que a la immortal memoria de su catholico monarca d. Lvis I, erigio en sus solemnes exequias la ... ciudad de Manila.” (approx. 106 pages, published in Manila by the College and University of Santo Tomas in 1726); and 3) #2182: “El inventor de la gracia; sermon panegyrico de el señor San Joseph que en la fiesta, que annualmente le celebra su real Colegio de Manila, predicó...” (47 pages published in Mexico by J.B. de Hoyal, 1728).

This was the type of life that Father Juan Antonio Cantova led, and which he always followed, the whole time that he was in this city. Nevertheless, among so many occupations, he never lost sight of his Carolines. They were always present inside his heart. Overthere lay his desires, his penances had no other purpose, and they were the subject of his prayers to God. Indeed, as he was about to begin the sixth year of teaching Theology, it seemed to him that now was the time to return with full ardor to his business. He knew very well that he would have to face some contradictions, and overcome some difficulties; indeed, it was an enterprise that had been attempted many times before, and could never be achieved. Secondly, many individuals had been lost in those expeditions and it did not seem right to expose others to such a useless risk; besides, there has never been an excess of subjects in this Province, where there is so much to do. Thirdly, many expenditures had already been made, public as well as private, all to no avail, and it was not proper to renew such expenditures uselessly, as judged from past failures. Fourthly, those Islands were so sterile that, although they were discovered, there was no way to preserve them. Fifthly and finally, there was no lack of heathen in these [Philippine] Islands, to keep Missionaries employed in their reduction and conversion to our holy faith, with no need to go in search of more of them, in other Islands. However, in spite of the weight of so many reasons, he did not desist from his commitment, and adopted the view that God had to do something to make them disappear, and so he retorted to everyone. He would say that in any enterprise dedicated to the glory of God, and the welfare of souls, one should not place limits on Divine Providence, that in time it would end up by improving the conditions, if we did our part and persevered in the work. To the second objection, he would say that the Missionaries could not finish more gloriously than while working to find souls for God, and for that purpose there would never be a lack of Missionaries; indeed, the news of such lucky deaths would be a very efficient means of attracting mission bands from Europe. To the third one, as far as private donations were concerned, those who spontaneously made contributions did not lose the merit of their alms when the enterprises failed, and as far as public expenditures were concerned, it is well to remember the piety and generosity of all of the Kings of Spain on this score, beginning with Philip II the Great, who considered as well spent all the expenditures he made to maintain these Islands, and that he was ready to increase them, although nothing else was achieved besides a single church, and a single priest, to say mass there, and baptize some child. To the fourth one he would say that it mattered little that those Islands were sterile, if some souls could be harvested for Heaven, and that, once they were explored, one had to trust in God for finding the means to preserve them. Finally, to the last point about the heathen that still remain to be converted in these Islands, he would say that if there remained many, the truth is that they did not live in the Missions under our care, because through God's mercy, every one of the Missionaries, past and present, had worked, and continue to work in the district assigned to him to reduce those who remain, and the few who do remain can be better described as drifters and desertors, more than heathen, and although in some or other of our Missions there still remained many heathen, this new

enterprise, he would say, does not prevent the Missionaries in charge of them to work as gloriously at their reduction; for example, the Mission of Mindanao has caused no prejudice to the other missions. The new enterprise that is about to begin would not do so either.

Thus was Father Juan Antonio Cantova endeavoring to satisfy the difficulties that might block his desired enterprise. However, he would have achieved little, if God had not moved the hearts of those who had a contrary opinion; his reasoning would not have produced any result. Once he had obtained the permission of the superiors, he went to deal with His Lordship the Governor and the gentlemen members of the Audiencia. Here was his major work. But finally he gained their good-will, and they bent to his requests; so, his efforts paid off in the end. He then began to arrange his things to be ready to leave with the patache that every two years goes out from these Islands to the Mariana Islands, which were to be his point of departure for the Carolines. Once the news had spread that Father Cantova was going to the exploration of the Carolines, many residents flocked with some alms, desirous as they were to contribute in some way to the beginning of the foundation of that Mission. When the time arrived for the patache to leave,¹ he boarded it with great joy, and happiness in the year 1729, ignoring the mishap that awaited him, because, no sooner had it left the Embocadero of these Islands, and sailed happily for a few days, that the winds changed into contrary winds and the seas arose so furiously that it was unable to pursue its course, and they considered themselves lucky to have been able to return once more to these Philippine Islands, because they had been in continuous danger of being lost during the storms in the ocean. Once the ship had arrived, the Father disembarked and returned to Manila overland, because the patache was in bad shape and would be detained a long time before returning to the port of this city.

This return in distress made such an impression in everyone that they said that the enterprise was doomed. The more so when after one month the news arrived that the patache had been broken into pieces upon the beach, with the complete loss of the whole cargo, with only the people being saved. Those who had been opposed to the enterprise became even more convinced in their old opinion; even those who had been favorable before, changed their opinion to agree with the former. So, when Father Cantova saw that everyone was now an enemy of his, he kept quiet for some time, until those first violent reactions had calmed down, but he still hoped to be able to present his old project as before, but the more he trusted in God to find a way out, the more he found himself alone, and abandoned by men.

About three months passed before he once again presented his proposal, with greater fervor. This new attempt by Father Cantova caused amazement in everyone, and they all tried to persuade him to give up an idea that had no other probability than what he had imagined, and that it was not prudent to again try something that would have no other effect than a rebuke from everyone. Nevertheless, he did not desist for all that,

1 Ed. note: It was the patache Dolores, soon to be shipwrecked at Cagayan, north of Luzon Island.

and persevered firmly in his demand, something that according to the rules of human prudence seemed more like a vice of stubbornness than a virtue of constancy. But the outcome revealed the opposite, because almost suddenly the minds of many were changed, so that within a short time he got his despatches from the government more easily and faster than the first time, and with an abundance of alms from private citizens he purchased what he needed, and with the first patache to leave for the Marianas, which was the following year of 1730,¹ he was able to board once more, to undertake his cherished enterprise.

It seems almost certain that His Reverence got on this occasion some indication from above, that his project had to receive a favorable treatment, because it did not seem right for him, as a prudent person, to have stayed firm against everyone, and wished to swim against such strong currents, at every turn. In addition, there was the more certain clue given by some propositions that came out of his mouth, when he found himself pressed on all sides with appeals to abandon his plan. The first one was on the occasion that a Father, who was his confidant, tried to dissuade him from the project; His Reverence answered him with these words: "Father, the inspirations that I feel inside are so strong that they do not leave me alone. And the voices that God lets me hear in my heart are so strong and so clear that it seems to me that I would not comply with my duty if I did not do what I am doing, and if I could do more, it seems to me that I would, in order to comply better with my conscience, and with God." This same answer was repeated by the same Father when, three or four days later, he broached the subject again with His Reverence. The other proposition was on another occasion with another Father: "I do not doubt it, he said, and I consider this to be true, that I will go, and will reach the Carolines." Such propositions were so correct in view of what happened later on; they are an almost undeniable testimony that he had received some advanced news from God about what was to happen to him. At least, this was the idea that the Fathers conceived of them, when they first heard them.

Well then, Father Cantova arrived at the Marianas in September of the same year of 1730. Still, the contradictions did not end there, because the Devil invented new obstacles to prevent his going to the Carolines, and he gave him more work to do in the Marianas to pursue his voyage, than he had met with in Manila to begin it; however, as the time chosen by Divine Providence for the exploration of those Islands had arrived, Hell could no longer do anything to oppose what had been decreed in Heaven.

[Second expedition to the Carolines in 1731]

Having arranged everything necessary for the voyage, in the company of another Father from the Marianas,² with an escort of 12 soldiers, and 8 ship's boys, aboard a small boat, he set sail with an indescribable joy in his heart, on 11 February of the year 1731. After 20 days of navigation, he finally arrived and made port in his beloved Ca-

1 Ed. note: Fr. Bonani (Doc. 1733B) suggests it was the Loreto, but this is not confirmed.

2 Ed. note: Fr. Victor Walter.

rolines, considering himself well repaid for all of his past cares, hardships, and dangers, and with the consolation that he received, when stepping ashore, he began to stroll along those beaches, so long desired. The boat had no sooner come into sight of land when there appeared a great mass of natives on the beach to see that novelty, strange to them. They were watching this new vessel with surprise, but with wonder, and the clothes worn by the people who were on board it were so different from theirs. Nevertheless, seeing that all the signs seemed peaceful, and friendly, many of them got enough courage to board their canoes, and to approach the boat. The Fathers and the soldiers invited them to come aboard. Some of them did come aboard, and they were made welcome with great courtesy, and warmth. They were offered biscuits, sugar, and other small things that to them were novelties which they received in great harmony. When the others saw the good treatment received by their companions, they abandoned their fear and came to fasten their canoes to the boat, desirous of receiving some of those small gifts that the Fathers were distributing. Upon seeing that they had so easily gained the good-will of those barbarians, they decided to go and come to an anchor near a nearby island called **Mogmog** on account of it being the residence of the Tamol, which is their name for the Indian chief, who is the lord of one, or a few of their islets. Then they sent a report of their arrival to said Tamol. He, having learned of the great affability and courtesy of those strangers, came then to the beach to go aboard the boat and visit them. The Fathers received him with greater affability and courtesy than they had shown toward the other Indians; and after a brief conversation that he held with Father Cantova, who immediately knew how to speak in his language, because he had learned it, as we have already said, from an Indian born in those Islands.¹ This man had, six years earlier, arrived at the Marianas as a drifter aboard one of their small canoes, and on this occasion he had brought him along as an interpreter; it was also he who later became the greatest of traitors, and was the main cause of his death. After a brief conversation, as I was saying, they presented him with some sweets, some implements to fish with, and some iron nails, a gift fit for the most noble, specially the iron nails, because iron is something very rare in those Islands, and so, among them iron is considered more valuable than gold and jewels are among us. When some of them manage to get a piece of iron to make a knife, an axe, or a machete, they think of themselves as one of the richest, and luckiest people. Indeed, he took the gift, and became very happy and joyful, so that he soon cooperated in everything willingly, ordering his people to obey any orders from the Fathers. He then disembarked and went home, giving orders to search for refreshments, and food, to send back, but the whole thing consisted only of some fish, a few coconuts, and some chickens. He also ordered that a house be made ready, or better said, a shed, to serve as a residence for the Fathers.

The next day, which was the 3rd of March, they stepped ashore, where a great crowd of those natives was waiting for them on the beach, ready to carry out a ceremony with the Fathers, one which they consider a mark of much good-will and esteem, and that

1 Ed. note: His informant was from Lamotrek, or Woleai, whereas the boat was now at Ulithi Atoll.

was to carry them on their shoulders, as they did with a great feast, and joy as far as the house that had been made ready. As soon as they reached the house, they bid goodbye to the Indians, thanking them for their good affection, and good relations that they showed toward them. But the Indians did not wish to part with them. The first thing that the Fathers did was to look for a large piece of wood to make a cross and plant it in front of their house. They would not have found one, had not Divine Providence arranged for one beforehand, because in the whole of that Island, there was not a single tree that could have been used; that is because there is no wood there except that which from time to time is thrown ashore by the sea, or when those islanders spot some log at sea, they dare one another to be first in reaching it with their canoes; the first man to get there becomes the owner of it, and the others leave it to him as some private booty. Well then, some time before the Fathers arrived, one of those Indians had picked up one of those logs, and they had it pulled upon the beach, in order to have it ready for any occasion that might offer to use it. As soon as he understood that they were looking for a piece of good wood, he offered his immediately, and delivered it to the Fathers. And so they were able to give compliance to their desire, and to raise the holy cross as a standard of our holy Faith, and of our Redemption.

The second step they took was to arrange an altar, and everything necessary for saying mass the next day. The 4th of March of the year 1731 was the luckiest day that this island ever saw, as it was the first day in which was offered the sacrosanct sacrifice that Jesus Christ gave us as the price for, and to remind us of, the Redemption of the World. It is not possible to describe the jubilation and the tears of consolation that were spilled by the Fathers, for having been chosen as the first ones to consecrate those Islands, so long at the mercy of superstitions, with the holy sacrifice of the Mass. Father Cantova wished right there and then to begin to preach the Gospel, using the basic knowledge of their language that he had acquired, because his zeal could wait no longer, and he did not wish to lose one moment, without employing it efficiently for the benefit of souls. Nevertheless, they decided to explore that island first, to see if they should use it for some time as a settlement, but after seeing it, they thought that it was more appropriate to go to another nearby islet named **Falalep**, which was less sterile, and larger than all of the others and therefore that it was more appropriate to begin sowing the Gospel seed there. So, they moved overthere and were made welcome with the same show of friendship and happiness by those islanders, as they had been welcomed by the people of Mogmog. They built a small house in the local style, and they made a sort of chapel to celebrate mass. Then they began to invite the Indians to hear the explanation of the Christian doctrine, and the first rudiments of our holy Faith. The crowd was large and the attendance continuous, of adults and children alike, so that within a short time they got the great consolation of baptizing many children, and many adults. So, seeing such happy beginnings, it seemed to them that they alone could not manage to gather the whole harvest, which promised such an abundance of first fruits. So, Father Cantova decided to return with the boat to the Marianas, to carry the news of such an auspicious beginning, and to bring back two other Missionary Fathers to work in the

new vineyard. Once this decision had been taken, he ordered the boat to be made ready, and to have the necessary things assembled for the voyage, as he intended to leave as soon as possible. But God had arranged for something else, and so some winds arose so contrary that for the next eight days, continuous winds prevented the boat from coming out of the passage where it had anchored. In the meantime, the Fathers noticed some change of attitude in the Indians; already not as many of them showed up, nor so frequently as before for prayers, and the explanation of the doctrine, nor did they show as much affection and trust and, little by little, they were breaking their communication with them. This change of heart was caused by three Indians who in past years had drifted to the Marianas; they stayed for some time there and, having found an opportunity, had returned to their island which is one of those nearer to the Marianas, hardly 40 leagues from them. So, when these three arrived at Falalep with their canoes, to trade, as is the custom among those Islands, their trade consisting only of coconuts, fish, and some clothing that the women weave with the bark of some trees, rather curiously made. On this occasion, moved by the Devil, they started a rumor about the Fathers, by saying that they were not to trust them, because they had come to trick them, that the new religion was a pretext to introduce the Spanish into their islands, that they would remain slaves to the Fathers afterwards, and servants to the Spanish, as had happened in the Mariana Islands. Such a diabolical discord had been planted in the hearts of those natives that finally in time it choked the recently-planted seed of the holy Gospel.

This change increased much more in Father Cantova the doubt that he had conceived, when the contrary winds had begun, whether or not his going to the Marianas would be the will of God. So, he had entrusted his companions that they should commend to God every day and very sincerely a very important business. One night then, after he had finished reciting the Rosary as they used to do in a high voice with all the soldiers, and sailors, he got up and said right away to his companion: "Father, I am the one who has to stay, because that is the proper thing to do for the greater glory of God." Right away, he ordered the baggage of his companion to be taken on board, and his own taken out. Once this decision had been taken, the winds changed from contrary to favorable, and the next day the boat was able to sail away happily. Therefore, Father Juan Antonio Cantova remained in the Caroline Islands, but only to go to Heaven soon afterwards. About his staying behind, as his companions asserted later on, it is very probable that it was a special revelation from God, although Father Cantova in the letter that he wrote to the Fathers of the Marianas said (and here I will enclose it) with much dissembling, that his remaining behind in the Islands was in accordance with the opinion and advice that His Reverence had received from his companion.¹

1 Ed. note: The last letter of Fr. Cantova to the missionaries in the Marianas was written at Falalep, Ulithi, on 27 May 1731; it has already been mentioned in Doc. 1731A3.

Narrative that Fr. Cantova makes of his voyage to and settlement in the Caroline Islands.

On the 11th of February of the present year, Father Victor Walter and I, along with 12 soldiers and 8 ship's boys, and on the 2nd of March we arrived and anchored at these Islands which we have named the Dolores Islands, on account of having sighted them on a Friday, which was the second day of a Novena that we had begun in honor of Our Lady of Sorrows.¹ We stepped ashore at the Island of Mogmog, where the **Tamol** or chief of these Islands resides, but, since it was so small that its circumference is hardly one league, and has no plots suitable for a plantation, and no potable water, I decided to go on to the Island of Falalep which is the largest of these islands, though its circumference is hardly two leagues. Here we made our settlement and plantations, but a plague of rats destroyed the corn that we had planted, and replanted, though not expecting any harvest. To kill the rats, we made a trap to catch them, much like a fish trap. Within 3 hours we had caught 55 of them, and thus we keep on catching many every day. These islands are 36 in number, located about 80 leagues south-southwest of the Marianas. They are all small, and only eight of them are inhabited, as shown on the attached Map where those that are inhabited are marked with the letter Q.

At the moment I have the task of assembling all the people on one of two islands. But I cannot do it right away. It is necessary to move with leaden feet.²

These islands, like many others of this archipelago, are subject to the King of Yap. Yap is large and very populated, and is about 50 leagues [west] southwest of these islands. As soon as Christianity had more or less taken root here, I will leave Father Victor behind and go to Yap. Even with a dozen Fathers, there would be no lack of work because on many of the islands, both large and small, one can form a big Christian community.

The house which we have at present, is one, which according to the customs of these islands, is set aside for guests. The [edges of] the roof is so low that it is hardly 3 palms from the ground. There are door openings on all sides, but so low that one must go in and out on all fours. It required a great deal of work to make a doorway by which we could enter and go out without bending down. But it helped very little because the beams inside the house which support the entire building are about 6 palms from the ground, and it is difficult to lower one's head each time to avoid bumping into the cross-beams. We have no hope of finding a better house in these islands for at least a few years, because of the scarcity of wood. There are only coconut trees and other small trees of little or no value. In our house we arranged a corner for a chapel in good taste, where we placed Our Lady of Loreto, as patroness. Then we sang a mass, and fired a salute with our muskets and guns. These natives never tire of coming to see and admire the beauty of Our Lady and her Holy Son. They say they cannot but believe in God,

1 Ed. note: Dolores in Spanish is Sorrows in English.

2 Ed. note: Although this small paragraph was excluded from the version of this letter sent to the other missionaries in the Marianas, it is important, in view of the fact that this reduction plan may have been the main cause of the rebellion of the natives, and Fr. Cantova's death.

since they see Him and His mother with their own eyes. Then as patron of Falalep we chose our Father St. Ignatius, since the mass we sang concluded a novena in his honor.

Afterward one of my first concerns was to protect the house with a good enclosure. Later I went for a tour of these islands to erect crosses, baptize children, and teach catechism to the adults. We have already baptized some 127 children. I have enrolled 592 souls in the 8 populated islands. This is the method we use in explaining the doctrine:

After mass (at which many attend while standing out of doors watching the Holy Sacrifice in wonder and silence), we teach the men, young and old, the prayers and give instructions in doctrine, which I have translated into their language, and which is very different from all the languages of the Philippines and the Marianas, But it is close to the language of **Ulie** [Woleai], which I had learned in the Marianas. In the evening we teach the women in the same way. Many of all ages and both sexes come to the instructions in their desire to learn and be baptized. On the other islands, where we have not worked, a few boys are teaching the sign of the cross and some prayers. As soon as possible I will send better instructors to act as catechists. Each night we say the Holy Rosary together at our house and the Litany of Our Lady. We sing the *Salve*, which pleases these Indians very much. They want to know the same prayers and songs in order to accompany us in our prayers to Our Lady.

It is worth taking note of the singular Providence of God by which a native interpreter from these islands was sent to us. He is a young man who, while returning from Yap in 1725 with 35 canoes in company, some from these islands and others from Ulie, because of a storm that struck them during the journey, was separated from the other canoes. He found the patache in which the governor, General Don Manuel Argüelles, was going to the Marianas. All were invited (men, women, and children) to leave their canoe and come with him to the Marianas in his vessel. Four young men, and among them our interpreter, named **Digal**, left their canoe and went on to the Marianas. The rest were afraid and decided to return to their own land. But these, like all the rest in the 34 canoes, were lost. Up to this very day none of them has appeared. But after the four young men arrived in the Marianas, three of them returned to their own islands. Only our interpreter wanted to stay and become a Christian. He served General Argüelles for 4 years and, after the latter's death, he helped the Fathers. When I arrived in the Marianas I found him still a catechumen, and although he asked me for baptism, I put it off, because, although he knew the prayers and the doctrine in Spanish, he did not understand their meaning. Since I intended to go to the Islands of Ulie, whose language this young man knew, I translated with his assistance the prayers and instructions in doctrine into that language. With this he became better able to understand the mysteries of our Holy Faith and I baptized him on the feast of the Epiphany in the current year and gave him the name of **Gaspar de los Reyes**. He has proven himself to be very loyal, with a deep faith and possessed of fine habits. He and his relatives, who are prominent in these islands, help us very much. For this reason, I am writing to the Father Procurators to obtain from His Majesty the title of Master-of-camp for him in

these islands, so that others may wish to help and show favor to the missionaries of the Gospel.

These Indians live, with some comfort, in villages near the beaches where their houses are close together. Their food supply consists of coconuts. Although they have cultivated the land with two kinds of root crops, they are in short supply and not very tasty. There are fruit trees, such as breadfruit and another they call **Afuch**, but just a few of these.¹ The ordinary drink is **tuba** (from certain palm trees and coconut water and rare is the Indian who drinks fresh water. The people are naturally cheerful, and lazy; indeed, they spend practically the whole day and night in song. They appear as a choir of Capuchins singing Matins. They love to dance, specially at night when the moon is out. The men dance separately from the women, so that the men cannot attend the women's dances and vice versa. And since they do not use any musical instruments, they dance to the rhythm of their own singing. Most of the men work at painting [i.e. tattooing] their whole body and they put large holes in the lobes of their ears and smaller holes in the lobes of their noses. In these holes they place small bundles of fragrant flowers or herbs, and earrings of baubles, which they make from coconut and tortoise shell. Nearly all (men and women) wear around their waist a belt or girdle of 2 or 3 fingers in width, made of small black and white beads. The men wear nothing but a loincloth, (with which they cover themselves in front, so as not to remain completely and indecently naked; it looks like a handkerchief)² which they [these Indian women] weave from *abaca* [i.e. hemp], not without some intricate designs. Some are dyed a brilliant yellow with a dye which they go and buy in Yap. The people esteem it so highly that they even paint their faces and bodies with it, men as well as women. The dress of the women consists of a mat made of the same material, which covers them from the waist down to the knees. But, little by little, they will begin to accept the modesty of the Christian world.³ The boys and the girls love to decorate their heads, neck, arms and legs, with garlands of flowers and fragrant herbs and the white leaves of the coconut. What these Indians esteem most of all is iron. They value it as much as other nations esteem gold. I asked one of them how much he loved iron, and he answered with this diatribe: "You know what Heaven is like? Well, we ourselves esteem iron just like Heaven."

In their beliefs they are pure gentiles. They believe there are various spirits which they call **Elluz**. They fear them and hope to receive from them only temporal things because they ignore completely what awaits us in the next life. And although they say that souls, after being freed from the body, go to hell, they do not know where they will ultimately end up, nor what hell is. They pray to **Elluz** to give them much **tuba**, breadfruit, fish, etc. but they have no temple, no altar, no idol, no sacrifice, but some coconuts which

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- 1 Ed. note: Indeed, according to a modern PALI Carolinian dictionary, **Afusch** is *Cratava speciosa*, a species of fruit-bearing tree.
 - 2 Ed. note: This bracketed part appears only in the version addressed to the Marianas.
 - 3 Ed. note: Perhaps meaning that the priests were making them wear bras, in church at least.

they offer at the foot of some tree where they think that **Elluz** resides. After making an agreement with an Indian to clear a piece of land for cultivation of corn, I ordered him to cut down some trees that gave a great deal of shade; I think that in the Philippines, these trees are called *nonos*, or *baletes*.¹ However, the Indian did not want to cut them down, saying that **Elluz** lived therein, and that 10 people died at different times for having dared to try and cut them down. I took a long knife and started to cut it down and then ordered a soldier to continue. The Indians remained astonished that no harm come to us.² In each village there are one or two houses separated from the rest where the women go to give birth, and remain there for three months. Women also go there during menstruation to be separated for a few days from contact with men. Severe sanctions forbid a man to pass near these houses, or eat what was cooked for those women, at the risk of sickness, or death.

They have other observances while eating, or while dressing, or fishing, but I pray to God that little by little they will stop, for they see that we who laugh at them are healthy and sound. There are a few witch doctors who will give us some trouble. But now the boys laugh at them and let us know when they see them performing their superstitious rites. On a trip to one of these islands, about 4 leagues from the main island, to instruct its residents, baptize the children, and catechize a few adults, a witch doctor threatened us with a typhoon and death by drowning on the return trip. But God confounded the witch doctor by giving us a fine return trip and He was served by making the Indians admit that their gods can do nothing against our God.³

On account of the extreme shortage of food supplies, we have decided to send the boat back to the Marianas to get rice, corn, and meat, before the galleon gets there, so that it might bring two companions for this new mission. I originally thought of going myself, to prevent the boat from diverting to the Philippines, but, as I was ready to leave, my companion, Fr. Victor Walter, asked me to stay, because it was recognized that the natives of these Islands were in turmoil, specially the **Tamol** of this Island [of Falalep]. I too recognized that they were up to something, since a few canoes came here from the [other] Caroline Islands; aboard them came one Indian from the Island of Ulie who had visited Guahan before, and I presume that this lad must have filled the ears of these natives with the many hardships that the Indians of the Marianas suffer on account of the presence of the garrison there. For this reason, we feared that they might rise in rebellion, and it may be prevented, with divine help, if I were to remain here. And because the boat would not be safe without a Father, my companion, Father Victor advised me to let His Reverence have it, and I stay, since it seemed that these natives have more respect for me.

1 Ed. note: According to B&R, the “nono(g)” tree is the Morinda, but the “balete” corresponds to the Ficus urostigima (whose bark, by the way, can be used for clothing).

2 Ed. note: Not right then, but they were both massacred soon after this letter was written.

3 Ed. note: The final paragraph of the version addressed to the Marianas is different (see A3 below), which summarized what he says here in his postscript.

Regarding a landfall in the Mariana Islands, it is not difficult because the islands are high and lined up in a chain. The greater difficulty consists in getting back to these islands, in getting sight of them, because they are so small, and low-lying. However, the Father will be accompanied by a Spanish half-breed from the Marianas to whom I have taught a little about the art of navigation, and how to observe the sun. As for me, I remain not without a little apprehension that such happy beginnings might be spoiled. I would be extremely lucky to die, for someone who died for me upon a Cross. However, I would be sad in my soul, if this new Christian community were to be lost. May God our Lord take pity on these poor people, and erase the bad intentions they might have from their hearts.

Written in this Island of Falalep, 27 May 1731.¹

This letter, or better said, this brief narrative of the Caroline Islands was sent by Father Cantova to the Fathers of the Marianas, but it never reached their hands, because the boat, either out of ignorance, or out of malice on the part of the pilot, ended up in Manila. Such happy news² caused in the heart of everyone an incredible consolation. Nevertheless, the words used by Father Cantova at the end of his letter did awaken some concern also, because they gave a very clear clue to the danger he was in. The superiors and Fathers in Manila took care to seek the desired succor very eagerly, but all their efforts were fruitless, because not one pilot could be found who would dare to go straight from Manila to the Carolines during a season when the seas are so agitated on account of the fury of the monsoon winds. That is why the only thing that could be obtained was that the necessary succor be arranged for the following year, when the Mariana patache would go there, and another, smaller, boat would go from the Marianas to the Carolines. This very long delay of almost two years embittered the great consolation that had been conceived from the very favorable news that had come from the new Mission, because although some few people continued to say that Father Cantova, though alone with his apostolic zeal, had to sow our holy faith throughout those Islands, nevertheless, almost everyone was persuaded that the Father had to perish from misery for lack of food or at the hands of the natives themselves, as did happen in fact, as was learned from a Carolinian Indian who was captured by the boat that in the year 1733 went there to take the succor to those Islands, and the story happened in the following manner.

In 1732, the Mariana patache left Manila with the companion of Father Cantova on board, plus the succor of the new Mission.³ After a long voyage it was broken into pieces upon entering the port of Merizo. All of the people were saved, but almost the whole cargo was lost, along with the boat that it carried in pieces on board, the one meant to go to the Carolines. They managed to pick up a few boards from the lost boat,

1 Ed. note: Not 27 March, as Fr. Spilimberg wrote in his copy.

2 Ed. note: About the religious conquest of part of the Carolines.

3 Ed. note: This was the San Fernando, with Fr. Walter.

and with some other lumber that they found in the Marianas they made a suitable boat with much labor, aboard which the Father [Walter] with another Brother [Schrebel] left the Marianas on the last day of March of the year 1733 with 12 men, some soldiers and some sailors. On the morning of 2 July, they sighted the Island of Falalep and by noon were within a stone's throw of the beach, but the Indians not only did not come forward like the first time, but also they all fled. This event was the first clue to the misfortune of that Mission, and to the death of Father Cantova, the more so when they saw the Father's residence, the cross, and the barracks, and even the whole port that had already been moved somewhere else. Nevertheless, from the boat they made signals and a show of friendship to the Indians who had fled. Four of them, more daring, boarded one of their canoes, and approached the boat. However, although they were invited on board with affability and courtesy, they never accepted to come alongside. Questions were made to them about the Father and the soldiers, and they answered that they had gone to another island, and our people pretended that they believed this. They were asked for some coconuts by way of refreshment. They immediately went ashore and a while later they returned with more canoes, aboard which were 14 Indians. One man let himself be persuaded to come on board, where he was made welcome and given presents. Upon seeing this, another man came up, but he had no sooner stepped on deck that he changed his mind and jumped off and returned to his canoe. The other man wished to follow his example but he was detained and was unable to dive off. Now there began a sort of disturbance among them. When the soldiers on board saw this, they did not wait to see more signs of their treachery; they fired a mortar at them, killing 3 men and wounding other. The rest of them, astounded, fled ashore by swimming in order to save themselves faster; in one moment they had all disappeared. Our people wished to step ashore to capture a few of those Indians, but no matter how hard they tried to get nearer the island they were never able to find bottom, in order to anchor the vessel safely. So, the next day they decided to sail away in search of the Island of Yap, which is the largest one, with the greatest population of all the islands in that archipelago, and where the main Tamol resides, that is, the small King of all of the others, the man to whom they pay tribute every year. They spent four days searching for said Island, but, seeing that they could not find it, they changed their course and headed for Manila, where they arrived on 14 July with the unlucky news of the uprising of the Carolinian Indians, and of the death of the Ven. Father Juan Antonio Cantova which, according to the account given by the Indian whom they took prisoner to Manila, and who had been an eyewitness, and perhaps even a participant, happened in the following manner.

The perverse stories against the Fathers and the Spanish in the Marianas, as told by those three above-mentioned men who had arrived at Falalep, made a very big impression upon the minds of the Indians. When they persevered in their diabolical malice they were adding more wood to the fire, and finally the fire of hate in those barbarians against the Holy Faith and their Father and teacher increased so much that they decided to kill him. Although it was not necessary for them to work much to come up with a plan

to kill someone who was very willing to die without resistance, nevertheless, they plotted their treacherous act this way. The interpreter named Digal, whom the Father had brought along from the Marianas, became the principal traitor. He came, or faked coming from the Island of Mogmog, that was nearby, saying that overthere there was a sick man nearing death who was asking to be baptized, and he was begging His Reverence to please come and baptize him before he died. The Father, upon hearing that a man was sick, dying, and wishing to be baptized, hurried to the beach to board a canoe right away; two soldiers followed him and kept him company aboard the canoe. He no sooner had arrived at the Island and stepped ashore when he saw himself surrounded by a large crowd of Indians, all armed with their spears. The Father asked them the reason for such a happening, and what they meant to do with those weapons. They noisily shouted back that they were tired of listening to him criticizing their customs, to preach new ones, and that they did not want to follow customs other than those of their ancestors; and while saying this, one of them violently planted a spear into his left side. The Father raised his hands and eyes toward Heaven, as someone who offered himself to God as a victim of the Holy Gospel that he had preached, and then fell upon the ground. Those barbarians attacked him again with two more spears, to finish him off; one pierced him in the chest and the other one went through his left side again. And so it was in three places that he finished spilling his whole blood as a witness for our Holy Faith, and to show his charity toward the one who had died in a bloody way upon the Cross. As soon as the Indians of Falalep learned of the death of the Father, they attacked the few soldiers who had remained to protect the Residence. Since they were attacked by surprise, while they were ignorant of the above treachery, it was with little difficulty but with a great fury that they killed them all. However, during the first attack they had defended themselves enough to inflict death upon four Indians. Following the death of the Father, the Indians of Mogmog removed his clothes and, having wrapped his body in a mat, buried him below a hut, or small roof—a ceremony that is very dignified among them, since they use it only in the case of their chiefs, or for innocent children. As far as the soldiers were concerned, they buried them all on the beach.

This uprising happened after the boat that went to the Marianas to look for help had already left, that is, after the 4th of June 1731. A total of 14 men were killed in that Island, that is, all of those who had remained in the company of Father Cantova, except for one Tagalog boy, a native of the Philippines, who served the Father as a small sacristan, serving him during mass, and looking after the sacred ornaments. After a while, they took him to the big Island of Yap, where the King resides, and to whom he was presented as a gift. The Indian prisoner said that he received him with a show of great satisfaction and gratitude, and he keeps him and treats him as his own son. For what purpose has Divine Providence preserved the life of this boy, one day we may learn, God willing. What is certain is that the boy in question had very good habits and he had firm convictions in our Holy Faith. A few days before he embarked for the Caroline Islands, a Father had asked him if he feared going to live among those barbarians. He had answered frankly that he did not, and that he was always ready to die for

the faith, and that was why he wished to follow his master, Father Cantova, whose blood will forever be calling to Heaven from those beaches, begging God to take pity on his beloved Carolinians. After the death of Father Cantova, there arose in those Islands such a contagious plague that it caused a great havoc, and many deaths. At the same time, the plague of mosquitos returned with a vengeance; in fact, mosquitos had almost disappeared following a novena that the Fathers had made to St. Ignatius soon after their arrival and had created a great admiration on the part of those Indians, and at the same time a great esteem for our holy faith, when they saw themselves free from those bothersome animals; for them, who go around naked, they are much more bothersome. So ended the enterprise of Father Juan Antonio Cantova for whom God had reserved the Crown of martyrdom in the Carolines. During the first duration of this event, one can surely appreciate the part played by Divine Providence, whose intentions cannot be fathomed during the process, but only when the whole thing has reached a conclusion.

[Father Cantova's virtues]

In order for a missionary of the Gospel to be venerated as saintly, it is sufficient for him to have died as a martyr for Christ, as can be affirmed with complete assuredness in the case of Father Juan Antonio Cantova. Nevertheless, even if he had not died a martyr, there was no lack of great virtues that would have made him worthy of a glorious memory. His martyrdom is a matter of holy envy, but his virtues are matter for saintly emulation. So, after having mentioned his martyrdom, to venerate him as a Martyr, it seems very proper to also mention his virtues, to imite him as a saintly Religious. It would be a very long task to try and mention all of them; that is why I will mention only a few of them, that he was specially adorned with.

The first virtue that was evident in Father Juan Antonio Cantova was his zeal for the salvation of souls, a very proper virtue in a Religious of the Society. This zeal pushed him continuously to work for the spiritual progress of his neighbors. The Holy Ghost, in Chapter 8 of the Song of Songs, gives a sign by which we can recognize true zeal for the salvation of souls, by comparing it with the rage that Hell applies toward their perdition: *Dura sicut Infernus emulatio*.¹ The rage of Hell is tough, that is, it is troublesome, because it does not allow the Demons to stop trying to lead Souls to their perdition. The zeal of Father Juan Antonio was such that it did not give him respite in his continuous quest to gain souls for Heaven, either by giving advice, or by giving instructions, or books of devotion. He exhorted some to attend the Sacraments, others to make general confessions, still others to undertake spiritual exercises. So it was that his entire concern consisted in trying to invent means conducive to the welfare of souls. The rage of Hell is tough, because it makes the Demons overcome any difficulty, even accept greater torments, to achieve the damnation of just one soul. The zeal of Father Juan Antonio was tough also, that is, strong enough to face difficulties such as the dis-

1 Ed. note: The reference is incorrect; it does not correspond to said text.

comforts, fatigues, dangers, and even death itself to achieve the salvation of his neighbors. Finally, the rage of Hell is tough, because it makes the Demons constant and pertinacious in their endeavor. Such was also the zeal of Father Juan Antonio, always constant and saintly pertinacious in cooperating toward the salvation of souls. He overcame the difficulties, conquered contradictions, even though they were numerous and great, without desisting one moment from his apostolic enterprise until death.

The second virtue that was very much his was Humility. This virtue was not as evident externally in as heroic a degree as his Reverence did possess, because he was not very fond of showing his emotions, and so, on this point one can very well apply the comment that our Holy Father made about Father Bobadilla, that he was the opposite of a hypocrite, because to hide the fact that he was a saint; so with Father Cantova, as his humility was inside his heart. *Erat humilis corde*. And so he did not appear as he was, and if he had not had this virtue very strong and well rooted in his heart, it would not have been possible for him to have maintained such a great moderation during the numerous trials that he underwent with serious humiliations. And God wished to exercise him in this virtue with such trials since the first years of his having joined the Society, because from then on God arranged for him to enter the crucible of humiliations in order for his humility to be perfected.

In the third place Father Antonio Cantova was devout toward the Most Holy Sacrament, the Virgin and the Glorious Patriarch, Saint Joachim. The first thing that he did in the morning after getting up was to make his way to the gallery of the church to visit the Most Holy Sacrament, and then he would go back to his cell and begin his prayers. He did the same thing after resting a little at siesta time. Whenever he would leave the residence, he first visited the Most Holy Sacrament, and similarly upon returning, also at sunset, before retiring to his cell to study. Such were the ordinary visits of every day, in addition to the other visits that he made now and then, in accordance with his devotion. As far as his devotion toward the Most Holy Virgin was concerned, he began to honor her as his Advocate and Mother from his most tender age. When he joined the Society, he was so fired with this love that the Father who was his companion novice and shared his cell¹ states that, even when asleep, he would not forget his beloved Advocate and Mother; now and then he would utter some fervent prayers and devout words that were a sort of outlet for his loving heart, and sometimes he might also sing the Litanies of the Most Holy Virgin. Here was the source for his great concern in impressing in the heart of everyone his warm devotion; however, this, the holy concern of his, was carried to its limit when he acted as Prefect of the Soladily of the Most Pure in this City of Manila. It is incredible how he promoted his devotion among the members, either with zealous sermons, or in some other way, but above all with the effectiveness of his good example. He did the same thing also during the little time that he was ministering to a Town of Indians, where there was a small chapel dedicated to Our Lady of Sorrows; and since the devotion to said chapel was then in great fervor

1 Ed. note: The author himself.

among said Indians, because it had been built a short time before, the Father not only maintained it, but made it progress even more with the industrious means that he had at his disposal, specially when homage was to be paid to the Most Holy Virgin, which was the object of his most tender devotion. Finally, he was also obviously devout toward St. Joaquim, and so it was that he spent much energy in promoting devotion toward this Saint. Thanks to a very generous donation from a prominent citizen, he created a foundation for the purpose of celebrating his feast-day every year with a great solemnity; in fact, this celebration goes on. And his Reverence, from the very first year, took it upon himself to pronounce the panegyric to his dear Advocate, and he continued doing so for 6 years in a row, and always there was an extraordinary attendance and almost always with His Lordship the Governor himself being present. Everyone was attracted not less by his excellent way of preaching, but by the devotion which he imparted a great deal to the hearts of the citizens. In order to render the attendance and the devotion toward his dead Advocate perpetual, he persuaded very easily the members of his Sodality to choose his feast-day as their own. He also composed a devout Novena in honor of the Saint, and had many copies of it printed in the form of booklets that he distributed to his devotees. He managed as well to convince a pious lady to pay to have a large engraving of the Saint made, very beautiful, in order to promote devotion toward him by means of images of him.

I will conclude this point about his virtues, and at the same time this long Letter, and brief Biography by adding just one sentence from Chapter 31 of Ecclesiasticus, in which the Holy Ghost makes a statement that reveals the peak of perfection. *In omnibus operibus tuis præcellens esto*: Strive for excellence in all your works.¹ Father Juan Antonio Cantova's efforts in putting into practice this idea was such that it may be applied to him as in this eulogy: *Vir præcellens in omnibus operibus suis*, because it is true that in all his operations he always showed excellence, as he performed all of them with perfection, and the most admirable thing was that, although he had always many projects, he carried out each one as completely as if it had been the only one he had to manage. I do not repeat here what has been said earlier about his labor during the 6 years that he spent in Manila, where it was clearly demonstrated that he did with perfection everything that he did. He was always very exact in performing his duties as Master of Theology, extremely careful as Prefect of the Sodality, untiring as a [gospel] worker, excellent in preaching, and finally very patient in welcoming and giving a hearing to all those who flocked to hear his prudent advice and instructions. *In omnibus operibus suis præcellens erat*.

May God our Lord through His infinite Mercy continue in the future, as He has done up to now, to send to this small Province of His smallest Society similar Gospel Workers, so that through their apostolic works may be forever enlarge His glory in the World, and the number of those selected to join Him in Heaven.

Fulcherio de Spilimbergo.

1 Ed. note: One version of the Bible translate this as: "Put thy heart into all thou doest."

Documents 1734D

The Inquisition to their Commissioner in the Marianas, dated 1734 and 1735

Source: AGN Inquisición 650, folios 458v, 460-460v, 467v-468.

D1. Letter dated 13 March 1734

Original text in Spanish.

Al Comisario de Yslas Marianas.

En este Tribunal se rezivio la de nuestro Comisario, de 7 de Mayo del año proximo pasado con la Zertificazion, que benia adjunta de haverse leido y publicado el edicto que se remitio; y en su bista emos mandado abisar de su rezibo, y dezir a nuestro Comisario, esta bien executase la dha Publicazion, como tambien el que tubiese dispuesta para el mes de Julio la del edicto general de la fee, por ser el tiempo mas oportuno en esas Yslas Marianas, por la concurrencia de la gente en ellas; y por lo que mira al libro de el Padre Leandro, que refiere, para en su poder, remitimos a nuestro Comisario, en el papel que va yncluso el modo de expurgarle, y executado, segun el, le debilbera ó pondra en la Biblioteca; donde tocara como corriente, y asimismo remitimos dos exemplares, impresos, de el decreto de la Santa Inquisicion que pide nuestro Comisario, de cuiu celo y esmero, esperamos evaquara todo lo que en essas ysslas ocurriese, y se ofreciese, tocante al ministerio de Comisario, que guarde Dios.

Inquisicion de Mexico Marzo 13 de 1734.

Señores Inquisidores Nabarro, Tagle, y Clabijo, ante el Secretario Carranza.

Translation.

To the Commissioner of the Mariana Islands.

The letter of our Commissioner, dated 7 May of last year was received by this Tribunal, along with the certification that came attached, of having read and published the edict that had been sent to him. In view of which we have ordered that the receipt of his letter be acknowledged, and that our Commissioner be told that said publication was well done, and also the plan that he had for the month of July to publish the general edict of the faith, on account of being a more opportune time for it in those Mariana Islands, on account of the flocking of people there. Now, regarding the book by Father

Leandro, which he said was in his possession, we are sending to our Commissioner a paper (enclosed) that shows how to expurgate it. Once this is done, he can decide whether to return it [to its owner] or place it in the library, where it will be current. We also remit two copies, printed, of the decree from the Holy Inquisition, as requested by our Commissioner, whose zeal and care, we hope, will transact everything that might occur in those Islands, and might offer regarding the ministry of Commissioner, whom may God save.

The Inquisition of Mexico, 13 March 1734.

The gentlemen Inquisitors, Navarro, Tagle, & Clabijo, before Secretary Carranza.

D2. Letter dated 15 March 1734

Original text in Spanish.

Al Comisario de las Yslas Marianas, remitiendole 2 edictos.

Con esta remitimos a nuestro Comisario dos exemplares de el edicto expedido por este Tribunal en 13 del corriente, para que lo aga publicar y fixar en las dos yglesias principales de esas Yslas Marianas en un dia festivo, despues de el Evangelio de la Misa mayor, y de su execuzion y cumplimiento nos remitira nuestro Comisario zertificazion, en primera ocasion.

Guarde Dios &^a

Inquisicion de Mexico Marzo 15 de 1734.

Señores Inquisidores Nabarro, Tagle, y Clavijo. Ante el Secretario Carranza.

Translation.

To the Commissioner of the Mariana Islands, remitting 2 edicts.

With the present, we remit to our Commissioner two copies of the edict issued by this Tribunal on the 13th of the present month, for him to publish it and post it in the two main churches in those Mariana Islands on a holiday, after the Gospel of the high mass, and he is to send us a certification of execution and compliance at the first opportunity.

May God, etc.

The Inquisition of Mexico, 15 March 1734.

The gentlemen Inquisitors, Navarro, Tagle, & Clavijo. Before Secretary Carranza.

D3. Letter dated 4 March 1735

Original text in Spanish.

Al Comisario de las Yslas Marianas.

En este Tribunal se rezibio la de nuestro Comisario, su fha 15 de Mayo del año proximo pasado, con la relazion que venia adjunta de lo obrado, y executado en la Publicacion de el edicto General de la fee, y carta de Anathema, en esas Yslas Marianas; y en

su bista, emos mandado avisar de su rezibo, y dar a nuestro Comisario las grazias por el celo, cuidado y esmero con que se dedico, a tan precisa, y nezesaria funzion, y de parte de este Santo Oficio, se las dara, al Gobernador, y demas oficiales principales, que concurrieren á el luzimiento que expresa nuestro Comisario; a quien asimismo damos noticia de haberse rezibido las dos denuncias que tambien venian inclusas, sobre las que no ay que hazer, respecto de la poca substancia que contienen, y haverse rescatado el denunciante de la proposi[c]ion que profirio a la muger que se dize; y el testificado de la otra ser ya difunto, prebenimos á nuestro Comisario que para las que en adelante se puedan ofrezer de semexante expezie, no tiene que formalizarlas, con escribirlas, y espezialmente las que son contra difuntos. Arreglandose a la carta que sita de 3 de Marzo de 1717, que tendra presente asi nuestro Comisario como sus subcesores.

Guarde Dios &^a

Inquisicion de Mexico Marzo 4 de 1735 años.

Sres. Inquisidores Nabarro, Tagle, y Clavijo; ante el Secretario Carranza.

Translation.

To the Commissioner of the Mariana Islands.

The letter of our Commissioner, dated 15 May of last year, was received at this Tribunal, along with the narrative that came attached to it, about what was done and carried out with the publication of the general edict of the faith, and the letter of Anathema, in those Mariana Islands. In view of which we have ordered that the receipt of same be acknowledged, and to thank our Commissioner for the zeal, care and diligence that he brings to such an exacting and necessary function, and on the part of this Holy Office, he is to thank the Governor and other senior officers, who contributed to its success, as reported by our Commissioner.¹ At the same time, we let him know that we have received the two denunciations that were also enclosed, regarding which there is nothing to do, given the little substance that they contain, and the fact that the man in question had already apologized to the woman in question for the proposition that he had proffered; in the second case, because the man in question was already dead, we advise our Commissioner, for his future use, in case of any similar incident that might occur, he does not have to formalize it in writing, specially any denunciation involving the deceased. Our Commissioner is to refer to the letter which he quotes, dated 3 March 1717, for his guidance and that of his successors.

May God, etc.

The Inquisition of Mexico, 4 March 1735.

The gentlemen Inquisitors, Navarro, Tagle, & Clavijo, before Secretary Carranza.

1 Ed. note: In 1734, the Governor of the Marianas was Navy Captain Diego Felix Balboa.

 Documents 1734E

The King writes about the loss of the galleon Sacra Familia, etc.

Source: AGI Fil. 33, libro 13, fol. 193-193, 196, pp. 447-448 & 453.

E1. Letter to the Audiencia of Manila, dated San Lorenzo 28 November 1734

Original text in Spanish.

*A la Audiencia de Manila aprovandola las Providencias que dio sobre averiguar la perdida del Galeon **La Sacra Familia** y recaudar sus peltrechos y materiales.*

El Rey

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

*En carta de 11 de Julio de 1731 disteis quenta con autos de que con la noticia que se tubo en ese Gobierno de la perdida del Galeon **la Sacra Familia** del cargo del General Don Geronimo Montero que acaecio el dia 9 de Noviembre de 1730 en la ensenada de San Carlos de la Provincia de Mindoro de buelta del reyno de N^a Esp^a se encargo al Lizenciado Don Bernave Antonio de Avecilla pasase a hacer las diligencias sumarias sobre dha perdida y a recaudar los peltrechos y materiales del referido Galeon respecto de que ia estaba asegurada la plata del situado y la del permiso de esas Islas, y que ejecutadas estas diligencias se dio Comision para la conclusion de ellas à el ministro togado que havia de tomar la residencia de los ofiziales de la tripulacion del expresado Galeon, de las quales resulto no haver havido culpa en ellos y se declaro por fortuita la referida perdida.*

Y haviendose visto en mi Consejo de las Indias con lo que dijo mi fiscal de el: Ha parecido aprovaros (como lo hago) las Providencias que disteis afin de averiguar la perdida del referido Galeon y de recaudar sus peltrechos y materiales.

Fha en San Lorenzo à 28 de Noviembre de 1734.

Yo el Rey.

*Por mandado del Rey nuestro Señor,
Don Juan Bentura de Maturana.*

Translation.

To the Audiencia of Manila, approving the provisions that they issued regarding the inquiry into the loss of the galleon **Sacra Familia** and the recovery of her equipment and materials.

The King.

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

In your letter dated 11 July 1731, you reported with a record of proceedings the news that was received in that government of the loss of the galleon **Sacra Familia**, commanded by General Gerónimo Montero, which occurred on 9 November 1730 in the bay of San Carlos in the Province of Mindoro while returning from the Kingdom of New Spain.¹ and that Licentiate Bernabe Antonio de AVECILLA had been entrusted with the summary investigations about said loss and the recovery of the equipment and materials of the above-said galleon, since the subsidy money and that of the permitted trade of those Islands had already been made secure. And that once these inquiries had been carried out, a Commission was given to the senior judge, who had to take the audit of the officers of the crew of the above-said galleon to bring these proceedings to a conclusion, which indicated that none of them was found guilty, as the above-said loss was declared accidental.

And this matter having been seen in my Council of the Indies, with what my Fiscal said about it, I have decided to approve (as I do now) the provisions that you gave in order to investigate the loss of the above-said galleon and to recover her equipment and materials.

Made at San Lorenzo, on 28 November 1734.

I the King.

By order of the King our Lord,

Don Juan Ventura de Maturana.

E2. Letter to the Governor of the Philippines, dated San Lorenzo 28 November 1734

Original text in Spanish.

*Al Gobernador de Philipinas aprovandole las providencias que dio para la construccion de dos fragatas y compra de un patache con motibo de la perdida del Galeon **La Sacra Familia**.*

El Rey

Mi Gobernador y Capitan general de las Islas Philipinas y Presidente de mi Audiencia de ellas.

¹ Ed. note: So, it appears that chief pilot Montero had taken over from General Arredondo for the return voyage (see HM10:678).

*In cartas de 30 de Junio y 9 de Julio de 1731 disteis quenta con autos de que con motivo de haverse perdido el Galeon **la Sacra Familia** el dia 9 de Noviembre de 1730 en la ensenada de San Carlos de la Provincia de Mindoro de buelta del reyno de la N^a Esp^a teniais determinado la construzion de dos fragatas que condugesen el real situado y permiso de esas Islas en la forma regular por no poderse fabricar nuevo Galeon, pero que por lo adelantado del tiempo se discurrio entender solo en la fabrica de una de ellas en la compra de un patache de un particular que se ajusto en 19,000 pesos y en que se prosiguiese la construcion de la otra fragata para que serviese el año subsequente lo que asi se egecuto, habiendo precedido para la determinazion de estas providencias, diferentes representantes de esa Ciudad, Consultas y Juntas de Real Hazienda y expresasteis que por la escasez de esas cajas sirvio la referida Ciudad y su Comitivo con 20,000 pesos para ayuda a los gastos de aquel año y ofrecio otros 20,000 pesos el siguiente de todo lo qual havia resultado conozido veneficio a mi Real Hazienda.*

Y habiendose visto en mi Consejo de las Indias con lo que deixo mi fiscal de el, y teniendose presente otras dos cartas de los ofiziales Reales de esas Cajas de 10 de Julio de 1731 sobre el mismo asunto: Ha parecido aprovaros (como lo hago) todo lo que ejecutaseis en la construcion de las referidos fragatas y compra del patache para la conduccion del situado y permiso de esas Islas.

Fha en San Lorenzo a 28 de Noviembre de 1734.

Yo el rey.

*Por mandado del rey nuestro Señor,
Don Juan Bentura de Maturana.*

Translation.

To the Governor of the Philippines, approving the provisions that he issued for the construction of two frigates and the purchase of a patache, because of the loss of the galleon **Sacra Familia**.

The King.

My Governor and Captain General of the Philippine Islands and President of my Audiencia there.

In letters dated 30 June and 9 July 1731, you reported with records of proceedings that, because of the loss of the galleon **Sacra Familia** on the 9th of November 1730 in the bay of San Carlos in the Province of Mindoro while returning from the Kingdom of New Spain, you had decided on the construction of two frigates to convey the Royal subsidy and the permitted trade of those Islands in the regular manner, since a new galleon could not be built, but, given the lack of time, it was agreed to build only one of them and to purchase a patache from an individual,¹ the price being fixed at 19,000

1 Ed. note: He refers to the Covadonga, and the San Cristobal respectively, that went to Acapulco in 1731 (see HM10:679).

pesos, and that the construction of the other frigate was to proceed,¹ so that it would serve the following year, which was done,² following many consultations involving representatives of that City, and official meetings of the Royal treasury. You mentioned that, due to shortages of funds in that treasury, the above-said City and its representation put up 20,000 pesos to pay part of the costs of that year and they offered 20,000 pesos for the following year, all of which resulted in an obvious benefit to my Royal treasury.

And this matter having been seen in my Council of the Indies, with what my Fiscal said about it, and taking into account two other letters from the Royal officials of that Treasury, dated 10 July 1731, regarding the same matter, I have decided to approve (as I do now) everything that you did in the construction of the above-mentioned frigates and the purchase of the patache for the conveyance of the subsidy and permitted trade of those Islands.

Made at San Lorenzo, on 28 November 1734.

I the King.

By order of the King our Lord,

Don Juan Ventura de Maturana.

1 Ed. note: Albeit more slowly.

2 Ed. note: The second frigate was in fact the patache San Fernando, which was sent to Guam instead and crashed upon arrival there.

Documents 1734F

The story of the patache *Nuestra Señora de las Caldas*

Sources for F1-F3: AGI Fil. 333, libro 13, fol. 254-256, 259v-260v, pp. 569-573, 580-582, and AGI Fil. 334, libro 14, fol. 175-178, pp. 393-399.

F1. Letter from the King to the owner of this patache, dated San Lorenzo 21 November 1735

Original letter in Spanish.

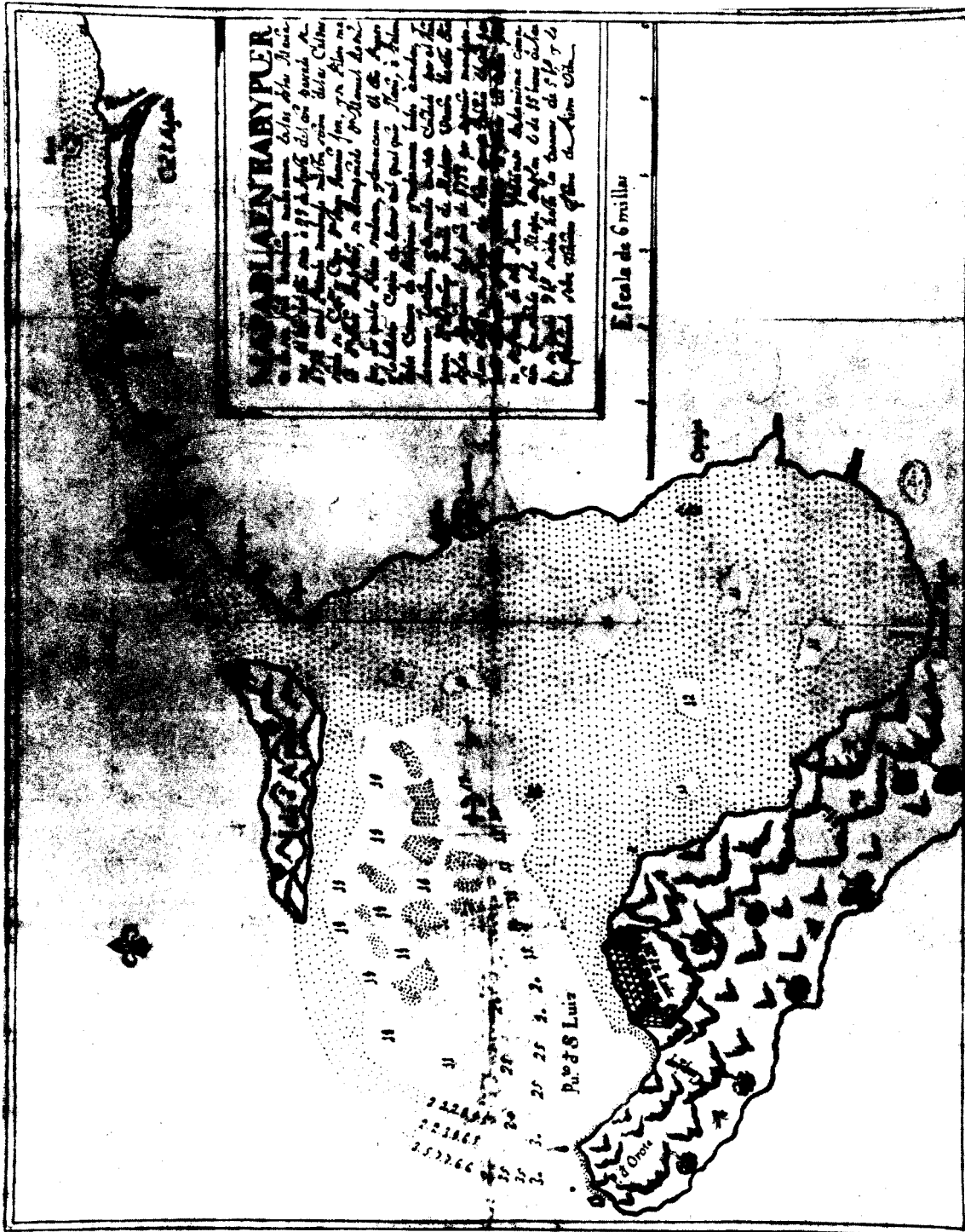
*Al Marques de Monte Castro y Llana Hermosa dandole gracias por el servicio que hizo á la Real Hazienda de su Patache **Nuestra Señora de las Caldas** para conducir el situado a las Islas Marianas.*

El Rey

Don Pedro Gonzalez del Rivero Quixano, Cavallero del orden de Santiago Marques de Monte Castro y Llana Hermosa, Pariente.

*En carta de 25 de Julio del año proximo pasado dio quenta con Testimonio mi Governador y Capitan General de esas Islas de las diligencias que se practicaron para aprestar un barco que hiciese viage a las Islas Marianas, por no haverlo de mi Real Hazienda que pudiese serbir a este fin, pues el Patache **San Cristoval** estava ya destinado para hir á la Nueva España, por el situado de esas Islas, y expresó que siendo de la satisfacion de la Maestranza vuestro patache **Nuestra Señora de las Caldas**, (dandole una carena de firme que costaria 3,500 ó 4,000 pesos) pidio fletes, a que respondisteis me servirais con el referido patache sin flete alguno, solo con la calidad de que sus carenas, y riesgo fuesen de mi Real quenta cuia oferta se admitio en Junta de Real Hazienda por ser de utilidades, escusandose por este medio del fletamento de otra embarcazion ó fabricarla de nuevo, en que se gastarian mas de 30,000 pesos y se acordo seos diesen gracias por vuestro zelo a mi Real servicio.*

*Y haviendose visto en mi Consejo de las Indias la citada carta y Testimonio con otra de los Oficiales Reales de esas Cajas de 5 de Julio del propio mes y año sobre el mismo asunto, y lo que dijo mi Fiscal: Ha parecido manifestaros (como lo hago) mi Real gratitud, por haver dado el referido patache **Nuestra Señora de las Caldas** para que condugese el situado a las Islas Marianas, sin flete alguno, solo con la calidad de que*



(Facing page:) **Chart of Apra Harbor, in 1734 and 1738.** (From AGI MP Fil. 29, originally in AGI Fil. 371; it accompanied a letter from Gov. Francisco de Cárdenas Pacheco, dated Agaña 2 May 1738).

The legend in Spanish reads as follows:

“MAPA DE LA ENTRADA Y PUERTO de San Luíz descubierto nuebamente en las Islas Marianas el día del dicho santo à 25 de Agosto del año passado de 1734 [sic] con el Patache nombrado Nuestra Señora de las Caldas siendo de Capitan y Cavo Don Juan Antonio Jove, y su Piloto maior Don Luíz Duplesis, su Acompañado Don Manuel Rodriguez. Los quales Pilotos sondaron, y demarcaron el dicho Puerto y lo hallaron Capaz de entrar en el qualquier Navio, ò Galeon de la Carrera de Philipinas, y nuebamente buelto à sondar, y demarcar la tierra, y ensinada con todo Cuidado por el Aiudante Don Domingo Garrido de Malaver Vezino de estas dichas Islas Marianas en el año de 1738 por superior mandato.— San Luís es un Fuerte de Piedra que se Fabricó el año passado de 1737 y Vien cabalgadas 6 piezas de cañon para defenza de dicho Puerto fabricado en la misma situación que señala dicho Mapa. Su plan es de 15 baras de largo, su Ancho 9 baras. su alto hasta los troneras de 5 baras, y esta fabricado sobre zimiento firme de Piedra Viva.— Escala de 6 millas.”

Translation of the legend:

“CHART OF THE ENTRANCE AND PORT of San Luís explored once again in the Mariana Islands on the feast-day of this saint, i.e. the 25th of August of the past year 1734 with the patache named Nuestra Señora de las Caldas, its Captain and Commander being Don Juan Antonio Jove, and its chief pilot Don Luís Duplesis, his mate Don Manuel Rodriguez. Said pilots sounded, and surveyed said port and found it suitable to accomodate any ship, or the galleon of the Philippine run. It has once again been sounded and the shore and bay surveyed very carefully by Adjutant Domingo Garrido de Malaver, a resident of these Mariana Islands in 1738, by order of his superior.— **San Luís is a stone fort that was built in 1737** and well mounted with 6 artillery pieces for the defence of said port, built at the location indicated on said chart. Its plan measures 15 yards in length, 9 yards in width, and its height up to the embrasures is 5 yards. It is built of cemented stones on top of a bare rock foundation.—Scale of 6 miles.”

Comments:

The feast-day of St. Louis of France is indeed celebrated on 25 August. This chart is to be compared with the first one ever made of it, by Captain Eguí in 1712 (see HM11: 547). The chart also shows that Fort San Luís was built close to a place called Gabgab. Note that by 1738 the city of Agaña enjoyed a communal sewer, provided by the partial diversion of the Agaña River, and that a pass had been dredged off the beach at Sumay.

corriesen de cuenta de mi Real Hazienda sus carenas y riesgo en que haveis acreditado vuestro zelo a mi Real servicio.

Fha en S. Lorenzo a 21 de Noviembre de 1735.

Yo el Rey.

*Por mandado del Rey nuestro Señor,
Don Juan Bentura de Maturana.*

Translation.

To the Marquis of Montecastro y Llana Hermosa, thanking him for the service that he did to the Royal Treasury with his patache **Nuestra Señora de las Caldas** to convey the subsidy to the Mariana Islands.

The King.

Don Pedro Gonzalez del Rivero Quijano, Knight of the Order of St. James, Marquis of Montecastro y Llana Hermosa, Relative.

In a letter dated 25 July of last year, my Governor and Captain General of those Islands reported, with a record of proceedings, the efforts that were made to make ready a ship to go to the Mariana Islands, because there was none available of my Royal property that might serve for this purpose; indeed, the patache **San Cristobal** was already destined to go to New Spain for the subsidy of those Islands, and he stated that, the shipyard being satisfied with your patache **Nuestra Señora de las Caldas** (if it were careened ashore at a cost of from 3,500 to 4,000 pesos) he wished to charter it, but you responded by offering to serve me with the above-mentioned patache at no cost, except for the condition that its careenings and risk [against loss] would be on my Royal account. Said offer was accepted in a Meeting of the Royal treasury, since it was helpful, and thus would be avoided the cost of chartering or building another vessel, in which would have been spent over 30,000 pesos, and it was decided to thank you for your zeal in my Royal service.

And the above-mentioned letter and record having been seen in my Council of the Indies, with another letter from the Royal officials of that Treasury, dated 5 July of the same month and year, regarding the same matter, and what my Fiscal said about it all, I have decided to tell you (as I do now) of my Royal gratitude for having given the above-mentioned patache **Nuestra Señora de las Caldas** to convey the subsidy to the Mariana Islands, at no cost, but on the condition that its careenings and the risk be on the account of my Royal treasury, by which you have demonstrated your zeal in my Royal service.

Made at San Lorenzo, 21 November 1735.

I the King.

By order of the King our Lord,
Don Juan Ventura de Maturana.

F2. Letter from the King to the Governor of the Philippines, dated 21 November 1735

Original text in Spanish.

*Al Gobernador de Philipinas ordenandole que luego que se restituia el patache **Nuestra Señora de las Caldas** de las Islas Marianas de quenta con Justificazion de las resultas de su viage y de lo que en el hubiere suplido la Real Hazienda con lo demas que se expresa.*

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

*En carta de 25 de Julio del año proximo passado disteis quenta con Testimonio de las diligencias que se practicaron para aprestar un barco que hiciese viage a las Islas Marianas, por no haverlo de mi Real Hazienda que pudiese servir à este fin, pues el patache **San Cristoval** estava ya destinado para hir a la Nueva España por el situado de esas Islas, y expresasteis que siendo de la satisfacion de la Maestranza el patache **Nuestra Señora de las Caldas** dandosele una carena de firme que costaria 3,500 ó 4,000 pesos se determino pedirlo a su dueño, Don Pedro Gonzalez del Rivero Quixano, ajustandose sus fletes, quien respondio me serviria con el referido patache sin flete alguno, solo con la calidad de que sus carenas, y riesgo fuesen de mi Real quenta, para lo qual se mandó avaluarle cuia oferta se admitio en Junta de Real Hazienda por escusa por este medio del fletamiento de otra embarcazion ó fabricarla de nuevo en que se gastarian mas de 30,000 pesos y acuerdo se diesen gracias al referido Don Pedro Gonzalez, por su zelo a mi Real servicio.*

Y havindose visto en mi Consejo de las Indias la citada carta y Testimonio con otra de los Ofiziales Reales de esas Cajas de 5 del propio mes y año sobre el mismo asunto, y lo que dijo mi Fiscal: Ha parecido ordenaros y mandaros (como lo hago) que luego que buelva de las mencionadas Islas Marianas el expresado patache me deis quenta con Justificacion de las resultas de su viage, y de lo que en el hubiere suplido mi Real Hazienda previniendoos que por Despachos de la fha de este ordeno lo mismo à los Ofiziales Reales de esas Cajas, y manifiesto al referido Don Pedro Gonzalez del Ribero Quijano mi Real gratitud, por haverme servido con el zitado patache.

Fha en San Lorenzo a 21 de Noviembre de 1735.

Yo el Rey.

Por mandado del Rey nuestro Señor,

Don Juan Bentura de Maturana.

Translation.

To the Governor of the Philippines, ordering him, as soon as the patache **Nuestra Señora de las Caldas** has returned from the Mariana Islands, to give a report, with an account of the results of the voyage and what might have been the supplementary costs charged to the Royal treasury, along with other things mentioned.

The King.

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

In a letter, dated 25 July of last year, you reported, along with a record of proceedings, the efforts that were made to make ready a ship that would make the voyage to the Mariana Islands, since there was none available of my Royal property that might serve for this purpose; indeed, the patache **San Cristobal** was already destined to go to New Spain for the subsidy of those Islands, and you stated that, the shipyard being satisfied with your patache **Nuestra Señora de las Caldas** (if it were careened ashore at a cost of from 3,500 to 4,000 pesos) it was decided to charter it from its owner, Don Pedro Gonzalez del Rivero Quijano, and negotiating the charges, but he responded by offering to serve me with the above-mentioned patache at no cost, except for the condition that its careenings and risk [against loss] would be on my Royal account. That is why his offer was ordered assessed, and it was accepted in a Meeting of the Royal treasury, in order to avoid by this means the cost of chartering or building another vessel, in which would be spent over 30,000 pesos, and to thank the above-mentioned Don Pedro Gonzalez for his zeal in my Royal service.

And the above-mentioned letter and record having been seen in my Council of the Indies, with another letter from the Royal officials of that Treasury, dated 5th of same month and year, regarding the same matter, and what my Fiscal said about it all, I have decided to order you (as I do now), as soon as said ship returns from said Mariana Islands, to give a report with an account of the results of the voyage, and what might have been the supplementary costs charged to my Royal treasury. I advise you that, through despatches of this date, I order the same thing to the Royal officials of that Treasury, and I tell the said Don Pedro Gonzalez del Rivero Quijano of my gratitude for having served me with the said patache.

Made at San Lorenzo, 21 November 1735.

I the King.

By order of the King our Lord,

Don Juan Ventura de Maturana.

F3. Letter from the King to the Royal Officials, dated San Lorenzo 21 November 1735

Original text in Spanish.

*A los Oficiales Reales de Philipinas ordenandoles que luego que se restituia el patache **Nuestra Señora de las Caldas** de las Islas Marianas den cuenta con Justificacion de las resultas de su viage, y de lo que en el hubiere suplido la Real Hazienda.*

El Rey

Oficiales de mi Real Hazienda de las Cajas de la Ciudad de Manila en las Islas Philipinas.

*En carta de zinco de Julio del año proximo passado disteis quenta de que no hallandose barco alguno de mi Real Hazienda en que se pudiese conduzir el situado a las Islas Marianas, sirvio a este fin, Don Pedro Gonzalez del Ribero Quijano con su patache, **Nuestra Señora de las Caldas**, sin fletamiento alguno, y solo con la calidad de que sus carenas y riesgo fuesen de quenta de mi Real Hazienda.*

*Y habiendose visto en mi Consejo de las Indias, la citada carta con otra de mi Gobernador de esas Islas de 25 del propio mes y año sobre el mismo asunto, y lo que en su inteligencia expuso mi Fiscal: Ha parecido ordenaros y mandaros (como lo hago) que luego que buelva de las referidas Islas Marianas el expresado patache **Nuestra Señora de las Caldas** me deis quenta con Justificazion de las resultas de su viage, y de lo que en el hubiese supliido mi Real Hazienda que asi combiene a mi servicio.*

Fha en San Lorenzo à 21 de Noviembre de 1735.

Yo el Rey

Por mandado del Rey nuestro Señor,

Don Juan Bentura de Maturana.

Translation.

To the Royal officials in the Philippines, ordering them, as soon as the patache **Nuestra Señora de las Caldas** returns from the Mariana Islands, to report, with an account of the results of its voyage, and what the supplementary costs were to the Royal treasury.

The King.

Officials of my Royal treasury in the City of Manila in the Philippine Islands.

In a letter, dated 5 July of last year, you reported that no ship of my Royal property was available to convey the subsidy to the Mariana Islands, and that Don Pedro Gonzalez del Rivero Quijano offered his patache **Nuestra Señora de las Caldas** for this purpose, at no cost, but with the condition that its careenings and risk be on the account of my Royal treasury.

And the above-mentioned letter having been seen in my Council of the Indies, along with another from my Governor of those Islands, dated 25th of the same month and year, regarding the same matter, and what my Fiscal said about it all, I have decided to order you (as I do now), as soon as said patache **Nuestra Señora de las Caldas** has returned from said Mariana Islands, to report to me, with an account of the results of its voyage, and what the supplementary costs might have been for my Royal treasury, as such is proper for my service.

Made at San Lorenzo, 21 November 1735.

I the King.

By order of the King our Lord,

Don Juan Ventura de Maturana.

F4. Letter from the King to the Royal Officials, dated San Lorenzo 26 November 1740

Source: AGI Fil. 334, libro 14, fol. 175-178, pp. 393-399.

Original text in Spanish.

A los Oficiales Reales de Philipinas, ordenandoles que siempre que se embiare el situado para la Islas Marianas ajusten el flete de la embarcacion en que se haya de conducir de la forma en que antes se practicaba.

El Rey

Oficiales de mi Real Hacienda de las Caxas de la Ciudad de Manila en las Islas Philipinas.

*En carta de 28 de Julio del año de 1738 diesteis cuenta con Testimonio de las diligencias que practicasteis en cumplimiento de lo que os mandé por mi Real Cedula de 21 de Noviembre del de 1735, sobre la averiguacion de las resultas que huviese tenido del Patache nombrado **Nuestra Señora de las Caldas**, que el año antecedente dió Don Pedro Gonzalez del Rivero y Quijano, para conducir à las Islas Marianas el situado que se remite à ellas, sin llevar flete alguno; pero con la calidad de que sus carenas, y riesgos fuesen de cuenta de mi Real Hacienda; y espresasteis, que segun la regulacion hecha por el Castellano, y Apuntador del Puerto de Cabite, y Maestranza de su Rivera se reconocia aver importado las maderas que se gastaron en carenar el referido Patache, socorros de los operarios y demas generos, y pertrechos necesarios para su apresto, siete mil treientos, y setenta, y nueve pesos, y tres tomines; cuya cantidad satisfizo mi Real Hacienda, además del riesgo à que se expuso de pagar quince mil pesos en que se abaluó el expresado Patache, si huviera naufragado en el viage, respecto de lo qual teniais por mas util à mi Real Erario, el que siempre que se ofreciere remitir el situado à las Islas Marianas se ajuste [el flete de] alguna de las muchas embarcaciones que van al trafico, y comercio de esas Islas, y se paguen por ella (como en otras ocasiones se avia hecho) treientos pesos cada mes, pues ocupandose regularmente seis meses en ida, estada, y buelta, solo tendria mi Real Hacienda que satisfacer mil, y ochocientos pesos.*

Y aviendose visto en mi Consejo de las Indias la referida carta, y Testimonio con los antecedentes del asunto, lo que informó la Contaduria, y lo que dixo mi Fiscal; y reconocidose, que mi Real Hacienda ha padecido el perjuicio de cinco mil, quinientos, y setenta, y nueve pesos, que pagó demás de aquello que pudiera aver importado el flete de qualquiera otra embarcacion: à que se añade el aver muy vehementes indicios de que intervino considerable delo [=delito?], y fraude en el enunciado ajuste: ha parecido ordenaros, y mandaros, (como lo executo) que en adelante, siempre que se embiare situado à las expresadas Islas Marianas, ajusteis el flete de la embarcacion en que se haya de conducir, en la conformidad que antes se practicaba, absteniendoos de admitir otra alguna de que puedan redundar excesivos gastos, à mi Real Hacienda.

Fecha en San Lorenzo el Real à 26 de Noviembre de 1740.

Yo el Rey.

Por mandado del Rey nuestro Señor, Don Fernando Triviño.

Translation.

To the Royal officials in the Philipines, ordering them, whenever a subsidy is sent to the Mariana Islands, to negotiate the charter of the vessel aboard which it is to be conveyed in the manner used before.

The King.

Officials of my Royal treasury in the City of Manila in the Philippine Islands.

In a letter, dated 28 July 1738, you reported, with a record of proceedings, the efforts that you made to comply with what I had ordered you to do in my Royal decree of 21 November 1735, regarding the investigation of the results involving the patache named **Nuestra Señora de las Caldas**, which the year before was offered by Don Pedro Gonzalez del Rivero y Quijano to convey to the Mariana Islands the subsidy that is remitted there, at no freight charges, but on the condition that its careenings and risks involved be on the account of my Royal treasury. And you mentioned that, according to the regulation made by the Warden and observer of the port of Cavite, and the shipyard on that shore, it was recognized that the importation of lumber used in careening said patache, the wages of the workers and cost of other materials, the necessary supplies to make it ready, totalled 7,369 pesos 3 tomins. And that said sum was paid by my Royal treasury, in addition to the risk to which it was exposed, to pay 15,000 pesos (the value of said patache), if it had been wrecked during the voyage. In view of which you judged more useful for my Royal treasury that, whenever a subsidy is sent to the Mariana Islands, some of the many vessels that visit those [Philippine] Islands to trade should be chartered, and be paid (as was done before) 300 pesos per month; indeed, since they would be kept busy for six months on the two-way voyage and lay-over there, my Royal treasury would only have to pay 1,800 pesos.

And the above-mentioned letter, and record containing the background of this matter, having been seen in my Council of the Indies, plus what the Accounting Department and my Fiscal said about it all, and recognizing that my Royal treasury had suffered a prejudice of 5,569 pesos, which is the excess over and above what would have been paid for the charter of any other vessel. Besides, it is said that there were very strong clues to some considerable fraudulent charges made in this reconciliation of accounts. I have decided to order you (as I do now) that from now on, whenever a subsidy is to be sent to the above-mentioned Mariana Islands, you are to negotiate the charter of the ship that must convey it, in accordance with the previous practice, and abstaining from any other decision that might result in excessive expenses to my Royal treasury.

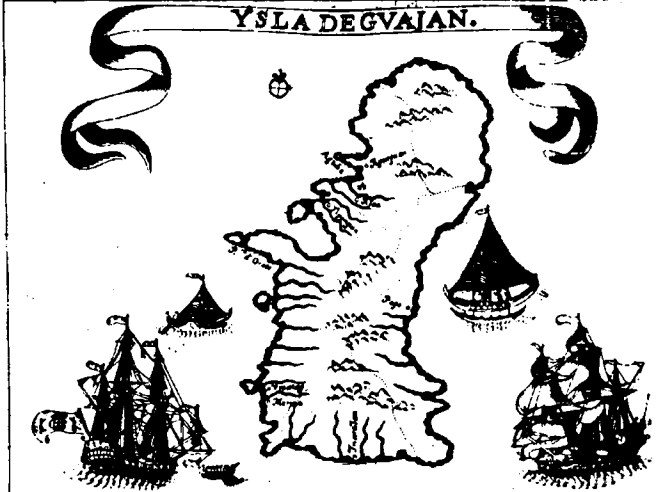
Made at San Lorenzo, 26 November 1740.

I the King.

By order of the King our Lord, Don Fernando Triviño.



Laysian, d Cocodrilo de que estan llenos los rios de estas Islas. 2. Suva Culebra muy grande. 3. Un diablo que arando con un Carabao, o Bufalo. 4. Luzon, en que se cria el arroz, y donde se llamo Luzon esta Isla.



Coron las Islas Maritimas a las latitudes de 13 a 21 grados Norte Sur En que se qual buen modo, y a 110 de los m. en Sur de las Islas ayguas, y frías como tres mil 8. m. az.



En esta Isla se cria el arroz, y se cria el ganado de vacas, y de cerdos, y de caballos, y de otros animales, y se cria el arroz, y se cria el ganado de vacas, y de cerdos, y de caballos, y de otros animales, y se cria el arroz, y se cria el ganado de vacas, y de cerdos, y de caballos, y de otros animales.

 Document 1734G

Map of Guam, etc. by Fr. Murillo Velarde

Sources: "Carta hydrographica y corographica de las Islas Filipinas," by Father Pedro Murillo Velarde, S.J., Manila, 1734; reproduced, among other places, in Carlos Quirino's Philippine Cartography, pp. 45 et seq. Note: This map was engraved by a Filipino artist named Francisco Suarez.

Inset panel from the map of the Philippines by Fr. Velarde

The map published by Father Velarde in 1734 included one particular map of Guam, based on the earlier map by Fr. Lopez, drawn 60 years earlier, with no changes in the shape of the island. The number of place names, however, has been reduced to show the inhabited places in 1734, except that he forgot about Agat. The caption on the map of Guam reads: "The Mariana, or Ladrone, Islands run north-south, from 13 to 21 degrees of latitude. The Governor and the militia reside at Agaña. Only Guam and Rota are inhabited, and they had about 3,000 souls."





Trees growing in the Philippines and Guam. Another inset sketch from the 1734 map of the Philippines by Father Pedro Murillo Velarde, S.J.

Document 1734H

A treatise on navigation techniques, by a Manila galleon pilot, José Gonzalez Cabrera-Bueno

Sources: Admiral Joseph Gonzalez Cabrera Bueno. Navegación especulativa y practica (Manila, 1734); reprinted by W. Michael Mathes (Madrid, 1970); copy in BL Add. mss. 17,622, fol. 40-44.

Note: This pilot served aboard the galleons San Cristobal, Covadonga, and Pilar during the 4-year period, 1731-34 (see Appendix to Vol. 10), before he published this book. He was born in Tenerife, Canary Islands.

Typical 3-masted frigate of the 1730s.

Note: Engraved by the Filipino artist, Nicolás de la Cruz Bagay.

Nautical terms identified by numbers on the accompanying illustration:

Palos.

1. *Baupres.*
2. *Trinquete.*
3. *Arbol Mayor.*
4. *Mesana.*
5. *Mastelero del sobre Zebadera.*
6. *Mastelero del Velacho.*
7. *Mastelero Mayor.*
8. *Mastelero del sobre Mesana.*
9. *Mastelerillo del Iuanete de Proa.*
10. *Mastelerillo del Iuanete Mayor.*

Vergas.

11. *Verga de Zebadera.*
12. *Verga del Trinquete.*
13. *Verga Mayor.*
14. *Verga de Mesana.*
15. *Verga del Velacho.*
16. *Verga de Gavia.*
17. *Verga de sobre Mesana.*
18. *Verga del Iuanete de Proa.*
19. *Verga del Iuanete Mayor.*

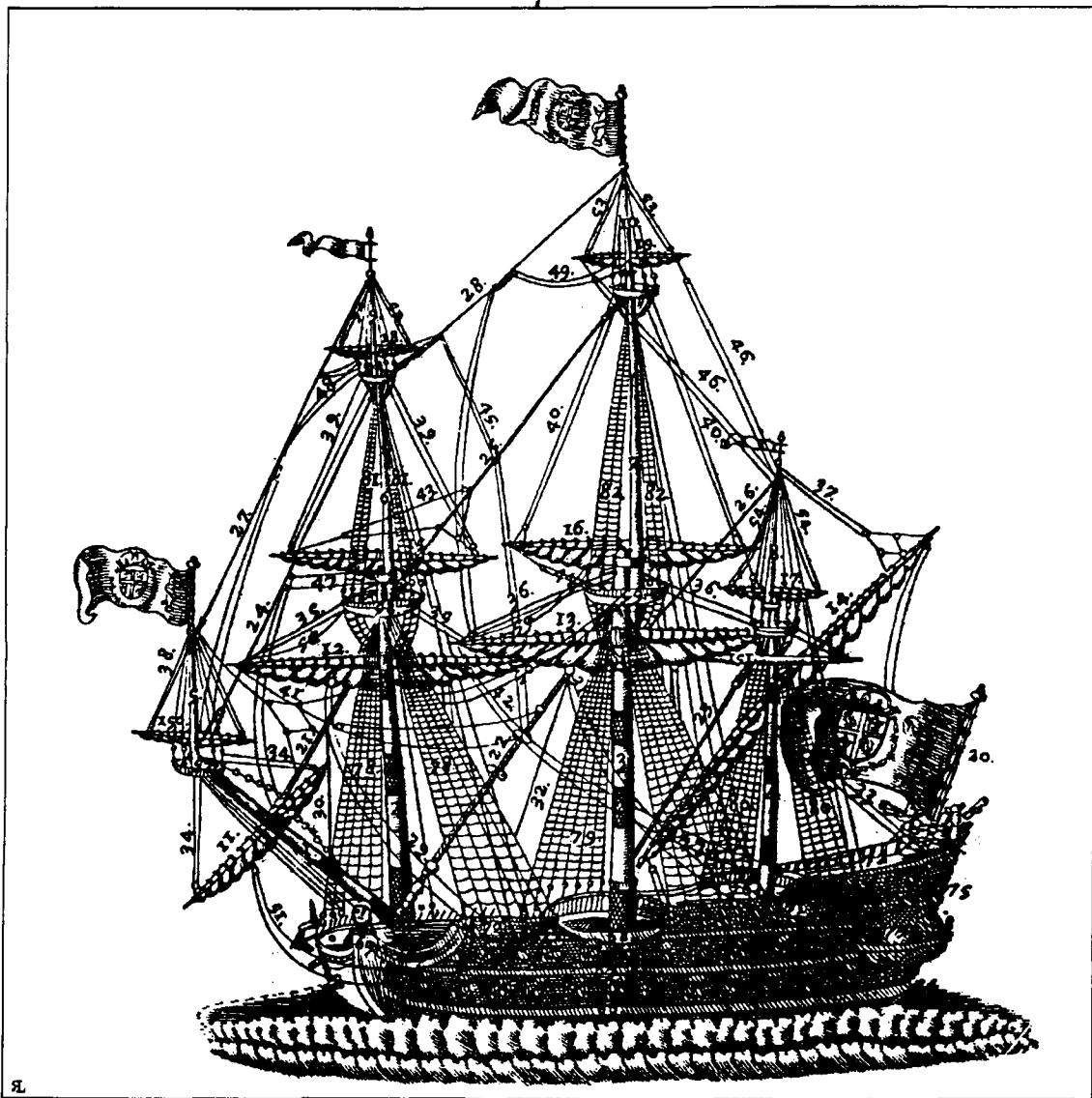
Masts.

- Bowsprit.
- Foremast.
- Mainmast.
- Mizzen-mast.
- Spritsail-topmast.
- Fore-topmast.
- Main-topmast.
- Mizzen-topmast.
- Fore top-gallant mast.
- Main top-gallant mast.

Yards.

- Bowsprit yard.
- Fore-sail yard.
- Main yard.
- Mizzen yard.
- Fore-topsail yard.
- Main topsail yard.
- Mizzen-topsail yard.
- Fore-top-gallant yard.
- Main top-gallant yard.

150. *Verga de sobre Zebadera.*
 151. *Verga de sobre Mesana.*
 20. *Hasta de Vandera.*
Partes del Casco, ô Vaso.
 65. *La Quilla que se considera bajo del agua.*
 66. *La Cinta de la Manga.*
 67. *La Cinta del Combes.*
 68. *La Cinta del todo Portalón.*
 69. *Taxamar, y Veque.*
 70. *El Castillo de Proa.*
 71. *Quadra.*
 72. *Toldilla, ô Chopeta.*
 73. *Xardin.*
 74. *En donde se coloca el Yugo, y tambien es Aleta.*
 75. *Espejo, ô Popa llana.*
 76. *La Alcazar.*
 77. *La Amura.*
Desde 65, hasta 66, el Puntal principal para Arquear.
Desde 65, hasta 68, todo el Puntal
 58. *Canasta de Velacho.*
 59. *Canasta de Gavia.*
Cavos principales.
 78. *Obenques del Trinquete.*
 79. *Obenques Mayores.*
 80. *Obenques de Mesana.*
 81. *Obenques del Mastelero de Velacho.*
 82. *Obenques de Gavia.*
 21. *Estay del Trinquete.*
 22. *Estay Mayor.*
 23. *Estay de Mesana.*
 24. *Estay de Velacho.*
 25. *Estay de gavia.*
 26. *Estay de sobre Mesana.*
 27. *Estay de Iuanete de Proa.*
 28. *Estay de Iuanete Mayor.*
Cavos de labor.
 29. *Escota del Trinquete.*
 30. *Mura del Trinquete.*
- Sprit-topsail yard.
 Mizzen-top-gallant yard.
 Flag staff.
Parts of the Hull.
 The keel (considered to be below the waterline).
 Sheer wale.
 Channel wale.
 Gangway.
 Cutwater, and Beak.
 Forecastle.
 Poop-castle.
 Poop-deck, or Coach.
 Quarter gallerie.
 Where the transom is located and also fashion-piece.
 Escutcheon, or flat poop.
 Quarter-deck.
 Beam, or Breadth.
 From 65 to 66, depth used in gauging.
 65-68 full depth (of hold).
 Fore crowsnest.
 Main crowsnest.
Standing rigging.
 Foremast shrouds.
 Main-mast shrouds.
 Mizzen-mast shrouds.
 Fore-topmast shrouds.
 Main-topmast shrouds.
 Fore stay.
 Main stay.
 Mizzen stay.
 Fore-top-stay.
 Main-topmast-stay.
 Mizzen-topmast-stay.
 Fore-top-gallant stay.
 Main-top-gallant stay.
Running rigging.
 Foresail sheet.
 Foresail tacking sheet.



A typical Spanish galleon/frigate of the 1730s. She carried 50 guns. The details of her standing and running riggings are sketched accurately by José Gonzalez, chief pilot and Admiral of the Manila-Acapulco run, from 1731 to 1734. The flags are those of the Spanish Navy for the period. Note the two columns (of Hercules) on both sides of the crest.

31. <i>Escota Mayor.</i>	Main sheet.
32. <i>Mura Mayor.</i>	Main tacking sheet.
33. <i>Escota de Mesana.</i>	Mizzen sheet.
<i>Prosigue la Maniobra</i>	Maneuvers, continued.
34. <i>Amantillos de Zevadera.</i>	Bowsprit lifts, or halyards
35. <i>Amantillos del Trinquete.</i>	Fore lifts.
36. <i>Amantillos Mayores.</i>	Main lifts.
37. <i>Amantillos de Mesana.</i>	Mizzen lifts.
38. <i>Amantillos de sobre Zevadera.</i>	Sprit yard lifts.
39. <i>Amantillos de Velacho.</i>	Fore topsail yard lifts.
40. <i>Amantillos de Gavia.</i>	Main topsail yard lifts.
41. <i>Brazas del Trinquete.</i>	Foremast braces.
42. <i>Brazas Mayores.</i>	Mainmast braces.
43. <i>Brazas del Velacho.</i>	Foremast braces.
44. <i>Brazas de Gavia.</i>	Main topmast braces.
45. <i>Brazas del Iuanete de Proa.</i>	Fore-top-gallant braces.
46. <i>Brazas de Iuanete Mayor.</i>	Main-top-gallant braces.
47. <i>Voliche del Velacho.</i>	Fore-topsail bowline.
48. <i>Voliches del Iuanete de Proa.</i>	Fore-top-gallant sail bowlines.
49. <i>Voliches del Iuanete Mayor.</i>	Main topsail bowlines.
50. <i>Volinas de Gavia.</i>	Topsail bowlines.
51. <i>Escota de Zevadera.</i>	Bowsprit sheet.
52. <i>Amantillos del Iuanete de Proa.</i>	Fore top-gallant yard lifts, or halyards.
53. <i>Amantillos del Iuanete Mayor.</i>	Main top-gallant yard lifts.
54. <i>Amantillos de sobre Mesana.</i>	Mizzen topmast yard lifts.
55. <i>Escotines de Gavia.</i>	Main topmast sheets.
56. <i>Escotines de Velacho.</i>	Fore topmast sheets.
57. <i>Gavieta de Proa.</i>	Saddle, or bees.

Extracts from his book

Note: The full sailing directions along the coast of California are reproduced, because of their relevance to solving the mystery of the disappearance of at least one galleon that was lost there without a trace, at the time.

Original text in Spanish.

...

Parte Quinta, en que se trata de varias Derrotas...

Capit. I. Derrota desde Cavite à S. Bernardino, y prosigue hasta señas, y de alli à Acapulco.

Estando pues en franquia en el Puerto, ó Pozo de Cavite, luego que se leve se ha de gobernar al Oeste, hasta Voca chica de Maribeles...

...

Bolviendo à la Derrota digo, que montado S. Bernardino principio de su meridiano, que esta en altura de 12. grados 45 minutos mandarà governar al Leste quarta a Nordeste como 50 leguas, que mandarà al Lesnordeste en demanda de las Islas Marianas, que logrado el viento para hazer tu Viage y Camino iràs à vistar los Bolcanes que son los Pasages de mas amplitud, y logrado que sea te pondràs en altura de 20 grados y medio, y en longitud de 11 grados con el cuydado de la variacion de Aguja que en este meridiano es, de siete à ocho grados que es lo que Nordestea, y en casso que avistes las Islas, ó no las avistes, y se llamarè viento à la Brisa dejase ir al Norte, que mientras en mas altura hallaràs los vientos variables, y à tu favor, y caso que prosigas desde la positura àrriba citada mandarà governar al Nordeste quarta al Norte hasta altura de 31. grados, y longitud de 28. grados y medio, y de dicha positura mandarà governar al Lesnordeste hasta ponerse en altura de 36. ó 37. grados, y en longitud de 40. grados con advertencia, que tengas cuydado de tu variacion de Aguja, que serà de nueve à diez grados, y de dicha positura mandarà governar al Leste hasta hallarte en 64. grados de longitud, en cuyo meridiano hallaràs la Aguja, 14 grados que es la mayor variacion que en estos tiempos hân hallado los Modernos, y de ay buelve a dèsmiñuir dicha variacion hasta ponerte tanto abante con Cabo de Mendozino, que està en 94. grados de longitud, en cuya positura hallaràs 5 à 6 grados de variacion que siendo bien hecha la demarcacion, no ay duda estaràs en Señas, que son unas porras, ó cabezas como Zebollas de Europa, y sus rabos de a tres ó quatro brazas, de color verde, y colorado; y el agua turvià à manera de lodo; y estando firme en lo dicho mandarà governar al Lesueste hasta altura de 35 grados, y de ay sino vieres la tierra gobernaràs al Sueste, que por esta Derrota vendràs à avistar Isla de Cenizas, ó Isla de Cerros [rather Cedros] que està en Norueste Sueste la una con la otra: Isla de Cenizas esta en 30 grados de altura, y Isla de Cerros en 18 [rather 28] grados, y 45 minutos, esta Isla de Cenizas, es una Isla gruesa, y alta no muy grande, pelada, tiene de la parte del Sursueste de en medio de la Isla para el Sueste dos Farallones casi taxados uno cerca de otro, Isla de Cerros es una Isla mas grande, y mas alta, y tiene en la cumbre del Norueste, Arboles, los quales son Pinos, y tiene algunas manchas de Sabanas, y estando Nordeste Sudueste con ella haze una quebrada la Costa mas larga que esta Isla tiene, y la mejor vista es por la vanda del Sueste, tiene 2. Farallones grandes, el uno de ellos esta mas al Sueste que el otro, y es casi taxado por todas partes, y quadrado, que casi parece hecho a mano, à visotè que quando vinieres de 35. grados por Derrota en demanda de las dichas Islas vengas con cuydado hasta desmiñuir y ponerte en 33. grados de altura, por que en està altura dizen ay unos baxos, aun que no los hè visto por el Camino dicho, antecedente, tambien tè aviso, que de 35. grados hasta 33 grados y medio ay una cordillera de Islas, que son 7 grandes y 3 pequeñas, y si tuvieres necesidad, podras tomar la Costa en 35 grados, y medio, y de ali gobernar al Sueste quarta al Sur hasta dar con la primera Isla, que esta en 35. grados, y entrando por entre ella, y la tierra, por que està seis leguas apartada, y todas las demas tambien, se puede zafar por tierra de todas, y costear la tierra de Leste Oeste, que assi corre mas de 21. leguas, y toda esta llena de Arboledas

donde se podra tomar algun palo si fuere menester, que con la Sonda en la mano, y buen cuydado hallaràs surgidero à gusto donde dar fondo.

Bolviendo pues à la Derrota digo, que si por causa de malos Timoneles, ó de Corrientes como suele acontecer, te hallares enseñado, y vieres à la Isla de Cenizas ó de Cerros por la vanda de à fuera, puedes sin temor arrimar te à ellas por la vanda que quisieres, y en àcabando de pasar saldràs para fuera que todo es limpio y seguro: pero lo mexor, es ir à recalar à una Isla llamada la Guadalupe, que esta en 29 grados de latitud, y en longitud de 104. grados 30 minutos, y es una Isla redonda, y por la vanda del Sudueste tiene una Playa de arena, y a Mogotes taxados à la mar puntiagudos.

*Saliendo pues de Isla de Cerros ó Cenizas para el Cabo de S. Lucas una singladura de 30. leguas à el Sursueste, gobernaràs luego al Sueste, y vendràs a dâr con el Cabo de S. Lucas, y si quisieres pasar por fuera, y no ver le gobernaràs al Sureste quarta al Sur hasta altura de 22. grados, por que el esta en 22. grados, y medio, y de alli te podràs ir theniendo en tierra como te pareciere advirtiendote, que el Cabo de Corrientes està en 20. grados y medio: Viniendo de Isla de Cerros à el Cabo de S. Lucas en 25. grados, estan tres Farallones juntos que parecen Fragatas à la Vela, que son los que engañaron al Navio **S. Geronymo** el año de 1699. y por esso ve con cuydado, y quando vieres Paxaros blancos ya estas cerca de ellos, tomando el Cabo de Corrientes que està al Sueste quarta al Sur, y iràs a tomar al Puerto de la Navidad, que està en 19. grados y medio, advierte que si las Serranias estubieren claras, si tienes cuydado seis leguas antes que llegues à el Puerto de la Navidad por encima de las Serranias à la buelta de Lesnordeste veràs un Bolcan que llaman de Colima, y lo conoceràs por que hecha humo, y veràs tambien en la Costa, la buelta de Leste dos, ó tres Farallones pequeños taxados, y luego tres leguas mas àdelante de los Farallones, veràs un Morro pequeño taxado de la vanda de la mar con un Picacho pequeño en cima redondo que parece capilla de Horno, y haze enbocadero por entre el, y la tierra firme, tiene pegados assi de la vanda de la mar dos ó tres Farallones pequeños de piedra, de estos Farallones dos leguas y media la Costa en la mano, estan dos Morros medianos no muy altos que so parecen desde lexos; pegado à ellos de la vanda del Norte es el Puerto de la Navidad cinco leguas mas adelante de estos Morros la Costa en la mano estan unos Farallones muy blancos cerca de tierra; luego que pases estos Farallones esta una ensenada grande, que es el Puerto de Selagua, y si quisieres entrar dentro puedes sin riesgo, la Proa à la Playa la buelta de Lesnordeste, y hallaràs agua y todo lo que hubiereis menester, pasando de este Puerto para delante corte la Costa al Sueste hasta aver andado diez, ó ocho leguas que en piezan [sic] los Motines[.] es una tierra gruesa taxada a la mar aspera, y con poca Arboleda, la distancia de los dichos Motines es de veinte leguas, luego vâ la tierra mas apacible, y llena de Playas, hasta llegar à una tierra baja llena de Arboleda donde esta el Rio de Sacatula. Prosiguiendo la Costa ócho leguas, esta una tierra alta grande, que se nombra Panela: y aqui guiñando sobre el Sueste, otras ocho leguas estàn unos Farallones, muy juntos y muy blancos, que por ser lo tanto parecen desde lexos, antes de llegar à ellos Farallones haze la tierra una ensenada donde esta el Puerto de Siguatanejo, de los Farallones grandes àdelante ocho leguas esta la Punta de Petatan, de aqui à*

el Puerto de Acapulco ay veinte y dos leguas, y corre la Costa casi de Leste Oeste de Playa limpia sin aver en toda ella Morro, ni piedra; y advierte, que acabado la Playa, en los primeros Moros que vieres esta el deseado Puerto de Acapulco, y assi no ay que poner otras señas, que segun las experiencias esta en altura de 16. grados, y 40 minutos, y en longitud de 124. grados. Y si quisieres [sic] saver con mas individualidad los paraxes, y señas de esta Costa, mira con cuydado la Derrota, que adelante demarco, desde el Cabo de Mendozino hasta Acapulco.

Translation.

...

Fourth part, containing various sailing directions...

Chapter I. Sailing directions to get from Cavite to San Bernardino, and onward as far as the “signs”, and from there to Acapulco.

Once clear of the port, or basin, of Cavite, and the sails are set, one must steer westward as far as the smaller channel of Mariveles...

...

Let us go back to our sailing directions. As I was saying, once the meridian of San Bernardino has been passed (its latitude is 12°45'), you ought to order a heading of E1/4NE for about 50 leagues, then a change to ENE in the direction of the Mariana Islands, but, if the wind be favorable to your plans, you should be able to sight the volcano islands where the straits are wider. Whatever strait you use, as soon as you have crossed it you should get up to a latitude of 20°30' and a longitude of 11° [east of Cape Espiritu Santo], keeping in mind that the magnetic variation at this meridian is from 7° to 8° NE. Whether you sight the islands or not, when you get a breeze, let yourself be carried northward, because it is at higher latitudes that you will find variable, but favorable, winds. And in case you proceed from the above-mentioned position, you should order a heading set to NE1/4 N until reaching a latitude of 31° and a longitude of 28°30', and from said position you should order a heading of ENE until reaching a latitude of 36° or 37° and a longitude of 40°, but be careful to take into account that variation thereabout will be from 9° to 10°. From said position you should order that the heading be changed to E until reaching a longitude of 64°, in which meridian the variation reaches 14°. That is where pilots have found the largest variation in modern times; from then on it diminishes again and keeps on decreasing as far as a spot facing Cape Mendocino, which is located in 94° of longitude, at which position you should find a variation between 5° and 6°. If your reckoning is good, there is no doubt that at this point you should find yourself amid “**the signs**”, which are some sea-leeks, with heads similar to our onions in Europe, but with tails from 3 to 4 fathoms in length, green and red in color; the water then appears muddy. Once you are surrounded by such signs, you should order that the course be set to ESE until reaching a latitude of 35°. Once there, if the land is not yet in sight, you should steer SE. Along this course, you should eventually come into sight of the Island of Cenizas, or the Island of Cerros [rather Cedros] (these two islands lie NW-SE from each other). The Island of Cenizas

is in 30° of latitude, and the Island of Cerros in 18° [rather 28°] 45'. This Island of Cenizas is a compact island, high but not very big, barren; in the SSE part, from the middle of the island toward the SE, two rock islets, quite steep, close together.¹ The Island of Cerros is a larger, and higher island, and it has trees covering the NW [rather N] peak—they are pine trees. In addition, it has some spots that are plains, and when one is NE-SW with it, the longest coast that this island has, there appears a ravine. The best view of it is to be had on the SE side. It has 2 big rock islets, one of which lies further to the SE than the other, and is quite steep everywhere, and square [in shape] such that it seems to have been shaped by hand[.]²

I caution you that, when you are coming from 35° following this course down toward the above-said islands, you should proceed with care until you have reached 33° in latitude, because they say that in this latitude there are some shoals, although I did not see any along said route. I also caution you that between 35° and 33°30' there is a chain of islands—7 big ones and 3 small ones. If you should need to, you could approach the coast in 35°30' and from there steer SE1/4S until sighting the first island, which is in 35°, then pass between it and the coast, because they are separated by 6 leagues. You can do the same with all the other islands, as they can all be coasted on their land side as well, and follow the coast E-W, since that is how it trends for over 21 leagues;³ it is covered with trees along this whole stretch and, if need be, you could take some of them for use as masts; in fact, with the sounding line in hand, and much caution, you should be able to find a suitable place to anchor.

Going back to our sailing directions, let me say that, if for reasons such as bad steering or bad currents, such as usually happens, you should find yourself embayed, and sight the Island of Cenizas, or that of Cerros, on your sea-side, you can without fear sail close to them, on either side of them, but once you have passed them, you should sail outward, as everything is clear and safe; however, you are better off to go and touch at the Island of Guadalupe, which is in 29° in latitude and 104°30' in longitude; it is a round island with a sandy beach on its SE side, with some sharp rocks dotting the sea.⁴

So, upon leaving the Island of Cerros or Cenizas for Cape San Lucas, and one daily run toward the SSW, you should then head SE, and you should come up with Cape San Lucas, but if you should sail away from it and not come within sight of it,⁵ then you should steer SE1/4S until reaching the latitude of 22°, because the cape is in 22°30' and from there you could go in toward the coast as you please, but I should caution

1 Ed. note: He is describing the SE peninsula and rock islet nearby belonging to the Island of San Martín which lies in 30°30'.

2 Ed. note: I was there in 1999 and can say that there are no rock islets on the east side of Cedros. Instead, he may have been describing either the SW side of Cedros or the San Benito Islands nearby, both in 28°.

3 Ed. note: It becomes clear that the author had twisted his chart at a 45° angle.

4 Ed. note: This is the same as the modern Guadalupe in lat. 29°11' and 118°17' long. W of Greenwich, with 2 rock islets on its southern point.

5 Ed. note: In order to avoid coming in contact with any pirate who may have been lurking there.

you that Cape Corrientes is in 20°30'. While coming from the Island of Cerros to Cape San Lucas, in 25° there are three rock islands close together that seem like frigates under sail. They are the ones that fooled the galleon **San Jerónimo** in the year 1699 [sic];¹ that is why you should proceed with caution and when you should see white birds you are near them.

After getting to Cape Corrientes, which lies to SE1/4S, you should visit the Port of Navidad which is in 19°30'. I caution you that if the summits of the mountains be visible, if you watch carefully, 6 leagues before getting to the Port of Navidad, you will see on top of the mountains toward the ENE a volcano which is called Colima, and you will recognize it because of it emits smoke. You will also see along the coast, toward the E, 2 or 3 small and steep rock islands, and then 3 leagues past the rock islands you will see a small hillock, with a vertical face seaward and with a small round needle on top that looks like the roof of an oven, and it appears as if there is an entrance between it and the mainland; there are also 2 or 3 small rock islets seaward from it. Some 2-1/2 leagues past these rock islands, with the coast in sight, there are two average-size hillocks, not very high, that can only be seen from afar. Close to them and north of them is the Port of Navidad. Five leagues past these hillocks, with the coast in sight, there are some rock islands that are very white and near the shore. Once you have passed these rock islands, there is a large bay which is the port of Selagua [now called Manzanillo], and if you should wish to go in, you may do so without risk by heading ENE; there you will find water and everything that be may required. Beyond this port the coast trends SE for 10, or 8 leagues, where the Motines begin. It is rough land, with cliffs along the shore and few trees. Said Motines cover about 20 leagues, then the land is more gentle and full of beaches, until getting to a low shore full of trees where the Zacatula River is located.² Continuing along the coast for another 8 leagues, there is a high land, which is called Panela;³ it is here that one must veer to SE. Eight more leagues further on are some rock islands, very close together and very white, and that is why they can be seen from afar. Before getting near those rock islands, the shore forms a bay and that is where the Port of Zihuatanejo is located. Eight leagues beyond the big rock islands is Petatan Point.⁴ From here to the Port of Acapulco there are 22 leagues, and the coast trends E-W [rather SE-NW]; it is but a clean beach, without any headland nor rock along it. Take note that, as soon as the beach ends and the first headlands appear, there is the sought-after Port of Acapulco. Thus, there is no need to mention any other signs, as experience has shown that its latitude is 16°40' and its longitude is 124° [E of Cape Espiritu Santo]. And if you wish to know greater details about the neighborhoods and directions for sailing along this coast, you should read carefully the sailing directions that I have written above, for sailing from Cape Mendocino to Acapulco.⁵

1 Ed. note: Rather 1599, I think. The area of Cape San Lázaro is still very dangerous.

2 Ed. note: Same as Rio Balsas. The town there is now called Lázaro Cárdenas.

3 Ed. note: Possibly a mistprint for Petalco.

4 Ed. note: Rather Petatlán.

5 Ed. note: See also HM11: 531-532.

Document 1735A

Letter from Fr. Nicholas du Béron to Mr. Jacques-Ferdinand Cortyl, regarding their brothers lost at Sonsorol

Source: Fr. Kieckens' article "Les anciens missionnaires belges aux Iles Philippines" in Précis Historiques, 1881, pp. 482-483.

Introductory note.

While the Jesuit colleagues of Fathers Dubéron and Cortyl kept trying to find information about the fate suffered by them at Sonsorol in 1710, their relatives in Europe also tried to gain information from the Jesuit Provincial of the Gallo-Belgian Province. Some 35 years after he had last seen his brother, Jacques-Ferdinand Cortyl, the younger brother of Fr. Joseph, got in touch with Nicholas du Béron, who had become a Cistercian friar and was abbot of the Abbey of Loos, near Lille. The latter answered as follows.

Letter from Father Nicholas du Béron, dated Lille 17 January 1735

Sir:

Reverend Father Wibault, a missionary in the Philippines, has said that as of the year 1731, only confused information had been received at Manila regarding the glorious death of Father Jacques du Béron, my brother, and Father Joseph Cortyl, your brother, and that was at three separate places, to wit: in the Mariana Islands, in the Chick-pea [Ulithi] Islands, and in the village of Guivan [in Samar].¹

The natives of the Palaos [i.e. Carolinians] have declared the same circumstances regarding their death by blows from sticks, the life of their companions having also been taken, as they grabbed their sword in order to resist (they were Spanish soldiers who had accompanied the Fathers ashore). In the end, they killed the two missionaries as they clung to their crucifix, out of hate for the true faith, that they had preached to them.

1 Ed. note: See previous Doc. 1720D and Doc. 1721F, among others.

You and I, Sir, have reason to bless God and to rejoice for the glorious martyrdoms of your brother and of mine. If I should ever learn about other circumstances regarding the case, I would be most glad to inform you.

I am, Sir, with the greatest of consideration,
Your most humble and very obedient servant,
F.-N. du Beron,
Abbot of Loos.

The Caroline Mission abandoned.

The Jesuits in Manila abandoned their plan for the religious conquest of the Carolines at about this time. The evidence comes indirectly from the record of one of their decisions, as recorded in the Spanish archives, that a fund for pious works, established by some devout person and destined to the Caroline Mission, was applied instead by the Jesuit Provincial to missions in the village of Inayauan and town of Sipalay on the western coast of Negros Island in the Philippines. I suspect that these two missions were ministered to by Fr. Spilimbergo, Fr. Cantova's former friend and biographer.

Documents 1735B

Appointment of Francisco de Cárdenas Pacheco as proprietary Governor of the Marianas

Sources AGI Fil. 543, doc. n° 12; also Ultramar 561, under 1735.

B1. Letter of appointment, dated Seville 18 April 1731

Original text in Spanish.

Don Felipe por la Gracia de Dios, Rey de Castilla, de Leon, &c.

Por quanto hallandose vaco el empleo de Gobernador y Capitan General de las islas Marianas por haber fallecido Don Sebastian de Amorena último provisto en el y combiniendo proveerle en persona de los meritos y circunstancias que se requieren, atendiendo à que estas concurren en vos Don Francisco de Cardenas Pacheco, y à lo que me habeis servido en las islas Filipinas en las armadas que se han ofrecido contra los Moros Joloes y Mindanaos, he tenido por bien de elegiros y nombraros (como por la presente os elijo y nombro) por mi Gobernador y Capitan General de las referidas islas Marianas para que useis y egerzais dicho empleo por el tiempo que fuere mi voluntad, segun y como lo han hecho vuestros antecesores y que como tal podais usar y ejercer este cargo en los casos y cosas à el anejas y concernientes, por tanto mando à el Presidente y Oidores de mi Auciencia Real de la Ciudad de Manila tomen y reciban de vos Don Francisco de Cardenas Pacheco el juramento que se acostumbra y hecho os pongo en posesion de el, y sin la menor dilacion quitando y removiendo al que lo estubiere sirviendo con titulo de Gobernador de Filipinas, y que os hallan y tengan por tal Gobernador y Capitan General de las islas Marianas, y os guarden y hagan guardar las honrras, gracias, mercedes, franquezas, livertades, preheminencias prerrogativas é inmunidades que por razon de el debeis haber y gozar, y os deben ser guardadas todo bien y cumplidamente sin que os falta cosa alguna, y os asistan y hagan asistir con ciento y diez pesos de sueldo al mes que es el que le está asignado à este empleo, pagandoselos del Genero de Hacienda y al tiempo que se satisfacieren los sueldos de la gente de guerra del Presidio de dichas islas Marianas que con este mi titulo ó su traslado signado de escribano publico y vuestras cartas de pago será bien dado todo lo que por esta razon se os satisfaciere sin otro recaudo alguno, y de esta merced, y del sueldo que con

ella habeis de gozar no debeis el derecho de media anata por haber declarado por de guerra viva las de los Presidios de Indias y no causarla los que sirven en ella y de la presente se tomará la razon en las Contadurias generales de Cargo y Data de mi Real Hacienda, por los Contadores de Cuentas que residen en mi Consejo de las Indias.

Dada en Sevilla à diez y ocho de Abril de mil seteientos treinta y uno.

Yo el Rey

Yo Don Gerónimo de Uztariz Secretario del Rey Nuestro Señor, le hize escribir por su mandado.

Translation.

Philip by the grace of God King of Castile and León, etc.

Inasmuch as the post of Governor and Captain General of the Mariana Islands is vacant, on account of the death of Don Sebastian de Amorena,¹ the last person so named, and inasmuch as it is appropriate to name a person with the merits and circumstances required for the post, which happen to be found in you, Don Francisco de Cárdenas Pacheco, for having served me in the Philippine Islands in the expeditions that were made against the Moros in Jolo and Mindanao, I have decided to select you and appoint you (as by the present I do select and appoint you) as my Governor and Captain General of the above-mentioned Mariana Islands, for you to fill and exercise said post for the duration that will suit my will, in the same manner that your predecessors have done, and that as such you may use and exercise this office in the cases and things appertaining to it. Consequently, I order the President and members of my Royal Audiencia in the City of Manila to take and receive from you, Don Francisco de Cárdenas Pacheco, the usual oath, and once this is done, I place you in possession of it, without the least delay, taking it and removing it from whoever would be serving with the title of Governor of the Philippines,² and they are to find you and hold you as such Governor and Captain General of the Mariana Islands, and to respect and make others respect the honors, favors, freedoms, preëminences, prerogatives and immunities that you must have and enjoy for this reason, and they must observe them all very well and completely without anything being omitted, and to assist you and make others assist you with 110 pesos of salary per month, which is that assigned to this post, by paying it out to you from the general account of the Treasury and at the same time as the salaries of the military men of the garrison of said Mariana Islands are paid. This my letter of appointment or a copy of it certified by a notary public and your letters of payment, will constitute a satisfactory authority for such payment to be made to you, without any other proof being required, and you are relieved from having to pay the half anata on this favor and the salary that you must enjoy from it, because posts located in the garrisons of the Indies have been declared war zones and those serving therein are considered exempt. Of which the general Accounting Departments, receivers and

1 Ed. note: He had been Governor of Zamboanga (B&R 44:165).

2 Ed. note: Who had authority only over the interim governors whom he had selected himself.

paymasters, of my Royal treasury, and the accountants in charge of accounts residing in my Council of the Indies are to take heed.

Made at Seville, 18 April 1731.

I the King.

I, Don Gerónimo de Uztariz, Secretary of the King our Lord, had it recorded, by his order.

B2. The above letter was accepted by the Audiencia of Manila in 1734

Original text in Spanish.

Señor

En esta Real Audiencia se presentó el General Don Francisco de Cárdenas Pacheco con el Título y real despacho fha en Sevilla à diez y ocho de Abril de mil setecientos treinta y uno en que V.M. se sirvió conferirle el Gobierno de las Islas Marianas pidiendo su cumplimiento el cual executado y obedecido conforme à la ley se mandó guardar, cumplir, y ejecutar, y habiendo hecho dicho General el juramento en derecho prevenido se le dió el pase acostumbrado para irse à encargar del Gobierno de dichas islas para las que se embarcó el año pasado de mil setecientos treinta y cuatro, y consta haber aprehendido posesion del dicho empleo en veinte y cinco de Agosto de dicho año segun que todo consta del cuaderno de autos con que se da cuenta à V.M. cuya Católica y Real persona guarde Dios los muchos años que estos dominios necesitan.

Sala de Acuerdo de la Audiencia de Manila y Junio veinte de mil setecientos treinta y cinco años.

Don Fernando Valdes

Don Francisco Lopez Adan

Licenciado Don Juan Francisco de Velasco

Licenciado Don Francisco Fernandez Toribio.

Translation.

Sire:

In this Royal Audiencia appeared General Francisco de Cárdenas Pacheco with the appointment and royal despatch given at Seville on 18 April 1731, by which Y.M. was pleased to confer upon him the Government of the Mariana Islands, requesting compliance. It was carried out and obeyed according to law, and ordered observed, complied with and carried out, and said General having taken the oath according to law, he was given the customary license to go and assume the post of Governor of said Islands. To this effect, in the past year 1734, he embarked,¹ and the record shows that he took possession of said post on 25 August of said year, according to the notes from the

1 Ed. note: Aboard the patache N.S. de las Caldas.

copybook of proceedings, hence it is reported to Y.M., whose Catholic and Royal person may God save for the many years that these dominions need.

Law-court of the Audiencia of Manila, 20 June 1735.

Don Fernando Valdés.

Don Francisco Lopez Adán.

Licenciate Don Juan Francisco de Velasco.

Licenciate Don Francisco Fernandez Toribio.¹

1 Ed. note: The interim appointment of Captain Diego Feliz de Balboa had ended in June 1734.

Documents 1735C

The population of the Marianas down to 2,000 in 1735

Sources: AGI Ultramar 562, n° 2; copy in Colección Pastells, Fil. 3, pp. 93-105.

Note: See Doc. 1739C for a letter from the Governor of the Philippines regarding the possibility of sending 100 families to the Marianas to help solve this problem.

C1. Letter from Governor Cárdenas Pacheco to the King, dated Umatac 2 June 1735

Original text in Spanish.

El Gobernador de la Islas Marianas: Espresa la falta de naturales que tienen aquellas Islas, pues apenas llegan à dos mil personas entre grandes y pequeños, por lo cual le parece combeniente se de órden al Gobernador de Filipinas para que le remita cien familias. Tambien da cuenta de que con motibo de hallarse Don Pedro Laso de la Vega Sargento mayor de aquellas Islas, gravamente enfermo, y sin poder servir dicho empleo, concurriendo las circunstancias que se requieren en el Capitan Don Manuel Ruano Calvo y los servicios que tiene hechos à Su Magestad le confirio el referido empleo, y pide se le despache la confirmacion de el.

Señor.

Tengo escrito à V.M. en veinte y cuatro de Diciembre del año inmediato pasado de mil setecientos treinta y cuatro, participando como à los veinte y cinco de Agosto de el recibí la investidura de los empleos de Gobernador y Capitan General de estas Islas Marianas, con que Vuestra Magestad se ha servido honrrarme à mi el General Don Francisco de Cárdenas Pacheco, que lo fué de Vuestra Real Armada en las Filipinas contra los Moros de Jolo y Mindanao, en cuya conformidad por ser tan propio de mi obligacion asi mismo dí cuenta sobre la acelerada comsumpcion de los naturales de estas dichas Islas, que apenas se hallan por la presente dos mil personas entre grandes y pequeños de ambos sexos.

Por tanto en cumplimiento de dicha mi obligacion, con no vulgar rendimiento repito mi suplica à Vuestra Magestad para que se sirva mandar al Gobernador de Filipinas que de sus naturales provea con cien familias estas para su cultivo y conveniente se

necesitan para la manutencion de esta Infanteria, y provisiones de los Galeones de dichas Filipinas que anualmente pasan por estas espresadas Marianas.

Tambien espongo à la Serenisima circumpecta atencion de V.M. como habiendo entendido y visto que al Sargento mayor de estas supra dichas Islas Don Pedro Laso de la Vega, à quien V.M. se sirvió conferir dicho empleo, se halla totalmente emfermo de una emfermedad que por su gravedad es incurable imposibilitandole à servir dicha Plaza, à que por el Testimonio adjunto me remito; en cuya inteligencia he nombrado persona que le sostituya y ejerza en interin por ser tan necesario al servicio de V.M. en estas referidas islas, y por que concurrieron todas las calidades y circunstancias que se requieren en la del Capitan Don Manuel Ruano Calvo, atendiendo à los servicios que tiene fechos à V.M. en ellas, desde el año de mil setecientos veinte y dos hasta el presente, y ha merecido obtener los puestos de Cabo de escuadra, Sargento, Alférez, Ayudante, y Capitan, cumpliendo sin la mas leve omision, puntual y exactamente à lo que ha sido de su obligacion, en cuya consecuencia y por que espero lo continuara en adelante con el celo y aplicacion de Vuestra Real persona y servicio le hé asignado por dicho nombramiento la mitad del sueldo que goza dicho Sargento mayor Don Pedro Laso de la Vega.

Por tanto suplico à Vuestra Magestad lo halla por bien sirviendose de confirmarle dicho empleo en el espresado Don Manuel Ruano Calvo por las circunstancias que llevo espuestas; asi lo impetro y espero alcanzar de los soberanos decretos que la sacratissima purpura de V.M. tan sabiamente sigila. Quedando por el paternal amor y cuidado con que Vuestra Magestad atiende à sus muy leales y amados vasallos; y por el en que se ha experimentado rindiendo à Vuestra Magestad con la mas fervorosa estimacion infinitas gracias, y rogando à la divina prospere la Católicaissima muy esclarecida y augusta persona de Vuestra Magestad, para salud de la Monarquia con los floridos frutos de sucesion, largas edades en la mayor amplitud de Imperio que gloriosa sabe construirse.

Umatta y Junio dos de mil setecientos treinta y cinco.

Señor,

Besa los Pies de Vuestra Magestad, su mas humilde y leal vasallo,

Francisco de Cárdenas Pacheco

Translation.

The Governor of the Mariana Islands mentions the lack of natives living in those Islands, since their number hardly reaches 2,000 persons, counting adults and children, that is why he thinks it would be appropriate for an order to be given to the Governor of the Philippines for him to send 100 families. He also reports that, inasmuch as Don Pedro Laso de la Vega, Sergeant-Major of those Islands was seriously sick, and unable to serve in said post, considering that the required circumstances fitted Captain Don Manuel Ruano Calvo, and the services that he rendered to Your Majesty, he conferred upon him the above-said post, and he requests that he be despatched a confirmation thereof.

Sire:

I wrote to Y.M. on 24 December of last year 1734 to let you know that, on the previous 25th of August, I, General Francisco de Cárdenas Pacheco, formerly General of your Royal naval expedition in the Philippines against the Moros of Jolo and Mindanao, received the investiture of the posts of Governor and Captain General of these Mariana Islands, with which Your Majesty was pleased to honor me with. It follows that, in accordance with my duty, I also reported on the accelerated decline in the number of the natives of these Islands, who hardly total 2,000 persons at present, counting adults and children, of both sexes.

Consequently, in compliance with my duty, and with no false humility, I repeat my petition to Your Majesty, for you to be pleased to order the Governor of the Philippines, and have him provide these Islands with about 100 families of his natives, for their cultivation, and as need dictates, to provide food supplies to this infantry, and the galleons of said Philippines that pass by these Marianas every year.

I also bring to the Most Serene and circumspect attention of Y.M., having understood and verified that the Sergeant-Major of these above-mentioned Islands, Don Pedro Laso de la Vega, to whom Y.M. was pleased to confer said post, is found totally sick from a sickness that is incurable on account of its gravity, one that makes him incapable of serving in said post, and I refer to the testimony, enclosed. With this understanding, I appointed a person to replace him and to exercise it on an interim basis, because it is so necessary to the service of Y.M. in these Islands, and because all the required qualities and circumstances are found in the person of Captain Manuel Ruano Calvo, taking into account the services that he has done to Y.M. in them, from the year 1722 until the present, and has earned the posts of squad Corporal, Sergeant, Lieutenant, Adjutant, and Captain, complying without the least omission, timely and exactly with whatever was his duty. In consequence thereof, and because I hope that he will continue to do so in future to serve Your Royal person with the same zeal and application, I have assigned him for said appointment half of the salary enjoyed by said Sergeant-Major Pedro Laso de la Vega.

Therefore I beseech Your Majesty to be pleased to confirm in said post the above-mentioned Don Manuel Ruano Calvo, on account of the circumstances that I have mentioned; this I beg for and hope to get from the sovereign decrees that the most sacred mantle of Y.M. seals so wisely. I remain in expectation of the paternal love and care with which Your Majesty attends to his most loyal and beloved vassals, and from which he has benefitted so far, rendering to Your Majesty with the most zealous esteem infinite thanks, and praying the Divine Majesty to make the most Catholic and most high and august person of Your Majesty prosper, for the benefit of the monarchy, with abundant fruits for the succession, and long epochs in the greater expansion of the Empire which you know how to build.

Umatac, 2 June 1735.

Sire:

Your most humble and loyal vassal, who kisses the feet of Your Majesty,

Francisco de Cárdenas Pacheco.

[There follows an edict issued by Governor Cárdenas stating that Major Laso was incapacitated, and this is recorded by Captain Mariano, acting as Government Secretary.]

C2. Endorsement by Fr. Bonani, dated Umatac 8 June 1735

Original text in Spanish.

Yo el Padre José de Bonani de la sagrada Compañía de Jesus, Vice-Provincial de esta Mision Mariana:

Certifico y doy fé como el Capitan Ambrosio Rafael Mariano de quien va firmado y autorizado el instrumento de la foxa antes de esta, es Secretario de la Gobernacion y guerra de estas Islas, y como tal usa y ejerce dicho oficio, y à todos los instrumentos que ante el susodicho han pasado y pasan se les han dado y dan entera fé, y creencia, judicial y extrajudicialmente; en testimonio de lo cual por indigencia de otros Secretarios y escribanos públicos y reales en estas Islas que comprueben dichos instrumentos doy la presente de su pedimento para que conste donde combenga.

Umatac y Junio en ocho de mil setecientos treinta y cinco años.

José Bonani de la Compañía de Jesus.

Translation.

I, Father José de Bonani of the sacred Society of Jesus, Vice-Provincial of this Mariana Mission:

Do certify and vouch for the fact that Captain Ambrosio Rafael Mariano, who has signed and authorized the instrument on the previous folio, is Secretary of these Islands for administration and war, and as such he uses and exercises said post, and all the instruments that precede the above and that he has passed, and pass, can be given entire faith and credence, legally and informally; in testimony whereof, on account of the inexistence of other secretaries and notaries public and royal in these Islands, as proven by said instruments, I do grant the present at his request, for whom it may concern.

Umatac, 8 June 1735.

José Bonani of the Society of Jesus.

C3. Opinion of the Fiscal of the Council of the Indies

Original text in Spanish.

El Fiscal en vista de esta Carta del Gobernador de las Islas Marianas, y supuesto su contenido por el resumen de Secretaria:

Dice que respecto no acompañar la debida justificacion sobre los dos puntos que representa parece al fiscal se podrá mandar en cuanto al primero informe al Goberna-

dor y Audiencia de Manila, precediendo instruirse de la necesidad, y precision de las cien familias que pide este Gobernador; y por lo que mira al nombramiento del empleo de Sargento mayor que ha hecho en el Capitan Don Manuel Ruano Calvo, mediante que aunque remite testimonio de lo imposibilitado que se halla de servirle por sus continuados achaques Don Pedro Laso de la Vega su propietario; no consta si este impedimento es temporario, perpetuo como ni de los méritos y circunstancias que concurren en el referido Don Manuel Ruano Calvo, sino tan solamente, por relacion sucinta de este Gobernador; se podrá tambien pedir informe sobre este particular al enunciado de Manila; ó se espere que el mismo interesado ocurra por la confirmacion exhibiendo los papeles de sus servicios con las demas justificaciones que califiquen de arreglada la resolucion de el de Marianas, y pueden inclinar el ánimo de S.M. (à quien debiera consultarse en este caso) para la concesion de la gracia que pretende.

Y sobre todo el Consejo determinará lo mas combeniente.

Madrid y Noviembre catorce de mil setecinetos treinta y seis.

...

Consejo de cinco de Diciembre de mil setecientos treinta y seis: En todo como lo dice el Señor Fiscal.

Translation.

The Fiscal, in view of this letter from the Governor of the Mariana Islands, and given its contents, based on the summary made by the Secretariat:

Declares that, given the fact that the due justification regarding the two points that he mentions does not accompany them, the Fiscal is of the opinion that one could order, regarding the first point, a report from the Governor and Audiencia of Manila, after due consultations on the need and exactness for the 100 families requested by this Governor. And with regards to the appointment in the post of Sergeant-Major that he gave to Captain Manuel Ruano Calvo, until such time as he send a testimony of the incapability of Don Pedro Laso de la Vega, the proprietary [Sergeant-Major] to fulfil his post on account of continuous health problems, there is no proof that this impediment is either temporary, or permanent, and no proof of the merits and circumstances that can be found in the above-mentioned Don Manuel Ruano Calvo, except only the bare narrative of this Governor; in this matter also, one could ask a report on this point to the Governor of Manila, or else, one could wait for the interested party himself to ask for his confirmation, by exhibiting the papers of his services with the other justifications that might qualify as appropriate the decision of the Governor of the Marianas, and might move the spirit of Y.M. (who should consult on this case) for the granting of the favor that he seeks.

And above all the Council will decide what is most appropriate.

Madrid, 14 November 1736.

...

The Council, on 5 December 1736: Concurs with everything the Fiscal says.

Document 1735D

An attempted attack by California Indians on the galleon San Cristobal in January 1735

Sources: Article by Irving A. Leonard in the Hispanic American Historical Review XI (Feb. 1931): 69-76; document itself is at AGI Guadalajara ... (formerly 67-3-29): "Expedientes sobre el descubrimiento, conquista y misiones de California. Años, 1602-1798."

Notes: The Mission of San José del Cabo was founded in April 1730 by Fathers Tamaral and Echeverría.

Introductory note by Irving A. Leonard.

The martyrdom of Father Tamaral [sic]¹ and Father [Lorenzo José] Carranco² at the hands of the barbarous Indians of Lower California is a melancholy incident of the heroic endeavor of the Jesuits to claim and control the barren wastes of this region. This tragic occurrence exemplifies the profoundly discouraging nature of their task in a bleak, almost waterless country amidst the debased tribes of natives who inhabited it. The general uprising of the latter in 1734 resulted not only in the murder of the two missionaries and the paralyzing of the work of civilization throughout the whole peninsula but also in seriously threatening the security of one at least of the valuable galleons which plied their slow and tortuous course from Manila to Acapulco.

The Pericues, Guaicuras, and Cora tribes of the southern extremity of Lower California offered little encouragement to the efforts to civilize them. Their indolence and vice-ridden condition made the work of the missionaries progress slowly. Polygamy was one of the chief problems with which the latter had to contend for the preponderance of women among the Indians made even the feminine portion of the population very adverse to those puzzling doctrines of monogamy and the sanctity of marriage which the white strangers earnestly persisted in teaching. And the perversity of the natives was equally evident in other customs all of which moved the worthy father supe-

1 Ed. note: This was Fr. Nicolas Tamaral, not to be confused with Fr. Sigismundo Taraval, who lived and worked in the same area at the same time. Fr. Tamaral was born in Seville in 1686, murdered on 3 October 1734.

2 Ed. note: Born at Cholula, near Puebla, in 1695.

rior to write to the viceroy in some exasperation stating that “these Indians are the kind that enter into the Eternal Feast only by ‘pushes’”.

While the invitation to the “Eternal Feast” lay with the church, he added naively, the “pushing” properly belonged to the royal troops.¹ In 1723, shortly after the establishment of the missions of La Paz, Dolores, and Santiago, and again in 1725 and 1729, it had been found expedient to dispatch a company of soldiers on a tour of the southern region in order to enhance the value of the Christian doctrine in the eyes of the recalcitrant natives.

Father Carranco had occasion to depose a certain chief named Botón, in 1733, because of his failure to lead a more exemplary life. Aggrieved at this affront to his dignity Botón fell in with a mulatto,² Chicori by name, who was smarting under a reprimand administered by Father Tamaral for stealing a girl from the San José mission. These two malcontents attempted to waylay and murder the latter missionary as part of a general insurrection but their plot was frustrated by the timely warning given their intended victim by loyal Indians. Temporarily balked in their plan they expressed repentance for their evil intentions and Father Tamaral, perhaps too readily, pardoned them. Thus, for a time, the danger of an uprising subsided.

When Father Tamaral returned to his mission at Cape San Lucas after this adventure,³ he was apprehended by excited members of his flock who reported that a large ship had anchored in a nearby bay. Upon investigation this proved to be the Manila galleon with the majority of its crew, as usual, stricken with scurvy. A long-boat had been put ashore in quest of water and available supplies. This was presumably a welcome break in the drab monotony of the life of the good father and, no doubt, he was happy to collect all the fruit and greenstuff at hand and kill some of his cattle in order to restore the health of the sick. Several of the latter were left in his care after the departure of the galleon.⁴ The commander of this vessel in turn was delighted by this good fortune and immediately informed the viceroy of it upon reaching Acapulco. A decree was issued promptly making San Bernabé, in the vicinity of Cape San Lucas, a regular stopping place for the “Nao de Filipinas”.

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- 1 Fr. Superior Clemente Guillén to the Viceroy, 23 October 1734, in AGI Guadalajara ... (formerly 67-3-29).
 - 2 The presence of mulattoes in Lower California is accounted for by the fact that a considerable number of negroes, mulattoes, and mestizos had come over from the mainland as pearl divers. Individuals left behind by Spanish ships [Ed. comment: Including some from a galleon shipwreck] and even those of other nationalities had all combined to form a considerable mongrel element among the native population.
 - 3 Ed. note: The galleon Covadonga, Captain Montero (see below), at the end of 1733, or in January 1734.
 - 4 Ed. note: Among them were: 1) Fr. Juan Francisco de Tempes, S.J. (who wrote a report in 1735, see Burrus' Jesuit Relations, Report 10); 2) Fray Francisco de la Encarnación, Augustinian (ref. op. cit., p. 172); 3) Captain José Franco de Bustos, and 4) Boatswain Antonio de Herrera. Two months later, a sloop from Loreto took them to Matanchel.

During the following year the incipient rebellion, headed by various discontented local chiefs, broke out into a general conflagration. As already intimated, Father Carranco was murdered on October 1, 1734, with all the obscene and shocking indignities that the fiendish minds of the natives could invent. Three days later, Father Tamaral was surprised and suffered a similar horrible fate while numerous neophytes were put to death. Chaotic conditions soon prevailed spreading death and desolation over the whole peninsula and forcing all the missionaries to withdraw hastily to the refuge of Loreto where there was a presidial force.

Such was the condition of affairs into which the returning galleon of 1734¹ unwittingly intruded and from which it narrowly escaped disaster. The attempt of the revolting Indians to get possession of this vessel and to destroy its crew and passengers is described in the document which follows in translation. The event was of such great import that the viceroy, Juan Antonio de Vizarrón y Eguiarreta, felt moved to report it to his majesty, the king.

Authorities consulted give varying accounts of this incident though the differences are largely restricted to minor details. Bancroft² briefly summarizes the versions of Venegas and Clavigero³ by stating:

The Manila Galleon, the *San Cristobal*, had approached San Bernabé expecting the same hospitable treatment that had welcomed the ship the preceding year. Though the prearranged signals were not seen, the captain sent a boat with thirteen men ashore, all of whom were massacred. A larger force landed, found the murderers breaking up the boat for her iron, killed some of them and carried off prisoners to Acapulco.⁴

Alegre's account⁵ more closely approximates the one here translated as it was based upon the captain's report of which the viceroy probably made use in the following document.

Letter from the Viceroy to the King, dated Mexico 23 April 1735

The viceroy of New Spain gives an account to your majesty of what happened at Cape San Lucas, a mission of California. When the Manila galleon put ashore there to take on water the Indians of that island [sic] concealed the fact that they were in revolt and declared that they were willing to agree to anything that might be asked of them. They did not reveal that they had murdered Fathers Nicolas [sic] Tamaral [sic] and Lorenzo Joseph Carranco three months before but stated that the mission Father was not there at that time but twenty leagues away visiting another missionary who was ill.

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- 1 Ed. note: Not returning to Acapulco, but on her first leg from Manila, her base and point of origin.
 - 2 H. H. Bancroft, *History of the North Mexican States*.
 - 3 Miguel Venegas' *Natural and Civil History of California*; Francisco Clavigero's *Historia de la antigua o baja California*.
 - 4 *The North Mexican States*, I. 457.
 - 5 *Historia de la Compañía de Jesús*, III. 257-259.

By means of this trickery they murdered twelve sailors of the above-mentioned galleon who were burned before the treachery of the Indians could be comprehended. According to the statement of four Indians on board who were brought to Acapulco, it was the intention of their kinsmen to destroy the whole crew of the ship. The viceroy states that he had judicial proceedings instituted in order to establish these crimes and that he is not making the report with all the documents as the case is still incomplete; he will do this as soon as it is ready together with his decision.

Sire:

The commander of the Manila galleon, Don Mateo de Zumalde, reported to me from on board his ship that he was short of water, wood, and ballast when he reached the coast of California. In order to get a supply of everything necessary he called a meeting of his officers at which their needs were discussed. By general agreement it was decided that it would be well to go to the San José River where other galleons in similar straits had obtained supplies. This was particularly true of the galleon of the preceding year under Commander Don Geronimo Montero who, to the great satisfaction of the missionary Father, had left his sick men at the mission on this river. Commander Mateo de Zumalde reported that he had sent the launch under the command of the third pilot to take soundings and to reconnoiter the bay whenever he might expect to sight the galleon. This was done and after firing a cannon-shot as a signal he went to convoy the large vessel leaving eight men on shore who remained there as they were unable to embark because of the heavy sea. The third pilot reported to the commander that he had found a large number of Indians on the beach who approached as soon as they recognized the Spaniards. One crafty fellow in particular, Geronimo by name, said that he was a servant of the missionary posted there by the latter to watch for the arrival of the galleon; he had instructed the native to notify him so that he could supply the ship with whatever it needed. The Indian declared that the mission Father was 20 leagues away visiting another who was ill but that word had already been sent of the arrival of the galleon.

With this information in mind, the commander had done everything possible to anchor in the above-mentioned bay but had not succeeded in doing so on account of the adverse weather. On the following day this was accomplished at some distance out. In a short while, however, his cable gave out and he was obliged to set sail for another bay 9 leagues away called Cape San Lucas and here he dropped anchor. He dispatched three of the Indians and another who voluntarily joined them to notify the missionary of the whereabouts of the ship so that he could send on the eight men left in the other bay at San José River.

Soon after the departure of the four Indians, three others came and with them Geronimo, previously mentioned. The latter asserted that Father Nicolas Tamaral had sent him to ascertain whether the ship was anchored in this bay or not. It struck the commander as curious that the missionary had not written some message and he questioned the Indians concerning this. They satisfied his inquiry by replying that the Father

had returned feeling somewhat indisposed but that the commander could rest assured that the missionary would be there in a short while with the men left behind on the river. The commander did not then suspect anything wrong but, noting the long delay, the thought occurred to him that the Indians were acting rather suspiciously and might have been up to some mischief. For this reason, he set some men ashore with guns for the protection of the sick and those who were getting a supply of water. This was a prudent measure and was the means of preventing the destruction of the greater part of the ship's crew and passengers; on the following day two bands of 600 Indians armed with bows and arrows put an appearance.

Although the commander first thought that they were merely accompanying the missionary, he was quickly disabused of this idea by the arrival on board of Geronimo and some of his companions. They declared that the mission Father was coming in the afternoon with the eight men and that they had come ahead with the object of offering any assistance that might be desired. Notwithstanding this offer, the commander decided to hold eight of the Indians on board and send reinforcements to the men on shore; he also gave orders that the sick should be brought on board the ship and that the other men should take proper precautions. When the Indians with him on the ship saw these arrangements five of them leaped over the side, four of them escaping by swimming while one was caught. With this new indication, the commander signaled the men to return to the ship in the best order possible. When the Indians on land perceived this move they uttered a war-whoop and at the same time let fly a cloud of arrows to which the men in the launch replied by firing several volleys with their guns. As conditions were favorable, they pushed off from the beach to a distance where they could not be molested by the arrows. As they were coming aboard with two sailors wounded, though not dangerously, it could be seen that an Indian chief leading his warriors had been killed and others were wounded. The rebellious natives kept shouting for Geronimo who was on board the galleon as they evidently regarded him as their leader.

There was no longer any doubt in the commander's mind after this incident that the Indians were actually in revolt and he accused those who were still kept on board as prisoners of this treason. The latter, without any compulsion whatever, then related all that had happened. Begging for forgiveness they confessed that three months before they had murdered Fathers Nicolas Tamaral and Lorenzo Joseph Carranco, missionaries in the towns of Soledad and Santiago; although they had tried to do the same thing to Father Segismundo Taraval, the latter had escaped on a small boat in company with a corporal of the presidial garrison. The Indians had killed the two missionaries with arrows and then had burned their bodies as well as the churches and the images; they had spared only a Spanish woman named María, a sister, and two daughters, saying that she was the wife of a soldier named Santiago Villalobos. The latter had been left in company with an Augustine friar by Commander Don Geronimo Montero the year before as the ecclesiastic was ill. The Indians confessed that later they had killed and burned the eight men who had landed at San José River and had treated four others whom they met on the road in a similar fashion. **It had been their intention to kill**

all the men on board the galleon, for Geronimo had declared that it was defenseless, and for this purpose the band of Indians had come down to Cape San Lucas. As they observed, however, that the men of the ship did have weapons the Indians had concluded to attack by night. These native prisoners then asked to be allowed to rejoin their companions on shore but this request was denied and they were carried off as captives.

When this letter was sent to the fiscal he requested that depositions be taken from the Indians on the ship in an endeavor to ascertain judicially all the circumstance concerning the murders of the men extrajudicially; they were to find out who were the chiefs who incited the rebellion and especially regarding Geronimo. The castellan [i.e. warden] of Acapulco would be given sufficient authority for this purpose and should send on the proceedings so as to seek what was a just and proper punishment for such wickedness.

The castellan accepted the report with the testimony of five witnesses who were on board the ship and present in California as soon as the necessary commission was received. The evidence was corroborated and everything declared was affirmed. Likewise depositions were taken from the four Indian prisoners through an interpreter; these did not vary from what they had stated extrajudicially to the commander and what the latter had said. Notwithstanding this, the case is still in the condition indicated, i.e., incomplete, but I have regarded it as my duty to report to your majesty concerning the matter. I am deferring the complete report with all the proceedings until they are verified and decided. I have desired to report this affair alone apart from other subjects. Even though the question of the murders of the missionaries, the uprising of the Indians, and the reinforcement of the majority of the presidial garrisons is well appreciated by the *dependencia*, I have separated this incident in order to report it aside from other topics.

May God protect the royal Catholic person of your majesty which is so important for the Christian world!

Juan Antonio Vizarrón y Eguiarreta, Archbishop of Mexico.

Mexico City, 23 April 1735.

 Document 1736A

Letter from Fr. Victor Walter to Fr. José Calvo, dated Agaña 20 December 1736

Sources: RAH 9/2678, part of doc. n° 13; copy in Archivo de la Provincia de Aragon, Barcelona, ms. E-I-c5 [h], fol. 85-92.

Note: Announcing his return to Guam, arriving at the Port of San Luis de Apra on 11 September 1736. In his absence, 3 new missionaries had arrived: Fr. Carloni, Fr. Reittenberger, and Br. Martineli. They had arrived aboard the galleon N. S. de Guia [in 1736]. This confirms that Fr. Stainbeck had arrived earlier.

Original text in Spanish

*Mi Padre Procurador General Joseph Calvo
P.C.*

Nuestro viage ha sido feliz, y breve, pues llegamos à estas Islas à ii de Setiembre, y dimos fondo en el puerto nuevo de S. Luys de mesmo dia, sin guia, sin Practico. El Capitán y Cavo se portó con nosotros con gran libertad, y avia gran Union, Universal alegria, y sobre todo una grandissima devocion de todos, que ivan en el Patache. Por esto Dios N.S. echó su santa Bendicion, que ni enfermos ni muerte avia en todo el viage, ni nos sucedió la mas minima desgracia, que es digno de admiracion.

*Hallè esta Mission crecida de tres Sugetos nuevos, dos Sacerdotes, y un Hermano, que son el Padre Domingo Carloni, y el Padre Fr. Havier Reittenberger, y el H° Joseph Martineli, que vinieron en el Galeon de N^a S^a de Guia con orden de N.P. General, que se quedassen en Marianas. La Patria, edad de ellos, verà V.R. en el Cathologo de esta Vice Provincia, que remito à V.R. juntamente con las anuas, para que V.R. tenga total informacion, y Noticia de Marianas. Los Padres Ancianos, que son el Padre Diego, y el Padre Muscati todavia viven, pero por sus achaques, y viejez son impedidos para el ministerio. Somos ocho Sacerdotes, que se hallan con bastante salud, y suficientes à los ministerios de estos Naturales, y siempre avrà menester tantos Sugetos, si no se procura, que los pocos marianos vivan juntos en tres à quatro Pueblos, que son **Agadña, Agat, Umatag, y Merizo**, es preciso, que venga orden de Madrid, y de Roma, porque los Padres se oponen mucho, diciendo, que sea contra la Sedula de N. Rey (:Guarde Dios muchos años:) y de N.P. General, ordenando de nuevo, que no se muden los Indios Marianos de sus antiguas habitaciones, porque luego se mueren, como lo muestra la experiencia. Pero los Indios Marianos, que viven en la Isla de Rota, que nunca se*

*mudaron, van notablemente cada año à menos con que poco prueba esta razon, assi hablando de otros, que siempre vivian en sus antiguos pueblos, mueron con toda priessa, y se van acabando. Ni quieren los Padres, que algunos Pueblos cercanos se queden De Visita, porque no se pueden administrar bien, y por ventura se moriran algunos sin aver recebido los Sacramentos. à mi parecer son de los demasiados, **salvo meliori**, pues no avia de aver visita en Bisayas.— Actualmente en la Isla de Rota viven dos Padres por la distançia, que ay; y los Indios no llegan à trecientos. Todo esso dexo à la Consideracion de V.R., quien save mejor la falta de Sugetos, que ay en Philipinas, y particularmente en Bisayas.*

*Espero que los Padres informaran à V.R. del estado temporal, y espiritual destas Islas, como les tengo encargado muy de veras en la junta, que se hizo luego à la llegada mia; y de sus Cartas verà V.R. las miserias, y desdichas, en que nos hallamos al presente y cada dia crecen por el mal trato, que dan los Gobernadores à estos pobres naturales. Eran de parecer uniformes, que sea suficiente para el gobierno un Cavo sugeto al Superior de esta Mission con cinquenta Soldados, de esos sean veinte y cinco Españoles, y veinte y cinco Philipinos, ó Panpangos. Cierto es, que los Gobernadores sean la total ruina, y destruccion de estas Islas por su diabolica Codicia **per fas et nefas**, debajo del pretexto, que se ha de mantener el Real presidio, y ningunos passan peores, que los Soldados de acá, pues rarissimas vezes se les dà Morisqueta, el pan de cada dia es una tortilla de Maiss ó raizes y frutas, que dà la tierra, con esso se enferman y los mas se ponen Hypatos. El Rey N. Sor. señala sesenta plaças, y actualmente ay ciento, y treinta, contando el socoro, para que alcance, de suerte, se davan antes à cada Capitan reformado ocho pesos al mes, aora se les dan cinco: y assi de los demas, mas dificil es mantener ciento y treinta, que sesenta; pues estos naturales han de trabajar para todos, para que tengan que comer: y apenas queden salir al trabajo trecientos y cinquenta hombres de todos los Marianos, por ser muchos enfermos, impedidos, viejos, y otros tambien ocupados con los Padres, para que no moramos de hambre. Con una palabra digo todo[.] toda la Isla està ocupada en aumentar el caudal, la Codicia, y tienda de los Gobernadores de Marianas: pues el aroz, petates, azeyte, alcaparras, y lo demas, que dà la tierra, viene à parar en la tienda, y se vende. Si el Indio cria un puerco, ó galina, se le quita para el mantenimiento del Governador: y assi ni pueden trabajar, ni buscar algo para su proprio interès. para manutencion de las Marianas son necessarias tres cosas: quitar la tienda, no aumentar las plaças, y dar à cada soldado su sueldo, que señala El Rey. De esso todo puede dar mejor informe el Padre Capellan Juan Velarde, porque Buelve bien informado de todo, y lo ha visto con sus ojos.*

Apenas se pueden hallar Muchachos en los Pueblos, que pueden servir de sacristanes, y Criados de los Padres, que viven en la Cabeçera por la suma falta de gente. Seria de gran alivio para esta Mission, si los Colegiales viviesen en la Cabeçera, en la Casa de los Padres, y no en el Seminario, distinto de ella, pues pudieran asistir mejor à la Iglesia, y à los Padres, y à las faenas, que son precisas para mantener la Mission. La Criança, y enseñaça de Musica, y de escuela seria la mesma. Yo veo que es dificil mi intento por la nueva orden que vino confirmada de Roma este año, para que no se intentasse

quitar el Seminario de los Niños por las muchas razones è informes, que embiaron los Padres Marianos à V.P. General. Pero de esso no se sigue, que se quitara, sino se trasladara el Seminario à la Cabeçera, en que se pudiese con facilidad hazer bastante, y capaz vivienda. Y en pocos años no se encontraran bastantes Niños en los Pueblos para cumplir el numero, que monta à quarenta ó cinquenta. Y entonces la mitad del situado, que viene cada año de Mexico, à mi parecer, bastara y seria suficiente para el mantenimiento de los oficiales, del Maestro de Musica, y escuela, etta, y si esso no se haze, la Cabeçera ha de perecer por falta de Criados, y Muchachos. De esso no se puede hablar, porque algunos son apasionados tocante à este Seminario por tantos zelos, y fines; es necessario dar mejor informe à N.P. General, quien parece que este preocupado de lo que se escrivio de acà à Roma.

De otros varios informes, que los Padres embian à V.R. se veran las opresiones de los Indios marianos, y deste real presidio, la codicia ó interes de N. Gouvernador [sic] actual, y las pesadumbres, que tenemos. Y suplico à V.R. en nombre de la Mission, que sirva V.R. de amparar, y defenderla, que serà para mayor honra y gloria de Dios, quien conceda à V.R. feliz navegacion, y viage tan largo, para que nos veamos en las Islas Marianas, ó eternamente en el Cielo. En los SS. Sacrificios de V.R. me encomiendo mucho.

Agadña y diciembre 20 de 1736.

Muy siervo de V.R.

Victor Walter SJ

Translation

My Father Procurator General José Calvo

Peace of Christ!

Our voyage has been happy, and brief, since we arrived at these Islands on 2 September, and anchored in the new port of San Luís on the same day, with neither a guide nor a local pilot. The Captain and Commander behaved toward us¹ with great liberality, and there was a great union, universal happiness, and above all a very great devotion in everyone aboard the patache. That is why Our Lord cast His holy blessing and there was no sickness or death during the whole of the voyage; not the least mishap happened to us, something worth wondering about.

I found that this Mission had increased by three new subjects, two priests and one Brother, who are Father Domingo Carloni, Father Francisco Xavier Reittenberger, and Brother José Martineli, who came with the galleon **Nuestra Señora de Guía** with an order from our Father General to remain in the Marianas. Your Reverence can see their hometowns and ages in the catalog of this Vice-Province that I remit to Y.R. along with the annual letters, so that Y.R. be fully informed about the Marianas. The old Fathers, who are Father Diego [Zarzosa] and Father Muscati are still alive, but on

1 Ed. note: He had a companion in the person of Fr. Velarde, the ship chaplain (see below). Unfortunately, he does not mention the names of the patache, and its captain.

account of their sickliness and old age they are excused from the ministry. There are eight of us, priests, who are in good enough health, a sufficient number to minister to these natives, and there should always be a need for as many subjects, unless it can be arranged for the few Marianos to live together in three or four towns, which are **Agaña, Agat, Umatac, and Merizo**. It is necessary for an order to come from Madrid, and from Rome, because the Fathers are much opposed, saying that it is against a decree of our King (may God save him for many years) and of our Father General, ordering, again, that the Mariano Indians not be moved from their old settlements, because they would later die, as shown by experience. However, the Mariano Indians who live in the Island of Rota, and have never been moved, are decreasing in number every year, hence this reasoning is unproven. Thus, speaking of others, who had always lived in their old towns, they died very quickly, and are becoming extinguished. The Fathers do not wish to accept either that the nearby towns become outlying mission stations, because they could not be administered well, and some might die without receiving the sacraments. In my opinion, except for a better one, there are just too many people like that; indeed there should not exist any outlying stations in the Visayas either. Presently, two Fathers reside in the Island of Rota, on account of its isolation, but the Indian population there does not reach 300.¹ I leave all of this at the consideration of Y.R., as you know about the lack of subjects in the Philippines better than I do, specially in the Visayas.

I hope that the Fathers will inform Y.R. on the temporal and spiritual condition of these Islands, as I have strongly encouraged them to do in the meeting that was held soon after my arrival. From their letters, Y.R. will realize the miseries and misfortunes that affect us at present, and increase every day, because of the bad treatment that the Governors inflict upon these poor natives. The Fathers were of the opinion that it would be sufficient for the government to consist of one Commander reporting to the Superior of this Mission, with 50 soldiers, that is, 25 Spanish and 25 Filipinos, or Pampangos. True it is that the Governors will cause the total ruin and destruction of these Islands, on account of their diabolical greed *per fas et nefas*² under the pretext that the Royal garrison must be maintained. [However,] no-one has a worse time than the soldiers here, since they get their porridge very rarely; their everyday bread is one corn tortilla or local roots and fruits. That is why they become sick and most of them become wornout. The King our Lord has assigned 60 positions, but actually there are 130, all relying on the succor, so that each retired Captain used to get 8 pesos per month, but now they get 5. So it is with the rest. It is more difficult to maintain 130 than 60; indeed, these natives must work for all, so that they will have food. But there are hardly 350 men from among all of the Marianos who can go out to work, because many are sick, invalid, old, and some others work for the Fathers, so that they will not die from hunger. In one word, I say it all; the whole Island is working to increase the revenue, the greed, and store of the Governors of the Marianas; indeed, the rice, mats, oil, capers, and the rest that is

1 Ed. note: There were 287 Rotanese recorded the following year (see Doc. 1737B).

2 Ed. note: Latin phrase meaning: "Through deeds and misdeeds."

produced locally, end up in the store, and are sold there. If an Indian raises one pig, or chicken, it is taken away for the maintenance of the Governor. So, they cannot work, nor go out and look for something for their own account. For the maintenance of the Mariana Islands, three things are necessary: remove the store, do not increase the positions, and give each soldier the salary earmarked by the King. The Father Chaplain Juan Velarde will be able to inform better about all of that, because he returns well informed of everything, and he has seen it with his own eyes.

Boys can hardly be found in the towns to serve as sacristans, and as servants of the Fathers, who live in the capital, on account of the extreme lack of population. It would be a great relief for this Mission, if the college boys were to live in the capital, in the residence of the Fathers, instead of the Seminary, which is separate from it; indeed, they could attend better to the church, to the Fathers, and to the tasks that are necessary for the maintenance of the Mission. Their raising, the teaching of music, and their schooling would remain the same. I realize that my plan is made difficult, on account of the new order that came confirmed from Rome this year, that no attempt should be made to remove the Seminary for boys, on account of the many arguments, and reports, that were sent by the Fathers of the Marianas to our Father General. However, it does not follow from that, that it should not be eliminated; rather, the Seminary would be moved to the capital, where a spacious house for it could easily be built.¹ Within a few years, there will no longer be enough children in the towns to make up the required number of 40 to 50. Then, half of the subsidy, that comes every year from Mexico, would in my opinion be sufficient for the maintenance of the officers, the music teacher, the school, etc. and if that is not done, the capital will perish for lack of servants, and boys. One cannot talk about that, because some are passionate about the subject of this Seminary, for so many jealousies, and purposes; it is necessary to better inform our Father General, who seems to have been preoccupied about what was written from here to Rome about it.

From many other reports that the Fathers send to Y.R., you will realize the oppressions of the Mariano Indians, of this Royal garrison, the greed or self-interest of our present Governor, and the troubles that we have. I beg Y.R., on behalf of the Mission, to please protect and defend it, as it would be for the greater honor and glory of God. May He grant Y.R. a happy navigation, and such a long voyage that we may one day see each other in the Marianas, or eternally in Heaven. I commend myself very much to the most holy sacrifices of Y.R.

Agadña, 20 December 1736.

The humble servant of Y.R.,

Victor Walter, S.J.

1 Ed. note: Strange statement, unless it be explained by a supposition that it then existed nominally at Inarajan, where the Vice-Provincial preferred to live, away from the Governor.

Document 1736B

Letter from Fr. Heipel to Fr. Mockinck, dated Marianas 30 December 1736

Source: Stöcklein's Welt-Bott, vol. 33, n° 666. The original letter was in Latin.

Published text in German

Brief aus Denen Marianischen Insuln.—Brieflein R.P. Jacobi Heipel, Marianischen Missionarii der Gesellschaft JEsu, aus der Nieder-Rheinischen Provinz, An R.P. Nicolaum Mockinck, derselben Gesellschaft und Provinz.

Geschrieben in denen Marianischen Eyländern, dem 30. Decembris 1736.

Inhalt. P. Jacobus beschreibet die äusserste Armut und Noth, sowohl der Missionarien als Insulanern in denen Marianischen Eyländern, die Ursach derselben, und seine beständige Vergnügenheit. Er schreibt in Latein also:

Ehrwürdiger in Christo Pater!

Daß alle die neunzehen Jahre, die ich in diesen Eyländern zuruck geleet, keiner meiner Brieffen das Glück gehabt, mein liebstes Vaterland zu erreichen, ist mir daher auch desto verdrüßlicher gefallen, daß ich mich eben so viele Jahr einer gewünschten Antwort aus Europa beraubet sehen muste. Vielleicht wird dieses Schreiben das beglückteste aus allen seyn, und meine Wünsche, von dem vergnügten Wohlstand deren in unserem lieben Teutschland zuruck gelassenen Freunden etwas zu hören, endlich erfüllen. Ich kan und muß von mir bekennen, daß ich alle die Jahr her, welche ich mit noch 7. Gesellen, 6. Teutschen, und 1. Niderländer, in dieser, obschon vielleicht nicht mühesamsten, doch unstreitig bedürftigsten Mission arbeite, keinen unvergnügten Tag gehabt habe, und das mir die tägliche, denen Missionariis, mit denen Insulanern gemeine Noth, zur süssen Gewohnheit worden, die meine Gesundheit, Ruhe, und Zufriedenheit, niemalsen in mindesten gestöhret.

Die äusserste Armut, die alle Inwohner dieser Insuln drucket, rühret theils von der Lage, theils von der Unfruchtbarkeit derselben her: von der Lage zwar, weilen ihre Port in einer denen fremden Seefahrern, ausser denen Philippinischen und denen von Neuspanien, wenig dienlichen, letzteren auch wegen der Ungestümme deren Winden sehr

gefährlichen, hiemit zu Unterhaltung eines gemeinschaftlichen Kauf-Handels allerdings untauglichen Gegend gelegen seynd: von der Unfruchtbarkeit aber, massen das sehr gebürgig mit Morästen durchschnitten, und überall mit gestachelten Kraut überzogene Land, weder aus sich selbst eine, zur menschlichen Erhaltung gedeyliche Frucht hervorbringt, oder hervorzubringen durch die Kunst und Fleiß kan tauglich gemacht werden. Ausser dem Türkischen Waitz fasset kein Saamen eine Wurzel, und wachset auch jener so gesparsam, daß wir uns dessen, nur in Abgang unserer Kräuter und einiger Baum-Früchten, die sonst unser tägliches Brod seynd, zur Nahrung bedienen können. Von denen vierfüßigen Thieren siehet man hier keines, als Hund und Katzen, und nur eine einzige Gattung der Vögeln, unseren Turtel-Tauben fast ähnlich, die aber, wie auch die Fisch, zur Speiß zubereiten, die Innwohner dieser Eyländern ein Bedenken tragen.

Wir Missionarii empfangen zwar Jährlich, wann anderst das Königlich-Spanische Schiff wegen Ungestümme der Winden hier anländen kan, und nicht wider nach Manila zuruck getrieben wird, ein ergäbiges Allmosen, unserer Noth und Abgang zu freuen; allein der gröste Theil der Könighlichen Freygebigkeit muß von uns alljährlich, theils auf die Nöthwendigkeiten für die Kirch und zum Meß-Opfer, welche zwey tausend Meil Weegs weit aus Neu-Spanien: theils auf die Kleidung für uns und unsere Mutter-nackete Indianer, welche von Manila durch 300 Meil Weegs hergebracht wird, ausgeleget werden. Das wenige, was übriget, konten wir zwar zu besserer Verpflegung des Leibs und Gesundheit anwenden; allein, weilen kein anderes Land oder Insul mit uns Gewerbetreibt, langet das gantze Jahr kein Kaufmann auf unseren Port und Märkten an, der uns zur niedlicheren Tafel den erforderlichen Kuchen-Vorrath feilbotte. Was wir von Erdgewächs nicht selbst pflanzen, und von Geflügel-Werk nicht selbst erziehen (die hiesige Witterung und Erde dienet aber zu beeden sehr schlecht) das verkauft man uns hier nicht, wie anderstwo; bey uns heisset es: Der essen will, muß arbeiten, und mit aller Arbeit wird er dannoch schlecht essen.

Bey deme aber allen, was vielleicht Euer Ehrwürden höchst bewunderen werden, lebet man hier lang und gesund. Wir haben unter uns zwey wohlverdiente, alt-betagte Missionarien, R.P. Didacum Zarzosa, einen Spanier, und R.P. Philippum Muscati, einen Maltheser, deren der Erste das acht und achzigste, der Letztere das vier und achzigste Lebens-Jahr in guter Gesundheit zuruck geleget. Patri Philippo bin ich das, was Paulo dem ersten Einsiedler der Raab; ich bringe ihm täglich seine Speiß, die ich auch selbst zu Mittag und Abend zubereiten, und daß ich etwas zuzubereiten habe, das gantze Jahr sorgen muß: P. Philippus aber ist mir, was Paulus dem Antonio: er unterhaltet mich mit seiner geistreichen Ansprach, erbauet mich mit seinem Apostolischen Tugend-Wandel, und macht mir unsere Einsamkeit, in der wir mit keinem anderen Menschen, als unseren Barbarn, Gemeinschaft pflegen, so süß und angenehm, daß ich auch in einer Volk-reichen Europäischen Stadt unter meinen Freunden und Bekannten nicht frölicher und vergnügter seyn würde.

Schreibe dieses zum Trost derenjenigen, die vielleicht von GOtt zur Indianischen Mission beruffen, und von unseren Oberen in diese Marianische Eyländer bestimmt werden. Wann sie bey dem Abzug aus ihren Provinzen allen Europäischen Gemäch-

lichkeiten Urlaub geben, und ein zu aller Arbeit und Müheseeligkeiten wohl gefaßtes Gemüt mit sich bringen werden; werden sie, was ich, in der That erfahren, daß das Joch Christi süß, und seine Bürde leicht seye! Befehle mich in Euer Ehrwürden und meiner liebsten Mit-Brüdern heiliges Gebett.

Aus den Marianischen Insuln, den dreyßigsten Christmonaths 1736.

Aller Diener in Christo

Jacobus Heipel, S.J. Missionarius.

Translation, by P.H.

Letter from the Mariana Islands.—Letter from Rev. Fr. Jacob Heipel, missionary of the Society of Jesus, from the Lower-Rhine Province, to Rev. Fr. Nicolaus Mockinck, of the same Society and Province.

Written in the Mariana Islands, on 30 December 1736.

Contents: Fr. Jacob describes the extreme poverty and privation of the missionaries as well as the inhabitants in the Mariana Islands, the reasons for same, and his constant good cheer. He writes as follows in Latin:

Reverend Father in Christ:

The fact that during all the 19 years which I have spent in these Islands not one of my letters has had the good fortune of reaching my homeland has made me even more sad because it meant that I was deprived of the expected replies from Europe for just as long. Perhaps this letter will be the luckiest one of them all, and finally fulfill my wishes to hear something about the joyful prosperity of the friends I left behind in our dear Germany. I can and must admit that in all the years I have been working here, with 7 companions (6 Germans and 1 Flemish), in this perhaps not most laborious but without a doubt most destitute mission, I have not had an unhappy day, and that the daily want which the missionaries share with the islanders has become a sweet habit which has never in the slightest interfered with my health, peace and satisfaction.

The extreme poverty, which is depressing all inhabitants of these islands, is due partly to the geography, partly to the infertility of the land. The geography matters because the ports in these islands are of little use to seafarers other than those from the Philippines and New Spain. They are also very dangerous because of violent storms, which means that this area is of no use to international trade. The islands are infertile because they are mountainous, criss-crossed by swamps and covered everywhere with prickly plants which bear no fruit suitable for human consumption and cannot be utilized for anything else either. Other than Turkish corn [i.e. maize], no crops will grow here, and even it grows so sparsely that we can use it only to supplement our herbs and some tree fruits which constitute our daily bread. There are no four-footed animals here other than dogs and cats, and there is only one species of birds, which resembles our turtle

dove, but the islanders are reluctant to prepare these birds for food, as they are reluctant to prepare fish.

We missionaries do receive generous alms once a year, which somewhat relieve our want, provided that the violent storms allow the royal Spanish ship to stop here and do not drive them back to Manila. The major part of this royal generosity consists of necessities for the church and for masses (these goods are brought here from New Spain, 2,000 miles away) and of clothing for us and our stark-naked Indians (which is brought over from Manila, 300 miles away).¹ The little that is left we can use to supplement our food and care for our health, but since no other country or island engages in any trade with us, no merchant ever comes to our ports or visits our markets all year who might offer us a supply of cakes to make our cuisine more interesting. What we do not grow ourselves in the earth (the climate and soil are not well suited for gardening), we cannot purchase here as can be done elsewhere. Here, the motto is: Those who want to eat must work, and even those who work hard will eat poorly.

Perhaps Your Reverence will be surprised to hear that, in spite of all that, people here live long and healthy lives. We have among us two worthy old missionaries, Rev. Fr. Diego Zarzosa, a Spaniard, and Rev. Fr. Felipe Muscati, a Maltese. The former has celebrated his 88th birthday, the latter his 84th, in good health.² I am to Fr. Felipe what the raven was to St. Paul, the first hermit: I bring him his food every day, which I prepare myself at noon and in the evening (taking care all year long that I have something to prepare). But Fr. Felipe is to me what St. Paul was to Antonio; he entertains me with his intelligent talk, lifts up my spirit with his apostolic virtue, and makes our loneliness, in which we have no human companionship other than our barbarians, so sweet and pleasant that I could not be any happier and merrier in a populous European city among my friends and acquaintances.

I write this to console those who may be called upon by God to serve in the missions of the Indies and who are selected by our superiors to come to these Mariana Islands. If, as they leave their provinces, say goodbye to all European comforts and bring along nothing but a readiness for labor and toil, they will, as I have experienced myself, learn that the yoke of Christ is indeed sweet, and its burden is light. I commend myself to the holy prayers of Your Reverence and those of all my dear colleagues.

In the Mariana Islands, 30 December 1736.

Everyone's Servant in Christ,

Jacob Heipel, missionary of the Society of Jesus.

1 Ed. note: The words for "leagues" in Latin have been translated wrongly as "miles" in German.

2 Ed. note: The latter is a misprint for 81 years old. Fr. Muscati was born in 1655.

Documents 1737A

The Inquisition to their Commissioner, dated 1737 and 1738

Source: AGN Inquisición 650, folios 476v-477, 491v-493v.

A1. Letter dated Mexico 22 February 1737

Original text in Spanish.

Al Comisario de las Yslas Marianas, el R. Padre Phelipe María Furnari, de la Compañía de Jesus.

Con esta remitimos á nuestro Comisario de las Yslas Marianas, los dos exemplares de el edicto expedido por este Tribunal en 12 de Mayo del año prosimo pasado, para que lo aga publicar y fixar en las dos yglesias principales de dhas Islas en un dia festivo, despues del Evangelio, de la misa mayor, y de su execuzion y cumplimiento nos remitira nuestro Comisario zertificazion en primera ocasion.

Guarde Dios, &^a

Inquisicion de Mexico febrero 22 de 1737.

Señores Inquisidores Nabarro, Tagle, y Clavijo; ante el Secretario Carranza.

Translation.

To the Commissioner of the Mariana Islands, Rev. Father Felipe María Furnari [sic], of the Society of Jesus.

With the present we remit to our Commissioner in the Mariana Islands two copies of the edict issued by this Tribunal on 12 May of last year, for you to arrange its publication and posting in the two major churches in said Islands on a holiday, after the Gospel of the high mass, and our Commissioner is to remit a certification that such has been done and complied with, at the first opportunity.

May God, etc.

The Inquisition of Mexico, 22 February 1737.

The gentlemen Inquisitors, Navarro, Tagle, & Clavijo, before Secretary Carranza.

A2. First letter dated Mexico 11 March 1738

Original text in Spanish.

Al Comisario de las Yslas Marianas sobre aver publicado el edicto que se le remitia.

En este Tribunal se rezibio la de nuestro Comisario de 6 de Diciembre de 1736, con la zertificazion del Notario que venia ynclusa de averse publicado y fixado el edicto que en ella se expresa, y en su vista emos mandado avisar de su recivo y estimar a nuestro Comisario su puntualidad, y cuidado, y que no se duda le continuara en todo lo demas que ocurriese, y se ofreziese del Ministerio como promete executarlo nuestro Comisario que guarde Dios &^a

Inquisicion de Mexico Marzo 11 de 1738.

Señores Inquisidores Nabarro, Tagle, y Clavijo. Por ante el Secretario Carrillo [sic].

Translation.

To the Commissioner of the Mariana Islands, regarding the publication of the edict that was remitted.

This Tribunal acknowledges the receipt of the letter of our Commissioner, dated 6 December 1736, with a enclosed certification from the notary, that the edict mentioned therein was published and posted. In view of which we have ordered that you be advised of its receipt and be told that we esteem the exactness and care of our Commissioner, which he will no doubt continue in everything else that might occur, and might offer, in the ministry, as our Commissioner promises to do.

May God save, etc.

The Inquisition of Mexico, 11 March 1738.

The gentlemen Inquisitors, Navarro, Tagle, & Clavijo. Before Secretary Carranza.

A3. Second letter dated Mexico 11 March 1738

Original text in Spanish.

Al Comisario de las Yslas Marianas sobre la denuncia de Miguel Mexia, soldado.

En vista de la de nuestro Comisario de 30 de Abril del año proximo pasado, y denuncia que venia adjunta echa contra sí mismo por Miguel Mexia soldado y complice que no se nombra por los abusos que en ella se refiere; emos mandado avisar de su recivo y dezir a nuestro Comisario que esta bien recibida dicha denuncia pero que en ella devio expresar el nombre[,] oficio y calidad del complice lo qual tendra entendido para las que en adelante se ofreziesen con tambien el que en dichas denuncias se han de ratificar en ellas pasados 3 dias los denunciantes aunque sean expontaneos como en ellas ayga complices que sino se escusara dicha ratificazion las quales se hazen segun y como se previene a los numeros 19 y 20 de la Ynstruction impresa que para en su poder por

ante personas onestas a quienes se les recibe juramento de fidelidad y secreto para que de una vez vengan perfectas dichas denuncias con sus ratificaciones que evita la gran dilazion que causaria remitir las denunzias y despues las ratificaciones, y aunque como ba dicho faltó esta en la que remite respecto de que no es de mucha su estanzia y que ya quedo advertido, mediznado y desengañado el tal Miguel Mexia y segun este dize parece lo estaba tambien el complize y que no usaría ya de semejantes abusos, y superstiziones no ay nezesidad de la ratificazion del susodho pero como ba dicho estara en quenta nuestro Comisario de que se han de hazer siempre que se ofrezca denunzias de alguna monta y sustanzia.

Y por lo que toca a lo que propone nuestro Comisario zerca de que quando se ofrezca rezibir alguna declarazion habiendola oydo, y tomado los puntos podra dezir al suxeto que la haze buelba a otro dia que estara puesta en limpio; le dezimos puede executar lo asi, pero que entonzes es quando se le ha de leer al pie de la letra y si hallase algo que quitar[,] añadir ó enmendar se pondra como lo dixese y lo firmara en presenzia de nuestro Comisario y Notario: con la qual podra segun refiere executar y evaquar con mas fazilidad lo que ocurriese.

Guarde Dios &^a Inquisicion de Mexico y Marzo 11 de 1738.

Señores Inquisidores Nabarro, Tagle, y Clavijo. Ante el Secretario Carranza.

Translation.

To the Commissioner of the Mariana Islands, regarding the denunciation of Miguel Mexía, soldier.

In view of the letter from our Commissioner, dated 30 April of last year, and the denunciation that came enclosed, against his own self by Miguel Mexía, soldier, and that of his unnamed accomplice in the abuses mentioned therein, we have ordered that its receipt be acknowledged and that our Commissioner be told that this denunciation was well received, but that he should have given the name, post, and rank of the accomplice; he is to keep this in mind for any future denunciation, and he is not to forget that, after three days have passed, denunciations have to be ratified, though they be spontaneous ones, as they involve accomplices; otherwise, said ratification might be omitted. Such ratifications are done in accordance with numbers 19 and 20 of the printed Instruction that remains in his possession; they are made before some honest persons, who take the oath of fidelity and secrecy, so that such denunciations will come complete with their ratifications, in order to prevent the long delay that is caused when denunciations are sent separate from their ratifications. And although, as already said, the denunciation that he remits comes without a ratification, the fact that it is of little account, and that said Miguel Mexía has already been warned, punished, and undeceived, and apparently so too his accomplice, and in view of the promise that he would no longer commit similar abuses, and superstitions, there is no need of the ratification of the above-mentioned denunciation. However, as was said, our Commissioner will take this into account the next time that might offer to record denunciations of some importance and substance.

And, with respect to the suggestion made by our Commissioner regarding the procedure to follow when a declaration has been heard, and the [main] points noted down, the individual making it returning another day, when it would then be written up; we tell him that he can do it that way, but that is when he must read the declaration word for word, and if something should have to be removed, added, or amended, it must be done as he says, and it is to be signed by him before our Commissioner and Notary; thus, he will be able to carry this out and transact whatever might occur more easily.

May God, etc.

The Inquisition of Mexico, 11 March 1738.

The gentlemen Inquisitors, Navarro, Tagle, & Clavijo. Before Secretary Carranza.

Document 1737B

Population statistics for the Marianas for 1737, for 1755, etc.

Source: ARSI Phil. 14, folios 110-115v, 120v-121.

“Catalog of the Christians whom the Society cultivates in the Philippines”

...

The statistics for the Mariana Mission, for 1737, are as follows:

Place	Adults		Teenagers		Children		Babies
	Married/Single		Men/Women		Boys/Girls		
Agatña	342	108	86	42	36	31	5
Agat	170	26	9	10	29	31	
Umata	96	21	26	18	12	19	
Merizo	68	24	20	18	13	16	
Ynarajan	34	26	18	15	16	24	
Pago	60	22	14	18	16	12	
Rota	130	36	38	32	26	25	
Seypan	270	136	58	110	126	159	
Totals: ¹	1,569 adults + 532 teenagers + 591 children + 5 babies = 2,106						

¹ Ed. note: Totals are not given in the original documents; they are added here for convenience. According to this report, Saipan was still inhabited in 1737.

The statistics for 1755:

Place	Adults		Teenagers		Children		Babies
	Married/Single		Men/Women		Boys/Girls		
Agadñaia	547	121	23	29	80	70	—
Agat	120	75	86	64	56	45	
Umatag	96	21	26	18	12	19	
Merizo	25	125	54	35	85	53	
Ynarajan	49	75	36	37	29	25	
Pago	84	46	21	18	16	25	
Rota	24	67	78	64	59	56	
Seypan	—	—	—	—	—	—	
Totals:	1,475 adults +		589 teenagers +		630 children =		2,694

Editor's notes: For comparison purposes, see Murillo Velarde's book (2nd ed. of 1749) where the total population in 1737 is given as 1,728, but without mention of Sai-pan which was certainly populated at that time. Doc. 1749B reports a population of 3,000 in 1749. For 1758, see Doc. 1758B, etc.

A book authored by Antonio del Campo Echeverría, entitled "España en Oceania," and published at Santander, Spain, in 1897, gives the following population data series for the 18th and 19th centuries:

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

Document 1738A

Sailing directions for Guam, by Fray de San Antonio

Sources: Part 1 of Fray Juan Francisco de San Francisco's Cronicas de la Apostolica Provincia de S. Gregorio de Religiosos Descalzos de N.S.P. S. Francisco en las Islas Philipinas... (Manila, Fr. Juan del Sotillo, 1738); translated by Pedro Picornell and published as: "The Philippine Chronicles of Fray San Antonio" by the Historical Conservation Society, Manila, 1977.

Chapter XV — The Mariana Islands.

...

Yguan or Guajan

178. The best known of the Marianas is the island of Yguan or Guajan even if it has a very small population which is diminishing year by year. This is the location of the administration of the Fathers of the Society, the residence of the Governor and his militia and the place where water can be had. This island extends from north to south for about 12 leagues and it must be 4 to 5 leagues wide. The northern tip is located at 13°30' and the southern tip at 12°55'. Sarpana is located northeast of Yguan at 14° with 6 leagues between them. The galleons coming to the anchorage during their stopover pass between them to anchor and take on supplies.¹

179. From the northern tip of Yguan, after rounding the point of Retilla [i.e. Riti-dian] there is a bay (where it is said that the holy man, Sanvitores of the sacred Society, was killed) whose mouth is scarcely 2 leagues wide and must be 2-3 leagues along its perimeter. All of it is a sand bank which limits it to small canoes. After this bay and turning another point (called that of Apurguan) there is another bay for more than 4 leagues along the coast, at the end of which we have the city of Agaña, the headquarters of the Governor and his garrison as has already been mentioned. This bay is also made up of sand banks which scarcely allow a small sampan to get through its mouth. Sailing out of this bay to the SSW for about 1-1/2 leagues, we come to the point and the bar of Assan, a harbor for canoes. Beyond it is Tepungan which forms the head of

¹ Ed. note: By 1738, the practice was no longer the preferred route.

the bay of Apra, now called the port of San Luís which can take any ship of any size whatsoever. One must sail close to the point called Orote because at this entrance, a canon shot away more or less, there is a shoal which endangers the passage. There are seven sand banks within this bay which protect it from the waves from the sea raised by the wind. This shoal, which extends towards the point of Orote, begins at an island located beyond Tepungan and extends from NW to SE [sic].¹ There are 6-7 fathoms of water at the tip of this shoal facing Orote. This port has a very good bottom with a thin layer of mud, and is 26 fathoms deep at the entrance, decreasing to 18 fathoms at the anchorage place. One must stay a stone's throw from Orote Point and its coast at all times when sailing in.

180. Four or five leagues beyond this bay is the bay of Agat with five islets located very close by the coast. Sailing from it SSW we turn the point called Farfe [i.e. Facpi] and 1-1/2 leagues beyond it, we come to the bay of Ate where the galleons take on water. Sailing along the southern coast we then come to the town of Umatag where the ships anchor to get refreshments. The Governor has a house here and he comes here with his guard to welcome the Philippine galleon on her arrival. It is necessary to anchor close to shore because not only does the bottom consists of sharp rocks and boulders that cut through the anchor lines, but also because there is no harbor or protection from squalls or storms. The port of Merizo is located 2 leagues beyond. It can only take pataches or medium-sized vessels, as the channel is very narrow and it can only be entered by using warps on the bow and on the stern. The patache **Nuestra Señora de los Dolores** was lost here,² and others are in danger if they are not very careful at the entrance. Two leagues beyond it, there is another port called Tacho. Its channel is very narrow and dangerous, having the shape of the letter Z. Leaving this port by sailing eastward, you round the island called Cocos, and proceeding north for a distance of 6 leagues, you come to the bay of Pago. Beyond this, there are only capes and open coasts and there is no other port in the whole island better than the bay of San Luís, already mentioned. This island measures from 30 to 37 leagues in circumference.

1 Ed. note: Rather NE to SW.

2 Ed. note: Rather, it was the San Fernando, in 1732 (see also Doc. 1733B).

Document 1738B

Royal decree of 13 April 1738

Source: AGN Californias, vol. 26, fol. 77-80v, and 83-86v (as originally contained in Doc. 1740B); plus 2 printed copies in same, fol. 170-173.

Regarding the pataches Covadonga and Pilar in 1737 and the space used by missionaries

Original text in Spanish.

El Rey.

Por quanto por parte de los Procuradores, y Comisarios generales de las Provincias establecidas en las Islas Philipinas de las Religiones de Santo Domingo, San Francisco, San Agustin Calzados, y Descalzos, y de la Compañia de Jesus, me se hà representado, que aviendome dignado conceder el año de mil setecientos treinta y seis una Mision de sesenta y quatro Religiosos à la Provincia del Santissimo nombre de Jesus de Agustinos Calzados de aquellas Islas, otra de sesenta y seis à la de San Nicolas de Recoletos Descalzos de ellas, pasaron à el Reyno de la Nueva España, y solicitando embarque en los Pataches de las referidas Islas Philipinas, que an venido à el Puerto de Acapulco, embiaron à èl sus Procuradores con Despacho que les diò mi Virrey de aquel Reyno, para que se les señalese en dhos Pataches lugar decente, comodo, y capaz à los referidos Religiosos, y que se les acomodasen sus catres, caxas de ropa, libros, matalotage, y demas que necesitasen; y enterados los oficiales de los referidos Pataches del contenido del citado Despacho, repugnaron su cumplimiento, y especialmente el Almirante Don Balthasar de Araneta, quien diò à entender, que ello se hallaba en animo de que los catres fuesen en el Alcazar, (el sitio de mas de ser indecente, no era bastante para el acomodo de los expresados Religiosos), y se negò à ponerlos en la Camara, por decir, que esta le pertenecia; y que en caso de franquearla, le avian de pagar solo por poner los catres dos mil y mas pesos; con cuya novedad bolvieron à ocurrir à el expresado mi Virrey, para que tomase la providencia conveniente, à fin que se asignasen à los enunciados Religiosos los sitios, y lugares decentes en las Camaras, y Camarotes, sin que à los Oficiales de los citados Pataches les quedase accion alguna para executar lo contrario, y en su defecto, se les librase en mis Reales Caxas lo que importasen dhos sitios; en cuya vista mandò el expresado mi Virrey à el Castellano, y Oficiales Reales del referido Puerto de Acapulco, que juntos con el General, y Almirante de dhos Pataches aco-

modasen en ellos à los Religiosos de ambas Misiones en los lugares mas proporcionados, sin llevarles maravedis algunos, de suerte que assi los Religiosos como los Oficiales lograsen igual comodidad[de]s, y con efecto assi lo determinaron, y executaron dhos Castellano, y Oficiales Reales de Acapulco de acuerdo, y conformidad con los referidos Oficiales de los Pataches, como constaba del Testimonio que presentaban; en cuya inteligencia, y en la de que mi Real mente esplicada en las Reales Cédulas expedidas sobre el avio y conduccion de Misiones para las referidas Islas Philipinas manifestaba bastante mi Real deseo de que los Religiosos vayan con la decencia, y conveniencia correspondientes à su estado, y à el Apostolico ministerio que van à exercer en que me eran bien notorios los grandes progresos, y frutos que se ha logrado en aquellas remotas Provincias, concluyeron suplicandome fuese servido aprobar la providencia que diò el referido mi Virrey y mandar se practique en adelante la misma:

Y vista esta instancia en mi Consejo de las Indias, con lo que diso mi Fiscal de èl; como quiera que por el citado Testimonio ha constado la providencia que diò el referido mi Virrey en cinco de Marzo del año proximo pasado de mil setecientos treinta y siete, con parecer del Fiscal de mi Audiencia de Mexico, para el embarque, y transporte de dhas dos Misiones, la qual fuè arreglada, y conforme à mis Reales Cédulas de quince de Enero, y veinte y cinco de Mayo de mil setecientos treinta y seis, en las que mandè, que assi en el Puerto de Cadiz, como en el de Acapulco se acomodase bien à dhos Religiosos en los Navios que los huviesen de conducir; y que se ha tenido presente, que los Galeones, y Pataches de la carrera de las expresadas Islas Philipinas son mios, y costea mi Real Hacienda la gente de su tripulacion; ha parecido condescender à la referida instancia; y que se observe lo que por mis Reales ordenes tengo mandado, y prevenido en el punto de Misiones, y costo de sus avios:

*Por tanto por la presente apruebo, y confirmo la providencia que diò el referido mi Virrey de la Nueva España en dho dia cinco de Marzo del año proximo pasado para el embarque, y acomodo de las referidas dos Misiones de Religiosos Agustinos Calzados, y Descalzos en los Pataches Capitana **Nuestra Señora de Covadonga**, y Almiranta **Nuestra Señora del Pilar de Zaragoza**, que retornaron à las referidas Islas Philipinas el dho año de mil setecientos y treinta y siete:*

Y deseando que adelante se eviten las dudas, y controversias que pueden suscitarse en perjuicio de las Misiones; ordeno, y mando à el expresado mi Virrey, Castellano, y Oficiales Reales de dho Puerto de Acapulco, y à los Generales, y Almirantes de los Galeones, y Pataches de la carrera de las referidas Islas Philipinas dispongan que en todas las ocasiones que se ofrecieren de transportar Misiones para dhas Islas, se les señale en los Galeones, y Pataches sitio decente, y capaz, en que puedan ir bien acomodados los Religiosos, y sus catres, y lugar correspondiente para sus caxas de ropa, libros, y matalotage, segun, y en la misma forma que se executò, y practicò con las expresadas dos Misiones de Agustinos Calzados, y Descalzos el citado año de mil setecientos y treinta y siete, observando cada uno en la parte que le tocare esta mi resolucion, sin interpretacion, ni replica alguna, y cumpliendo precisa, y puntualmente las ordenes, y providencias que tengo dadas sobre el avio, y coste de las Misiones, que con mi Real permiso, y

à expensas de mi Real Hacienda pasaren à las enunciadas Islas Philipinas, que assi conviene al servicio de Dios, y mío.

Fecha en Aranjuez à trece de Abril de mil setecientos y treinta y ocho.

Yo el Rey.

Por mandado del Rey nuestro Señor.

Don Francisco Campo de Arce.

Translation.

The King.

Inasmuch as the Procurators, and Commissioners General of the Provinces established in the Philippine Islands of the Religious of St. Dominic, St. Francis, St. Augustine, calzed and discalzed, and of the Society of Jesus, have represented to me that, after I had been pleased to grant in 1736 a mission band of 64 Religious of calzed Augustinians for the Province of the Most Holy name of Jesus, and another one of 66 discalzed Recollects for that of St. Nicholas, they passed to the Kingdom of New Spain and, in order to arrange for space aboard the pataches of the above-mentioned Philippine Islands that had come to the Port of Acapulco, they sent their Procurators with the despatch given to them by my Viceroy of that Kingdom, asking that some decent, comfortable and ample space be assigned to the above-mentioned Religious aboard said pataches, and that room be found for their bed-frames, boxes of clothes, books, food supplies, and their other necessities. But, once the officers of the above-mentioned pataches became aware of the content of said despatch, they refused to comply, specially Admiral Balthasar de Araneta, who gave them to understand that he was of a mind to place the bed-frames on the quarterdeck (the place in question, in addition to being unsuitable, was not big enough to accommodate the above-mentioned Religious), and he refused to place them in the cabin, saying that it belonged to him; but, for his freeing it, they would have to pay him more than 2,000 pesos, just to place the bed-frames there. With this news, they returned to see the above-mentioned Viceroy, for him to take the appropriate provision, in order that the above-mentioned Religious be assigned decent sites, and places in the cabins, and bunks, and to prevent the officers of the above-mentioned pataches from taking any action contrariwise, or, failing which, for my Royal funds to be released to pay for said sites. In consequence, my Viceroy sent the Warden and Royal officials of the above-named port of Acapulco to intervene with the General and Admiral of said pataches, to accommodate the Religious of both mission bands aboard them in more appropriate places, without having to pay any maravedis at all, so that the Religious would be as comfortable as the officers. Effectively, said Warden and Royal officials of Acapulco so decided, and carried it out, with the agreement of the above-said officers of the pataches, as shown in the record of proceedings that they presented. With this understanding, and knowing that my Royal intention was stated in the Royal decrees issued for the outfitting and transport of mission bands to the above-mentioned Philippine Islands, where my Royal desire was shown clearly enough, to wit, that I wished for the Religious to travel with the decency and

comfort corresponding to their status, and to the apostolic ministry that they were to exercise, and that I was well aware of the great progress made, and great fruits obtained in those remote Provinces, and they concluded by begging me to be pleased to approve the provision that my Viceroy issued in this regard, and to order that this become the practice in future.

And this having been seen in my Council of the Indies, with what my Fiscal said about it, with reference to the record in question where appears the provision given by my Viceroy, dated 5 March 1737, along with the opinion of the Fiscal of my Audiencia of Mexico, for the embarkation, and transport of the two mission bands in question, which were arranged in accordance with my Royal decrees of 15 January and 25 May 1736, by which I ordered that, both in the port of Cadiz and in the port of Acapulco, said Religious were to be well accommodated aboard the ships that were to carry them; and it was also stated therein that the galleons and pataches of the run of the above-mentioned Philippine Islands belong to me, and their crews are paid by my Royal treasury; I have decided to grant the petition in question: let everyone obey what I have ordered in my Royal orders, with regards to mission bands, and the cost of their outfitings.

Therefore, by the present I approve and confirm the provision given by my Viceroy of New Spain on 5 March of last year for the embarkation and accommodation of the two above-mentioned mission bands of calzed and discalzed Augustinians aboard the flagship **Nuestra Señora de Covadonga**, and the almiranta **Nuestra Señora del Pilar de Zaragoza**, that returned to the above-mentioned Philippine Islands in said year of 1737.

And, wishing that in future can be avoided the doubts, and controversies that may arise in prejudice to the missionaries, I order my Viceroy, Warden, and Royal officials of said Port of Acapulco, and the Generals, and Admirals of the galleons and pataches of the run of the above-mentioned Philippine Islands, whenever there are missionaries to carry to said Islands, to arrange for them aboard the galleons and pataches a decent, and spacious, site where the Religious may travel in comfort, with their bed-frames, and a corresponding place for their boxes of clothes, books, and sea supplies, according and in the same manner that was done to, and practiced with, the two above-mentioned mission bands of calzed and discalzed Augustinians in the said year of 1737, with everyone observing the part of this my decision that touch him, without any interpretation, or retort whatever, and complying precisely and exactly with the orders and provisions that I have issued about the outfitting and costing of the mission bands, that travel with my Royal permission, and at the expense of my Royal treasury, to the above-mentioned Philippine Islands, as such is proper for the service of God, and mine.

Made at Aranjuez, on 13 April 1738.

I the King,

By order of the King our Lord,
Don Francisco Campo de Arce.

Document 1739A

The Inquisition to Fr. Bonani, dated Mexico 11 March 1739

Source: AGN Inquisición 650, fol. 500v.

Letter about the publication of edicts

Original text in Spanish.

Carta para el Comisario de este Santo Oficio el Padre Joseph Bonani de la Comp^a de Jesus en las Yslas Marianas sobre la publicacion del edicto general, y los otros dos que hizo publicar.

En este Tribunal se han rezivido las dos de nuestro Comisario de 6 y 18 de Mayo del año proximo pasado con las zertificaziones que venian adnuntas de la publicacion del Edicto General de la feé y los otros dos que se le remitieron; y en su vista emos mandado avisar de su recivo y estimar a nuestro Comisario el zelo y ezmero con que se dedica a executar, y evaquar quanto se le ordene y previene q. está bien no repitiese la denuncia expontanía [sic], que ya tiene remitida por haver fallezido el suxeto que la hizo.

Guarde Dios a nuestro Comisario &^a

Inquisicion de Mexico Marzo 11 de 1739.

Señores Inquisidores Nabarro, Tagle, y Clavijo. Ante el Secretario Carranza.

Translation.

Letter for the Commissioner of this Holy Office to Father José Bonani of the Society of Jesus in the Mariana Islands regarding the publication of a general edict, and the two others that he had published.

The letters of our Commissioner, dated 6 and 18 May of last year, have been received in this Tribunal, along with the certifications that were enclosed, about the publication of the General Edict of the faith and the other two that had also remitted to him; and, in view of which, we have ordered that their receipt be acknowledged and our Commissioner be told that we esteem the zeal and care he takes to carry out and transact whatever is ordered him and he be advised that it is well that he did not repeat a spontaneous

denunciation that he had remitted previously, because the individual in question has since died.¹

May God save our Commissioner, etc.

The Inquisition of Mexico, 11 March 1739.

The gentlemen Inquisitors, Navarro, Tagle, y Clavijo. Before Secretary Carranza.

Note for 1739: The subsidy of the Marianas for 1739 has already been published: see HM10: 682.

1 Ed. note: This explains why soldier Mexía does not appear on the next list of the infantry.

Document 1739B

Note on the salary of the Governor of the Marianas

Source: AGI Fil. 96, document entitled: "Relacion de los Gobiernos Alcaldías mayores y Coreximien-tos que ay en las Yslas Philipinas, sugetos que al presente los sirven y salarios que gozan, sacada de el Testimonio que ha remitido la Audiencia de Manila con Carta de 10 de Julio de 1737. Y las notas que se ponen al Margen constan por los Papeles de la Secretaria de Nueva España.

The Governor of the Marianas was paid 1,320 pesos per year

Original text in Spanish.

Islas Marianas.

General Don Francisco de Cardenas Pacheco, provisto por S.M. en virtud de Real Cedula con 110 escudos de plata de sueldo en cada un mes que le està asignado del Real haver de dhas Islas Marianas, que hacen al año 1,320 pesos.

[Nota al margen:] *Este Gobierno le confirio S.M. à Consulta de la Camara de 19 de Henº en el Capitan Don Ysidro Alvarez de Nava en atencion a sus servicios, y se le despacho el Titulo en 7 de Junio de 1739.*

...

Translation.

Mariana Islands.

General Francisco de Cárdenas Pacheco, appointed by H.M. by virtue of a Royal decree, with 110 silver escudos of salary per month, which is assigned to him from the Royal subsidy of said Mariana Islands, which makes 1,320 pesos per year.

[Note in margin:] This post of Governor was conferred by H.M., at the consultation of the Council of the Indies, dated 19 January [1739], upon Captain Isidro Alvarez de Nava, in view of his services; his Letter of appointment was despatched on 7 June 1739.¹

...

1 Ed. note: This man never reached the Marianas, for unknown reasons.

Documents 1739C

The project to send 100 families to the Marianas is not approved

Source: AGI Ultramar 562, n°2, year of 1741.

C1. Letter from Gov. Valdés to the King, dated 9 July 1739

Original text in Spanish.

El Mariscal de Campo don Fernando Valdés Tamon, Gobernador y Capitan General de las Islas Filipinas: Da cuenta à V.M. del recivo de la real Cedula que cita, y refiriendose al Testimonio adjunto, informa à V.M. el estado de las Islas Marianas, el costo que todos los años causan à la real hacienda, propone distintos medios de ocurrir à el restablecimiento y manutencion de aquellas Islas, hallando por no combeniente la remision de las cien familias que pide aquel Gobernador, y que siendo los medios propuestos estimables, menos costosos y mas seguros los hace manifiestos à Vuestra Magestad, para que en vista de todo se libren las órdenes que fueren de su real agrado. Señor.

En obediencia de la Real Cédula de Vuestra Magestad fecha en el Pardo à veinte de Enero de mil setecientos treinta y siete, à la que dió motibo el informe del Gobernador de Marianas, sobre pretender que à dichas Islas se remitan cien familias por las razones que espresa.

Hecha la averiguacion constante del Testimonio adjunto en que espusieron su sentir las personas practicas que alli han servido à Vuestra Magestad, lo que produjo el Imforme que se pidió al prelado Superior de la Sagrada Compañia de Jesus, no tengo otra cosa, que espresar à Vuestra Magestad, que lo mismo que se manifiesta de dicho Testimonio, el estado en que hoy se hallan aquellas Islas, la poca esperanza de sus adelantamientos, y siendo la causa motiba de su ruina el que los informantes dan, parece que el medio que estos proponen de escluir à las mugeres totalmente del trabajo personal en las ocupaciones contrarias à su complexion, y à los hombres moderarse produciria el favorable efecto de que aquella tierra se bolbiese à restablecer, y aumentar sus habitantes. Esta proposicion no se hace desestimable, por que los que la deponen hablan de esperiencia, y aunque otros tienen por necesaria la remision de las cien familias que propone aquel Gobernador, este dictamen trae gravisimos inconvenientes, por

que costear cien familias para su remision, mantenerlas en Marianas por algunos años, interin que habilitaban la tierra se causarian à la Real Hacienda de V.M. crecidisimos gastos solo à fin de lograr una esperanza muy remota, y fuera cosa sensible que despues de costeadas aquellas cien familias se bolbiesen à quedar las Islas Marianas en la misma ó mayor necesidad que la que hoy padecen sus havitadores; de embiarse las cien familias era preciso que fuesen de la gente mas despreciable, y ociosa, y si estos habian de ser en las Marianas tan vagavundos como lo son acá, y no se conseguiria el fin.

Estas dificultades que ellas mismas por su certidumbre se ofrecen al reparo, hacen mas tratable la proposicion antecedente de aliviar al trabajo en todo à las mugeres, y en parte à los hombres, permitirles y precisarles al cultivo de la tierra, al cultivo y siembra de maiz, tabaco y algodón, no privarles la libertad, in compelerlos indevidamente à todo género de trabajo sin otro premio que el de una, ó dos ojas de tabaco; à esta providencia será consiguientes como necesaria la de mandar Vuestra Magestad bajo gravisimas penas que no se lleve de estas à aquellas Islas, el vino de la tierra que llaman de Nipa, ú otro algun brebaje à reserva del vino de uba, para que con esta ocasion la tengan los Marianos de beneficiar en su propio suelo vino y aceite de Coco, de que tiene abundancia; que siembren tabaco para que à pocos años no necesiten el de otras partes, y lo mismo de la Caña para el azucar, y otros géneros que alli no se les permiten segun estoy informado, por que la industria de alguno ó algunos fundan en aquella prohibicion sus mayores adelantamientos.

Si aquellas Islas, Señor, se arreglasen à mejor método, la fertilidad de la tierra y la libertad de los habitadores, combidaria à muchas familias para que alli se fuesen, se haria comerciable aquella tierra, y no se acabaria tan presto como presumen los que atribuyen la disminucion de gente à la opresion de sus naturales; estos medios à pocos años si exactamente se practican, provarán lo cierto, y dirán cuales fueron las causas de que tan copioso número de gente se halle hoy en el estado que se asienta en unos y otros informes; y cuando este medio no produgese los favorables efectos que se desean, pudiera tambien tocarse otro que es, el de reducir aquel Presidio à una corta infanteria con un Cabo, y solo dos Capellanes que les administrasen los Santos Sacramentos; por que es cosa sensible el que hoy le tengan de costo à V.M. aquellas Islas mas de treinta mil pesos en cada un año en la manutencion de un Gobernador, Oficiales é Infanteria, y trece ó catorce religiosos destinados à su Administracion: que la manutencion de aquellas Islas se tenga por necesaria é induvitable, tanto por el crédito de las armas de Vuestra Magestad, quanto por que de su abandono pudiera seguirse muchas malas consecuencias, y ocupada la Isla principal por algun enemigo, cuando no fuesen mas que por el tiempo del transito de las Naos, seria un incombeniente muy perjudicial à este Comercio, y esponer sus intereses, y los Reales Situados à un conocido riesgo por faltarles aquella escala: Bien es que en este segundo medio se ofrecen los reparos de lo mucho que padecerian en aquel Presidio el Cabo, y los soldados de su guarnicion, asi Españoles, como Pampangos, por que en este caso no se podria despachar el Patache cada dos años aunque es cierto que la Nao de la Carrera, à la buelta de Acapulco les podria reemplazar la gente que les faltase, dejandoles algunos viveres, y municiones.

Estos son, Señor, los medios de subvenir por ahora à la necesidad de las Islas Marianas, y premeditados unos y otros por lo que me tiene mandado y demostrado la experiencia, y como quien tiene la cosa presente me parece que por ahora solo se podrá practicar el medio de aliviar aquellos naturales repartirles tierras, precisarlos à su cultivo, y que por este Gobierno se den las mas exactas providencias que se tubieren por combenientes para que en los Pataches de cada dos años vayan cinco, ó seis familias de indios ó mestizos voluntarios, y à estos se les permita en lo que hubiere lugar, las exenciones de pobladores con gravisimas penas à los Gobernadores de aquellas Islas, para que guarden y hagan guardar à todos los que asi fueren voluntarios las exenciones y privilegios que aqui se les concedieren, pero como los Gobernadores de Marianas quando sean perpetuos podrán proceder à su arbitrio, por que se consideren independientes, será bien que solo sirvan por el preciso término de cinco años.

Es cuanto debo informar à V.M. deseoso de que à aquellas Islas lleguen à ponerse en el primer lustre que tubieron sobre que Vuestra Magestad informado de esta verdad dará las ordenes que fueren de su real agrado.

Guarde Dios la Catolica Real Persona de Vuestra Magestad, quanto la Cristiandad ha menester.

Manila y Julio nueve de mil setecientos treinta y nueve.

Señor,

Don Fernando Valdés Tamon

Translation.

Field Marshall Fernando Valdés Tamón, Governor and Captain General of the Philippine Islands: Reports to Y.M. that he has received the Royal decree quoted therein, and referring to the enclosed testimony, he informs Y.M. on the condition of the Mariana Islands, and on the expenses that they cause every year to the Royal treasury, and he proposes specific means that could be adopted to re-establish and maintain those Islands, but he does not find appropriate the remittal of the 100 families requested by that Governor. He thinks that the means that he recommends are appreciable, less costly, and more secure; hence, he brings them to the attention of Y.M., so that in view of which you may issue the orders that may be of your Royal pleasure.

Sire:

In compliance with the Royal decree of Your Majesty, dated El Pardo 20 January 1737, which was motivated by the report of the Governor of the Marianas, regarding his pretension to have 100 families sent to said Islands for the reasons that he gave.¹

The results of the inquiry are shown in the enclosed testimony in which practical persons who have served Your Majesty there did express their opinion, in reaction to the report that had been requested from the Provincial of the sacred Society of Jesus. I have nothing else to tell Your Majesty, besides what is said in said testimony, on the condition in which those Islands are found, and the little hope of their progress. Given the

1 Ed. note: Doc. 1735C1.

root cause of their ruin, what the informants say it is, it seems that the means that they recommend is to totally exempt women from personal services in occupations that adversely affect their health, and to moderate the men's contribution; this would have the favorable effect that that country might see its population re-established, and even increased. This recommendation should not be underrated, because those who make it speak with experience, and although others hold the view that the remittal of the 100 families is necessary, as proposed by that Governor, this opinion would bring some very serious disadvantages, because to budget for 100 families for their remittal, to maintain them in the Marianas for a few years, meanwhile they prepare the land would cause very huge sums to the Royal treasury of Y.M., only for the purpose of getting a very remote hope. And, it would be a deplorable thing, if after spending so much on those 100 families, the Mariana Islands return to the same, or worse, situation than that which their inhabitants suffer now. To send the 100 families, it would be necessary that they be from the most despicable lot, lazy people; what if they turned out to be as vagabond in the Marianas as they are here, would the purpose be served?

Such difficulties by themselves invite some caution on account of their certainty, and they make the previous recommendation appear more feasible, that of relieving the women of any work, and the men of part of the work, by allowing them to work the land, and to cultivate corn, tobacco and cotton, and not be deprived of their freedom by unduly forcing them to do all kinds of work, without any other compensation than one, or two heaves of tobacco [per day]. To this regulation, another would equally be necessary; Your Majesty should order that, under very serious penalties, no-one should take the local Nipa wine from the Philippines to those Islands, or any other drink, except grape wine, in order to encourage the production of coconut wine and oil in the Marianas, as they have an abundance of coconuts. They should also plant tobacco, so that within a few years, there will be no need to import it from anywhere else. And the same thing with sugarcane, to make sugar, and other goods that they are not permitted to produce locally, according to what I was told, because some people do get profits for themselves, out of those prohibitions.

If those Islands, Sire, were re-organized to encourage the fertility of the soil and the freedom of their inhabitants, it would become appropriate for many families to go there, and that country would have commerce, and they would not become extinguished so soon, according to the argument of those who attribute the decrease in population to the oppression of the natives. If these measures are put into effect exactly, within a few years they might be proven right, but they would then analyze the question: what are the causes why such a large number of people can be found today, in the condition described in both their reports? However, what if this measure does not produce the favorable effects that are desired? Another measure could then be tried, that of reducing that garrison to a short number of infantrymen, with one officer, and only two Chaplains to administer the holy sacraments to them, because it is a deplorable thing to see how much those Islands cost Y.M., over 30,000 pesos every year, for the maintenance of a Governor, officers and the Infantry, plus 13-14 Religious destined to their admin-

istration. Granted that the preservation of those Islands is necessary, not only for the prestige of the arms of Your Majesty, but also because their abandonment might bring very bad consequences, and the occupation of the main island by some enemy, though it be only during the time of the passage of the galleons; it would be a disadvantage, very prejudicial to this trade, and would expose to a known risk, not only this trade but also the Royal subsidies, if this layover should become impossible. There would also be another disadvantage to this second measure: that garrison of one officer and some soldiers, Spanish and Pampango alike, would suffer from the disappearance of the patache that goes there every two years, though it is true that the galleon of the run, upon returning from Acapulco, would be able to resupply them with men, some food supplies, and ammunition.

Such are, Sire, the measures to apply for now to the need of the Mariana Islands. But, having meditated upon both of these measures, as I was ordered to do and as my experience dictates, as a person with the problem up close, it seems to me that for now, only the first measure should be applied, that of alleviating those natives, distributing land to them, urging them to cultivate them, and for this Government to issue the most rigorous provisions, in order that they be considered appropriate, to have 5 to 6 families of Indians or half-breeds, voluntarily go aboard the pataches that go there every two years, and to permit them whenever possible to enjoy the [tax] exemptions of settlers, adding very serious penalties to make the Governors of those Islands observe, and have others observe, the exemptions and privileges that would thus be granted here to these volunteers. However, as the Governors of the Marianas, when they are proprietary Governors, consider themselves to be independent [of this Government], they might want to do their own bidding, it would be well to have them limited to a term of five years.

This is all I have to report to Y.M., desirous as I am to see those Islands recover their original prosperity. Your Majesty, being now informed of the facts, will give the orders that may be of your Royal pleasure.

May God save the Catholic and Royal person of Your Majesty, as much as Christendom needs.

Manila, 9 July 1739.

Sire,

Don Fernando Valdés Tamón.

C2. Opinion of the Fiscal of the Council of the Indies

Original text in Spanish.

Consejo de diez y seis de Noviembre de mil setecientos cuarenta: Vealo el Señor Fiscal, con los antecedentes.

El Fiscal, en vista de esta representacion y del antecedente que la motiva: dice que bien reflexionado el dictamen de este Gobernador, y razones con que le apoya, no parece se puede escogitar otro mas proporcionado medio que el que espone en su im-

forme (que podrá leerse) el cual ademas de convenir con los dictámenes de las personas mas sobrias y de conocimiento de las Islas Marianas, se dejan persuadir y aun convenzer con eficacia los fundamentos de que se valen, con lo cual no es dudable que insensiblemente y con muy poco gravamen de la Real Hacienda y violencia de ánimos se podrá conseguir el fin de restablecerse dichas Islas por lo que conformandose, como se conforma el Fiscal, con el parecer de este Gobernador, se podrá poner en ejecucion su contenido, librando para que tenga efecto las órdenes y despachos correspondientes consultando primero á S.M. y sobre todo el Consejo delibera lo que tubiere por mas combeniente.

Madrid y Diciembre quince de mil setecientos cuarenta.

Translation.

The Council, 16 November 1740: Let the Fiscal see this, along with the background file.

The Fiscal, in view of this representation and of the background documents that motivated it: declares that the opinion of this Governor is well thought of, and so are the reasons upon which it is based, it seems to me that one cannot think of a more appropriate measure than the one that he expressed in his report (which could be read). Said report, in addition to being in agreement with the opinions of sober persons with a knowledge of the Mariana Islands, is very convincing, its arguments are efficient because they are solidly based; hence, there is no doubt that little by little, and at little cost to the Royal treasury, and little effort made to convince the people involved, the purpose intended can be attained, that of re-establishing those Islands. Consequently, the Fiscal is in agreement with the opinion of this Governor. The contents of his report can be implemented, by issuing the corresponding orders and despatches to make them effective, by first consulting H.M., and above all the Council members will decide what they think most adviseable.

Madrid, 15 December 1740.

C3. Agreement by the Council, 18 February 1741

Original text in Spanish.

Consejo de diez y ocho de Febrero de mil setecientos cuarenta y uno.

Señores Belzunze; Silva; Montemayor; Sopena; Laisequilla; Montehermoso; Pineda; Cornejo; Torrenueva; Geraldino; Lardizabal.

Hagase como lo dice el Señor Fiscal, pero sin consultar à Su Magestad, esceptuando en las cédulas que se espidieren lo que transitoriamente propone el Gobernador de Filipinas, en quanto à reducir el Presidio de las Marianas á una corta guarnizion con su Cabo y dos Capellanes, pues en esto no se ha de hacer novedad; y haganse los mayores y mas estrechos encargos al nuevo Gobernador de Filipinas y al que lo es y fuere de las Marianas, para el mas exacto y puntual cumplimiento de todas estas providencias, y por ser tan importantes y conducentes al mayor servicio de Dios, y á la conservacion,

aumento y alivio de aquellos naturales y encarguese particularmente al Gobernador de Filipinas, que este muy á la mira de la inviolable observancia de todo lo resuelto, usando para ello de toda la autoridad que tubiere sobre el de las Marianas, y tomando los informes reservados que le parecieren de personas de su confianza en aquellas Islas, para proceder como mas combenga, y dar cuenta al Consejo de lo que se fuere adelantado en tan grave asunto: para todo lo cual se le confiere (en caso necesario) todo el poder y facultad que se requiera, como comision especial y sin limitacion alguna, previniendose esta circunstancia al Gobernador de las Marianas para que lo tenga entendido, y para que obedezca puntualmente y sin dilacion, ni réplica las órdenes que para los mencionados fines le diere el de Filipinas, por que lo contrario será muy del Real desagrado de S.M. y dará motibo á que esperimente los efectos de su real indignacion; pero que si lo ejecutare con la exactitud y actividad que se espera de su celo, será muy especialmente atendido para sus combeniencias y ascensos.

Translation.

The Council, 18 February 1741.

Their Lordships [present]: Belzunze; Silva; Montemayor; Sopena; Laisequilla; Montehermoso; Pineda; Cornejo; Torrenueva; Geraldino; Lardizabal.

Do as the Fiscal says, but without consulting His Majesty, with the exception of the decrees to be issued, containing the transitory recommendation of the Governor of the Philippines. As far as the reduction of the garrison of the Marianas to only a few infantrymen with one officer and two Chaplains, well, in this there should be no change made. Let us have the most stringent responsibilities placed upon the new Governor of the Philippines, and to the present and future Governors of the Marianas, for them to comply very precisely and in a timely fashion, with all of these provisions, since they are so important and conducive to the greater service of God, and to the preservation, increase and relief of those natives. The Governor of the Philippines should be specially warned to be on the lookout for the strictest observance of all decisions, and to this end he may use whatever authority that might be required over the Governor of the Marianas, but seeking the confidential advice of trustworthy persons in those Islands, if he wishes, in order to proceed the best way possible, and reporting to the Council any progress made in such a serious matter. To this effect, he is granted (if necessary) full authority and power as may be required, as a special commission, without any limitation whatever; he is to warn the Governor of the Marianas of this circumstance, to make sure he understands his position, and to make sure he obeys fully, without delay or retort whatever, the orders that the Governor of the Philippines will give him for the above-mentioned purposes, because otherwise he would certainly attract the displeasure of H.M. and would justly bring upon himself the effects of his Royal indignation; however, if he carries them out precisely and actively, as it is hoped from his zeal, he will receive a special citation that would be advantageous to his career and promotions.

Documents 1740A

The Inquisition versus Manuel Cavallero, 1740-1756

Sources: AGN Inquisición 650, folios 505v-506, 530-531v.

A1. Letter dated Mexico 28 March 1740

Original text in Spanish.

Al Comisario de Marianas sobre el matrimonio contraydo por el Sarxento Dragon Manuel Cavallero.

En este Tribunal se rezibio la de nuestro Comisario su fha 18 de Junio del año proximo pasado con las diligencias que venian adjuntas sobre el matrimonio que en esas Yslas Marianas contrato el Sarxento Dragon Manuel Cavallero, y la denuncia exponentia [sic] que contra sí mismo hizo el susodho, y su recontracion [sic] al tiempo de firmarla del delicto de Duplici Matrimonio. Y en vista de todo emos mandado avisar de su recivo y ordenar a nuestro Comisario que con todo recato y secreto y sin que de ninguna manera colleguen a entender dho Manuel Cavallero y su muger Luisa María Nabarro, exsamine y ratifique hasta tres testigos que digan y expresen cerca de la zertidumbre del tal matrimonio contraydo en esas Yslas con la referida Luisa María si estan haziendo vida maridable[,] quantos hixos tienen de el, y que asimismo refieran muy por menos la hedad, naturaleza y señas personales del dicho Manuel Cavallero y executadas dichas diligencias nos las remitira en primera ocasion nuestro Comisario quien no pasara a la prision del susodicho ni á hazer otra nobedad exterior con el, hasta que por este Tribunal otra cosa se le prevenga y ordene.

Guarde Dios a nuestro Comisario &^a

Inquisicion de Mexico Marzo 28 del 740.

Señores Inquisidores Nabarro, Tagle, y Clavijo. Por ante el Secretario Carranza.

Translation.

To the Commissioner of the Marianas regarding the marriage contracted by Sergeant of Dragoons Manuel Cavallero.

The letter of our Commissioner, dated 18 July of last year, has been received in this Tribunal, along with the measures that come enclosed, regarding the marriage that Ser-

geant of Dragoons Manuel Cavallero, contracted in those Mariana Islands, and the spontaneous denunciation by the above-said, against himself, and his retractation at the moment of confirming the crime of bigamy. And in view of everything, we have ordered that the letter be acknowledged and that our Commissioner be ordered to carry out a very careful and secret investigation, without involving said Manuel Cavallero or his wife, Luis María Navarro, by examining up to three witnesses and ratifying their depositions; let them declare and express what they know about the certainty of such a marriage contracted in those Islands with the above-mentioned Luisa María, stating whether they are living together as man and wife, how many children they have had together, giving great details as to the age, origin, and personal marks to describe said Manuel Cavallero. Once said measures have been taken, our Commissioner is to remit same at the first opportunity, but he is not to have him put in prison nor make any physical changes regarding his person, until this Tribunal advises him and orders him otherwise.

May God save our Commissioner, etc.

The Inquisition of Mexico, 28 March 1740.

A2. Letter to the Commissioner of the Marianas, dated Mexico 14 February 1742

Original text in Spanish.

Al Comisario de Yslas Marianas en los autos zerca el Sarjento Manuel Caballero.

En este Tribunal se rezibio la de nuestro Comisario su fecha 1º de Noviembre del año pasado de 1740, con los tres examenes, y ratificaciones que venían adjuntos sobre la justificazion del matrimonio que en esas yslas Marianas contrato el Sarjento Manuel Caballero; y en su vista y de las demas diligencias executadas en la ysla de Cuba en orden a la abiriguazion del primer matrimonio, que en ella con efecto contrato, y supervibenzia que asimismo consta de la primera muger; emos mandado remitir como remitimos a nuestro Comisario el mandamiento de prision con embargo de vienes adjunto, contra la persona de dho Manuel Caballero, para que haviendole rezibido, disponga sea preso y asegurado como Reo de este Santo Oficio, y despues en la primera embarcazion que se ofresca para Manila sera remitido como tal, en partido de registro, al Comisario de aquella ciudad Maestro fr. Juan de Arechederra, a quien en esta ocasion se le prebine lo conveniente, para que lo reziba, y haga remision de el en la primera Nao que venga a este Reino y las diligencias que executare nuestro Comisario, en virtud de esta; y de dho mandamiento de prision con el embargo de vienes, que constaren ser de dho Reo, nos las remitira en primera ocasion.

Guarde Dios, &^a

Inquisicion de Mexico, febrero 14 de 1742.

Señores Inquisidores Nabarro, Tagle, y Clavijo, ante el Secretario Carranza.

Translation.

To the Commissioner of the Mariana Islands, regarding the proceedings against Sergeant Manuel Cavallero.

The letter of our Commissioner, dated 1 November of the past year 1740, was received in this Tribunal, along with three examinations, and ratifications that came enclosed, regarding the proof of the marriage contracted in those Mariana Islands by Sergeant Manuel Cavallero, and in view of which and of the other measures taken in the Island of Cuba to investigate the first marriage that he effectively contracted there, as well as the proof of the survivorship of the first wife, we have ordered that our Commissioner be provided (as he is now being provided) with an order, enclosed, for the imprisonment of the person of said Manuel Cavallero and the seizure of his personal property, so that, upon receipt thereof, he arrange for him to be made prisoner and kept secure as a Prisoner of the Holy Office, and then, aboard the first vessel bound for Manila, he is to be remitted as such, as one entry in the manifest, to the Commissioner in that city, Master Fray Juan de Arechederra, whom we warn on this occasion about his coming, so that he may receive him, and have him remitted to us aboard the first galleon to come to this Kingdom, along with the measures that our Commissioner may execute, in virtue of this order; these documents, regarding said order of imprisonment and seizure of any property belonging to said Prisoner, are to be remitted to us at the first opportunity.

May God, etc.

The Inquisition of Mexico, 14 February 1742.

The gentlemen Inquisitors: Navarro, Tagle, & Clavijo, before Secretary Carranza.

A3. Letter to the Commissioner at Manila, dated Mexico 14 February 1742

Original text in Spanish.

Al Comisario de Manila sobre la remision del Sargento Manuel Caballero.

En vista de la de nuestro Comisario de 20 de Julio del año prosimo pasado, y diligencia executada con el Negro Juan Felix de la Cruz en conformidad de la carta del Padre Joseph Bonani Comisario de este Santo Oficio en las Yslas Marianas, sobre la justificacion del delicto de Duplici Matrimonio contra el Sarjento Manuel Cavallero vecino de ellas; emos mandado avisar de su recibo, y dezir a nuestro Comisario, esta bien executada dha diligencia, y que havindose concluido las demas que fueron convenientes para la abiriguacion de dho delito, y supervivencia de la primera muger, se remite en esta ocazion a dho Comisario de Marianas mandamiento de prision con embargo de vienes, contra la persona de dho Manuel Caballero encargandole que en la primera embarcacion, que se ofresca para esa ciudad de Manila lo remita como Reo de este Santo Oficio en partida de rexistro á entregar a nuestro Comisario, quien haviendolo rezibido dispondra sea puesto como tal en la Real Carzel de esa dha ciudad, donde se mantendra hasta la primera Nao que haga viaje a este Reino en la qual se remitira a este

Tribunal en partida de rexistro, segun y como con otros Reos, y en distintas ocasiones lo a executado nuestro Comisario areglado a lo que por dhas remisiones esta prebenido.

Guarde Dios &^a

Inquisicion de Mexico, febrero 14 de 1742.

Señores Inquisidores Nabarro, Tagle, y Clavijo. Ante el Secretario Carranza.

Translation.

To the Commissioner of Manila, regarding the remittal of Sergeant Manuel Cavallero.

In view of the letter of our Commissioner, dated 20 July of last year, and the measures taken with the negro, Juan Felix de la Cruz, as a result of the letter of Father José Bonani, Commissioner of this Holy Office in the Mariana Islands, regarding the proof of the crime of bigamy against Sergeant Manuel Cavallero, a resident there, we have ordered that its receipt be acknowledged, and that our Commissioner be told that said measure was well taken, and that the other appropriate measures have been taken to prove said crime, and the survivorship of the first wife; hence, on this same occasion said Commissioner of the Marianas is being sent an order for the imprisonment and seizure of the property of said Manuel Cavallero, entrusting him to remit him to that city of Manila, on the first vessel available, as a Prisoner of this Holy Office, in a separate entry of the manifest, to be delivered to our Commissioner, who, after receiving same will arrange for him to be placed as such in the Royal prison of said city, where he is to be held until the first galleon to make the voyage to this Kingdom, aboard which he will remit him to this Tribunal, entered in her manifest, in the same manner and procedure as with other prisoners, as used by our Commissioner on various occasions in the past, in accordance with his instructions for said remittals.

May God, etc.

The Inquisition of Mexico, 14 February 1742.

The gentlemen Inquisitors: Navarro, Tagle, & Clavijo. Before Secretary Carranza.

Note.

According to a photocopy in the MARC collection (no source given), there was at least another letter to the Commissioner of the Marianas, dated Mexico 30 March 1756; I could not find it at AGN Mexico.

Document 1740B

Royal decree of 6 November 1740

Source: AGN Californias, vol. 26, fol. 77-90 (2 copies).

Regarding space allotted to missionaries aboard Manila galleons

Original text in Spanish.

[Membrete:] *Al Virrey de la Nueva España; ordenandole, haga observar lo mandado en la Cedula que se inserta; y dexando à su arbitrio el señalamiento de sitio decente, y capaz en los Navios de la carrera de las Islas Philipinas para la comodidad de los Misioneros que pasaren à ellas.*

El Rey.

Virrey, Governador, y Capitan General de las Provincias de la Nueva España y Presidente de mi Real Audiencia de la Ciudad de Mexico.

En trece de Abril del año de mil setecientos y treinta y ocho tuve por bien de expedir la Cedula del tenor siguiente:

El Rey: Por quanto por parte de los Procuradores, y Comisarios generales...

[Etc. see Doc. 1738B, originally enclosed here]

*Y ahora por parte de los mismos Procuradores generales, y Comisarios de las Provincias de las Religiones de Santo Domingo, San Francisco, San Agustin Calzados, y Descalzos, y de la Compañia de Jesus de las referidas Islas Philipinas se me hà hecho nueva representacion expresando, que Don Geronimo Montero, General que era del Patache nombrado **Nuestra Señora del Pilar**, que hizo viage desde el Puerto de Acapulco à aquellas Islas el año proximo pasado, se resistiò à dar, y de hecho no diò la Camara de popa à la Mision de Agustinos Calzados que estaba en aquel Puerto para ir à las mencionadas Islas, alegando que la necesitaba para el Brigadier Don Gaspar de la Torre, que en la misma ocasion pasaba à servir el empleo de Governador y Capitan General de ellas, y fuè la referida Mision debaxo del Alcazar, cuyo sitio es mui desacomodado, assi por estar expuesto al registro de todos, como por que llevando montada la Artilleria, queda poco lugar para poner los catres de los Misioneros; demàs de estar en èl el cabrestante, y por esta razon se hacen en èl continuas faenas; añadiendo que el referido General quiso estrechar el mencionado sitio para atender à las conveniencias*

del Calafate, y del Buzo; y que siendo assi que la citada Camara de popa no sirvió para el enunciado Governador, pues este fue en la Camara alta, se evidenciaba la ninguna razon que tuvo el General del Patache para contravenir à lo que mandè en mi Real Cedula de trece de Abril de mil setecientos y treinta y ocho, como todo constara de los Testimonios que presentaban; por lo que me suplicaban fuese servido de señalar, y destinar en los Navios de la carrera de las referidas Islas Philipinas, para la comodidad de las Misiones, la expresada Camara de popa, que ès la que està inmediata, y encima de la de Santa Barbara, dandola tanta extension azia el arbol mayor quanta fuere necesaria, à fin de que vayan bien acomodados los Religiosos; y que assi mismo se les dè sitio correspondiente para que puedan llevar sus caxas de ropa, libros, y matalotage; y que en el caso de que concurran dos Misiones, y sea uno el Navio en que se hayan de conducir, se divida la citada Camara de popa para ambas, estendiendola hasta el arbol mayor:

Y aviendose visto esta instancia en mi Consejo de las Indias, con los antecedentes del assumpto, y lo que dixo mi Fiscal; hà parecido haceros muy estrecho, y especial encargo, para que luego que por parte de los Procuradores generales de las expresadas Provincias de Santo Domingo, San Francisco, San Agustin, y la Compañia de Jesus se os presente este Despacho, deis las providencias convenientes, à fin de que tenga el mas exacto cumplimiento la referida Cedula de trece de Abril de mil setecientos y treinta y ocho, que vâ inserta: y dexando, como dexo, à vuestro arbitrio el señalamiento de sitio decente, y capaz en los Navios de la carrera de las mencionadas Islas Philipinas, para que en èl puedan ir bien acomodados los Religiosos que con mi Real permiso pasaren en Cuerpo de Mision à aquellas Islas, y tambien del lugar correspondiente para su ropa, libros, y matalotage; os prevengo que para el señalamiento del referido sitio, os arregleis à la capacidad del buque de los Navios, y à las circunstancias que en cada caso particular ocurrieren; y que en su consecuencia deis las mas estrechas ordenes al Castellano, y Oficiales Reales del Puerto de Acapulco, para que por ningun acontecimiento permitan, que el General, ni oficiales de los Navios impidan, ò embaracen toda la comodidad, y alivio posible à los Misioneros en su transporte, ni den lugar à que se les causen vexaciones ni gastos algunos; que assi es mi voluntad, y conviene al servicio de Dios, y mío.

Fecha en San Lorenzo el Real, à seis de Noviembre de mil setecientos y quarenta.

Yo el Rey.

Por mandado del Rey nuestro Señor,

Fernando Triviño.

Translation.

[Endorsement:] To the Viceroy of New Spain, ordering him to make sure that the decree inserted be observed, but leaving to his judgment the assignment of decent and spacious places aboard the galleon of the run of the Philippine Islands for the comfort of the Missionaries who may go overthere.

The King.

Viceroy, Governor and Captain General of the Provinces of New Spain, and President of my Royal Audiencia in the City of Mexico.

On 13 April 1738, I had the honor of issuing the decree whose contents is as follows:

[Doc. 1738B repeated here]

Now that on the part of the same Procurators General and Commissioners of the Provinces of the Orders of St. Dominic, St. Francis, St. Augustine, calzed and discalzed, and of the Society of Jesus of said Philippine Islands, a new representation was made, saying that Don Gerónimo Montero, who was General of the patache named **Nuestra Señora del Pilar** that made the voyage from the port of Acapulco to those Islands last year [1739], resisted to give, and in fact, did not give the poop cabin to the mission band of the calzed Augustinians who were in that port to go to the above-mentioned Islands, alleging that he needed it for Brigadier Gaspar de la Torre, who on the same occasion was going overthere to serve in the post of Governor and Captain General, and the said mission band was put under the quarterdeck, a place that was very uncomfortable, not only because it is exposed to the eyes of everyone, but also because there is little space to put the bed-frames of the Missionaries, given that guns are also mounted there, in addition to the capstan; that is why the place is continuously full of men at work. Furthermore, they add that the above-said General also assigned the caulker and the diver to the amenities of that limited space. To top it all, said poop cabin did not even serve for the above-mentioned Governor, since he used the top cabin; thus is proven the fact that the General of the patache had no reason to contravene the order of my Royal decree dated 13 April 1738, as shown in the testimonies that they present. Consequently, they beg me to be pleased to assign aboard the galleons of the Philippine run, for the comfort of the mission bands, the poop cabin in question, which is the one directly above the gun room, and as far toward the main-mast as might be necessary, so that the Religious will be well accommodated, and they should also be given corresponding space to take along their boxes of clothes, books, and food supplies, and that in case of two mission bands going at the same time, and there being only one ship available for the purpose, said poop cabin should be shared by both bands, as far as the main-mast.

And this petition having been seen in my Council of the Indies, along with the background of the case, and what my Fiscal said about it, I have decided to entrust you very earnestly that as soon as someone on behalf of the Procurators General of the above-mentioned Provinces of St. Dominic, St. Francis, St. Augustine, and of the Society of Jesus, has presented to you this despatch, you are to give the appropriate provisions to ensure the strictest of observance of the above-mentioned decree of 13 April 1738, enclosed, but I leave to your judgment the assignment of this decent and ample space aboard the ships of the Philippine run, so that the Religious travelling with my Royal permission to those Islands as part of a mision band may be well accommodated, with

additional space for their clothes, books, and food supplies. I warn you that in the assignment of said space, you are to arrange it in accordance with the capacity of the galleons, and to the circumstances that might be involved in each individual case, and consequently you are to give strictest orders to the Warden and Royal officials of the Port of Acapulco, so that on no account they are to let the General, or the officers of the ships, impede, or hinder the Missionaries from enjoying a complete comfort while travelling, nor are they to let anyone cause them any vexations, or any expenses, as such is my will, and is proper to the service of God, and mine.

Made at San Lorenzo, on 6 November 1740.

I the King.

By order of the King our Lord,
Fernando Triviño.

Document 1740C

Letter from Fr. Bonani to Fr. Bombardi, dated Agat 14 December 1740

Source: Stöcklein's Welt-Bott, vol. 32, n° 618 [misprinted as 617].

Note: The original letter was in Latin, as we are told below. Fr. Bonani reports the arrival of Fathers Reitemberger and Carloni in 1736. Fr. Reitemberger was assigned to Rota. Fr. Carloni died in 1738.

Published text in German

Erster Brief R.P. Josephi Bonani, Missionarii der Gesellschaft JESU, Oesterreichischer Provinz; An R.P. Udalricum Bombardi, derselben Gesellschaft und Provinz.

Geschrieben zu Agata, in denen Marianischen Insuln, dem 15. Christmonats 1740.

Inhalt. I. Lobwürdiger Nachruhm R.P. Dominici Carlon, eines eifrigen Apostels in diesen Insuln. II. Ständhaftigkeit einer Marianerin in Beschüzung der ehelichen Treue. III. Besondere Gnad in Erhaltung eines Kinds bis zur Empfangung des heiligen Tauffs. IV. Neuigkeiten aus China, Cochinchina und Tunking. Der Brief P. Bonani lautet aus dem Lateinischen also:

Ehrwürdiger Pater in Christo!

Die aus denen Augen häufig hervortrieffende Thränen sind Merckmal meiner innersten Herzens-Freud, welche ich aus dem von Euer Ehrwürden dem 26ten Herbstmonats, 1735. zu Triest geschriebenen, und durch R.P. Augustinum Hallerstein, Chinesischen Missionarium, an mich überschickten Brief geschöpft habe. Ich habe selben im Heumonats dieses lauffenden 1740ten Jahrs durch ein Last-Schiff, welches aus America in die Philippinische Insuln geschiffet, zwar richtig, doch wegen langsam- und unglücklicher Schiffahrt des gemeldeten Priesters spat erhalten, auch ohne denen in selben verheissenen geistlichen Geschencken, welche endlich ein Manilanisches Schiff, mit andern zu unserer Kirchen-Haus- und Lebens-Nothdurfft gehörigen Dingen in Mitte des Herbstmonats anhero gebracht hat.

Meine Augen konten sich nicht ersättigen im Ansehen jener zweyer von so künstlichem Pensel gemahlener Bildern, welche die Passauerische Hülf-Mutter mit ihrem

Kind in denen Armen, auf eine ganz reizende Art annehmlichst vorstellen. Das Größere habe ich alsogleich an R.P. Franciscum Xaverium Reittenberger in die Insul Rota [sic], welcher er als Missionarius mit grossem Eiser vorstehet, übersendet, auf daß er selbes in seiner Pfarr-Kirche, auf dem schon vorlängst darzu bestimmten Altar zur öffentlichen Verehrung aufseze: das Kleinere behalte ich zu meiner und meiner Schul-Jugend, die ich im hiesigen Seminario versorge, geheimen Andacht, damit wir in Ansehung dieser liebsten Gnaden-Mutter, ich zwar, aus meiner alten Lauigkeit auferweckt: sie aber in ihrem brennenden Liebs-Eifer immer mehr und mehr angeflammt werden.

Euer Ehrwürden können nicht begreifen, was zarte Regungen diese holdseeligste Bildnuß in denen unschuldigen Herzen erwecket habe! P. Reittenberger hoffet ein gleiches von seinen Insulanern, und verspricht mir, daß er die aus entfernten Ländern in unsere arme Insuln anhergekommene so mächtige Himmels-Frau in einem öffentlichen Triumph durch alle Gassen seiner Pfarr herum- und endlich in ihren schöngezierten Ehren-Tempel mit aller Feyerlichkeit einführen werde.

*Ich finde keine Dancksagung, die der so ausnehmenden Wolthat Euer Ehrwürden gleich seyn möchte! Für das kostbar- und schon lange Jahr begierigst-verlangte Geschenck kan ich nichts anderes erwiedrigen, als was unsere arme Marianer, wann wir ihnen einen Dienst leisten, mit danckbarem Mund wiederholen: **Si Dios mansi [sic], à Sayna:** GOtt seye dir gnädig, Vatter! **Si Dios apasmo:** GOtt seye deine Belohnung! Ich seze bey: **Si Sancta Maria apasmo!** die in Erbarmnussen reicheste Frau vergelte Euer Ehrwürden den Dienst, welchen sie uns gethan haben in Übersendung dieser seltsamen Gemählden, durch welche wir die Ehre dieser heiligsten Jungfrau bey den Unserigen mächtig befördern werden. Sie, als der Schaz-Kasten Gottes und Schaz-Meisterin derer Gnaden, wie Idiota redet, massen sie mit himmelischen Geschancknussen alle ihre Diener zu überhäuffen pfelet, wird auch Euer Ehrwürden in Gnaden ansehen. **Si Sancta Maria mansi [sic], à Sayna!***

P. Dominicus Carlon, dessen Euer Ehrwürden in ihrem Brief gütigst gedencken wollen, ist allherein[?] aus diesen Insuln in das bessere Vatterland abgegangen. Es hat ihn dem 19ten May des 1738ten Jahrs ein langsames Fieber verzehret, welches ihm theils die ungemeine Sonnen-Hiz in der Reis von Mexico nach Acapulco, theils die unglaubliche Bemühungen in der Schifffahrt von Acapulco bis in diese Insuln, über den Hals gezogen hat. Der Apostolische Mann, um den Verlangen deren Boots-Knechten, welche zu ihm vor anderen Priestern, die aus verschiedenen Ordens-Ständen mit auf dem Schiff waren, ein besonderes Vertrauen getragen, genug zu thun, hat ganze Nächst unter heiterem Himmel mit und bey ihnen ohne Schlaf zugebracht, und das arme Völcklein theils zur Übung standmässiger Tugenden eifrigst anermahnet, theils durch das H. Sacrament der Buß von ihren Sünden gereinigt, und mit GOtt versöhnet. Gleiche Liebs-Dienst hat er der übrigen Reis-Gesellschaft, dem hochwürdigsten Heren Erz-Bischoff von Manila selbst, welcher sich gewürdiget, Zeit wählender Reis P. Dominicum zu seinem Gewissens-Rath zu erkiesen, unermattet geleistet, dardurch aber seine sonst dauerhafte Gesundheit und Kräfte mercklich geschwächet.

Ich muß Euer Ehrwürden zum schuldigen Nachruhm dieses Xaverianischen Nachfolgers ein anderes Beyspiel seiner Großmuth und Seelen-Eifers da nicht verhalten. Es hatte das Königliche Schiff, auf welchem P. Carlon mit der ganzen Mexicanischen Mission sich befande, im Angesicht des vesten Lands von America, ja in dem Port der Stadt Vera-cruz selbst, an denen Stein-Klippen elend gescheitert, doch noch so glücklich, daß aus mehr als 600 Kopffen, nicht ein Mann verlohren gegangen. Da in dieser äussersten Verwirrung und Gefahr jedermann nur bedacht ware, sein Leben zu retten, vergasse P. Dominicus allein auf das seine, und mehr um fremder Seelen, als das Heil seines eignen Leibs sorgfältig, verbliebe er in dem gescheiterten Schiff ganz Sorg-los, ja, als ihm die Gelegenheit, sich auszuschiffen, anerbotten wurde, weigerte er sich, ehender das Land zu betreten, als er alle übrige, entweder in Sicherheit gesezet, oder mit denen nöthigen Heil-Mitteln zum Christlichen Tod zubereitet zu seyn sehen wurde. In der That ist er mit einer erstaunlichen Gegenwart seiner selbst, mit einer unglaublichen Standhaftigkeit, zu aller Verwunderung und Auferbauung, auf dieser Schau-Bühne der Lieb bis an das End verharret. Erst, nachdem alle Reis-Gefehrten der augenscheinlichen Tods-Gefahr entrissen waren, verliesse er das zertrümmerte Schiff, und stiege der lezte an das Land.

Der frühezeitige Tod dieses kostbaren und eines längeren Lebens wol würdigen Apostels hat uns einen ungemeynen Schmerzen verursacht! allein, seine grosse Seel ware GOTT angenehm, und er hatte in kurzem schon viele Zeiten erfüllet!

Aus denen Reichen China, Cochinchina und Tunkin, werden vielleicht die Europäer mehrere und sichere Nachrichten ethalten haben, als wir Marianer. Das lezte Macaische Schiff hat von dem vorigen Jahr Brief mitgebracht, die verschiedene Neuigkeiten in sich enthalten, als:

...
[There follow news from China, Cochin China and Tonkin, omitted here]

...
Was ich von unseren Insuln dermalen Neues beysezen kan, sind zwey merckwürdige Begebenheiten, derer die eine unseren Indianern zur Erbauung und Nachfolg: die andere aber zur danckbaren Erkenntnuß, und Bewunderung derer Göttlichen Erbarmussen gedienet hat.

Eine Christliche Marianerin wurde in das dritte Jahr von ihrem lasterhaftten Gevatter, die Ehr ihres Ehe-Beths zu beflecken, hefftigst versucht. Der öfftere Gebrauch deren heiligen Kirchen-Geheimnissen ware der kräftige Schild, mit dem sie sich wider alle, obschon wiederholte und ungestümmeste Anfechtungen also glücklich bewaffnet, daß sie GOTT und ihrem Ehe-Gatten beständig getreu verharret. Als es sich einstens zutruge, daß ihr Ehe-Herr, Geschäftten halber, etwas länger vom Haus abwesend ware, bediente sich der unverschamte Mensch dieser Gelegenheit, und suchte mit Gewalt zu erzwingen, was er mit langem Bitten und vielem Versprechen vorhin niemalen erhalten möchte. Allein die keusche Matron ware gänzlich entschlossen, ehender das Leben, als ihre Ehr in denen Händen des Ehr-vergessenen Buhlers zu lassen. Sie ergreiffet demnach den Dolch ihres Manns, der an der Wand hienge, und, nachdem sie dem Gottlosen

*mit nachdrücklichsten Worten die Abscheulichkeit seines vorzuhabenden Lasters umsonst vor die Augen gelegt, reichet sie ihm selber, mit beygesetzten Worten: **Weilen dich die Forcht des grossen GOTTes von deinen unziemlichen Begierden nicht abhalten kan, wird dich auch selbe von Vergiessung meines Bluts nicht abhalten! nehme dann dieses Schwerd hin; siehe diese meine Brust (sie eröffnete zugleich ihre Kleider) durchgrabe selbe mit diesem Eisen! ich will lieber, daß dieser mein Leib, als daß durch eine so unverschamte That meine Seel ersterbe!** Durch diese so unvermuthete Herzhaftigkeit hat die Christliche Frau den geilen Menschen stumm und schamroth gemacht, also, daß er die Flucht ergriffe, und die großmüthige Heldin führohin unangefochten liesse: denen Ehe-Frauen aber hat sie ein heroliches Beyspiel gegeben, mit was Beständigkeit sie die Ehre ihres Stands wider alle geile Anfäll und Versuchungen beschützen sollen.*

Die zweyte Begebenheit ware folgende: Unsere Christen brachten ein neu-gebohrnes Kind nach der Kirch zum heiligen Tauff. Die Hebam, welche selbes auf denen Armen truge, nahm unterwegs ungefehr wahr, daß selbes allbereit des Tods verblichen, wie dann niemand aus allen, die in der Geleitschafft waren, in dem entseelten Körper ein Zeichen des Lebens fände: man kehrete also zuruck nacher Haus. Allein der betrübte Vatter wolte mit Gewalt, daß man sein todes Söhnlein zur Kirch hinbrächte, damit, wie er sagte, weilen ihn GOTT wegen seiner Sünden mit dem frühzeitigen Tod des Kinds gestraffet, er wenigst diesen Trost hätte, daß selbes die Thür-Sehwelle der Kirchen berührt, und in das Angesicht des Priesters, als des Statthalters GOTTes auf Erden, gekommen wäre. Man sezte also den Weg zur Kirch fort. Der Priester, welcher vor dem Kirch-Thor den neuen Taufpling erwartete, von dem Vatter aber selbst den unvermutheten Tods-Fall desselben vernahm, untersuchte zwar ganz genau und sorgfältig, ob nicht einige Merckmal des Lebens in dem Kind übrig wären, fände aber, daß selbes in der That schon verschieden, hiemit des Sacraments der Wiedergeburt unfähig seye. Alles, was er in diesen betrübten Umständen thun könnte, ware, daß er den, nicht so viel wegen des frühezeitigen Tods seines Söhnleins, als wegen der Beraubung des Tauffs untröstlichen Vatter zur Christlichen Standhaftigkeit aufmunterte, und diesen Streich von der Hand GOTTes mit Gelassenheit anzunehmen beredete.

Da er nun von denen unergründlichen Rath-Schlüssen der Göttlichen Vorsichtigkeit und der Schuldigkeit eines Christens, alle, was immer beschwerliche Verhängnussen mit gedultigem Gemüt zu übertragen, vieles abhandlete, erblickte er ungefehr, daß das Kindlein die Augen eröffne, selbe gegen ihn wende, und mit lächlendem Mund den Tauff gleichsam begehre. Der Priester saumete auch nicht, das Heil-Wasser über dieses glückseelige Geschöpf abzugießen, und, massen selbes gleich darauf die Aeuglein in den Tod zugeschlossen, eröffnete er selbem das Thor zur ewigen Glückseeligkeit, mit ungemeiner Freud des Vatters, und aller Anwesenden, welche wegen dieser ausnehmenden, dem unmündigen Kind erwiesenen Wolthat, der Göttlichen Barmherzigkeit die erkenntlichste Dancksagung abstatteten.

Ich will da zwar nicht behaupten, daß gemeldetes Kind vor dem Tauff warhaft gestorben, und, um dieses H. Sacrament empfangen zu können, von GOTT wunderbarlich

zum Leben erwecket worden seye; wie es sowol der Priester, als alle Umstehende ganz ungezweifelt darvor gehalten haben: mir ist genug, daß die Göttliche Güte dem unschuldigen Knäblein in seiner tödlichen Schwachheit das Leben so lang gefristet, bis selbes durch die heilige Tauff der streitend- und siegenden Kirch Christi ist einverleibet worden: dann diese ist eine Wolthat, wegen welchen ich und alle die allmögende Hand GOTTes preisen, und danckbar küssen müssen.

Vielleicht hat eben das starcke Vertrauen, welches der bestürzte Vatter in diesen verzweifelten Umständen auf die Allmacht GOTTes getragen zu haben scheint, dem unschuldigen Kind diese Gnad verdient, und jenes von sich selbst wahr gemacht, was bey Matthæo geschrieben: **Es geschehe dir, wie du geglaubet hast.**

Euer Ehrwürden werden vielleicht da auch von meiner Wenigkeit einige erfreuliche Nachrichten erwarten? wolte wünschen, daß ich von häufigen Seelen-Früchten, und grossen Apostolischen Bemühungen, Euer Ehrwürden zum Trost, vieles beysetzen könnte! allein, die mißliche Umstände meiner Gesundheit haben mich ausser Stand gesezet, in dem Weingarten des Herrn daraus zu arbeiten: die peinliche Stein- und andere Schmerzen, welche mich diese leztere Jahr hart hernehmen, haben mich untauglich gemacht, das vor drey und zwanzig Jahr auf mich genömmene Joch derer beschwerlichen Missions-Arbeiten länger zu tragen. Ich ware gezwungen, aus dem Feld in das Winter-Quartier zu ziehen, in welchem, damit ich nicht gar müssig und meinen Marianern unnüz wäre, schreibe und überseze ich in ihre Mutter-Sprach verschiedene geistliche Tractätlein, welche zu Manila durch den Druck theils das Tagelicht schon angesehen, theils noch sehen werden. Euer Ehrwürden wollen meiner in ihrem H. Meß-Opfer beständig ingedenck seyn, damit ich auch die lezte Jahr meines Apostolischen Berufs zur Ehre GOTTes und dem Heil derer Seelen gut und verdienstlich zubringe.

Dieser Brief ist, so viel mir wissend, der zwölfte, den ich aus diesen Eyländern an Euer Ehrwürden abgelassen. Glaublich ist er auch der lezte; weßwegen ich mich von Euer Ehrwürden zartest beurlaube. GOTT, aus dessen Lieb wir uns in diesen Zäher-Thal so weit von einander abgesonderet haben, vereinige uns wieder durch seine unendliche Barmherzigkeit, und durch die mächtige Fürbitt der Allerheiligsten Jungfrauen in dem himmlischen Vatterland, wo wir ihm das dreyfache Heilig in der Gesellschaft aller Heiligen durch die lange Ewigkeit absingen wollen, Amen.

Geschrieben in dem Haus der H. Jungfrau Rosæ zu Agata, in denen Marianischen Insuln, dem 14. Decembers 1740.

Euer Ehrwürden

Demüstigster Diener in Christo

Josephus Bonani, S.J. Missionarius.

Translation, by P.H.

First [sic] letter from Rev. Fr. José Bonani, missionary of the Society of Jesus from the Austrian Province, to Rev. Fr. Udalrico Bombardi, of the same Society and Province.

Written at Agat in the Mariana Islands, on 15 [sic] December 1740.

Contents: I. Obituary and tribute to Rev. Fr. Dominico Carloni, a devout apostle in these islands. II. Resistance by a Mariana woman to protect her marital fidelity. III. Special mercy in keeping a child alive until he could receive holy baptism. IV. News from China, Cochin China and Tonkin. Fr. Bonani's letter reads as follows (translated from Latin):

Reverend Father in Christ!

The tears that are often flowing from my eyes are an expression of the deep joy I feel in my heart as the result of the letter which Your Reverence wrote to me on 26 October 1735 in Trieste and which was forwarded to me by Rev. Fr. Augustin Hallerstein, missionary in China. I received the letter in July of this year (1740) by way of a galleon sailing between America and the Philippines.¹ The letter arrived correctly but late because of the slow and unhappy voyage of the said priest, and without the promised spiritual presents, which were finally brought here in mid-October by a ship from Manila, together with other items needed for our church building and as necessities.

My eyes could not get enough of the two beautiful paintings depicting in a most exquisite manner Our Lady of Mercy of Passau with the Child in her arms. The larger painting I have already sent to Rev. Fr. Francisco Xavier Reittenberger on the Island of Rosa [sic = Rota] which he administers with great dedication, so that he can place it upon the altar which was erected for this purpose a while ago, to be publicly admired. The smaller painting I am keeping to be revered by myself and the young students of my school. Seeing our dearest Lady of Mercy will encourage us more and more, stir me up from my old lukewarm state and light the flame of loving devotion in my students.

Your Reverence cannot believe what tender emotions this lovely painting has awakened in those innocent hearts! Fr. Reittenberger is hoping for the same result from his islanders, and he promised me that he will lead this mighty "heavenly woman" who has come to our poor islands from faraway countries, in a public triumphal procession through all the streets of his parish and finally ceremoniously take it into the beautifully-decorated temple that was erected in her honor.

I find no words of thanks that would be appropriate for Your Reverence's extremely-good deed! For this precious present, which I have coveted most eagerly for many

¹ Ed. note: The Nuestra Señora de Guía, Captain Illumve, had carried this letter from Manila to Acapulco first.

years, I can only say what our poor Mariana Islanders always repeat in gratitude when we are of service to them: **Si Dios mansi [sic], à Sayna:** May God have mercy on you, Father!¹ **Si Dios apasmo:** May God be your salvation! I wish to add: **Si Sancta Maria apasmo!** May our most merciful Lady reward you for the service you have done us in sending us these rare paintings which will help greatly in promoting the honor of our Most Blessed Virgin among our people. She is, as the layman says, the treasury of God and the treasurer of mercies, and since she is in the habit of overwhelming all her servants with heavenly gifts, she will also look kindly upon Your Reverence. **Si Sancta Maria mansi, à Sayna!**

Fr. Dominico Carloni, to whom Your Reverence kindly sent greetings in your letter, has left these Islands for a better world. On 19 May 1738 he was consumed by a slow fever, which he may have contracted in the uncommonly hot sun when he travelled from Mexico to Acapulco, or during the incredibly difficult voyage from Acapulco to these islands. This apostolic man, who had the special confidence of the deck hands, more so than the other priests of various orders aboard this ship, wanted to be kind to the deck hands and slept with them for many nights under the open sky. He diligently instructed these poor people in the virtues appropriate to their class and purified them of their sins through the holy sacrament of confession, thus reconciling them with God. He tirelessly rendered the same service of love to the rest of the travellers, including the Most Reverend Archbishop of Manila himself,² who saw fit to name Fr. Dominico his spiritual adviser for the duration of the voyage. This all weakened his otherwise good health and drained his strength.

As part of his tribute, I must not keep from Your Reverence another example of the magnanimity and devotion of this successor of Xavier. The royal ship carrying Fr. Carloni and the entire Mexican mission band became miserably stranded in sight of the American mainland, in the very port of Veracruz, when it hit some reefs. Fortunately not one of the more than 600 people on board was lost. While in the extreme confusion and danger, everyone was thinking only of saving his own life, Fr. Dominico forgot about his and thought more of the other souls than of saving his own life. He remained without concern aboard the stranded ship. When he was offered an opportunity to leave the ship, he refused to set foot ashore until all others were either in safety or properly prepared to face a Christian death. Indeed, he remained to the end a man of astonishing self-confidence and incredible steadfastness on this stage of love, admired by everyone. Only when all his travel companions were no longer in danger of imminent death did he leave the wrecked ship and come ashore as the very last man.

The premature death of this valuable apostle who well deserved a longer life has caused us much pain! But his great soul was pleasing to God, and he had already done so much in a short time!

1 Ed. note: "Mansi" is probably a misprint for "maasi." This expression could also be translated as: "God bless you, Father!"

2 Ed. note: His name was Juan Angel Rodriguez, a Trinitarian (ref. B&R 51:310).

Europeans have probably received more news, more accurate news, from China, Cochin China and Tonkin than we did here in the Mariana Islands. The last ship from Macao [to Manila] has brought us letters from last year which contain various news...

[The news from China, Cochin China and Tonkin are omitted here.]

As far as the news from our islands are concerned, I can relate two curious happenings, one of which has provided edification and an example for our Indians, while the other has served to help us recognize divine mercy, which we admire in gratitude.

A Christian Mariana woman was pursued for three years by a depraved relative¹ who tried hard to defile the honor of her marriage bed. Her frequent use of the sacred host was the powerful shield with which she fortunately defended herself against all his advances, although these were repeated and most forceful; thus armed, she remained faithful to her God and her husband. Once, when her husband was away for a longer time on some business, the impertinent man used this opportunity to obtain by force what he had been unable to obtain earlier through his pleas and promises. However, the virtuous matron was prepared to lose her life rather than her honor at the hands of this amorous villain. She took her husband's dagger from the wall and told the godless man how despicable his intentions were. When this did not help, she gave him the dagger and said: **"Since the fear of God cannot stop you from committing such a lustful act, you will not stop at shedding my blood either! Take this dagger, look at my breasts (and now she opened her clothes) and drive the iron into it! I would rather you kill my body than to kill my soul with your dastardly deed!"** The Christian woman's unexpected courage silenced the lustful man and made him blush. He fled and henceforth left the brave heroine alone. She had set a heroic example for other wives, showing them how they can use resolve to defend their honor against all indecent advances and temptations.

The second event was as follows: Our Christians brought a newborn child to the church to be baptized. On the way, the midwife, who was carrying the baby in her arms, noticed that the child had already died, and no-one else in the group could find a sign of life in the child's body. They returned home. But the grief-stricken father wanted that his dead son should be taken to the church. He said that the untimely death of the child was God's way of punishing him, the father, for his sins, and he wanted to have at least the consolation that the child had come to the threshold of the church and been beheld by the priest, God's representative on Earth. They turned around and came to the church. The priest, who was waiting in front of the church door for the child to be baptized, was told by the father that the child had unexpectedly died. The priest examined very carefully whether the child might not show a sign of life after all, but he found

1 Translator's note: "Gevatter" could be an uncle or some other male relative (but not the father). It often means "Godfather." Ed. comment: It also means "compadre." The meaning cannot be made clearer in the absence of the original Latin word used by the author.

that it had indeed died and would be unable to receive the sacrament of rebirth. All he could do under these sad circumstances was to encourage the father, who was inconsolable, not so much because his little son had died, but because he had been robbed of his baptism, and he told the Father that he should come to accept this matter as the will of God.

As the priest was talking about the inscrutable wisdom of divine Providence and the responsibility of Christians to carry all burdens, no matter how heavy, with patience, he happened to look at the child and saw that it opened its eyes, turned them toward him and opened its mouth as if to beg for baptism. The priest did not waste time in pouring holy water over this fortunate creature, and since it closed its eyes in death immediately thereafter, he had opened for the child the gate to eternal bliss, to the great joy of the father and all those present who gave thanks to the Lord in His mercy for this exceptional blessing bestowed upon the little child.

I do not want to claim that this child had really died prior to baptism and had been miraculously brought back to life by God, so that it could receive the holy sacrament, as the priest and all around him believed without a doubt. It is enough for me to believe that God's love allowed the little boy to live long enough in his fatal weakness until the Church of Christ could be incorporated in him through holy baptism, for this is a good deed for which I and all others must praise God's hand and kiss it in gratitude.

Perhaps the strong trust which the distraught father seems to have placed in God under these desperate circumstances has earned the child this mercy, and so it has come true what is written in St. Matthew: "Go, be it done for you as you have believed."¹

Your Reverence may expect to hear some good news about my own humble person. I wish I could add much for the sake of Your Reverence, about a large number of souls saved, about great apostolic efforts. Alas, the circumstances of my poor health have made it impossible for me to work in the vineyard of the Lord. Stones and other painful conditions which have given me much trouble over the last few years have made me unsuitable for continuing to carry the yoke of this burdensome mission work which I took upon myself 23 years ago. I was forced to move from the field into winter quarters where, not to be completely idle and useless to my Mariana Islanders, I am writing and translating into their mother tongue various works which were already printed or are being published in Manila. I commend myself to Your Reverence's holy sacrifices so that I may spend the last few years of my apostolic working life working well and with merit for the glory of God and the salvation of souls.

As far as I know, this letter is the twelfth which I have sent to Your Reverence from these islands. I also believe it will be the last,² and for that reason I wish to say a most cordial farewell to Your Reverence. God, from whose love we have strayed so much in

1 Translator's note: From the Revised Standard Version, Matthew 8, 13.

2 Ed. note: Since Fr. Bonani lived for 18 more years, perhaps he was thinking about the advance age of his correspondent, Fr. Bombardi.

this valley of tears, will through his never-ending mercy unite us again, and through the mighty pleas of the Most Blessed Virgin, it will be in the heavenly fatherland where we will praise Him by singing the Sanctus¹ in the company of all saints throughout eternity. Amen.

Written in the residence of Santa Rosa, at Agat, Mariana Islands, on 14 December 1740.

Your Reverence's
most humble Servant in Christ,
José Bonani, missionary of the Society of Jesus.

1 Ed. note: That part of the mass that follows the Preface and precedes the Canon.

Documents 1741A

The King wishes to restore the Marianas

Sources: AGI Fil. 334, libro 14, fol. 261-268v, pp. 563-578; also in AGI Ultramar 562, n° 5; copies in AHN Fil. 5854.

A1. Letter from the King to the Governor of the Marianas, dated Aranjuez 28 May 1741

Original text in Spanish.

Al Gobernador de las Islas Marianas participandole la orden que se da al de las Philipinas para que disponga se ejecuten las providencias que se expresan en punto del restablecimiento, y conservacion de los naturales de las Marianas y hordenandole lo que por su parte ha de executar.

El Rey

Gobernador y Capitan General de las Islas Marianas.

En carta de 9 de Julio del año de 1739 ha dado cuenta con Testimonio Don Fernando Valdes Tamon Governador que fue de las Islas Philipinas, de aver rrecivido mi Real Cedula de 20 de Enero del de 1737 en la que enterado Yo de lo que vos me representasteis en otra de 2 de Junio de 1735 sobre la falta de gente que se experimentaba en esas Islas, pues apenas llegavan entre grandes, y pequeños, a dos mil personas las que existian en ellas proponiendome seria mui conveniente el que de las referidas Islas Philipinas, se remitiesen a esas cien familias[.] le mandé me informase con distincion, y claridad, lo que acerca de este asunto se le ofreciese; y en su cumplimiento expreso, que luego que recivio la citada cedula pidio informe a los sugetos que avian servido el Gobierno de las Islas, y a otros que avian residido en ellas, y tenian noticia de los medios que podrian, o no ser convenientes para la conservacion y aumento de sus habitantes, lo informaron los unos, el que era preciso la remision de las expresadas cien familias, y los otros que aunque llegase a tener efecto esta providencia, (que la contemplaban impracticable por los perjuicios que resultarían de su execucion) no se verificaria, ni se conseguiria con ella su restablecimiento, por ser ese clima muy contrario a los naturales de aquellas Islas, manifestandole que a el principal motivo à que se podia atribuir la dimiucion y falta de gentes en esas Islas, era el extraordinario methodo que observan sus moradores, obligando a las mugeres a que travajeren obras ajenas de su sexo, y que si a estas se las livertase de semejante gravamen, cesarian los motivos de que procede la

esterilidad que se experimenta en ellas, y tambien que consideravan seria proporcionado en que a los hombres solo se les obligare (como en tiempos pasados se hacia) a un moderado trabajo, en vista de lo qual me hizo presente el expresado Don Fernando Valdes Tamon el estado en que quedavan esas Islas y el gasto que anualmente, causa su manutencion a mi Real Hacienda exponiendome que si se pusiese en practica el medio de livertar totalmentte a las mugeres de travajar en ocupaciones contrarias a su complexion, y el de que a los hombres se les moderase sus trabajos, se pudiera esperar el favorable efecto de restablecerse esas Islas, y aumentarse sus moradores, y que sin embargo de que algunos o dos que avian dado este dictamen tenian por necesario el que se remitiesen a ellas las referidas cien familias considerava el que de esta providencia se seguirian muy graves inconvenientes respecto que seria preciso el que a expensas de mi Real Hacienda se costase su remision y manutencion por algunos años, hasta que abilitasen la tierra, y esto solo sin tener mas seguridad de su restablecimiento, que [era] una esperanza mui remota; ademas de que de embiarse las mencionadas cien familias seria siempre preciso que fuesen de la gente mas despreciable y ociosa, y por consiguiente se devia recelar el que en esas Islas viviesen tan vagabundos como lo hacen en Phelipinas, y no solo no se consiguiera el fin deseado, sino que seria exponer mis Reales intereses a un conocido riesgo de distribuirse sin utilidad alguna; cuyas dificultades hacian mas rrecomendable la proposicion de livertar a las mugeres en todo el trabajo contrario a su sexo, y precisar a los hombres al cultivo de la tierra en la siembra de maiz, tabaco, y algodon, sin privarles de su livertad ni conpelerles indevidamente a otros trabajos, y que tambien tenian por necesario el que Yo fuese servido de mandar, debajo de graves penas que no se llevase de aquellas à esas Islas el vino que llaman de nipa, ni otro algun brebaje sino solo el de ubas, afin de que los naturales de ellas le beneficiasen en su terreno, executando lo mismo con el azeite de coco, tavaco, azucar, y otros frutos cuio uso esta proveido por industria y malicia de algunos vecinos de esas Islas para lograr ellos con esta privacion sus maiores ganancias, añadiendo el referido Don Fernando Valdes Tamon que si esos naturales se arreglasen a mejor methodo que el que hasta ahora practicaban en la forma de existir, y conservarse, se lograria no solo el que tubiesen comercio, con las de otras Islas, sino tambien el que no se extinguiesen con la brevedad que se presume pues la fertilidad de esa Tierra y la circunstancia de livertad a sus havitadores de las opresiones que padecen, animaria a muchas familias à ir à ellas, y que siendo muy necesaria su manutencion, tanto por el credito de mis Reales armas quanto por que de su abandono se seguirian perjudiciales consecuencias, y la maior de todas el que ocupadas por algun enemigo, no podian navegar los Navios que conducen el situado de Philipinas, y demas intereses de su comercio, sin exponerse a un manifiesto peligro, por faltarles esa escala; concludio representandome que para subvenir por ahora a la necesidad de gente que se experimenta en esas Islas, le parecia, que los medios que van expresados de aliviar en el todo a las mugeres de trabajo, y ocupaciones contrarias a su sexo, y en alguna parte el de los hombres repartiendoles tierras, y precisandoles a su cultivo con la siembra de maiz, algodon, tavaco, y demas frutos precisos para su manutencion eran muy proporcionados; como tambien el de que io diese

providencia para que por el Gobierno de las expresadas Islas Philipinas, se dispusiese el que en los Pataches que van desde aquellas a esas Islas en cada dos años con el situado que les tengo concedido fuesen voluntariamente cinco o seis familias de Indios ó Mestizos a los quales (en lo que huviese lugar) se les permitiese gozar las exempciones de Pobladores imponiendo os à vos y a vuestros sucesores, graves penas para en el caso de que no hagais guardar a todos los que asi fuesen voluntarios los privilegios que se les concedan.

Y habiendose visto en mi Consejo de las Indias la referida carta; y Testimonio, con los antecedentes del asunto, y lo que en inteligencia de todo expuso mi Fiscal y reconocidose que el dictamen del enunciado Don Fernando Valdes Tamon, no solo contiene con el de personas practicas, ynteligentes sino que convence y persuade a que insensiblemente y con poco gravamen de mi Real Hacienda, se podra seguir el restablecimiento de esas Islas; ha parecido, participaros que por despacho separado de este dia doy orden, y comision especial, y absoluta à Don Gaspar de la Torre Brigadier de mis exercitos, actual Governador, y Capitan General de las referidas Islas Philipinas, y Presidente de mi Real Audiencia de la Ciudad de Manila, para que de las ordenes correspondientes afin de que se pongan en execucion todas las referidas providencias que me propuso el citado Don Fernando Valdes su antecesor, y para que procure con la maior actividad, y vigilancia, el mas exacto, y puntual cumplimiento de ellas, como tan importantes a ellas digo y conducentes a el servicio de Dios, y mio, i a la conservacion, aumento, y alivio de los naturales de esas Islas, todo lo qual tendreis entendido para obedecer (como mando lo executeis) sin dilacion, ni replica alguna las hordenes que os diere a ese fin el enunciado Don Gaspar de la Torre, o quien en su lugar sirviere aquel Gobierno, pues si lo ejecutareis asi con la actividad, y ejaetitud que espero de vuestro zelo sereis mui particularmente atentido para vuestras conveniencias, y ascensos, preveniendo os tambien que lo contrario sera muy de mi Real desagrado, y motivo bastante para que experimenteis los efectos de mi Real indignacion.

Fecha en Aranjuez a 28 de Mayo de 1741.

Yo el Rey.

Por mandado del Rey nuestro Señor,

Don Fernando Triviño.

Translation.

To the Governor of the Mariana Islands, to let him know of the order that is given to the Governor of the Philippines to arrange for the execution of the measures stated therein for the restoration and preservation of the natives of the Marianas and ordering him to carry out the part that concerns him.

The King.

Governor and Captain General of the Mariana Islands.

In a letter dated 9 July of the year 1739,¹ Don Fernando Valdés Tamón, the former Governor of the Philippine Islands, reported, along with a testimony, that he had received my Royal decree of 20 January 1737 which I had issued, once made aware my your representation dated 2 June 1735² regarding the lack of population in those Islands, since their number, counting young and old, did not reach 2,000 persons living there, and recommending to me that it would be very appropriate for 100 families to be remitted from the above-mentioned Philippine Islands to those. I ordered him to inform me with details and clarity about what he might find out about this matter. And, in compliance thereof, he stated that as soon as he received said decree, he had asked for information from individuals who had served as Governors of the Islands, and from others who had resided there, who had notice of the means that could, or not, be appropriate for the preservation and increase of their inhabitants. Some of them told him that it was necessary to send the above-mentioned 100 families, but others thought that, even though this measure were taken (they thought that the idea was not feasible, on account of the disadvantages that its implementation would bring) their restoration would not happen, because that climate was very contrary to the natives of those Islands, and they stated that the main cause to which must be attributed the decrease and lack of population in those Islands, was the extraordinary method followed by their [Spanish] residents, forcing the women to work at tasks foreign to their sex, and that if they were freed from such a burden, the reasons for their being sterile would cease.³ They also thought that the men should be forced to do only a limited amount of work (as was the practice earlier). Hence, the above-mentioned Don Fernando Valdés Tamón brought to my attention the condition of those Islands and the expenditures made yearly by my Royal treasury to maintain them, and he expounded the view that if the means to free the women completely from working at tasks contrary to their health were adopted, and if the men had their work moderated, one could hope for the favorable effect of restoring those Islands, and increasing their inhabitants. Notwithstanding the suggestion made by some two others who were of the opinion that it was necessary to send 100 families overthere, he considered that such a measure would have very serious disadvantages, since their transport and support for a few years would necessarily cause expenses to my Royal treasury, until such time as they have prepared the soil, and this would not necessarily result in the restoration of the Islands, which was a very remote possibility. In addition, the above-mentioned 100 families would necessarily be from among the most despicable and lazy of people, and consequently, one had to fear that they would live like vagabonds overthere, as they do in the Philippines. Not only would the desired end not be realized, but my Royal interests would be exposed to a known risk, that of spending money without any return. Such difficulties make more recommendable the proposal to free the women from all work contrary to their sex,

1 Ed. note: Doc. 1739C.

2 Ed. note: Doc. 1735C.

3 Ed. note: Syphilis could have been the real reason for their sterility. This effect was not known then, or at least not yet proven.

and to assign the men to the cultivation of the soil, i.e. the sowing of corn, tobacco, and cotton, without denying them their freedom, nor compelling them to other types of work. He also thought it would be necessary for me to be pleased to order, under serious penalties, that no wine called nipa wine be transported from the Philippines to the Marianas, nor any other type of drink, except wine made from grapes, so that the natives overthere would produce their own, and the same with coconut oil, tobacco, sugar, and other products now being manufactured only by some residents of those Islands for greater profits for themselves, from such a prohibition.

Said Don Fernando Valdés Tamón added that if those natives were subject to a better mode of living and conservation than heretofore practiced, the result would not only be the creation of some trade with other islands, but also that their number would not so quickly decrease; indeed, the fertility of that country and the circumstance of freedom for its inhabitants from the oppressions that they suffer, would encourage many families to go there. Their maintenance was very necessary, not so much for the prestige of my Royal arms, but also because their abandonment would result in damaging consequences, not the least of which being that they might be occupied by some enemy, and the ships that carry the subsidy of the Philippines, and the other interests of their trade, would not be able to sail, for lack of that stopover station.¹ He concluded by telling me that, in order to provide for the needs experienced by the people of those Islands, it seemed to him that the means expounded above would be very appropriate, to wit, those of alleviating the women completely from any work, and occupations contrary to their sex, and the men from part of the work, by distributing land to them and forcing them to cultivate them, by sowing corn, cotton, tobacco, and other products useful for their maintenance.

He also mentioned that I could order the Governor of the above-mentioned Philippine Islands to arrange things such that 5 or 6 families of Indians or half-breeds would go voluntarily aboard the pataches that go from there to those Islands every two years with the subsidy that has been granted them, and they be given permission to enjoy [tax] exemptions as Settlers, whenever possible. And I was to impose upon you, and to your successors, grave penalties if you let others deny to such volunteers the privileges granted them.

And this letter, and testimony, having been seen in my Council of the Indies, along with the background case file, and what my Fiscal said after having consulted them, and recognizing that the opinion of the above-said Don Fernando Valdés Tamón, not only was shared by practical and knowledgeable persons, but also was convincing and made one believe that little by little and at little cost to my Royal treasury, the restoration of those Islands was possible; I have decided to let you know that, in a separate despatch of this date, I give an order, plus a special and absolute commission, for Don Gaspar de la Torre, Brigadier of my armies, and actual Governor and Captain General of the above-mentioned Philippine Islands, and President of my Royal Audiencia in the

1 Ed. note: Governor Valdés only suggested that the galleons would be inconvenienced, not stopped.

City of Manila, to give corresponding orders, to put into execution all of the above-referenced measures that were proposed to me by said Don Fernando Valdés, his predecessor. He is to obtain with the greatest of activities, and vigilance, the most exact and timely compliance of them, as I declare that they are so important and conducive to the service of God, and mine, and for the preservation, progress, and relief of the natives of those Islands. All of which you are to keep in mind, ready to obey (as I order you to do) without delay or retort, every one of the orders that said Don Gaspar de la Torre will give you for this purpose, or whoever may replace him in that Government; indeed, if you carry them out with the activity and exactness that I hope from your zeal, you will be very particularly looked after for your advantages, and promotions, but I warn you also that otherwise it would be very much to my Royal displeasure, and a sufficient reason for me to let you experience the effects of my Royal indignation.

Made at Aranjuez, on 28 May 1741.

I the King.

By order of the King our Lord,
Don Fernando Triviño.¹

A2. Letter from the Governor of the Philippines, dated Manila 14 June 1743

Source: AGI Ultramar 562, n° 4.

Original text in Spanish.

El Brigadier Don Gaspar de la Torre, Gobernador y Capitan General de las Islas Filipinas: Da cuenta á V.M. del recibo de la Real Cédula que cita y que en su virtud, ha ordenado al Gobernador interino de las Islas Marianas lo que por ahora se podrá ejecutar á fin de ir restableciendo aquellas Islas, y que continuará librando las órdenes competentes hasta que en un todo se logre el alivio de aquellos naturales en el mayor servicio de V.M.

Señor.

Vuestra Magestad me ordena por su Real Cédula fecha en Aranjuez á los veinte y ocho de Mayo de setecientos cuarenta y uno, disponga que se ejecuten las providencias que propuso mi antecesor, para el restablecimiento de las Islas Marianas, y considerado y conferenciado el punto con personas inteligentes, y las que tienen conocimiento de aquellas Islas me ha parecido combeniente, deseoso del mejor acierto ir introduciendo la practica de aquellas providencias por el órden y modo que se haga menos notable, por que de darse instruccion general á los Gobernadores de aquellas Islas, para que de una vez atajen los abusos alli introducidos, causaria no pequeña novedad á sus habitantes; y considerando ási mismo que la cortedad del tiempo que resta á la salida del

1 Ed. note: The letter to Brigadier de la Torre follows the above document in AGI Fil. 334, but is not reproduced here, to avoid repetitions.

Patache, para aquellas Islas, no permite en esta ocasion el embarque y solicitud de las cinco familias voluntarias que se hayan de remitir cada dos años; me pareció por ahora combeniente prevenir en carta al Gobernador interino de las mencionadas Islas el Real orden de Vuestra Magestad para que en su intelengia, y la de igual Real despacho que tendrá recibido vaya insensiblemente disponiendo la materia de suerte que las mugeres de aquel Presidio queden libres en los trabajos y ocupaciones no correspondientes á su sexo, que se les anime á aquellos naturales á habilitar el laboreo de las tierras en las siembras del tabaco, la caña, algodón, y otras especies de utilidad, que se apliquen tambien á sacar el azeite, y vino de Coco, para que empezando por aqui el remedio de que se necesita en aquella tierra para la utilidad y alivio de sus moradores, y que cuando se de principio á ir las cinco familias, se puede adelantar lo comenzado hasta que con la industria se consiga el fin de restablecer, y mantener aquel Presidio sin las pensiones é incomodidades á que hasta aqui estubieron sugetos sus moradores, hasta que llegando el Gobernador propietario que se espera, confiera con esta los puntos mas principales de que ira advertido para su planteo.

Yo de mi parte esforzare este negocio con las mas activas providencias que me dictare la razon, ofreciere en tiempo, y pidiere la necesidad siempre con la reflexa de allanar el paso para que no se frustren ni malogren las órdenes que se advirtieren combenientes en lo que pondré todo el cuidado de mi obligacion, deseoso de que en mi tiempo logren su alivio aquellos naturales y quede servido Vuestra Magestad. Cuya Católica Real Persona Guarde Dios cuanto la Cristiandad ha menester.

Manila y Junio catorce de mil setecientos cuarenta y tres.

Señor,

Don Gaspar de la Torre

Translation.

Brigadier Gaspar de la Torre, Governor and Captain General of the Philippine Islands: Reports to Y.M. the receipt of the Royal decree which he cites and that by virtue of which he has ordered the interim Governor of the Mariana Islands what he will be able to do for now in order to restore those Islands, and that he will continue to issue suitable orders until such time as the relief of those natives has been achieved, for the greater service of Y.M.

Sire:

Your Majesty orders me, in your Royal decree dated Aranjuez 28 May 1741, to arrange for the execution of the measures recommended by my predecessor, for the restoration of the Mariana Islands. Having consulted and met with knowledgeable persons on this point, and with those who had knowledge of those Islands, I thought it appropriate, for greater effectiveness, to introduce the practice of those measures in an orderly manner and method that will make them less notable, because if a general instruction were given to the Governors of those Islands for them to stop the abuses introduced there once and for all, this would cause no small novelty to their inhabitants; and considering also that the shortage of time remaining before the departure of the

patache for those Islands, it is not possible this time to seek the five families of volunteers who must be sent every two years, and have them board the patache. It seemed to me proper for now to write to the interim Governor of the above-mentioned Islands to bring the Royal order of Your Majesty to his attention, to reinforce the contents of the Royal despatch that he would also have received, and have him arrange the matter without much ado, so that the women of that garrison [sic] would be free from works and occupations that do not correspond to their sex, and to encourage those natives [i.e. the men] to prepare the soil for plantations of tobacco, sugarcane, cotton, and other types of useful crops, and to apply themselves also to the extraction of the oil and wine from coconuts, so that the remedy that that country needs for the benefit and relief of its inhabitants would begin in this manner, and so that when the five families will begin to be sent, they will be able to continue the industry that would already have been started, one upon which will depend the restoration and maintenance of that garrison, without the work contributions and discomforts that its inhabitants have been subjected to so far. He is to continue with this approach until the proprietary Governor who is awaited does arrive; by that time the main points of the plan would already have been implemented.

As far as I am concerned, I will foster this business with the most active measures that reason will dictate along the way, and that necessity might dictate, always keeping in mind that the way must be smoothed so that the orders given will not be frustrated or counteracted. In this I will place all the care that my duty requires, desirous of those natives acquiring their relief during my term of office, and thus to serve Your Majesty, whose Catholic and Royal person may God save as much as Christendom needs.

Manila, 14 June 1743.

Sire,

Don Gaspar de la Torre.

A3. Reaction of the Council of the Indies

Original text in Spanish.

El Fiscal, en vista de esta Carta supuesto su contenido que se podrá hacer presente: dice no hay que hacer en este particular respecto á que el año de mil setecientos cuarenta y cinco se espidieron tambien triplicados de la Cédula de que avisa su recivo y se debe esperar de cuenta aquel Gobernador de las resultas.

Madrid y Marzo once de mil setecientos cuarenta y ocho.

...

Consejo de doce de Marzo de mil setecientos cuarenta y ocho: Como lo dice el Sr. Fiscal.

Translation.

The Fiscal, in view of this letter, given its contents that could be read aloud, there is nothing to do in this respect, because in the year 1745 triplicate copies of the decree in

question were again sent, the same one that he acknowledges having received, and we must wait for that Governor to report on the results.

Madrid, 11 March 1748.

...

The Council, on 12 March 1748: Do as the Fiscal says.

Document 1741B

The galleon route is to avoid the Islands of Rica de Oro and Rica de Plata in mid-Pacific

Source: AGI Fil. 334, libro 14, fol. 361-368v, pp. 765-777.

Notes: With hindsight, the exploration of those Islands might have led to the Spanish colonization of the Bonin Islands. It is also clear that the information about Arriola's discovery of Marcus Island in 1694 never reached the pilots of the Manila galleons.

Letter from the King to the Governor of the Philippines, dated Buen Retiro 12 December 1741

Original text in Spanish.

Al Gobernador de Philipinas; previniendole no se han admitido las proposiciones que hizo el Marques de Montecastro y Llana Hermosa sobre el descubrimiento de las Islas nombradas Rica de Plata; y ordenandole de providencia para que no se haga novedad en el rumbo que annualmente va à la Nueva España.

El Rey

Gobernador, y Capitan General de las Islas Philipinas, y Presidente de mi Real Audiencia de ellas que reside en la Ciudad de Manila.

En carta de 13 de Julio del año proximo pasado dais cuenta con testimonio del resivo de mi Real Cedula de 12 de Marzo del de 1738 en que os mande me informaseis lo que se os ofreciese sobre el descubrimiento de las Islas nombrada[s] Rica de Oro, y Rica de Plata, que el Marques de Montecastro, y Llana Hermosa se havia obligado à hacer à su costa debaxo de ciertas condiciones; y expongais que despues de practicadas varias diligencias que se hallavan pendientes sobre este asunto y dado su dictamen los Pilotos y demas personas inteligentes, reconociais que no avia razon alguna que estimulase à que se tuviese por preciso este descubrimiento pues en tanto tiempo como hà mediado desde el año de 1606, en que se tuvo noticia de aquellas Islas hasta ahora, avian navegado los Galeones de esa carrera sin aver necesitado de buscar la rescata de ellas; de cuya situacion no solo no se podia dar punto fixo porque unos la suponian en mas grados que otros, sino que aun se ignoraba su tamaño, la calidad de gente que las hubiera, y si estan ó no despobladas; y que los medios con que el referido Marques se obligaba à conseguir este descubrimiento eran impracticables, y gravosos assi a mi Real Hacienda como a ese comercio, à que se devia añadir la consideracion de que si des-

pues de descubiertas las expresadas Islas, se hallase que estaban habitadas de gente indomita se hacia preciso que mi Real erario soportase crecidos gastos para reducir à sus moradores; y si estuviesen desiertas era tambien indispensable conducir a ellas gente que las poblase; demas de que si se admitiese la proposicion hecha por el expresado Marques de permitirle, que de su cuenta se pasase con embar[ca]cion correspondiente al reconocimiento de las enunciadas Islas, y que en ella pudiese embarcar mil fardos de mercaderia, y generos de los que se trajian à la Nueva España, libertandole absolutamente de pagar derechos algunos a mi Real Hacienda en qualquiera parage ó puerto de aquel Reyno donde hiciese su descarga, y que todo lo que produxesen las referidas mercaderias se le avian de permitir libres de derechos 300 mill pesos, y de lo demas que solo pagase a razon de un cinco por ciento, se seguiria el grave inconveniente de que si no se encontravan las referida[s] Islas, tenia que pasar la embarcacion à expender sus mercaderias à la Nueva España, y la abundancia de ellas minoraria en aquel año la estimacion à las de ese (puerto) digo comercio, con notable perjuicio de mi Real Hacienda, y de la causa publica; todo lo qual me haciais presente, como tambien el que considerada esta materia con la reflexion, y madurez que requería su gravedad contemplabais, que no seria totalmente desproporcionado el medio de que se hiciese este reconocimiento por el navio que de esas Islas va à la Nueva España por el situado de ellas, o por el patache en que annualmente se remite el que esta señalado à las Islas Marianas, ó que en el caso de que se aprestasen dos pataches para aquel Reyno valiese el uno anticipado el viage y llevase las ordenes competentes à fin de que hallandose en la altura de las enunciadas Islas Rica de Oro, y Rica de Plata, hiciese los esfuerzos posibles para reconocer una ó otra, y no pudiendo conseguirlo, prosiguiese su viage:

Y aviendose visto en mi Consejo de las Indias la referida carta y testimonio, con los antecedentes de este asunto, y lo que en inteligencia de todo expuso mi Fisca[l], y reconocidose que los medios, y arbitrios que me representeis son con corta diferencia tan gravosas, y contingentes como lo que propuso el referido Marques del Montecastro; y que es muy accidental el provecho, y utilidad que resultaria de este descubrimiento, y cierto el perjuicio que experimentaria mi Real Hacienda en el apresto, y manutencion del patache que se destinase para emprehender el referido reconocimiento, hà parecido preveniros que no es de mi Real agrado admitir condicion alguna de las que propuso el referido Marques de Montecastro, y Llana Hermosa, y ordenaros, y mandaros (como lo executo) deis las providencias correspondientes para que no se haga la menor novedad en el rumbo, y carrera que hasta ahora han seguido los Galeones que desde esas Islas van annualmente al expresado Reyno de la Nueva España.

Fha en Buen Retiro à 12 de Diziembre de 1741.

Yo el Rey.

Por mandado del Rey nuestro Señor, Don Fernando Triviño.

Translation.

To the Governor of the Philippines, warning him not to accept the recommendations made by the Marquis of Montecastro y Llana Hermosa regarding the exploration

of the Islands named Rica de Plata, and ordering him to issue instructions so that no change be made in the route followed [by the galleons] going every year to Acapulco.

The King.

Governor and Captain General of the Philippine Islands, and President of my Royal Audiencia there, which resides in the City of Manila.

In a letter, dated 13 July of last year, you reported, along with a restimony, that you had received my Royal decree of 12 March 1738 by which I ordered you to inform me on what might offer regarding the exploration of the Islands named Rica de Oro, and Rica de Plata, that the Marquis of Montecastro y Llana Hermosa¹ had obliged himself to do at his own expenses, under certain conditions, you made various inquiries that were pending regarding this matter and had the pilots and other knowledgeable persons state their opinions. you expounded your own point of view by saying that there was no reason at all for this exploration to be considered necessary; indeed, during the very great time period since the year 1606 when those Islands were first noticed until now, the galleons of this run have sailed without the need to seek some relief at those Islands. Besides, not only were their positions not fixed, because some supposed them to be at higher latitudes than others, but also their size even was unknown, and so the type of people who might live there, if they are inhabited. You said that the means by which the above-mentioned Marquis obliged himself to achieve this exploration were impractical, and would be costly not only for my Royal treasury but also to that trade, to which had to be added the consideration that if, after discovering the above-mentioned Islands, they were found to be inhabited by savage people, my Royal treasury would necessarily have to provide more funds to reduce their inhabitants; and if they were uninhabited, it would also be indispensable to transport people there to populate them, besides the fact that, if the proposal made by the above-mentioned Marquis were accepted, that is, to allow him to go at his expense with a suitable vessel to the exploration of said Islands, and to let him load 1,000 bundles of merchandise and goods, of the type that is taken to New Spain, freeing him absolutely from having to pay any excise to my Royal treasury, at any neighborhood or port of that Kingdom where he might unload, and that from the profits made from the above-mentioned merchandise he was to be given a permission to bring back 300,000 pesos free from excises, paying only five percent on any excess, there would be a serious disadvantage resulting from his not discovering said Islands, and then having the vessel go on to expend its merchandise in New Spain, where the abundance of them would reduce for that year the value of the merchandise of that trade, at a noteworthy prejudice to my Royal treasury, and to the public good. All of this you brought to my attention, in addition to your own consideration of this matter, after the mature reflection that its seriousness

1 Ed. note: Recall that this Marquis was a Spanish adventurer named Pedro Gonzalez del Rivero Quijano, living in Manila, and the owner of the patache Caldas (see Doc. 1734F).

demanded, and you said that it would not be totally out of the question for this exploration to be done by the ship that goes from those Islands to New Spain for their subsidy,¹ or by the patache that serves to remit yearly [sic] the subsidy of the Mariana Islands, or in the case when two pataches are outfitted to go to that Kingdom, one of them could leave earlier and carry suitable orders, so that upon reaching the latitude of the above-mentioned Islands of Rica de Oro and Rica de Plata it would make all possible efforts to search for either one, and not finding it, would pursue its voyage.

And said letter and testimony having been seen in my Council of the Indies, with the background of this matter, and what my Fiscal said about it all, and recognizing that the means and the opinions that you represented to me are close in their agreement that those proposed by the above-mentioned Marquis of Montecastro would be so costly, and full of contingencies, and that the profit would be very accidental, and the usefulness that might result from this exploration also, but certain the prejudice that my Royal treasury would experience in the maintenance of the patache that might be destined to undertake said exploration, I have decided to warn you that it is not of my Royal pleasure to accept any of the conditions proposed by the above-mentioned Marquis of Montecastro y Llana Hermosa, and I order you (as I do now) to issue the corresponding provisions to prevent the least change to be made in the route, and run that until now have been followed by the galleons that go yearly from those Islands to the above-mentioned Kingdom of New Spain.

Made at Buen Retiro, on 12 December 1741.

I the King.

By order of the King our Lord, Don Fernando Triviño.

1 Ed. note: In 1737, the Marquis had been made General of the galleon *Guía* that went to Acapulco; no doubt he tried to sight one of the above islands, without success. However, I think that the generalship of the galleon had been his aim all along.

Document 1741C

**The Inquisition to their Commissioner, dated
6 March 1741**

Source: AGN Inquisición 650, folio 517v.

Regarding the publication of some edicts**Original text in Spanish.**

Al Comisario de Marianas remitiendole unos edictos.

Con esta remitimos a nuestro Comisario de las Yslas Marianas los dos exemplares del edicto expedido por este tribunal en 22 de Agosto del año proximo pasado para que lo haga publicar y fixar en las dos yglesias principales de esas dhas Yslas en un dia festivo despues del Evangelio de la misa mayor y de su execuzion y cumplimiento nos remi-tira zertificazion en 1ª ocasion.

Guarde Dios &ª

Inquisicion de Mexico y Marzo 6 de 1741.

Señores Inquisidores Nabarro y Tagle. Por ante el Secretario Carranza.

Translation.

To the Commissioner of the Marianas remitting him some edicts.

With the present we remit to our Commissioner of the Mariana Islands two copies of the edict issued by this Tribunal on 22 August of last year, for it to be published and posted in the two more important churches of those Islands on a holiday after the Gospel of the high mass, and you are to send us a certification of the execution and compliance thereof, at the first opportunity.

May God, etc.

The Inquisition of Mexico, 6 March 1741.

The gentlemen Inquisitors: Navarro & Tagle. Before Secretary Carranza.

Document 1741D

Request for a new mission band of Jesuits

Source: AGI Fil. 96, document of 18 April 1741.

Royal consultation regarding the petition of Fr. Calvo

Original text in Spanish.

Consejo de Indias à 18 de Abril de 1741.

...

Señor.

Por el Padre Juan Joseph Calvo, de la Compañia de Jesus, Procurador general de su Provincia de San Ignacio de las Islas Philipinas, se ha dado memorial en el Consejo representando que el principal empleo en que se exercitan los Religiosos de ella es el de la administracion, educacion, y enseñanza de los Indios que la estan encomendados, de los quales viene yà formados ochenta, y ocho Pueblos principales, y algunas Visitas con mas de 173,938 almas, segun el ultimo computo que se hà hecho, cuyo numero, cotejado con el que se consideró en el Sexennio antecedente, excede en 11,886 almas, debiendose este aumento à la industria, y trabaxo de los referidos Religiosos, quienes, à costa de muchos peligros, y necesidades que padecen, logran el que se mantenga en la Religion Catholica tan copioso numero de personas:

Que lo mismo executan en la Isla de Negros...

Ultimamente, que en todos los parages, y Pueblos en que residen los mencionados Religiosos, procuran cumplir muy exactamente con las obligaciones de su instituto, confesando, predicando, asistiendo à los enfermos, y executando otras muchas obras de caridad, como se reconocerà por los informes que presenta del Arzobispo de Manila, y del Governador, y Audiencia de las referidas Islas: en cuya atencion, y en la de que la enunciada su Provincia se halla con mucha falta de Religiosos para completar el numero de los que necesita ocupar en las Misiones, y Doctrinas que la estan encomendadas; suplica à V.M. se sirva de concederle una Mision de quarenta Religiosos Sacerdotes, y quatro Coadjutores, con el aviamento necesario, à fin de que en la primera ocasion de Navios de Vandera de V.M. los pueda conducir à las expresadas Islas.

El Consejo, en vista de esta instancia, y de lo que sobre ella hà expuesto el Fiscal; teniendo presente, que por los referidos informes del Arzobispo, Governador de Philipinas, y Audiencia de Manila, se comprueba la necesidad de Religiosos que experimen-

ta la enunciada Provincia de San Ignacio de aquellas Islas, respecto de que de los cinquenta, y un Sacerdotes, que se concedieron para ella el año de 1733, solo llegaron veinte, y seis à aquellas Islas, cuyo numero no es bastante para que pueda cumplir con las muchas, y dilatadas Misiones que tiene à su cargo, ni para los demas ministerios en que se exercitan sus Religiosos, como son la Regencia de Cathedras que se han puesto à su cuidado, y otras ocupaciones piadosas, en que con no poco esmero, zelo, y aplicacion procuran el servicio de Dios, y de V.M. es el Consejo de parecer de que V.M. se sirva de conceder à la referida Provincia de San Ignacio una Mision de quarenta Religiosos Sacerdotes, y quatro Coadjutores y de mandar que lo que importare el aviamiento, y demas gastos que necesiten hacer hasta llegar à Philipinas, se les pague en las Caxas Reales de la Veracruz, y en su defecto en las de Mexico, del caudal que huviere en ellas procedido del ramo de Mesadas Eclesiasticas, y si en èl no tuviere cabimiento, del de otro qualquiera de Real Hacienda. Y respecto de tener V.M. resuelto, à Consulta de este Consejo de 11 de Diciembre del año de 1724 se le informe del coste que tuviere el avio, y pasage de las Misiones que fueren à las Indias; hace presente à V.M. que segun el informe que hà hecho la Contaduria de èl, son necesarios para el aviamiento, viatico, matalotage, y vestuario de los referidos quatrenta Religiosos Sacerdotes, y quatro Coadjutores 1 cuento 374 mil 160 maravedis de vellon, los 1 cuento 194 mil 160 por lo que corresponde à los expresados quarenta Sacerdotes à razon de 29 mil 854 maravedis cada uno, los 150,000 por los diez ducados que se les dà por ir por la Nueva España; y los 30,000 maravedis restantes, por los quatro Coadjutores, al respecto de 7,500 maravedis cada uno; à que tambien se ha de añadir el gasto que han de hacer desde los Colegios de donde salieren hasta llegar à Cadiz, contandoles à razon de siete reales al dia, y ocho leguas de camino en cada uno, y dos reales por cada dia de los que se detuvieren en aquella Ciudad aguardando embarcacion; à que assí mismo se hà de agregar el coste de esta, y no pudiendose dar punto fixo à su importe, se encarga al Ministro que tiene à su cargo la Intendencia de Marina, procure el mayor beneficio, y ahorro à favor de la Real Hacienda en el ajuste del flete de los mencionados Religiosos.

V.M. resolverà lo que fuere mas de su Real agrado.

Madrid 18 de Abril de 1741.

Translation.

The Council of the Indies, 18 April 1741.

...

Sire:

A petition has been presented to the Council by Father Juan José Calvo of the Society of Jesus, their Procurator General of their Province of St. Ignatius of the Philippine Islands, representing that the main employment occupying the Religious of said province is the administration, education, and teaching of the Indians assigned to it. Eighty-eight main towns have already been formed, with some outlying stations, and they amount to over 173,938 inhabitants, according to the latest census that has been done. This number, when compared with the number recorded at the end of the last

6-year period, exceeds it by 11,886 inhabitants, and this increase is due to the industry, and labor of the above-mentioned Religious, who, at the cost of many dangers, and needs which they suffer, manage to retain such a large number of persons in the Catholic religion.

The do the same in the Island of Negros...

Lately, in all of the neighborhoods and towns where the above-mentioned Religious reside, they try to comply most exactly with the obligations of their Institute, by confessing, preaching, tending the sick, and carrying out many other works of charity, as will be recognized by the reports presented by the Archbishop of Manila, the Governor, and the Audiencia of the above-mentioned Islands; in view of which, and in view of the fact that said Province is found with a great lack of Religious to complete the number of those needed to assign to the Missions and to teaching positions under their care, he begs Y.M. to be pleased to grant him a Mission band of 40 Religious, priests, plus 4 Coadjutor Brothers, with the necessary outfits, so that at the first opportunity of ships flying the flag of Your Majesty they may be conveyed to the above-mentioned Islands.

In view of this petition, and of what the Fiscal said about it, keeping in mind that the above-mentioned reports of the Archbishop, Governor of the Philippines, and Audiencia of Manila, proved the need of Religious felt by the above-mentioned Province of St. Ignatius of those Islands, considering that out of the 51 priests who had been granted it in 1733, only 26 arrived at those Islands, and said number is not enough to be able to comply with the many and faraway Missions that it has in its care, nor for the other ministries in which its Religious are working, for instance, in the management of the teaching positions that have been placed in their care, and other pious occupations, in which they are busy in the service do God, and that of Y.M., with no small effort, zeal and application: the Council is of the opinion that Y.M. should be pleased to grant to the above-mentioned Province of St. Ignatius a mission band of 40 Religious, priests, and 4 Coadjutor Brothers, and to order that the eventual cost of their outfittings, and other expenses that they need to make until they reach the Philippines, be paid out to them out of the Royal treasury of Veracruz, but failing which, that of Mexico, from the funds collected there for the branch of Ecclesiastical Pensions, and if that were not possible, from any other fund in the Royal treasury. And regarding a decision of Y.M., taken after consulting this Council on 11 December 1724, that you be informed in advance of the eventual cost of the outfitting, and passage of the mission bands that would go to the Indies, it advises Y.M. that, according to the report made by the Accounting Department, there would be necessary, for the outfitting, travel expenses, food supplies aboard ships, and the clothing of the above-mentioned 40 Religious priests, and 4 Coadjutor Brothers 1,374,160 maravedis in gold bullion, of which 1,194,160 would correspond to the above-mentioned 40 priests, at the rate of 29,854 maravedis each, 150,000 of which on account of the 10 ducados given to those going to New Spain, and the remaining 30,000 maravedis would be for the 4 Coadjutors, at the rate of 7,500 maravedis each; to which must also be added the expense that they have to make from the Colleges where they come from until reaching Cadiz, counting this at the rate of 7

reals per day, and 8 leagues of road covered each day, and 2 reals per day for those who might be detained in that city, while awaiting their embarkation; to which must also be added the cost of the fare, but being unable to fix this sum accurately, its determination is entrusted to the Minister who is in charge of Naval Procurement, for him to get the best deal, to save money to the Royal treasury, while negotiating the passage of the above-mentioned Religious.

Y.M. will decide what may be of your Royal pleasure.

Madrid, 18 April 1741.¹

1 Ed. note: The King concurred, and the Council ordered that it be carried out, on 13 May 1741.

Document 1742A

Log of the Covadonga, before her capture by HMS Centurion

Source: Log/F/7 in NMM, London.

Note: This bound manuscript book begins with General Francisco Antonio Sendin's Cash book, as of June 1738. There follows an English translation of the log of the Covadonga from Manila to Acapulco, then from Acapulco until her capture off the Philippines.

Journal of a Voyage Performed by the Ship Nra. Sra. de Cabadonga [sic] From the Port of Manila in the Phillipine [sic] Islands to the Port of Acapulco In the Kingdom of New Spain and back again. Anno Domini 1743.

From Manila to Acapulco 1742

July 22d anno Domini 1742

This Day at 11 a.m. the Image of the Virgin was Embarked and the Generall and Other Officers took Charge of the Ship and about One in the Afternoon we weighed and Left the Mould [rather Mole, or Basin] of Cabit, the wind SWbW Steering NW and at 9 Ditto we Anchored in 9 fathoms muddy Ground[,] the Point of Cabity bearing SW and Maribeles SW7°S 2-1/2 Leagues Distance.

...

The Month of August 1742 25th

This p.m. we gott in our boat and Turned away our Bark wishing her a Good Voyage[.] I judge ourselves between Caxayaga and Cataduanes and at Sunsett Cape Spiritu Santo Bore SE30°S[.] we proceeded sailing with fresh Gales from the SW and SSW Steering ENE[.] at 3 a.m. we had a Squall of wind WNW with rain but it again Shifted to SW and SWbS so we again sett our four principall Sails.

...

[On 4 September, a leak was discovered in one of the fore hold. They tried to fix the leak from the outside.]

...

Saturday 22 September 1742

Our four Principall Sails sett smooth water the Monson Clear Yesterday in the Afternoon Let out all the Reefs having outrun the Longitude of the [Mariana] Islands I must make a Correction on a New Meridian so According to Conjecture and my Observations we Cannot be in more than 18°30' Longitude Otherways [sic] we should have seen the Islands and so I take my Longitude since Yesterday at 12 o'clock.

Lat. Obs. 21°52' [N], Long. 18°54' [E of Cape Espiritu Santo].

...

[They did not see any islands in the Marianas or Bonins on this passage.]

...

Monday 1st October 1742

Our Principall Sails sett the Topsails Reefed we Proved, this p.m. we discovered that our main topmast was sprung an inch deep about 2/3 up for which reason we Lowered it and mended it the best we Could with saw dust Charcoal and tallow it was Sprung when we sailed.

This Day the Sacraments were administered to a Grummete [i.e. ship's boy] who had been bitt in the Arm by a Shark.

...

[The galleon was then approx. 22° N & 22° E of the Philippines.]

...

Wednesday 26 December 1742.

Our 4 Principall Sails[,] at 9 at night the wind Came NW with Squalls and Rain and Furled all Except the Foresail till 1 and it Cleared up and we sett our Foretopsail on the Caps and So we proceeded with a Great sea from the NW and Some Squalls[,] this morning Saw a Land bird.

Lat. Obs. 34°4', Long. 101°27'

...

Tuesday 1st January 1743

... 9 a.m. we Saw some porras [i.e. sea leaks] which Gave us all Great Joy and we Sang the *Te Deum Laudamus* and about Noon we Saw Another Porra Fresher than the former[,] this 24 hours have been seing some Pardellas or Pittirells [i.e. petrel birds]. From tomorrow I shall Correct my Longitude of Señas [i.e. for the Signs].

Lat. obs. 34°35', Longitude 97°12'

...

Friday 4 January 1742

Continued Lying too under our Foresail till 5 in the Afternoon when the wind died away and we had Light breezes from the SSW then we Sett our 4 principall Sails the Topsails Reefed. the weather thick and hazy So that we Could have no observation. the sea very Rough from ye W & WNW.

This a.m. began to Clear the Boats and to Fix the Nettings.

Lat. per Estim. 34°43' Long. 97°21'

...

[On 11 January, they spotted a piece of driftwood and a porra.]

...

Sunday 13 January 1743

We Proceed all Sails sett[.] Little wind and Clear[.] This morning we mounted our Swivells [guns] which are 28 in Number, the main top man says he sees the [Island] Guadalupe and by the pointing it bears E5°S[.] we have seen a porra[.] a Small whale &c.

Lat. obs. 29°37' Long. 105°39'

Monday 14th January 1742

All Sails sett and Fresh Gales. Yesterday saw Two Porras This morning we began to mount our upper deck Gunns. at Noon we saw a Large Ink Fish [i.e. scuttle fish?] Could not Observe the weather being so Dark.

We Could not see the Land which the main top man said he saw Yesterday but I believe it to be the Guadalupe. This morning we Got out our boat.

Lat. per Estim. 28°50' Long. 106°9'

...

[On 19 January, they passed the Alijo Rocks.]

...

Wednesday 23 January 1743

We proceed having all our Sails sett Yesterday at Noon we Saw the Point of San Lazaro and at Sunsett it bore NEbN Distance 6 Leagues.

This morning Dyed the master Carpenter Domingo Niño de la Vega.

Lat. obs. 13°41' Long. 115°26'

...

Friday 25 January 1743

We proceed with all 4 sails sett and Little wind at 7 a.m. we dispatched our Boat for the Shore with 60 Jarrs to fill with water at the Cape. She had 4 swivells with muskets and Bayonetts, and She returned with 40 Jarrs of water which was very Agreeable to all of us for in all the Ship we had not above 4 Jarrs full. This p.m. we Sett the Point of the Cape which bore SEbE, and Soon Afterwards it fell Calm and at 8 p.m. we had the Land wind Faintly. at 10 we doubled the Cape and Lay too for our boat.

Saturday 26th January 1743

All this 24 hours it has been Calm and the wind Contrary when we had any, and notwithstanding we made Various Efforts we Could not fetch the Cape nor Port San Joseph for we no Sooner gott Near the shore but the wind fell away and by this means we were Twice very much Engaged with the Shore. we were Once in 10 fathoms water Sand and Stones mixed foul Ground and we were obliged to Gett out our boats and Tow her off.

Sunday 27 January 1743

We Stand off with a NE wind, waiting till we shall have Gott a Sufficient Quantity of water, for which purpose this Afternoon we dispatched the boats and off and on all the night and this morning at Day light we found ourselves Off of Pueblo de San Joseph 3 Leagues Distance and Sent our Launch for water. Yesterday in the Afternoon the Padre's Canoe Came off and brought 6 Sheep some Fowls and Greens and now we are without Either boat or Launch and Dead Calm with ne're a drop of water aboard.

Monday 28 January 1743

All night we Sometimes have Calms and Sometimes Light breezes and have not been Able to find Soundings this morning the wind Came at S and SW, we Steering NE & NNE till noon.

This Day dyed Don Balentin Mateo & Don Joseph Yglesias.

Tuesday 29th January 1743

This p.m. we anchored in 30 fathoms Water and this morning we weighed with the tide in our favour and the winds Somewhat fresh till one o'clock p.m. we Anchored opposite to Pueblo San Joseph in 22 fathoms. This morning we Sent our Sick ashore, because they began to dye very Fast aboard.

...
[After loading 500 jars of water, they left Cabo San José on 1 February, passed the Tres Marias on the 6th, the Point of Calvario on the 13th, Zihuatanejo on the 14th, and made it into Acapulco on the 17th.]

Sunday 17 February 1743

All sails sett and Little wind this p.m. we sett the Sierra de la Brea which bore E5°S the point of the Grifo EbS Point Gorda E the Marquez ESE5°E point Calvario WNW5°N at 9 p.m. we Came to Anchor in 42 fathoms Water.

Monday 18th February 1743

This p.m. we sett the Southernmost point of the Island which bore EbS being the Island of the Peruleros. the Northernmost point of Marquez bore ESE5°E the middle of the Great Entrance, or Boca Grande EbS1/3S Last night we Anchored opposite to ye Entrance and this morning we Carried out a Warp towards Amaran [sic].

**Journal of the Ship Nra. Sna. de Cabadonga [sic] on her
Return From Acapulco to the Phillippine Islands Under the
Command of General Don Geronimo Montero.**

From Acapulco to Guam.

Monday 15th April 1743.

At 10 a.m. the Ship was Visited and we began to Weigh and at 3 p.m. we Got under sail with a Fresh Gale at NW and got Safely without the mouth of the Harbour and at Sunsett the Low point before the Potrero bore E. the Ourtermost point of the Marquez NbE, the Inner point Gorda NNE, the Point of the Grifo NbW, the point of the Hill of Coyuca NWbW. Lat. obs. 16°29' N. Diff. Lat. 21' Merid. Dist. 32' W.

...
[Onwards they went along the usual track to the Marianas. On 9 July, they saw 2 black birds and a swallow.]

...
Monday 10th June 1743

Fresh Gales and Clear this 24 hours we mounted 6 Guns 12 pounders between decks and Lashed them to the side not being able to Carry them run out because of the Lowness of the Ports.

Lat. obs. 13°00' N. Long. 32°34' E

Tuesday 11th June

Fresh Gales all Sails sett the Monsoon Clear. This p.m. find Variation per Amplitude to be 10°13' and this a.m. 10°14'.

Yesterday and this day we are Employed in Clearing the Ship and knocking down the Cabins on the Quarter deck and Waist and there remains nothing but the Gunns and other warlike stores in sight.

Lat. obs. 13°40' Long. 30°20'

...
Saturday 15th June 1743

Moderate and Clear all Sails sett. This day and Yesterday's Course I have not Corrected because I find no diff. of Latitude.

This day the General Called a Council of war of all the Officers to Determine whether we should touch at Marianas or not which was determined that we should touch there all the water in the Ship not Amounting to 150 Jarrs.

Lat. obs. 13°13' Long. 24°21'

Sunday 16th June 1743

... This p.m. the General demanded an Abstract of our reckoning, I gave him mine and After Observing I esteemed myself 124 Leagues from Guam. The Second Pilot 77 Leagues dist. from ditto Island. The 3rd Ditto 62-1/2 Leagues dist.

Lat. obs. 13°11' Long. 22°48'

Monday 17th June 1743

At 6 p.m. about Sunsett the Top man Said he saw Land and according to the bearings and this days observation it must be the land of Guam[.] at 8 p.m. we Lay too with her head to the N with the Topsails reefed that we might not be too much engaged with ye Land at hand we set all our sails and about Noon we [rest blank]

Tuesday 18th June 1743

This p.m. we runn along the Island and at Sunsett we passed the Island of Cocos and at 8 at Night we Anchored in 40 fathoms to windward of the Fort and then we runn out a Warp in 20 fathoms and immediately we began to Clear Jarrs for water.

At the Island of Guam.**Wednesday 19th June 1743**

All day we were Employed in wooding watering and Getting aboard refreshments[.] at 10 p.m. we had about 500 Jarrs water filled and the Night having an evil aspect we weighed and made the Signall for our boats, and Stood away WbS with ye wind ENE and Got Clear of Every thing to the Westward the Southernmost point of ye Island bearing EbS5°E and ye Northernmost NEbE ye body ENE Easterly 4 or 5 Leagues distant.

At noon the Middle of the Island bore E 10 L.

From Guam to the Phillippines.

...

[Nothing much was recorded until the fateful end of June]

...

Friday 28th June 1743

Moderate and Clear. Variation per Amplitude 3°29'

Lat. obs. 12°15' Long. 118°22'

Saturday 29th June.

Little wind and Cludy all Sails Sett.

Lat. per Estim. 12°15' Long. 119°44'

[This was the last entry in the logbook. There follow in the NMM document some extracts from her logbooks for her 1738-39 voyage, and her 1740-41 voyage. Then another extract, this one of the galleon **Nuestra Señora de Guía** for the 1735 eastward voyage towards Acapulco.]

Document 1742B

The voyage of HMS Centurion, Commodore Anson—The views of Commodore Anson

Source: [George Anson, R.N.] *A Voyage Round the World ...* edited by Richard Walter (1st ed., London, 1748); many other editions exist.

Note: This book is really the work of two men: 1) Rev. Walter, the chaplain who also served as a seaman, and edited the book for publication, and 2) Benjamin Robins, another member of the crew, who wrote the major part of the narrative, using all the officers' logs.

Warning: The historical accounts they give of Spanish history, such as the Manila galleon trade is so full of factual errors as to be completely unreliable. However, their remarks on navigation matters are more reliable, specially the factual information about the voyage of the Covadonga in 1742-43.

Introduction.

War broke out again between England and Spain in 1740, but the English Government had already planned to send a pirate expedition to the west coast of South America to attack ships and towns, and gather booty. This was to be the last officially-sanctioned expedition of this type, since the other civilized nations of Europe had already abandoned such savage methods.

At departure from England, Anson's squadron consisted of 6 warships, as follows:

- Centurion**, 60 guns, 1,005 tons, 521 men, Captain Anson,¹
- Gloucester**, 50 guns, 866 tons, 396 men, Captain Norris;
- Severn**, 50 guns, 853 tons, 384 men, Captain Legg;
- Pearl**, 42 guns, 559 tons, 299 men, Captain Mitchell;
- Wager**, 24 guns, 559 tons, 243 men, Captain Kidd; and
- Tryal**, 14 guns, 201 tons, 96 men, Captain Murray.

Not even counting the men aboard two small tenders, that accompanied the squadron for a while, Anson had left England with a total of 1,961 men. However, after a

(Facing page:) **Anson's track across the North Pacific.** (*From the 5th ed. of 1749, frontispiece*).

¹ Ed. note: The number of men is taken from Williams (see Bibliography). Millechamp says that the original complement was only 500, though this ship was rated for 400 men.

series of adventures and misfortunes, by the time Anson reached Tinian Island in the Marianas, he had only his flagship left, and about 225 men. The **Pearl** and **Severn** disappeared after they crossed the Strait of Le Maire, and soon after that the **Centurion** found herself alone, with most of the men suffering from scurvy. Nevertheless, Anson headed for the next rendez-vous point, Juan Fernandez Island, where he arrived with half of his crew dead, in June 1741. He was later rejoined by the **Tryal**, and the **Gloucester** that had lost three-fourths of her crew. Soon a Spanish ship, the **Nuestra Señora del Monte Carmelo** showed up, and Anson captured her. He went on to cruise off Valdivia, Chile, where the **Aranzazu** was captured. Meanwhile, the **Tryal** became dismasted and leaked so much that she had to be scuttled, but not until the crew had shifted to the **Carmelo**, which was renamed the **Tryal's Prize**. On the coast of Peru, he was similarly lucky in capturing the **Santa Teresa de Jesús**, and later the **Nuestra Señora del Carmen**. After that, Anson led his men to the town of Payta, which he captured and looted completely before burning it to the ground. A similar pillage was to be allowed by British officers of the Royal Navy at Manila some 20 years later.

All the ships in the harbor at Payta were destroyed as well, except for the **Soledad** which Anson added to his squadron. Soon after they left Payta, the **Gloucester** rejoined the fleet, which tarried after some more prizes and arrived too late off Mexico to surprise the patache **Pilar** that came into Acapulco at the beginning of January 1742, 20 days before Anson reached that neighborhood. For good measures, the **Pilar** did not leave Acapulco that year.

Finally, Anson decided he could no longer wait. He destroyed his prizes and headed west across the Pacific with only the **Centurion** and **Gloucester**, but the latter leaked so badly that it had to be scuttled as they were to the east of Guam.



**Commodore George Anson
(1697-1762). He visited Tinian.**

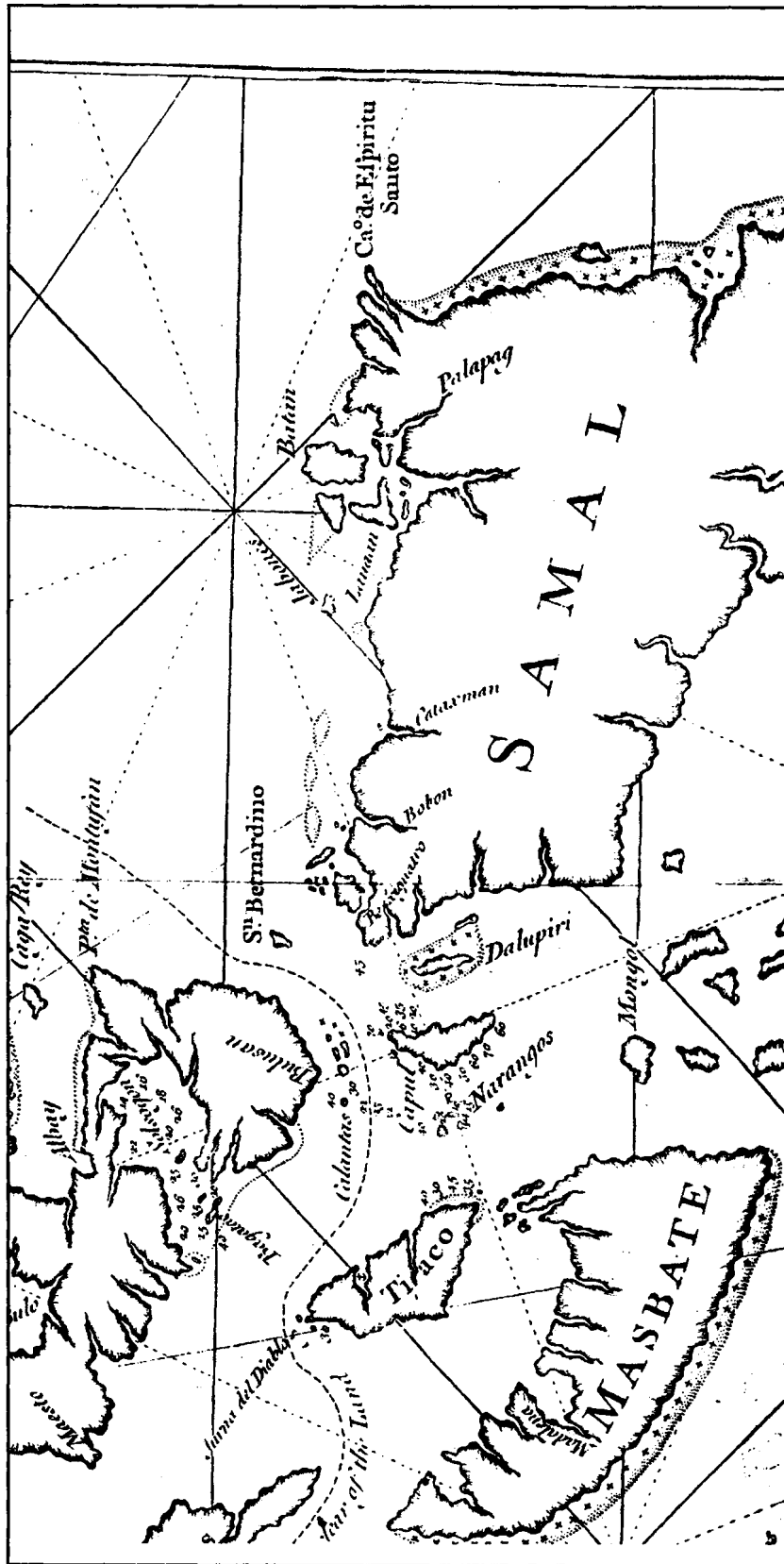
A Voyage Round the World, in the Years MDCCXL, I, II, III, IV by George Anson, Esq.; Now Lord Anson...

BOOK II, CHAP. X.

...
This trade from Manila to Acapulco and back again, is usually carried on in one or at most two annual ships, which set sail from Manila about July, and arrive at Acapulco in the December, January, or February following, and having there disposed of their effects, return for Manila sometime in March, where they generally arrive in June; so that the whole voyage takes up very near an entire year: For this reason, though there is often no more than one ship employed at a time, yet there is always one ready for the sea when the other arrives; and therefore the commerce at Manila are provided with three or four stout ships, that, in case of any accident, the trade may not be suspended. The largest of these ships, whose name I have not learnt, is described as little less than one of our first rate men of war, and indeed she must be of an enormous size; for it is known, that when she was employed with other ships from the same port, to cruise for our China trade, she had no less than twelve hundred men on board. Their other ships, though far inferior in bulk to this, are yet stout large vessels, of the burthen of twelve hundred tun and upwards, and usually carry from three hundred and fifty to six hundred hands, passengers included, with fifty odd guns. As these are all King's ships commissioned and paid by him, there is usually one of the Captains, who is stiled the General, and who carries the royal standard of Spain at the main-top gallant mast-head, as we shall more particularly observe hereafter.

And now having described the port of Manila and the shipping they employ, it is necessary to give a more circumstantial detail of their navigation. The ship having received her cargoe on board, and being fitted for the sea, generally weighs from the mole of Cabite about the middle of July, taking the advantage of the westerly monsoon, which then sets in, to carry them to sea. It appears by the chart already inserted, that the getting through the [Em-] Bocadero to the eastward must be a troublesome navigation, and in fact, it is sometimes the end of August before they get clear of the land. When they have got through this passage, and are clear of the Islands, they stand to the northward of the east, in order to get into the latitude of 30 off degrees, where they expect to meet with westerly winds, before which they run away for the coast of California. To give a better idea of the track which they hold in this navigation, I have inserted, towards the latter end of the third book, the copy of a manuscript chart, which was taken on board one of these ships,¹ containing all that Ocean between the Philippine Islands and the coast of Mexico, in which I have laid down the particular route of this vessel, both in her passage from Manila to Acapulco, and from Acapulco back again. In this chart (as it was drawn for the use of the Spanish General) there are contained

1 Ed. note: The Nuestra Señora de Covadonga, which Anson captured in 1743 off the east coast of the Philippines.



(Facing page:) **Chart of the Strait of San Bernardino, or Embocadero.** *Part of a chart that was taken from the galleon Covadonga by Commodore Anson in 1743. There are some typographical errors, among others.*

all the discoveries which the Manila ships have at any time made in traversing this vast Ocean; whence it appears what minute and inconsiderable fragments of land are dispersed in that prodigious sea; and it is most remarkable, that by the concurrent testimony of all the Spanish Navigators, there is not one port, nor even a tolerable road as yet found out betwixt the Philippine Islands and the coast of California and Mexico; so that from from the time the Manila ship first loses sight of land, she never lets go her anchor till she arrives on the coast of California, and very often not till she gets to its southermost extremity: And therefore as this voyage is rarely of less than six months continuance, and the ship is deep laden with merchandize and crowded with people, it may appear wonderful how they can be supplied with a stock of fresh water for so long a time; and indeed their method of procuring it is extremely singular, and deserves a very particular recital.

It is well known to those who are acquainted with the Spanish customs in the South-Seas, that their water is preserved on ship-board not in casks but in earthen jars, which in some sort resemble the large oil jars we often see in Europe. When the Manila ship first puts to sea, they take on board a much greater quantity of water than can be stowed between decks, and the jars which contain it are hung all about the shrouds and stays, so as to exhibit at a distance a very odd appearance. And though it is one convenience of their jars that they are much more manageable than casks, and are liable to no leakage, unless they are broken, yet it is sufficiently obvious, that a sixth, or even a three months store of water could never be stowed in a ship so loaded, by any management whatever; and therefore without some other supply, this navigation could not be performed: A supply indeed they have, but the most dreadful of all deaths, on the expectation of so casual a circumstance. In short, their only method of recruiting their water is by the rains, which they meet with between the latitudes of 30 and 40° North, and which they are always prepared to catch: For this purpose they take to sea with them a great number of mats, which they place slopingly against the gunwale, whenever the rain descends; these mats extend from one end of the ship to the other, and their lower edges rest on a large split bamboe, so that all the water which falls on the mats drains into the bamboe, and by this, as a trough, is conveyed into a jar; and this method of supplying their water, however accidental and extraordinary it may at first sight appear, hath never been known to fail them, so that it is common for them, when their voyage is a little longer than usual, to fill all their water jars several times over.¹

1 Ed. note: In the whole history of the Manila galleons, rain may have failed them just once, either in 1693 or 1705, when a galleon continued to sail due east along a latitude of 40° N., as a ghost ship would, and crashed upon a part of the coast of North America now known as Oregon.

However, though their distresses for fresh water are much short of what might be expected in so tedious a navigation, yet there are other inconveniencies generally attendant upon a long continuance at sea, from which they are not exempted. The principal of these is the scurvy, which sometimes rages with extreme violence, and destroys great numbers of the people; but at other times their passage to Acapulco (of which alone I would be here understood to speak) is performed with little loss.

The length of time employed in this passage, so much beyond what usually occurs in any other known navigation, is perhaps in part to be imputed to the indolence and unskilfulness of the Spanish sailors, and to an unnecessary degree of caution and concern for so rich a vessel: For it is said, that they never set their main sail in the night, and often lie by unnecessarily. And indeed the instructions given to their Captains (which I have seen) seem to have been drawn up by such as were more apprehensive of too strong a gale, though favourable, than of the inconveniencies and mortality attending a lingering and tedious voyage; for the Captain is particularly ordered to make his passage in the latitude of 30 degrees if possible, and to be extremely careful to stand no farther to the northward than is absolutely necessary for the getting a westerly wind. This, according to our conceptions, appears to be a very absurd restriction; since it can scarcely be doubted, but that in the higher latitudes the westerly winds are much steadier and brisker than in the latitude of 30 degrees: So that the whole conduct of this navigation seems liable to very great censure.¹ For if instead of steering E.N.E. into the latitude of 30 odd degrees, they at first stood N.E, or even still more northerly, into the latitude of 40 or 45 degrees, in part of which course the trade-winds would greatly assist them, I doubt not but by this management they might considerably contract their voyage, and perhaps perform it in half the time, which is now allotted for it; for in the journals I have seen of these voyages it appears, that they are often a month or six weeks after their laying [rather leaving] the land, before they get into the latitude of 30 degrees; whereas, with a more northerly course, it might easily be done in a fourth part of the time; and when they were once well advanced to the northward, the westerly winds would soon blow them over to the coast of California, and they would be thereby freed from the other embarassments, to which they are now subjected, only at the expence of a rough sea and a stiff gale. And this is not merely matter of speculation; for I am credibly informed, that about the year 1721, a French ship, by pursuing this course, ran from the coast of China to the valley of Vanderas on the coast of Mexico, in less than fifty days: But it was said that this ship, notwithstanding the shortness of her passage, suffered prodigiously by the scurvy, so that she had only four or five of her crew left when she arrived in America.²

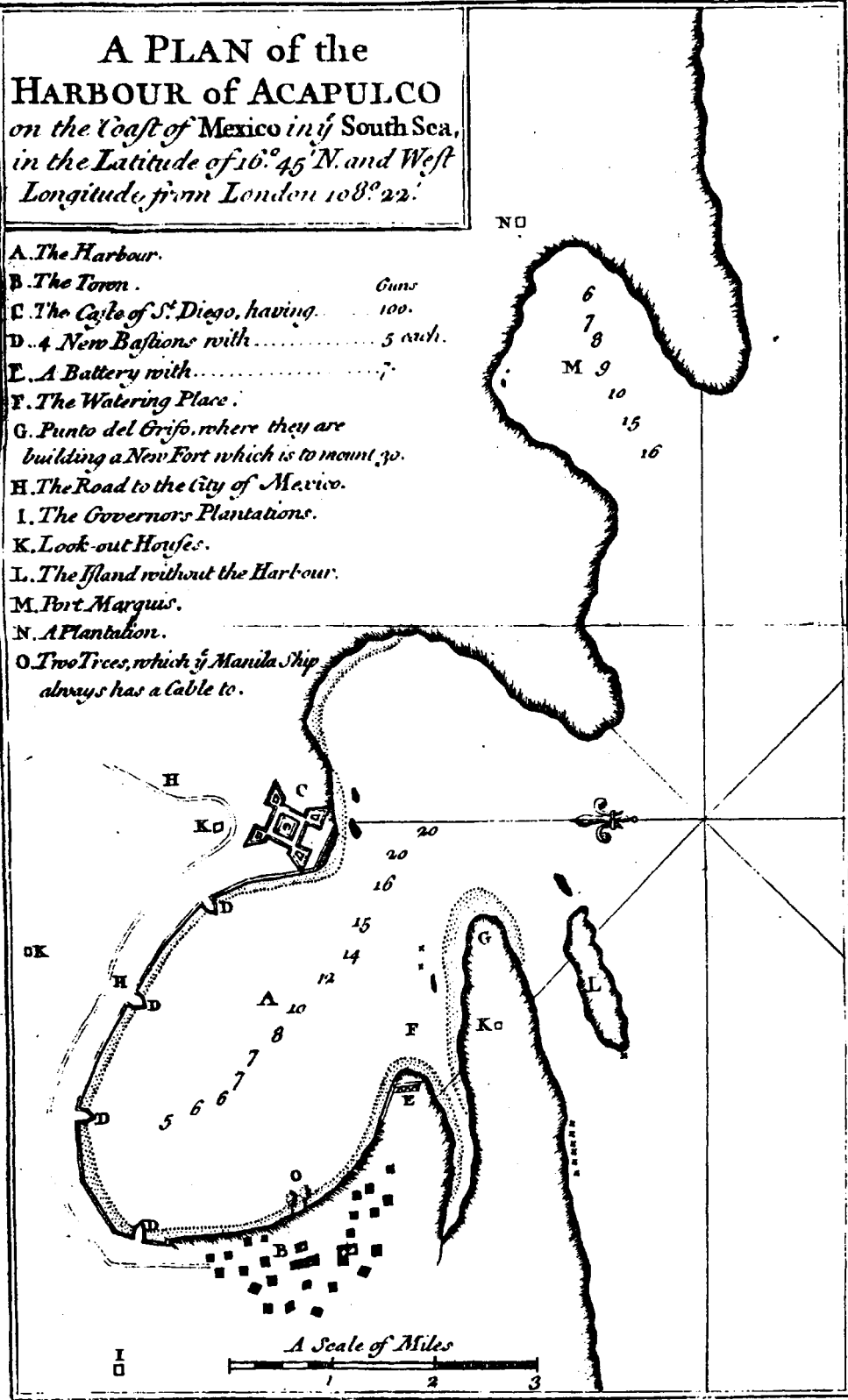
-
- 1 Ed. note: The author does not know what he is speaking about. The Spanish had experience of the higher latitudes and simply wanted to avoid freezing to death.
 - 2 Ed. note: Just hearsay information. There is no record of such a French ship, in 1721. However, this remark may refer to the eastward voyage of the Saint-Antoine, Captain Frondat, in 1709 (see chart in HM11:26).

However, I shall descant no longer on the probability of performing this voyage in a much shorter time, but shall content myself with reciting the actual occurrences of the present navigation. The Manila ship having stood so far to the northward as to meet with a westerly wind, stretches away nearly in the same latitude for the coast of California: And when she has run into the longitude of 96 degrees from Cape Espiritu Santo, she generally meets with a plant floating on the sea, which, being called *Porra* by the Spaniards, is, I presume, a species of sea-leek. On the sight of this plant they esteem themselves sufficiently near the Californian shore, and immediately stand to the southward; and they rely so much on this circumstance, that on the first discovery of the plant the whole ship's company chaunt a solemn *Te Deum*, esteeming the difficulties and hazards of their passage to be now at an end; and they constantly correct their longitude thereby, without ever coming within sight of land. After falling in with these SIGNS, as they denominate them, they steer to the southward, without endeavouring to fall in with the coast, till they have run into a lower latitude; for as there are many islands, and some shoals adjacent to California, the extreme caution of the Spanish Navigators makes them very apprehensive of being engaged with the land; however, when they draw near its southern extremity, they venture to hale in, both for the sake of making Cape St. Lucas to ascertain their reckoning, and also to receive intelligence from the Indian inhabitants, whether or no there are any enemies on the coast; and this last circumstance, which is a particular article in the Captain's instructions, makes it necessary to mention the late proceedings of the Jesuits amongst the Californian Indians.

...

The most usual time of the arrival of the galeon at Acapulco is towards the middle of January: But this navigation is so uncertain, that she sometimes gets in a month sooner, and at other times has been detained at sea above a month longer. The port of Acapulco is by much the securest and finest in all the northern parts of the Pacific Ocean, being, as it were, a bason surrounded by very high mountains: But the town is a most wretched place, and extremely unhealthy, for the air about it is so pent up by the hills, that it has scarcely any circulation. The place is besides destitute of fresh water, except what is brought from a considerable distance, and is in all respects so inconvenient, that except at the time of the mart, whilst the Manila galeon is in the port, it is almost deserted. To compensate in some measure for the shortness of this description, I have added in the third book, in the same plate with the bay of Manila abovementioned, a plan of this place and of its port and citadel, in which are likewise drawn the new works which were added on their first intelligence of the equipment of our squadron. As this plan was taken from the Spaniards, I cannot answer for its accuracy; but having seen two or three other Spanish draughts of the place, I conceive, by comparing them together, that this I have here inserted is not very distant from the truth.

When the galeon arrives in this port, she is generally moored on its western side to the two trees marked in the plan, and her cargoe is delivered with all possible expedition. And now the town of Acapulco, from almost a solitude, is immediately thronged with Merchants from all parts of the kingdom of Mexico. The cargoe being landed and



(Facing page:) **A plan of the harbour of Acapulco in 1743.** *This plan was taken from the galleon Covadonga by Commadore Anson.*

disposed of, the silver and the goods intended for Manila are taken on board, together with provisions and water, and the ship prepares to put to sea with the utmost expedition. There is indeed no time to be lost; for it is an express order to the captain to be out of the port of Acapulco on his return, before the first day of April, N.S.¹

And having mentioned the goods intended for Manila, I must observe, that the principal return is always made in silver, and consequently the rest of the cargoe is but of little account, the other articles, besides the silver, being some cochineal and a few sweetmeats, the produce of the American settlements, together with European millinery ware for the women at Manila, and some Spanish wines, such as tent [sic = port?] and sherry, which are intended for the use of their Priests in the administration of the Sacrament.

And this difference in the cargoe of the ship to and from Manila, occasions a very remarkable variety in the manner of equipping the ship for these two different voyages. For the galeon, when she sets sail from Manila, being deep laden with a variety of bulky goods, she has not the conveniency of mounting her lower tire [rather tier] of guns, but carries them in her hold, till she draws near Cape St. Lucas, and is apprehensive of an enemy. Her hands too are as few as is consistent with the safety of the ship, that she may be less pestered with the stowage of provisions. But on her return from Acapulco, as her cargoe lies in less room, her lower tire is (or ought to be) always mounted before she leaves the port, and her crew is augmented with a supply of sailors, and with one or two companies of foot [soldiers], which are intended to reinforce the garrison at Manila. And there being besides many Merchants who take their passage to Manila on board the galeon, her whole number of hands on her return is usually little short of six hundred, all which are easily provided for, by reason of the small stowage necessary for the silver.

The galeon being thus fitted for her return, the Captain, on leaving the port of Acapulco, steers for the latitude of 13° or 14°, and runs on that parallel, till he gets sight of the Island of Guam, one of the Ladrões. In this run the Captain is particularly directed to be careful of the shoals of St. Bartholomew, and of the Island of Gasparico.² He is also told in his instructions, that to prevent his passing the Ladrões in the dark, there are orders given that, through all the month of June, fires shall be lighted every night on the highest part of Guam and Rota, and kept in till the morning.

At Guam there is a small Spanish garrison, (as will be more particularly mentioned hereafter) purposely intended to secure that place for the refreshment of the galeon, and to yield her all the assistance in their power. However, the danger of the road at Guam is so great, that though the galeon is ordered to call there, yet she rarely stays above a day or two, but getting her water and refreshments on board as soon as possible,

1 Ed. note: N.S. means new-style, as in the Gregorian calendar.

2 Ed. note: They were one of the same island, Taongi Atoll in the Marshall Islands.

she steers away directly for Cape Espiritu Santo, on the Island of Samal. Here the Captain is again ordered to look out for signals; and he is told, that centinels will be posted not only on that Cape, but likewise in Catanduanes, Bulusan, Barriborongo, and on the Island of Bacan.¹ These centinels are instructed to make a fire when they discover the ship, which the Captain is carefully to observe: For if, after this first fire is extinguished, he perceives that four or more are lighted up again, he is then to conclude that there are enemies on the coast; and on this he is immediately to endeavour to speak with the centinel on shore, and to procure from him more particular intelligence of their force, and of the station they cruise in; pursuant to which, he is to regulate his conduct, and to endeavour to gain some secure port amongst those Islands, without coming in sight of the enemy; and in case he should be discovered when in port, and should be apprehensive of an attack, he is then to land his treasure, and to take some of his artillery on shore for its defence, not neglecting to send frequent and particular accounts to the city of Manila of all that passes. But if, after the first fire on shore, the Captain observes that two others only are made by the centinels, he is then to conclude, that there is nothing to fear: And he is to pursue his course without interruption, and to make the best of his way to the port of Cabite, which is the port to the city of Manila, and the constant station for all the ships employed in this commerce to Acapulco.

...

BOOK III. CHAP. I.

The run from the coast of Mexico to the Ladrones or Marian Islands.

When, on the 6th of May 1742, we left the coast of America, we stood to the S.W. with a view of meeting with the N.E. trade-wind, which the accounts of former writers made us expect at seventy or eighty leagues distance from the land: We had besides another reason for standing to the southward, which was the getting into the latitude of 13 or 14° North; that being the parallel where the Pacific Ocean is most usually crossed, and consequently where the navigation is esteemed the safest: This last purpose we had soon answered, being in a day or two sufficiently advanced to the South.

...

In all this run it was remarkable, that we were rarely many days together, without seeing great numbers of birds; which is a proof that there are many islands, or at least rocks, scattered all along, at no very considerable distance from our track. Some indeed there are marked in the Spanish chart, hereafter inserted; but the frequency of the

1 Ed. note: I have corrected these names, badly transcribed in the text, to reflect reality and those appearing on the copy of the chart of the Embocadero, except that Barriborongo is not shown as such on the chart, but it corresponds to Balicuatro, an islet, whose name is misplaced and badly printed there as Bexiguatro.

birds seem to evince, that there are many more than have been hitherto discovered: For the greatest part of the birds, we observed, were such as are known to roost on shore; and the manner of their appearance sufficiently made out, that they came from some distant haunt every morning, and returned thither again in the evening; for we never saw them early or late; and the hour of their arrival and departure gradually varied, which we supposed was occasioned by our running nearer their haunts, or getting farther from them.

The trade-wind continued to favour us without any fluctuation, from the end of June till towards the end of July. But on the 26th of July, being then, as we esteemed, about three hundred leagues distant from the Ladrões, we met with a westerly wind, which did not come about again to the eastward in four days time. This was a most dispiriting incident, as it at once damped all our hopes of speedy relief, especially too as it was attended with a vexatious accident to the **Gloucester**: For in one part of these four days the wind flatted to a calm, and the ships rolled very deep; by which means the **Gloucester's** forecap split, and her top-mast came by the board, and broke her fore-yard directly in the slings. As she was hereby rendered incapable of making any sail for some time, we were obliged, as soon as a gale sprung up, to take her in tow...

There was no possibility of preserving the **Gloucester** any longer, as her leaks were irreparable, and the united hands on board both ships, capable of working, would not be able to free her, even if our own ship should not employ any part of them. What then could be resolved on, when it was the utmost we ourselves could do to manage our own pumps? Indeed there was no room for deliberation; the only step to be taken was, the saving the lives of the few that remained on board the **Gloucester**, and getting out of her as much as was possible before she was destroyed...

It was the 15th of August, in the evening, before the **Gloucester** was cleared of every thing that was proposed to be removed; and though the hold was now almost full of water, yet, as the Carpenters were of opinion that she might still swim for some time, if the calm should continue, and the water become smooth, she was set on fire; for we knew not how near we might now be to the Island of Guam, which was in the possession of our enemies, and the wreck of such a ship would have been to them no contemptible acquisition. When she was set on fire, Captain Mitchel and his officers left her, and came on board the **Centurion**: And we immediately stood from the wreck, not without some apprehensions (as we had now only a light breeze) that if she blew up soon, the concussion of the air might damage our rigging; but she fortunately burnt, though very fiercely, the whole night, her guns firing successively, as the flames reached them. And it was six in the morning, when we were about four leagues distant, before she blew up; the report she made upon this occasion was but a small one, but there was an exceeding black pillar of smoke, which shot up into the air to a very considerable height.

Thus perished his Majesty's ship the **Gloucester**. And now it might have been expected, that being freed from the embarrassments which her frequent disasters had involved us in, we might proceed on our way much brisker than we had hitherto done,

especially as we had received some small addition to our strength, by the taking on board the **Gloucester**'s crew; but our anxieties were not yet to be relieved; for, notwithstanding all that we had hitherto suffered, there remained much greater distresses, which we were still to struggle with. For the late storm, which had proved so fatal to the **Gloucester**, had driven us to the northward of our intended course; and the current setting the same way, after the weather abated, had forced us still a degree or two farther, so that we were now in $17^{\circ} \frac{1}{4}$ of North latitude, instead of being in $13^{\circ} \frac{1}{2}$, which was the parallel we proposed to keep, in order to reach the Island of Guam: And as it had been a perfect calm for some days since the cessation of the storm, and we were ignorant how near we were to the meridian of the Ladrões, and supposed ourselves not to be far from it, we apprehended that we might be driven to the leeward of them by the current, without discovering them: In this case, the only land we could make would be some of the eastern parts of Asia, where, if we could arrive, we should find the western monsoon in its full force, so that it would be impossible for the stoutest best manned ship to get in. And this coast being removed between four and five hundred leagues farther, we, in our languishing circumstances, could expect no other than to be destroyed by the scurvy, long before the most favourable gale could carry us to such a distance: For our deaths were now extremely alarming, no day passing in which we did not bury eight or ten, and sometimes twelve of our men; and those, who had hitherto continued healthy, began to fall down apace. Indeed we made the best use we could of the present calm, by employing our Carpenters in searching after the leak, which was now considerable notwithstanding the little wind we had: The Carpenters at length discovered it to be in the Gunner's fore store-room, where the water rushed in under the breast-hook, on each side of the stem; but though they found where it was, they agreed that it was impossible to stop it, till we should get into port, and till they could come at it on the outside: However, they did the best they could within board, and were fortunate enough to reduce it, which was a considerable relief to us.

We had hitherto considered the calm which succeeded the storm, and which continued for some days, as a very great misfortune; since the currents were driving us to the northward of our parallel, and we thereby risked the missing of the Ladrões, which we now conceived ourselves to be very near. But when a gale sprung up, our condition was still worse; for it blew from the S.W, and consequently was directly opposed to the course we wanted to steer: And though it soon veered to the N.E, yet this served only to tantalize us, for it returned back again in a very short time to its old quarter. However, on the 22d of August we had the satisfaction to find that the current was shifted; and had set us to the southward: And the 23d, at day-break, we were cheered with the discovery of **two Islands** in the western board: This gave us all great joy, and raised our drooping spirits; for before this an universal dejection had seized us, and we almost despaired of every [rather ever] seeing land again: The nearest of these Islands we afterwards found to be Anatacan [rather **Anatajan**]; we judged it to be full fifteen leagues from us, and it seemed to be high land, though of an indifferent length: The other was the Island of Serigan [rather **Sarigan**]; and had rather the appearance of a high rock,

than a place we could hope to anchor at. The view of these Islands is inserted at the top of the annexed plan.



Anatahan I. W by S 13 leagues.

Sarigan I. W by N 13 leagues.

We were extremely impatient to get in with the nearest Island, where we expected to meet with anchoring ground, and an opportunity of refreshing our sick: But the wind proved so variable all day, and there was so little of it, that we advanced towards it but slowly; however, by the next morning we were got so far to the westward [rather southward], that we were in view of a third Island which was that of **Paxaros**, through marked in the chart only as a rock.¹ This was small and very low land, and we had passed within less than a mile of it, in the night, without seeing it: And now at noon, being within four miles of the Island of Anatacan, the boat was sent away to examine the anchoring ground and the produce of the place; and we were not a little solicitous for her return, as we then conceived our fate to depend upon the report we should receive: For the other two Islands were obviously enough incapable of furnishing us with any assistance, and we knew not then that there were any others which we could reach. In the evening the boat came back, and the crew informed us that there was no place for a ship to anchor, the bottom being every where foul ground, and all except one small spot, not less than fifty fathom in depth; that on that spot there was thirty fathom, though not above half a mile from the shore; and that the bank was steep to, and could not be depended on: They farther told us, that they had landed on the Island, but with some difficulty on account of the greatness of the swell; that they found the ground was every where covered with a kind of wild cane, or rush; but that they met with no water, and did not believe the place to be inhabited; though the soil was good, and abounded with groves of coco-nut-trees.

This account of the impossibility of anchoring at this Island occasioned a general melancholy on board; for we considered it as little less than the prelude to our destruction; and our despondency was increased by a disappointment we met with the succeeding night; for, as we were plying under top-sails, with an intention of getting nearer to the Island, and of sending our boat on shore to load with coconuts for the refreshment of our sick, the wind proved squally, and blew so strong off shore, that we were driven so far to the southward, that we dared not to send off our boat. And now the only

¹ Ed. note: That was the bird rock later named Farallon de Medinilla.

possible circumstance, that could secure the few which remained alive from perishing, was the accidental falling in with some other of the Ladrone Islands, better prepared for our accommodation; and as our knowledge of these Islands was extremely imperfect, we were to trust entirely to chance for our guidance; only as they are all of them usually laid down near the same meridian, and we had conceived those we had already seen to be part of them, we concluded to stand to the southward, as the most probable means of falling in with the next. Thus, with the most gloomy persuasion of our approaching destruction, we stood from the Island of Anatacan, having all of us the strongest apprehensions (and those not ill founded) either of dying of the scurvy, or of perishing with the ship, which, for want of hands to work her pumps, might in a short time be expected to founder.

CHAP. II.

Our arrival at Tinian, and an account of the Islands, and of our proceedings there, till the Centurion drove out to sea.

It was the 26th of August 1742, in the morning, when we lost sight of Anatacan. The next morning we discovered **three other Islands** to the eastward, which were from ten to fourteen leagues from us. These were, as we afterwards learnt, the Islands of **Sayan, Tinian, and Aguigan**. We immediately steered towards Tinian, which was the middlemost of the three, but had so much of calms and light airs, that tho' we were helped forwards by the currents, yet next day, at day-break, we were at least five leagues distant from it. However, we kept on our course, and about ten in the morning we perceived a proa under sail to the southward, between Tinian and Aguigan. As we imagined from hence that these Islands were inhabited, and knew that the Spaniards had always a force at Guam, we took the necessary precautions for our own security, and for preventing the enemy from taking advantage of our present wretched circumstances, of which they would be sufficiently informed by the manner of our working the ship; we therefore mustered all our hands, who were capable of standing to their arms, and loaded our upper and quarter-deck guns with grapeshot; and that we might the more readily procure some intelligence of the state of these Islands, we showed Spanish colours, and hoisted a red flag at the fore top-mast-head, to give our ship the appearance of the Manila galeon, hoping thereby to decoy some of the inhabitants on board us. Thus preparing ourselves, and standing towards the land, we were near enough, at three in the afternoon, to send the Cutter in shore,¹ to find out a proper birth for the ship; and we soon perceived that a proa came off the shore to meet the Cutter, fully persuaded, as we afterwards found, that we were the Manila ship. As we saw the Cutter returning back with the proa in tow, we immediately sent the Pinnace to receive the proa and the prisoners, and to bring them on board, that the Cutter might proceed on her errand. The Pinnace came back with a Spaniard and four Indians, which were the people taken in the proa. The Spaniard was immediately examined as to the produce and circumstances of this Island of Tinian, and his account of it surpassed even our most sanguine hopes; for he informed us that it was uninhabited, which, in our present defenceless condition, was an advantage not to be despised, especially as it wanted but few of the conveniencies that could be expected in the most cultivated country; for he assured us, that there was great plenty of very good water, and that there were an incredible number of cattle, hogs, and poultry running wild on the Island, all of them excellent in their kind; that the woods produced sweet and sour oranges, limes, lemons and coco-nuts in great plenty, besides a fruit peculiar to these Islands (called by

1 Ed. note: The cutter belonging to the Centurion is described earlier in this book as being an open boat about 22 feet in length.

Dampier, Bread-fruit); that from the quantity and goodness of the provisions produced here, the Spaniards at Guam made use of it as a store for supplying the garrison; that he himself was a Serjeant of that garrison, and was sent here with twenty-two Indians to jerk beef, which he was to load for Guam on board a small bark of about fifteen tun, which lay at anchor near the shore.

This account was received by us with inexpressible joy: Part of it we were ourselves able to verify on the spot, as we were by this time near enough to discover several numerous herds of cattle feeding in different places of the Island; and we did not any ways doubt the rest of his relation, as the appearance of the shore prejudiced us greatly in its favour, and made us hope, that not only our necessities might be there fully relieved, and our diseased recovered, but that, amidst those pleasing scenes which were then in view, we might procure ourselves some amusement and relaxation, after the numerous fatigues we had undergone: For the prospect of the country did by no means resemble that of an uninhabited and uncultivated place, but had much more the air of a magnificent plantation, where large lawns and stately woods had been laid out together with great skill, and where the whole had been so artfully combined, and so judiciously adapted to the slopes of the hills, and the inequalities of the ground, as to produce a most striking effect, and to do honour to the invention of the contriver. Thus, (an event not unlike what we had already seen) we were forced upon the most desirable and salutary measures by accidents, which at first sight we considered as the greatest of misfortunes; for had we not been driven by the contrary winds and currents to the northward of our course, (a circumstance, which at that time gave us the most terrible apprehensions) we should, in all probability, never have arrived at this delightful Island, and consequently we should have missed of that place, where alone all our wants could be most amply relieved, our sick recovered, and our enfeebled crew once more refreshed, and enabled to put again to sea.

The Spanish Serjeant, from whom we received the account of the Island, having informed us that there were some Indians on shore under his command, employed in jerking beef, and that there was a bark at anchor to take it on board, we were desirous, if possible, to prevent the Indians from escaping, who doubtless would have given the Governor of Guam intelligence of our arrival; and we therefore immediately dispatched the Pinnace to secure the bark, which the Serjeant was the only embarkation on the place; and then, about eight in the evening, we let go our anchor in twenty-two fathom; and though it was almost calm, and whatever vigour and spirit was to be ofund on board was doubtless exerted to the utmost on this pleasing occasion, when, after having kept the sea for some months, we were going to take possession of this little paradise, yet we were full five hours in furling our sails: It is true, we were somewhat weakened by the crews of the Cutter and Pinnace which were sent on shore; but it is not less true, that, including those absent with the boats and some Negroe and Indian prisoners, all the hands we could muster capable of standing at a gun amounted to no more than seventy-one, most of which number too were incapable of duty; but on the greatest emergencies this was all the force we could collect, in our present enfeebled

condition, from the united crews of the **Centurion**, the **Gloucester**, and the **Tryal**, which, when we departed from England, consisted all together of near a thousand hands.

When we had furled our sails, the remaining part of the night was allowed to our people for their repose, to recover them from the fatigue they had undergone; and in the morning a party was sent on shore well armed, of which I myself was one, to make ourselves masters of the landing place, as we were not certain what opposition might be made by the Indians on the Island: We landed without difficulty, for the Indians having perceived, by our seizure of the bark the night before, that we were enemies, they immediately fled into the woody parts of the Island. We found on shore many huts which they had inhabited, and which saved us both the time and trouble of erecting tents; one of these huts which the Indians made use of for a store-house was very large, being twenty yards long, and fifteen broad; this we immediately cleared of some bales of jerked beef, which we found in it, and converted it into an hospital for our sick, who as soon as the place was ready to receive them were brought on shore, being in all a hundred and twenty-eight: Numbers of these were so very helpless, that we were obliged to carry them from the boats to the hospital upon our shoulders, in which humane employment (as before at Juan Fernandes) the Commodore himself, and every one of his officers, were engaged without distinction; and, notwithstanding the great debility and the dying aspects of the greatest part of our sick, it is almost incredible how soon they began to feel the salutary influence of the land; for, though we buried twenty-one men on this and the preceding day, yet we did not lose above ten more during our whole two months stay here; and in general, our diseased received so much benefit from the fruits of the Island, particularly the fruits of the acid kind, that, in a week's time, there were but few who were not so far recovered, as to be able to move about without help.

And now being in some sort established at this place, we were enabled more particularly to examine its qualities and productions; and that the reader may the better judge of our manner of life here, and future Navigators be better apprized of the conveniences we met with, I shall, before I proceed any farther in the history of our own adventures, throw together the most interesting particulars that came to our knowledge, in relation to the situation, soil, produce, and conveniencies of this Island of Tinian.

This Island lies in the latitude of 15°:8' North, and longitude from Acapulco 114°:50' West. Its length is about twelve miles, and its breadth about half as much; it extending from the S.S.W. to N.N.E. The soil is every where dry and healthy, and somewhat sandy, which being less disposed than other soils to a rank and over luxuriant vegetation, occasions the meadows and the bottoms of the woods to be much neater and smoother than is customary in hot climates. The land rises by easy slopes, from the very beach where we watered to the middle of the Island; tho' the general course of its ascent is often interrupted and traversed by gentle descents and vallies; and the inequalities, that are formed by the different combinations of these gradual swellings of the ground, are most beautifully diversified with large lawns, which are covered with a very

fine trefoil, intermixed with a variety of flowers, and are skirted by woods of tall and well-spread trees, most of them celebrated either for their aspect or their fruit. The turf of the lawns is quite clean and even, and the bottoms of the woods in many places clear of all bushes and underwoods; and the woods themselves usually terminate on the lawns with a regular outline, not broken, nor confused with straggling trees, but appearing as uniform, as if laid out by art. Hence arose a great variety of the most elegant and entertaining prospects, formed by the mixture of these woods and lawns, and their various intersections with each other, as they spread themselves differently through the vallies, and over the slopes and declivities with which the place abounds. The fortunate animals too, which for the greatest part of the year are the sole lords of this happy soil, partake in some measure of the romantic cast of the Island, and are no small addition to its wonderful scenery: For the cattle, of which it is not uncommon to see herds of some thousands feeding together in a large meadow, are certainly the most remarkable in the world; for they are all of them milk-white, except their ears, which are generally black. And though there are no inhabitants here, yet the clamour and frequent parading of domestic poultry, which range the woods in great numbers, perpetually excite the ideas of the neighbourhood of farms and villages, and greatly contribute to the cheerfulness and beauty of the place. The cattle on the Island we computed were at least ten thousand; and we had no difficulty in getting near them, as they were not shy of us. Our first method of killing them was shooting them; but at last, when, by accidents to be hereafter recited, we were obliged to husband our ammunition, our men ran them down with ease. Their flesh was extremely well tasted, and was believed by us to be much more easily digested, than any we had ever met with. The fowls too were exceeding good, and were likewise run down with little trouble; for they could scarce fly further than an hundred yards at a flight, and even that fatigued them so much, that they could not readily rise again; so that, aided by the openness of the woods, we could at all times furnish ourselves with whatever number we wanted. Besides the cattle and the poultry, we found here abundance of wild hogs: These were most excellent food; but as they were a very fierce animal, we were obliged either to shoot them, or to hunt them with large dogs, which we found upon the place at our landing, and which belonged to the detachment which was then upon the Island amassing provisions for the garrison of Guam. As these dogs had been purposely trained to the killing of the wild hogs, they followed us very readily, and hunted for us; but though they were a large bold breed, the hogs fought with so much fury, that they frequently destroyed them, so that we by degrees lost the greatest part of them.

But this place was not only extremely grateful to us from the plenty and excellency of its fresh provisions, but was as much perhaps to be admired for its fruits and vegetable productions, which were most fortunately adapted to the cure of the sea scurvy, which had so terribly reduced us. For in the woods there were inconceivable quantities of coco-nuts, with the cabbages growing on the same tree: There were besides guavaes, limes, sweet and sour oranges, and a kind of fruit, peculiar to these Islands, called by the Indians *Rima*, but by us the Bread-Fruit, for it was constantly eaten by us during

our stay upon the Island instead of bread, and so universally preferred to it, that no ship's bread was expended during that whole interval. It grew upon a tree which is somewhat lofty, and which, towards the top, divides into large and spreading branches. The leaves of this tree are of a remarkable deep green, are notched about the edges, and are generally from a foot to eighteen inches in length. The fruit itself grows indifferently on all parts of the branches; it is in shape rather elliptical than round, is covered with a rough rind, and is usually seven or eight inches long; each of them grows singly and not in clusters. This fruit is fittest to be used, when it is full grown, but is still green; in which state, its taste has some distant resemblance to that of an artichoke bottom, and its texture is not very different, for it is soft and spongy. As it ripens it grows softer and of a yellow colour, and then contracts a luscious taste, and an agreeable smell, not unlike a ripe peach; but then it is esteemed unwholesome, and is said to produce fluxes.

In the annexed view of the watering place, there is drawn one of the trees bearing this fruit... Besides the fruits already enumerated, there were many other vegetables extremely conducive to the cure of the malady we had long laboured under, such as water-melons, dandelion, creeping purslain, mint, scurvy-grass, and sorrel; all which, together with the fresh meats of the place, we devoured with great eagerness, prompted thereto by the strong inclination, which nature never fails of exciting in scorbutic disorders for these powerful specifics.

(Overleaf:) **Latte stones seen by the Anson expedition at Tinian in 1742.** *This drawing is not from Anson's Voyage but is a derivative by Rev. R.A.B. The original sketch of the watering place, drawn by Lieut. Brett is reproduced on the front end-paper of this volume.*

It will easily be conceived from what hath been already said, that our cheer upon this Island was in some degree luxurious, but I have not yet recited all the varieties of provision which we here indulged in. Indeed we thought it prudent totally to abstain from fish, the few we caught at our first arrival having surfeited those who eat of them; but considering how much we had been inured to that species of food, we did not regard this circumstance as a disadvantage, especially as the defect was so amply supplied by the beef, pork and fowls already mentioned, and by great plenty of wild fowl; for I must observe, that near the center of the Island there were two considerable pieces of fresh water, which abounded with duck, teal and curlew: Not to mention the whistling plover, which we found there in prodigious plenty. And now perhaps it may be wondered at, that an Island, so exquisitely furnished with the conveniencies of life, and so well adapted, not only to the subsistence, but likewise to the enjoyment of mankind, should be entirely destitute of inhabitants, especially as it is in the neighbourhood of other Islands, which in some measure depend upon this for their support. To obviate this difficulty, I must observe, that it is not fifty years since the Island was depopulated.¹ The

1 Ed. note: This happened in 1698, i.e. 44 years previously.



Indians we had in our custody assured us, that formerly the three Islands of Tinian, Rota and Guam, were all full of inhabitants; and that Tinian alone contained thirty thousand souls:¹ But a sickness raging amongst these Islands, which destroyed multitudes of the people, the Spaniards, to recruit their numbers at Guam, which were greatly diminished by this mortality, ordered all the inhabitants of Tinian thither; where, languishing for their former habitations, and their customary method of life, the greatest part of them in a few years died of grief. Indeed, independent of that attachment which all mankind have ever shown to the places of their birth and bringing up, it should seem, from what has been already said, that there were few countries more worthy to be regretted than this of Tinian.

These poor Indians might reasonably have expected, at the great distance from Spain, where they were placed, to have escaped the violence and cruelty of that haughty Nation, so fatal to a large proportion of the whole human race: But it seems their remote situation could not protect them from sharing in the common destruction of the western world, all the advantage they received from their distance being only to perish an age or two later.² It may perhaps be doubted, if the number of the inhabitants of Tinian, who were banished to Guam, and who died there pining for their native home, was so great, as what we have related above; but, not to mention the concurrent assertion of our prisoners, and the comodiousness of the Island, and its great fertility, there are still remains to be met with on the place, which evince it to have been once extremely populous: For there are, in all parts of the island, a great number of ruins of a very particular kind; they usually consist of two rows of square pyramidal pillars, each pillar being about six feet from the next, and the distance between the rows being about twelve feet; the pillars themselves are about five feet square at the base, and about thirteen feet high; and on the top of each of them there is a semi-globe, with the flat part upwards; the whole of the pillars and semi-globe is solid, being composed of sand and stone cemented together, and plaistered over. This odd fabrick will be better understood, by inspecting the view of the watering place inserted above, where an assemblage of these pillars is drawn... If the account our prisoners gave us of these structures was true, the Island must indeed have been extremely populous; for they assured us, that they were the foundations of particular buildings set apart for those Indians only, who had engaged in some religious vow; and monastic institutions are often to be met with in many Pagan nations.³ However, if these ruins were originally the basis of the

1 Ed. note: We now know that this figure was highly exaggerated.

2 Ed. note: Imagine if the informants of Rev. Walter had told him that the true reason for the depopulation of Tinian had been the price they paid to get peace after their rebellion against Captain Quiroga, he would have launched into a tirade against Catholic Spaniards, as he did when he accused the Viceroy of New Spain of being a bigot, simply because he was a strong supporter of Jesuit missions.

3 Ed. note: Without an interpreter to make this clear, the author probably misunderstood this explanation as well; he might have been told that these pillars had supported the houses of special people among them, either the *macana*, the practitioners of the native religion, or else the *urrítao*, the unmarried young men.

common dwelling-houses of the natives, their numbers must have been considerable; for in many parts of the Island they are extremely thick planted, and sufficiently evince the great plenty of former inhabitants. But to return to the present state of the Island.

Having mentioned the conveniencies of this place, the excellency and quantity of its fruits and provisions, the neatness of its lawns, the stateliness, freshness and fragrance of its woods, the happy inequality of its surface, and the variety and elegance of the views it afforded, I must now observe that all these advantages were greatly enhanced by the healthiness of its climate, by the almost constant breezes which prevail there, and by the frequent showers which fall, and which, though of a very short and almost momentary duration, are extremely grateful and refreshing, and are perhaps one cause of the salubrity of the air, and of the extraordinary influence it was observed to have upon us, in increasing and invigorating our appetites and digestion. This was so remarkable, that those amongst our officers, who were at all other times spare and temperate eaters, who, besides a slight breakfast, made but one moderate repast a day, were here, in appearance, transformed into gluttons; for instead of one reasonable flesh-meal, they were now scarcely satisfied with three, and each of them so prodigious in quantity, as would at another time have produced a fever or a surfeit: And yet our digestion so well corresponded with the keenness of our appetites, that we were neither disordered nor even loaded by this repletion; for after having, according to the custom of the Island, made a large beef breakfast, it was not long before we began to consider the approach of dinner as a very desirable, though somewhat tardy incident.

And now having been thus large in my encomiums on this Island, in which however, I conceive, I have not done it justice, it is necessary I should speak of those circumstances in which it is defective, whether in point of beauty or utility.

And first, with respect to its water. I must own, that before I had seen this spot, I did not conceive that the absence of running water, of which it is entirely destitute, could have been so well replaced by any other means, as it is in this Island; for though there are no streams, yet the water of the wells and springs, which are to be met with every where near the surface, is extremely good; and in the midst of the Island there are two or three pieces of excellent water, whose edges are as neat and even, as if they had been basons purposely made for the decoration of the place. It must however be confessed, that with regard to the beauty of the prospects, the want of rills and streams is a very great defect, not to be compensated either by large pieces of standing water, or by the neighbourhood of the sea, though that, by reason of the smallness of the Island, generally makes a part of every extensive view.

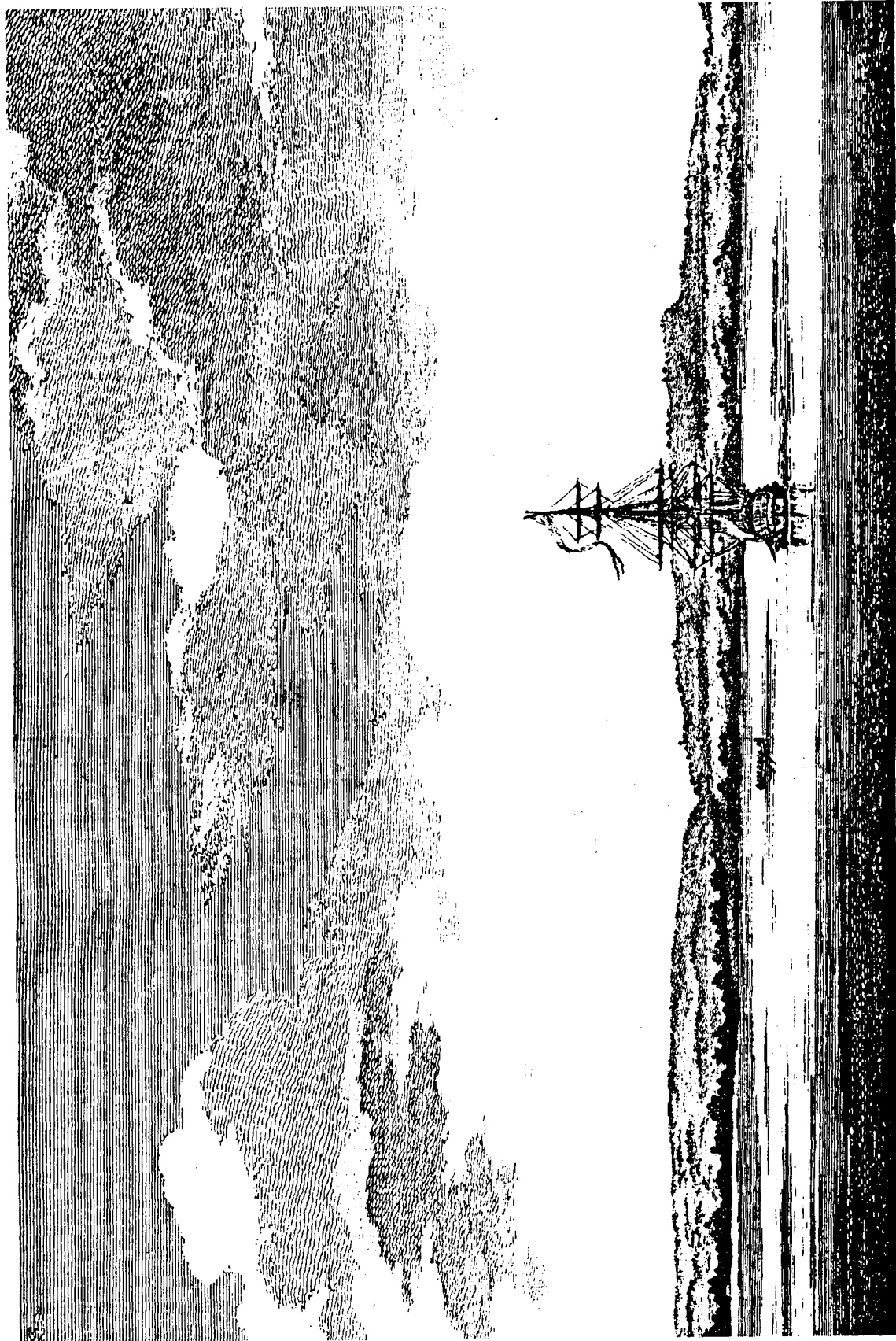
As to the residence upon the Island, the principal inconvenience attending it is the vast numbers of muscatos [sic = mosquitos], and various other species of flies, together with an insect called a tick, which, though principally attached to the cattle, would yet frequently fasten upon our limbs and bodies, and if not perceived and removed in time, would bury its head under the skin, and raise a painful inflammation. We found here too centipedes and scorpions, which we supposed were venomous, but none of us ever received any injury from them.

But the most important and formidable exception to this place remains still to be told. This is the inconvenience of the road, and the little security there is at some seasons for a ship at anchor. The only proper anchoring place for ships of burthen is at the S.W. end of the Island. As a direction for readily finding it, there is annexed a very accurate view of the S.W. side of the Island, where (a) is the peak of Saypan, seen over the northern part of Tinian, and bearing N.N.E. 1/2 E. And (b) is the anchoring place, distant eight miles from the observer [not reproduced here]. And as an additional assistance, there is also added a near view of the anchoring place itself, which represents it so exactly, that none hereafter can possibly mistake it.

In this place the **Centurion** anchored in twenty and twenty-two fathom water, opposite to a sandy bay, and about a mile and an half distant from the shore. The bottom of this road is full of sharp-pointed coral rocks, which, during four months of the year, that is, from the middle of June to the middle of October, renders it a very unsafe place to lie at. This is the season of the western monsoons, when near the full and change of the moon, but more particularly at the change, the wind is usually variable all round the compass, and seldom fails to blow with such fury, that the stoutest cables are not to be confided in; what adds to the danger at these times, is the excessive rapidity of the tide of flood which sets to the S.E. between this Island and that of Aguiguan, a small Island near the southern extremity of Tinian, which is represented in the general chart, hereafter inserted, only as a dot. This tide runs at first with a vast head and overfall of water, and occasions such a hollow and overgrown sea, as is scarcely to be conceived; so that (as will be hereafter more particularly mentioned) we were under the dreadful apprehension of being pooped by it, though we were in a sixty-gun ship. In the remaining eight months of the year, that is, from the middle of October to the middle of June, there is a constant season of settled weather, when, if the cables are but well armed, there is scarcely any danger of their being so much as rubbed: So that during all that interval, it is as secure a road as could be wished for. I shall only add, that the anchoring bank is very shelving, and stretches along the S.W. end of the Island, and that it is entirely free from shoals, except a reef of rocks which is visible, and lies about half a mile from the shore, and affords a narrow passage into a small sandy bay, which is the only place where boats can possibly land. After this account of the Island, and its produce, it is necessary to return to our own history.

Our first undertaking, after our arrival, was the removal of our sick on shore, as hath been mentioned. Whilst we were thus employed, four of the Indians on shore, being part of the Spanish Serjeant's detachment, came and surrendered themselves to us, so that with those we took in the proa, we had now eight of them in our custody. One of the four who submitted undertook to show us the most convenient place for killing cattle, and two of our men were ordered to attend him on that service; but one of them

(Overleaf:) **A view of the anchoring place at Tinian with Centurion at anchor.** (*Part of a plate from Anson's Voyage, drawn by Lieut. Brett*).



unwarily trusting the Indian with his firelock and pistol, the Indian escaped with them into the woods: His countrymen, who remained behind, were apprehensive of suffering for this perfidy of their comrade, and therefore begged leave to send one of their own party into the country, who they engaged should both bring back the arms, and persuade the whole detachment from Guam to submit to us. The Commodore granted their request; and one of them was dispatched on this errand, who returned next day, and brought back the firelock and pistol, but assured us, he had met with them in a path way in the wood, and protested that he had not been able to meet with any one of his countrymen: This report had so little the air of truth, that we suspected there was some treachery carrying on, and therefore to prevent any future communication amongst them, we immediately ordered all the Indians who were in our power on board the ship, and did not permit them to return any more on shore.

When our sick were well settled on the Island, we employed all the hands that could be spared from attending them, in arming the cables with a good rounding, several fathom from the anchor, to secure them from being rubbed by the coral rocks, which here abounded: And this being completed, our next attention was our leak, and in order to raise it out of water, we, on the first of September, began to get the guns aft to bring the ship by the stern; and now the Carpenters, being able to come at it on the outside, ripped off the old sheathing that was left, and caulked all the seams on both sides of the cut-water, and leaded them over, and then new sheathed the bows to the surface of the water: By this means we conceived the defect was sufficiently secured; but upon our beginning to bring the guns into their places, we had the mortification to perceive, that the water rushed into the ship in the old place, with as much violence as ever: Hereupon we were necessitated to begin again; and that our second attempt might be more effectual, we cleared the fore store-room, and sent a hundred and thirty barrels of powder on board the small Spanish bark we had seized here, by which means we raised the ship about three feet out of the water forwards, and the Carpenters ripped off the sheathing lower down, and new caulked all the seams, and afterwards laid on new sheathing; and then, supposing the leak to be effectually stopped, we began to move the guns forwards; but the upper deck guns were scarcely in their places, when, to our amazement, it burst out again; and now, as we durst not cut away the lining within board, lest a butt-end or a plank might start, and we might go down immediately, we had no other resource left than chincing and caulking within board; and indeed by this means the leak was stopped for some time; but when our guns were all in their places, and our stores were taken on board, the water again forced its way through a hole in the stem, where one of the bolts was driven in; and on this we desisted from all farther efforts, being now well assured, that the defect was in the stem itself, and that it was not to be remedied till we should have an opportunity of heaving down.

Towards the middle of September, several of our sick were tolerably recovered by their residence on shore; and, on the 12th of September, all those who were so far relieved, since their arrival, as to be capable of doing duty, were sent on board the ship: And then the Commodore, who was himself ill of the scurvy, had a tent erected for him

on shore, where he went with the view of staying a few days for the recovery of his health, being convinced by the general experience of his people, that no other method but living on the land was to be trusted to for the removal of this dreadful malady. The place, where his tent was pitched on this occasion, was near the well, whence we got all our water, and was indeed a most elegant spot. A view of it hath been already inserted under the title of the watering place, where (b) is the Commodore's tent, and (d) the well where we watered. [See Endpapers]

As the crew on board were now reinforced by the recovered hands returned from the Island, we began to send our cask on shore to be filled up, which till now could not be done, for the Coopers were not well enough to work. We likewise weighed our anchors, that we might examine our cables, which we suspected had by this time received considerable damage. And as the new moon was now approaching, when we apprehended violent gales, the Commodore, for our greater security, ordered that part of the cables next to the anchors to be armed with the chains of the fire-grapnels; and they were besides cackled twenty fathom from the anchors, and seven fathom from the service, with a good rounding of a 4-1/2 inch hawser; and to all these precautions we added that of lowering the main and fore-yard close down, that in case of blowing weather the wind might have less power upon the ship, to make her ride a strain.

Thus effectually prepared, as we conceived, we expected the new moon, which was the 18th of September, and riding safe that and the three succeeding days, (though the weather proved very squally and uncertain) we flattered ourselves (for I was then on board) that the prudence of our measures had secured us from all accidents; but, on the 22d, the wind blew from the eastward with such fury, that we soon despaired of riding out the storm; and therefore we should have been extremely glad that the Commodore and the rest of our people on shore, which were the greatest part of our hands, had been on board with us, since our only hopes of safety seemed to depend on our putting immediately to sea; but all communication with the shore was now effectually cut off, for there was no possibility that a boat could live, so that we were necessitated to ride it out, till our cables parted. Indeed it was not long before this happened, for the small bower parted a five in the afternoon, and the ship swung off to the best bower; and as the night came on, the violence of the wind still increased; but notwithstanding its inexpressible fury, the tide ran with so much rapidity, as to prevail over it; for the tide having set to the northward in the beginning of the storm, turned suddenly to the southward about six in the evening, and forced the ship before it in despite of the storm, which blew upon the beam: And now the sea broke most surprizingly all round us, and a large tumbling swell threatened to poop us; the long boat, which was at this time moored a-stern, was on a sudden canted so high, that it broke the transom of the Commodore's gallery, whose cabin was on the quarter-deck, and would doubtless have risen as high as the taff-rail, had it not been for this stroke which stove the boat all to pieces; but the poor boat-keeper, though extremely bruised, was saved almost by miracle. About eight, the tide slackened, but the wind did not abate; so that at eleven, the best bower cable, by which alone we rode, parted. Our sheet anchor, which was the only one

we had left, was instantly cut from the bow; but before it could reach the bottom, we were driven from twenty-two into thirty-five fathom; and after we had veered away one whole cable, and two thirds of another, we could not find ground with sixty fathom of line: This was a plain indication, that the anchor lay near the edge of the bank, and could not hold us long. In this pressing danger, Mr. Saumarez, our first Lieutenant, who now commanded on board, ordered several guns to be fired, and lights to be shown, as a signal to the Commodore of our distress; and in a short time after, it being then about one o'clock, and the night excessively dark, a strong gust, attended with rain and lightning, drove us off the bank, and forced us out to sea, leaving behind us, on the Island, Mr. Anson, with many more of our officers, and great part of our crew. amounting in the whole to an hundred and thirteen persons. Thus were we all, both at sea and on shore, reduced to the utmost despair by this catastrophe, those on shore conceiving they had no means left them ever to leave the Island, and we on board utterly unprepared to struggle with the fury of the seas and winds, we were now exposed to, and expecting each moment to be our last.

CHAP. III.

Transactions at Tinian after the departure of the *Centurion*.

The storm, which drove the *Centurion* to sea, blew with too much turbulence to permit either the Commodore or any of the people on shore from hearing the guns, which she fired as signals of distress; and the frequent glare of the lightning had prevented the explosions from being observed: So that, when at day-break, it was perceived from the shore that the ship was missing, there was the utmost consternation amongst them: For much the greatest part of them immediately concluded that she was lost, and intreated the Commodore that the boat might be sent round the Island to look for the wreck; and those who believed her safe, had scarcely any expectation that she would ever be able to make the Island again: For the wind continued to blow strong at East, and they knew how poorly she was manned and provided for struggling with so tempestuous a gale. And if the *Centurion* was lost, or should be incapable of returning, there appeared in either case no possibility of their ever getting off the Island: For they were at least six hundred leagues from Macao, which was their nearest port; and they were masters of no other vessel than the small Spanish bark, of about fifteen tun, which they seized at their first arrival, and which would not even hold a fourth part of their number: And the chance of their being taken off the Island by the casual arrival of any other ship was altogether desperate; as perhaps no European ship had ever anchored here before, and it were madness to expect that like incidents should send another here in an hundred ages to come: So that their desponding thoughts could only suggest to them the melancholy prospect of spending the remainder of their days on this Island, and bidding adieu for ever to their country, their friends, their families, and all their domestic endearments.

Nor was this the worst they had to fear: For they had reason to expect, that the Governor of Guam, when he should be informed of their situation, might send a force sufficient to overpower them, and to remove them to that Island; and then, the most favourable treatment they could hope for would be to be detained prisoners for life; since, from the known policy and cruelty of the Spaniards in their distant settlements, it was rather to be expected, that the Governor, if he once had them in his power, would make their want of commissions (all of them being on board the **Centurion**) a pretext for treating them as pirates, and for depriving them of their lives with infamy.

In the midst of these gloomy reflections, Mr. Anson had doubtless his share of disquietude; but he always kept up his usual composure and steadiness: And having soon projected a scheme for extricating himself and his men from their present anxious situation, he first communicated it to some of the most intelligent persons about him; and having satisfied himself that it was practicable, he then endeavoured to animate his people to a speedy and vigorous prosecution of it. With this view he represented to them, how little foundation there was for their apprehensions of the **Centurion's** being lost: That he should have hoped, they had been all of them better acquainted with sea-affairs, than to give way to the impression of so chimerical a fright; and that he doubted not, but if they would seriously consider what such a ship was capable of enduring, they would confess that there was not the least probability of her having perished: That he was not without hopes that she might return in a few days; but if she did not, the worst that could be supposed was, that she was driven so far to the leeward of the Island that she could not regain it, and that she would consequently be obliged to bear away for Macao on the coast of China: That as it was necessary to be prepared against all events, he had, in this case, considered of a method of carrying them off the Island, and joining their old ship the **Centurion** again at Macao: That this method was to hale the Spanish bark on shore, to saw her asunder, and to lengthen her twelve feet, which would enlarge her to near forty ton burthen, and would enable her to carry them all to China: That he had consulted the Carpenters, and they had agreed that this proposal was very feazible, and that nothing was wanting to execute it, bur the united resolution and industry of the whole body: He added, that for his own part he would share the fatigue and labour with them, and would expect no more from any man than what he, the Commodore himself, was ready to submit to; and concluded with representing to them the importance of saving time; and that, in order to be the better prepared for all events, it was necessary to set to work immediately, and to take it for granted, that the **Centurion** would not be able to put back (which was indeed the Commodore's secret opinion); since if she did return, they should only throw away a few days application; but if she did not, their situation, and the season of the year, required their utmost dispatch.

These remonstrances, though not without effect, did not immediately operate so powerfully as Mr. Anson could have wished: He indeed raised their spirits, by showing them the possibility of their getting away, of which they had before despaired; but then, from their confidence of this resource, they grew less apprehensive of their situation, gave a greater scope to their hopes, and flattered themselves that the **Centurion** would

return and prevent the execution of the Commodore's scheme, which they could easily foresee would be a work of considerable labour: By this means, it was some days before they were all of them heartily engaged in the project; but at last, being in general convinced of the impossibility of the ship's return, they set themselves zealously to the different tasks allotted them, and were as industrious and as eager as their Commander could desire, punctually assembling at day-break at the rendezvous, whence they were distributed to their different employments, which they followed with unusual vigour till night came on.

And here I must interrupt the course of this transaction for a moment, to relate an incident which for some time gave Mr. Anson more concern than all the preceding disasters. A few days after the ship was driven off, some of the people on shore cried out, *a sail!* This spread a general joy, every one supposing that it was the ship returning; but presently, a second sail was descried, which quite destroyed their first conjecture, and made it difficult to guess what they were. The Commodore eagerly turned his glass towards them, and saw they were two boats; on which it immediately occurred to him, that the **Centurion** was gone to the bottom, and that these were her two boats coming back with the remains of her people; and this sudden and unexpected suggestion wrought on him so powerfully, that, to conceal his emotion, he was obliged (without speaking to any one) instantly to retire to his tent, where he past some bitter moments, in the firm belief that the ship was lost, and that now all his views of farther distressing the enemy, and of still signaling his expedition by some important exploit, were at an end.

But he was soon relieved from these disturbing thoughts, by discovering that the two boats in the offing were Indian proas; and perceiving that they stood towards the shore, he directed every appearance that could give them any suspicion to be removed, and concealed his people, in the adjacent thickets, prepared to secure the Indians when they should land: But, after the proas had stood in within a quarter of a mile of the land, they suddenly stopt short, and remaining there motionless for near two hours, they then made sail again, and stood to the southward. But to return to the projected enlargement of the bark.

If we examine how they were prepared for going through with this undertaking, on which their safety depended, we shall find, that, independent of other matters which were of as much importance, the lengthning of the bark alone was attended with great difficulty. Indeed, in a proper place, where all the necessary materials and tools were to be had, the embarrassment would have been much less; but some of these tools were to be made, and many of the materials were wanting; and it required no small degree of invention to supply all these deficiencies. And when the hull of the bark should be completed, this was but one article; and there were many others of equal weight, which were to be well considered: These were the rigging it, the victualling it, and lastly, the navigating it, for the space of six or seven hundred leagues, thro' unknown seas, where no one of the company had ever passed before. In some of these particulars such obstacles occurred, that, without the intervention of very extraordinary and unexpected

accidents, the possibility of the whole enterprize would have fallen to the ground, and their utmost industry and efforts must have been fruitless. Of all these circumstances I shall make a short recital.

It fortunately happened that the Carpenters, both of the **Gloucester** and of the **Tryal**, with their chests of tools, were on shore when the ship drove out to sea; the Smith too was on shore, and had with him his forge and some tools, but unhappily his bellows had not been brought from on board; so that he was incapable of working, and without his assistance they could not hope to proceed with their design: Their first attention therefore was to make him a pair of bellows, but in this they were for some time puzzled, by their want of leather; however, as they had hides in sufficient plenty, and they had found a hogshead of lime, which the Indians or Spaniards had prepared for their own use, they tanned some hides with this lime; and though we may suppose the workmanship to be but indifferent, yet the leather they thus made served tolerably well, and the bellows (to which a gun-barrel served for a pipe) had no other inconvenience, than that of being somewhat strong scented from the imperfection of the Tanner's work.

Whilst the Smith was preparing the necessary iron-work, others were employed in cutting down trees, and sawing them into planks; and this being the most laborious task, the Commodore wrought at it himself for the encouragement of his people. As there were neither blocks nor cordage sufficient for tackles to hale the bark on shore, it was proposed to get her up on rollers; and for these, the body of the coco-nut tree was extremely useful; for its smoothness and circular turn prevented much labour, and fitted it for the purpose with very little workmanship: A number of these trees were therefore felled, and the ends of them properly opened for the reception of hand-spikes; and in the mean time a dry dock was dug for the bark, and ways laid from thence quite into the sea, to facilitate the bringing her up. And besides those who were thus occupied in preparing measures for the future enlargement of the bark, a party was constantly ordered for the killing and preparing of provisions for the rest: And tho' in these various employments, some of which demanded considerable dexterity, it might have been expected there would have been great confusion and delay; yet good order being once established, and all hands engaged, their preparations advanced apace. Indeed, the common men, I presume, were not the less tractable for their want of spirituous liquors: For, there being neither wine nor brandy on shore, the juice of the coco-nut was their constant drink, and this, though extremely pleasant, was not at all intoxicating, but kept them very cool and orderly.

And now the officers began to consider of all the articles necessary for the fitting out the bark; when it was found, that the tents on shore, and the spare cordage accidentally left there by the **Centurion**, together with the sails and rigging already belonging to the bark, would serve to rig her indifferently well, when she was lengthened: And as they had tallow in plenty, they proposed to pay her bottom with a mixture of tallow and lime, which it was known was well adapted to that purpose: So that with respect to her equipment, she would not have been very defective. There was, however, one exception, which would have proved extremely inconvenient, and that was her size: For as

they could not make her quite forty tun burthen, she would have been incapable of containing half the crew below the deck, and she would have been so top-heavy, that if they were all at the same time ordered upon deck, there would be no small hazard of her over-setting; but this was a difficulty not to be removed, as they could not augment her beyond the size already proposed.

After the manner of rigging and fitting up the bark was considered and regulated, the next essential point to be thought on was, how to procure a sufficient stock of provisions for their voyage; and here they were greatly at a loss what course to take; for they had neither grain nor bread of any kind on shore, their bread fruit, which would not keep at sea, having all along supplied its place: And though they had live cattle enough, yet they had no salt to cure beef for a sea-store, nor would meat take salt in that climate. Indeed, they had preserved a small quantity of jerked beef, which they found upon the place at their landing; but this was greatly disproportioned to the run of near six hundred leagues, which they were to engage in, and to the number of hands they should have on board. It was at last, however, resolved to take on board as many coco-nuts as they possibly could; to make the most of their jerked beef, by a very sparing distribution of it; and to endeavour to supply their want of bread by rice; to furnish themselves with which, it was proposed, when the bark was fitted up, to make an expedition to the Island of Rota, where they were told, that the Spaniards had large plantations of rice under the care of the Indian inhabitants: But as this last measure was to be executed by force, it became necessary to examine what ammunition had been left on shore, and to preserve it carefully; and on this enquiry, they had the mortification to find, that the utmost that could be collected, by the strictest search, did not amount to more than ninety charges of powder for their firelocks, which was considerably short of one a-piece for each of the company, and was indeed a very slender stock of ammunition, for such as were to eat no grain or bread for a month, but what they were to procure by force of arms. But the most alarming circumstance, and what, without the providential interposition of very improbable events, had rendered all their schemes abortive, remains yet to be related. The general idea of the fabric and equipment of the vessel was settled in a few days; and when this was done, it was not difficult to make some estimation of the time necessary to compleat her. After this, it was natural to expect that the officers would consider on the course they were to steer, and the land they were to make. These reflections led them to the disheartning discovery, that there was neither compass nor quadrant on the Island. Indeed the Commodore had brought a pocket-compass on shore for his own use; but Lieutenant Brett had borrowed it to determine the position of the neighbouring Islands, and he had been driven to sea in the **Centurion**, without returning it: And as to a quadrant, that could not be expected to be found on shore, for as it was of no use at land, there could be no reason for bringing it from on board the ship. It was eight days, from the departure of the **Centurion**, before they were in any degree relieved from this terrible perplexity: At last, in rumaging a chest belonging to the Spanish bark, they found a small compass, which, though little better than the toys usually made for the amusement of school-boys, was to them an

invaluable treasure. And a few days after, by a similar piece of good fortune, they found a quadrant on the sea-shore, which had been thrown overboard amongst other lumber belonging to the dead: The quadrant was eagerly seized, but on examination, it unluckily wanted vanes, and therefore in its present state was altogether useless; however, fortune still continuing in a favourable mood, it was not long before a person out of curiosity pulling out the drawer of an old table, which had been driven on shore, found therein some vanes, which fitted the quadrant very well; and it being thus compleated, it was examined by the known latitude of the place, and was found to answer to a sufficient degree of exactitude.

And now, all these obstacles being in some degree removed, (which were always as much as possible concealed from the vulgar, that they might not grow remiss with the apprehension of labouring to no purpose) the work proceeded very successfully and vigorously: the necessary iron-work was in great forwardness; and the timbers and planks (which, though not the most exquisite performance of the Sawyer's art, were yet sufficient for the purpose) were all prepared; so that, on the 6th of October, being the 14th day from the departure of the ship, they haled the bark on shore, and, on the two succeeding days she was sawn asunder, (though with great care not to cut her planks) and her two parts were separated the proper distance from each other, and, the materials being all ready before hand, they, the next day, being the 9th of October, went on with great dispatch in their proposed enlargement of her; and by this time they had all their future operations so fairly in view, and were so much masters of them, that they were able to determine when the whole would be finished, and had accordingly, fixed the 5th of November for the day of their putting to sea. But their projects and labours were now drawing to a speedier and happier conclusion; for on the 11th of October, in the afternoon, one of the **Gloucester's** men, being upon a hill in the middle of the Island, perceived the **Centurion** at a distance, and running down with his utmost speed towards the landing place, he, in the way, saw some of his comrades, to whom he holloed out with great extasy, *The ship, the ship*. This being heard by Mr. Gordon, a Lieutenant of marines, who was convinced by the fellow's transport that his report was true, Mr. Gordon ran towards the place where the Commodore and his people were at work, and being fresh and in breath, easily outstripped the **Gloucester's** man, and got before him to the Commodore, who, on hearing this happy and unexpected news, threw down his axe with which he was then at work, and by his joy broke through, for the first time, the equable and unvaried character which he had hitherto preserved; the others, who were with him, instantly ran down to the sea-side in a kind of frenzy, eager to feast themselves with a sight they had so ardently wished for, and of which they had now for a considerable time despaired. By five in the evening, the **Centurion** was visible in the offing to them all; and, a boat being sent off with eighteen men to reinforce her, and with fresh meat and fruits for the refreshment of her crew, she, the next afternoon, happily came to an anchor in the road, where the Commodore immediately came on board her, and was received by us with the sincerest and heartiest acclamations: For, from the following short recital of the fears, the dangers and fatigues we in the ship

underwent, during our nineteen days absence from Tinian, it may be easily conceived, that a harbour, refreshments, repose, and the joining of our Commander and Shipmates, were not less pleasing to us, than our return was to them.

CHAP. IV.

Proceedings on board the *Centurion*, when driven out to sea.

The *Centurion* being now once more safely arrived at Tinian, to the mutual respite of the labours of our divided crew, it is high time that the reader, after the relation already given of the projects and employment of those left on shore, should be apprized of the fatigues and distresses, to which we, who were driven off to sea, were exposed during the long interval of nineteen days that we were absent from the Island.

It has been already mentioned, that it was the 22d of September, about one o'clock, in an extreme dark night, when by the united violence of a prodigious storm, and an exceeding rapid tide, we were driven from our anchors, and forced to sea. Our condition then was truly deplorable; we were in a leaky ship, with three cables in our hawses, to one of which hung our only remaining anchor;¹ we had not a gun on board lashed, nor a port barred in; our shrowds were loose, and our top-masts unrigged, and we had struck our fore and main-yards close down, before the storm came on, so that there were no sails we could set, except our mizen. In this dreadful extremity we could muster no more strength on board, to navigate the ship, than an hundred and eight hands, several Negroes and Indians included: This was scarcely the fourth part of our complement; and of these the greater number were either boys, or such as, being lately recovered from the scurvy, had not yet arrived at half their former vigour. No sooner were we at sea, but by the violence of the storm, and the working of the ship, we made a great quantity of water through our hawse-holes, ports and scuppers, which, added to the constant effect of our leak, rendered our pumps alone a sufficient employment for us all: But though this leakage, by being a short time neglected, would inevitably end in our destruction; yet we had other dangers then impending, which occasioned this to be regarded as a secondary consideration only. For we all imagined, that we were driving directly on the neighbouring Island of Aguiguan, which was about two leagues distant; and as we had lowered our main and fore-yards close down, we had no sails we could set but the mizen, which was altogether insufficient to carry us clear of this instant peril: We therefore immediately applied ourselves to work, endeavouring, by the utmost of our efforts, to heave up the main and fore-yards, in hopes that, if we could but be enabled to make use of our lower canvass, we might possibly weather the Island, and thereby save ourselves from this impending shipwreck. But after full three hours ineffectual labour, the jeers broke, and the men being quite jaded, we were obliged, by mere debility, to desist, and quietly to expect our fate, which we then conceived to be

1 Ed. note: In fact, they had kept all anchors from the prizes, but they were stowed away.

unavoidable: For we imagined ourselves, by this time, to be driven just upon the shore, and the night was so extremely dark, that we expected to discover the Island no otherwise than by striking upon it; so that the belief of our destruction, and the uncertainty of the point of time when it would take place, occasioned us to pass several hours, under the most serious apprehensions, that each succeeding moment would send us to the bottom. Nor did these continued terrors, of instantly striking and sinking, end but with the day-break; when we with great transport perceived, that the Island, we had thus dreaded, was at a considerable distance, and that a strong northern current had been the cause of our preservation.

The turbulent weather, which forced us from Tinian, did not begin to abate, till three days after; and then we swayed up the fore-yard, and began to heave up the main-yard, but the jeers broke and killed one of our men, and prevented us at that time from proceeding. The next day, being the 26th of September, was a day of most severe fatigue to us all; for it must be remembered, that in these exigencies no rank or office exempted any person from the manual application and bodily labour of a common sailor. The business of this day was no less than an attempt to heave up the sheet-anchor, which we had hitherto dragged at our bows with two cables an end. This was a work of great importance to our future preservation: For, not to mention the impediment to our navigation, and the hazard it would be to our ship, if we attempted to make sail with the anchor in its present situation, we had this most interesting consideration to animate us, that it was the only anchor we had left; and, without securing it, we should be under the utmost difficulties and hazards, when ever we made the land again; and therefore, being all of us fully apprized of the consequence of this enterprize, we laboured at it with the severest application for full twelve hours, when we had indeed made a considerable progress, having brought the anchor in sight; but, it then growing dark, and we being excessively fatigued, we were obliged to desist, and to leave our work unfinished, till the next morning, when, by the benefit of a night's rest, we completed it, and hung the anchor at our bow.

It was the 27th of September in the morning, that is, five days after our departure, when we thus secured our anchor; and the same day, we got up our main-yard: And having now conquered in some degree the distress and disorder which we were necessarily involved in at our first driving out to sea, and being enabled to make use of our canvass, we set our courses, and for the first time stood to the eastward, in hopes of regaining the Island of Tinian, and joining our Commodore in a few days: For we were then, by our accounts, only forty-seven leagues to the South West of Tinian; so that on the first day of October, having then run the distance necessary for making the Island according to our reckoning, we were in full expectation of seeing it; but we were unhappily disappointed, and were thereby convinced, that a current had driven us to the westward. And as we could not judge how much we might hereby have deviated, and consequently how long we might still expect to be at sea, we had great apprehension that our stock of water might prove deficient; for we were doubtful about the quantity we had on board, and found many of our casks so decayed, as to be half leaked out.

However, we were delivered from our uncertainty the next day by having a sight of the Island of **Guam**, by which we discovered that the currents had driven us forty-four leagues to the westward of our accounts. This sight of land having satisfied us of our situation, we kept plying to the eastward, though with excessive labour, for, the wind continuing fixed in the eastern board, we were obliged to tack often, and our crew was so weak, that, without the assistance of every man on board, it was not in our power to put the ship about: This severe employment lasted till the 11th of October, being the nineteenth day from our departure; when arriving in the offing of Tinian, we were reinforced from the shore, as hath been already mentioned; and on the evening of the same day, we, to our inexpressible joy, came to an anchor in the road, thereby procuring to our shipmates on shore, as well as to ourselves, a cessation from the fatigues and apprehension, which this disastrous incident had given rise to.

CHAP. V.

Employment at Tinian, till the final departure of the Centurion from thence; with a description of the Ladrones.

When the Commodore came on board the **Centurion**, on her return to Tinian, as already mentioned, he resolved to stay no longer at the Island than was absolutely necessary to compleat our stock of water, a work which we immediately set ourselves about. But the loss of our long-boat, which was staved against our poop, when we were driven out to sea, put us to great inconveniencies in getting our water on board; for we were obliged to raft off all our cask, and the tide ran so strong, that, besides the frequent delays and difficulties it occasioned, we more than once lost the whole raft. Nor was this our only misfortune; for, on the 14th of October, being but the third day after our arrival, a sudden gust of wind brought home our anchor, forced us off the bank, and drove the ship out to sea a second time. The Commodore, it is true, and the principal officers were now on board; but we had near seventy men on shore, who had been employed in filling our water, and procuring provisions: These had with them our two Cutters; but as they were too many for the Cutters to bring off at once, we sent the eighteen oared barge to assist them; and at the same time made a signal for all that could to embark. The two Cutters soon came off to us full of men; but forty of the company, who were employed in killing cattle in the wood, and in bringing them down to the landing-place, were left behind; and though the eighteen oared barge was left for their conveyance, yet, as the ship soon drove to a considerable distance, it was not in their power to join us. However, as the weather was favourable, and our crew was now stronger than when we were first driven out, we, in about five days time, returned again to an anchor at Tinian, and relieved those we had left behind us from their second fears of being deserted by their ship.

On our arrival, we found that the Spanish bark, the old object of their hopes, had undergone a new metamorphosis: For those we had left on shore began to despair of

our return, and conceiving that the lengthening the bark, as formerly proposed, was both a toilsome and unnecessary measure, considering the small number they consisted of, they had resolved to join her again, and to restore her to her first state; and in this scheme they had made some progress; for they had brought the two parts together, and would have soon compleated her, had not our coming back put a period to their labours and disquietudes.

These people we had left behind informed us, that, just before we were seen in the offing, two proas had stood in very near the shore, and had continued there for some time; but, on the appearance of our ship, they crowded away, and were presently out of sight. And, on this occasion, I must mention an incident, which, though it happened during the first absence of the ship, was then omitted, to avoid interrupting the course of the narration.

It hath been already observed, that a part of the detachment, sent to this Island under the command of the Spanish Serjeant, lay concealed in the woods; and we were the less solicitous to find them out, as our prisoners all assured us, that it was impossible for them to get off, and consequently that it was impossible for them to send any intelligence about us to Guam. But when the **Centurion** drove out to sea, and left the Commodore on shore, he one day, attended by some of his officers, endeavoured to make the tour of the Island: In this expedition, being on a rising ground, they perceived in the valley beneath them the appearance of a small thicket, which, by observing more nicely, they found had a progressive motion: This at first surprized them; but they soon discovered, that it was no more than several large coco bushes, which were dragged along the ground, by persons concealed beneath them. They immediately concluded that these were some of the Serjeant's party (which was indeed true); And therefore the Commodore and his people made after them, in hopes of finding out their retreat. The Indians soon perceived they were discovered, and hurried away with precipitation; but Mr. Anson was so near them, that he did not lose sight of them till they arrived at their cell, which he and his officers entering found to be abandoned, there being a passage from it down a precipice contrived for the conveniency of flight. They found here an old firelock or two, but no other arms. However, there was a great quantity of provisions, particularly salted sparibs of pork, which were excellent; and from what our people saw here, they concluded, that the extraordinary appetite, which they had found at this Island, was not confined to themselves alone; for, it being about noon, the Indians had laid out a very plentiful repast considering their numbers, and had their bread-fruit and coco-nuts prepared ready for eating, and in a manner which plainly evinced, that with them too, a good meal was neither an uncommon nor an unheeded article. The Commodore having in vain endeavoured to discover the path by which the Indians had escaped, he and his officers contented themselves with sitting down to the dinner, which was thus luckily fitted to their present appetites; after which, they returned back to their old habitation, displeased at missing the Indians, as they hoped to have engaged them in our service, if they could have had any conference with them. But notwithstand-

ing what our prisoners had asserted, we were afterwards assured, that these Indians were carried off to Guam long before we left the place. But to return to our history.

On our coming to an anchor again, after our second driving off to sea, we laboured indefatigably in getting in our water; and having, by the 20th of October, compleated it to fifty tun, which we supposed would be sufficient for our passage to Macao, we, on the next day, sent one of each mess on shore, to gather as large a quantity of oranges, lemons, coco-nuts, and other fruits of the Island, as they possibly could, for the use of themselves and their mess-mates, when at sea. And, these purveyors returning on board us on the evening of the same day, we then set fire to the bark and proa, hoisted in our boats, and got under sail, steering away for the South end of the Island of Formosa, and taking our leaves, for the third and last time, of the Island of Tinian: An Island, which, whether we consider the excellence of its productions, the beauty of its appearance, the elegance of its woods and lawns, the healthiness of its air, or the adventures it gave rise to, may in all these views be truly stiled romantic.

And now, postponing for a short time our run to Formosa, and thence to Canton, I shall interrupt the narration with a description of that range of Island, usually called the Ladrones, or Marian Islands, of which this of Tinian is one.

These Islands were discovered by Magellan in the year 1521; and by the account given of the two he first fell in with, it should seem that they were the Islands of Saypan and Tinian;¹ for they are described in his expedition as very beautiful Islands, and as lying between 15 and 16 degrees of North latitude.² These characteristics are particularly applicable to the two above-mentioned places; for the pleasing appearance of Tinian hath occasioned the Spaniards to give it the additional name of Buenavista; and Saypan, which is in the latitude of 15°:22' North, affords no contemptible prospect when seen from the sea, as may be sufficiently evinced from the annexed view of its North West side, taken at three leagues distance.

There are usually reckoned twelve of these Islands; but it will appear, from the chart of the North part of the Pacific Ocean hereafter inserted, that if the small islets and rocks are counted in, then their whole number will amount to above twenty. They were formerly most of them well inhabited; and, even not sixty years ago, the three principal Islands, Guam, Rota, and Tinian together, are said to have contained above fifty thousand people;³ But since that time Tinian hath been entirely depopulated; and only two or three hundred Indians have been left at Rota, to cultivate rice for the Island of Guam; so that now no more than Guam can properly be said to be inhabited.

This Island of Guam is the only settlement of the Spaniards; here they keep a governor and garrison, and here the Manila ship generally touches for refreshment, in her

1 Ed. note: This wild assumption is false, of course, as proven by the facts as we now know them (see HM1); unfortunately, English books have perpetuated this false notion.

2 Ed. note: Not so.

3 Ed. note: This is another myth that English books have helped perpetuate to this day. I have proven the fact that the population of the whole group at contact did not exceed 20,000, and was probably something like 16,000 only.

passage from Acapulco to the Philippines. It is esteemed to be about thirty leagues in circumference, and contains, by the Spanish accounts, near four thousand inhabitants, of which a thousand are said to live in the city of San Ignatio de Agand [sic], where the Governor generally resides, and where the houses are represented as considerable, being built with stone and timber, and covered with tiles, a very uncommon fabric for these warm climates and savage countries: Besides this city, there are upon the Island thirteen or fourteen villages.¹ As this is a post of some consequence, on account of the refreshment it yields for the Manila ship, there are two castles on the sea-shore; one is the castle of St. Angelo, which lies near the road, where the Manila ship usually anchors, and is but an insignificant fortress, mounting only five guns eight pounders; the other is the castle of St. Lewis, which is N.E. from St. Angelo, and four leagues distant, and is intended to protect a road where a small vessel anchors, which arrives here every other year from Manila.² This fort mounts the same number of guns as the former: And besides these forts, there is a battery of five pieces of cannon on an eminence near the sea-shore.³ The Spanish troops employed on this Island, consist of three companies of foot, from forty to fifty men each; and this is the principal strength the Governor has to depend on; for he cannot rely on any assistance from the Indian inhabitants, being generally upon ill terms with them, and so apprehensive of them, that he has debarred them the use of firearms or lances.⁴

The rest of these Islands, though not inhabited, do yet abound with many kinds of refreshment and provision; but there is no good harbour or road to be met with amongst them all: Of that of Tinian we have treated largely already; nor is the road of Guam much better; for it is not unusual for the Manila ship, though she proposes to stay threere but twenty-four hours, to be forced to sea, and to leave her boat behind her. This is an inconvenience so sensibly felt by the commerce at Manila, that it is always recommended to the Governor of Guam, to use his best endeavours for the discovery of some safe port in this part of the world. How industrious he may be to comply with his instructions, I know not; but this is certain, that, notwithstanding the many Islands already found out between the coast of Mexico and the Philippines, there is not yet known any one safe port in that whole tract; though in other parts of the world it is not uncommon for very small Islands to furnish most excellent harbours.⁵

From what has been said it appears, that the Spaniards, on the Island of Guam, are extremely few, compared to the Indian inhabitants; and formerly the disproportion was still greater, as may be easily conceived from what hath been said, in another chapter,

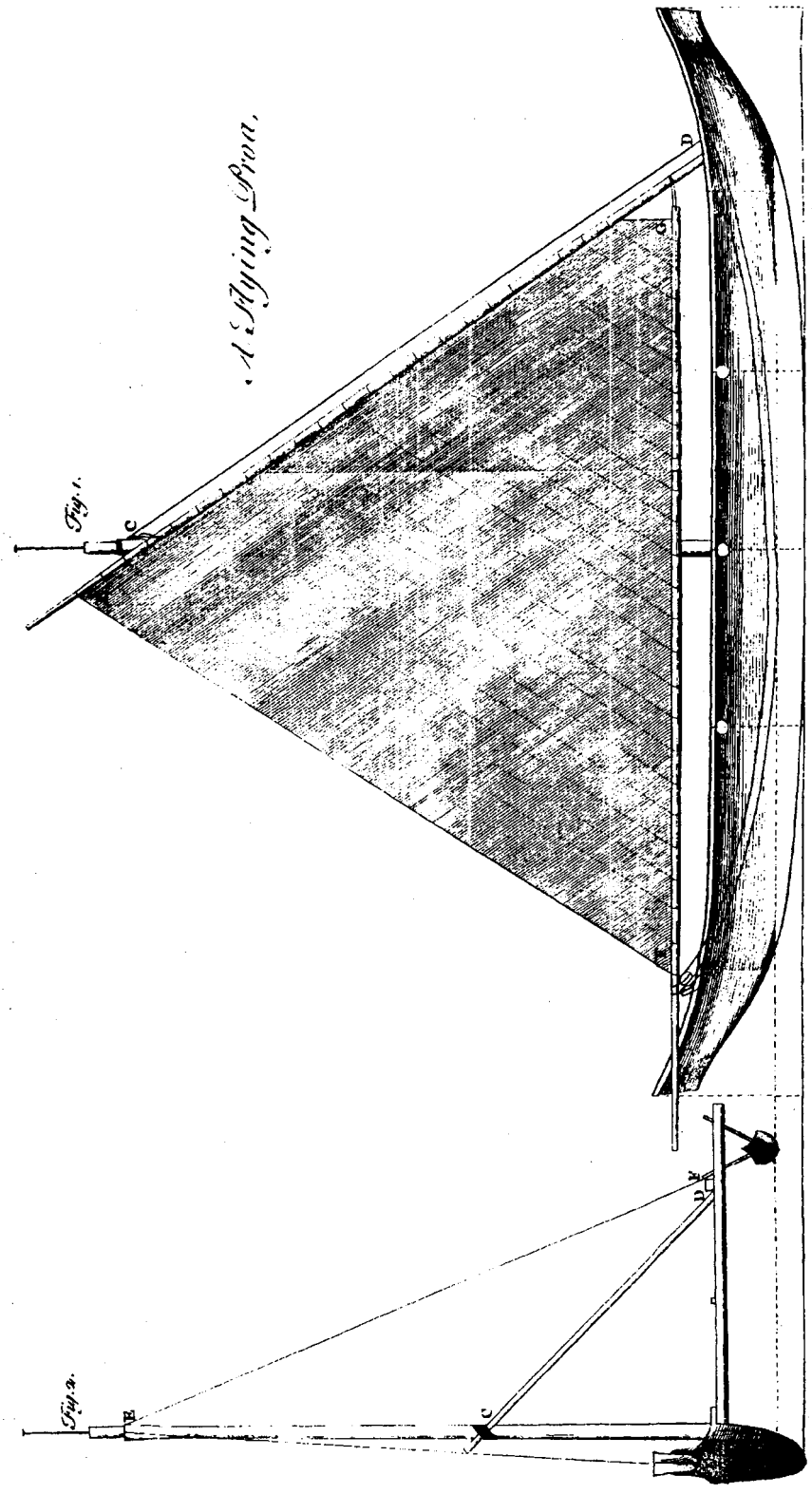
- 1 Ed. note: Outside of Agaña and its suburbs, there were only 5 inhabited villages left on Guam at that time.
- 2 Ed. note: Fort San Angelo's ruins are still visible at Umatac Bay. The bit of information about Fort San Luis in Apra Harbor (then only 8-9 years old) could only have come from their informant, the Spanish sergeant.
- 3 Ed. note: A probable reference to a battery at the port of Merizo.
- 4 Ed. note: The intelligence provided by the Spanish sergeant was accurate.
- 5 Ed. note: If only they had known about the Truk, or Chuuk, Lagoon, or even the Hawaiian Islands. They could also have fully explored the Bonin Islands.

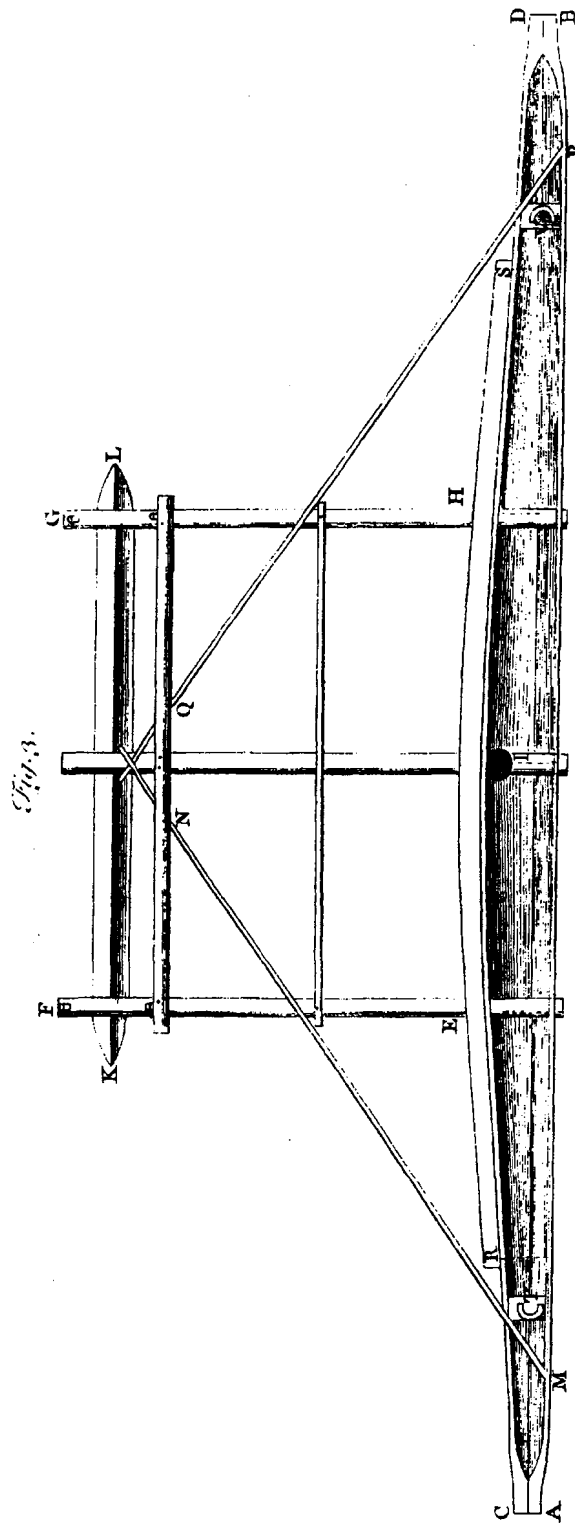
of the numbers heretofore on Tinian alone. There Indians are a bold well-limbed people; and it should seem from some of their practices, that they are no ways defective in understanding; for their flying proas in particular, which have been for ages the only vessels used by them, are so singular and extraordinary an invention, that it would do honour to any nation, however dexterous and acute. For if we consider the aptitude of this proa to the particular navigation of these Islands, which lying all of them nearly under the same meridian, and within the limits of the trade-wind, require the vessels made use of in passing from one to the other, to be particularly fitted for sailing with the wind upon the beam; or, if we examine the uncommon simplicity and ingenuity of its fabric and contrivance, or the extraordinary velocity with which it moves, we shall, in each of these articles, find it worthy of our admiration, and meriting a place amongst the mechanical productions of the most civilized nations, where arts and sciences have most eminently flourished. As former Navigators, though they have mentioned these vessels, have yet treated of them imperfectly, and, as I conceive, that, besides their curiosity, they may furnish both the shipwright and seaman with no contemptible observations, I shall here insert a very exact description of the built, rigging, and working of these vessels, which I am well enabled to do, for one of them, as I have mentioned, fell into our hands at our first arrival at Tinian, and Mr. Brett took it to pieces, on purpose to delineate its fabric and diremsions with greater accuracy: So that the following account may be relied on.¹

The name of flying proa given to these vessels, is owing to the swiftness with which they sail. Of this the Spaniards asset such stores, as appear altogether incredible to those who have never seen these vessels move; nor are the Spaniards the only people who relate these extraordinary tales of their celerity. For those who shall have the curiosity to enquire at the dock at Portsmouth, about a trial made there some years since, with a very imperfect one built at that place, will meet with accounts not less wonderful than any the Spaniards have given. However, from some rude estimations made by our people, of the velocity with which they crossed the horizon at a distance, while we lay at Tinian, I cannot help believing, that with a brisk trade-wind they will run near twenty miles an hour: Which though, greatly short of what the Spaniards report of them, is yet a prodigious degree of swiftness. But let us give a distinct idea of its figure.

The construction of this proa is a direct contradiction to the practice of all the rest of mankind. For as the rest of the world make the head of their vessels different from the stern, but the two sides alike; the proa, on the contrary, has her head and stern exactly alike, but her two sides very different; the side, intended to be always the lee-side, being flat; and the windward-side made rounding, in the manner of other vessels: And, to prevent her oversetting, which from her small breadth, and the straight run of her

1 Ed. note: The technical description of the Chamorro canoe in this book was certainly the best available up to that time. However, some minor errors will be noted.





lee-ward-side, would, without this precaution, infallibly happen, there is a frame laid out from her to windward, to the end of which is fastened a log, fashioned into the shape of a small boat, and made hollow.¹ The weight of the frame is intended to ballance the proa, and the small boat is by its buoyancy (as it is always in the water) to prevent her oversetting to windward; and this frame is usually called an outrigger. The body of the proa (at least of that we took) is made of two pieces joined end-ways, and sowed together with bark, for there is no iron used about her: She is about two inches thick at the bottom, which at the gunwale is reduced to less than one: The dimensions of each part will be better known from the uprights and views contained in the annexed plate, which were drawn from an exact mensuration; these I shall endeavour to explain as minutely and distinctly as I can.

Fig. 1. Represents the proa with her sail set, as she appears when viewed from the leeward.

Fig. 2. Is a view of her from the head, with the outrigger to the windward.

Fig. 3. Is the plan of the whole; where (AB) is the lee-side of the proa; (CD) is the windward-side; (EFGH) the outrigger or frame laid out to windward; (KL) the boat at the end of it; (MNPQ) two braces from the head and stern to steady the frame; (RS) a thin plank placed to windward, to prevent the proa from shipping of water, and for a seat to the Indian who bales, and sometimes goods are carried upon it; (I) is the part of the middle outrigger, on which the mast is fixed: The mast itself is supported (Fig. 2.) by the shore (CD), and by the shroud (EF), and by two stays, one of which may be seen, in Fig. 1, marked (CD), the other is hid by the sail: The sail (EFG), in Fig. 1, is made of matting, and the mast, yard, boom, and outriggers, are all made of bamboo: The heel of the yard is always lodged in one of the sockets (T) or (V), Fig. 3, according to the tack the proa goes on; and when she alters her tack, they bear away a little to bring her stern up to the wind, then by easing the halyard, and raising the yard, and carrying the heel of it along the lee-side of the proa, they fix it in the opposite socket; whilst the boom at the same time, by letting fly the sheet (M), and haling the sheet (N), Fig. 1, shifts into a contrary situation to what it had before, and that which was the stern of the proa, now becomes the head, and she is trimmed on the other tack. When it is necessary to reef or furl the sail, this is done by rolling it round the boom.² The

1 Ed. note: Not hollow. This outrigger float was solid, as pointed out by François Edmond Pâris in his book: "Essai sur la construction navale des peuples extra-européens" (Paris, A. Bertrand, 1841) and its accompanying atlas (1843).

2 Ed. note: This would be hard to do with a stiff mat-type sail. In fact, Pâris has pointed out that Walter is probably wrong in saying that, because you can't furl a triangular sail that way. James Hornell in his book "The Canoes of Polynesia, Fiji, and Micronesia" (Honolulu, 1936) agrees with Pâris and adds that they only reefed it that way.

proa generally carries six or seven Indians; two of which are placed in the head and stern, who steers the vessel alternately with a paddle according to the tack she goes on, he in the stern being the steersman; the other Indians are employed either in baling out the water which she accidentally ships, or in setting and trimming the sail.¹

From the description of these vessels it is sufficiently obvious, how dexterously they are fitted for ranging this collection of Islands called the Ladrões: For these Islands lie nearly N. and S. of each other, and are all within the limits of the trade-wind, the proas, by sailing most excellently on a wind, and with either end foremost, can run from one of these Islands to the other and back again, only by shifting the sail, without ever putting about; and, by the flatness of their lee side, and their small breadth, they are capable of lying much nearer the wind than any other vessel hitherto known, and thereby have an advantage, which no vessels that go large can ever pretend to: The advantage I mean is that of running with a velocity nearly as great, and perhaps sometimes greater than that with which the wind blows. This, however paradoxical it may appear, is evident enough in similar instances on shore: For it is well known, that the sails of a windmill often move faster than the wind; and one great superiority of common windmills over all others, that ever were, or ever will be contrived to move with an horizontal motion, is analogous to the case we have mentioned of a vessel upon a wind and before the wind: For the sails of an horizontal windmill, the faster they move, the more they detract from the impulse of the wind upon them; whereas the common windmills, by moving perpendicular to the torrent of air, are nearly as forcibly acted on by the wind, when they are in motion, as when they are at rest.

Thus much may suffice as to the description and nature of these singular embarkations. I must add, that vessels bearing some obscure resemblance to these, are to be met with in various parts of the East-Indies, but none of them, that I can learn, to be compared with those of the Ladrões, either in their construction or celerity; which should induce one to believe, that this was originally the invention of some genius of these Islands, and was afterwards imperfectly copied by the neighbouring nations:² For though the Ladrões have no immediate intercourse with any other people, yet there lie to the S. and S.W. of them a great number of Islands, which are supposed to extend to the coast of New Guinea. These Islands are so near the Ladrões, that canoes from them have sometimes, by distress, been driven to Guam; and the Spaniards did once dispatch a bark for their discovery, which left two Jesuits amongst them, who were afterwards murdered: And the inhabitants of the Ladrões, with their proas, may, by like accident, have been driven amongst these Islands. Indeed I should conceive, that the same

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- 1 Ed. note: There is at least two more small errors of omission made by Walter in his description, as pointed out by Hornell: 1) "there must have a step block fitted upon or over the boom," and 2) he could have mentioned that the mast must be raked forward while moving. Besides, Walter could also have mentioned the usual manner of transporting freight in a cage over the outrigger or frame.
 - 2 Ed. note: Another gratuitous assumption; he goes on to say that the Carolinians were the greater travellers, but they somehow must have gotten their refined knowledge of canoe-building from the Chamorros. Why not the other way?

range of Islands extends to the S.E. as well as the S.W. and that to a prodigious distance: For Schouten, who traversed the South part of the Pacific Ocean in the year 1615, met with a large double canoe full of people, at above a thousand leagues distance from the Ladrones towards the S.E. If this double canoe was any distant imitation of the flying proa, which is no very improbable conjecture, this can only be accounted for, by supposing that there is a range of Islands, near enough to each other to be capable of an accidental communication, which is extended from the Ladrones thither. And indeed all those who have crossed from America to the East-Indies in a southern latitude, have never failed of meeting with several very small Islands scattered over that immense ocean.

And as there may be hence some reason to suppose, that the Ladrones are only a part of an extensive chain of Islands, spreading themselves to the southward, towards the unknown boundaries of the Pacific Ocean; so it appears from the Spanish chart hereafter inserted, that the same chain is extended from the northward of the Ladrones to Japan: So that in this light the Ladrones will be only one small portion of a range of Islands reaching from Japan, perhaps to the unknown southern Continent. After this short account of these places, I shall now return to the prosecution of our voyage.

...

Summary of the rest of the voyage, by R. L.

After refitting his ship in Macao, Anson sailed from there in the spring of 1743, bound for the east side of Luzon, to cruise off Cape Espiritu Santo and wait for the one, or two, galleons from Acapulco. The **Pilar** had safely passed through there at least one month earlier, but the **Covadonga** appeared at the regular time, on 20 June 1743 (English date). A battle ensued that lasted for many hours. When General Montero had lost 67 men, and was himself wounded, he struck his colors. The galleon was taken to China and sold there, after the Spanish prisoners were delivered to Chinese authorities at Canton.

Anson made an uneventful voyage back to England with HMS *Centurion*, although he had a close call just before arriving home; he sailed right through a French fleet, shrouded in thick fog (although he had already heard that England was then at war with France). He came close to losing all of his ill-gotten treasure. Luck was with him that day. Soon after stepping ashore, he was promoted two ranks to Vice-Admiral. He later became a Lord and the head of the British Royal Navy. He died in 1762.

Because the battle between the **Centurion** and the **Covadonga** will be of special interest to many readers, Walter's second-hand account of it is given below. For the Spanish version of the same incident, see Doc. 1743A2.

The battle between the *Centurion* and the *Covadonga* in July 1743

Note: Richard Walter was not an eyewitness to this battle, because he left the ship at Macao.

...
On the 6th of April [1743], the *Centurion* weighed from the Typa [Harbour in China], and warped to the southward; and, by the 15th, she was got into Macao road, compleating her water as she past along, so that there remained now very few articles more to attend to; and her whole business being finished by the 19th, she, at three in the afternoon of that day, weighed and made sail, and stood to sea.

CHAP. VIII.

From Macao to Cape Espiritu Santo: The taking of the Manila galeon, and returning back again.

The Commodore was now got to sea, with his ship very well refitted, his stores replenished, and an additional stock of provisions on board: His crew too was somewhat reinforced; for he had entered twenty-three Lascars or Indian sailors, and some few Dutch. He gave out at Macao, that he was bound to Batavia, and thence to England; and though the westerly monsoon was now set in, when that passage is considered as impracticable, yet, by the confidence he had expressed in the strength of his ship, and the dexterity of his people, he had persuaded not only his own crew but the people at Macao likewise, that he proposed to try this unusual experiment; so that there were many letters put on board him by the inhabitants of Canton and Macao for their friends at Batavia.

But his real design was of a very different nature: For he knew, that instead of one annual ship from Acapulco to Manila, there would be this year, in all probability, two; since, by being before Acapulco, he had prevented one of them from putting to sea the preceding season.¹ He therefore recsolved to cruise for these returning vessels off Cape Espiritu Santo, on the Island of Samal, which is the first land they always make in the Philippine Islands. And as June is generally the month in which they arrive there, he doubted not but he should get to his intended station time enough to intercept them. It is true, they were said to be stout vessels, mounting forty-four guns apiece, and carrying above five hundred hands, and might be expected to return in company; and he himself had but two hundred and twenty-seven hands on board, of which near thirty were boys: But this disproportion of strength did not deter him, as he knew his ship to

1 Ed. note: He did not know that the *Pilar* had left Acapulco in January 1743, two months ahead of the regular schedule, which was followed by the *Covadonga*.

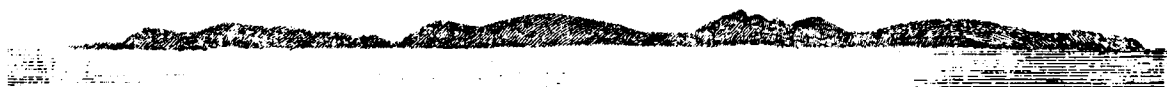
be much better fitted for a sea-engagement than theirs, and as he had reason to expect that his men would exert themselves in the most extraordinary manner, when they had in view the immense wealth of these Manila galleons.

This project the Commodore had resolved on in his own thoughts, ever since his leaving the coast of Mexico. And the greatest mortification which he received, from the various delays he had met with in China, was his apprehension, lest he might be thereby so long retarded as to let the galleons escape him. Indeed, at Macao it was incumbent on him to keep these views extremely secret; for there being a great intercourse and a mutual connexion of interests between that port and Manila, he had reason to fear, that, if his designs were discovered, intelligence would be immediately sent to Manila, and measures would be taken to prevent the galleons from falling into his hands: But being now at sea, and entirely clear of the coast, he summoned all his people on the quarter-deck, and informed them of his resolution to cruise for the two Manila ships, of whose wealth they were not ignorant. He told them he should chuse a station, where he could not fail of meeting with them; and though they were stout ships, and full manned, yet, if his own people behaved with their accustomed spirit, he was certain he should prove too hard for them both, and that one of them at least could not fail of becoming his prize: He further added, that many ridiculous tales had been propagated about the strength of the sides of these ships, and their being impenetrable to cannon-shot; that these fictions had been principally invented to palliate the cowardice of those who had formerly engaged them; but he hoped there were none of those present weak enough to give credit to so absurd a story: For his own part, he did assure them upon his word, that, whenever he met with them, he would fight them so near, that they should find, his bullets, instead of being stopped by one of their sides, should go through them both.

This speech of the Commodore's was received by his people with great joy: For no sooner had he ended, than they expressed their approbation, according to naval custom, by three strenuous cheers, and all declared their determination to succeed or perish, whenever the opportunity presented itself. And now their hopes, which since their departure from the coast of Mexico, had entirely subsided, were again revived; and they all persuaded themselves, that, notwithstanding the various casualties and disappointments they had hitherto met with, they should yet be repaid the price of their fatigues, and should at last return home enriched with the spoils of the enemy: For firmly relying on the assurances of the Commodore that they should certainly meet with the vessels, they were all of them too sanguine to doubt a moment of mastering them; so that they considered themselves as having them already in their possession. And this confidence was so universally spread through the whole ship's company, that, the Commodore having taken some Chinese sheep to sea with him for his own provision, and one day enquiring of his Butcher, why, for some time past, he had seen no mutton at his table, asking him if all the sheep were killed, the Butcher very seriously replied, that there were indeed two sheep left, but that if his Honour would give him leave, he proposed to keep those for the entertainment of the General of the galleons.

When the **Centurion** left the port of Macao, she stood for some days to the westward [rather eastward]; and, on the first of May, they saw part of the Island of Formosa; and, standing thence to the southward, they, on the 4th of May, were in the latitude of the Bashee Islands, as laid down by Dampier; but they suspected his account of inaccuracy, as they found that he had been considerably mistaken in the latitude of the South end of Formosa: For this reason they kept a good look-out, and about seven in the evening discovered from the mast-head five small Islands, which were judged to be the Bashees, and they had afterwards a sight of Botel Tobago Xima. By this means they had an opportunity of correcting the position of the Bashee Islands, which had been hitherto laid down twenty-five leagues too far to the westward: For by their observations, they esteemed the middle of these Islands to be in $21^{\circ}:4'$ North, and to bear from Botel Tobago Xima S.S.E. twenty leagues distant, that Island itself being in $21^{\circ}:57'$ North.

After getting a sight of the Bashee Islands, they stood between the S. and S.W. for Cape Espiritu Santo; and, the 20th of May at noon, they first discovered that Cape, which about four o'clock they brought to bear S.S.W. about eleven leagues distant. It appeared to be of a moderate height, with several round hummocks on it; and is exactly represented in the annexed plate. As it was known that there were centinels placed upon this Cape to make signals to the Acapulco ship, when she first falls in with the land, the Commodore immediately tacked, and ordered the top-gallant sails to be taken in, to prevent being discovered; and, this being the station in which it was resolved to cruise for the galeons, they kept the Cape between the South and the West, and endeavoured to confine themselves between the latitude of $12^{\circ}:50'$, and $13^{\circ}:5'$, the Cape itself lying, by their observations, in $12^{\circ}:40'$ North, and in 4° of East longitude from Botel Tobago Xima.



Cape Espiritu Santo bearing WSW distant 6 leagues.

It was the last of May, by the foreign stile, when they arrived off this Cape; and, the month of June, by the same stile, being that in which the Manila ships are usually expected, the **Centurion's** people were now waiting each hour with the utmost impatience for the happy crisis which was to ballance the account of all their past calamities. As from this time, there was but small employment for the crew, the Commodore ordered them almost every day to be exercised in the management of the great guns, and in the use of their small arms. This had been his practice, more or less, at all convenient seasons during the whole course of his voyage; and the advantages which he received from it, in his engagement with the galeon, were an ample recompence for all his care and attention.

...

It was the last of May, N.S. as hath been already said, when the **Centurion** arrived off Cape Espiritu Santo; and consequently the next day began the month in which the galeons were to be expected. The Commodore therefore made all necessary preparations for receiving them, having hoisted out his long boat, and lashed her along side, that the ship might be ready for engaging, if they fell in with the galeons in the night. All this time too he was very solicitous to keep at such a distance from the Cape, as not to be discovered: But it hath been since learnt, that, notwithstanding his care, he was seen from the land; and advice of him was sent to Manila, where it was at first disbelieved, but on reiterated intelligence (for it seems he was seen more than once) the Merchants were alarmed, and the Governor was applied to, who undertook (the commerce supplying the necessary sums) to fit out a force consisting of two ships of thirty-two guns, one of twenty guns, and two sloops of ten guns each, to attack the **Centurion** on her station: And some of these vessels did actually weigh with this view; but the principal ship not being ready, and the monsoon being against them, the Commerce and the Governor disagreed, and the enterprise was laid aside. This frequent discovery of the **Centurion** from the shore was somewhat extraordinary; for the pitch of the Cape is not high, and she usually kept from ten to fifteen leagues distant; though once indeed, by an indraught of the tide, as was supposed, they found themselves in the morning within seven leagues of the land.

As the month of June advanced, the expectancy and impatience of the Commodore's people each day increased. And I think no better idea can be given of their great eagerness on this occasion, than by copying a few paragraphs from the journal of an officer, who was then on board; as it will, I presume, be a more natural picture of the full attachment of their thoughts to the business of their cruise, than can be given by any other means. The paragraphs I have selected, as they occur in order of time, are as follow:

"May 31, Exercising our men at their quarters, in great expectation of meeting with the galeons very soon; this being the eleventh of June their stile."

"June 3, Keeping in our stations, and looking out for the galeons."

"June 5, Begin now to be in great expectation, this being the middle of June their stile."

"June 11, Begin to grow impatient at not seeing the galeons."

"June 13, The wind having blown fresh easterly for the forty-eight hours past, gives us great expectations of seeing the galeons soon."

"June 15, Cruising on and off, and looking out strictly."

"June 19, This being the last day of June, N.S. the galeons, if they arrive at all, must appear soon."

From these samples it is sufficiently evident, how compleatly the treasure of the galeons had engrossed their imagination, and how anxiously they passed the latter part of their cruise, when the certainty of the arrival of these vessels was dwindled down to probability only, and that probability became each hour more and more doubtful. However, on the 20th of June, O.S. being just a month from their arrival on their station, they were relieved from this state of uncertainty; when, at sun-rise, they discovered

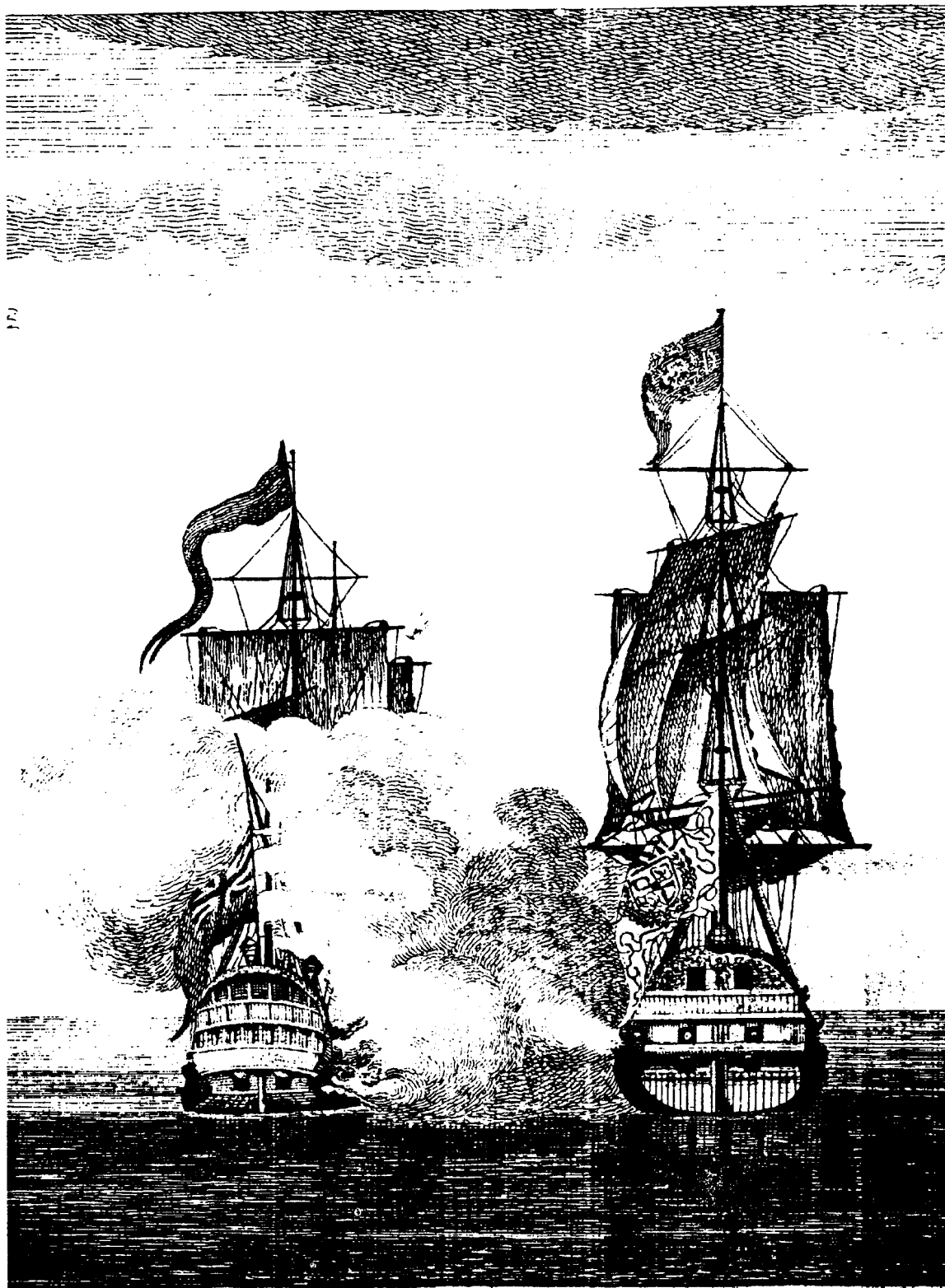
a sail from the mast-head, in the S.E. quarter. On this, a general joy spread through the whole ship; for they had no doubt but this was one of the galeons, and they expected soon to see the other. The Commodore instantly stood towards her, and at half an hour after seven they were near enough to see her from the **Centurion's** deck; at which time the galeon fired a gun, and took in her top-gallant sails, which was supposed to be a signal to her consort, to hasten her up; and therefore the **Centurion** fired a gun to leeward, to amuse her. The Commodore was surprized to find, that in all this time the galeon did not change her course, but continued to bear down upon him; for he hardly believed, what afterwards appeared to be the case, that she knew his ship to be the **Centurion**, and resolved to fight him.

About noon the Commodore was little more than a league distant from the galeon, and could fetch her wake, so that she could not now escape; and, no second ship appearing, it was concluded that she had been separated from her consort. Soon after, the galeon haled up her fore-sail, and brought to under top-sails, with her head to the northward, hoisting Spanish colours, and having the standard of Spain flying at the top-gallant mast-head. Mr. Anson, in the mean time, had prepared all things for an engagement on board the **Centurion**, and had taken all possible care, both for the most effectual exertion of his small strength, and for the avoiding the confusion and tumult, too frequent in actions of this kind. He picked out about thirty of his choicest hands and best marksmen, whom he distributed into his tops, and who fully answered his expectation, by the signal services they performed. As he had not hands enough remaining to quarter a sufficient number to each great gun, in the customary manner, he therefore, on his lower tier, fixed only two men to each gun, who were to be solely employed in loading it, whilst the rest of his people were divided into different gangs of ten or twelve men each, which were constantly moving about the decks, to run out and fire such guns as were loaded. By this management he was enabled to make use of all his guns; and instead of firing broad-sides with intervals between them, he kept up a constant fire without intermission, whence he doubted not to procure very signal advantages; for it is common with the Spaniards to fall down upon the decks when they see a broadside preparing, and to continue in that posture till it is given; after which they rise again, and, presuming the danger to be for some time over, work their guns and fire with great briskness, till another broad-side is ready: But the firing gun by gun, in the manner directed by the Commodore, rendered this practice of theirs impossible.

The Commodore being thus prepared, and nearing the galeon apace, there happened, a little after noon, several squalls of winds and rain, which often obscured the galeon from their sight; but whenever it cleared up, they observed her resolutely lying to; and, towards one o'clock, the **Centurion** hoisted her broad pendant and colours, she being then within gun-shot of the enemy. And the Commodore observing the Spaniards to have neglected clearing their ship till that time, as he then saw them throwing over-board cattle and lumber, he gave orders to fire upon them with the chace-guns, to embarass them in their work, and prevent them from compleating it, though his general directions had been not to engage till they were within pistol shot. The galeon returned

the fire with two of her stern-chace; and, the **Centurion** getting her sprit-sail-yard fore and aft, that if necessary she might be ready for boarding, The Spaniards in a bravado rigged their sprit-sail-yard fore and aft likewise. Soon after, the **Centurion** abreast of the enemy within pistol-shot, keeping to the leeward with a view of preventing them from putting before the wind, and gaining the port of Palapag, from which they were about seven leagues distant. And now the engagement began in earnest, and, for the first half hour, Mr. Anson over-reached the galeon, and lay on her bow; where, by the great wideness of his ports he could traverse almost all his guns upon the enemy, whilst the galeon could only bring a part of hers to bear. Immediately, on the commencement of the action, the mats, with which the galeon had stuffed her netting, took fire, and burnt violently, blazing up half as high as the mizen-top. This accident (supposed to be caused by the **Centurion's** wads) threw the enemy into great confusion, and at the same time alarmed the Commodore, for he feared lest the galeon should be burnt, and lest he himself too might suffer by her driving on board him: But the Spaniards at last freed themselves from the fire, by cutting away the netting, and tumbling the whole mass which was in flames into the sea. But still the **Centurion** kept her first advantageous position, firing her cannon with great regularity and briskness, whilst at the same time the galeon's decks lay open to her topmen, who, having at their first volley driven the Spaniards from their tops, made prodigious havock with their small arms, killing or wounding every officer but one that ever appeared on the quarter-deck, and wounding in particular the General of the galeon himself. And though the **Centurion**, after the first half hour, lost her original situation, and was close along-side the galeon, and the enemy continued to fire briskly for near an hour longer, yet at last the Commodore's grape-shot swept their decks so effectually, and the number of their slain and wounded was so considerable, that they began to fall into great disorder, especially as the General, who was the life of the action, was no longer capable of exerting himself. Their embarrassment was visible from on board the Commodore. For the ships were so near, that some of the Spanish officers were seen running about with great assiduity, to prevent the desertion of their men from their quarters: But all their endeavours were in vain; for after having, as a last effort, fired five or six guns with more judgment than usual, they gave up the contest; and, the galeon's colours being singed off the ensign staff in the beginning of the engagement, she struck the standard at her main-top-gallant mast-head, the person, who was employed to do it, having been in imminent peril of being killed, had not the Commodore, who perceived what he was about, given express orders to his people to desist from firing.

Thus was the **Centurion** possessed of this rich prize, amounting in value to near a million and half of dollars. She was called the **Nostra Signora de Cabadonga** [sic], and was commanded by the General Don Jeronimo de Montero, a Portuguese by birth, and the most approved officer for skill and courage of any employed in that service. The galeon was much larger than the **Centurion**, had five hundred and fifty men and



HMS Centurion engaging the galleon Covadonga in July 1743.

thirty-six guns mounted for action, besides twenty-eight *pidreroes*¹ in her gunwale, quarters and tops, each of which carried a four pound ball. She was very well furnished with small arms, and was particularly provided against boarding, both by her close quarters, and by a strong net-work of two inch rope, which was laced over her waist, and was defended by half pikes. She had sixty-seven killed in the action, and eighty-four wounded, whilst the **Centurion** had only two killed, and a Lieutenant and sixteen wounded, all of whom but one recovered: Of so little consequence are the most destructive arms in untutored and unpractised hands.

The treasure thus taken by the **Centurion** having been for at least eighteen months the great object of their hopes, it is impossible to describe the transport on board, when, after all their reiterated disappointments, they at last saw their wishes accomplished. But their joy was near being suddenly damped by a most tremendous incident: For no sooner had the galeon struck, than one of the Lieutenants coming to Mr. Anson to congratulate him on his prize, whispered him at the same time, that the **Centurion** was dangerously on fire near the powder-room. The Commodore received this dreadful news without any apparent emotion, and, taking care not to alarm his people, gave the necessary orders for extinguishing it, which was happily done in a short time, though its appearance at first was extremely terrible. It seems some cartridges had been blown up by accident between decks, whereby a quantity of oakum in the after-hatch way, near the after powder-room, was set on fire; and the great smother and smoke of the oakum occasioned the apprehension of a more extended and mischievous fire. At the same instant too, the galeon fell on board the **Centurion** on the starboard quarter, but she was cleared without doing or receiving any considerable damage.

The Commodore made his first Lieutenant, Mr. Saumarez, Captain of this prize, appointing her a post-ship in his Majesty's service. Captain Saumarez, before night, sent on board the **Centurion** all the Spanish prisoners, but such as were thought the most proper to be retained to assist in navigating the galeon. And now the Commodore learnt, from some of these prisoners, that the other ship, which he had kept in the port of Acapulco the preceding year, instead of returning in company with the present prize as was expected, had set sail from Acapulco alone much sooner than usual, and had, in all probability, got into the port of Manila long before the **Centurion** arrived off [Cape] Espiritu Santo; so that Mr. Anson, notwithstanding his present success, had great reason to regret his loss of time at Macao, which prevented him from taking two rich prizes instead of one.

1 Ed. note: Rather "pedreros", or mortars.

Document 1742C

**The voyage of HMS Centurion—Narrative of
Pascoe Thomas**

Source: Pascoe Thomas. A True and Impartial Journal of a Voyage to the South-Seas, and Round the Globe, In His Majesty's Ship the Centurion, Under the Command of Commodore George Anson (London, 1745), pp. 146-176.

...

August, 1742.

On the 2nd, there being little Wind and variable, we cast off the **Gloucester**, and the next Day took her again in Tow, and sent her farther Assistance for getting up her Fore-top-mast.

The 8th, the **Gloucester** having got up another Fore-top-mast, and repair'd her other Damage as well as possible, we cast her off, but she sailing very heavy, we next Morning took her in Tow again; but the Afternoon of the 9th it prov'd very dirty squally Weather, and at Seven in the Evening we wore Ship ourselves, and made a Signal for their waring, which they likewise did.

The 10th, 11th, 12th, and 13th, a very violent Storm, with much Rain, Thunder and Lightning, and such a lofty and dangerous Sea as I have seldom seen, and could not have conceiv'd in those Latitudes within the Tropicks, especially for such a long Duration. Most of this Time we lay-to and drove to the Northward; abundance of our People died daily, and the Ship proving very leaky, every Person who could stir was oblig'd to take his Turn at the Pumps, and all little enough, while we lay in this Condition.

The 13th, at Ten in the Morning, the **Gloucester** made a Signal of Distress, and being to Windward bore down towards us, but we observ'd she was long in waring, roll'd very much, and made bad Steerage. About half an Hour after Noon they spoke with us, and told us that they were so leaky that they could not keep their Ship, that they had seven Foot Water in her Hold, and all the Men they had capable of stirring were quite jaded with pumping, and concluded with entreating for Assistance. To this the Commodore answer'd, that his own Ship was very leaky, and few of his Men in a Capacity of working, and that he could not at present assist them, but directed them to keep close by us, and he would send as soon as possible to enquire more particularly into their Case, and thereon resolve on what might be done for them. At Three this

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 In HIS MAJESTY'S Ship the *Centurion*,
 Under the COMMAND of
 Commodore *George Anson*.

WHEREIN

All the material Incidents during the said Voyage, from its Commencement in the Year 1740 to its Conclusion in 1744, are fully and faithfully related, having been committed to Paper at the Time they happen'd. Together with some historical Accounts of *Chili, Peru, Mexico*, and the Empire of *China*; exact Descriptions of such Places of Note as were touch'd at; and Variety of occasional Remarks.

To which is added,

A large and general Table of Longitudes and Latitudes, ascertain'd from accurate Observations, or (where those are wanting) from the best printed Books and Manuscripts taken from the *Spaniards* in this Expedition: Also the Variations of the Compass throughout the Voyage, and the Soundings and Depths of Water along the different Coasts: And lastly, several curious Observations on a Comet seen in the *South-Sea* on the Coast of *Mexico*.

By **PASCOE THOMAS**,
 Teacher of the Mathematicks on board the *CENTURION*.

LONDON,

Printed, and Sold by S. BIRT, in *Aur-Mary-Lane*; J. NEWBERRY, without *Temple-Bar*; J. COLLIER, in *Toy-Lane*; and most other Bookfellers in *Great-Britain*. MDCCLXV.

Title page of Pascoe Thomas' published Journal.

Afternoon, it beginning to be somewhat moderate, he sent our Carpenter on board her to examine into the Affair and make his Report accordingly, and at Five he returned and gave an Account that she had five Feet and four Inches Water in her Well, so that it seems their Fear on board her had increased it a Foot and eight Inches; however, on Capt. Mitchell and his Officers coming on Board, and representing their Inability to preserve her in their present Circumstances, and we being unable to assist them, it was concluded to destroy her and her own Boats, and some of ours were order'd to get their sick Men, and such Provisions and Stores as they conveniently could, on board of us with all Expedition, as also the Treasure they had taken in the South Seas; and the two next Days, being moderate Weather, were spent on that Account. Among the rest of her Stores she had about forty Casks of Brandy, which we should have been glad to have got, it beginning to fall short with us: And having got on board what we could of Stores and the Peoples Effects, the 15th, at Eight in the Evening, they set her on Fire, and Capt. Mitchell, with the small Remainder of his People, came on board of us; and about Four o'Clock the next Morning the Fire getting to some of the Powder in the Magazine she blew up, and immediately sunk and disappeared.

We were at this Time in a miserable Condition, the Ship considerably lumber'd with Prize Goods, and the small Room we had left throng'd with the Sick, whose Numbers were now very much increas'd with those of the **Gloucester**; the Dirt, Nauseousness, and Stench almost every where intolerable, more People daily disabled with the Disease, no Sign of Land, but very little Wind, and that not fair but variable, very bad Provisions and Water, and the Ship very leaky; and tho' we discover'd the Leak to be in her Bows on each Side the Stern [rather Stem], it lay in such a Manner that we could not stop it, nay the attempting it rather prov'd prejudicial. In this Distress we made the best of every little Spurt of Wind.

The 18th at One in the Morning, in a small Squall, we cut away the **Gloucester's** Long-boat, and broke the Slings of our Cross-jack-yard; the same Morning we set up our fore Rigging, and in the Afternoon our old Tiller-Rope being much worn, we unreev'd it and reev'd a new one. Nothing farther remarkable happen'd till Sunday the 22nd, when, about Eight in the Evening, we discover'd **two Islands** one bearing W. half S. and the other S.W. by W. at the Distance of about ten Leagues.¹ We were extraordinary glad of this Sight, and stood toward them with all our Sail, but there being little Wind, we did not get near them till the next Day about Noon, when being about three Miles off the largest and most likely of them, which appear'd very hilly and full of Trees, we sent on Shore one of our Lieutenants in the Cutter to make Discoveries, who return'd at Nine in the Evening, and gave us but a very indifferent Account of the Shore. The Trees were mostly Cacao-Nut-Trees [sic],² of which there were prodigious Quantities, about sixty whereof they brought on board with them, but they could find no Water, nor any good Place to anchor in: On this Account it was thought fit to stand

1 Ed. note: Supposedly Sarigan and Anatahan respectively.

2 Ed. note: In all cases, the printer should have written this Cocoa-Nut-Trees instead.

further to the Southward, for some more proper Place. This was a severe Disappointment to most of the Sick; who, on the Sight of Land (or hearing that we were so near it) had begun to pluck up new Spirits, and to revive sensibly, having, as they thought, a present and immediate Relief; but on the Place's proving improper, those Hopes vanish'd in an Instant; and as Persons in such Circumstances are soon driven to despond, when an Aid they had infallibly depended on deserts them, so this Disappointment entirely destroy'd our just conceived Hopes; it gave us a less View of Safety than we had, even before the Sight of Land; for having now both seen it, and been almost on it, we feared, that if we met with more Islands in the same Run, they might be either as bad, worse, or inhabited by our Enemies the Spaniards; who, in our weak Condition, might easily be able to hinder us from proper Refreshments. Add to this, how near many of us were to Death, and how little we could expect to survive any Time in the searching for other Islands. I know not whether such as those were the general Thoughts of the Sick; but I must own they were mine, and made our then Situation appear ten times worse to me than at any other in the whole Course of our Voyage. I was indeed very Ill, and my Illness might possibly occasion every thing to appear in its worse light, yet I never one of those who were frighten'd at the Apprehension, or even the visible Approach of Death; it has no unreasonable Terrors in any of its Prospects to me; and I always could, and believe always shall be ready to entertain it with Calmness and perfect Resignation; but I believe the healthiest and stoutest, at that Time, had probably the greatest Apprehensions; and I have since heard it from many of those, that they expected to be entirely consum'd and lost, in case we had been so little as three Weeks longer at Sea; and I much question whether they were not right in that Imagination.

On the 26th, at Five in the Morning, we saw **three other Islands**, bearing S.E. by S. to N.E. the middlemost of the three, which was the largest, due East.¹

The 27th, at Three in the Afternoon, being got pretty near the Shore of the middlemost Island, we sent our Cutter and Pinnace in-Shore for Discovery. At Four the Pinnace came off, and brought with her an Indian Paroo [i.e. Proa], which you may see very well described by Capt. Cooke, in his Voyage round the Globe, to which I have nothing to add; and five Indians whom they took in her. They likewise told us, that they had in-Shore a small Bark of about sixteen Tuns, and between twenty and thirty more People; all whom had been sent here from Guam, to kill Cattle and Hogs, and make Jerk'd Beef, and Cacaco-Nut-Oil, &c. for the Spanish Garrison there; and that there are constantly People sent on that Account, who after some Months Stay at this Place are relieved by fresh Parties for the same Purpose. We secured both Bark and Paroo, together with all the Indians who fell into our Hands, to hinder their carrying Intelligence of us to the Spaniards at Guam. One of those Indians was a Carpenter by Trade, and his Father was one of the principal Builders at Manila: This young Man, having

1 Ed. note: This middlemost island was Tinian. The corresponding Gregorian date on Guam was 6 September 1742.

been ill used by the Governor of Guam, voluntarily entered with us, and became one of our Carpenter's Crew, and proved a very useful handy Fellow.¹

The 27th, at Eight in the Evening, we came to an Anchor, in twenty-two Fathom Water, very foul Ground; being Spots of Sand, interspers'd among Coral Rocks, which are very bad for the Cables. The Northermost Part of this middlemost Island, between which and the Southermost we lay, (which by the Indians and us is called **Tinean**, but by the Spaniards **Bonavista**, I suppose from the beautiful Appearance it makes at Sea) bore from us N.W. by North, the Southermost Part of it S.E. half East, a Coral Riff of Rocks between us and the Shore E. by S. half South, and the Body of the Southern Island (called **Aguigan**) S.S.W.

The next Morning the second Lieutenant with twenty Men went on Shore, in order to erect Tents for the Sick; but found, to their no small Satisfaction, that the Indians on Shore had provided for us in a better Manner than we ourselves could have done; they having erected several very strong Huts or Tents, chiefly of Cacao-Nut-Trees, and thatch'd very securely and well with the Leaves of the same Tree, for their own Convenience while they tarry on the Island, and theirs who succeed them in the same Employment. Among those was one large Tent, which was in the Nature of a Store Tent to them, and serv'd us for an Hospital for the Sick; the other small ones serv'd for some of our Officers, and such of the People who, being able to stir and help themselves, could take Possession of them. Things being in this Order, we began to send on Shore the Sick, to the Number this Day of about fifty-four, myself being one of them; all of us so extremely ill and helpless, that we were forc'd to be carry'd out of the Ship in our Hammocks on Men's Shoulders into the Boats, and in the same Manner from thence on Shore, and to the Tent; and our Lieutenants, and a few other Officers, were almost the only Persons in the Ship capable of giving us that Assistance.

As soon as I was capable of stirring about, I found this Island, by Observation, to lie in the Latitude of 14 Deg. 58 Min. North, and by the Account of our Run, the Difference of Longitude between it and Acapulca 117 Deg. 7 Min. which makes it from London, according to our Course Westward 223 Deg. 35 Min. or 136 Deg. 25 Min. E. from London.² But of this more hereafter.

And here I cannot help observing, that as our late setting out, and long Passage to Madeira, made us too late for our Passage into the South Seas, so our long Stay on the Coast of Mexico occasioned us to take quite the wrong Season of the Year for our Passage from that Coast to Asia. To prove this, you need only look into the Accounts of other Voyagers; and you will find, that few or none of them exceeded sixty Days on this Passage; nay, even the heavy Spanish Manila Ships commonly and almost infallibly

1 Ed. note: This Filipino carpenter was probably the one who gave them the Filipino name for the canoe: *parao*, or *paraw*, hence the "paroo" of Thomas.

2 Ed. note: Unbeknown to him, the true longitude of Sungharon Harbor where they were anchored is 145°35' E of Greenwich, a suburb of London, but 9° of error in their estimated longitude was not a big error for the times. However, after corrections were applied (see below), the English measurement was less than one degree off.

make it in the same Time; whereas we, who could without Dispute sail much better, not only than those, but perhaps than any others who ever yet perform'd this Voyage, were one hundred and nine Days on the same Passage before we saw Land; and one hundred and fourteen before we anchor'd at this Island. 'Tis true, the **Gloucester** was a considerable Hindrance to us, but what Proportion could that bear to about fifty Days Sail, the Time we were above the common Run, which is near double? 'Tis plain we must look for some other Cause of this vast Difference; nor, on Enquiry, will it be found to be far off. I say then, that Dampier, Rogers, Cooke, Cowley, and others, who have made this Passage as aforesaid, and writ of it, were deceiv'd themselves, and deceiv'd others very much, in affirming roundly, that the North-Easterly Trade Wind blows throughout all those Seas on the North of the Equator, between the Latitudes of 5 or 6, and 25 or 27 continually, and within 60 or 70 Leagues of the Mexican Shore, where they say it sometimes falters, but oftner reaches to within 30 Leagues of the Shore; and that it blows much fresher and brisker than in the Atlantick or Ethiopian Seas. These are their Assertions, and had they made them only partial, and not universal, I should very readily acquiesce in them; but as they tell you it continues thus all the Year, I must beg Leave to differ from them, and that on the best Information, viz. Experience. First then I observe, that the aforesaid Voyagers left the American Coasts, either in the Months of December, January, February, or at the farthest in March; by which means they met with those constant and brisk Trade Winds, very little from the American Shore, that they always perform'd this long Run in about two Months; nay, they themselves, notwithstanding their Assertions, seem to be very apprehensive that this is the only proper Season for the Passage, by their always chusing it: But we left the Coast of Mexico, May 5, which is about two Months later than any of them, and were about 400 Leagues from the American Shore before we met with any Trade Wind; and after we had it, it neither blew so fresh, nor so constant as the Trade Winds in either the Atlantick or Ethiopian Seas; but was frequently interrupted by Westerly[,] North-West or South-West Winds, with Rains, Storms, and Calms, which were very troublesome, and hindered us greatly. To this we may add the Experience of the Spaniards in this Navigation, who tell you, that this Sea is very stormy and tempestuous in the Months of June, July and August, and that they have lost some of their rich Manila Ships, by venturing to proceed on their Voyage in the latter End of April, or Beginning of May; and in Consequence of this, the Merchants have procured an Order of the Government, that the Manila Ships shall sail from Acapulca for the East-Indies on or before the first of April, New-Style, which is the twenty-first of March; and that if they are not ready before that Time, they shall not presume to sail till the next Season, as looking on it to be too desperate a Risque: All which I think sufficiently proves, what I have but supposed, that we made this Passage in a wrong Season.

The 29th, the Weather proved wet and squally. This Day they sent on Shore from the Ship seventy more sick Persons; and seiz'd, and sent on board, four more of those Island Indians. On our being brought on Shore, that is the Sick, it rain'd very hard, so that we were in a manner half drown'd before we could be carry'd up to the Tent; our

Bedding was soak'd through, and abundance of it, for want of Help, left washing in the Break of the Sea, where most of it was either spoil'd or lost; nor could those who carry'd us up to the Tent assist us any farther, but left us there half naked on the cold Ground, or a hard Hide, to help ourselves, of which we were utterly incapable; nor had we for the greatest Part any Person to get us a sour Orange, or a Lime, or one Drop of Water; tho' all these Things abounded within our View, and almost our Reach. In this miserable Condition myself and several other Persons lay unassisted, and, by what we could observe, unpitied; every Person being, or thinking himself to be, in so bad a Case, that all that Commiseration or Pity, which at another Time would have mov'd them readily to assist their Fellow-Creatures in Distress, was entirely confin'd to themselves: However, such of us as the Distemper had not mortally seiz'd began in two or three Days time, by the Help of Staffs to support ourselves, to get out to procure a little Water, and a few acid Fruits; by the Assistance of which we recovered apace; but those who were too far gone in their Sickness died daily very fast, which lessened our Numbers considerably.

The 30th, the Weather continued the same. The People on board weigh'd the Anchor, ran farther in, new-birth'd and moor'd the Ship in twenty-two Fathom Water; the Ground being something cleaner, and more convenient than where we first lay: And here being Cattle and Hogs running wild on the Island, in great Numbers, we every Day hunted and killed a sufficient Quantity for the Ship's Company, both on Shore and aboard: And this was only attended by one Inconvenience, that is, the bringing it down far out of the Country on our People's Backs; for which however there was no Remedy. We now likewise begun to unstow our Hold, and send on Shore our Casks for Water.

September, 1742.

The 2nd, we began to get our Guns, Shot and other weighty Stores aft, for bringing the Ship by the Stern, in order to come at and stop the Leak.

The 3rd, we found most of it was above Water in the fore Hoods, where the Oakum and some of the Plank was found to be decay'd and rotten: The Carpenters stopp'd it as well as they could; and having on the 7th brought the Guns, Shot, &c. in their Places, and the Leak being again under Water, we found it as bad as ever; whereupon they again brought her by the Stern, and used farther Endeavours to stop it effectually, but in vain, she still continuing to make about one Inch of Water an Hour.

The 8th, we sent an Anchor and Cable on board the Spanish Bark we had seized, for her better Security in case of stormy Weather, her own Cable being a Sort they call Bass-Cable, made of twisted Bass, and her Anchors made of a Sort of weighty red Wood; of which more hereafter. We likewise sent on board her several Barrels of Powder to dry, it being moist and damp with long keeping.

The 11th, they return'd the Powder from the Bark, and sent on Shore Sails to erect a stately Tent for the Commodore, and Tents for several other Officers; they likewise carried out a Cable and Anchor to steady the Ship, and under-ran the Cables by which she rode, and finding them very much rubb'd, they hove up and cackled them with a

four and half Inch Hawser about eight Fathom from the Anchors, and moor'd again. The Weather now began to be very variable and squally.

The 19th, we had very strong Gales of Wind, with Rain, Thunder and Lightning; whereupon we lower'd the main and fore Yards, and began to lash and secure the Guns.

The 20th, the Weather continued stormy and dirty, but the 21st, in the Afternoon, it blew excessively hard, with a prodigious large Sea; about Five the small Bower parted, and they rid by the best with a very great stern Sea, which staved the Long-boat against the Stern, and at last overset her with a Man in her. The Man they preserved with great Difficulty, and the Danger of losing others; but they were forced to cut away the Boat, which they lost. At Eleven at Night the best Bower parted, and tho' they immediately let go the Sheet-Anchor, and veer'd almost two Cables on it, yet they drove out to Sea; and happy it was for them that they did so. They fired four Guns as Signals of Distress, but the Wind blew too hard for us to hear any thing of them; neither, if we had, could we have been of the least Service to them. And here I crave Leave to quit them, while I give a short Account of our Transactions on the Island during their Absence.

The Ship being thus drove out to Sea, and the following Persons on Shore, viz. the Commodore, the Captains of the **Gloucester** and **Trial**, our third Lieutenant, Master, and one of our Mates, two of the **Gloucester's** Lieutenants and her Master, our Surgeon and his Mates, the Surgeon of the **Trial** and his Mate, the Carpenters of the **Gloucester** and **Trial**, and most of the Carpenters Crews, several of the petty Officers, the Agents, Land Officers, and others, in the whole to the Number of one hundred and eleven or twelve, being above half of our living People: This, I say, being the Case, we dreaded the Loss of our Ship, by reason of the bad Condition she was in, the small Strength on board, and the dreadful Storm she had to sustain, which still increased in a most terrible Manner; the whole Space between the Islands of Aguigan and Tinean, being about three Leagues, (and in the mid Channel very deep Water) appearing to be one continued Break, the Seas swelling, breaking and roaring, like Mountains falling on and rolling over Mountains, and making the most amazing and terrifying Sight I ever beheld: And in all Probability, if the Ship had not drove out when she did, the Wind now blowing right on the Shore, she must have been drove on Shore and lost, and every Soul in her must have perish'd inevitably, without any Possibility of a Reprieve, no human Power being capable of affording the least Assistance. Considering likewise, that if the Storm continued much longer in the same Quarter, tho' the Ship might survive it, she would thereby be driven so far to Leeward, as to render it quite impracticable to recover the Island; and to this being added the Danger we had to fear from the Spaniards at Guam, whose Strength we knew not, and from whom we might reasonably expect unwelcome Visits, as soon as they should be inform'd of our State, which was very bad, we not having half Arms for our Number, and not above three Pounds of Powder; and likewise that neither the Commodore nor any other Officer on Shore having his Commission with him, one of the Lieutenants of the **Gloucester** excepted, who had his from the Commodore, (but as the Commodore was now here and had none himself, an Enemy in such a lawless Part of the World as this, where Justice

and the Laws of Nations are little regarded, would undeniably put the worst Construction on it;)¹ we consequently, if we fell into their Hands, stood a fair Chance to be executed for Pirates: On these Considerations, I say, the Commodore (always vigilant for our Safety) resolved to fit up and render our small Spanish Bark, (which being in a sort of Bason, environ'd on every Side with such Rocks as broke the Force of the Sea, had rid it out in Safety) capable of transporting us to some Part of China: And in order thereunto, as soon as the Fury of the Storm abated, which happened the 24th, he gave Orders for cutting down several large Trees of a prodigious hard Wood, of a reddish or rusty Iron Colour, which I believe may be of the same Sort with the celebrated Manila Wood, with which they build their Acapulca Ships.² He likewise ordered a Dock to be dug, capable of receiving a Vessel of about forty Tuns, proposing to lengthen the said Bark, and make her the Burthen of thirty-five Tuns; which the Carpenter of the **Gloucester** (a Man of good Judgment) assured him might be done. All Hands were employ'd in this Work, sawing the Trees into Planks, making Charcoal for the Smith, and other Conveniences for the Prosecution of this Design, with the greatest Diligence and Labour, and, by reason of the great Heat of the Climate, with the most excessive Fatigue and Trouble. Notwithstanding which, the Commodore himself bore a Part in, and continually further'd the Work, which was carry'd on with a Success equal to the Application.

Besides this Work we were obliged to get in our Provisions, none being left us from the Ship. We had our Beef first to hunt, next to bring in on our Backs from three or four Miles off, and lastly no less Trouble to dress it, for tho' the Wood was very plenty, it was long e'er we could pitch on any proper for Fuel; but at length we found the hard Wood, which we cut for repairing the Bark, to be very proper both for present Use and for Charcoal. Our Bread we were obliged to get from the Bread-Fruit-Trees, very often at as great a Distance as the Beef, and after much Fatigue in searching for it; so that what between our necessary Labour for our Deliverance, and getting our Provisions, together with our Feebleness of Body, not being well recovered out of our miserable Sickness, we went sufficiently jaded. I believe every rational Person bore all this with Content, and even Pleasure; but I have heard, since our being in China, that most of the common People had resolved to defect us in four or five Days more if the Ship had not appear'd in that Time, and to have built themselves Huts in the Woods, and run the Risk of staying on the Island, rather than venture themselves to China in that Bark. I cannot aver the Truth of this; but I believe some of them to be void enough of Reason to have acted after that Manner: And indeed the Behaviour of an Officer under the Commodore was such, as was by no means proper to encourage the People in their Duty, being very partial in the Distribution of the Provisions, and every Thing else. This (together with several unlucky Words dropt by some about the Commodore, and

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- 1 Ed. note: Look who is talking! This English expedition was perhaps the last true pirate expedition in the modern era, and not at all a credit to the new Royal Navy.
 - 2 Ed. note: The ironwood is different from the Molave of the Philippines.

even within his Hearing, that some Persons who were look'd on with an ill Eye, and falsely accused of not having a due Regard to the present Exigency, should be left behind to inhabit and govern the Island) disoblig'd not only the People, but many of the Officers; tho' these last buried their just Resentments in the View of their Preservation, and future Independence.

While we were here, and prosecuting our Work, we were told (how true it was I know not) that if we embark'd on board the Bark, our daily Allowance was to be four Ounces of jerk'd Beef, (of which we had preserv'd a sufficient Quantity that we found here) one Cacao-Nut, two Oranges, and three Pints of Water; a small Allowance, but sufficient for Life. The Vessel was so small that we could not expect to carry any Thing with us but our Provisions, and the Cloaths on our Backs.

On Sunday the 26th, several of our Officers and People imagined they heard a Gun fir'd, which they concluded to be from our Ship, on which we sent out our Cutter, which was on Shore, to meet her between the Island, if coming in; and several Persons to the highest Parts of the Island, to discover her, but in vain; both Parties return'd, and no Ship appear'd. The next Week we continued the same Employ, the Weather very moderate and fair, only now and then a Shower of Rain; Wind chiefly from E. to S.E.

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Nothing remarkable happened till Sunday the 3rd, when the Commodore, attended by several of the Officers and People, made a Progress round the Island, hoping to take the Indians who had secreted themselves. They came to the Place of their Dwelling, and saw six or seven of them at a Distance, who fled in such Haste that they left their Dinner behind untouch'd, consisting of a barbecued Hog, on which our Gentry dined merrily (a proper Method to prevail with People who should be persuaded by Lenity, and which no doubt made them imagine that those who drove them away, and eat their Victuals, would eat them too if they could catch them!) They found there one Spanish Firelock, and some Powder and Ball, which they brought away with them.

Tuesday the 5th, we discover'd two Spanish Paroos in the Offing standing in for the Island, on which the Commodore got all our Strength together; and having made every thing on the Shore to look as much like its former State as possible, and arm'd us the best he could, we lay snug in the large Tent, or House, (which was made use of as an Hospital for the Sick) in hopes on their landing to surprize and make them Prisoners: But whether they had received Intelligence of us from those on the Island, or had any other Jealousies, I know not; however, having stood prettily near the Shore, they tack'd and stood off, and we saw them no more. On this we took a farther Precaution, and placed a stronger Guard than usual by Night, for fear of a Surprize.

Wednesday the 6th, we got the Bark into the Dock in order to lengthen her.

Friday the 8th, we sawed the Bark asunder, and got her two Parts to a proper Distance for being lengthened. This Night terrible Thunder, Lightning and Rain, but very little Wind.

Sunday the 10th, at Five in the Evening, we saw our Ship in the Offing endeavouring to get in; and the next Day in the Afternoon she anchor'd in the Road. We now left off our former Employ, and prepared to leave the Island in a better Ship.

This Island lies in Latitude 14 Deg. 58 Min. North; and Longitude from Acapulca, by our Run from thence, 117 Deg. 7 Min. West; which added to the Longitude of Acapulca from London, 106 Deg. 28 Minutes, gives its Longitude from London 223 Deg. 35 Min. West, or 136 Deg. 25 Min. East; but in regard of our long Passage, frequent contrary Winds, and Hindrances occasion'd by the **Gloucester's** Misfortunes, which rendered it very difficult to keep a true Account of this long Run: And as I always imagin'd we had made it more than it really is, so our Passage from hence to China fully confirm'd that Conjecture; for in this fine Run, where we had nothing that could reasonably cause a Mistake of half a Degree in the whole, we made 24 Degrees 54 Min. W. from Tinean to the South Point of the Island of Formosa, and from thence to the Grand Ladrone, a small Island near Macao in China, 7 Deg. 3 Min. West, which makes the Difference of Longitude between Tinean and the Grand Ladrone 31 Degrees 57 Minutes; and as the Longitude of Macao has been determined by celestial Observations to be 113 Deg. 30 Min. E. from London, therefore the Grand Ladrone, by its Situation and Distance from Macao, is in 112 Deg. 58 Min. East. But the Longitude between Tinean and the said Island, 31 Deg. 57 Minutes, added to the supposed Longitude of Tinean, before found by Run 222 Degrees 35 Minutes, gives the Longitude of the Grand Ladrone from London 255 Deg. 32 Min. West, or 104 Deg. 28 Min. East: Therefore the Difference, 8 Degrees 30 Minutes, taken from the Longitude of our Run 117 Deg. 7 Minutes, leaves 108 Deg. 37 Min. for the true Difference of Longitude between Acapulca and Tinean, and 215 Deg. 5 Min. West, or **144 Deg. 55 Min. East from London to Tinean.** Again: I found the Latitude of the South Point of the Island of Formosa to be 21 Deg. 58 Min. North; and Longitude from Tinean 24 Deg. 54 Min. West; this therefore taken from 144 Deg. 55 Minutes, the Longitude of Tinean, leaves 120 Deg. 1 Min. East from London for the Longitude of the South Point of Formosa, nearly agreeing with the best of our common Tables: But I infer nothing from thence. This I with the greatest Reason judge to be the truest Account yet given of the Longitude of those Marian Islands, as I think we had the fairest Opportunity of determining it: And hence the Distance from Acapulca to Tinean is 2090.8 Leagues; the South-end of the Island of Formosa from Tinean W.N.W. half W. 494 Leagues; and the Grand Ladrone before Macao from the South-end of Formosa W. nearest, 130 Leagues.

I have given this fair and impartial Account of this Matter, altho' it makes my Longitude between Acapulca and Tinean 8 Deg. 30 Min. too much, having more regard to Truth, and the future Service of Mankind, than to endeavour an Imposition, by making my own Reckoning (true or false) infallible, as I have known some People do, rather than be thought culpable of human Frailty in an Affair of this Nature.

The 20th in the Evening, I observ'd the Variation in the Road to be 6 Deg. 36 Min. East. The best anchoring here is in about twenty-two Fathom Water, about two Miles off the Shore; the Northermost Part of Tinean North-West by North, the Southermost

South-East half East, and the Body of the Island of Aguigan South-South-West; the Bottom very foul, being Riffs of Coral Rocks, interspersed with small Sand plots, which, together with very strong Tides along-Shore, make a very bad Road. The Landing is very good, being in a small natural Bason cover'd with high Coral Riffs, which quite environ it, and break the Force of the Sea; the Channel is narrow and intricate, and not capable of receiving any Vessel of above 40 Tuns, or scarcely that. The Tide sets strong between this Island and Aguigan at South-South-East and North-North-West, and runs longer and stronger to the Southward than to the Northward, making a great Sea when it sets against the Wind, and rises about eight Feet perpendicular along-shore at the Quarters of the Moon, rising higher then by two Feet than at the Full and Change, contrary to the common Phenomena of the Tides: And when the South-West and West-erly Winds blow strong into the Bay, it rises three or four Feet beyond its usual Limits, more or less according to the Strength of the Wind. The Flowings at Full and Change are about eight Hours, at South-East by East and North-West by West near; but I believe the Tides are not so dependent on the Moon here as in other Places between the Tropics, but seem rather to be influenced and determin'd by the Situation of the Island, (which lie in a long Ridge from South to North, from, I believe, New Guinea to Japan) and the shifting of the East and West Monsoons.

Tinean, as it is call'd by the Indians, but by the Spaniards Bonavista, is one of the Islands call'd by Sir Francis Drake the Ladrones, from the thievish Inclinations of the Inhabitants, but by the Spaniards the Marian Islands, in honour of the Virgin Mary,¹ being a Range of Islands from North to South, reaching perhaps from the Coast of New Guinea to that of Japan, as I have just observ'd; which is a Space of twenty-five or twenty-six Degrees or more, and with not above the Difference of two or three Degrees of Longitude between the most Eastern and Western of them. It is a pleasant and fruitful Island with a clear and healthy Air, having frequent Breezes and gentle Showers, which contribute very much to its Temperature. Well-water is to be found at a small Depth almost in any part of the Island, but no Brooks nor running Streams which we could discover. The Soil in general is sandy, loose, and very fertile, and seems capable of producing every thing for the Use of Man, both for Pleasure and Profit. The Country is very full of Woods and Groves, of which those form'd by the Cacao-Nut-Trees are generally very delightful, being shady, and yet open and free, serving for a Recess from the scorching Heat of the Sun, or the momentary Showers which are here frequent. The Plains, which are bounded by those Woods, naturally produce a fine Trefoil-Grass, very thick; and those and the Woods are so interspersed with each other, that it appears the same as if inclos'd by Art, and yields a Prospect accordingly. From some of the highest Parts of those Plains the Prospects are very extensive; and the agreeable Mixture of Wood-Lands and Plains forms a most beautiful rural Scene. Here are several thousands of Cattle, chiefly white, which in the Mornings and evenings graze

1 Some Authors say they were so call'd in Honour of Mary-Anne, Queen of Spain, in whose Time the Spaniards began to inhabit them.

in the Plains in large Herds, but in the Heat of the Day shelter themselves in the Woods. It is chiefly for those Cattle, that the Spaniards from the neighbouring Islands of Guam and Rota (which two are settled by them on Account of Refreshments for the Manila Ships, in their long Passage between America and Asia, as the Cape of Good Hope and the Island of St. Helena are by the Dutch and English, on the like Accounts) frequent this Island. The Cattle they ham-string, and in taking out the Bones convert the Flesh into what we call Jerk'd Beef, which is done by cutting it into thin Slices, salting and drying it in the Sun; of the Hides they make Covers for Trunks, Boxes, Cases, and certain Bales for packing the Beef, besides other Uses. Hogs are likewise very plenty in the Woods, but very wild; the Spaniards run them down with Dogs. I believe they generally take them alive, they having at the Time of our Arrival a large Sty with near twenty fine ones in it. I know not that they put them to any other than present Use, not having either seen or heard of any Method they have of curing or preserving them any Time, and the Climate being so excessively hot, that none of the common Methods we have to preserve our Meat in Europe would be of any Effect here. The other Animals, besides Dogs already mention'd, are Rats and Lizards. The Dogs seem to be of two or three different Species, but the principal are of the Mastiff Kind, and the Spanish Pointer; and though they seem to run wild in the Woods they are no way shy, but very readily follow any Man, and are of great use in running down their Cattle and Hogs. The wild Rats are very numerous, large, and familiar, not seeming to apprehend any Hurt from any thing about them. The Lizards are the ugliest of their Kind I have any where seen, having none of those fine beautiful Colours so common in those of all other Countries, and having more the Shape of the Toad than that usual to their own Species in other Places; they are generally very small and quite inoffensive. Centipedes and Scorpions are here very plenty, as likewise large spiders. As for any other noxious Animals or Insects, I saw none in the Island; but what prov'd most offensive to us, was a prodigious Number of Flies. They not only sting, and that sharply, but continually fall into whatever you eat or drink, and so suddenly as to baffle all Endeavours to keep them from frequently getting down your Throat. Besides these there is a Species call'd the King Fly, which is large, with full and beautiful Eyes. These are not any ways offensive, and are found clinging to the Twigs of Trees, making at some small Distance an odd Appearance, resembling Berries growing on every Side the Twig, for they are not observ'd to move, but as they are wafted to and fro by the Wind, together with the Twig; or if surpriz'd by the Approach of any Person, they will then quit the Twig, but soon betake themselves to the same Station, in case you give them no farther Disturbance. There are also Butterflies, chiefly white and yellow, but of small Size. An Insect, call'd by our Seamen Ticks, was very troublesome by fixing itself on the Body, and there remaining till discover'd by a small Bite, which directed the Hand to its Removal. These were very numerous, and not quite unlike a Bug, but somewhat blacker. They would sometimes bury themselves under the Skin, and frequently produce an Inflammation about the Size of a Pea or Bean, but easily remov'd.

The Areca-Tree, not quite unlike the Palm, and thought to be a Species of the same. bears a Fruit very beautiful to the Eye, and somewhat rough to the Taste when unripe, but growing less so in proportion as it approaches a State of maturity.¹ The figure of this Tree is pretty well delineated by Cook[e], and some others, and therefore needs no farther Description in this Place.

The *Ríma*, or Bread-Fruit-Tree, is lofty, bearing a large jagg'd Leaf; and the Fruit, which is generally single, not hanging in Clusters, but dispersed indifferently among the Branches, is rather elliptical than round, and in Size equal to a Two-penny Loaf in England: However, I have seen some of them much smaller, and others considerably larger. This Fruit, when fittest to be used as Bread, is green, and its Rind appears as if cover'd with small Berries, which, if singly examin'd, seem to shoot out in strait Lines from the Center of the Fruit to the Circumference thereof. The Method of using the Bread-fruit is either by boiling or roasting it, and so dress'd it is pretty much like the common Potatoes in Taste. The Spaniards, I am told, slice it, and expose it to the Sun, and when baked thereby to a Crispature, reserve it as Biscuit, and say it will bear long keeping when so prepared. The same Fruit, when grown ripe, is delicious to the Palate; and when mix'd with Lime or Orange-Juice, makes a grateful Tart, not unlike to Applesauce.

The *Ducdu* Tree, described by Cook[e], is a Species of the *Ríma*. I refer the Reader to the same Author for farther Knowledge of it. Here are also great Plenty of Orange-Trees both sweet and sour, the former large, well-tasted, but with a thick Rind. There are likewise great Quantities of Limes, very juicy and sharp; as also some *Papa[w]s* and *Guavas*, but these are scarce.

The *Maria* Tree is lofty, and its Leaves not quite unlike the Bay, but larger and thicker. There distils from this Tree a Gum very like Gum *Elemi*, and good in many Cases where the latter is used, and little, if any thing, inferior thereto.

The *Maho* Tree grows chiefly in several distinct small Branches from the Ground itself, much like our Hedge-Ash in England: Some indeed grow into pretty large Trees, running strait from twenty to thirty Feet high, with a slender Body; others again run from about two to three Feet from the Earth into the like Length, but parallel with the Plane of the Earth; and others again shoot in every oblique Direction between horizontal and perpendicular. Its Leaves are not quite unlike those of the Poplar, but broader and thinner; its bark also whilst young is whitish, but becomes with Age like a brown Hazle Bark; with this (being very strong and stripping easily) they make all Sorts of Cordage.²

Besides these already mention'd, there are several others, among which is one which we call'd the Red-Wood-Tree, or Iron-Wood from its great Solidity; with this we design'd to compleat the Bark before mentioned, so as to be able to transport us to the Coast of China. With this also we were inform'd that the Spaniards made Anchors and

1 Ed. note: This is the so-called Betel-nut.

2 Ed. note: From the description, I think he was referring to the *Balibago*, or *Hibiscus tiliaceus*.

built Ships. I must confess it promises fairly to answer such Ends, being very compact and solid; it makes also the best Fuel on the Island, at least no better was discover'd by any of our People; it grows pretty lofty, and for the generality tolerably strait, and runs into very small Branches or Twigs, whereupon grows a sharp, long, and narrow Leaf, not altogether unlike the Pine.

The Cacao-Tree [rather coconut-tree] is generally lofty, with a strait Trunk intersected at nearly equal Distances, not unlike the Bamboo Cane. Its Body is not very large, but its Bark is very solid, and its Inside pretty soft and tender, and withal very juicy. It no ways branches till near its Summit, from whence shoot off long and regular Leaves, terminating in a Point. These Leaves are tolerably tough, and make good Covering to the Spanish Huts in this Place, and the Bodies of the said Trees are used in building of the said Huts. Immediately from under where the Leaves shoot, spring the Nuts, which, though large at full Growth, yet hang in Clusters three, four, and five together, and afford a pleasant Meat, which from very soft and tender becomes in Time much more solid and less digestible; and within this is contain'd a Liquor call'd Cacao-Nut-Milk, delightfully pleasant to the Taste. From the Meat they extract an Oil, smooth and insipid when fresh drawn, but with Age it requires [rather acquires] a Rancidity, and is then in Taste like Butter. With this they dress their Provisions; we prov'd it for the same Purposes, and found no other Disadvantage than that in proportion to its Age it became more purgative; however, I rather ascribe this Effect with us to the Want of Use, than any purgative Quality really existing therein. This Oil is not only drawn from the Meat, but also from the Shell, which greatly abounds therewith. The manner of Extraction is this, viz. first you rasp both Nut and Shell, chusing the oldest and firmest Nuts; after putting which in a Vessel with Water, you let it stand for some Days to macerate; then boiling it up together the Oil floats upon the Surface, which is then separated and put by for the Uses already mention'd. The Shells make good Fuel and burn fiercely, till the Oil, with which they are greatly saturated, is totally destroyed; and the Milk also, grown sour by proper Management, does not badly supply the Want of Vinegar. From the Branches bearing the Fruit (when divided between the Nuts and the Trunk) distils a most delicious Juice call'd Toddy, by far exceeding the Milk. This is collected in Bamboos, suspended for that Purpose on those Branches. I have also observ'd the same to distill from the Body of the Trunk, when sever'd, in order to come at the Cabbage growing at the Top of it. From this Toddy the Inhabitants of the neighbouring Isles distil a Spirituous Liquor, and, if I am rightly inform'd, by some peculiar Management form a Species of Wine. The Trunk of the Cacao-Nut-Tree terminates in a soft and tender Part, surrounded by the Bases of the Leaves, (which in this Place are very thick and strong) besides a fibrous Substance disposed *laminatim*, and which, if divided Layer from Layer, will form Strainers, or, if properly managed, seem well enough fram'd to yield a coarse Cloathing. The tender Termination above mention'd is call'd the Cabbage, whose Structure is admirably curious, especially its innermost Parts, which are so beautifully folded as to surpass any Description I can give of it. I can only say, that it differs in Shape from our English [cabbage] and is nearly cylindri-

cal, and so far exceeds the Taste of ours as to admit of scarce any Comparison. With this we made Sallads when raw, or boil'd it in Broth, which acquired thereby a most delicate Flavour. There shoot out likewise from the Sides and upper Part of the Cabbage Clusters of Pees, containing some small Kernels confin'd in proper cells, and exactly, when tasted, like the English Wallnut.

The Cordage I mention'd, as afforded from this Tree, is constructed from the Husk covering the Shell of the Nut. With this also they make Caulkage, and probably find from the whole many other useful Advantages, which I am a Stranger to. I have often wonder'd that Dampier, Cook[e], and almost all other Writers of this Kind, have made the Cacao-Nut-Tree and the Mountain-Cabbage distinct Species, and treated of them as such; whereas nothing can be more obvious to any observing Person, than that they are the very same without the least Difference or Distinction; the Leaves, the Knots in the Trees, the Cabbage in all its Parts, the Berries, and every Thing else in the one the same as in the other; only some Cacao-Nut-Trees not bearing the Nut by reason of the Soil, the Climate, or some other Cause of Barrenness, I suppose has given Ground to that ill-conceiv'd Opinion. Indeed Dampier in one Place says the Mountain-Cabbage-Tree is exactly like the Cacao-Nut-Tree, only grows much more tall and lofty; but this greater Height is easily accounted for in its Barrenness of Fruit; and Dampier could not but know, that the young Cacao-Nut, or, if he please, Cabbage Trees, about six, eight, or ten Feet high, produce much the best, largest, sweetest, and tenderest Cabbage. At Juan Fernandez [Island] those Trees produce no Nuts, at least that we could discover; which I doubt not is owing to the Climate, it being an uncontroverted Truth, that many Fruit-Trees, which produce very pleantifully in one Climate, will never bear in another. However, those Trees at Juan Fernandez are beyond all Manner of Dispute of the same Species with the Cacao-Nut-Tree in other Places.¹

Here is likewise growing on this Island here and there Indian Corn, much Ginger, Creeping-Purslane, Dandelion, with two or three Species of Sorrel, besides Water-Melons, wild Mint, and Sea Scurvy-Grass, together with many other Plants, both of the acid and other Species. There are Abundance of Poultry, but wild, as well as Wild-Fowl, viz. Ducks, Plover, Doves, Snipes, a small green Bird very beautiful, with several others of different Species.

I cannot say much to the Fish in this Harbour, except that some few were caught common to other Places, and a Species not known; upon a Presumption of our Peoples receiving damage from which, an End was directly put to the Fishery; whereof indeed our Men did not altogether stand so much in need, other wholesome Diet being sufficiently provided. To whatever specific Cause it may be owing I cannot directly say, (whether to any peculiar Property in the Air, Earth, or Water of this Place) but here we found many petrified Substances, resembling and retaining the Shapes exactly of some

1 Ed. note: The Cabbage Palm, or Tree, is better referred to today as the Palmetto. It is more like an *Areca* palm than a coconut tree. Its scientific name is *Areca oleracea*.

of the Vegetable Kingdom, and seeming to differ only in Solidity, especially the Bread-Fruit and Mushroom, &c.

Though this Island is at present uninhabited, there do not want plain Proofs that it has been heretofore very populous. This, though we have no verbal or historical Accounts of it, is yet confirm'd by several Ruins of Stone Buildings, which seem to be the Remains both of Habitations and Places of Devotion. Several of these we saw, where the Pillars were regularly made, and as regularly disposed, and amongst the rest were twelve regularly constructed with Capitals. These were all alike, and ranged in two Rows opposite each other, and carry'd much the Face of a round Temple. The most we were able to gather from the Indians was merely traditional: They inform'd us that this Place had been once greatly inhabited, but had long since been depopulated by a general Sickness, which destroy'd many, and frighten'd the Remainder away.

However, during our Residence we found the Air and Produce of the Place very far from injurious, since it recover'd so many unhappy Wretches groaning under the Weight of a scorbutick Habit, the most dreadful perhaps that Man can possibly labour under. I shall only add, that the acid Fruits, naturally the Product of this Island, so restored the Constitutions of those deplorable Men, (of whom I was one in Number) that from the Brink of Fate they were surprisingly soon restor'd to a healthy State, without the Help of Medicines.

Having given the foregoing Account of the Island of Tinean, I now return to our Ship which we left at Sea.

On the 23rd the Storm continued very violently; they found much of the Rigging broke and damaged, and lay-to under a Mizzen.

The 24th and 25th they repaired some of their Rigging, and in getting up the Main-yard one John Horseman had his Arm broke in Pieces in the Main-jeer-block, by the Jeer's breaking; of which Wound he languished till October the 2nd, and then died.

The 26th, being moderate and fine Weather, they hove in their Sheet-cable and Anchor, stowed the Anchor, and made Sail for the Island.

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From this Time they had nothing remarkable (only that they continued very leaky, and every Man, Officers included, were obliged to work at the Pump constantly in their Turns, and that they were several Times in sight of the Islands of Guam, Rota, and some others in this Range) till the 8th of October at Night, when they had hard Squalls of Wind, Rain, Thunder and Lightning; and the 10th they anchor'd again in the Road before the Island. The 11th most of the People on Shore, both Officers and private Men, and myself in the number, went on board our Ship, being very well recovered of our Illness, notwithstanding the great Fatigue we had suffered in the Time of our being on Shore. This Night two of our People being in a Well filling Water for the Ship's Use,

the sandy Soil, in which the Well was dug, giving way by the Weight of the full Casks on it, fell in, and the Casks rolling after, the Men were suffocated. Their Names were John Cross, and Robert Stephens.¹

The 13th at Ten in the Morning, it being very squally, the Ship drove from her Anchor, on which we hove it up and lay-to, firing three Guns as a Signal for our Peoples coming off from the Shore; but the Wind blowing very hard it prevented them, and we again drove out to Sea: However, it soon proving more moderate, the 17th in the Morning we again got in, and anchor'd as before. In our Absence, our People on shore were busily employ'd in endeavouring to close the Bark again, (which we had saw'd in two for lengthening) in order to fit her up as at first for their Embarkation, in case we had not been able to get back to the Island. They likewise gave us an Account, that the Morning of the 16th they had seen two Paroo's near the Shore, which they supposed to be for Observation, but that on the Ship's appearing they made off very swiftly, and were soon out of Sight.

We now continued to raft off Water with all possible Expedition, having no other Method for it since the Loss of our Long-boat; though by reason of the Strength of the Tides we found this Way very difficult, having lost several of our Casks thereby, and sometimes the whole Raft at once.

Having, while here, found very great Benefit by the sour Oranges, the 19th one Person of each Mess had Leave to go on Shore, and procure what Quantity he could for the Use of his own Mess on the Passage. I went for ours, and got a sufficient Quantity. This Time I observed that there seem'd to be fewer Flies on the Island, and less troublesome than usual; which makes me think that they have there, as in other Places, their particular Seasons. On returning on board with our two Cutters, and a Raft of about eleven or twelve Casks, the Tide ran so strong that we miss'd the Ship, and drove very far to Leeward; and though the Barge was sent after us and took us in, we were obliged, after much Fatigue, to cut the Raft adrift, which was lost, and we with some Difficulty got on board without it. The next Day two of the Indians whom we had taken at this Place swam ashore.

The 20th at Night we put on Shore two old Indians; the same Night we set the Bark on Fire, and the 21st in the Afternoon having hoisted in our Boats, we weigh'd, came to Sea, and took our Leave of this happy Island.

We had now a fine and fair Wind for China, and nothing remarkable happen'd till October 31, when we had an Eclipse of the Moon, which ended at 59 Minutes past Nine at Night by my Watch; but as I had not taken a proper Precaution in setting it some Time before, and the Weather was very cloudy, I could not positively conclude any thing from it. Our Longitude from Aguigan at that Time was 21 Deg. 13 Min. West, and from the South End of Formosa 3 Deg. 21 Min. East.

...

1 Ed. note: They had been fighting when they triggered this accident, and their own death by drowning (see Millechamp's journal, Doc. 1742E...

Document 1742D

The voyage of HMS Centurion—Narrative of Lieutenant Saumarez

Sources: Logbook by Lieutenant Philip Saumarez, previously found at the Saumarez estate in St. Martins, Guernsey, but now in NMM as ADM/L/C//301; edited by Leo Heaps and published by Hart-Davis, MacGibbon as: Log of the Centurion (London, 1973); extract published by Williams, pp. 168-169.

Notes: The logbooks of Lieutenant Saumarez had been gathering dust for two centuries at the Saumarez estate on Guernsey, one of the Channel Islands, when they were discovered and extracts from them published for the first time only in 1973. Saumarez had reached the rank of Captain when he was killed by a French cannon ball in 1747.

The narrative of Lieutenant Philip Saumarez

...

August 23rd 1742 Acapulco 2180 leagues [away] Lat. 16°45' N, Lon. 219°01' W

By observation a southern current set us 5 minutes beyond our accounts.

Continuing little winds and fair blowing from the south west to the south east. At daylight discovered **two islands** one bearing W 1/2 S resembling more the appearance of a large rock than a place to anchor at but was considerable distance off.¹ The other bore south west by west about 15 leagues distance. It appeared to be high though of an indifferent length and might be 1-1/4 leagues from the other.² The sight of land spirited up our people extremely and gave us hopes we might find an anchoring place at the largest of the islands to recruit ourselves. It was the vulgar opinion amongst our people that we had sailed so far as to pass by all the land in the world. Found the variation 6°41' E.

Anthony Garganigo, Richard Wheeler, Duncan Campbell, James Brown, Benjamin Dawson seamen departed this life.

...

-
- 1 Ed. note: This was Sarigan, one of the Gani Islands. These two islands were first discovered by La Torre in 1543; he called them "Las dos Hermanas," the Two Sisters.
 - 2 Ed. note: This was Anatahan Island.

[A boat was sent ashore at Anatahan on 25 August, but they could not find a suitable anchorage, although they brought back a boatful of coconuts. On the 26th, a muster was held on board; only 71 officers and men were found to be in sufficient health to do minor duties and fight in case of an attack by hostile forces. On the 27th, the ship was carried by currents towards Tinian, where a native canoe was seen leaving the shore. Saumarez calculated his position and found that he was indeed near the Gani Islands (see below). Anson raised the Spanish flag to make anyone ashore believe that this was the Manila galleon. It worked, as the canoe veered and came towards the ship.]

...

August 28th 1742 Anchored at Island of Tinian.

Northern part North East by North distance 2 leagues. Southern South East South 5 miles. Island of Aguigan South West 3 leagues and a reef runs from the shore within which lay the southern bark East by South South 1 mile.

The whole part little winds and fair; 3 PM. sent the boat ahead to sound and discover the anchoring place at which time a proa stood off to them, judging us to be the Acapulco ship for which mistake they were made our prisoners. There were about 7 men in her all unarmed, two of which were Spaniards and the others Indians. These people informed us that this island was uninhabited and was used by the Spanish garrison at Guam as the magazine on which they had their supplies of provision, it being plentifully stored with wild cattle and hogs and poultry. They were sent by the governor to kill beef which they were preparing in the sun to dry and were to load the small barge which was in the shore and then return to Guam; there being 21 of these people in all partly Spaniards and Indians. He who then gave us this intelligence was the officer being a Sergeant, a native of Guam. He likewise added that here were great quantities of limes and oranges and a certain fruit called the breadfruit, peculiar to the island resembling in flavour and size a great potato and in appearance something like a shaddock, of a middling size in the West Indies Islands; this discovery seemed as the direction of a peculiar providence, it being impossible that the ship could have continued many days more at sea, there being few people of sufficient strength or numbers to navigate her and keep her above water, our pumps fatiguing us all to death, and even those officers all on the decline were exhausted. The bark being all the embarkation that was left we sent the boat to take possession of her to prevent it returning and making the escape and at 8 PM. anchored in 22 fathoms with the best bower; but not withstanding it was almost calm were near 5 hours in furling the sails, the manning our two boats having deprived us of all our able seamen. In the morning sent some hands ashore to raise some tents for the recovery of our sick but there being found huts sufficiently large to contain them all we proceeded to clear the ship and by noon had sent 54 sick men ashore. This island was called Tinian. That high land to the northward which at first we thought had been continuous to it was an island called Saypan and the small one to the south west of Tinian was called Aguigan, but all uninhabited.

Mitchell Merrill boatsun, George Meager, Charles Boyle, Fulham Pitt, William Newman, Matthew Broadmead, Dennis O'Brien and Timothy Coughlin seamen departed this life. This makes 93 white men [dead].

August 29th 1742 Anchored at the Island of Tinian.

This morning sent our sick ashore making it in all 128. Hoisted the long boat and lay ready for the first wind to new berth the ship and run farther in this being foul ground.

Thomas Brunnel, armourer, Peter Bell a boy, John Silks a marine, Abraham MacCarthy, William Angel and Thomas Marshall seamen died. This makes 99 men.

Employed til night in sending our sick men ashore and the weather promising fair, kept most of our able men to guard them in case the Spaniards had deceived us in their numbers. In the evening three more of the Indians came to us one of which was an inferior officer, who undertook to carry the people to a certain savannah or plain 9 miles off where he promised to kill cattle for us; accordingly we sent three with him who when they were arrived at the proposed place trusted him at his request with a musket and pistol with which soon after he made his escape on pretence of having to shoot an ox, our people seeing called to him but he persisted, they fired at him and missed him whereby he got off and this made us alter our treatment to those we had in our custody, especially the officer who before was used with great courtesy, suspecting he was privy to this behaviour. He strongly denied this offering to send one of the Indians to the rest of the Spaniards with orders to deliver their arms and surrender themselves and drive the cattle to us; this at last was accepted and the one was sent; in the meantime we kept those we had on board under strict confinement to wait the event of his return.

...

[The sick were attended to, while the other men worked on the ship. All guns and other heavy equipment were moved aft in order to have the bow float upwards. The carpenters got busy and did some emergency repair work, but when equilibrium was re-established, the leak still existed. The whole procedure was repeated twice, until finally the source of the leak was identified as a bolt hole. In the meantime, food and drink were plentiful, and the sick recovered their health.]

...

Description of the island of Tinian and other Ladrone islands.

This island called Tinian by the Indians its primitive inhabitants, and Bonavista by the Spaniards lay in 14°54' north latt. and situated 114° west from Acapulco, seems to have remained entirely undiscovered by all former [English] voyagers who usually kept in the parallel of 13° in order to fall in with the island Guam; unless it be this place Ferdinand Magellan discovered in his passage from America his latitude having made affinity with this,¹ where he met with a vigorous resistance from the inhabitants who were

1 Ed. note: Not true (see HM1).

very numerous and surrounded his ships with the proas, but at present remain uninhabited, the Spaniards having compelled the Indians with those of the other islands in the year 1718 [sic] to retire to Guam and Rota which two are of the most considerable of all the Ladrone islands. This our Indian prisoners informed us and that the natives regretted this move to such a degree that in a few years they all broke their hearts with grief; this place if we may credit our Indians [informants], once contained near 32,000 [sic] inhabitants and they showed us the ruins of the village which contained a thousand adding that the island was formerly full of such places.¹ At present there are few remnants of any habitations, excepting several double rows of square pillars dispersed about the island and containing 8 or 10 in each rank with a kind of half globe at the top, the flat part upwards, on these we were informed were the houses erected raising them probably in this manner to prevent the vermin and insects from annoying them as likewise to render them more airy.

It is beautifully diversified with plains and groves of trees most of them coconut, orange and some lime trees. At a distance it affords a delightful prospect as any cultivated island could possibly afford. It extends itself from the N.N.W. to the E.S.W. about 6 leagues in length and 7 or 8 miles in breadth, the land of a moderate height with easy, regular ascents abounding with herds of cattle amounting, by the Indians' computation, to the eight or nine thousand, and great quantities of wild hogs with many cocks and hens flying wild in the woods with some ducks, this place being used by the Governor of Guam as a magazine wherewith he supplies his garrison. Here are no running streams of fresh water but some springs which we discovered with several old wells filled up, which in digging, clearing away the rubbish afforded excellent water but would require sometime to fill a number of casks; with all these advantages the island appears naturally calculated for the refreshment of ships as in effect it is, yet it has this inconveniency of the anchorage which is not to be relied on, the ground being full of coral rocks which would infallibly damage your cables as happened to us who parted two and narrowly escaped losing the ship on a reef which runs from the shore, and within which small vessels may lay safely. Tho it is not improbable but in making diligent search one might find better ground particularly near a small sandy white bay which lay half way between the reef and the northern part, at a place the Spaniards say is probably good anchoring; notwithstanding this inconveniency this is certainly the properest place for strangers to refresh themselves at, who in a long run as from the Coast of Mexico hither seldom escape being afflicted with the scurvy, and here may find the proper medicine: viz fresh meat and fruits without molestation.

The island is situated in the center of the Ladrone and may be distinguished by two neighbouring islands, of the one bearing S.S.W. from it a distance of 3 leagues called Aguigan. It is about 4 or 5 miles long, each end terminating with regular ascents like steps and higher land than Tinian; the other called Saypan lays at the N.E. end of Tinian about 5 or 6 miles off, much higher land than the other two islands and as our In-

1 Ed. note: Their report was, of course, full of inaccuracies.

dians informed us some streams of fresh water with fruits and wild hogs but no cattle. In the straits between this and Tinian lays a reef of rocks on which a Spanish vessel was lost some time since in attempting to sail there.¹ This island is 8 or 9 leagues in length and was formerly inhabited;² to what concerns the other islands our prisoners were ill qualified to give us any satisfactory account of them and can only depend on what we saw ourselves having an opportunity of observing 8 of them.

The first we saw being called **Ganis** [sic].³ It is near 5 miles in length and high land lays in 16°50' N latt. 114°18' West long. from Acapulco. It is full of coconut trees and observed no fresh water. It has foul ground all around it. S.E. from it about 8 leagues is a small flat island called **Paxosisir Ullea** [sic] in the Indian dialect, abounding with birds.⁴ The island Sarpana or **Rota** as the Spaniards call it may be discerned from Tinian bearing from thence about S.W.b.S. a distance 17 or 18 leagues; is high in the middle with the two ends appearing low and level land, and is about 10 leagues in length and may contain 400 inhabitants mostly Indians under the direction of a Spanish priest. As for the island **Guam** it is the principal and most considerable of the Ladrone islands having a Spanish governor and garrison but ill provided. They have a small port on the S.W. part of it which mounts 5 guns, nine posts and have 3 companies of soldiers each consisting 60 men many of them Indians. There the Acapulco ship on her passage to Manila makes a short stay taking refreshments and exchanging her sick and infirm people for others, continues her voyage; they have besides a yearly ship of 20 guns from Manila which brings them clothing and pays for the subsistence of the garrison, but this is sometimes interrupted. Our prisoners informing us there had been no ships there for these two years past which had reduced the garrison to a great inconvenience, her usual time of arrival there in the month of September.⁵ As to the extent of largeness of this island I cannot be particular having only seen it at a great distance to the S.E. of us. In the channel between lays a reef of rock on the Guam side which must be avoided. As to the number of these islands we can only learn that there were reckoned 12 in all and the island Guam being the largest and the southerly most. This is a description of what I have seen which may give a general idea of the situation of the islands, a thing but imperfectly known. We were thus informed besides that at 25 leagues to the north-

1 Ed. note: He refers to the Concepción shipwreck of 1638, of course.

2 Ed. note: It had just been evacuated; see its last census of 1737 in Doc. 1737B.

3 Ed. note: Gani is the generic name for all the islands north of Saipan. They saw both Sarigan and Anatahan, but only visited the latter.

4 Ed. note: What his informants told him, I do not recognize; the old Chamorro names of Noos, or Maasi are not recognizable. They probably told him, in Spanish, that it was simply another Farallon de Pájaros, or bird rock. The island received a proper name, that of Farallon de Medinilla, only after the 1820s, in honor of the then-governor.

5 Ed. note: This confirms the facts that there was a Mariana patache in 1740, but none in 1741.

ward of the island Ganis lay a tolerable large island called St. Augustino which the Manila ship in her passage to Mexico generally makes.¹ This island is uninhabited and may be known by a volcano on it which frequently burns; as to the seasons we could only learn of the westerly winds which they call the Vandervalls [i.e. vendavales = monsoons] which usually set in about the 24th June N.N.E. This is the stormy rainy season which must be avoided by all ships. This weather continued till the latter end of August when the north east monsoon succeeds and fair weather commences.²

...

[On 22 September, Saumarez was aboard because he feared the weather conditions, and a good thing too, because a fresh gale arose from the E that blew the ship out of the roads, as the gun ports were open, the guns themselves not lashed down, and the top masts down on deck, etc. Help from shore could not be given during the storm. Anyhow, by morning of the next day the ship had disappeared. The storm lasted 4 days, after which Saumarez had the men repair the damages and install the topmasts and yards, etc. in an effort to return to Tinian. On 2 October, they sighted Guam and realized their true position. It took 19 days to beat back to Tinian. Finally on 10 October, the island was sighted.]

[In the meantime, those left on the island assumed that the worst had happened to the Centurion, and that she would not return. They began to make a larger boat out of the Spanish bark they had captured at Tinian. Upon seeing the Centurion, this plan was abandoned. All those ashore and large food supplies were quickly loaded, for fear of another gale, and for fear that the Spanish would soon come from Guam to attack them. On 13 October, the preparations were not yet ready, when another gale arose that blew the ship out to sea a second time. A few sailors reached her with the boats, but the hunting party was marooned ashore. It took 3 days for the ship to come close enough to pick them up. The local prisoners were released, and the ship headed for China.]

...

Entry dated Macao 7 December 1742.

...

We left Acapulco the 6th May 1742, and here begins another series of misfortunes and mortality surpassing the first, in which we were very near having never been heard of more. We had a passage of three months and a half to the Ladrone [sic] Islands, which is generally made in two: that it was a vulgar opinion among our people that we had sailed so far as to pass by all the land in the world! Length of time and badness of weather rendered both our ships leaky. This, joined to our mortality, the scurvy raging

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- 1 Ed. note: He may refer to Asunción. San Agustín was not one of the Christian names that Fr. Sanvitores assigned to the Marianas.
 - 2 Ed. note: The author is all mixed up. All such monsoons blow from the SW quarter, by definition, i.e. toward the NE quarter, the direction that his informant was pointing to.

amongst us as much as ever, we were obliged to destroy the **Gloucester**, which was ready to founder, and receive the men on board, which were all sick and dying. It's impossible to represent the melancholy circumstances wherein we were involved previous to our arrival at these islands. We anchored the 21st December [rather August] at one called Tinian, uninhabited but abounding with wild cattle, hogs, fowls, and fruits: that could not have fell in with a better place. I am convinced had we stayed out ten days longer, we should have been obliged to take to our boats, our leak increasing on us, and our people all infirm and disabled. We immediately sent all our sick on shore, and began to hope for better times, feeding plentifully on roast beef, when an accident fell out which had like to have ruined us all.

On 22nd September 1742 (my post as first officer generally confines one on board) the Commodore, with most of the officers and men were on shore for the recovery of their healths, when a storm came on and rose so mountainous a sea as none of us ever saw before. The ship being in danger of being pooped as we lay at anchor; at last we parted both our bower-cables and drove out to sea, with the sheet-anchor hanging in the hawse, with a cable and two-thirds of another, and narrowly escaped driving on a ledge of rocks very near, leaving the Commodore and all the rest behind. The ship, by her labouring in such a troubled sea, made so much water that I was in doubt whether she would not have foundered, our ports being but ill-secured, as were likewise the guns, by the suddenness of the storm, which likewise overset the longboat. In these circumstances I drove out having 109 men on board and boys, not knowing whether I should not be a captain in spite of my teeth at last.¹ In this manner I drove 70 leagues to sea, and was 15 days before I recovered that land, beating up against a fresh trade wind and the current. The Commodore, as you imagine, was overjoyed at my return, as were all the rest. They were very busy in building an embarkation for them all to carry them to China, preferring to venture in it to sea than to remain on an uninhabited island, or to be exposed to the cruelty of the Spaniards who live in the neighbouring islands, the Commodore concluding that either the ship was lost or that I should never be able to beat up to windward.

At last, after many hazards, we sailed hence the 22nd October 1742, and met with a tolerably good passage to the island of Macao, a Portuguese settlement on the coast of China, arriving here on the 11th November, having buried 160 men since our leaving Acapulco, or 430 since we left England, including Indians and Negroes whom we detained prisoners.

¹ Ed. note: Saumarez was only 29 years old himself.

Documents 1742E

The voyage of HMS Centurion—Other accounts, by various eyewitnesses

Sources: Manuscript letters and logbooks, mostly located in NMM, London; many quoted in Glyndwr Williams (ed.). Documents Relating to Anson's Voyage Round the World, 1740-1744 (London, 1967), and repeated by Barratt (see Bibliography).

E1. Letter from Commodore Anson to the Duke of Newcastle, dated Canton 7 December 1742

Sources: State Papers Collection, PRO ref. 42/88, fol. 83-84; published by Williams, p. 163.

Note: This letter was carried to England by Captain Charles Saunders, aboard a Swedish merchantman.

To His Grace the Duke of Newcastle.
Canton, 7 December 1742.

I have had no Opportunity of acquainting your Grace with my proceedings since my last letter from St. Catherines of the 17th January 1740...

...

On the 27th [August 1742] I saw **three islands** and stood in for them. I sent my boat to discover an anchoring place, who met with a proa having one Spaniard and four Indians on board. He informed me that the island had no inhabitants, that he came there with 23 men to make provision for the garrison of Guam in a small schooner, which lay near the shore, that the island was plentifully stored with water, black cattle,¹ hogs, fowls, and oranges and limes. I came that night to an anchor off a sandy bay near the watering place, and the next day sent all the sick on shore, there being large convenient huts to lodge them in, but lost 14 men in moving of them. We had fine weather from our anchoring till 22nd September. That night a violent squall came on which parted both our cables. The ship nearly escaped driving ashore on a reef of rocks. The long-

1 Ed. note: Anson may have had water buffalo in mind, but he knew that all the cattle there were milk-white in color (see Millechamp's account below).

boat, being fast astern, was stove to pieces against the ship's taffrail. Myself with 110 men, officers and boys were left sick ashore. She was 20 days out before she appeared in sight, and on 12th October anchored with the sheet anchor, the only one left. We several times swept for the anchors, but could find neither of them.¹

On the 22nd I weighed from Tinian, and on 2nd November made the island of Formosa, and on the 11th arrived at Macao...

I sent Captain Saunders with these dispatches in a Swede ship, expecting she will arrive in Europe two months sooner than the English ships.

...

E2. Letter by Lieutenant Peter Denis to his brother Charles, dated Macao 1 December 1742

Sources: June 1743 issue of The Gentleman's Magazine (London), pp. 325-326; Williams, pp. 176-179.

Notes: This letter was also carried to England by Captain Saunders. As for Lieutenant Denis, who was the son of a French immigrant, he continued to serve in the RN and had risen to the rank of Vice-Admiral when he died in 1778.

Dear Brother:

I take this opportunity by Captain Saunders, who goes home in a Swedish ship as passenger, to inform you that there's still a small remainder of that once glorious Squadron which would have swept the South Seas, but that the Great God thought otherwise and dashed our designs by storms and tempests, which occasioned diseases and separations, insomuch that 'twas with the greatest mercy that those few of us which got round Cape Horn ever reached a place to shelter in. Yet the same God which show'd us those perils, assisted us in our greatest distress by offering us a hospitable island after beating the seas five months, with plenty of fish, water, greens, and some goats. We soon found the benefit of the land by our people recovering their healths; yet many of them put on shore were too far gone ever to recover. Here we passed our time, recovering our healths, and fitting our ships in order to do some matters in those seas, hoping the rest of our squadron would drop in by degrees; but we were deceived. After staying three months, our squadron consisted of the **Centurion**, **Gloucester** and **Tryal** sloop, the two latter having buried more men in proportion than e.

On 3 September 1741, as we were all riding at anchor at this island called Juan Fernandez, we saw a ship at sea. We immediately got on board our ship and sailed after her, but night rescued her from us. However, at our return Providence threw her consort in our way. She was about 400 tons with 67 men, worth 18,000 pounds sterling in

1 Ed. note: At least one was recovered by a U.S. whaler circa 1828, who took it to Guam "where the natives immediately commenced beating it out into bars and belts, with which they are now building a brig." (ref. Ward (ed.), American Activities, under Tinian 2).

[Spanish] dollars, with some wrought plate and a rich cargo. We carried her into our island to show our friends there that there were some pickings up to be had.

15 September 1741 we dispatched the **Tryal** to cruise off Valparaiso, and the **Gloucester** as soon as he should get ready to sail and cruise off Paita in latitude 5° S. On the 20th we sailed to join the **Tryal** off Valparaiso, and fell in company with her the 25th who had taken a ship of 500 tons. The next day the Commodore ordered the Captain and ship's company then belonging to the **Tryal**, to go on board the prize she had taken and sink the **Tryal**, for she had carried away both her masts. We coasted along the coasts of Chile and Peru, cruising off several principal ports; but met nothing till we came into latitude 10° S. On 6 November 1741 we took a ship of 300 tons with a good cargo but little money. I was ordered to command this prize.

On the 12th we took another ship of 150 tons, a rich cargo and little money. She informed us that at Paita, from whence she just came (a small fortified town) which was about twenty leagues off, there was a ship ready to sail with a good sum of money on board. The Commodore ordered the second lieutenant and myself, with a marine officer, and 45 men in three boats, to take the town and secure the treasure. We landed on the 13th at two in the morning, and were saluted by the fort (which mounted seven guns) with two shot. We marched up to the fort and attacked it. After firing one volley we stormed it, sword in hand, which made the enemy jump over the walls; by which means we became masters of the fort with the loss of one man only killed, and three wounded. We had possession for three days, during which time we were employed in sending on board our ship money, jewels, wrought plate, and provisions. Our plunder here we value at about 35,000 pounds. On the 16th we nailed up their cannon and fired the town, burning two King's galleys, two brigantines, and two settees. Here we put all our prisoners on shore, and set sail to join the **Gloucester**, whom we met two days after, having taken two prizes, worth 25,000 pounds.

We had now alarmed all this coast of Peru; our designs were therefore tending to the coast of Mexico to catch the Acapulco ship, which always arrives at Acapulco by the latter end of December or January. We watered our ship with as much dispatch as the winds and weather would permit at the island of Quibo near Panama; afterwards took a small bark and made the best of our way to intercept the Acapulco ship. 'Twas the 29th of January 1742 before we arrived on the coast of Mexico; and as our passage was so long we feared the ship had got into the port. Upon which the Commodore ordered me to take a boat armed and go into the port of Acapulco in the night, and discover whether the ship [Pilar] was arrived or not; or to take a boat so as to gain intelligence, and at the same time not to be discovered. I went according to orders and succeeded; going into the harbour I caught a fishing boat with three men, and carried them on board without being discovered. These people informed us that the ship was arrived since the 13th of January 1742, and that there was a great dispatch made in order to unload her, for sending her back before we appeared on the coast. This ship is reckoned to be worth a million sterling. The Commodore placed his squadron so advantageously round the harbour, at 15 leagues off the harbour, that 'twas impossible anything

could go in or out but we must see them. In this position we lay till the 20th of April. Our water being exhausted, and the time of the Acapulco ship's sailing being expired, we concluded they smelt our being on the watch by missing the three men which I had taken, though I had put their boat on the rocks, to make the case seem plain that they had drowned. But in this the Spanish jealousy foiled our cunning.

We watered our ships, took as much as we could of the most valuable part of our prize cargo on boards, and burnt our Spanish ships. On the 6th of May 1742 we proceeded on our voyage towards the East Indies, where we met in this passage (contrary to everybody else that had gone this way) foul winds, which lengthened the voyage, and introduced the scurvy among us to that degree that we seemed to be in a much worse condition than when we came into the island of Juan Fernandez. Yet, to add to our afflictions, a violent gale came on, which made our ship very leaky, and so disabled the **Gloucester**, by carrying away her masts and springing a leak, that we were obliged to take the captain and ship's company out, they not being able to keep the ship above water.

Our men by this time died like rotten sheep, tossing overboard six, eight, ten or twelve in a day; besides having no prospect of getting into a friendly port for refreshment. However, in this our last distress, God Almighty preserved us; for contrary to our expectations, we saw **three islands** that had formerly been inhabited by the Indians, who had left these to inhabit another about twelve leagues distant. I was ordered in the boat to look for an anchoring place, and was met by a boat with Spaniards on board her, whom I took and carried on board. They discovered to us, that this island afforded above 10,000 head of cattle, with plenty of hogs, lemons and oranges, which was the only treasure which we then wanted. On the 28th of August 1742 we anchored at these islands, in latitude 16° [rather 15°] N., and I put all the sick people on shore, who soon found the effects of boiled and roast beef.

We stayed here two months, in which time we gathered some strength, and on the 27th [rather 22nd] of October 1742 we sailed for the coast of China, which is distant 500 leagues. We arrived the 10th of November 1742 at Macao, a Portuguese settlement at the mouth of the River Canton. We are now waiting to know whether the Chinese will assist us with necessaries to clean our ship, and stop a leak, which is very troublesome to us. What will be the consequence I can't tell; and what will be our next expedition I am yet in the dark.

You'll be desirous to know how my Commadore and I agree. To give you a character of him would require a more masterly pen; but his favours to me as well as all the other officers are sufficient proofs of his inclinations to serve us all. Farewell.

E3. Extract from the journal of Laurence Millechamp

Sources: Original in NMM ms. 9354/JOD 36; published by Williams, pp. 128-135.

...

The **Gloucester** being thus destroyed, and all her officers and crew taken out and put on board the **Centurion**, was made the greatest dispatch we possibly could in the

prosecution of our voyage, still bending our course (as we thought) toward Guam. But as we were some time before we got to any land we buried great numbers of our men, who being deeply afflicted with that almost incurable distemper the scurvy perished daily.

We had nothing else remarkable until the twenty-second of August, when we had the agreeable news of land being discovered from the masthead bearing west of us about ten leagues distance, and that it appeared like **two small islands**. We soon after saw it from off the deck, which gave us unspeakable pleasure; but it being late in the afternoon before we first discerned it, we had not daylight enough to go in with it that night.

The next day we sent a lieutenant in the cutter to examine it. We waited with the utmost impatience for his return, which happened not till nine o'clock at night. He then returned with boat loaded with coconuts, which when we saw we were quite ravished with joy, having been many months without any kind of vegetable, in which time we had greatly suffered for want of them. This joy was but of short duration, for he no sooner came on board than he told us there was no place for the ship to anchor in, nor any fresh water to be found; that it was almost too steep to[,] round both the islands; and that when they had soundings the ground was full of craggy rocks, which would infallibly cut our cables, and endanger the losing of the ship.

The extravagance of pleasure we had conceived on being so nigh a port, and finding such refreshments as coconuts on it, was soon succeeded by a deep melancholy almost equal to a despair. We had been many months at sea, were greatly in want of water, our people all eat up with the scurvy, insomuch that 'twas with the utmost difficulty that we could navigate the ship or keep her from sinking. And now, when we found the long wished for land, we were again forced to sea in search of new adventures, and to undergo more miseries. This was a great damp to our spirits, for we well knew we were in too deplorable a condition to cruise long in search of other islands, or of a convenient place to anchor in; for we often buried eight or ten men in a day which, considering our most unhappy circumstances, we could very ill spare.

However, on the twenty-eighth, after we had passed by many other islands that we had no view of refreshments from, we arrived at **Tinian**, where was a prospect of a good anchoring place by means of another smaller island lying without it, which formed a kind of bay. The island of Tinian had a most charming appearance, which was sufficient to have engaged the attention of people who were not so necessitated as we were; but to us it was a perfect paradise, for besides a great quantity of coconut and orange trees that we could discover by the help of our glasses as we sailed along the shore, we saw numbers of beautiful cattle grazing on most delightful plains full of herbage, and an agreeable verdure spreading itself over the face of the whole island. When we came within two miles of the bay the Commodore sent a lieutenant as usual to look out for an anchoring place. He soon returned with an Indian proa and four or five men who he had made prisoners. These people it seems belonged to Guam, and had been sent to Tinian in a bark with about twenty others to kill and cure beef for the garrison of Guam, and to supply the Acapulco ship, who generally touches there for refreshments in her

passage to Manila; and mistaking us for that ship had come off with refreshment for her, but on discovering their mistake, which they did before our boat got nigh them, they endeavoured to escape. But it falling calm, and their proa being but a bad row-boat (though an excellent sailor as I shall show hereafter) we soon prevented them, and brought them on board. They showed us the best place to anchor in, where we came to and moored that evening, and sent a lieutenant with a boat manned and armed to secure the rest of the people and the bark, which they succeeded pretty well in, not above four or five escaping. Those we took the Commodore ordered to be treated with all kind of civilities to encourage them to assist us in getting fresh meat, show us their manner of taking cattle, and be helpful in providing huts and necessaries for our sick.

The next day we sent about a hundred of our sick men on shore, and lodged them in a large hut or barn which had been built by the Spaniards for the convenience of curing their provisions. And now I can by no means think it improper to examine into the number of men who died on board the **Centurion** from the time of her leaving Acapulco to her leaving Tinian, of which the following is an exact account. One hundred and fifty-six men she buried in all, **Gloucester's Tryal's** and prisoners included, eighty-three of which were part of her own original complement; and two hundred and eighty-seven she lost before she arrived off of Acapulco makes three hundred and seventy. Which taken from five hundred (the number she sailed out of England with) leaves but one hundred and thirty, out of which many officers had been made from her on board other ships, which would have reduced her natural complement to no more than one hundred and ten men (officers and servants included). And I leave the whole world to judge whether, had they all been in health (which 'tis apparent was far from being the case) that was a sufficient number to navigate and fight a large sixty-gun ship, especially a ship that was very leaky, and wanted so many repairs and necessaries as the **Centurion** then did. But as the case was, their people were almost all sick and incapable of duty, insomuch that (even after she was reinforced by the **Gloucester's**) 'twas as much as they could all do to work the ship, and keep the pumps going to prevent her sinking. To effect which the Commodore himself, Col. Cracherode, Capt. Mitchell, Capt. Saunders, and all the officers, were obliged to work like common seamen until they could get her into port; and it is the opinion of almost everybody that was on board her that had she not fallen in with the land as soon as she happened to do we must all inevitably have perished together, for our leak daily increased on us as we grew daily less able to support ourselves, or work at the pump.

The sick men we put on shore recovered to a miracle, very few of them dying. The smell of the earth together with the coconut milk, oranges, limes, bread-fruit and fresh meat we got here recovered them in less time than we could possibly expect. Numbers who were brought on shore in their hammocks, and were so ill as not to be able to move, in two or three days would be crawling along in the sun; and others who were not so ill would walk two or three miles to bring home beef that had been killed by the butcher. So that a week's time, which would have killed us all had we continued at sea, restored us all to our former vigour and strength, so good a remedy is the earth to anybody af-

flicted with the sea scurvy. As everybody on board the ship was more or less afflicted with that odious distemper, they all took turns to be ashore to refresh themselves, and after they were a little recovered we went to work to wood and water the ship, stop her leaks, repair her rigging, and put her in a condition to pursue the remaining part of her voyage.

The prisoners we had taken in the bark and proa were at first very useful to us. They assisted in getting beef and hogs, got us coconuts, toddy, guavas, breadfruit, and such other necessaries as the island afforded, and used their endeavours to bring in the others who had escaped. In short, the kind treatment they had received from Mr. Anson had absolutely won them, and they seemed entirely devoted to his service. Till one day an unlucky accident happened through the imprudence of the butcher which upset all our schemes. The affair was as follows. One of the most dextrous of these fellows was sent with the butcher and two more of our own people to kill fresh beef, and happening to meet with a large herd of cattle that were too wild for our people (who were then unacquainted with the manner of taking them) to come within shot of, and having occasion to run round some little way to intercept the herd in a pass they were making for, our butcher imagined the fellow was going to run away with the musket [and] fired at him. Upon which the poor fellow threw down the musket, and really marched off. But the butcher and his crew were too much alarmed at his desertion to stay to look for his arms, being thus frightened out of their wits for fear they should be attacked by those who had at first escaped. They therefore returned and made a most lamentable story of it to the Commodore, who immediately ordered all the rest to be confined on board. About two days after, one of those who had first escaped us came in and offered to enter himself a volunteer in our service, which the Commodore readily accepted, and ordered him to be entered accordingly. He then sent him to persuade the rest of his companions to come in and submit themselves. They all refused it, saying they could not trust themselves in the hands of people who had once forfeited their word by endeavouring to destroy a person they had promised to protect. However, they sent the musket the fellow had thrown away.

This put us to great inconveniences, being obliged to keep constant guards to prevent their stealing any of our effects, or doing any damage to our sick.¹ Besides, the loss of so many useful people who understood the manner of thatching with the coconut leaves was no small one to us who wanted huts to live in. However, we set ourselves to work and soon built a large town consisting of about fifty or sixty huts and tents together, for the people as they recovered always endeavoured to remove from the barn where the stench of a number of sick men made it very nauseous and disagreeable.

While we were thus enjoying ourselves in the midst of plenty, and wallowing in luxury and ease, an unforeseen and unfortunate accident (the natural consequence of a luxurious and indolent life) happened, which spoiled our jollity and turned all our mirth to sorrow and lamentation. For on the twenty-first day of September the wind began

1 Ed. note: Who were the real thieves in this story?

to blow pretty fresh about noon, and the gale increasing at last arose to a most violent storm which about midnight drove the ship from her anchors. She having parted both her best and small bower cables, and dragged her sheet anchor from off the bank, drove off to sea, and was quite out of sight of the island before daylight.

It is almost impossible to describe the sorrow and anguish that possessed us (who were on shore) the next morning when we discovered she was gone. Grief, discontent, terror and despair seemed visible in the countenances of every one of us, nor could we tell what to hope, or what to fear. It was generally imagined she had sunk at her anchors, nobody having heard any signal from her, or seen her drive; and 'twas thought that had she drove to sea we must have seen her in the morning from off some of the adjacent hills. On the other hand, we imagined had she sunk directly down, some part of her hull, masts, rigging, boats or materials would have been drove on the shore. With this thought we flattered ourselves till we considered the wind directly offshore, which would have drove all those materials from us. Besides, we had but too much reason to fear her sinking from the leak she had, which the carpenters had been endeavouring to stop, and for that purpose had all the guns unlashd from their ports and brought to the aftermost part of the ship to raise the bows (where the leak was) far enough out of the water for them to work at it. We imagined those guns had not been got into their places and secured before the gale came on, the consequence of which we knew must be that the loose guns would beat out her sides by the rolling of the ship.

Thus we formed various conjectures to ourselves, and were some time before we recovered enough from our general consternation to think of measures for our future safety. But after two days were elapsed, and we had lost even the most distant hope of her, we set to work to enlarge the bark (we had taken there) and make her capable of carrying us to China. And what greatly encouraged this undertaking was our finding a compass that belonged to her which till that day we knew nothing of. This circumstance we looked on as a good omen, but it was some time before we could resolve to enlarge her. Some people objected strongly against it, for said they, "When we have taken her to pieces in order to enlarge her, we are not sure we can ever put her together again so as to make her swim. As she now is, she may be of some service by transporting some of us at a time and getting vessels to bring off the rest; but should we take her asunder, as we have neither nails, bolts, pitch, tar or oakum, we shall run a great risk of having no vessel at all to help ourselves with. Therefore let us go to work and endeavour to build another, which though it will be longer about we shall run no risk in, for if we should not happen to succeed in that we still are sure of this."

Notwithstanding all these arguments it was resolved to enlarge the bark, and for that purpose we were all set to work, some to dig a dock, others to cut down and saw timber for planks, knees etc. Some were employed in erecting a forge, and made their bellows out of bullocks' hides and boards, with a piece of a gun barrel for the nozzle. The first work we had for our forge was to make a file for setting a whip-saw we accidentally happened to have on shore with us. Thus was we variously employed, and as necessity is said to be the mother of invention every person found himself capable of doing some-

thing for the public service, which had they not been reduced to these extremities 'tis possible they might never have known. Nor was Mr. Anson himself, Captain Saunders or Mitchell idle on this occasion, for besides their giving necessary directions they all set themselves hard to work, and would frequently be working with an axe, cross-cut saw, or carrying timber with the meanest seaman we had. This raised an emulation in our common people, and made everyone endeavour to excel, and indeed we soon found that our work went on with great spirit and vigour, and was like to succeed far beyond our expectation.

In this manner we continued at hard labour for about three weeks, and had made so great a progress in our work that we had dug a dock, hauled the bark into it, taken her in two, and placed the parts at the distance we proposed for the enlargement. We had also cut timber and hewed it into proper shapes for beams, knees, clamps etc., and had sawed about ten or twelve hundred foot of plank for her. We were greatly pleased to see our work go on so cheerfully, and had quite given over all hope of the **Centurion** when, on the tenth of October, to our great joy we were alarmed with the agreeable news of a ship having been seen from off the hills by a gentleman who had always preferred his pleasures to his labour, or to his endeavours for the public safety. He had absented himself from work, and was sauntering over the hills when he happened to see her, and had the confidence to make a merit of it, though everybody else thought him blamable. However, it happened to be the **Centurion**. The joyful news saved him from a reproof I think he justly deserved. At five in the afternoon she came to an anchor, but could not moor, having lost all except her sheet anchor.

As our sorrow had been extravagant on her driving out, so was our joy for her return. We immediately quitted our work and having drunk nothing stronger than coconut milk for three weeks past, our people applied to the Commodore for a cup of refreshment, which he granted them out of the small stock he happened to have on shore with him, and which he had reserved for a sea store in the bark in her passage to China. This proved fatal to a couple of our men, John Cross and Thomas Stevens, who having made too free with the Commodore's bounty grew pot-valiant, quarrelled, and fought on the brink of a well they were filling water at, where lay a long range of casks on a kind of declivity supported only by that which lay nighest the well. In their struggling they happened to move that cask, which with the weight of above twenty others that were behind it, forced them both into the well and rolled in after them, by which means they were both drowned.

The Commodore and all the officers and people made what dispatch they could to get on board, being loath to trust a second driving out. When we got on board, the gentlemen there informed us in what manner they drove out, and that 'twas with the utmost difficulty they preserved and brought back the ship. That they had lost the long-boat before the ship drove, and that they had been almost fatigued to death in getting the sheet anchor, and swaying up the topmasts and yards, in doing which one John Horseman, being on the main yard his arm was caught in one of the jeer blocks, which crushed it all to pieces, and so tore his shoulder that he died two days after.

[Chamorro canoe]

We now made all possible dispatch in wooding and watering the ship and removing all our necessaries on board her; and the bark we had taken so much pains about, being now of no further use, we set fire to and destroyed, as also to to the proa (a description of which I promised) which we took on our first arrival. She was a boat of about thirty feet long, two and a half deep, and not above two broad in the widest part, with one side hollowed and bulging, something like our wherries, the other straight and perpendicular, from whence are fixed four outriggers with braces that steady them, which support a log of timber cut also in the shape of a small boat at about eight or ten feet distance from the real one.¹ This log and outrigger counterpoise the weight of the boat, and makes her capable of carrying as much sail as though she was actually as broad as from the extremity of the boat to that of the outrigger. And she being narrow has but a small resistance in the water, by which, whenever it blows, she sails with an incredible swiftness. I have been assured that some of these boats would sail twenty or thirty miles in an hour.

Tinian, one of that great chain of islands in the Asiatic Sea which extend themselves from latitude 10° N. to almost 30° N. and are generally known by the name of Ladrões,² lies in latitude 15° N., and is almost as large as the Isle of Wight. It is defended from the sea by vast craggy rocks which enclose it all round, except only on the place we landed, on the west side, where was a sandy bay. The rest of the island is almost impenetrable. The island is not now but has formerly been inhabited, as appears from the remains of buildings which seem to be very ancient, and which we found interspersed through all parts of the island. The soil of this island is very rich but loose. It produces great quantity of coconut trees, ginger, bread-fruit, oranges, limes, guavas, melons, and many other fruits unknown in Europe. What proved the most beneficial to us was the *rīma* or bread-fruit. It grows on large trees, and is about the size of a large melon. It has a rough rind. The manner of dressing it is only by roasting it in ashes like a potato and loaf bread, but I think far superior to either. I believe there is on this island nigh an hundred thousand head of cattle,³ and what is something remarkable is that they are everyone of them milk-white. There are also vast numbers of hogs in all the woods, the dunghill fowls are wild throughout all the island, and fly as pheasants and partridges in England. We frequently shot them on the wing, and took their eggs which we often found in nests on the ground as we were walking. In short, Providence seemed to have thrown us designedly on this island which abounded with so many varieties to make amends for the great hardships, fatigues and wants we had before undergone.

1 Ed. note: Errors, as there were only 3 outriggers and they extended on the bulging side off the canoe.

2 Ed. note: Even two centuries after the Marianas were given that name (in 1668), many English navigators still used their ancient name.

3 Ed. note: Not more than 10,000, according to the other witnesses.

On the twenty-second of October after we had taken in our sea store of oranges, coconuts etc. we took our leave of this most charming island, and once more launched into the wide ocean, and shaped our course for Macao on the coast of China.

...

E4. The unauthorized logbook of John Philips, Midshipman of the Centurion

Source: John Philips. An Authentic Journal of the Late Expedition Under the Command of Commodore Anson (London, J. Robinson, 1744).

...

Monday, 16 [May].

Little Winds. Employ'd in saving what Stores we could out of the **Gloucester**... Our People begin to be very sickly, and in such Want of Water, that they mix their Urine with it.

Thursday, 17.

Little Wind at S.E. and fine Weather. We found a Leak to be in the Forehold, on each side of the Stem, and employ'd our Carpenter in stopping it. The Commodore gave us, out of his own Stores, a Pipe of Madeira Wine to help out with our Water, being reduced, at this Time, to a Pint a Man for three Day [sic]. We had ten of our Crew died within these two Days.

...

Saturday, 21.

Little Wind, cloudy, and heavy Rains. Within these four Days have died eleven more, among whom was Mr. Edmund Walbank, Surgeon of the **Gloucester**, Acapulco 2237 Leagues distant.

Sunday, 22. and Monday, 23.

Little Winds and fair Weather. This Day five of our Ship's Company died, the rest in a very weak Condition, and great Want of Water. At 8 in the Afternoon we saw two Islands, one bearing West half South, the other South West by West, about 10 Leagues distant. Acapulco distant 2254 Leagues.

Tuesday, 24.

Little Winds and fair Weather. This Day the Northermost Island at Noon bore North by West, and the Southermost West by North, about 3 Miles distant. We sent a Lieutenant in our Cutter to discover the Shore. This Day nine of our People and an Indian died.

Wednesday, 25.

Fresh Gales. At 9 in the Evening our Boat with the Lieutenant, &c. returned from the Shore, and brought with them for our Refreshment sixty Cocoa Nuts; they could find no anchoring Place, nor any fresh Water; at 4 in the Morning the Body of the Island bore E.N.E. 4 or 5 Legues. This Day six more of our Men died, and the rest in a very weak Condition.

Thursday, 26.

Moderate and cloudy Weather. At 5 in the Afternoon we saw three Islands, the Northermost bore N.E. by N. the middle East, the Southermost E. by S. each 5 Leagues. At Noon we saw another Island South East, distant about 9 Leagues.

Friday, 27.

Moderate and cloudy Weather. This Day at Noon the Southermost Island hbore S.E. half E. and the Southermost end of the Northermost E.S.E. 4 Leagues distant, and Acapulco bore E. 2256 Leagues distant. By our Account we apprehended that we were near the Isle of Tenian, one of the Ladrone Islands, which lies in the Latitude of 14: 58 North and 117: 7 West from Acapulco in Mexico, which makes it from London 223: 25 West. This Day and Yesterday we had thirteen Persons more died.

Saturday, 28.

Light Airs of Wind with some hard Showers of Rain. At 3 in the Afternoon we sent the third Lieutenant with the Cutter on Shore. At 6 in the Morning an Indian Prow came from the Shore, taking us for the Acapulco Ship, but upon discovering her Mistake, she turned about and endeavoured to get away; but it becoming Calm, we sent the Pinnacle to two her on Board: She belonged to Guam, having with her a Bark and 24 Men, (which we also took) that were sent by the Governor to kill Cattle for the Inhabitants of that Place; the Bark was loaded with Cattle, Hogs, Fowls, Cocoa Nuts, Limes, and fine Oranges, which we detained with five Indians that were in the Prow. At eight in the Afternoon we anchored in twenty two Fathom Water, and veered out two thirds of a Cable, the Northermost part of the Island then being N.W. by N. the Southermost S.E. by S. it being the Island of Tenian, the Island of Guagan, lying S.S.W. At 6 in the Morning we sent ashore our second Lieutenant and 20 Men to make Tents for the Sick, and afterwards we sent on Shore 54 sick Men, wrapped up in their Hammocks, and placed them in the Tents our Men had provided, several of them not being able to stir Hand nor Foot, they were so excessively afflicted with the Scurvy; and this Day eight of our Men died. The Ladrone Islands, of which Tenian is one, are a great Number of small Islands, lying from the latitude of 12 Degrees to about 28 North, the Principal of which is Guam, lying in the Latitude of 31 Degrees 20 Minutes. This is the most frequented of any of the Islands, and is about twelve Leagues long, and four broad, lying Noroth and South, pretty high Champain Land. At a Distance it appears flat and even, but coming near, it stands shelving, and the East side, which is much the highest, is fenced with steep Rocks, on which the Waves continually beat, being driven by the constant Tradewinds, and on this side there is no anchoring. The West side of it is low Land, and full of small sandy Bays, divided by many rocky Points. It has a reddish dry Soil, but is indifferently fruitful in Rice, Pine Apples, Melons, Oranges, Limes, Cocoa Nuts, and a sort of Fruit called Bread Fruit, which grows on a Tree of the Bigness of a large Apple Tree; the Tree has a spreading Head, full of Brances, and dark Leaves; the Fruit grows on the Boughs like Apples, and is as big as an ordinary Football; it is round, and has a thick tough Rind; when the Fruit is ripe, it is yellow and soft, and of a sweet Taste: the Natives eat it instead of Bread; they gather it while it is green and

hard, and bake it till the Rind is scorched black, then scraping off the outside, there remains a thin tender Crust, the inside is white and soft, like the Crumb of a Penny Loaf, and there is neither Stone nor Seed in it, but a pure Substance like Bread; but if it be kept above twenty four Hours, it eats harsh and choaky; it is in Season eight Months of the Year, during which Time the Natives eat no other Sort of Bread; it is only to be found in the Ladrones and Philippine Islands. Tenian is uninhabited, and frequented only by those whom the Governor of Guam sends to kill Cattle, Hogs, Fowls, &c. in which this Island abounds. There are likewise a great Number of Cocoa Nuts, Limes, fine Oranges, and Bread Fruit.

Sunday, 29.

Squally Weather with Rain. At 8 in the Morning we got our Long Boat out, and sent ashore 70 more of our sick Men.

Monday, 30.

Calm and fair Weather with some Rain. In the Morning we weighed and brought our Ship nearer Shore, in 22 Fathom Water.

Tuesday, 31.

Calm and fair Weather. This Day we moored the Ship with a Cable each Way, in Tenian Road.

Wednesday, September 1, 1742.

Fair Weather with some Squalls. This Day we sent some Casks ashore. Here we had a good Supply of Fresh Meat, to serve our Ship's Company, and all at so easy an Expence, that we had no more Trouble than shooting the Cattle and bringing them down.

Thursday, 2.

Weather fair and moderate. We were now employed in getting the Ship by the Stem, that we might come at the Leak to stop it; the same Day we received an Ox from the Shore.

Friday, 3.

Calm and cloudy Weather. This Day we got the Leak out of the Water. Our Sick, by the Help of sine Oranges and good fresh Provisions, begin to recover in a surprising Manner.

Saturday, 4. Squally Weather with Rain. Our Carpenters employ'd in stopping the Leak as well as they can.

Sunday, 5. and Monday 6.

Calm and cloudy Weather. We were still employed in stopping the Leak.

Tuesday, 7.

Little Wind and clear. This Day we brought the Ship upon an even Keel, the Carpenter having done with the Leak, and as he imagined stopped it, but on Trial we find it as bad as ever; whereupon we got her by the Stem again, and tryed a second Time to stop it, but to little Purpose. Our Company on Board, as well as those ashore, were served with fresh Provisions every Day, with which we were supplied in abundance by our Men on Shore, who were there enjoying themselves; their delightful Situation seeming to them as it were a little Haven, after the many Hardships, Difficulties, and

Necessities they had undergone, especially since we left Acapulco. Our Felicity however was not of a long Continuance, for we now began to be pester'd with Flies, which afterwards encreased to that prodigious Degree, that if we shot a Bullock and skin'd him, and let the Carcase lye but one Day, it would be almost devoured by them; nay, as soon as we took a Piece of our boiled Meat out of the Pot and set it on the Table, it was so covered with them, that we could scarce tell whither we had Meat or Flies before us, and we could not put a Bit of it into our Mouths, without having a great Number of them upon it, which was very disagreeable Sauce.

Wednesday, 8.

Fresh Gales and squally. We sent on Board the Bark an Anchor and Hawser, in order to moor her; accordingly they moored her about a Stone's cast from the Shore.

Thursday, 9.

We received on Board some Water. An on

Saturday, 11.

We sent ashore a Maintopsail as a covering for our Sick.

Sunday, 12.

We carried an Anchor out to stay the Ship, while we loosed our Cable, having obtained it to be much rubbed by the Rocks.

Monday, 14.

We began to wash and scrub our Ship, and did not compleat her, till

Saturday, 19.

When we on Board began to lash the Guns.

Sunday and Monday, 21.

Calm Weather with Rain and Lightning.

Tuesday, 22.

Excessive hard Gales and Rain. At 7 in the Afternoon we parted with the small Bower and brought up and rid by the best; a very great Sea running at our Stern caused our Long-boat to stave herself against the Rails of our Gallery, and she overset with a Man in her, but with great Difficulty we saved him, tho' we lost our Boat. At 11 we parted with the best Bower and let go the Sheet Anchor, and veer'd almost two Cables Length, at which we sounded, and found we were drove out of Soundings, whereupon we fired four Guns and made a Signal of Distress, soon after we fired four more, but to no effect. At 6 in the Morning we saw the Island of Tenian E. by N, five Leagues. The Wind continuing for three Days we drove under a Mizen, with the Sheet Anchor down all that Time, we having only sixty hands on Board, (the Commodore and one Hundred and ten Men being a Shore) and they were so fatigued that they could not hawl the Sheet Anchor up; at the same Time our Ship made a great deal of Water.

Wednesday, 23.

The excessive hard Gales of Wind still continuing, one of our Foreshrouds broke, which we spliced again; we also had one of the Strops of our Bobstay broke.

Thursday, 24.

The bad Weather still continued. This Day we got up a pair of preventer Shrouds for the Foremast.

Friday, 25.

Fresh Gales and a large Sea. We swayed up the Main and Foreyards; but in swaying up the former, one of our Men, nam'd John Horseman, being upon the Yard to secure the slack Jeer, the other broke, upon which down it came, and in the Fall his Arm caught in the Block and was broken all to pieces; by which Accident he died in a few Days.

Saturday, 26.

The Weather being moderate, we heav'd up the Sheet Anchor, and secured him, our Men being very much fatigued, and so made sail for the Island of Tenian.

Sunday, 27.

We got up the Rigging and Bent another Maintopsail.

Monday, 28.

We were obliged to continue pumping the Ship every two Hours, occasioned by her making so much Water.

Saturday, October 3.

We saw the Island of Guam S.E. half E. 14 Leagues distant. And on

Friday, 9.

At 5 in the Afternoon, we saw from the Masthead the Island of Tenian from the S.S.E. to E.N.E. 6 Leagues distant.

Saturday, 10.

At 8 in the Morning the Island of Sypan bore N.E. distant 6 Leagues, Guagan S.E. 4 Leagues, and Tenian from the S.S.E. to the E.N.E. 3 Leagues. And on

Sunday 11.

At 5 in the Afternoon, we anchored with our Sheet Anchor in 27 Fathom Water, having no other left; in the Morning we sent our empty Casks ashore for Water.

Monday, 12.

We received a Ton, and the Men that brought it inform'd us, that John Cross and Thomas Stevens, two of our Crew ashore, were killed by two Casks of Water falling into the Well upon them, as they were filling. They likewise inform'd us, that after we had been driven off to Sea, and they had waited for several Days in vain for the Ship, despairing of her Return, they proposed to saw the Bark (which we took at our first arriving here) in two, with a Design of lengthening her, hoping that, in case we did not return, they might by means thereof reach some of the Philippine Islands. They added, that no Precaution was omitted on shore, but the People beieng recover'd, all Hands were employ'd, some in cutting of Wood, some in sawing, some in digging, and others in building of Huts; and that the Commodore himself was not an idle Spectator, but lent a helping Hand to assist them; during which Lieutenant Gordon, of the Marines, happening to be on a Hill, descry'd the Ship, and immediately went to acquaint the Commodore therewith, who from a mutual Sense of the common Welfare received the Intelligence with particular Chearfulness: This agreeable News put a Period to their la-

hours, and occasioned them to pursue the most speedy Disposition of Affairs, in order to their going on board the Ship.

Tuesday 13.

At 1 p.m. we received five Tons of Water; at 10, having hard Gales of Wind, our Ship drove off from the Bank, at which we hove the Anchor up, and fired three Guns, as a Signal for the Boat to come off.

Wednesday 14.

At 6 in the Afternoon, we saw the Island of Guagan from South to South-East, about 8 Miles distantn.

Thursday 15.

We set our Foresail turning into Tinian Road. And on

Friday 16.

At 11 in the Morning, our Barge came on Board with some of our People; who, at 8, saw two Periagos [sic = piraguas] standing for the Land, but on sight of the Ship they stood off.

Saturday 17.

In the Morning we anchored in 36 Fathom Water. The best anchoring Place is in 22 Fathom Water, about 2 Miles off the Shore; the Northernmost Part of Tenian bearing N.W. by N. and the Southernmost S.E. half E. and the Body of the Island of Guagan S.S.W.

The Tide sets strong between this Island and Guagan at S.S.E. and N.N.W. and runs longer and stronger to the Sothward than to the Northward, making a great Sea when it sets against the Wind, and rises about 8 Foot perpendicular along Shore; at the Quarters of the Moon it rises higher by two Foot than at the Full and Change, contrary to the common Phenomenon of the Tides; it rises more or less also according to the Strength of the Wind blowing into the Bay, by two or three Feet. The flowing at Full and Change is about eight Hours. But I believe the Tides are not so dependant on the Moon here as in other Places between the Tropicks, but seem rather to be influenced and determined by the Situation of the Islands (being in a long Ridge from South to North from New Guiney near to Japan) and the Shifting of the Monsoons.

Sunday 18.

We were employed in Watering our Ship, and getting ready to put to Sea again. We had the Misfortune, this Day, to lose a Raft of Casks, consisting of 12 Butts and 3 Puncheons.

Monday 19.

We continued watering our Ship. This Day likewise we sent a Man out of every Mess a Shore to get Oranges, and what they could for themselves.

Tuesday 20.

Two of the Indians we took in the Periago swam away from us.

Wednesday, 21.

We sent two old Indians on Shore, and set the Bark on Fire, and brought every Thing off the Shore.

Thursday, 22.

We hoisted in our Boat, and at 5 in the Afternoon weighed and made Sail for Macao, having been here above three Weeks; our Crew brave and hearty, and in good Spirits. The Northermost end of Tenian Bore N. by W. the Southermost S.E. by E. and the Body of the Island E.N.E. and the Island of Guahan South 3 Leagues...

E5. Other unpublished eyewitness accounts.

Note: Much repetition, but may still be reproduced later in the Supplementary Volume.

—Extracts from Anson's own logbook.

Source: NMM ADM/L/C/300.

Note: Has at least 8 pages on Tinian.

—Extract from the log of Lieutenant Denis.

Source: NMM ADM/L/C/83.

Note: Has at least 8 pages on Tinian: entries for the period 2.1.1742 to 24.1.1744

—Extract from the log of Lieutenant Piercy Brett.

Source: NMM ADM/L/C/83 also.

Notes: At least 6 pages on Tinian. Brett was born in 1710, he served in the RN until the 1760s, having been knighted in 1753. He died an Admiral in 1781. One navigational log has been attributed to him; it used to be in NMM, but is now located in the Scottish United Service Museum, in Edinburgh, as part of the Lord Duncan's papers.

—Extract from the log of Lieutenant Patrick Baird.

Source: NMM ADM/L/G/531.

Note: Has at least his 8 pages on Tinian.

 Note 1742F

Letter from Fr. Francisco Xavier Reittenberger to Rome, dated Rota 20 January 1742

Source: ARSI, F.G. 1466/3 (18 pages in Latin, very condensed, at 48 lines/page). The full translation will appear in the Supplementary Volume, if the original Latin text can be obtained and deciphered.

Synthesis.

It is an account of the religious life in the Marianas, church services in Agaña, schools. Father Victor Walter was then Superior and Rector of the Colleges. The actual Governor was serving by interim. There were then 4 other priests at Agaña: 1) Fr. Diego de **Zarzosa**, then in his nineties¹, who had arrived at the islands with Fr. Augustin Strobach [in 1681]; 2) Fr. Felipe **Muscatti** [sic], in his eighties; 3) Fr. Pedro **Cruidolff** [sic], in his seventies; 4) Fr. Domingo **Carlone** [sic], from the Austrian Province.² Also there was then a pharmacist, Fr. Jacobo **Heipel**, in his eighties [rather fifties].

He narrates the visit of a Dominican mission band on their way to the Philippines, on board the latest galleon from Acapulco, among whom was Fr. Angel Rodriguez, the newly-appointed Archbishop of Manila. Fr. Reittenberger also narrates the “thousand frauds” committed by the Governors in the Marianas. He talks about the winds and the difficulties of visiting Tinian from Rota. Fr. Heipel used to serve in Merizo and Umatac. Fr. Francisco **Urfarer** was at Inarajan. He deplores the fact that the Carolines cannot be evangelized. He extols the virtues of the Fathers from the Bohemian Province: Fr. Augustin Strobach is given special praise; others were Fr. Juan Schirmeisen; Fr. José **Bonani** was then curate at Agat. Fr. Carlos Boranga was from the Austrian Province, and had participated in the last reduction of the Northern Marianas.

1 Ed. note: Since Fr. Zarzosa died in 1739 supposedly, only his death could have been reported here.

2 Ed. note: Since Fr. Carloni died on 17 May 1738, only his death could have been reported here.

Documents 1743A

More information on the galleon Covadonga, her capture and prize cause

Introduction—Synthesis of the thick file that the Spanish created on this subject

Source: AGI Fil. 256 (formerly 68-6-38).

Note: The file is entitled: "Traslado Autentico de los Autos fijos Sobre la presa del Patache Nra. Señora de Cobadonga en su tornabuelta a las Islas Philipinas a cargo del General D. Geronimo Montero executada por el Almirante Ingles Jorge Anzon serca del Enbocadero de S. Bernardino."

The first official letter on the Spanish side came from the Governor of the Philippines, Brigadier Gaspar de la Torre, and was dated Manila 6 February 1743, in which he reports the sighting of the Centurion near Canton.

Another letter by Governor de la Torre is dated 2 July 1743; he reports the capture of the Covadonga. He followed it up with many other letters, among others, some dated Manila 5 July 1744; 1, 4 and 27 June 1745; the 1745 letter accompanies the records of the inquiry into the event.

One letter is from a member of the Audiencia of Manila, José Gonzalo de Leagui, dated Manila 21 August 1745. This letter was seen in the Council of the Indies only on 21 August 1750.

Letters from the interim Governor of the Philippines, Fray Juan de Arechederra, are dated Manila 30 June 1745, 13 and 14 May 1746.

...

A1. Summary of the official report on the capture of the galleon Covadonga

Letter from Governor de la Torre to the King, dated Manila 4 June 1745.

Original text in Spanish.

El Brigadier Don Gaspar de la Torre Governador y Capitan General de las Islas Philipinas.

*Dà quenta à V.M. con Testimonio de las diligencias y pesquisa que se hizo sobre la Presa de la Capitana **Nuestra Señora de Cobadonga**, que de vuelta de Nueva España sorprendió el enemigo Ingles en las sercanias del Cavo del Espiritu Santo, y que aviendo resultado de la mencionada averiguacion, que el General y Oficiales pusieron de su parte quanto les fue posible una competente defensa, hasta que casi destrosado el Navio se rindieron al enemigo, y en vista de los autos se absolvió à los comprehendidos, interin y por ahora, hasta que en vista de todo mande V.M. lo que fuere servido; y que se queda entendiendo en las diligencias que previene la Sentencia contra los Desertores que voluntariamente se pasaron al enemigo, de cuiá resulta se dará quenta à V.M. en primera ocasion.*

Translation.

Brigadier Gaspar de la Torre, Governor and Captain General of the Philippine Islands.

Reports to Y.M., along with a Record of the Proceedings and Inquiry carried out regarding the capture of the flagship **Nuestra Señora de Cobadonga**, that upon her return voyage from New Spain was surprised by the English enemy in the neighborhood of Cape Espiritu Santo. The result of the above-mentioned investigation was that the General and Officers had done everything possible to put up a proper defence, until the ship was almost destroyed, when they surrendered to the enemy. In view of the proceeding, those involved were absolved, for the time being and until Y.M. may order what may please you. He advises that he is pursuing the case against the deserters who voluntarily went over to the enemy, and will report to Y.M. upon the sentence, at the first opportunity.

A2. Description of the battle between the Centurion and the Covadonga, by General Gerónimo Montero

Sòurce: AGI Fil. 256 (formerly 68-6-38).

Original text in Spanish.

M. Y. Señor:

*El Excmo. Sor. Virrey de la Nueva España se sirvió de Despacharme los Titulos de General del Patache **Nuestra Señora de Cobadonga**, en virtud de renuncia del General Don Luís Manzo de Velasco y del nombramiento de V.S. con que se digno de honrarme en su pliego de segunda Via. La obligacion de este empleo me fuerza à noticiar à V.S. de nuestra dolorosa desgracia pues me fuera culpable la omision; No participandole muy por menor nuestro infortunio así por satisfacer à la confianza que se digno V.S. de hacer de mi persona mostrando haver de mi parte esforzado los medios todos de desempeñarla: Como porque con la noticia de todo lo sucedido, y la de el estado presente de las cosas, pueda mejor determinar las providencias mas oportunas para asegurarnos de los temores de ber repetidos nuestra desgracia en el Galeon que esta en Viage, ó en otra no pensadas hostilidades.*

Haviendo salido del Puerto de Acapulco el dia quince de Abril con el Navio de mi cargo armado en guerra con todas las prevenciones que me parecieron conducentes à su defenza: Luego pase al reconocimiento de toda la gente que venia embarcada distribuyendo à cada uno en la forma acostumbrada los puestos que devían ocupar en caso de ofreserse algun combate, y aviendo navegado con favorables Vientos hasta principios del mes de Junio, y hallandonos en distancia de ciento y cinquenta leguas, con poca diferencia de las Islas Marianas, recelandome de la contingencia de encontrar en ellas al enemigo, determinè celebrar Junta de todos mis oficiales y en ella aviendoseles propuesto: Que sin embargo de no haverse montado en otros Viages los Cañones de la andana baja por haverse conocido impracticable su manejo, y reconocimiento, que havia mandado nuevamente hacer a varios de los mismos ofiziales haver resultado el mismo impedimento, por lo que no se havian montado mas que treinta y dos Cañones: Los seis ensima del Castillo de Proa: Los dos guarda timones, y las dos muras con mas uno de la andana del combes de calibre de à doze: Y los diez y nueve restantes de calibre de à ocho: En este punto expresasen su dictamen: Como tambien en orden à las demas providencias para determinar las que pareciesen mas utiles para el mayor seguro del Navio, y su defenza en caso de encontrar al enemigo: Y asi mismo en orden à la determinacion de llegar, ò no, à reconocer las Islas Marianas: Todos unaminos expresaron ser cierto el impedimento para el manejo de la bateria baja, por razon de tener las mismas portas besando el agua, y por consiguiente no haviendo de manejarse dicha Artilleria que solo podria servirnos de embarazo: Con lo que se determinò que no se hiciese novedad en este asunto: Y en orden à las demas disposiciones de Guerra por mi dispuestas: Dixeron no reconocer cosa alguna, que mudan en mendar, ò añadir à lo dispuesto: Y por consiguiente estar el Navio à toda su satisfacion para defendernos todo lo posible, si llegase el caso: determinose asi mismo por conveniente el llegar à las Islas Marianas; en consideracion de las razones siguientes: en dichas Islas apenas se conoce Puerto seguro capaz de medianos embarcaciones, y siendo las Inglesas de el cargo de el comandante Anzon dos Navios, el uno de cinquenta y quatro, y el otro de sesenta y quatro Cañones, los que se despidieron de las costas de Acapulco el dia Veinte de Mayo del año pasado de setecientos quarenta y dos, parecia imposible el que pudiesen haverse mantenido tanto tiempo sin abrigo alguno en dichas Islas expuestos à los contratiempos de quasi un año quando nuestros Navios no puedan lograr muchas vezes mantenerse, aun el corto tiempo que necesitan para su refresco: en vista de eso parecia à todos segura la determinacion de llegar à reconocer dichas Islas, yà era muy conducente para determinar en adelante nuestra derrota en demanda del embocadero, ò estrabiar de rumbo segun las noticias, que alli encontrasemos del paradero de dichos Ingleses.

En virtud de esta determinacion seguimos nuestro Viage, sin alterar el rumbo hasta avistar el dia diez y seis de dicho mes de Junio las Islas Marianas, y haviendo logrado el dia siguiente dar fondo, en las primeras embarcaciones nos binieron las noticias siguientes que à principios del mes de septiembre del año pasado llegó à la Isla de Tinguian [sic] el Comandante Anzon con uno de sus Navios; Haviendo dejado irse à pique, con toda su carga el otro de su conserva, por no haverlo podido remediar la mucha

*agua, que hazia, y aviendo salvado de el, solamente la Gente: Que haviendo dicho Comandante saltado à tierra con ciento y cinquenta hombres de sus ofiziales y tripulacion por conseguir algun refresco por venir escasos de viveres, y con la mayor parte de la gente maltratada, y enferma: Dentro de pocos dias le sobrevino un tiempo con que gar-rando las Anclas precisaron al Navio à lebase, dejando en tierra à dicho su Comandante con dicho ciento y cinquenta hombres: Y aviendo corrido el tiempo con el Navio bien maltratado, sin dejar de las manos las bombas por razon de la mucha agua, al cavo de diez y ocho dias bolvio à dar fondo en el mismo parage, al segundo, ò tercero dia, repitio el mismo Viento, temerosos de el pasado suceso se embarcaron todos, y dejandose dos anclas se hizieron à la Mar: Que el dia veinte y siete de febrero llegò à dichas Islas Marianas el Navio **Nuestra Señora del Pilar** del Comando del General Don Juan Infante de Sotomayor, quien en vista de estas noticias con el poco refresco que le permitio el tiempo hacer siguiò luego su Viage en demanda del embocadero.*

*Con estas noticias de el todo nos creimos asegurados de el recelo de encontrar al enemigo: Pues ha demas de considerar à su Navio incapaz de exponerse al convate parecia natural, que en caso de esperar en el embocadero havia de encontrar[se] primero con el Patache **Nuestra Señora del Pilar**: Ha demas de que siempre nos parecio duro de creer que pudiese mantenerse largo tiempo el enemigo à vista de tierra, sin que se tuviese noticia en esa Ciudad. En virtud de estas razones que todas se tuvieron presentes en dicha celebrada junta, el dia diez y ocho nos levamos para seguir nuestro Viage al embocadero, y haviendo logrado siempre favorable el viento hasta el dia treinta al salir el sol avistamos una vela que no se pedia aun bien asegurar la embarcazion, que fuese y respecto de hallarnos tan inmediatos à la tierra, que se dejò ver dentro de una hora, seguimos nuestro Viage en demanda de ella, y reconocimiento de la embarcazion: esta se dejò distinguir en breve un Navio de alto bordo, y haviendo reconocido de sus velas ser extranjero, y por consiguiente enemigo: hallandonos con el viento vario à ratos en calma, y à ratos en turbonadillas, mas, ò menos escazes, y considerando segun se reconocio su andar, que no serà inevitable el peligro, determinamos esperarle, arbolando la Vandera, y asegurandola con un cañonazo cargando nuestra vela mayor arriba, y aprovechando el tiempo en prevenirnos para el combate.*

Este se principio como à las doze del dia, dejandose venir el enemigo por nuestra popa, y echando su Vandera Inglesa, con los primeros Cañones de su mira, no havandola querido largar antes, aun con haverle para este efecto nuestros repetido segundo Cañonazo: mantubose por la aleta de popa descargandonos toda su Artillería con las dos andanas alta de diez y ocho, y baja de veinte y quatro y la del alcazar de à ocho re-forrados: y nosotros respecto de haver del todo yà calmado el viento, y tener nuestro Navio sin gobierno solo pudimos entre tanto ofenderle con nuestros guarda timones de calibre de à doze, repitiendo continuamente su carga, y descarga por no permitirnos lo estrecho de las portas el prolongar los otros cañones: haviendo buuelto à cargar toda su artilleria, à tiro de pistola se vino enparejando con nosotros, descargandonos segunda vez, su andana alta, y baja y la fusilería acompañado todo de un continuo fuego de las Gabias, cuyo vivo tezon mantenian veinte y quatro hombres en cada una con fusiles, y

Cañones de à quatro: logrando entonces nosotros del mismo modo dispararle con nuestra fusilería, y toda la andana de nuestra Artilleria.

Con la bentaja de tener inmovil nuestro Navio, y el suyo con perfecto gobierno, logrando movimientos à su disposicion sin dejar un instante el continuo fuego por franquearles siempre segura apuntería el desahogo de sus portas proporcionadas à prolongar los Cañones à su gusto: y nosotros no perdiendo ocasion alguna, de repetirle el fuego siempre que pudimos lograr proporcion para el tiro, sin embargo de ser muy limitado el manejo, que lo estrecho de las portas permiten à nuestro cachete de proa, de donde solamente podiamos ofenderle con los dos Cañones de debajo del Castillo, que mantuvimos por mas de un quarto de ora repitiendo continuamente su carga, y descarga: logrando el enemigo en este tiempo con la immediacion, y bentaja de lo alteroso de su costado que predominaba con exeso al nuestro sin desabrigar su gente, tenernos à todos descubiertos para no desperdiciar tiro alguno de su continuo fuego dejandonos maltratado el Navio[,] lastimados los Palos, cortados todos los estays, y cabos de labor con las cubiertas sembradas de muertos, y gravemente heridos, que pasaron de ciento y treinta: Siendo entre ellos el General atravesado el pecho con una bala de fusil, y lastimado un pie de un astillaso[,] el Sargento Maior atravesado un muslo en una pierna[,] herido del mismo modo el Condestable, el Capitan de la recluta que se hizo en Mexico por orden del Señor Virrey con la desgracia de haverle llevado enteramente una pierna una bala de Artilleria.

Dos horas cumplidas durò el combate manteniendo siempre la misma corta distancia de un tiro de Pistola, sin descaecer un instante el enemigo tezon de un vivo continuado fuego: Sin pretender exponer su gente descubierta a los peligros del Abordaje por conocer la gran ventaja de su costado, y artillería de sesenta y dos Cañones montados de los sobre dichos calibres, de à diez y ocho, y veinte y quatro siendo la nuestra de solos treinta y dos cañones montados los cinco de à doze, y los restantes de à seis, y de à ocho, y de todos limitado el manejo en la conformidad referida: y por el espasio dicho de mas de un quarto de hora sin poder balernos mas que los dos dichos debajo del Castillo por no haver podido jamas conseguir desde que se principio la lid el que nuestro Navio para su movimiento obedciese à los continuas diligencias que hizimos con el timon, y las Velas: con lo que finalmente viendo desmayada la gente haviendo muchos abandonados sus puestos con el lastimoso espectaculo de tantos muertos, y heridos siendo estos mas de setenta, y aquellos sesenta y uno que se echaron menos en el reconocimiento que se hizo pasada la fursion creyendo yà mas que temeraria imposible la resistencia fue preciso reducirnos à los rigores de una infeliz fortuna quedando pricioneros del enemigo.

El Comandannte Ingles se esmero con todo sus Ofiziales en reducirnos en su Navio con toda la atencion y urbanidad que en semejantes casos acostumbra la militar policia, y tomando para Canton su derrota el dia Veinte y uno de Jullio à vista de las Islas de Teypanes concedio la livertad de salir a tierra, y no haviendo logrado promptas embarcaciones bastantes para nuestra conduccion desembarcandose aqui los que pudieron los demas seguimos hasta entrar el Rio de Canton de donde salimos para juntarnos

todos en Macao à donde nos mantuvimos todos à expensas del Capitan Don Manuel Vizente de Rosa havindome empeñado con los oficiales y pasajeros que voluntarios se ofrecieron à concurrir afianzando con sus caudales la paga de estos suplementos para nuestra manutencion y conduccion de todos hasta esta Ciudad.

El dicho Comandante Ingles pretextando necesidad de retener à bordo de su Navio un ofizial nuestro con quien legitimar en todo tiempo las declaraciones que dejamos firmadas en asumpto de la presa me pidio su nombramiento en uno de los Pilotos en Virtud de lo que se quedo Don Joseph Alexo de Tellitú segundo Piloto provisto por el Exmo. Señor Virrey de la Nueva España: así mismo se quedaron ochenta hombres los treinta en su Navio, y los cinquenta restantes en el nuestro apresado asegurando dicho Comandante que luego que entrase en Buampú surgidero comun de los Navios de el trato de Canton entregaría dicha Gente toda: dando àsi mismo seguro ò pasaporte para nuestro Viage este recivi el dia siete de Noviembre con carta de dicho comandante, y viendo que no entregaba la gente sin embargo de haverle yò repetido dos Cartas sobre el asumpto en el mismo dia me determinè à salir de Macao considerando lo adelantado del tiempo por no exponernos à malograr el Viage con mayor detencion: y aviendo logrado desde antes de ayer el ponernos à vista de Mariveles no nos hà permitido el tiempo entrar, y por no sotabentarnos de la boca de el Puerto nos hemos visto precisados à dar fondo debajo del cerro de Bataan en donde nos mantenemos esperando favorable viento para entrar, y pasar à ponerme à disposicion de V.S. para lo que espero su lizenzia juntamente con la determinacion de la disposicion de toda la gente.

En orden à las determinaciones de dicho Comandante para en adelante nadie hasta aora ha podido de cierto averiguarlas pero en Canton, y Macao, se cree de las providencias que hasta aqui a tomado que en este año no emprendera Viage para la Europa antes si, que esperará la respuesta de su despacho que hizo el año pasado en los Navios de la Compañia con uno de sus ofiziales pidiendo seis Navios de Guerra con tripulacion correspondiente à la empresa de saquear à Manila, y reducir las Islas al Dominio Ingles lo que aseguran tener ofrecido à su soberano.

Esta es, Señor, la mas ingenua relacion de lo sucedido hasta aqui sin que de todo me quede el menos escrupulo de haver omitido diligencia alguna, que conociese correspondiente al desempeño de mi obligacion en lo que solo creo que se pudiera escrupulizar la temeridad de havernos expuesto à tan conocida ruyna haviendo advenido desde el principio el conocido exeso de la fuerza enemiga que nunca nos pudo ofrecer alguna experanza de que con las nuestras tan desiguales pudiesemos contrastarla: pero parecionos precioso el empeño para satisfacer à costa de exponer nuestras vidas los escrupulos de nuestra reputazion. Estas, Señor, son las noticias que me han parecido dignas de participar à V.S. para que en su inteligencia pueda precautelarnos de todo infortunio determinando con su alta conprehencion, y el grave maduro acuerdo que acostumbra las providencias para el remedio.

Nuestro Señor Guarde la vida de V.S. como las Islas lo necesitan en las presentes circunstancias.

*à Bordo del Patache **Santo Domingo** y Noviembre treinta de mil setecientos quarenta y tres.*

M. Y. Señor.

A los pies de V.S. su menor servidor.

[Al] *M. Y. Señor Don Gaspar de la Torre y Ayala, Brigadier de sus Reales Exercitos, Gentil hombre de la Camara de S.M. su Governador y Capitan General de las Islas Filipinas, y Presidente de su Real Audiencia y Chanzilleria de la Ciudad de Manila.*

Geronimo Montero.

Translation.

Most Illustrious Sir:

His Excellency the Viceroy of New Spain was pleased to despatch to me the Letters of Appointment as General of the patache **Nuestra Señora de Cobadonga**, by virtue of the renunciation of General Luís Manzo de Velasco and of the appointment which Y.L. has honored me with, in the letter you sent by the second route. The obligation of this job forces me to notify Y.L. about our painful mishap; indeed, not to do so would be a crime. I do so in great details, not to justify the trust placed in my person by Y.L. and to demonstrate that I have tried to use all of the means at my disposal to discharge my obligation, but to give a complete report on what happened, and the present state of affairs, to enable us to better determine the best measures to be taken in order to overcome the fears that our misfortune may be repeated with the galleon that is on her way, or in any other hostilities as yet unforeseen.

Having left the Port of Acapulco on the 15th of April with the warship under my command with all of the preventative measures that seem to me proper for her defence, I then passed a muster of all of the men on board, distributing to each one in the usual manner the stations that they had to occupy in case of any attack. Having sailed with favorable winds as far as the beginning of June, and finding myself at a distance of 150 leagues, more or less, from the Mariana Islands, fearing that we might have to meet with the enemy there, I decided to hold a council of all my officers, in which I suggested the following idea to them: That, in spite of the fact that the guns of the bottom row had not been mounted on other voyages, because their handling had been recognized as impracticable, and that the survey that I had ordered to be made by various of the same officers had resulted in the same judgment, no more than 32 guns had therefore been mounted: six of them on top of the forecastle, two to guard the rudder, and two in the waists on each side, and one gun on the deck row being a 12-pounder in caliber; the 19 remaining guns being 8-pounders in caliber. About this point, they were to express their opinion, as well as about the other measures that might be taken to make the ship more secure, and in better defence, in case of meeting with the enemy. In addition, we were to decide whether or not to visit the Marianas. All unanimously expressed their opinion, saying that it was true that the handling of the lower guns was impeded, because the gun ports themselves were almost touching the water, and consequently, said guns should not be handled, as they could only serve us as an impedi-

ment. Therefore, it was decided that no change should be made regarding this matter. And regarding the other war measures put into effect by me, they said that they could not see anything that needed to be changed, or added, to what had been decided, and therefore the ship was in a condition that was completely satisfactory for her defence, if need be. It was also decided that we should touch at the Mariana Islands, for the following reasons: in said Islands there is hardly a safe port for average-size vessels, and since the two ships under Commander Anson, when he left the coasts of Acapulco on the 20th of May of the year 1742, were ships, one carrying 54 guns, and the other 64, it seemed impossible that they might have maintained themselves for such a long period without shelter in said Islands, exposed to the bad weather of almost one year, when our own ships could hardly maintain themselves there on so many times, not even for the short time it takes to refresh; in view of that, it seemed to everyone that it would be a safe decision to stop at said Islands, as it was a very appropriate thing to do, not only to determine the best course to follow towards the Strait, but also to enable us to change our route in accordance with the news, to be gathered there, as to the whereabouts of said Englishmen.

By virtue of this decision, we pursued our voyage, without changing our course, until we sighted the Mariana Islands on the 16th of said month of June. After we managed to anchor the next day, with the first boats to come alongside, we learned that, at the beginning of September of last year, Commander Anson had arrived at the Island of Tinguian [sic = Tinian] with one of his ships, having scuttled the other one that sailed in company, along with her whole cargo, since he had been unable to repair her leaks and had saved only her men. That said Commander had stepped ashore with 150 men from among his officers and crew in order to get some refreshments, as they were short of food, and that most of his men were in bad shape, or sick. Within a few days, a storm had arisen that made the anchors of the ship drag and forcer her to set sail, leaving ashore said Commander with said 150 men. And, with the ship suffering damage from the storm in question and making so much water that the pumps were continuously being worked, after 18 days she returned and anchored in the same neighborhood, but two or three days later, the same wind returned. That is when, fearing that she would be carried off again, they all embarked, leaving two of their anchors behind. That on the 27th of February, the galleon **Nuestra Señora del Pilar** arrived at said Islands under the command of General Juan Infante de Sotomayor, who, in view of these news, and with the small quantity of refreshments that the weather permitted, pursued his voyage in search of the Strait.

With such news, on the whole we thought that we were safe from fears of encountering the enemy. Indeed, in addition to the consideration that his ship was incapable of risking a battle, it seemed only natural that, if he had been waiting at the Strait, he would have met the patache **Nuestra Señora del Pilar** first. In addition, we had always thought it hard to believe that the enemy might have been able to maintain himself for a long time in sight of land, without news of it being carried to that City. By virtue of these reasons that were all discussed during said council, on the 18th we

weighed and pursued our voyage towards the Strait. We always had a favorable wind until the 30th when, at sunrise, we sighted one sail but there was no need to determine clearly what it was, as we were so near the land, which we descried within one hour; we pursued our voyage towards the land and towards the ship to ascertain who she was. Soon we were able to see her hull: she was a sea-going ship, and from her sails a foreign ship, and therefore an enemy ship. The wind at this time was variable, at times calm and at times squally, more or less light, Having recognized from her maneuvers that the danger was not inevitable, we decided to wait for her. We raised the flag, and asserted it by the firing of a gun; we then unfurled our main topsail, and took advantage of the delay to prepare ourselves for battle.

The battle began at about noon, as we let the enemy approach our poop. She raised her English flag and fired her chasers first, not having shown her colors beforehand, even after we had fired a second gun to make her do so. She maintained herself off our poop to one side, and fired the two rows of her artillery at us: 18 guns in the upper row, and 24 guns below, and those of the forecastle that were reinforced 8-pounders. As for us, now that the wind had died down completely and we had lost the possibility of maneuvering, we could only meanwhile fire our 12-pounders at the poop, loading and firing them repeatedly, as we could not make the other guns bear so well, for lack of space near the ports. Meanwhile they had reloaded all their guns and, as they were coming alongside were firing pistols at us. A second time they fired their upper and lower guns, while 24 of their men in the tops kept on shooting at us with rifles, and some 4-pounders; our riflemen did the same, as the whole of our row of guns was discharged.

Taking advantage of our ship being immobile, and his with perfect control, as they managed to move as they wished, and kept on firing continuously, with successful shots every time because their gun ports were clear and they could reload without any problem whenever they wished. As for us, we did not lose any opportunity to fire back, whenever we had a chance, in spite of our limited ability in handling the guns properly, specially in our bows, where we could only fire the two guns below the castle; these were fired continuously. In the meantime, the enemy had the advantages of close proximity and height of their side which was superior to ours, thus protecting their men, whereas we were all without cover. The result was that they never missed one shot, battering our ship, her masts, shredding all of the stays and running gear, the hatches being strewn with the bodies of the our dead and severely wounded men. The number of casualties exceeded 130. The General himself had a rifle bullet go through his chest and a foot wounded by shrapnel. The Sergeant-Major received a bullet through a thigh. The Master Gunner was wounded the same way. The Captain of the new soldiers recruited in Mexico by order of the Viceroy had the misfortune of losing one whole leg to a cannon ball.

The battle lasted for two long hours, taking place always at a short distance, within pistol shot, the enemy losing not one instant, and maintaining a continuous live fire, while refusing to expose his men in the open, or to the risks of boarding us, as they very well knew the advantage of their high side, and the superiority of their 62 mounted guns

of the above-mentioned calibers, i.e. 18-, 24-pounders, while ours were only 32 mounted guns, five of them 12-pounders, and the rest 6-, and 8-pounders, and all of them limited in their movement and handling, as mentioned earlier, and for the period of one quarter of an hour, being able to fire only said guns below the forecastle, since we were never able to maneuver our ship, no matter what we did to the rudder, and the sails, from the very beginning of the fight. So that, finally, seeing that the men had abandoned their posts, disheartened at the sight of so many dead, and wounded, the number of the former being over 70, and the latter 61 (as were counted later on, after the engagement), having judged futile any further resistance, it became necessary for us to accept the rigors of our bad luck, and become the prisoners of our enemy.

The English commander and all of his officers did their best to reduce us to their ship, with the complete civility and politeness that are good military policy in such circumstances. He departed for Canton on the 21st of July and, in view of the Teypan Islands, he granted us freedom to step ashore. However, there were not enough vessels to take all of us further, so that only part of us stayed here, while the rest were taken to the Canton River, where we departed to rejoin our companions in Macao. We lived there at the expense of Captain Manuel Vicente de Rosa, after I and my officers, and some passengers who joined us on a voluntary basis, by signing some bonds, and contributing some of our money to cover the extra costs for food supplies and our transport to this City.

Said English commander invented the pretext that it was necessary for him to retain one of our officers on board, in order to use him to legitimize for whom it may concern our declarations and signatures in the matter of the prize; he asked me to designate one of the Pilots, by virtue of which Don José Alexo de Tellitú, the second pilot appointed by His Excellency the Viceroy of New Spain, has remained behind. In addition, 80 men remained with him: 30 aboard his ship, and the other 50 aboard our ship as a prize. Said Commander added that, as soon as they had reached Buampu [i.e. Whampoa], the anchorage that is common to all ships trading with China, he would release said men, and give me a pass, or passport, for our voyage. This passport I received on the 7th of November, along with a letter from said Commander. Seeing that he did not turn over the men, in spite of the fact that I had written to him twice about the matter,¹ I decided to leave Macao, considering that any further delay might endanger our voyage. We managed to come in sight of Mariveles the day before yesterday, but the weather has not permitted us to come in [i.e. into Manila Bay]. In order not to be driven to windward, we have been forced to anchor under the hill of Bataan, where we are awaiting a favorable wind to come in, then go and place ourselves at the disposal of Y.L., permission for which I expect from you, along with the decision as to what to do with the men.

With regards to the future decisions of said Commander, no-one until now has been able to know them for sure, but in Canton and Macao, they believe, based on the

1 Ed. note: Such men were later considered to have been deserters.

measures that he has taken so far, that he will not sail for Europe this year. Rather, he would await an answer to the despatch he made last year aboard the [East India] Company ships, with one of his officers, to ask for six warships with their corresponding crews, to attack and sack Manila, and to reduce the [Philippine] Islands to the English dominion, something which apparently he has promised his sovereign.

This is, Sir, the most ingenuous narrative of what happened until now, and I have nothing to reproach myself, because I omitted not one measure to accomplish my duty, though I believe that some might accuse us of having been too bold in having exposed ourselves to such an expected ruin, having known from the beginning that the enemy had a superior force, one that left no hope of using ours to advantage. However, we thought that the challenge had to be taken up, in order to satisfy ourselves, even at the cost of exposing our lives, that our reputation would not suffer. These, Sir, are the news that have appeared to me worthy of reporting to Y.L., so that as a result of this information you may take the precautions to save us from further calamity, by deciding with your high understanding, and after some mature reflection in council, taking the remedial measures.

May our Lord save the life of Y.L. as the Islands need under the present circumstances.

Aboard the patache **Santo Domingo**, 30 November 1743.

Most Illustrious Sir.

Your minor servant at the feet of Y.L.

[To] His Most Illustrious Lordship, Don Gaspar de la Torre y Ayala, Brigadier of the Royal Armies, Gentleman of the Privy Council, Governor and Captain General of the Philippine Islands, and President of the Royal Audiencia and Chancellery of the City of Manila.

Gerónimo Montero.

Editor's notes.

The above description of the battle agrees quite closely with the version given by the English.

The Spanish court case against the general and other officers of the Covadonga contains 705 folios, mostly filled with the depositions of numerous witnesses and the ratifications of said depositions. The events connected with the capture of the galleon are given in great details. The sentence rendered by the Judge in July 1744, however, is relatively short (fol. 691-693v); in a nutshell, it says the following:

“I declare that the prosecutor has failed to prove well his case against General Montero and the other officers of the galleon. There was no negligence on their part, no lack of preventative measures, no cowardice, and no treachery whatever. It was a fortuitous event, the result of a superior force, and the Spanish soldiers and gunners did their best. I absolve General Montero and the other officers, unless the Supreme Court should decide otherwise. However, since the case is a serious one, that involved a great expenditure of funds, I sentence them to pay the court costs.”

A3. Letter to Commodore Anson on the condition of the Covadonga

Source: NMM Ms. UPC/2, Original Letters collected by William Upcott of the London Institution: Naval Characters, Vol. 2, 1718-1756.

Sir,

Its with the Utmost regret, We find our Selves Obliged to represent to You, the Condition of his Majesties Ship the **Centurion** Prize, That Defects of which appear to Us too urgent to be Neglected, Having from our own Observations & Experience, since our being on Board her, great reasons to Apprehend her unfit for the Sea. Equally proceeding from the Consequences of the Engagement, as from the Neglects, & want of timely reparations, during her being in the Enemies hands, Her Leaks which we partly Attribute to the Shot Holes she received; Several of which, we repaired by heeling the Ship, But notwithstanding our utmost scrutiny suspect others to have escaped our Notice; The Duty of freeing & Bailing her is hereby rendered so Laborious, as to Employ the greatest part of our Men, & scarce permits us time for the Navigating her, this Accident being still Agravated by the Pumps being Decayed, & Unserviceable; The Cut-water is so Extreemly loose, & Shattered as renders the Security of the Bowspreet very precarious; Her standing Masts & Yards particularly the Main Mast are not only much Disabled by the Shott she received, But so ill supported by the Standing Rigging, as Convinces us they are Unable to Carry any Sail, Especially in a Head Sea, most of the Shrouds having been shot through in the Engagement, & those which Escaped, found so rotten as not to bear being set up, these Circumstances joined to the ill Condition we observe the Ship to be in, Equally in several of her Timbers, as in the Whale & upper Works, gives us great reasons to suspect her Weakness; And as her working & labouring in a sea may add to the Above mentioned Defects puts us under an Indispensable Necessity of representing these severall Articles to You. Begging you would be pleased to order the Ship to be Examined & Surveyed by such Officer as you will judge proper.

Permit us the Officers Undermentioned to subscribe our selves.

Centurion Prize Dec. ye 13rd 1743, for Macao Road.

Your most Obedient Humble Servants,

Philip Saumarez, Capt.

Tho. Summers, First Lieut.

Geo. Carpenter, Second Lieut.

Wm. Langdon, 3d Lieut.

Wm. Cheny, Boatswain

John Knight, Carpenter

C. Farmer, Purser

A4. The Prize case of the Covadonga, 1747

Source: NMM Ms. HAR/4.

Cabadonga [sic]

Saumarez & Others Appellants.

Baird & Others Respondents.

For the Respondents.

To be heard before the Right Honorable the Lord Commissioner for Appeals in Prize Causes, at the Council Chamber, at Whitehall.—

Friday 10 April 1747 at 6 in the Evening.

...

[Page] 64. Copy of the Respondents Allegations, at full length.

The Nuestra Senora del Cabadonga [sic]

2d August 1744. On which Day Sayer by Virtue of his Proxy, as Proctor for Patrick Baird 1st Lieut., Samuel Scott 2nd Lieut., Thomas Foley 3rd Lieut., Robert Lambert Mate, John Park Boatswain, James Bancroft Gunner, Nehemiah Winter Carpenter, and Laurence Millechamp Purser, of his Majesty's Ship **Gloucester**; And John Hughes Lieut., Joseph Allin Surgeon, & John Shepherd Carpenter of his Majesty's Ship **Tryal Prize**, & under that Denomination, by all Effects & Forms of Law, whatsoever pleaded, & in Law propounded as follows:

1. **That** on or about the 18th Day of Sep. 1740 a Squadron of his Majesty's Ships of War consisting of 6 Sail to wit, His Majestys 1st Ships the **Centurion & Gloucester**, his Majesty's Ships the **Severn**, the **Pearl**, the **Wager** & his Majesty's 1st Ship the **Tryal** Sloop sailed under ye Command of Geo. Anson Esq., as Commodore from St. Helen's Road...

...

[May be continued, in the Supplementary Volume. Suffice to say, for now, that the source of this document has been identified].

Note 1743B

Three letters in German from Fr. Antonio Rauscher, S.J., missionary in the Philippines

Source: Stöcklein's Welt-Bott, vol. 23, n° 665, pp. 126-130.

Note: The editor of Welt-Bott has synthesized the contents of three letters addressed to Fr. Leopold Herbstein, Fr. Francis Xavier Staber, and his namesake Br. Antonius Rauscher in the Austrian Province, and also to his sister Barbara. The letters are dated from Manila 17 July 1743, and from Taytay 10 and 16 December 1750.

Comments about these three letters, dated 1743 and 1750

They do not deal with the Mariana or Caroline missions at all, as might be expected from someone who transited through Guam.

He talks mostly about the Island of Luzon in the Philippines, and Filipinos. His most interesting remarks have to do with foreigners trading at Manila. He says that they were a “great mishmash” of foreigners with the following nationalities: French, Portuguese, Italians, Dutch, Hungarians, and Germans. The Dutch traders come from Batavia, the English from Madras, the Portuguese from Macao, the French from Pondichéry, the Chinese from Canton, the Greeks and the Armenians from God knows where, all seeking to make a profit.

The Moro kings of Jolo, among others, have been causing trouble to the Christian government and missionaries. The latter are prominently from German-speaking countries and Spain.

In his own mission at Taytay, Fr. Rauscher looked after the education of children and the sodality of the women of the village. The rest of his letters are about his work as a missionary.

Document 1744A

Letter from Fr. Bonani to someone in Vienna, dated Agat 1 January 1744

Source: Stöcklein's Welt-Bott, vol. 32, n° 619.

Published text in German

Zweyter Brief R.P. Josephi Bonani, S.J. Missionarii, An einen unbenannten Herrn zu Wien in Oesterreich.

Geschrieben in dem Dorff Agata, auf denen Marianischen Insuln, dem 1. Jenner 1744.

Inhalt. I. Pater Bonani bekräftiget, was er oben zum Lob R.P. Dominici Carlon geschrieben. II. Er gibt in einem kurzen Begriff das Lager, Zahl, Fruchtharkeit etc. derer Marianischen Insuln, III. und die Eigenschafften deren Inwohnern derselben. Das Brieflein abgekürzet, lautet wie folget:

Edel-Gebohrner Herr!

Die Gnad, Fried und Liebe unsers Heren JESu Christi erfülle unsere Herzen! Amen. Ihre Zeilen, die sie von Wien in Oesterreich in diese Marianische Insuln dem 15ten Jenner des 1741sten Jahrs an unseren, damalens schon seelig in dem Herrn verschiedenen P. Dominicum Carlon abzulassen sich gewürdiget haben, sind in meine, als des Verstorbenen sonders guten Freunds Hände zum Anfang des Merzens des 1743sten Jahrs überlieffert worden. Mit was Vergnügen wurde P. Dominicus die Handschrift seines werthesten Herrn Veters, dessen er in unserer Unterredung so off, und allzeit ruhmwürdigst ingedenck gewesen, geküset haben, wann selbe ihn noch in dieser Sterblichkeit angetroffen hätten? allein, es hat GOTT mit ihme anderst zu ordnen beliebt; er hat ihn mit dreyen anderen betagten Missionarien in dem Jahr 1738 dem 19. Tag des Maii, zum Lohn seiner Apostolischen Bemühungen, aus diesem Weingarten abgerufen; und hatte ich das Glück, die letzte 14. Täg seiner abzehrenden Kranckheit ihme an der Seite zu seyn, und nach gereichten letzten H. Sacramenten endlichen auch die Augen zu schliessen.

Wie sehr mich der frühzeitige Tod dieses, eines längeren Lebens höchst würdigen Apostels gerühret habe, kan ich ihnen, mein Herr! mit keinen Worten sattsam aus-

*drücken. Ich hatte die Ehr, P. Dominicum, noch als einen Knaben zu Grätz in Steyrmарck, wo ich damalens denen höheren Wissenschaften als Lehrling oblage, zu kennen, und wegen seines munteren Geists, auch anderer schönen Gemüts-Gaben, in dem HErrn zu lieben. Mir fiel und fallet annoch öfters bey jene herzhafte Antwort, welche er mir an eben jenem Tag und Stund, da ich von Grätz nach diesen Eyländern abzog, unter der Porten desselben Collegii, wo ich ihme ungefehr entgegen gekommen, und zur Reis-Gesellschaft scherz-weis eingeladen, mit vieler Höflichkeit gegeben: **O wie gern wolte ich Euer Ehrwürden Gesellschaft leisten! allein, ich weiß nur gar zu wol, daß mich meine liebste Eltern, in diesen Jahren, von sich in so weite Länder, nicht entlassen wurden. Euer Ehrwürden reisen nur voraus im Namen des Herrn! solte ich, wie ich durch die Fürbitt der seeligsten GOTTes-Mutter sicher hoffe, nach erlernter Rhetoric in die Gesellschaft JESu angenommen werden, werde ich eilends in ihre Fußstapfen eintreten, und nach Indien abseeglen, wo wir uns, mit der Gnad GOTTes, in dem Herrn umfassen werden.** Nach dem Verlauff einiger Jahren hat es die Göttliche Vorsichtigkeit also verordnet, daß P. Dominicus in das gegen Aufgang gelegene Indien auf sein eifriges Verlangen abgesendet wurde, und ich den ungemeinen Trost hatte, ihn in diesen unseren Eyländern dem 6. Julii 1736 das erstemal als einen unerwarteten, doch höchst angenehmen Gast in meine Arm aufzunehmen.*

Jezt, ihrem Verlangen, mein Herr! ein Genügen zu leisten, gebe ich die von P. Dominico anverlangte Nachricht von diesen unseren Insuln und Insulanern in einem kurzen Begriff: Es sind an der Zahl 13. Marianische Insuln, in welchen der Evangelische Saamen ausgesäet worden: sie breiten sich von Mitternacht gegen Mittag aus, und liegen in dem 20. Gr. 30. Minut. der Polus-Höhe. Anfangs zehlete man wol fünfzig tausend Inwohner, Mittlerweil aber sind sie bis auf drey tausend alle zerschmolzen, und hat man diese wenige, um ihnen die geistliche Dienst bequemer leisten zu können, in zwey Insuln zusammen gezogen, derer die gröste, S. Joannis oder Guahan, sich in ihrem Umkreis auf die 40. Meilen erstreckt, und von dem Königlichen Gubernator, der eine Anzahl von 140. Soldaten zu seiner Bedeckung hat, bewohnt wird. Die Missionarii haben da ihre Haupt-Residenz, und ein schönes Seminarium oder Pflanz-Schul, in welcher 50. Marianische Jüngling zu aller Tugend erzogen, und in der Musick, auch verschiedenen Hand-Arbeiten unterrichtet werden.

Das Land ist eines sehr gemässigten Luffts, gesund und angenehm, doch denen stürmenden Winden, die sie Spanisch Uracanas, Marianisch aber Paggio nennen, unterworfen. Ein einziger Berg speyet Feuer aus, welcher denen Inwohnern, auf 50. Meil herum, in denen benachbarten Insuln Schröcken einjaget: die Erd-Bewegungen, welche man öfters vermercket, haben bishero keinen mercklichen Schaden verursacht. Man findet hier kein giftiges Ungeziefer, wol aber eine Menge deren Schnacken, die uns fast das ganze Jahr sehr überlästig sind. Vor der Ankunfft deren Europäern wuste man nichts von Pferden, Ochsen, Maulthieren und dergleichen, und glaubten sie, als sie das erstemal einen Reuter zu Pferd gesehen, daß dieses ein Mißgeburd aus einem Menschen und Pferd seye. Heut zu Tag siehet man auf denen Auen und Wiesen ganze

Heerden dieser Thieren weiden, und gben unsere Ochsen denen Ungarischen an der Grösse und Güte nichts nach.

Die Meerseitige Gegend ist zum Feld-Bau tauglicher, als die innere Theil derer Inseln. Das Türckische Korn fechseln sie das Jahr zweymal in grosser Menge, und dienet ihnen zum täglichen Brod: der Reys wachset etwas gesparsamer: doch haben sie einen Ueberfluß an gesunden Kräutern und geschmackten Baum-Früchten. Unter denen Bäumen ist der König der Coco- oder Nyuc-Baum, unseren Dattel-Bäumen etwas gleich, doch weit dicker und höher. Die Blätter desselben dienen ihnen an stätt der Dach-Schindeln: die Frucht aber zu allem. Aus den Kern pressen sie Oel: aus denen Fäsern seines Häutlein flechten sie Strick: aus der Schaalen verfertigen sie Trinck-Geschire: durch die Kunst und Mühe ziehen und sammeln sie aus diesem Baum allein, Wein, Essig und Hönig. Aus dem Baum Maria, sonsten Dane genannt, schwizet ein gewisses Harz hervor, aus welchem sie einen so heilsamen Balsam machen, daß sie mit diesem die gefährlichste Schäden heilen. So haben sie auch andere gar nuzliche Kräuter, deren Tugend sie aber uns Ausländern nicht entdecken; doch sehen wir, daß sie Wunder-Curen mit und durch selbe machen. Ich hab neulich einen Jüngling gesehen, welcher das in viele Trümmer zerschmettete Hüfft-Bein durch den Gebrauch solcher Kräuter so glücklich ergänzt, daß er ohne Stab, frey und ungehindert seinen Weg und Steg gehen konte. Sie legen selbe theils äusserlich auf die beschädigte Theil auf: theils aber trincken sie den Safft, welchen, wie alle andere Medicinen, sie mit gestossenem Imber vermischen.

*Die Insulaner belangend, sind sie Leut von mittelmässiger Grösse; von Natur wild, mit Aufruhr und inheimischen Kriegen, zum Lügen und Betrügen sehr geneigt; rachgierig und verschlagen, die eine Unbild, die sie auch etliche Jahr verbissen, bey gegebener Gelegenheit rächen. Sie betten zwar keinen Abgott an, doch verehren sie ihre etwas berühmtere Vorfahrer, behalten deren Hirnschaalen, Arm oder Hüfft-Gebein auf: schmierts selbe mit Oel, zünden Ehren-Feuer an, und ruffen selbe in dem Acker-Bau, Schiff oder Fisch-Kunst, nachdem die Verstorbene in einer dieser sich ansehnlich gemacht, um Hülf und Beystand an. Die Männer nehmen nur ein Weib zur Ehe, welche das Haupt des Hauses ist, doch können sie auch selbe wieder von sich stossen; welches aber selten ohne des Manns Schaden geschicht, massen die Freund der Verstossenen ihm all mögliche Ungemach zufügen. Sie sind sehr arm; ihr ganzer Hausrath bestehet in dem Fisch-Gezeug, einigen Wasser-Gefässen, einigen aus Palm-Blättern geflochtenen Decken und dergleichen, doch sind sie bey allen dem sehr hochmütig, und machen die aus der ersten Claß (sie theilen sich in dreye, gleichsam deren Edlen, deren Burgern und deren Bauren ein) mit der zweyten, diese mit der dritten keine Ehe-oder andere Verbindnuß. Erst neulich hat sich einer von der letzten Gattung erkühnet, die Tochter eines aus der ersten zur Ehe anzuverlangen; deme aber der Vatter mit folgenden ernsthaftten Worten begegnet: **Wann ich kein Christ wäre, wurde ich dir meine Lannze durch den Leib jagen, den Spott, welchen du mir erweistest, zu rächten: weil ich aber ein Christ bin, will ich meine Tochter beruffen, und selbe,***

wannsie zu dir Lust hat, dir zur Ehe übergeben; das Mägdlein aber antwortete nichts anders, als: Herr Vatter! bin dann ich nicht dein Blut!

Da haben sie, mein Herr! eine kurze Abschilderung unserer Marianer, welche aber, als bald sie sich zum Christenthum bekennen, gemeinlich in ganz andere Menschen veränderet werden! Sie, mich und besonderes unseren seelig- in dem Herrn verschiedenen P. Dominicum befehle ich in das H. Angedencken.

Gegeben zu Agata bey der H. Rosa, dem I. Jenners 1744.

*Meines werthesten Herrns
mindester Diener in Christo
Josephus Bonani, S.J. Missionarius.*

Translation, by P.H.

Second [sic] letter from Rev. Fr. José Bonani, S.J. Missionary, to an unnamed gentleman in Vienna, Austria.

Written in the village of Agat in the Mariana Islands, on 1 January 1744.

Contents: I. Fr. Bonani confirms what he has written before in praise of Rev. Fr. Dominico Carloni. II. He provides a short overview of the Mariana Islands, their geographic location, their number, and their fertility, and III. the characteristics of their inhabitants. The abbreviated letter reads as follows:

My dear Sir:

May the mercy, peace and love of our Lord Jesus Christ fill our hearts! Amen.

Your letter, which you kindly sent from Vienna, Austria to these Mariana Islands on 15 January 1741, to our Fr. Dominico Carloni, who even then had already departed from this world, was handed to me early in March 1743 because I was a very good friend of the departed. With what joy Fr. Dominico would have kissed the handwriting of his dearest cousin whom he mentioned so often in our conversations and always with the highest regard, if your letter would have reached him when he was still among the living. Alas, God had other plans for hm. He called him away from this vineyard to reward him for his apostolic efforts on 19 May 1738, as he did two other aged missionaries who also died that same year.¹ I had the good fortune to be by his side during the last two weeks of his consuming illness and, after having administered the last holy sacraments, finally to close his eyes.

I do not find the appropriate words, my dear Sir, to tell you how much the premature death of this apostle, who was worthy of a longer life, has touched me. I had the honor of knowing Fr. Dominico when he was still a boy in Graz, Styria, where at the time I was a student of science. I loved him for his lively spirit and other beautiful gifts

¹ Ed. note: Fr. Muscati, in fact, died one year later, on 14 June 1739. The second death must be that of Fr. Zarzosa, which is not reported anywhere else, but must have occurred ca. 1739 as well.

with which the Lord had provided him. I always remembered and still remember his honest answer to my question at the precise hour when I left Graz for these islands. He was standing outside the door of the college where I had met him before and asked him jokingly to join our party of travellers. He answered me politely: **“How it would please me to accompany Your Reverence! However, I know full well that my dearest parents will not allow me at this time to travel to such faraway lands. Your Reverence will travel ahead in the name of the Lord! Should I, as I certainly hope, thanks to the pleas of our holy Mother of God, be accepted into the Society of Jesus after I have studied rhetorics, I will hasten to follow in your footsteps and sail to the Indies where, God willing, we will embrace in the Lord.”** Some years later, divine Providence decreed that Fr. Dominico was sent to the East Indies as he had requested, and I had the great pleasure of opening my arms to him and welcoming him to these our islands for the first time on 6 July 1736.

Now, my dear Sir, to comply with your request to Fr. Dominico, I will provide you with a brief report about our islands and our islanders. There are 13 islands in the Marianas, on which the seed of the gospels has been planted. They extend from north to south along 20 degrees 30 minutes of latitude north. In the beginning, about 50,000 inhabitants were counted, but in the meantime they have shrunk to a mere 3,000.¹ These few people have been concentrated on two islands, where it is easier to minister to them. The largest island is San Juan, or Guahan, which has a circumference of 40 miles. There resides the royal Governor, who has a garrison of 140 soldiers at his disposal. The missionaries have their headquarters there, as well as a beautiful seminary, or school, where 50 young Mariano youngsters are educated in all the virtues, in music as well as in various manual skills.

The country has a very moderate climate, healthy and pleasant, although it is subject to violent winds, which the Spanish call “Uracanes” [hurricanes] and the Mariana Islanders call “Paggio.”² A solitary mountain is an active volcano which frightens the inhabitants on the neighboring islands over a radius of 50 miles. Earth tremors, which are often felt, have so far not caused any noticeable damage. There are no poisonous pests here, although there are plenty of mosquitos which are a great nuisance almost all year round. Before the arrival of Europeans, the islanders knew nothing of horses, oxen, mules and such. When they saw a mounted horseman for the first time, they believed they had encountered a monster, a cross between a man and a horse. Today whole herds of these animals can be found grazing on grassland and in pastures. Our oxen are as large and as high in quality as those in Hungary.

The land near the ocean is more suitable for agriculture than the interior. They harvest two large crops of Turkish corn [maize] per year, which serves them as their daily

1 Ed. note: As documents in this series have proven many times, the original estimate could not have exceeded 20,000.

2 Ed. note: Misprint for “baguios.”

bread. Rice grows somewhat more sparsely, but they have an abundance of healthy herbs [sic]¹ and tasty tree fruits. One of the trees, the coconut, or “nyuc”, tree, somewhat resembles our date palms, but it is much thicker and higher. Its leaves serve them as roofing shingles, and they use its fruit for everything. From the flesh they press oil, from the fibers of its skin they braid ropes, from the shell they make drinking vessels. With much skill and effort they produce wine, vinegar and honey [sic]² from this tree. The Maria tree, otherwise known as “dane” [sic],³ produces a certain resin from which they make a healing balm which is so effective that they can heal the most dangerous injuries with it.⁴ They also have other very useful herbs, but they will not reveal their secrets to us foreigners, although we can see that they achieve miraculous cures with them. I recently saw an adolescent whose hip bones had been smashed and shattered to pieces. By the use of such herbs, he was treated so successfully that he was able to walk about freely without the assistance of a cane. They apply these herbs externally to the injured parts, but they also drink the juice, which they mix with powdered ginger, as they do with all other medicines.⁵

As far as the islanders are concerned, they are people of medium height, of a savage nature, prone to rebellion and internal warfare, much given to lying and cheating; they are revengeful and cunning. They may suffer a wrong for several years and then revenge it at the first opportunity. They do not worship any idols, but they do revere their more illustrious ancestors, preserving their skulls, arm, or hip bones. They rub these with oil, and they light fires in honor of their ancestors. They evoke ancestors who have made a name for themselves in crop growing, fishing or seafaring, asking them for help in these endeavors. The men marry only one wife who becomes the head of the household, but they may also cast them off again, although this seldom happens without the man suffering losses, since the friends of the rejected wife will cause him all kinds of inconvenience. They are very poor. Their entire household consists of fishing gear, a few water containers, a few blankets woven from palm leaves and other such items. Yet in spite of this, they are very proud. Those belonging to the highest class (they are divided into three castes, the equivalent of our nobility, bourgeoisie and peasants) will have no marital or other relations with the second, nor the second with the third. Just recently, a man from the lowest caste was bold enough to ask a man from the highest class for the hand of his daughter. The father replied gravely with the following words: **“If I were not a Christian, I would run you through with my lance, to make you pay for**

1 Ed. note: I think that the author had comestible root crops in mind, but did not know the proper Latin word for that.

2 Ed. note: “Treacle” would be a better word.

3 Ed. note: Misprint for “daog,” its proper name in Chamorro. Its scientific name is “Calophyllum inophyllum.”

4 Ed. note: According to Padua et al.’s “Handbook on Philippine medicinal plants, vol. 3, p. 27, “the crushed kernels are applied on abdomen in gas pain, indigestion, colic, and on affected joints in rheumatism... Infusion or decoction of the leaves is used as eye remedy. A gum resin from the bark is applied to wounds and old sores.” Saponin and tannin are found in those leaves.

5 Ed. note: For an earlier mention of ginger as a medicinal plant, see HM 6:113.

the ridicule you have brought upon me. But because I am a Christian, I will consult my daughter and ask her whether or not she is willing to marry you.” But the girl had no other reply than: **“Oh father! Then I would no longer be of your blood!”**

There you have it, my dear Sir, a brief description of our Mariana Islanders. But as soon as they are converted to Christianity, they usually become very different persons. I commend you, myself and specially our dear departed, Fr. Dominico, to holy remembrance.

Written at Agat, residence of Santa Rosa, 1 January 1744.

Esteemed Sir,

Your least Servant in Christ,

José Bonani, missionary of the Society of Jesus.

Documents 1745A

Disorders in the Mariana Islands—Reforms proposed by the Jesuits

Source: AGI Fil. 299 (formerly 69-1-27), fol. 93-95v; cited in B&R53:335.

A1. Petition of Fr. José Calvo, Jesuit Procurator General for the Philippines

Original text in Spanish.

Señor

Joseph Calvo de la Compañia de Jhs Procurador General de su Provincia de Phipinas [sic] puesto a las Reales plantas de V.M. dice: Que hallandose en Manila entendio, que el Marques de Torre Campo vuestro Governador de aquellas Islas hizo una Junta con vuestros Oydores, y Oficiales Reales, y dos Religiosos de su Sagrada Religion, quienes avian estado algunos años en las Islas Marianas. El assumpto fue, que parecia conveniente reducir el presidio de estas Islas à veinte, y cinco, ò treinta Soldados con un Cabo, y reformar solo lo demas, en atencion à averse disminuydo notablemente los Indios de dichas Islas; sobre lo quel no duda consultaria a V.M.: pero debiose de perder la Consulta; pues no se han visto en tantos años efectos de nueva providencia de V.M. Por esso atendiendo el Suplicante, à quien es justo escusar à V.M. los gastos, que no sean necesarios, y à que, lo que alli se escusare, se podra emplear con mas fruto en otras cosas, juzga de su obligacion informar por su parte à V.M. sobre el estado de las Marianas.

Fueron treze, Señor, las Islas Marianas, que a los principios se hallaron pobladas con muchos millares de Indios, quienes era necesario pacificar, y reducir à nuestra Santa Fee: à esta causa señalo V.M. un Governador, un Sargento Mayor, y sesenta Soldados con sus oficiales; todos con muy competente sueldo: pero al presente, solas dos, que son la de Guajan (que es la Cabezera), y la de Rota, tienen poblacion; y esta tan corta, que en ambas à dos no llegan ya à 2700 Almas, las que se cuentan, incluso en ellas las Familias de los Soldados, y de los Mestizos con que parece claro, que no puede ser aora necesario, lo que lo fue a los principios.

Tampoco es conveniente; sino antes muy dañoso a los Indios, y causa, de que se vayan acabando mas a prissa. Es el caso, que para la manutencion de el Palacio de el

Governador con sus Familiares, y de los demas Oficiales, y Soldados esta introducido que los Indios ayan de trabajar unas sementeras de maiz competentes para el abasto; y otras aproporcion para los P.P. Doctrineros. Tambien con el mismo pretexto de racionar la Infanteria, se mantienen algunos ranchos de Bacas; y ademas se ocupan dichos Indios en la caza de las alzadas en los montes: y se sustentan varios gallineros de aves, y corrales de Zerdos, para cuyo sustento son las Mugerres las atareadas en traer cocos, para que coman; como tambien lo son para traer de el monte la Rima, que es una fruta, que sirve de pan tres, ò quatro messes. Augmentase no poco el trabajo en todo, por el regalo, que previenen los Gobernadores para sus conocidos en las Naos, que buelven à Philipinas, de puercos, gallinas, bacas, frutas, y otras cosas; y tambien porque son muchos mas de los señalados los que gozan de el fuera de militares, de suerte que el año passado de 1736, eran 130 los que lo gozaban. Añadese a lo dicho, el hazer la sal, las pescas, las embarcaciones, y el remar en ellas, la fabrica, y composicion de las Cassas, que muy frequentemente dan que hacer à causa de los Uraçanes, que infestan aquellas Islas. En una palabra: todo quanto ay de trabajo carga sobre los Indios: y aunque se dice, que se les paga; pero es con unas oyas de tabaco, ò con alguna ropa, abaludado todo al precio, que le quiere poner el que paga; sin que vea el Indio en su mano un real de plata, ni le queda alcanzar su trabajo para sustentar su familia.

Qual aya de ser, Señor, el trabajo de estos miserables Indios, es facil de conozer: pues se mantiene el mismo fausto de Gobernador, Sargento Mayor, multiplicidad de Soldados, y regalos à las Naos, que a los principios: pero no se mantiene el mismo numero de Indios. Antes el trabajo para todo lo dicho se repartia entre millares de Familias; y aora no llegan à quinientas las que han de hacer lo mismo. Como pues no han de ir cada año en disminucion! Como no se ha de experimentar, que las Indias cassadas con Indios, ò no obtienen hijos, ò son muy pocos; quando al contrario las cassadas con Soldados tienen muchos! Y à que otra causa se puede atribuir esta diferencia; sino à que las segundas estan exemptas de el trabajo; y las primeras tan apuradas de el, que, ò no tienen virtud para concevir, ò se esterilizan de proposito, por no parir esclavos para el Español, como seles ha oydo decir alguna vez. Es pues manifesto, que no solo es conveniente; sino necessaria la dicha reforma para el alivio de los Indios, y que no se acaben de una vez.

De este mismo sentir son uniformamente todos los P.P. Missioneros de dichas Islas, segun ha informado al Suplicante el Superior de dichas Misiones, pareciéndoles, que bastaran los dichos veinte, y cinco, ò a lo mas treinta Soldados. Y que ayan de ser bastantes, se persuade, lo 1º: porque ya todos los Indios, que ay aora, son Nietos de christianos, y han sido criados desde Niños al abrigo de los Padres, y se halla en ellos mas radicada la fee: y assi no cabe rezelo, de que se quieran alzar; y mas no teniendo armas, y disminuyendoseles la causa, que los exaspera: y lo 2º por ser ya tan pocos, que es impossible quedan contrarestar à los 30 Soldados, y a los Mestizos, quienes todos heredan el amor, y fidelidad de sus Padres, y aborrezan la sangre de sus Madres. Conducira tambien a la total seguridad, el que el Cabo no pueda ejecutar cosa de importancia sin el parecer, y consentimiento de el Superior de aquella Mission: pues siendo el principal

fin de V.M. en mantener semejantes presidios, la escolta, y defensa de los Misioneros, para que estos se emplean en unir los fines de su Instituto con las ventajas de vuestro Real servicio: parece consiguiente, que no ayan de depender fines tan altos unicamente de el absoluto querer, ò no querer de el Cabo: y aun quizas fuera conveniente, que la paga corriese por el mismo Superior; porque de esta suerte cada mes podrian los Soldados llevarse a sus Casas sus sueldos, con que à mediana economia tendrian, con que comprar à precio commodo en el Barco, que cada dos años va de socorro, las cosas, de que necessitassen; y aun podrian prevenirse encomendandolas à Manila, para que les fueran mas baratas: y no les sucedería lo que aora, que con la una mano se quenta para la paga al Soldado, y con la otra para la paga al Governador por las cosas, que entre mes compraron, las que por lo excessivo de el precio no alcanzan à satisfazer su necesidad, y assi andan siempre pobres, y endeudados: por los quales motivos, ò semejantes, parece ha determinado V.M. se haya assi en los Presidios de otras Misiones.

En quanto a los Padres, es cierto, que atento al numero de habitantes, fueran bastantes menos de los que suele aver, si se pudieran reducir los Indios à menos Pueblos, y no huviera mostrado la experiencia, que, ò el sentimiento de dexar su nativo suelo, ò la mudanza de Clyma acaba presto con ellos. Esto sucedería mas ciertamente con los de la Isla de Rota: porque sería mayor su sentimiento, y mayor tambien la diferencia de el clyma, de ser mudados a la de Guajan; y esto obliga à tener dos Padres alli: assi para el bien espiritual de los Misioneros, como de los Indios: pues si estuviessse uno solo, carecería de el consuelo de poderse reconciliar, ò para tenerlo, le sería necessario siempre atravesar a la otra Isla, lo que desde Noviembre hasta Mayo no es practicable sin conocido riesgo por la brabura de aquellos mares: y si en este tiempo cayesse enfermo, ya se vee el desconsuelo, que tendría, y la falta, que haria a los Indios. Tambien se cree, no sera contra la mente de V.M., sino antes muy conforme à su gran piedad, el que, quando algun Padre llega à ser viejo, y achacoso, sirviendo en aquella Mission, no sea obligado à embarcarse para Manila à acabar sus dias: porque sería adelantarle la muerte con el trabajo de la navegacion, y mudanza de temperamento: y parece no desmerezer ser atendido de V.M., como Soldado invalido, que ha gastado su vida, y perdido su salud en servicio de V.M. Resta pues solo, para que tambien los Padres sean menos, el que en la Isla de Guajan, donde son varios los Pueblos, y algunos de muy poca gente, se procure alguna agregacion, para la qual no puede aver tanto inconveniente: Pues agregandose los mas inmediatos entre si, no puede ser notable la diferencia de el clyma, ni razonable en los Indios la causa de sentimiento; la ejecucion de lo qual parece convendra se encargue por V.M. al Provincial de su Provincia, para que se haga con mas suavidad por medio de los Misioneros.

Si lo propuesto mereciere la aprobacion de V.M. parece bastaran 600 pesos de sueldo para el Cabo; y para los treinta Soldados, el que les corresponde, y tienen assignado. De esta suerte, Señor quedaran libres mas de onze mil pessos de el Situado, que aora se gasta en dichas Islas, para poder con ellos, sin nuevo gasto, atender à otros destinos. Y como le sea manifiesta al Suplicante la Real afectuosa voluntad de V.M. en favor de el Presidio de Samboangan, y sus ardientes ansias, de que se introduzga nues-

tra Santa Fee en los Reynos de Jolo, y de Tamontaca, por cuyo fin, y para mas facilitarlo, se ha dignado la gran piedad, y catholico Zelo de V.M. de honrar con sus Reales Rescriptos à aquellos Reyes: cree, que coadiubara no poco, si fuere de el agrado de V.M., que se apliquen mil pessos de aumento al sueldo de el Governador de Samboangan, que lo tiene corto; con lo que dicho empleo sera de mas honra, y provecho, y no tendra necesidad de valerse de otros arbitrios: y de lo restante, podra V.M. destinar la limosna para el sustento de los Missioneros, que fueren à dichos Reynos, a los quales, quando se les ayan de llevar à sus Reyes las Reales Cartas de V.M., parece sera necessario, que las vayan acompañando a los menos dos Jesuytas à cada Reyno, para quedarse en sus Cortes: y si, como se debe esperar, son admitidos con toda benevolencia, sera preciso los vayan siguiendo presto otros, que puedan atender a la predicacion en otros Pueblos; y para todos hasta el numero de 50, podra bastar lo que resta, aunque se sirviesse V.M. de aumentar los mil pessos de sueldo al dicho Governador.

Es, Señor, la limosna regular, que acostumbra dar V.M. en las Philipinas à cada Missionero para su sustento 100 pessos, y 100 fanegas de arroz, puestas en los Lugares, donde residen: pero esto, que en otras partes no es difficil, lo sera mucho, y de grande costo à V.M.: porque aun despues de conducidas desde Yloylo à Samboangan, ha de ser necessario conducirlas à dichos Reynos de Jolo, y Tamontaca: y podra suceder mas de una vez, que les falte dicho arroz a los Missioneros, por no averse podido embiar, y les falte tambien dinero para buscarlo, y comprarlo: porque con los 100 pessos no haran poco, si hacen, que basten para todos los demas menesteres de sus Personas, Cassas, y Iglesias: por esso parece sera lo mas conveniente, y de menos gravamen a la Real Hacienda de V.M., que se les assigne toda su limosna en reales, como se practica con los Missioneros de Marianas, reduciendola à 200 pessos para cada sugeto, los que parecen necesarios: assi para comprar de los Moros el arroz, que puedan, ò en su falta, otro genero, de que ellos usan por pan, à que de necesidad se avran de acostumbrar los Jesuytas; como tambien para los despachos, y recursos, que necessariamente han de tener à Samboangan, que les han de ser mas costosos, por aver de ser por mar, y aver de racionar, y pagar la gente: y casso negado, que à fuerza de economia les sobrasse algo; bien necessario les sera para emplearlo en algunos dones, con que conservar benevolos à aquellos Reyes, y a sus Principales, lo que no puede dejar de ser muy conforme al deseo de V.M.: pues de esto depende el buen logro de la Mission. De esta, se debe esperar de Dios, lo tendra: pues facilita tanto los medios, que sin nuevos costos, podra V.M. mantener hasta 50 Missioneros, solo con aplicar para su sustento, de lo que se gasta, y ya no parece necesario, para las Marianas.

En atencion à todo lo qual: Suplica rendidamente à V.M., y espera se servira de dar las providencias, que juzgare mas convenientes: assi para que se ejecute la dicha reforma de Plazas en las Islas Marianas, y la agregacion de Pueblos, que se pueda: como, para que de lo que por este medio se escusara de el gasto en ellas hasta aora, se aplique, lo que fuere del agrado de V.M. de aumento al sueldo de el Governador de Samboangan; y 200 pessos de limosna para el sustento de cada Missionero, de los que huviere en dichos Reynos de Jolo, y Tamontaca: pues de todo parece ha de resultar la salva-

cion de muchas almas, y la extension de nuestra Santa Fee, à que sobre todo anhela el catholico Zelo de V.M., de quien espera el Suplicante recevir merced.

Joseph Calvo.

Translation.

Sire:

José Calvo of the Society of Jesus, Procurator General for his Province of the Philippines, at the Royal feet of Y.M., declares: That when he was at Manila he heard that the Marquis of Torrecampo, your Governor of those Islands,¹ had held a council with the members of your Audiencia, and the Royal officials, and two Religious of his sacred Order, who had lived for a few years in the Mariana Islands.² The matter discussed was that it seemed appropriate to reduce the garrison of these Islands to 25, or 30 soldiers with one officer, and to retire the rest, given the notable decrease in the Indian population that had taken place; the intention was to make recommendations to Y.M., but this consultation must have been lost, because so many years have passed and no new provision has yet been made by Y.M. That is why the Supplicant, understanding that it is proper to suggest a reduction of the expenses of Y.M., those that are not necessary, that can be avoided there and employed more effectively in other things, thinks that it is his duty to make a report to Y.M. on the condition of the Marianas.

At the beginning, Sire, there were 13 Mariana Islands, inhabited by many thousands of Indians, whom it was necessary to pacify, and reduce to our Holy Faith. For this purpose, Y.M. sent a Governor, one Sergeant-Major, and 60 soldiers with their officers, all with a very competent salary. However, at present there are only two, which are the Island of Guajan (the Capital), and that of Rota, with a population, but it is so small that in total both of them do not have even 2,700 souls, even including the families of the soldiers and the half-breeds as well; thus it is obvious that what was necessary at the beginning is no longer required.

It is not right either for the Indians—it is rather very harmful to them—and a cause for their accelerated decline. For instance, for the maintenance of the Palace of the Governor with his extended family, and of the other officers and soldiers, it is an established practice that the Indians must work at some corn plantations to give them a food supply; and other, smaller, plantations for the missionary Fathers. In addition, under the same pretext to feed the infantry, a few ranches with cows are maintained. Said Indians are also employed in hunting cows that have escaped to the bush, and in taking care of various chicken coops, and pigpens. For the latter purpose, their women are employed in bringing coconuts, as food for the animals; they also go into the bush to look for *Rima*, which is a fruit used like bread over a period of 3-4 months. The labor is certainly not reduced when the Governors, to please their acquaintances aboard the returning galleons, give them pigs, cows, fruits, and other things; and also, because there

1 Ed. note: Between 1721 and 1729 (see Doc. 1727E and F).

2 Ed. note: Fr. Cantova, and the Fr. Provincial.

are many more persons, besides the military men, who benefit, so that in the past year of 1736 there were 130 persons enjoying the privilege. On top of the above, there are salt making, fishing, boat-building, rowing duties, the building of the houses that very frequently must be repaired on account of the hurricanes that infest those Islands. In one word, whenever there is work to be done, the Indians have to take part; and although it is said that they are paid for it, the truth is that they are paid with a few tobacco leaves, or with some clothes, all valued at a price set by the one who pays, without the Indian ever holding one silver real, or having enough time left to work at supporting his family.

What must be, Sire, the work of these miserable Indians? It is easy to figure out, since the same level of comfort is maintained by the Governor, the Sergeant-Major, the multiplicity of soldiers, and the gifts to the galleons, as at the beginning, whereas there are fewer Indians. The work was previously shared among thousands of families, but now there are only 500 families that must do it all. No wonder they keep on declining from year to year, and no wonder if Indian women married with Indian men, either do not have children, or have very few of them, whereas Indian women married to soldiers have many! To what other cause can this be attributed than the fact that the latter are exempt from work, and the former are so pressed by it that, either they no longer have the ability to conceive, or they sterilize themselves on purpose, so as not to bear "slaves for the Spanish", as they have been heard to say once. It is therefore obvious that a reform is not only proper but necessary for the relief of the Indians, to prevent them from disappearing completely.

All of the missionary Fathers in said Islands are unanimous in their opinion, according to a letter sent by the Superior of said Missions to the Supplicant. They think that 25, or at most 30, soldiers would be sufficient. And, to prove this point, they say, firstly, that all of those who are Indians are grand-children of Christians, and have been raised since childhood under the influence of the Fathers, and the faith is very much rooted in them; so, there is no need to fear a revolt on their part; furthermore, they do not have any weapons, and their reason for exasperation can be decreased. Secondly, there are so few of them that it would be impossible for them to fight 30 soldiers, and the half-breeds who have inherited love and loyalty for their fathers, and a dislike for the blood of their mothers. A totally-secure situation could be achieved, if the Commanding officer were to be told that he cannot act in any thing of importance without the opinion and consent of the Superior of that Mission; indeed, given that the main objective of Y.M. is to maintain similar garrisons, as an escort for the defence of the Missionaries, so that they may employ themselves to fulfil the aims of their Institute as well as the material objectives of your Royal service, it seems only proper that the achievement of such high purposes cannot be left only to the absolute likes, or dislikes, of the Commanding officer. Perhaps it might be convenient also for the pay to be administered by the same Superior, because in this manner the soldiers could take home their salaries every month, and in this way have an average economic means to buy necessaries at a commodious price from the ship that goes there every two years with

the relief. They could even order such goods in advance from Manila where they are cheaper; in this way would be avoided what happens now, with one hand handing the pay to the soldiers, and the other hand taking back money owed to the Governor for things bought during the month, things that do not satisfy their needs because of their high prices, and so they are always poor, and indebted. For the above reasons, or similar ones, it seems that Y.M. has decided to do this in the garrisons of other Missions.

As far as the Fathers are concerned, it is true that, given the number of inhabitants, fewer of them would be needed, if the Indians could be reduced to fewer towns, if only experience had not shown that they might be finished, either out of sorrow for leaving their native soil, or on account of a change of climate. This would affect those of the Island of Rota more than the others, because there would be greater sorrow, and a greater change of climate for them, if they are moved to Guajan, and this obliges us to have two Fathers overthere, not only to look after the spiritual welfare of the missionaries, but also that of the Indians; indeed, if there were only one, he would miss the consolation of being able to reconcile himself [with God], or in order to get it, he would always have to travel to the other island, something that between November and May is not practicable without known risk, on account of the heavy seas; and if during this time he should fall sick, one realizes how disconsolate he would be, and the deprivation felt by the Indians. It is also believed that it would be agreeable to Y.M., and even very much in line with your great piety, to let old and sick Fathers remain in that mission, and not oblige them to embark for Manila to end their days, because the hardships of the voyage and the change in climate might shorten their lives; and it seems that it would not be unworthy of Y.M. either, to consider such a missionary the same as an old soldier, who has spent his life and lost his health in the service of Y.M. This leaves only one way by which to reduce the number of the Fathers in the Island of Guajan, and it is to aggregate various towns where there are few people; this would not affect them too adversely, because, by joining together the towns of one neighborhood, the change in climate cannot be very great, nor appreciable the sorrow of the Indians; the execution of such moves would be better left by Y.M. in the hands of the Provincial of his Province, for it to take place with more gentleness through the missionaries.

If the proposal for one Commanding officer and 30 soldiers should merit the approbation of Y.M., it seems that 600 pesos would be enough for their salaries. Thus, Sire, over 1,000 pesos would be saved in the subsidy now sent to said Islands, and that could be applied to other purposes. The Supplicant is aware of the Royal affection of Y.M. towards the garrison of Zamboanga, and his zealous desire to introduce our Holy Faith in the Kingdoms of Jolo and of Tamontaca;¹ for this purpose, and for greater effectiveness, the great piety and Catholic zeal of Y.M. has been pleased to honor those Kings with your Royal rescripts. That is why the Supplicant believes that it would help significantly, if it be of the pleasure of Y.M. to apply 1,000 pesos to increase the salary of the Governor of Zamboanga, who is underpaid at present; this job would then be of

1 Ed. note: Jolo lies in the Sulu Archipelago, and Tamontaca is now part of Cotabato, Mindanao.

greater honor, and material advantage, and there would be no need to rely upon excise duties. As for the rest, Y.M. may choose to apply some to the alms given for the sustenance of the missionaries who might be sent to said Kingdoms, and, when the Royal letters of Y.M. to their Kings are carried thither, it seems that it would be necessary to have at least two Jesuits accompany them to each Kingdom, and to remain in their courts. And if, as can be expected, they are received with benevolence, it will be necessary for other missionaries to follow them quickly, in order to preach in other towns. For all of these missionaries, up to **50** of them, there would be enough money remaining, although Y.M. be pleased to increase the salary of said Governor by 1,000 pesos.

The regular alms that Y.M. is used to give in the Philippines, Sire, to each missionary for his sustenance are **100** pesos, plus **100** bushels for rice,¹ delivered in the place where he resides; however, this, which in some places is difficult, will be much more difficult, and more costly to Y.M., because even after transporting [the rice] from Iloilo to Zamboanga, it must be carried to said Kingdoms of Jolo, and Tamontaca; and it could happen more than once, that the missionaries may be without said rice, because it could not be sent, and they may also lack money to buy it locally, because there would not be much, if any, left from the **100** pesos, after they take care of the needs of their persons, residences, and churches. That it why, it seems that it would be more convenient, and less demanding, on the Royal treasury of Y.M. if they be assigned their full alms in cash, as currently done for the missionaries in the Marianas, reducing the alms to **200** pesos for each individual, a minimum amount. So, they could then buy rice for the Moors, when available, otherwise some other food source that the local people use instead of bread, to which the Jesuits will have of necessity to get accustomed to; and to send orders to Zamboanga, as another source, but that would necessarily be more costly, as the goods would have to be shipped by sea, and they would have to feed and pay the men. Should this be refused, and should there be a surplus resulting from savings, they would most properly have to spend it in making some gifts to those Kings, and their Chiefs, in order to keep them benevolent, something that would no doubt be approved by Y.M., because the success of the Mission would indeed depend upon this. It can expect from God that success will indeed be achieved; in fact, without additional expenses Y.M. could maintain up to **50** missionaries, only if applied to their sustenance, with the savings made with what is presently spent, but not necessary, in the Marianas.

In view of the above, he most humbly beg Y.M., and hopes that you will be pleased to issue the provisions that might be thought most appropriate, to carry out said reform in the positions in the Mariana Islands, and to amalgamate the towns that can be amalgamated, as well as to apply the savings thus effected, should it be of the pleasure of Y.M., to augment the salary of the Governor of Zamboanga, and **200** pesos of alms for the sustenance of every missionary assigned to serve in said Kingdoms of Jolo and Tamontaca; indeed, the overall result can only be the salvation of more souls, and the

1 Ed. note: Spanish bushels were 1.58 times greater than English bushels.

extension of our Holy Faith, an objective entertained by the Catholic zeal of Y.M., from whom the Supplicant hopes to receive favor.

José Calvo.

A2. Reaction of the Council of the Indies to the above petition

Note: There was a second petition presented at the same time, but its purpose was administrative, as explained by the Attorney below.

Original text in Spanish.

Consejo 5 de Octubre de 1745.

Vealo el Señor Fiscal, con los antecedentes que se hallaren, y con el expediente de las ultimas providencias dadas para el remedio de los desordenes que se experimentaban en las Islas Marianas.

[Nota:]

No hay antecedentes sobre la reforma de Soldados del Presidio de las Islas Marianas de que esta parte dice se tratò en una Junta.

Respondido por el Señor Fiscal, en dos medios pliegos con fecha de 22 de Noviembre de 1745.

[Advice from the Attorney General]

El Fiscal: Hà visto dos Memoriales de el P. Joseph Calvo de la Compañia de Jesus, y Procurador de su Provincia de las Yslas Philipinas, reduciendose el uno sustanzialmente à manifestar la decadenzia de las Yslas Marianas, el infeliz estado en que se hallan, los gravamenes que infieren à sus moradores, y por cuyas razones propone no ser necesario aquel Gobierno en los terminos en que se halla oy, ni las Plazas de su dotazion, por lo que convendrà su reforma, dejando un Cavo principal con 600 pesos de sueldo, y 30 Plazas de soldados con el correspondiente que gozan, y uniendo los Pueblos que se puedan, con lo que queda lo suficiente para resguardo de los Padres Misioneros, y se ahorrará la Real Hacienda 11 mil pesos cada año, los que pide dicho Padre se apliquen para el Presidio de Zamboanga, aumentando 1,000 pesos al sueldo que goza el Governador de dicho Presidio, y juntamente costear todos los gastos que se puedan ofrecer con los Misioneros que hân de pasar à las Misiones de las Reynos de Jolò, y de Tamontaca, los que podrán llegar hasta 50 Misioneros, y à los que seles deverà asistir con 200 pesos de limosna para el sustento annual de cada uno, en lugar de los 100 pesos, y 100 fanegas de Arroz que se acostumbra dâr à los Misioneros de Philipinas, como todo se podrá hacer presente con mas extension por el mismo Memorial.

El otro se dirige à persuadir al Consejo no se necesitan de pedir informes à Philipinas, por ser cierta y constante la necesidad de la reforma, para lo qual se hizo en tiempo de el Governador de Manila Marques de Torre Campo Consulta à S.M., ô representacion, la que se habrá perdido.

Hecho cargo el Fiscal de lo que và expresado, y de los antecedentes que se hân puesto: Dice; que fundandose todo el Proyecto de el Padre Procurador para dicha reforma sobre dos supuestos, faltando estos, falta la razon para que se pueda condescender â su instancia, que falte el primero que ès la Consulta que dice se remitò por el Marques de Torre-campo, con precedente Junta celebrada en Manila, resultan de la Nota puesta por Secretaria, la que afirma, no haver antecedentes sobre la reforma de Soldados de el Presidio de las Yslas Marianas, y esta misma realidad lo comprueba el mismo hecho de haverse tratado el año de 1741 en el Consejo sobre el restablecimiento, y conserbacion de los Naturales de dichas Yslas, en vista de las Cartas, y Testimonios resividas con fechas de 9 de Julio de 1739, y otra de 2 de Junio de 1735 del Governador Don Fernando Valdes Tamon, sin que en ninguna de ellas se aya tocado de reforma de su Governador ni Plazas de Soldados de su Presidio, ni se podia tocar, porque teniendo muy presentes en Manila las razones de convenienzia, y de necesidad para la permanencia de dicho Presidio como esta la que ès, para los Galeones de el Comercio de Philipinas, con Nueva España, y â donde llegan â hacer aguada, y vastimentarse de lo que necesitan principalmente de Carnes, por la abundancia de Ganados que producen estas Yslas, nunca podian pensar ni proponer dicha reforma, pues las mismas causas que dà el Padre Calvo de la disminucion de sus naturales, hace mas precisa la Guarnicion pues esta sirve para mantener el puesto, y la situacion de aquellas Yslas, é impedir se establezcan en ellas enemigos de nuestra Corona, lo que seria de gravissimo perjuicio â las Yslas Philipinas, y â su Comercio, pues bien se deja considerar que para contener â los Naturales siendo tan pocos, y siendo Nietos, y Viznietos de Christianos, no se necesitaba de otra Garnizion ni por consiguiente para el resguardo de los Misioneros, pero la importancia de la situacion hace precisa la precauzion para su resguardo, gastando S.M. de su Real Hazienda los caudales que se necesitan para la manutencion de dicho Presidio, no por lo que sucede en el dia, sino por lo que puede acontecer en adelante, sin atender â que este Presidio, y otros de su misma naturaleza estèn establecidos en Territorios utiles, sino ès â que son necesario es para el resguardo de otros Territorios pertenecientes â S.M., y seguridad de sus Vasallos en el trafico, y comercio de las utilidades que producen; y con lo que parece queda evaquado el segundo supuesto, ô fundamento que produce el Padre Calvo para la reforma.

Y siendo lo que lleba expuesto el Fiscal, tan cierto, como constante, y savido quanto gastan las Naciones Extrangeras en mantener sus Presidios, yâ en la Africa, yâ en la Assia, y ya en la America, solo con el fin de asegurar escalas para el arrivo de sus Navios, y abrigo de su trafico, por cuyas razones no se encuentra motivo por ahora para que se pueda condescender, ni intentar la reforma de dicho Presidio, y mas quando el Conssejo, haviendose hecho cargo de las representaciones citadas del Governador de Philipinas Valdes Tamon, tiene dadas las providencias correspondientes en Reales Cédulas de 28 de Mayo de 1741, dirigidas â los Governadores de Manila, y Marianas, para el restablecimiento y conserbacion de dichas Yslas, y sus naturales, y de las que aun no hân dado cuenta de su Recivo.

Y por quanto se dirige esta representacion â el fin de que los 11,000 pesos que se pueden ahorrar en dicha reforma, sirvan para la manutencion de el Presidio de Zamboanga, y Missioneros de los Reynos de Jolo, y Tamontaca: Deve hacer presente el Fiscal, no se puede resolver sobre el punto de aumento de sueldo al Governador de Zamboanga assi, por no saverse el que este goza, como el que se deve creer serâ el correspondiente quando ni este governador, ni su antecesor hân solicitado semejante aumento; Y por lo que mira para la manutencion de los Religiosos que se hân de emplear en las Misiones de dichos Reynos Gentiles, dependiendo de el futuro contingente que podrán producir las Cartas que su Magested fuè servido embiar â los Reyes de Jolò, y de Tamontaca, se deverân esperar las resultas, como asimismo de el ingreso, y progreso de las Misiones, en cuyo caso siendo favorables como se esperâ de el fervoroso celo con que se hà aplicado y aplica la Sagrada Religion de la Compañia de Jesus â la conversion de las Almas, y extension de el Santo Evangelio, no pueden dar que su Magestad atenderâ para su manutencion, como lo hace con todos.

Y en quanto â que â los Missioneros destinados para estas partes seles satisfaga â cada uno en dinero el equivalente â las 100 fanegas de Arroz; como quiera que esta sea la situacion asignada â los Missioneros de aquellas Yslas, y con cuyo exemplar podrán venir solicitandolo las demas Religiones que se hallan en ellas; convendrâ se pida informe al Arzobispo sobre este particular. Y en vista de todo el Consejo determinará lo que tubiere por mas conveniente.

Madrid, y Noviembre 22 de 1745.

[Decision of the Council]

Consejo de 27 de Noviembre de 1745.

Hagase en todo como lo dice el Señor Fiscal, y expidanse luego al punto Triplicados de las Cedula de 28 de Mayo del año de 1741 tocantes al remedio de las Yslas Marianas.

Translation.

The Council, 5 October 1745.

Let the Fiscal see it, along with the background files that might be found, and with the file containing the latest measures that were given for the remedy of the disorders taking place in the Mariana Islands.

[Note:]

There are no background documents regarding the reform of soldiers in the garrison of the Mariana Islands, which this party says took place in one Consultation.

The answer of the Fiscal appears on two half-folios dated 22 November 1745.

[Advice from the Attorney General]

The Fiscal: has reviewed two Memorials presented by Fr. José Calvo of the Society of Jesus and Procurator for his Province of the Philippine Islands. The first one can be summarized as expressing the decadence of the Mariana Islands, the unhappy condi-

tion in which their inhabitants live under, and the heavy burdens imposed upon them, for which reasons he proposes that the Government there, under the present terms, is not necessary, nor as many positions in its establishment, and consequently its reform would be appropriate, leaving only one Commanding officer with 600 pesos of salary, and 30 serving soldiers with the salary that they now enjoy, and by unifying the towns that can be unified, which would be enough to serve as protection for the missionary Fathers, and would save the Royal treasury 11,000 pesos of salary every year, which said Father requests be applied to the garrison of Zamboanga, by increasing by 1,000 pesos the salary enjoyed by the Governor of said garrison, and be enough to cover all of the potential expenses for missionaries that must go to the Missions in the Kingdoms of Jolo and of Tamontaca, their number being up to 50, each of whom would have to be assisted with 200 pesos of alms for his yearly sustenance, instead of the 100 pesos plus 100 bushels of rice that is usually given to every missionary in the Philippines, the details of which can be seen in the Memorial itself.

The other memorial aims at convincing the Council of the necessity of asking the Philippines for reports, given the necessity for reform is certain and continuing, for which H.M. was given a consultation, or representation, at the time when the Marquis of Torrecampo was Governor of Manila, one that might have been lost.¹

After having taken notice of the above, and of the antecedents mentioned therein, the Fiscal declares: that the Project of the Father Procurator for said reform is based on two suppositions, and if they fail the test, there is no basis for agreeing with his petition. The first supposition fails, as it is based on the Consultation that he says was sent by the Marquis of Torrecampo, following a Meeting held at Manila, since from the Note placed by the Secretariat, it is said that there are no antecedents regarding the reform of the soldiers of the Garrison of the Mariana Islands. This fact is further proved by another, that of the Council having dealt in 1741 with the restoration and conservation of the natives of said Islands, in view of the Letters, and Records of proceedings, received with dates of 9 July 1739, and another dated 2 June 1735 from Governor Valdés Tamón; in none of which was there a mention of reforming their Governor nor the positions of the soldiers of their garrison, nor could it have been mentioned, because in Manila they are very conscious of the reasons of convenience and necessity for the retention of said garrison, for instance, for the galleons of the Philippine commerce with New Spain to stop there to take on water and the food supplies that they need, mainly meat, on account of the abundance of cattle produced by these Islands, and therefore they could not think of proposing such a reform; in fact, the same reasons given by Father Calvo for the decline in the number of natives, confirms the need for the garrison to stay there to defend the post and the location of those Islands, to prevent the enemies of our Crown to establish themselves there, something that would cause very grave prejudice to the Philippine Islands, and its commerce. Though it be true that a garrison is no longer necessary to subjugate the natives, because of their small number

1 Ed. note: They just did not try hard enough. There were antecedents (see Doc. 1727E and F).

and the fact they are grand-children and great-grandchildren of Christians, it is therefore unnecessary to protect the missionaries either. However, the important location of the Islands makes necessary the precaution of protecting them, H.M. spending the necessary funds of his Royal treasury to maintain said garrison, not for what happens there today, or in other similar posts established in useful Territories, but because they are necessary for the protection of other Territories belonging to H.M., and the security of his Vassals while trading their products. Hence, it appears that the second supposition, or basis, advanced by Father Calvo for the reform has been refuted.

And, in line with the above opinion of the Fiscal, it is true and well known that Foreign Countries spend large sums to maintain their garrisons, in Africa, in Asia, and in America, just to assure themselves of places for their trading ships to make stop-overs, and to seek shelter. For such reasons, there is no motive right now for agreeing with, or attempting, a reform of said garrison, the more so when the Council, having taken cognizance of the representations of said Governor of the Philippines, Valdés Tamón, has already issued the corresponding provisions in Royal decrees dated 29 May 1741, addressed to the Governors of Manila, and Marianas, for the restoration and preservation of said Islands, and their natives—acknowledgments of which have not yet been received.

And inasmuch as the aim of this representation is to have the potential 11,000 pesos saved in said reform be directed at the maintenance of the garrison of Zamboanga, and the missionaries of the Kingdoms of Jolo and Tamontaca: The Fiscal must point out that it is not possible to resolve the question of the increase in the salary of the Governor of Zamboanga just like that, since it is not even known how much he makes, or what it should be, because neither this governor, nor his predecessor, has solicited such an increase. And as far as the maintenance of the Religious who must be employed in the Missions of said heathen Kingdoms, this depends on the future outcome from the letters which His Majesty has been pleased to send to the Kings of Jolo and of Tamontaca, and the results must be awaited, as well as the decision to send missionaries. Should there be such a need, then, as expected from the zeal that the sacred Order of the Society of Jesus has applied and continues to apply to the conversion of souls, and the extension of the Holy Gospel, they can expect to receive funds from His Majesty for their maintenance, as he does with everyone.

And as far as supplying each missionary assigned to these parts with cash instead of 100 bushels of rice, given that such is the situation for every other missionary assigned to those Islands, such a precedent could lead to solicitations by the other Orders working there. Therefore, it would be proper to ask the Archbishop for a report on this matter. And in view of everything, the Council will decide what it thinks more convenient.

Madrid, 22 November 1745.

[Decision of the Council]

The Council, 27 November 1745.

Do in everything as the Fiscal says, and send at once Triplicate copies of the Decrees of 28 may 1741 regarding the remedy of the Mariana Islands.¹

¹ Ed. note: See Doc. 1741A.

Note 1745B

The missionary ship San Francisco sent to Manila as an advice boat in 1745

Source: AGI Fil. 111.

Editor's notes.

In this file are indirect references to correspondence received by the King from both the Viceroy of Mexico and the Governor of the Philippines as a result of his edict on the suspension of the Manila-Acapulco galleons as long as war with England lasted.

On 25 November 1744, the Viceroy wrote that he had received said royal order and was complying with it; that, since the Manila galleon had not come to Acapulco in 1743 or 1744, he had arranged for the frigate serving the Garrison and missions of California, and owned by the King, to be borrowed and sent to Manila. It had left Acapulco on 21 March 1745.

In a letter dated 15 July 1745, the Royal Officials in Manila advised the King that the frigate named **San Francisco**, sent by the Viceroy, had indeed arrived, and that the King's order had stopped their preparation to send that year's galleon. Their reason why they purchased the patache **Santo Domingo** from an individual for 16,300 pesos, to send the mail to Acapulco, instead of sending back the California frigate, is not mentioned; however, we may assume that the frigate was no longer seaworthy.

Be that as it may, the Audiencia of Manila decided to continue preparing two galleons for despatch, the **Rosario** and the **Pilar**, and Governor de la Torre so advised the King on 4 and 19 August 1745.¹

1 Ed. note: Perhaps so, but the two galleons in question did not make the voyage until the next year 1746.



Dutch ships of the 18th century.

Documents 1746A

Two Dutch ships that went from Batavia to New Spain

*Note: The names of these two ships were the *Hersteller* and the *Hervatting*, which mean the Repairer (or Restorer), and the *Renewal* (or *Recuperation*) respectively.*

A1. Letter from Pedro Calderón, member of the Audiencia of Manila, to the President of the Council of the Indies, dated Manila 16 July 1746

Source: B&R 47: 230-242.

Notes: B&R got this letter from the librarian of the Academia Española of Madrid, where it was found to be the only document there relating to the Philippines.

Translation by Emma Helen Blair, revised.

I wrote last year to your most Illustrious Lordship, by way of New Spain and Portugal, mentioning the pleasure which I felt at the news that your most Illustrious Lordship held the presidency of the Council of the Indies; for besides the affection which I profess to your most Illustrious Lordship, ever since I experienced your kindness in Valladolid, I have looked for the like success in the management of the important affairs which are entrusted to the Council, and I hope that these unfortunate and remote regions may have a share in the good results which their government needs.

With regards to the troubles which have afflicted this commonwealth: The Dutch, keen to avail themselves of opportunities to extend their commerce, sent a warship over here in the year 1744, under pretext of an embassy; it was in charge of Mister Duvins,¹ the second factor in their trade with Japan. He carried letters from the Governor [i.e. Imhoff] and the Council of Batavia for the Governor and Audiencia here, in which it was stated that he came to look for a bark named **Catalina Magdalena**—for which a Swiss heretic had given pledges to the [Dutch East Indies] Company at Batavia with his own person; it had sailed from here with the name **Santa Ana**, and a commission from

¹ Ed. note: The same captain who took his ships to New Spain in 1746 (see Doc. 1746B).

the Governor here; but it was sold to the Company, who changed its name, and under command of the same Swiss it came back here to trade, with consignments belonging to the Dutch. And since, in order to send the squadron to China,¹ the departure of the vessels which were in this bay was prohibited, the said bark being compelled to winter here; and, under pretext of looking after these [commercial] interests, the Dutch sent their envoy with credentials. He carried himself, while here, with the air of an ambassador, and claimed that we should treat him as such, that we should give him audience in a session of the Royal court, and that the members of the Audiencia should visit him; but in polite terms he was given to understand that without express order from His Majesty he could not be treated as he desired; and it was resolved that answer should be made to the letters with complete courtesy, stating that no such bark as the **Catalina Magdalena** had landed at these Islands; but that, if through stress of weather it should enter our ports, it would receive succor, and our friendly relations would be maintained in all things. His principal topic, however, was that free trade should be permitted to him here, and that the Dutch should bring us all the merchandise necessary for us. But, as he found no opening for a proposal of that sort, on account of the prohibition in [our] laws and in the peace treaties, and because of the damage which would ensue to the Islands from admitting within them the different religion which neighbors so cunning and so powerful would undertake to impart to them, he returned home much disgusted, publishing to the Dutch that Manila could be captured with 500 soldiers, and even urging this enterprise as an easy one on Barnett, the commander of an English squadron which was then at Batavia.

The Dutch, not discomfited by this repulse, or by the loss of 50,000 pardaos (which are 37,500 pesos)—which, as they write from Batavia, is the sum spent by the above-mentioned ambassador here—made an agreement with an English corsair who was at Batavia with a ship of 52 guns and another of 30, to the effect that under his own flag he should escort 4 Dutch ships, which they despatched to Acapulco last year with merchandise. And in order to hinder the galleon from leaving this port they deceived a Frenchman, who was very well known here,² hinting to him that Barnett's squadron and the corsair were going to attack Manila; and they hastened his despatch, at the cost of 4,000 pesos, in order that he might notify us here. Then they gave order to the corsair, with two other ships of their own, to let themselves be seen at the entrance of Mariveles, in order to throw Manila into alarm and hinder the sailing of the galleon. By [causing] this fright they succeeded in their purpose to prevent the sailing of the ship, which was lightened of its cargo as soon as the information which the Frenchman gave reached us; and the 4,000 pesos were paid [to him] for the cost of this warning.

1 Ed. note: To avenge the loss of the galleon Covadonga to Captain Anson, the Spanish at Manila had despatched a squadron of 4 ships to China to look for him.

2 Ed. note: Blair thought that the Frenchman in question was probably Antoine Pignon, whom the Spanish had sent to Batavia to buy guns and ammunition. However, the file gives his name as Duvalier.

The said four ships sailed to leeward, and sighted the coast of Ilocos, whence we had news of this. But they could not attain their principal object; for when the six ships had come together in China, and were laden with [goods worth] 900,00 pardaos (each worth 6 silver reals), they expected the vessel which, after having given that warning here, was to cross over to China and carry to the Dutch a pilot for the navigation to New Spain; but it could not reach China, and was forced to go to Batavia. The four Dutch ships and the two [English] corsairs, resolved to carry out their project, sailed from Canton on the 14th of September, bound for the coast of New Spain and Peru to carry on illicit trade, and the English to make reprisals. But God, who chose to punish so mischievous a design, permitted that a hurricane should attack them, when they were four days out from Canton; and as a result the two corsairs were driven back to China—the larger vessel dismasted and battered, and the smaller one badly damaged. The four Dutch ships, badly leaking, spent 12 days in search of an anchorage on the coast of Ilocos, in order to make repairs; but not finding any, they went back to Batavia, with their trade goods damaged.

According to what is written to us in a despatch that has just been received from Batavia—from a spy who was sent there from here to make observations on the condition of the English pirate squadron—the Dutch lost half the value of their merchandise, and the corsair sold for 17,000 pardaos his ship of 52 guns, with all of its military supplies, since it was no longer fit for navigation, while he went with the other and smaller ship—it is said without [stopping] for food—to another port to repair it. [It is also reported] that Barnett's squadron had departed for Bombay, toward the Persian Gulf, to cruise against the French, from whom he seized in the Straits [of Malacca] nearly a million pesos.

The person who was sent from here to Batavia (who is a Malabar) with a sloop was detained there under the pretext that the Governor had gone away, and orders were given that he should not be permitted to depart until the Governor returned. But he informed us of everything by means of a boat which he despatched with six men and a French pilot. He reported that **three** Dutch frigates were being equipped and laden with merchandise in order to carry on illicit trade at the entrance of [the Gulf of] the Californias; they carry 40, 30, and 25 guns [respectively]. In his opinion, this was the cause of his detention, in order that, by news [from him] not reaching Manila, the galleon should not sail for New Spain, and their plan not be known here.

On account of all these advices, and those which we had previously received by way of China making the same statement about the English, it was resolved here that, since the chief [cause for] fear, which was the said squadron—which occasioned the letter with an order from the Marquis de la Ensenada,¹ warning us that a ship should not sail from here with cargo—had ceased, and since the commonwealth was in the most deplorable extremity, as a result of a shipment of goods which had been driven back to

1 Ed. note: Apparently the former President of the Council of the Indies.

port, and laden and unladen a second time, and in obvious risk of being lost, a final effort was made by dividing the cargo between two ships equipped for war.¹ One of these carried 70 guns and the other 52 (70 and 40 [respectively] being mounted), and a commensurate number of men, resolved to defend their property and with sufficient force to make resistance to the entire squadron of Barnett, whose ships carried 52, 45, 40, and 30 guns. For the cost of this enterprise the body of merchants offered to aid with 50,000 pesos in Acapulco; and this effort seemed necessary, for, as the Viceroy of Mexico had orders not to allow any money to come here, he understood them so strictly that last year [1745] he sent a bark without one real.² Nevertheless, he was not ignorant that the subsidy had not been sent here for three years: that with this, and the failure of the [Acapulco] trade link, the treasury of the Islands ran a deficit of 60,000 pesos every year in customs and anchorage fees; that the citizens would necessarily be reduced to poverty, and that these domains were utterly helpless; and that by despatching the aid in November it would arrive here in complete safety from the English—who only through general lack of military foresight were able to secure the prize [i.e. the Covadonga] which they made; for these islands have various ports where our ships can land (thus mocking the enemy), as occurred this past year; but when they come by the ordinary route and the guns are in the hold, no other result [than their capture] can be expected.

This damage, most Illustrious Sir, is already done, but it calls to Heaven for a remedy in the future. That which I propose is, that, since [the merchandise for] this commerce was formerly supplied, either by sending our barks to the Malabar coast, or by Armenians, Moslems, or Malabars coming thence with their ships and goods—only tolerating that they might bring some French pilot—orders be given to observe this plan so strictly that warning be given to the Audiencia, the Archbishop, and the City [Council of Manila] that they shall give a report, if the Governor shall contravene those orders, and some exemplary punishment be meted out. For the despotic power which the Governors, under pretext of their services, have assumed is great; and the freedom which they have given to the English and the French has arrived at being general license. From this prohibition it follows that they cannot gain so much knowledge about the country and its forts, and that they cannot so greatly injure this commerce [as before]; for the Asians are never so shrewd as the Europeans, and their only concern is for their business, without meddling in observations of our forts or our forlorn condition. To this remedy I add that which I have proposed to the Council, and which on this occasion I repeat.

Observing the aforesaid freedom, the Dutch have ventured to come [here] with the ease which the Swiss heretic had represented to them; and if this Swiss had not been allowed to come here with his bark, he would not have involved us in such difficulties

1 Ed. note: They were named the Rosario and the Pilar.

2 Concepción says (in his *Historia de Philipinas*, xi, p. 237) that this was “a little vessel, which was in the service of the missions and garrisons of California.” The Viceroy sent it because, having heard nothing from Manila for a long time, he feared that Anson had caused destruction there.

with the Dutch, for they, in pique, undertook to introduce their commerce into New Spain—tempting the Viceroy with 300,000 pesos which they carried thither last year [rather 1746 only], planning to give him this money so that he should tolerate [their trade]. And since they are now going back [in 1647?] I fear that they are planning to occupy some port in California, in order that it may serve them as a storehouse—like the Island of Curacao—in the North [i.e. Atlantic] Sea—and to make arrangements for carrying on their trade from Batavia with the same ease as from here.

And in order to prevent these or others from undertaking such a scheme (which would be the destruction of America), I have collected testimony regarding all which can aid the Council to realize how, without any expense to the royal treasury, and with the men of whom we have here more than enough belonging to the arsenal and ships, [Manila] can be fortified to protect that part of America, for the security of both these and those domains; but I hope for the success of the former proposal, in order not to pile up schemes. I assure your most Illustrious Lordship that this can be pushed forward in a way which will be very useful to the nation; because, in order to keep the Dutch under control, it is enough that they know that we keep in readiness the 3 galleons each of 70 guns, which the trade ought to have, and 4 frigates besides, with which we can disturb the commerce in the Straits for the inland regions. This is specially easy to do with the English, because, even though they send squadrons from Europe, many of their men die, and they use up their men as fast as they gain ground; and in this country they can never do us harm if we do not relax, as we did before.

I hope that your most Illustrious Lordship will pardon the annoyance of this, as springing from my zeal for the service of the King and the welfare of the nation; and I confide in the inborn devotion of your most Illustrious Lordship, whose life I entreat God our Lord to preserve for as many years as I desire and need.

Most Illustrious Sir, I kiss the hands of your most Illustrious Lordship.

Your most devoted and humble servant,
Pedro Calderón y Enriquez.

[Endorsement:] To his most Illustrious Lordship, Don José de Carbajal y Lancaster, of the war cabinet of the Indies, and President of the Council.

A2. A Dutch Trade Mission to New Spain, 1746-1747, by Peter Gerhard

Source: Pacific Historical Review 23 (1954): 221-226.

Early in 1747 the Viceroy of New Spain, Conde de Revilla-Gigedo, received an anonymous letter from Macao, China, which must have caused considerable excitement in Mexico City.¹ The writer claimed to be a friend of Spain who had learned of a

¹ Unless otherwise identified, the source is AGI Fil. 245 (“Expediente sobre los dos navios Olandeses que desde Batavia, fueron à comerciar à la Nueva España años de 1739 à 1753.”).

clever Dutch plan to share in the great profits of the North Pacific trade route from the Orient to Acapulco, which had always been a monopoly of the Manila galleon. The brain behind this scheme seems to have been the governor of Batavia. Spurned in his attempts to open trade with Manila, he outfitted in 1745 a fleet of six vessels which were to carry a million pesos worth of merchandise from China to New Spain. Although they all flew the Dutch flag, two of them were English privateers which were to accompany the expedition as an escort to ensure its success, by force, if necessary. Three hundred thousand pesos were to be carried as a bribe to induce the viceroy to permit the sale of the cargo. If this seems an unusually large amount, it should be remembered that the Manila merchants often realized 200 per cent profit on the sale of their goods at Acapulco. Furthermore, the viceroy had very strict orders from the king forbidding any kind of commerce with foreign ships.¹

As a final detail the Dutch governor sent word to Manila that an English squadron was about to attack, and some time later dispatched one of the privateers to intimidate the Spaniards and prevent the Manila galleon from sailing. Although the privateers had to turn back because of a storm, the ruse had its effect. Two years previously the **Covadonga** had been captured by Anson, and the mere rumor of pirates was enough to frighten the governor of the Philippines into cancelling the departure of the 1745 galleon, which was already half loaded when the news arrived.

Matters had reached this stage when the Dutch flotilla arrived at Macao in mid-July and took on a cargo of silks, wax, jewelry, and other articles. By eliminating the profits of the Chinese sampans, these things could be acquired at a lower price than in Manila. The profit of their sale in New Spain should be tremendous, as no galleon had reached Acapulco since early 1743.

In spite of such careful preparations, the expedition was now to receive a series of setbacks. The sailing had been delayed well into the monsoon season, and soon after the ships left Macao in mid-September, 1745, they ran into a terrific storm. It was decided to wait until the following year before attempting the long and dangerous crossing, and the fleet retired to Batavia.

It would seem that the chances of success had dwindled considerably. The merchants of Manila were now preparing to dispatch two galleons to Acapulco in the summer of 1746, one of which would carry the anonymous letter referred to. Having been deserted by the English privateers, the Dutch squadron was reduced to two ships which sailed from Batavia July 1. They were the **Hersteller** and the **Hervating**, with a combined crew of about 400 men and 32 guns each.² In spite of their armament, they were instructed to engage in peaceful trade only, for which they were provided with letters to the viceroy.

1 In a cédula of December 4, 1715, the king ordered that no aid be given to foreign ships on the west coast of Mexico, even in an emergency, since "por el mismo hecho de entrar y navegar por el Mar del Sur deben ser tratados como Piratas." (AGI Guadalajara 253).

2 AGI Guadalajara 252 ("Relación de los Autos formados...")

There were now four vessels, two Spanish and two Dutch, crossing the North Pacific simultaneously. The Manila ships, travelling together for protection had an uneventful voyage and reached Acapulco on January 10, 1747, having landed a courier at Navidad some days before.¹ The **Hersteller** and the **Hervating** were separated in a gale off the Marianas in September, and proceeded independently to New Spain.

Early in December, 1746, the soldier-lookout at San José del Cabo, at the southern tip of Baja California, detected the sail of an approaching vessel. Assuming that it was the annual galleon from Manila, he notified the missionary, Father Sigismundo Taraval, who went out to meet the ship in a canoe. It was soon discovered that she was the **Hervating**, that most of the crew was ill with scurvy, and that 30 or 40 men had died on the crossing. Aware of the orders forbidding contact with foreigners, Taraval returned to shore and immediately ordered that the mission cattle be moved inland. He then set off for the neighboring mission of Santiago, where the German Father Karl Neumayer resided.² It was decided that Neumayer, who spoke Dutch, should take Taraval's place at San José during the stay of the **Hervating**.

From Santiago, Taraval wrote to Father Johann Bischoff at La Paz, the next mission to the north, telling him of the arrival of the Dutch ship and asking him to forward the news to Loreto. He hinted that if trade were permitted it would benefit the missions, which had recently lost their crops in a locust plague: "This week will be left without a single grain, eating fish and snails, as the locust has left nothing." Bischoff forwarded this letter to the next mission, La Pasión, where Father Lambert Hostell added the information that he would send a messenger to Magdalena Bay to warn the Manila galleon, in case it should put in there, of the proximity of the Dutch.³ Hostell's letter reached Loreto, the capital of California, on Christmas Day. The captain of the presidio, Bernardo Rodríguez, wrote a summary of all these notices which he sent across the gulf to New Spain in the mission launch. They reached the viceroy a few days after he received his first news of the Dutch expedition.

Meanwhile, Neumayer at San José del Cabo had spoken to the Dutchmen and decided that there would be no harm in trading, since they had arrived "at a time when the entire south, particularly this mission, was perishing for want of supplies." He accepted 20 sacks of rice, 16 sacks of wheat, 200 empty bottles, 100 bottles full of licores, several flasks of oil and vinegar, two empty barrels, a cable for the mission launch, and a bale of wax candles. In return the Dutch ship took on an undisclosed number of cows, goats, sheep, and chickens.⁴

1 AGI Fil. 121.

2 Ed. note: Fr. Neumayer was born in Wroclaw, Silesia (Poland), in 1707, joined the Bohemian Province of the Jesuits in 1723, left Spain with the 1735 mission band (ref. AGI Contratación 5550), and worked in California from 1745 to 1748.

3 Hostell's letter is dated December 23, 1746. By this time the galleons had passed California without being sighted.

4 These details are given in a letter from Neumayer to Father J. F. Tempes, Jesuit procurator in Mexico, San José del Cabo, January 10, 1747, and in the testimony of Juan Nicolás de Estrada.

The cordial treatment given the Dutch was a cause of much subsequent embarrassment to the Jesuit authorities. Neumayer allowed the scurvy-ridden sailors to come ashore, and entertained them hospitably in his quarters at the mission. We are told that the Dutchmen were most respectful to the missionary and always doffed their hats when they met a soldier or passed the door of the mission church.¹ Most of them were Protestants, but one of the soldiers from the ship was a German Catholic who deserted and fled to Santiago, where he took refuge in the church. Taraval sent him back to the ship under guard.

Little suspecting the storm that their action was to arouse in Mexico, Neumayer and Taraval wrote effusive letters for the Dutch men to carry to New Spain, recommending them to the Jesuit procurator whom they asked to use his good offices with the viceroy to permit the traders to dispose of their cargo. Taraval suggested that if the king knew the destitute condition of his remote provinces he would allow trade with foreigners. The Dutch captain then asked that a messenger be provided to carry their letters to Mexico City. A recently discharged soldier of the San José garrison, Juan Nicolás de Estrada, volunteered and was given the blessing of the missionaries and a letter of safe-conduct from the *alférez* in charge of the garrison. After a poignant farewell from the Spaniards, the **Hervating** with Estrada aboard set sail in mid-January, having spent more than a month in California.

When the **Hervating** anchored at Matanchel,² on January 15, 1747, the Dutch traders got a very different reception. The local authorities had been forewarned and refused all contact with the foreigners. Estrada was set ashore with the letters, which included a frank proposal of trade from the governor of Batavia to the viceroy.³ Estrada's passport was regarded sceptically, and he was arrested in Guadalajara and sent under guard to Mexico City. All the letters were seized and shown to the viceroy, who went into a paroxysm of rage. Poor Estrada was at once put on the rack to get the full story, and special couriers were dispatched to Matanchel with orders that the foreigners should not even be allowed to take on water, but should be repelled by force. Neumayer was the recipient of an angry letter from the viceroy, and even the Jesuits in Mexico were suspected of complicity. The Jesuit provincial, Father Cristobal de Escobar y Llamas, was given strict orders that no aid of any kind was to be given to foreign vessels in the future.

The **Hervating** remained at Matanchel until February 28. Several letters were directed from the captain to the viceroy, no longer asking permission to trade but merely to take on water and supplies so that they might return to Batavia. The petition was ignored and no-one was allowed to land. Supplies on the ship dwindled and several sailors died of scurvy. A force of 500 Spaniards assembled under the command of Pedro de Labaquera, who had just been commissioned *Teniente de Capitán General de las*

1 Testimony of Estrada.

2 Ed. note: Matanchel is in the neighborhood of the port of San Blas.

3 AGI Guadalajara 252.

Costas del Mar del Sur. When a small party landed from the **Hervating** at night it was immediately taken prisoner.

Now thoroughly weary of the whole affair, and only wishing to return to Batavia before contrary winds set in (usually toward the end of March), the Dutch repaired to the uninhabited Tres Mariás Islands off Matanchel, where they watered and obtained meager supplies of fish and game. Then they returned to Matanchel, on March 8, and sent a final message to the viceroy. Complaining strongly of the Spaniards' lack of hospitality, they demanded the return of the prisoners and threatened to take reprisals if they were not allowed at least to replenish their supplies.

On the night of March 16-17, having received no answer from the viceroy, the Dutch set a raiding party ashore at Matanchel. De Labaquera had prepared an ambush, and in the skirmish which followed four Dutchmen and one Spaniard were killed. The survivors retired to their ship leaving 15 prisoners.¹ The same day the **Hervating** sailed for Batavia with the small remainder of her original crew. It is not known whether the unfortunate ship reached her destination.

Meanwhile the **Hersteller**, companion of the **Hervating**, had a similar experience but without the alleviation of a visit to California. After losing sight of her sister ship in September, 1746, she continued alone to New Spain, arriving first at the Tres Mariás Islands. Some 38 or 40 men died from scurvy on the crossing, which lasted over six months. Proceeding to the mainland early in January, the Dutchmen sighted two sails off Navidad which proved to be the Manila galleons which had just landed their couriers. The **Hersteller** followed them down the coast at a respectful distance, and finally dropped behind and entered the tiny port of San Telmo.² Either here or in the course of a visit to Navidad the **Hersteller** lost 28 men as prisoners to the Spanish authorities, including the ship's chaplain, an Irish priest named Lawrence O'Cahan. The movements of this ship cannot be followed with much precision, but apparently she spent the next two months frequenting little-known harbors along the west coast. It is not likely that the Dutch were able to dispose of much of their cargo in these remote places. On March 25 the **Hersteller** appeared briefly in the outer harbor at Acapulco, this being the last mention of either ship in available Spanish records.

The *autos* on this case came to an end in April, 1747. The prisoners were to be sent to Spain. The unfortunate Estrada, who had broken down under torture, convinced the judges that he was ignorant of any sinister purpose behind the Dutch expedition and was released to return to his family at San José del Cabo.³ Further admonitions were sent to the Jesuits forbidding them even to speak with foreigners, although,

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- 1 De Labaquera, in a self-eulogy some years later, claimed that he captured the ship as well, but this is contradicted by other sources. Cf. AGI Guadalajara 401.
 - 2 In Motines province. Probably to be identified with "Ensenada de Pichilinquillo." Cf. H. O. No. 84, *Sailing Directions for the West Coasts of Mexico and Central America* (Washington, 1938), 234.
 - 3 The descendants of Estrada, who was one of the first Spanish settlers in Baja California, today form a considerable element in the population of the Cape region.

strangely enough, the fiscal's opinion was that Neumayer and Taraval were not guilty of any disloyalty, but were merely being correctly hospitable. The Spanish ambassador to Holland entered a strong protest over the incident and asked that the governor of Batavia be punished for his part in the affair.

A3. Selected correspondence from the main file at AGI

Source: AGI Fil. 245 (formerly 68-6-27).

Note: The documents in this main file have dates that cover the 1739-1753 period. In fact, the Council of the Indies had already decided, in 1739, to apply penalties on any foreign ship trading illegally in the Indies.

—Letter from the Dutch captain and supercargos of the *Hervating*, dated Matanchel 12 March 1747.

Original text in bad Spanish and Portuguese.¹

M. Ylle. Sr. Don Fermin de Echeverz, y Subisa.

Meusnor [=Mi señor?]

Recebemos â de V.m. de diez de prezente por lo qual [de]vemos avisar nos V.M. que â hemos agora non tinche(?) chegado â rresucae [=rescatar?] de Exmo. Señor Virrey y por licencia, ar non, ô comercio, ô que nem tampoco remesperanze semelhante por ser contra ô tratado pleito em Westpahlia, segundo ô Artigo sexto, y otros mais expressoinz que V.m. he servido â llegar cussas por nos mormente son sabidos por em he preciso tambien placer hua diferencia de occapia e. cazaras. por que aqui venimos sumos mal sucedido na viage para Leste de Japon è asim venimos valler de este Por tto è fa que senos non quer permitir de vender os nostros Generos que tenemos, al demos nos destino agora, è viveres. V.m. nos ordenne sahir de aqui, è largar toda esta costa, e seus portos, alias nos quere[mos] tratar como ynimigos, ô Rebeldos, porem ja he mui tarde faren nos este declaracion que ainda hoje recebemos è supunjamos V.m. â muito, èsi nos antes turessemos tido pudimos ter prevenido de suceder ô que agorra com muito sentimento nosso suvades, Facante â Gente que procede contra contras as ordems de V.m. e ainda mui mais contra a nosta prometemos che sobre nosta parolle de benca-ro [=cabalhero?] que V.m. o quere rrestituir, de baixo de hum contracto honorable que os caastigaremos segundo merecimento è mal proceder, è nonachando este noyta offeritorio ingresso serremos precissados â tomar â revanje nostas contornos, â que V.M. nos obrige esperamos a respuesta de esta p. hirnos entretanto regando â Dios Guarde â V.m. muchos años.

Matanchel â Bordo de Navio Recuperacion a os 12/13 de Marzo mil setecientos quarenta, y siete años.

De V.m. humildes servidores.

L. Gottschack.

¹ Ed. note: The bad Portuguese may be due, in part, to a bad transcription by a clerk in Mexico City. One should search for the original at AGN there.

Manstchrist Moller
Daniel Lembrock

Approximate translation.

Most Illustrious Sir, Don Fermin de Echeverz, y Subisa.

Dear Sir:

We have received the letter of Your Grace dated 10th instant, for which we must let Your Grace know that we have arrived at Matanchel to trade but not without the permission of His Excellency the Viceroy, since such is prohibited by the Treaty of Westphalia, Article 6, and others, but Your Grace should be pleased to excuse us because we did not know about this, also because we need to explain our presence here. We ended up here after failing in a voyage to the east of Japan and so we came to this port to find out that we are not allowed to sell the merchandise that we have, in exchange for food supplies, to pursue our route. Your Grace orders us to get out of here, and get away from this coast, and its ports; in other words, we want to treat us as enemies, or pirates, but it is now too late to made this declaration to us, which we have just received today and we suppose that Your Grace could have told us earlier, but now it is with much sorrow that we learn that people have proceeded against us against the orders of Your Grace and still more in future, We promise upon our word of honor as gentlemen that Your Grace should retribute, under the terms of an honorable contract, that we will punish their bad treatment as they deserve, and after sunset we will go ashore and be forced to take revenge upon our surroundings. Your Grace would oblige us by answering this letter before we go ahead. Meanwhile, may God save Your Grace for many years.

Matanchel, aboard the ship *Recuperacion*, on 12/13 March 1746.

From the humble servants of Your Grace,

L. Gottschack.

Manstchrist Moller.

Daniel Lembrock.

...

[Note: Included in this file are the following documents: 1) a letter from the Governor of the Philippines, dated Manila 15 July 1746, warning of Dutch tricks to prevent the despatch of galleons to Acapulco; 2) a first letter from the Viceroy of New Spain, dated Mexico 25 January 1747 (see below); and 3) a second letter from the Viceroy, dated Mexico 24 February 1747 (see below).]

...

First letter from the Viceroy, dated Mexico 15 January 1747

Original text in Spanish.

Exmo. Sor.

Mui Señor mío: Por las Justicias de la Costa del mar del sur se me dio noticia con fecha de 31 de Diciembre del año proximo pasado de haverse visto desde las Vigias de

*los Puertos dos Navios, uno grande, y otro pequeño y que segun la derrota que hacian al de Acapulco les parecia ser de las Yslas Philipinas; asegurose esta noticia con haver llegado de la Navidad, y desembarcado en el el Gentilhombre con los Caxones, y Pliegos del Servicio de S.M. de que me dieron quenta y que el uno era el nombrado el **Rosario**, y los **Santos Reyes**, y que el otro el Patache **Nuestra Señora del Pilar** y al propio tiempo de haverse dexado ver otro Bagel que se jugò de maior porte, que los dos antecedentes lo qual me puso en algun justo cuidado de que pudiese ser Navio enemigo recelando no fuese solo aumentandole la imposibilidad de no tener providencia con que poder auxiliar los dos Navios para precaberlos de algun contra tiempo.*

Removiome estos recelos haverme dado cuenta el Castellano, y Oficiales Reales del Puerto de Acapulco de que el diez del Corriente se aseguraron en su Bahía los dos de Philipinas, y el General Don Francisxo Gonzalez Quixano à cuiò cargo vienen me la dio tambien de todos los Succesos de su Viage y que havindosele puesto à la vista el Navio sospechoso que se descubrio à distancia de legua y media se atravesò con los suyos haciendo el otro lo mismo en disposicion de pelear; pero luego que declino el día mareo poniendose en derrota para el Sur, y no volvio à verle asta dos dias despues que le reconocio navegando por sus aguas pero así que los avisto acorto de vela, y no volvieron à verle mas.

*En el intermedio de entrar en Acapulco el **Rosario** y **Pilar** me dio cuenta el Alcalde maior de Motines de haver llegado à un Puerto de su jurisdiccion una Lancha con Gente estrangera y el Paisanage pudo cogerle Dos Marineros à quienes examinaron y declararon ser Navio Yrlandes [sic] con pretexto de que es Olandes que traía carga de ropa, y haver venido à comerciar à la Nueva España desde Batavia de donde havia salido con otros dos y aunque hasta ahora no han llegado los dos Prisioneros para volverlos à examinar, y radicarme ciertamente de los designios con que ha recalado à la citada costa di luego las providencias eficases á toda ella para que sus Milisias estuviesen en Vigilantes, y no permitiesen poner el pie en tierra á ninguno de los que en el se conducian, ni que se hiciese Comercio con ellos pena de la vida: Lo mismo previne al Presidente de Guadalajara para que cuidase de los Puertos de su Juridiccion, afin que no se introdugesen en ella, y que en ninguna se le diesen Bastimentos ni concintiese que hiciesen agua ni leña persuadiendome, à que lo obserbaran puntalmente: esta noticia comunicare à Presidente de Guathemala para que en el distrito de su Governacion dè las disposiciones convenientes para que no sea admitido el referido Navio olandes, y hê hecho escrevir por el Padre Provincial de la Compañia al que se halla de Presidente en la California que con motivo ni pretexto alguno sele admita à la mas leve conversacion.*

Llegados los Pliegos de el Gobierno de Manila entre las Cartas de oficio que he hà escripto el Obispo Governador es una la que testimoniada paso à manos de V.E. en que hace expresion de los motibos en que se fundo, para haver permitido viniesen los dos Navios, y la carga que transportan la que con vista del Fiscal tengo admitida tanto por concequencia de la buena fee con que los Ynteritados la embarcaron en virtud de la legitima licencia obtenida de aquel Gobierno como porque la orden que ya esta expedida de S.M. y comunicada por V.E. para que puedan como antes usar del permiso

concedido de que tengo acusado el recivo; Y hago presente â V.E. que a mas de lo que el citado Obispo Gobernador expresa en la mencionada Carta dara cuenta al Rey de ello en los Caxones de primera via que se dirijen de los que acaban de llegar de Philipinas, y los de segunda iran en el primero que saliere de Veracruz de los dos que llegaron ally el 19 del Corriente, con Pliegos suplicando â V.E. se sirva poner en su Soberana Noticia todo lo referido para que resuelva lo que sea de su Real agrado.

Dios Guarde â V.E. muchos años como deseo.

Mexico y Henero 25 de 1747.

Excmo. Sor.

Mande V.E. su mas reconocido menor servidor

Don Juan Francisco de Guemes y Horcasitas.

[A] *Exmo. Sor. Marques de la Ensenada*

Translation.

Your Excellency,

My dear Sir: I have learned from the Justices along the coast of the South Sea, in a letter dated 31 December last, that the sentinels of the ports had seen two ships, one large, and the other small, and that according to the route they were following, towards Acapulco, they seemed to come from the Philippine Islands. This news was confirmed when the mail courier arrived at Navidad with the crates and the letters of His Majesty's service. I was told that one ship was named **Rosario y los Santos Reyes** and the other, the patache, was the **Nuestra Señora del Pilar**. At the same time they told me that another vessel, that was said to be larger than the two above-said ships, had also been seen. This news made me realize that it could only be an enemy ship, and my fear increased even more when considered that I have no ships to go and assist our two ships against an eventual mishap.

These fears were removed when I received a report from the Warden and the Royal officials of the port of Acapulco, advising me that on the 10th of this month the two ships from the Philippines found shelter in their Bay, and when General Francisco Gonzalez Quijano under whose command they come, reported to me about his successful voyage, and that he had come in sight of the suspicious ship, at a distance of one and a half leagues, and that he had placed his ships in a state of readiness, while the other ship did the same, but that after sunset, he had changed course, heading south, and he did not see her again until two days later when he recognized her sailing through the same waters, but this time, she shortened sail as soon as she was spotted, and they did not see her again.

In the meantime, while the **Rosario** and **Pilar** were entering Acapulco, I received a report from the Mayor of Los Motines that a launch with foreigners had arrived at a port of his jurisdiction and that the residents had been able to capture two sailors whom they interrogated and who declared that their ship was Irish [sic]. to hide the fact that she is Dutch, that they had brought textiles and had come to New Spain from Batavia to trade, that they had left Batavia with two other ships. Although the two prisoners

have not yet arrived, so that they can be interrogated again, for me to find out for sure what plans they have for having come to said coast, I immediately gave orders for the militias all along the coast to be on their guard, and not to allow none of them to step ashore, nor trade with them, under the penalty of death. I also sent an advice to the President of [the Audiencia of] Guadalajara to secure the ports within his jurisdiction, to prevent their introducing themselves there, and to make sure that they are not provided with water or wood, and I am persuaded that I will be obeyed exactly. I will transmit this news to the President of Guatemala, so that within the district under his government he may take the appropriate measures to prevent admittance to the above-said Dutch ship, and I have asked the Father Provincial of the Society to write to the Jesuit who is serving as President in California, to make sure that none of them are admitted there, not even to talk.

With the mail received from the Government of Manila, there is one letter written by the Bishop Governor, which I forward to Y.E., along with its record of proceedings, in which are given the reasons why he has allowed the two ships to come, and the freight that they carry. In view of the opinion of the Fiscal, I have allowed them to unload it, on account of the good faith that the interested parties relied upon when they loaded it, with the legitimate permission of that Government, and also because of the order received from Y.E., to let them used the regular permission as before, the receipt of which order I have already acknowledged. And I bring to the attention of Y.E. that the above-mentioned Governing Bishop said in his letter that he would inform the King about it, among the despatches of the first route, that is the crates that have just arrived from the Philippines. Those of the secondary despatch, which got there on the 19th instant, will be forward aboard the first vessel to leave Veracruz, along with the letters addressed to Y.E., and I beg you to please let inform His Majesty of everything mentioned therein, so that he may decide what may be of his Royal pleasure.

May God save Y.E. for many years.

Mexico, 25 January 1747.

Your Excellency,

The most grateful and least servant of Y.E.,

Don Juan Francisco de Guemes y Horcasitas.

[To] His Excellency the Marquis of La Ensenada.

Third letter from the Viceroy, dated Mexico 30 April 1747.

Note: This was a covering letter for a file containing 168 folios.

Original text in Spanish.

Excmo. Sor.

Mui Señor mío. Consecuente a lo que tengo expuesto â V.E. en carta de 24 de Febrero pasado de este año de que haora remito duplicado sobre el arrivo de los dos Navios olandeses a las costas del sur de esta Nueva España que sin temeridad se podía discurrir que en otra sazón habrían alarmado el reino y contumado el curso del comercio en donde desde Diziembre del proximo antecedente se avistaron, y uno de ellos re-

calò a la ensenada de Matanchel, intento de comercio ilícito con que desde Batavia, emprehendieron tan dilatado viage provado con la carta ciega que acompañè originar a la citada mía; añado aora, y doi quenta à V.E. que habiendo acomulado, y formado tres cuadernos de autos de las cartas que se me han escrito por las Justicias de las Provincias de Autlan, Colima, Motines, y por Don Fermin de Echeverz Governador y Capitan General del Reino de la Nueva Galicia, y Presidente de la Audiencia de Guadalajara copias de sus respuestas, de las repetidas ordenes que les dí resultas de ellas las que fue inescusable, conferir al castellano, y oficiales Reales del Puerto de Acapulco, noticias que dí al Governador y Presidente de Guathemala para que las comunicase al Reino del Peru posiblemente encaminadas todas mis diligencias, desvelo, y fuí, a evitar que los factores olandeses no lograsen el efecto de su dañado animo en el furtivo è ilícito comercio a que vinieron dirigidos, y que para precisarlos a que con maior brevedad cediesen de sus mal fundados designios, y dejasen las citadas costas ordenè no se les consintiese refresco y especialmente por el contenido de mi carta que corre a fojas 102 de ellos del cuaderno 2º que habiendose observado exactamente mis ordenes, y disposiciones, y cogidosele los Prisioneros que noticie en mi referida carta, con orden y comision mía procediò el oidor Marques de Altamira Auditor General de la Guerra en esta Capitania General a la averiguacion, y contestacion de los expuestos intentos de los olandeses, recibiendo declaraciones a los Prisioneros que se pudieron coger en Jurisdiccion de Colima, y Autlan que havian llegado a esta Ciudad Juntamente con Juan Nicolas de Estrada, y Alarcon, que siendo vecino de la Mision de Jesuitas de S. Joseph del Cabo en la Ysla de la California, en donde estuvo cerca de un mes uno de los Navios, el nominado Estrada vino embarcado en el y traía las cartas, y facturas que le entregò el Factor Olandes del mismo Navio para conducir las a esta Capital, y entregarme las que me escribieron, y a otros particulares Comerciantes de esta Ciudad que con la noticia sola de sus nombres, y trato, sin otro conocimiento les remetieron memorial de sus Mercaderias para brindarles a la compra de ellas.

De las Declaraciones recibidas, y constantes en el segundo cuaderno resulta provado el simulado alevoso intento con que resolvieron a venir à esta Nueva España, precediendo haver Despachado desde Batavia, a Manila a Don Antonio Piñon de nacion Francès, para que hally divulgase se prevenia en la costa de la Yndia oriental con Armamento Yngles contra las Philipinas, en cuiã comprension no se despachase de ellas el Navio annual con los efectos que conduce a Acapulco, como con efecto se suspendio el Despacho del que devio venir a el el año de 745 y haciendo la consideracion de que en los años antecedentes no havian venido los respectivos Navios estaria este reino totalmente falto de Generos de China y aun de Europa y serian ampliamente admitidos los Olandeses al comercio, y venta de los suios; constando tambien de las proprias declaraciones la primera resolucion de traer 4 Navios Olandeses al proprio comercio, escoltados de otros dos corsarios Yngleses, y la causa porque no se havia efectuado esta resolucion, la que despues se reduxo a que solo viniesen los dos referidos y en el Golfo, y paralelo de las Yslas Marianas se separaron con un temporal sin haverse buuelto a veer, prevision que traían a su bordo para subsistir tiempo de 18 meses, è importe de

un Millón y doscientos mil pesos que valian en su primera compra las Mercaderías de Europa, y Gran China que venian a comerciar.

Esta tambien averiguado que Juan Nicolas de Estrada y Alarcon[,] vecino de San Joseph de el Cavo en la California no tuvo otro concurso en este asunto que haver sido enviado de los Padres Misioneros con cartas suias, y de los Oficiales del Navio Olandes, quien por orden del Presidente de Guadalaxara fue preso en el camino, y se le fulminò causa por el hecho recibendosele su confesion de la qual y de la declaracion que aqui hizo no resultò crimen de que dever hacer cargo, por lo qual pidió el Auditor se pusiese en libertad, como lo mandè, y asimismo que se remitiesen a Veracruz los Prisioneros para transferirlos à España y lo demas, que como conveniente propuso el proprio Ministro para la apertura de Caminos afin que con facilidad, se comuniquen los vecindarios de unas y otras Jurisdicciones, y puedan auxiliarse en otra igual ocurrencia de que se acerquen a las Playas y Puertos de aquellos distritos Navios ò enemigos, ò sospechosos, para impedir que las hostilicen, ò que practiquen illicito comercio pues aunque el abrirlos pasos será de grande travaxo, y correspondiente costo, assumpto de grande utilidad al servicio de el Rey, y provecho de sus vasallos que estan establecidos en aquellos territorios.

Los dos Navios Holandeses referidos, sin embargo de los respectivos viveres que para subsistir traían a su bordo, han padecido la necesidad de carne fresca, leña, y agua de que no se han podido proveer, en las referidas costas, aunque para conseguirlo envio el uno su lancha a tierra con Gente[,] pedreros, y aunque pueden haverlo hecho en algunas caletas, y ensenadas, sería por estar sus parages yermos, y sin Gente que se lo impidiese; pero en lo absoluto se les ha frustrado la intencion de su viage en que han perdido bastante Gente de su Tripulacion, tanto por enfermedad, como por la que se les hà apresionado el tiempo y la esperanza de su intencion y aunque no escarmentados como Yo quisiera iran bien arrepentidos siendoles forzoso restituirse a Batavia y para lograr su viage en tiempo proporcionado debieron emprenderle por el mes de Marzo, persuadiendo a la certidumbre de este Juicio el haverse dexado veer desde Acapulco uno de ellos el día 25 del citado mes, y por una quebrada que hay en la boca chica del citado Puerto el día siguiente lo observò la Lancha del Navio olandes, y reconocio hallarse dentro los dos de Philipinas, de que se discurre que desde hally seguiría su viage para Batavia, y el otro que havia estado en Matanchel, desde ally se aría al mar vajando la altura asta ponerse en camino de la propria derrota.

La vista del enunciado Navio, y el cuidado con que su lancha fue à explorar lo interior del Puerto, causò a los Philipinos el correspondiente y preocupados de algun temor, llegaron a pensar diferir su retorno a las Yslas para otro tiempo de menos imminente peligro del que se figuraron cuya ydea me propusieron en correo que a este fin me despacharon concurriendo a esta el Arzobispo de Manila: pero como Yo estava enterado de que los dos Navios olandes no se hallavan con fuerza ni en estado de causar el menor recelo tanto por la desigualdad de su tamaño y Artillería como por la debilidad de su Tripulacion que por defecto de ella ban expuestos a padecer algun contratiempo antes de restituirse a su Destino no tan solo no conviene en lo que me propusieron, sino

que los debe lo de las timideces [sic] concebidas manifestandoles los superiores que se hallavan aun quando fuesen enemigos que no debia considerarseles tales ni en estado de dar causa al menor sobresalto y que las Armas del Rey debían proceder con distinta constancia y fortaleza sin dexarse poseer de tan debiles apreensiones maiormente estando tan necesitados para poder manexar sus maniobras en un tan dilatado viage como el que tenían que hacer de mas de quatro meses con favorable tiempo para llegar en el oportuno a las cercanías de las Yslas para seguir el restante a Batavia, en cuio verdadero concepto, se aprestasen con sus dos Navios luego para salir del Puerto del Acapulco en demanda del suio haciendo en Navegacion con la maior vigilancia, y en disposicion pronta de defenderse con vigor en el caso que juzgaba por inopinado de que resolviesen los Olandeses esperarles con el fin de querer atacar sus Navios, y, otros que fuesen enemigos y en su consecuencia con ellos salieron para Philipinas el día 8 de este mes, y me prometo hagan y logren feliz suceso en el viage llegando â salvamento sin tropiezo ni novedad.

Suplico â V.E. se sirva dar quenta â S.M. de todo lo referido y del contenido del adjunto testimonio para que en inteligencia del hecho executado por los Holandeses del fraudulento designio, y engañoso arbitrio con que su malicia consiguio suspender el despacho del Navio de Philipinas, para establecer esta nacion su ilicito comercio, se sirva tomar las resoluciones que tubiere por convenientes para que en lo de adelante, no intenten con iguales fribolos pretextos causar tan graves perjuicios a los Dominios y vasallos de S.M. los que ha hostilizado tan gravemente con la encubierta indigna suposicion de que se ha [=sea] valido bulnerando con infraccion, los contratos y convenciones establecidas, por ser quanto en el asumpto ha obrado, lo mismo que los Yngleses practican aunque con el indirecto modo y disfraz con que se han manejado siempre para iguales intentos.

Dios Guarde â V.E. muchos años como deseo.

Mex. 30 de Abril de 1747.

Excmo. Sor.

Mande V.E. su mas reconocido menor servidor

Don Juan Francisco de Guemes y Horcasitas.

[Al] Excmo. Sor. Marques de la Ensenada.

Translation.

Your Excellency.

My dear Sir: As a follow-up to what I have reported to Y.E. in a letter dated 24 February of this year, a duplicate of which is enclosed, regarding the arrival of two Dutch ships on the south coast of New Spain, which one could surmise would at other times succeeded in alarming this kingdom and in interfering with the commerce. They were spotted there as of December last, and one of them stopped in the bay of Matanchel, intending to carry out illicit trade activities, for which they had come from Batavia on such a long voyage, as proven by the blind letter that I enclose with my previous report. The present letter is to let Y.E. know that a record of proceedings has been made, and

they fill three notebooks so far, to record the letters that I have received from the Justices of the Provinces of Autlan, Colima, Motines, and letters written by Don Fermin de Echeverz, Governor and Captain General of the Kingdom of New Galicia, and President of the Audiencia of Guadalajara, copies of his answers, the repeated orders that I gave them, the results obtained, the advices that I gave the Warden and the Royal officials of the port of Acapulco, the news that I sent to the Governor and President of Guatemala, in turn for him to warn the Kingdom of Peru, and this is possibly on its way there, all of the measures that I took in order to prevent the Dutch factors from succeeding in their intention to carry out furtively the illicit trade for which they had come. In order to force them as quickly as possible to desist from their badly-founded plans and leave said coasts, I gave orders that they not given any refreshment, specially in my letter whose contents appear on folio 102 of notebook n° 2. Now then, my orders and arrangements have been obeyed exactly. The prisoners who were captured, as I mentioned in my previous letter, were interrogated by the Auditor General for War in this Captaincy General, the Marquis of Altamira, upon my order and commission, as to the intentions of the Dutch. He took the declarations of the prisoners who were captured in the jurisdiction of Colima and Autlan, and who arrived at this City at the same time as Juan Nicolas de Estrada y Alarcon, a resident of the Jesuit Mission of San José del Cabo in the Island [sic] of California, where one of the ships remained for about one month. The above-said Estrada came aboard this ship and brought the letters and invoices given to him by the Dutch factor of the same ship, to carry them to this Capital, and deliver to me those that were addressed to me personally. He also carried other letters, addressed to specific traders in this City, mentioning them by name, and profession, but with no previous contact, offering to trade with them, and enclosing a list of their merchandise, to incite them to buy some.

From the declarations made, as contained in the second notebook, the planned attack [on the Philippines] has been proven fake, that is, when they decided to come to New Spain, they had previously sent from Batavia to Manila a Frenchman named Antoine Pignon, to spread the rumor there that they were preparing on the east coast of India a fleet to attack the Philippines, along with help from the English, so that this intelligence would make them cancel the despatch of the annual ship to Acapulco with merchandise, the one that was to come in 1745; this, added to the consideration that the ships of the preceding years had not come, would have made this kingdom totally lacking in Chinese products and even in European products, and the Dutch would then be welcomed to trade and sell their own. From the same declarations, we also learned that their first intention had been to bring 4 Dutch trading ships, escorted by two English pirate ships, but the decision was later changed, and why they sent only the above-mentioned two ships which separated in the high seas upon reaching the parallel [rather longitude] of the Mariana Islands during a storm and they never met again. They had enough provisions on board to last them 18 months, and they had spent one million two hundred thousand pesos in buying European and Chinese goods for trading purposes.

It has also been ascertained that Juan Nicolas de Estrada y Alarcon, resident of San José del Cabo in California had no part in this matter, other than having been sent by the missionary Fathers with letters from them and from the officers of the Dutch ship, he who was made prisoner along the way, by order of the President of Guadalajara, and was prosecuted for the deed, his confession was heard but based on it, and on the declaration that he made here, he was not charged with any crime and the Member of the Audiencia asked for his release, and I agreed. He also asked that the prisoners be sent to Veracruz to be transferred to Spain, as well as the rest demanded by the same Minister for the opening of roads and communications to link the communities of those jurisdictions, so that they may assist one another in other similar occurrences of enemy or suspicious ships approaching the beaches and ports of those districts, in order to repel them if they attack, or to prevent their illicit trade. Indeed, although the work and corresponding cost to open the trails

will be great, it is a matter of great utility to the service of the King, and for the benefit of his vassals who are established in those territories.

The two Dutch ships in question, in spite of the food supplies which they carried on board, have suffered the necessity of fresh meat, wood, and water that they have been unable to get along the said coasts, although one ship sent its launch ashore with men, and mortars, to get some, and although they may have been able to get some in some coves or bays, it would be because such neighborhoods were wild, and without inhabitants to prevent them from doing so. However, they have been entirely frustrated in the objective of the voyage in which they have lost a lot of their crewmen, not only through sickness, but also through stress caused by the weather and bad luck. And although they were not shown a lesson, as I wished to do, they will have to go back home to Batavia very sorry indeed and, in order to be able to make this voyage during the appropriate season they had to do so during the month of March. In fact, we are persuaded that they did, because one of them was seen from Acapulco on the 25th of said month, then the launch of the Dutch ship was seen the next day in a small cove within the Baca Chica [i.e. Small Entrance] of said port, spying on the two Philippine ships inside, from which it can be surmised that they pursued their voyage to Batavia. As far as the other ship that had visited Matanchel, from there she would have sailed offshore until arriving at the appropriate latitude to begin her voyage.

The sighting of the above-mentioned ship, and the care taken by her launch in exploring the port, caused in the Philippine men the corresponding concern. Preoccupied by some fear, they came to think about postponing their return voyage to the Islands until a time when danger would not be so imminent. They proposed this idea to me in a letter that they despatched, even bearing the signature of the Archbishop of Manila; however, as I knew that the two Dutch ships did not have sufficient strength to harm them in the least, not only because of their inequality in size and cannon power, but also because of the weakness of their crews, reason for which they will have a hard time getting back home if they meet with any mishap. So, I told them that it was not proper for them to delay their departure, but that they had no need to fear them, because they

had superior forces and the other ships, though enemies, could not cause them any harm, that the arms of the King would always prevail. that they should not fall under weak apprehensions, since the other ships were so weak that they lack the men to effect their maneuvers during such a long voyage as they had to make, of more than four months in favorable weather, to reach the vicinity of the Islands in a timely fashion, then pursue it as far as Batavia. Under this correct reasoning, they were to made their two ships ready to leave the port of Acapulco and go in search of their own destination, though sailing with great care, and always ready to defend themselves vigorously, in the unlikely case of being attacked by the Dutch ships, or other enemy ships, and in effect, they departed for the Philippines on the 8th of this month, and I congratulate myself that they will have a successful voyage and will get there safely, without any untoward incident.

I beg Y.E. to please inform H.M. about everything contained in the attached record of proceedings, to keep him abreast of the fraudulent plan perpetrated by the Dutch, and the trickery they used to prevent the despatch of the Philippine galleon, in order for their nation to establish an illicit trade, so that he may take the decisions that he considers appropriate to prevent such frivolous attempts in future from causing such serious harm to the Dominions and vassals of H.M., which they have so seriously bothered with their unworthy scheme that has been revealed, disrespecting the established treaties and conventions, to do the same as the English, though using indirect means and disguise, as they have always done in the past during similar attempts.

May God save Y.E. for many years as I wish.

Mexico, 30 April 1747.

Your Excellency,

Your most grateful and least servant,

Don Juan Francisco de Guemen y Horcasitas.

[To] His Excellency the Marquis of La Ensenada.

Documents 1746B

Two Dutch ships (cont'd)

Sources: AGI Fil. 97 (ex-68-2-11); copy in Fil. 111.

B1. Royal consultation of 30 December 1747—Synthesis

Eleven members of the Council of the Indies participated in this debate, which had to do mostly with the rejection of the Spanish claim against Holland, which had been presented by their ambassador in The Hague, the Marquis of Puerto, as told in his letters dated 6 April and 5 October 1747.

First of all, a spy in Macao had reported that the Dutch in Batavia were preparing 4 ships with merchandise, to be escorted by 2 English corsairs, to go to Acapulco to trade. As background, it is mentioned that in 1745, the Governor General of the Dutch East Indies, Baron Gustav Wilhem van Imhoff, had sent Joseph Duvelaer de la Torre with an advice boat to Manila to propose direct trading between Batavia and Manila, but his offer had been turned down, as being illegal.¹ In order to prevent the Manila galleon from making its eastward passage in 1745, Imhoff sent a French consul named Antonio Piñon, aboard an English ship to the coast of Luzon to show its flag, then to spread the rumor of an attack on Manila by English ships from India, and thus force the cancellation of the regular voyage, in which they were not successful.² In the end, Imhoff despatched only 2 Dutch ships without an escort. During a storm near the Marianas, they separated and arrived independently on the coast of New Spain.

The first of three letters received from the Viceroy of New Spain, dated 25 January 1747, announced that a Dutch ship had landed some men near Colima, but 17 of them had been made prisoners. These men, all Dutchmen, were later transported by the Spanish navy ship **Glorioso**, Captain Pedro Mexia de la Cerda, from Veracruz to Corcubion in Galicia, then taken to the prison inside the fort at Coruña.

In his second letter, dated 15 July 1747, the Viceroy forwarded the letter received from Manila, and announced that the second ship had visited California and was then anchored in the port of Matanchel.

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- 1 Ed. note: In 1744, he had sent an envoy named Duvins to Manila for the same purpose, to no avail (ref. B&R 47:230).
 - 2 Ed. note: See B&R 47:236 for a letter from an Audiencia member, and the letter from Governor of Phil., dated 15 July 1746.

In a third letter, dated 30 April 1747, the Viceroy reported on the investigation carried out by an Audiencia member, the Marquis of Altamira, who interrogated the prisoners who had been captured near Colima, before sending them to Mexico City. Declarations were made by Antonio Serri, the clerk of both ships; by Francisco Dominici, a gunner aboard the ship whose name meant “Reparador” in Spanish [i.e. Hersteller]; and by an Irish priest serving aboard this ship.

The second Dutch ship, whose name meant “Recuperación” in Spanish [i.e. Hervatting], had taken on board a Spaniard, Juan Nicolas de Estrada y Alarcon, in Lower California, and used him as a messenger to the Viceroy, with letters from the Captain,¹ the Supercargo, and Dutch merchants, along with lists of merchandise, and offers to trade. One unsigned letter was from Baron van Imhoff himself.

The two ships had been supplied with food for 18 months and a cargo of European and Chinese goods worth 1,200,000 pesos. This trade was forbidden by the **Treaty of Munster of 1648** and the **Treaty of Utrecht dated 26 June 1714**, whose relevant articles are cited in this paper. The Dutch ships did not even carry the necessary permission and passports, stipulated by the **Naval treaty of The Hague, dated 17 December 1650**. Thus, the ships and their crews had to be considered as pirates, corsairs, and thieves. The officers were to be charged with an attempt at corrupting Spanish officials as well.

The first response of the Estates General in The Hague had been a rebuff. One of the weak arguments used was that Imhoff had since died, and therefore could not be prosecuted for damages, according to Dutch laws... The Spanish Crown was to make another diplomatic effort in The Hague.

The King wrote his decision, as follows:

“As is shown, and thus I have ordered. Let the Council pursue their efforts to hold a complete trial against the 10 Dutchmen now in prison in Coruña, and the other 15 who have come later and are now held prisoners in the fort of Santa Catalina in Cadiz, and, once this is done, I am to be consulted once more.”

B2. Royal consultation of 7 February 1753—The sentence

Note: There are many more documents regarding this affair in AGI Fil. 245 for the intervening period 1748-1752.

Don Joseph Cornejo

Don Geronimo de Sola

Don Joseph Moreno

Don Joseph de Roxas

Don Pedro de Leon y Escandon.

¹ Ed. note: His name was Juan Luis Wins, it seems. His letter stated that the purpose of the voyage was to explore for islands east of Japan.

Señor

En cumplimiento de lo resuelto por V.M. sobre Consulta de 30 de Diciembre de 1747 se dieron por el Consejo las ordenes correspondientes para substanciar las causas seguidas contra los veinte holandeses que existen presos en Cadiz, y la Coruña de los veinte y cinco que remitió el Virrey de Nueva España prisioneros de los dos Navios que salieron de Batavia, despachados por aquel Governador a las costas del Mar del Sur de las provincias de la Nueva España, con el fin de comerciar en ellas las crecidas porciones de ropas, y generos que conducian, y en vista de las expresadas diligencias ha tomado el Consejo en Sala de Justicia la determinacion que con el acordado adjunto pasa à las Reales manos de V.M. à fin de que en su inteligencia se sirva V.M. de resolver lo que fuere mas de su Real agrado.

Madrid 7 de Febrero de 1753.

Acordado en Sala de Justizia por los Señores:

Don Joseph Cornejo

Don Geronimo de Sola

Don Joseph Moreno

Don Joseph de Rojas

Don Pedro de Leon y Escandon.

En la Villa de Madrid à veinte i siete dias del mes de Enero año de mil setezientos cincuenta y tres los Señores del Supremo Consejo de las Yndias en Sala de Justizia en vista de los autos que en virtud de lo resuelto por S.M. y de orden del Consejo dirigido a el Exmo. Sr. Don Francisco de Varas, y Baldes de este Supremo Consejo y Camara, Yntendente general que fue de Marina, y Presidente de la Real Audiencia y Casa de la Contratacion que reside en Cadiz, y en orden de comision de este se han seguido por Don Alonso Cortes de Salazar[,] Ministro de aquella Audiencia contra:

—Gerardo Bandoyen

—Aren Beyer

—Nicolas Fréert

—Rasmus Hancen

—Pedro Juan

—Enrique Escoldí

—Hans Jurge Bahr

—David Sivare

—Andres Clans

—Cornelis Rabendis

—Lorenzo Lila

*Contra Juan Leon, y Matheo Aleman, reos ausentes, y contra Pedro de Olojer, y Juan Jph. Difuntos, Marineros, y Soldados del Navio llamado el **Herbatino** [sic]: Presos en el Castillo de Santa Cathalina de Cadiz.*

Y en vista asimismo de la Causa que en virtud de otra igual orden que el antezedente dirigida à Don Bernardino Freyre de Moscoso[,] Yntendente General de Marina del

Departamento de Ferrol, se han seguido de comision de este por el Licenciado Don Bernardino de Lago, y Bermudez[,] Abogado de la Real Audiencia de aquel Reyno, y Asesor de aquella Intendencia de Marina, contra:

—*Federico Falco*

—*Jacomo Cruz*

—*Martin Andres*

—*Cornelio Yons*

—*Pedro Blusar*

—*Sebastian Samot*

—*Jacobo Yanse*

—*Guillermo Fluen, y*

—*Cornelio Federico.*

El primer segundo Contramaestre, el segundo Theniente y los demas Marineros del Navio llamado el Estelder: Presos todos en el Castillo de San Anton de la Plaza de la Coruña:

Sobre haver concurridos estos, y los demas que arriva se refieren à el intento de comerciar illicitamente y expender en la Nueva España los efectos y generos que se embarcaron, y condujeron en los dos Navios Olandeses que salieron de Batavia por el año passado de setezientos quarenta i seis:

Visto con los documentos que para la instruccion de estas Causas se remitieron à los referidos Juezes, y los demas que se han tenido presentes à su vista: Con lo dho i alegado por parte de dhos prisioneros, y por el Señor Fiscal:

Dijeron que por la culpa que de todos los referidos autos resulta contra los expresados veinte prisioneros que se hallan como va dho Presos en los Castillos de Santa Cathalina de Cadiz, y San Anton de la Coruña, los devian condenar y condenaron a que sirvan à S.M. por quatro años en la Carraca de la Plaza de Cadiz, y no siendo prezisos en este servizio se les destine por seis años à que lo executen en la Real Armada en los fines que le parezieren mas convenientes à el Intendente de Marina de Cadiz, para lo qual se expediran las ordenes correspondientes: Y por este auto difinitivamente juzgando así lo probeieron[,] mandaron, y señalaron, y que antes de publicarse se consulte à S.M. y lo acordado.

Acordaron que devian mandar, y mandaron que estos autos pasen de Escrivania de Camara à la Secretaria donde corresponden, para que por Gobierno se use de ellos en los fines que sean correspondientes: Y por este auto así lo acordaron, mandaron, y señalaron.

Translation.

Don José Cornejo

Don Gerónimo de Sola

Don José Moreno

Don José de Roxas

Don Pedro de León y Escandon.

Sire:

In compliance with the decision of Y.M. regarding the consultation of 30 December 1747, the Council gave corresponding orders for the substantiation of the cases being pursued against the 20 Dutchmen who are prisoners at Cadiz and in La Coruña, out of the 25 whom the Viceroy of New Spain had remitted as prisoners, from the two ships that departed from Batavia, despatched by that Governor to the coasts of the South Sea belonging to the provinces of New Spain, for the purpose of trading there the large quantities of cloths, and goods that they carried. In view of the above proceedings, the Council meeting in the Law-court, has taken the decision to forward the attached Agreement to the Royal hands of Y.M., in order to keep you informed, the better for you to decide what may be of your Royal pleasure.

Madrid, 7 February 1753.

Agreement in the Law-court by the following Gentlemen:

Don José Cornejo

Don Gerónimo de Sola

Don José Moreno

Don José de Rojas

Don Pedro de León y Escandon.

In the City of Madrid on the 27th day of the month of January of the year 1753, the gentlemen members of the Supreme Council of the Indies, meeting as a court of law: In view of the proceedings carried out by Don Alonso Cortés de Salazar, Minister of the Royal Audiencia of Cadiz, as a result of the decision of H.M. and the order of the Council addressed to His Excellency Don Francisco de Varas y Valdés of this Supreme Council and Court, formerly Procurator General of the Navy and President of the Royal Audiencia and House of Trade residing at Cadiz, and in accordance with a commission given by the latter, against:

- Gerard Vandoyen [sic]
- Aren Beyer [sic]
- Nicholas Fréert [sic]
- Rasmus Hancen [= Erasmus Hansen?]
- Pieter Juan [sic]
- Henry Escoldi
- Hans Jurge Bahr [sic]
- David Sivare [sic]
- Andrew Clans [sic = Claus?]
- Cornelis Rabendis [sic]
- Lorenz Lila

Against Juan Leon and Mathias Aleman, absent prisoners, and against Pieter de Olojer and Juan Joseph, deceased: seamen and soldiers from the ship called **Herbatin**,¹ prisoners in the Fort of Santa Catalina in Cadiz.

And in addition in the case that in virtue of another order, identical to the previous one, but addressed to Don Bernardino Freyre de Moscoso, Procurator General of the Navy in the Department of Ferrol, in the proceedings carried out with a commission from him by Licenciante Bernardino de Lago y Bermudez, a lawyer working in the Royal Audiencia of that Kingdom, and legal adviser to that Navy Procurement Office, against:

- Federick Falk (?)
- Jacomó Cruz
- Martin Andres
- Cornelis Yons [sic]
- Pieter Blusar [sic]
- Sebastian Samot [sic]
- Jacob Yanse [sic = Jantz?]
- William Fluen [sic], and
- Cornelis Federick (?).

The first-named was Boatwain's Mate, the second-named was Mate, and the others were seamen of the ship named **Estelder** [sic]:² all prisoners in the Fort of San Antón in the citadel of La Coruña:

Regarding their involvement in an attempt to illegally trade and sell in New Spain the effects and goods that had been taken on board and transported by the two above-mentioned Dutch ships that departed from Batavia in the past year of 1746:

In view of the documents that served to instruct said cases and were remitted to said Judges, and the others that they have had at hand: Along with the declarations and allegations of said prisoners, and said Fiscal:

They declared that all said prisoners are guilty, all twenty of them who are held prisoners in the Forts of Santa Catalina in Cadiz and San Antón in La Coruña, and as such they should be condemned, and they did condemn them to serve H.M. for four years aboard the Hulk belonging to the defence of Cadiz, but, in case they not be needed in this service, they are to be assigned to serve for six years in the Royal Navy in jobs that the Navy Procurement Office of Cadiz may find most appropriate, and to this effect the corresponding orders are to be issued. And this decision being judged definitive, they so decided, and ordered, but they made it known that before it be published, H.M. was to be consulted, and an agreement written to this effect.

They agreed that they had to order, and they did order said records to be forwarded by the Legal Advisory Branch to the Secretariat where they correspond, so that they

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- 1 Ed. note: This one corresponds to the ship whose name means "Recuperación" in Spanish, i.e. Recuperation, or Renewal, or New Start, in English.
 - 2 Ed. note: That one corresponds to the Hersteller, the ship whose name means "Reparador" in Spanish, i.e. Repairer, or Restorer in English.

could be made available to the Government for any corresponding purposes. And by this document, they so agreed, ordered, and made known.¹

B3. Royal consultation of 22 May 1753

Original text in Spanish.

Marques de la Regalia
Don Joseph Cornejo
Don Estevan Joseph de Abaria
Don Thomas Geraldino
Don Casimiro Osorio
Don Francisco Fernandez Molinillo
Don Antonio Jacinto Romay
Don Juan Vazquez de Aguero
Don Phelipe de Arco
Don Joseph de Ezpeleta

Señor

En papel de 2 de Diciembre del año proximo pasado, manifestó el Marques de la Ensenada, que conseqüente á lo resuelto por V.M. á consulta de este Consejo de 30 de Diciembre de el de 1747 se instruyó al Marques del Puerto Embassador de V.M. á los Estados Generales de las Provincias Unidas, de todo lo que corespondia á pasar con ellos los mas eficazes oficios sobre el asunto de los Navios Holandeses que fueron desde Batavia á comerciar en las Costas del Mar del Sur de las provincias de Nueva España y que havindose succesivamente reyterado al citado Embassador, solicitase positiva respuesta á los oficios que avia pasado dirixió con Carta suya de 26 de Octubre del mismo año de 1752 la que se le entregó por los Estados Generales. Enterado V.M. de su contexto, y de que al Consejo se mandó evacuarse varias diligencias por la resolucion tomada a la referida consulta mandaba V.M. pasar toda la correspondencia causada en el citado asunto con el expresado Embassador, para que viendose en el consejo, con los antecedentes que igualmente se dirixian y los que pasaban en él, consultase á V.M. sobre el todo, con la brevedad posible, lo que se le ofreciere, y pareciere.

De todos los antecedentes causados de la citada correspondencia con el Marques del Puerto, resulta, que despues de varias, y no tolerables respuestas con que los Estados Generales han entretenido el tiempo á los vivos y eficazes oficios que como embassador de V.M. há pasado con ellos, satisfacen en la ultima categorica respuesta de 14 de Octubre del mismo año de 1752 suponiendo desde luego que todo lo que se sienta en las memorias presentadas por el Embaxador, no es disputable; pero que sin embargo descansando sobre la equidad tan conocida de V.M. y en el concepto de que no se halle mal informado en todo, no se disgustaría en quanto al referido caso, quando se sirviere

¹ Ed. note: The King simply wrote: "As shown, and so I have ordered."

considerar, que no solamente, no se sienta en ninguna parte en todas las expresadas memorias, y que no se halla en ellas informe alguno, ó apariencia de que los de que se trata Navios hubiesen hecho trafico alguno cualquiera que pudiere ser en Nueva España, lo que seria no obstante el punto de que unicamente se trataria, y no de lo que podria ser de un proyecto concebido, que no se hubiese puesto jamas en execucion; y que habiendo muerto durante este tiempo el Governador General de Batavia Ymhoff, que segun las expresadas memorial avia formado este proyecto, no podia la Compañia de las Indias Orientales pedirle los informes necesarios que le faltavan hasta entonces, aunque le avia hecho muchas veces las fuertes instancias á esse fin, pues aun quando hubiese podido merecer reprehension ácerca de esto, se libertó de ella con su muerte segun las Leyes del Pais.

Que tambien puede V.M. estar asegurado de no haver tenido parte la Compañia de las Indias Orientales ni pensamiento de formar semejante proyecto, y persuadido de que durante la ultima Guerra, no tubo jamas menor intencion de conspirar con los enemigos de la Corona de España, para hacer conquista alguna, en sus colonias, ó establecimientos, como naturalmente se habrá procurado insinuar con informes odiosos, falsos, y exagerados, á fin de hacer de este modo sospechosa, y odiosa á la Nacion Holandesa, que és mas afecta que otra alguna á las Colonias, y intereses de V.M.

Que al contrario la Compañia de las Indias Orientales de aquellas Provincias, durante toda la Guerra, al presente felizmente terminada en que se halló implicada la Corona de España, se mantubo en una perfecta neutralidad, y la observó con tanta exxactitud que los aliados de la Republica en las Indias Orientales, tubieron aunque sin razon celos, y desconfianza.

Que los Ministros de la Compañia de las Indias Orientales, han manifestado toda amistad, y hecho todo genero de buenos oficios á las Colonias, y á los subditos de V.M. en las Indias, y continuan en hacerlo, sin haver usado, ni usar todavia del tratado de Munster, como los Directores se atreben á referirse en este asunto á los informes que V.M. haya ciertamente recibido del Governador de Philipinas.

Y Finalmente que estas consideraciones, y circunstancias harán sin duda tal impresion en el piadoso animo de V.M. que aun quando en un caso singular, sin noticia de la Compañia subcediere alguna cosa que pudiese parecer menos excusable, no se tomaria esto en la peor parte, y que para hacer ver quan dispuestos se hallan sus Altipotencias á dar á V.M. toda la satisfaccion que se les pueda pedir, han hecho dár las ordenes mas precisas, y fuertes á las Indias Orientales para no formar proyecto alguno de Comercio contra la Nueva España, y mucho menos se executan ninguno que pueda juzgarse contrario, ó no conforme con los tratados que subsisten entre V.M. y sus Altipotencias, y que esperan que V.M. se contentará con esta declaracion.

Los antecedentes que paran en este Consejo, son unicamente la citada Consulta de 30 de Diciembre del año de 1747 y los autos formados en estado de sentencia por los Intendentes de Marina de Cadiz, y de la Coruña, á los Holandeses prisioneros que remitió el Virrey de la Nueva España de los dos Navios de aquella Republica que salieron de Batavia, los que aviendose pasado a la sala de Justicia para que en ella se pronun-

*ciase sentencia formal, como la executó expidiendo con fecha de 27 de Henero de este año, dos Autos, el uno condenando á los veinte Holandeses que existian presos en los Castillos de Sta. Cathalins de Cadiz, y San Anton de la Coruña, á que sirvieren por quatro años en la Carraca de la Plaza de Cadiz, y no siendo precisos en este exercicio, se les destinase por seis años, á que lo executasen en la Real Armada en los fines que le pareciesen mas convenientes á el Intendente de Marina de Cadiz, para lo cual conven-dria se expidiesen las ordenes correspondientes; y en el otro se mandó que los referidos Autos pasasen de Escrivania de Camara, á la Secretaria donde correspondian, para que por Gobierno se usase de ellos en los fines que sean correspondientes; los quales dos ci-tados Autos de la Sala de Justicia antes de publicarse se remitieron con consulta suya de 7 de Febrero de este año á las Reales manos De V.M. afin de que se sirviese de re-solver lo que fuese mas de su Real agrado; á que se dignó V.M. de determinar, **Como parece y así lo hé mandado**, con lo que quedó finalizado este punto.*

El Consejo hecho cargo de todo lo ocurrido en este grave expediente, y de lo que en su inteligencia há expuesto el Fiscal De V.M. cumpliendo con lo mandado en la citada Real orden de 2 de Diciembre del año proximo pasado, hace presente á V.M. que la satisfaccion que ha debido dár la Republica de Holanda sobre la injusta, ruidosa, y no esperada infraccion de los Religiosos vínculos de la Paz con esta Corona, convirtiendo y disimulando que su Compañia de la India Oriental despachase una Escuadra de Na-vios Mercantes, y con varios Ingleses, entonces enemigos nuestros que los comboyasen cargados de efectos, y generos para comerciarlos en las Costas de Nueva España, de los Dominios de V.M. por medio de la disposicion, y direccion del Governador de Ba-tavia, causando á los Reales intereses de V.M. y á sus Vasallos imponderables daños, y perjuicios en las providencias que se tomaron para resistir, y defender la introduccion del Comercio ilicito de los espresados generos, y efectos en aquellas Costas y así mismo en la Ciudad de Manila, á cuya vista se puso la referida Escuadra, con extension de per-niciosas noticias que persuadieron su realidad, y impidieron la salida del Galeon, yá cargado, y prevenido para su viaje á Acapulco, no se halla en la tarda, y molesta re-spuesta que embia el Marques del Puerto con fecha de 14 de Octubre de 1752 porque está reducida há hacer supuesto de una afectada ignorancia de este enormissimo, y atro-cisismo delito, para indemnizarse, y excluir de la complicitad en él a la referida Compañia y el procedimiento contra el citado Governador de Batavia, por haver fallecido, siendo todo quanto refieren los Estados Generales un aparato de vases, que nada tienen de realidad, y substancia, mediante no ser posible créer que se les ocultase á unos, ni otros un tan escandaloso como publico fletamento de Navios; ni lo es tampoco en que sin su consentimiento, ó permiso tubiese atrevimiento la Compañia para bulnear la absoluta prohibicion de este ilicito Comercio, exponiendo á su Republica á las fatales consecuencias que podria esperar, y devió recelar, persuadiendose el mismo permiso al citado Governador de Batavia, por que sin él, no querria exponer su honra, y empleo.

Y en que la Compañia sea la principal agresora del expresado Crimen, ni puede ofrecerse duda, por que los Navios eran suyos, segun resulta de las declaraciones del mayor numero de testigos examinados, y hechos prisioneros en las Costas de Nueva

España, y conducidos á estos Reynos en donde han sido sentenciados, y las mercancías de que fueron cargados también, como testifican Francisco Dominici, Antonio Serri y Jacome Cruz, aunque este dá parte en ellas al Governador; sobrando para esta comprobación, y su verdad, de pesos, solamente pudo caber en el fondo de la Compañía, y no en el que podría tener el Governador.

Y no hallando medio la Republica para relevar á este de la complicidad, elige el de suponer, que por haver fallecido no havia podido proceder contra él segun las Leyes de aquel País; cuya mal discurrida satisfacción se hace demostrable con afirmar no haver algunas que acaben, y resuelvan con la muerte los créditos, y débitos que se contrajeron en vida porque todos quedan, existentes en la exencia, para el libre uso de las acciones activas, y pasivas; cuya jurisprudencia és universal, aunque se niegue por la Republica, y no haga distincion de las que resultan de la comision de los delitos, que una és para imponer la pena que segun ellos sea correspondiente, y esta era cuando há fallecido el Reo, y la otra para la restitution de intereses por los daños, y perjuicios que causó en su vida, permanece, y de los bienes que ha dejado deben satisfacerse; y en esto se funda el cargo que se le hace a la Republica Holandesa, y el no haver castigado con la pena correspondiente á los Directores principales de la Compañía de la India Oriental, que proyectaron el fletamiento de Navios, y su carga para comerciarla contra la prohibicion establecida, ni embargados los caudales, ni tampoco al Governador para sanear los perjuicios que a la Real Hacienda, y á los vasallos de V.M. han motivado, que considera el consejo de una mui crecida suma; pues aunque quedó sin efecto el proyecto, y el Comercio, no se escusaron los gastos para sepultarlos, ni los daños seguidos por la detencion del Galeon de Manila; por todo lo qual és de parecer el Consejo de que la Republica no ha dado satisfacción alguna, y que se le participe que el V.M. há oydo con mucho desagrado su respuesta: que no és disimulable este suceso por el exemplo que quedará á una Nacion tan inclinada al ilícito Comercio, y á otros para continuar las mismas violentas negociaciones, y Comercios: que la Republica debe castigar con pena condigna á los de la citada Compañía, que idearon el proyecto, y apromptaron las mercancías, y exigir de sus bienes, y de los del Governador de Batavia Imhoff, lo que baste á sanear los daños expresados, sugetando siempre el Consejo su sentir al mas azertado de V.M. cuya Real y elevada inteligencia segun la que tubiese con aquella Republica, podría resolver lo que fuere mas de su Real agrado.

Madrid 29 de Mayo de 1753.

Translation.

The Marquis of La Regalia
 Don José Cornejo
 Don Esteban José de Abaria
 Don Tomás Geraldino
 Don Casimiro Osorio
 Don Francisco Fernández Molinillo
 Don Antonio Jacinto Romay

Don Juan Vazquez de Agüero
Don Felipe de Arco
Eon José de Ezpeleta

Sire:

In a note dated 2 December of last year, the Marquis of La Ensenada expressed his opinion that, as a consequence of the decision of Y.M. upon consultation of this Council dated 30 December 1747, instructions were given to the Marquis of Puerto, Ambassador of Y.M. at the Estates General of the United Provinces, about his corresponding duty to write the most efficient notes to them, about the matter of the Dutch ships that went from Batavia to trade along the coasts of the South Sea in the provinces of New Spain, and that, after said Ambassador was subsequently urged to get a positive response to the notes that he had sent, he forwarded the answer that he had received from the Estates General with his own letter dated 26 October of the same year 1752. Once Y.M. was informed about its contents; the Council was ordered to transact various proceedings, as per the decision taken in said consultation, in which Y.M. ordered that the whole correspondence caused by the above-said matter with the above-said Ambassador be reviewed by the Council, with the background document that were related to it, and that Y.M. was to be consulted about it all, as soon as possible, with specific recommendations on what best to do.

From all of the documents originating from the said correspondence with the Marquis of Puerto, it turns out that, after various and intolerable answers from the Estates General gave to the forceful and efficient notes that he had sent to them as Ambassador of Y.M. that took up time, they finally gave a categoric answer on 14 October of the same year 1752, admitting, of course, that the facts as presented by the Ambassador were not refutable, but that nevertheless they rely upon the well-known equity of Y.M. and the idea that you may be better informed about everything, they would not be displeased if, respecting said case, when you should consider it, that not only such an informed report does not appear anywhere in the above-mentioned petitions, but that there does not seem to be any proof that said ships had done any trading in New Spain, what would in fact be the only point worth considering, and not what had been planned but never carried out; and also, since in the meantime the Governor General of Batavia, Imhoff, who, according to the above-mentioned petition had conceived this project, had died, the Company of the East Indies could not request from him the necessary reports that so far are wanting, although he had been sent numerous requests for that purpose; indeed, even though he would be deserving reprehension about this, he has freed himself from it with his death, according to the Laws of the country.

That Y.M. can also be assured that the Company of the East Indies had no part in, nor in planning such a project, and remains persuaded that during the last war, they never had the least intention to conspire with the enemies of the Crown of Spain, towards any conquest in its colonies or establishments, as might have been implied naturally from some odious, false, and exaggerated reports, meant to discredit by such

suspicious means, the Dutch nation which is more favorably inclined than any other toward the colonies and interests of Y.M.

That on the contrary the Company of the East Indies of those Provinces remained perfectly neutral during the last war, fortunately over, in which the Crown of Spain was involved, and observed it with exactitude, even though the allies of the Republic in the East Indies had reasons to be jealous and mistrustful.

That the Ministers of the Company of the East Indies have shown complete friendship, and had all sorts of good contacts with the colonies and subjects of Y.M. in the Indies, and continue to do so, without making use of the Treaty of Munster, which they have not yet used, as the Directors dare make reference in this matter to the reports that Y.M. must certainly have received from the Governor of the Philippines.

And finally, that these considerations, and circumstances, might have no doubt made such an impression on the pious mind of Y.M. that, even when in such a specific case, and unknown to the Company, there might have happened any thing less excusable, you should not judge it in the worst possible light, and that in order to show how well disposed their Highnesses are to give Y.M. all the satisfaction that may be asked of them, they have given the most precise and strong orders to the East Indies, not to form any trading project against New Spain, and even less to carry out one that may be judged contrary to the treaties that exist between Y.M. and their Highnesses, and they hope that Y.M. will be contented with their declaration.

The background documents existing in this Council are only the said Consultation dated 30 December 1747 and the records created by the Navy Procurators of Cadiz and La Coruña during the sentencing of the Dutch prisoners remitted by the Viceroy of New Spain, from the two ships of that Republic that departed from Batavia. They are the papers that were passed to the Law-court so that the formal sentence would be pronounced therein, as was done, by two decisions issued on 27 January of this year, one condemning the 20 Dutchmen who are being held prisoners in the Forts of Santa Catalina in Cadiz and San Antón in La Coruña, to serve for four years aboard the Hulk defending Cadiz, and if they not be employable there, to serve for six years in the Royal Navy in jobs found appropriate by the Navy Procurator in Cadiz, for which purpose the corresponding orders should be issued; and the other decision was to have the above-mentioned records forwarded by the Legal Advisory Branch to the Secretariat where they corresponded, so that the Government at large could have access to them, for its own purposes. Said two decisions of the Law-court, before publication, were remitted with its consultation dated 7 February of this year into the Royal hands of Y.M. for you to decide what might be of your Royal pleasure. To which Y.M. was pleased to decide: "As shown, and so I have ordered," and so, this point remained finalized.

After due consideration of everything that happened in this serious case file, and what the Fiscal of Y.M. has said about it, in compliance of the Royal order of 2 December last, the Council brings to the attention of Y.M. that the so-called satisfaction given by the Republic of Holland about the unjust, boisterous, and unexpected infraction of the religious relations of peace with this Crown, converting and dissembling that

their Company of the East Indies despatched a squadron of merchantmen, with various Englishmen, then enemies of ours, to escort them, loaded with effects and goods to trade with along the coasts of New Spain, part of the dominions of Y.M., by means of a decision by and direction of the Governor of Batavia, causing to the Royal interests of Y.M. and those of your vassals untold damages and prejudices in the measures that were taken to resist and defend against the introduction of the illicit trade of the said goods and effects along those coasts, and also in the City of Manila, when said squadron appeared in sight there, plus the spreading of the pernicious rumors that made the threat seem real and prevented the departure of the galleon, already loaded, thus preventing her voyage to Acapulco. the Council does not find [any mention of] this in the late and bothersome answer dated 14 October 1752 forwarded by the Marquis of Puerto, because it only contains an admission of a fake ignorance of this very enormous and very atrocious crime, in order to indemnify themselves, and exclude the complicity of the above-said Company in it, and the proceeding against the said Governor of Batavia, on account of his death. This whole approach, taken by the Estates General, is nothing but a web of lies that have nothing to do with reality, and substance, because it is not possible to believe that either party was ignorant of the facts of such a scandalous as well as public outfitting of the ships. It is not possible to believe either that such outfitting could have taken place without the agreement or permission of the Company, to work against the strict prohibition of this illicit trade, thus exposing their Republic to the fatal consequences that should have been expected, and must have been expected, said Governor of Batavia persuading himself to issue said permission, because without it, his honor and job would have been at stake.

And, with regards to the Company being the main aggressor in said crime, there cannot be any doubt, because the ships were hers, according to the declarations made by the majority of the witnesses interrogated, and made prisoners on the coasts of New Spain, and led to these Kingdoms where they have been sentenced; the merchandises loaded aboard said ships were also hers, as testified by Francisco Dominici, Antonio Serri and Jacome Cruz, although the latter says that the Governor owned part of them. To prove this point, suffice to consider their value, in pesos; only the Company, and not just the Governor, could have afforded them.

And when the Republic found no means to relieve this Governor of complicity, it chooses to say that they have not proceeded against him because he is dead, in accordance with the laws of that country. To show that their satisfaction is badly worded, suffice to affirm that there are no laws that render void the obligations of a person when he dies, because they always remain valid for the free use of active and passive actions, whose jurisdiction is universal, though reneged by the Republic, and it makes no distinction for actions that result from the commission of crimes, for instance, when it is question to impose the corresponding penalty; one such case is when a criminal has died, and another case is in the restitution of interests for damages and prejudices caused during one's life; they continue, and they must be satisfied out of the property that he had left behind. And in this is based the charge against the Dutch Republic, and the fact

that penalty has not been imposed on the main Directors of the Company of the East Indies who planned the outfitting of the ships, and their cargo in order to trade it against the established prohibition, nor have their funds been seized, nor those of the Governor, in order to compensate the prejudices they have caused to the Royal treasury and to the vassals of Y.M., which the Council considers a very high sum of money; indeed, although the project in question, and the trading, had no effect, the expenditures made to bury it could not be avoided, nor the damages that resulted from the detention of the Manila galleon. Consequently, the Council is of the opinion that the Republic has not given any satisfaction at all, and that it should be told that Y.M. has listened to their answer with much displeasure, that this incident cannot be dissembled, because of the example that would be given by a nation so inclined to illicit trading, and to others for the continuation of the same violent negotiations, and commercial relations, that the Republic must punish with an adequate penalty those of the above-mentioned Company who planned the project, and assembled the merchandises, and [must] exact from their property and that of the Governor of Batavia, Imhoff, the sums required to compensate the above-mentioned damages, but the Council feels, as always, that Y.M. will choose the most appropriate solution. in view of the Royal and higher intelligence you may have of that Republic, and according to your Royal pleasure.

Madrid, 29 May 1753.¹

1 Ed. note: The King simply concurred.

Document 1746C

The patache Santo Domingo avoided Guam in March but returned in September

Source: Fr. Juan de la Concepción. Historia general de Philipinas (14 volumes, Manila, 1788-1792). The following extract is from Vol. 12, part 12, chap. 1, pp. 15-17.

Note: In 1744, the patache Santo Domingo had been sent to Acapulco, without a load, but her return was delayed until November 1745. Her captain was José Rodríguez Ortigosa.

Discussion about avoiding Guam or Tinian on the return voyage

Original text in Spanish.

...
Se despachó [de Acapulco] por Noviembre de '45 a cargo de su General Don Joseph Rodriguez Ortigosa; quien a 500 leguas de los baxos de San Bartholome, y como 800 de las Marianas, convocó a Junta de guerra a los oficiales de su navío; a quienes propuso particulares Instrucciones de el Virrey de Nueva España, y de el Governador de Philipinas que convenian, en que en la arribada à Marianas, informados, de sí por allí havian aportado, o nó enemigos, tomasen el rumbo, o a Puerto Lampon, ó el de el Estrecho de San Juanico al Sur, desde donde asegurados con los caudales, diesen parte al Superior Gobierno para su mejor expediente: No obstante esto manifestó el mismo General las grandes precauciones, que se debian tomar, a fin de librarse de el Enemigo, por la ninguna razon, ó noticia de el estado de la Europa: Habló el Piloto mayor Don Manuel Galvez, practico en estos mares y versado en sus rumbos; y dixo, que no obstante las Instrucciones propuestas era de parecer, que respecto á no hallarse con noticia alguna de los corsarios, y navios, que se hallaban en Batavia el año antecedente proyectando contra nuestras Islas, ni de las ventajas, que pudiese haver conseguido en ellas, arreglado a los tiempos de la actual monzon, que no se practicase lo prevenido en tales Instrucciones, por ser muy contingente el encuentro con el Ingles en los citados parajes, y para obviar este, le parecia mejor, que desde aquella longitud, que estimaba de 50 grados de el embocadero de San Bernardino, se formase la derrota, dando lugar los tiempos, a dexar el canal mas estrecho de los bajos de San Bartholome al Sur, y tomar el rumbo a montar las Marianas por 18 à 19 leguas [sic = grados] de latitud evitando asi el pasaje por la de Tinian, en que pudiesen estar los Ingleses, haciendo agua-

da, y reforzandose de viveres: Montadas por aquella altura las Marianas se dirigiese la proa al Cabo de Engaño, costa de Cagayan, Cabo de Bojeador, y costa de Ilocos, en donde se podia adquirir noticia suficiente en tierra, ó en mar de las muchas embarcaciones que en tales tiempos traginaban aquellas costas, con lo que se podria disponer con seguridad lo mas importante: Convinieron con este parecer todos los concurrentes, y se determinó el viage en su conformidad; porque seguir el derrotero que prescribian las Instrucciones, era dar con el enemigo, si le huviese:

Costó mucho trabajo tomar la altura necesaria, y en ello se gastó bastante tiempo, y como no havian refrescado la aguada en Marianas, empezó a escasear esta; no obstante haver recogido toda la de particulares sin reservar la de una Messa de Franciscanos, que se acomodaron a la necesidad comun; los viveres no estaban ya bien acondicionados, y eran pocos, y de todo se mantenian con raciones escasas: Esta necesidad, y lo molesto de el viage ocasionó mayores, y graves enfermedades; de que murieron de todas condiciones: No se alivieron los trabajos hasta que por Abril dieron fondo en la costa de Ilocos, en donde pudieron refrescarse.

Translation.

...
 She was despatched [from Acapulco] under the command of her General Don José Rodriguez Ortigosa, who, at 500 leagues from the shoals of San Bartolomé [i.e. Marshall Is.] and at about 800 from the Marianas, held a war council of the officers of his ship. He proposed to them the specific instructions received from the Viceroy of New Spain and from the Governor of the Philippines; both coincided in that, upon arriving at the Marianas, they were to find out whether or not the enemies had made port there, then they were to steer for either the port of Lampon or that of the Strait of San Juanico toward the south, from where they were to place the moneys in safety, then send a report to the superior government for its guidance. In spite of this, the General himself proposed that great precautions be taken to avoid the enemy, in view of the fact that no news whatever had been received from Europe. The chief pilot, Don Manuel Galvez, expert in those seas and knowledgeable about their sailing directions, declared that, notwithstanding the proposed instructions, he was of the opinion that, since there were no news whatever of the corsairs, or the ships that were in Batavia the previous year plotting to attack our Islands, nor about the successes they might have had there, given the weather during the present monsoon season, the actions recommended in said Instructions should not be followed, because of the high probability of meeting with the English in said neighborhoods. In order to prevent this, he thought it would be better to shape a new course from that longitude where they were, which he estimated at 50° from the channel of San Bernardino and, weather permitting, pass north of the narrow channel through the shoals of San Bartolomé, and shape a course so as to cross the Mariana Islands between 18° or 19° of latitude, in order to avoid passing by Tinian Island where the English might be taking on water and food supplies. Once the Marianas were passed, they should steer for Cape Engaño, the coast of Cagayan, Cape Bojeador, and

the coast of Ilocos, where they could acquire some sufficient news from ashore, or at sea from the numerous commercial ships that visit those coasts; it would then be possible to take a most important decision with more security. All those present agreed with this opinion, and it was decided to follow the recommended route, because if they were to follow the route prescribed by the Instructions, they would meet with the enemy, if there were any.

They had much difficulty in gaining the necessary altitude, and they wasted much time in doing so. And, since they were unable to take on water in the Marianas, they ran short of it, although they had collected all of the reserve supplies from individuals, including those from the mess of the Franciscans, who yielded to the common need. The food supplies were tight to begin with, and everyone had to share the few available rations. This necessity, plus the hardships of the voyage, caused greater and serious illnesses; many died from all of these conditions which were not alleviated until April when they anchored along the coast of Ilocos, where they were able to obtain refreshments.

Document 1746D

Fr. Blesa, Mariana missionary, left Spain only in 1746

Source: AGI Contratación 5550/6 & /10 (formerly 45- 2-7/10).

Note: Fr. Blesa had first appeared as n° 13 on the list of 1744 as a potential candidate, but his name was then dropped from the final list; he may have fallen sick at that time.

D1. Mission band of the S.J. for the Philippines—1746

It consists of 23 Religious, 22 of them priests and students, and the rest coadjutors; they are part of the 40 priests and 4 coadjutors that H.M. has approved by Royal decree dated 28 May 1741...

They boarded the galleon **San Miguel**, Master Don Miguel Ychaso, that went to Veracruz in the year of 1746.

Fr. Juan José Calvo, Superior

...

List of the Missionaries who pass to the Province of the Philippines of the Society of Jesus this year of 1746, among whom are 20 priests or students, and 4 Coadjutors granted by H.M. to Fr. José Calvo, Procurator General of said Province, from whom 21 have already passed in the year 1713; they are boarding the ship named San Miguel, alias Solomon.

1. Fr. Eugenio Carrion, born in Malagon, Archdiocese of Toledo, left Toledo on 12 March 1746.

2. Fr. Francisco Xavier Ortiz, born in Socuellanos in La Mancha, no diocese, left Villarejo on 2 March 1746.

3. Fr. José León, born in Castellon de la Plana, Diocese of Tortosa, left Gandia on 4 March 1746.

4. Fr. Francisco Xavier Ibero, born in Pamplona, left Segovia on 1 March 1746.

5. Fr. Pascual Fernandez, born in Naeriz, Diocese of Orense, left Salamanca on 20 February 1746.

6. Fr. José Andrés, born in Zelina, Diocese of Zaragoza, left Valencia on 4 April 1746.

7. Fr. Bernardo Martín, born in Palazuelos, Diocese of León, left Salamanca on 6 March 1746.

8. Fr. Francisco Puch, born in Pi, Diocese of Urgel, left Zaragoza on 8 March 1746.
9. Fr. Bernardo Arrieta, born in Alsu, Diocese of Pamplona, left Valencia on 4 April 1746.
10. Fr. Tomás Monton, born in Cazaravenela, Diocese of Malaga, left Zaragoza on 6 June 1744 [sic].
11. Fr. Juan Bautista Castella, born in Estervi, Diocese of Urgel, left Tarragona on 3 July 1740 [sic].
12. Fr. Juan Miguel la Cuesta, born in Minglanilla, Diocese of Cuenca, left Tarragona on 3 October 1740.
13. Fr. Francisco Salvò, born in Puigserda, Diocese of Urgel, left Tarragona on 27 October 1740.
14. Fr. Juan Bautista Jaulen, born in Evol, Diocese of Elna, left Tarragona 20 November 1741.
- 15. Fr. Juan Antonio Pérez Blesa, student, born in Jarazena(?), Diocese of Cuenca, left Murcia on 1 September 1740.**
16. Fr. Pedro Pablo Berroyo, student, born in Valdenebro, Diocese of Osuna, left Villa Garcia on 23 April 1739.
17. Fr. José Ducos, student, born in Barcelona, left Urgel on 20 May 1743.
18. Fr. Valero Noguero, student, born in Graus, Diocese of Balbastro, left Tarragona on 3 September 1740.
19. Fr. Juan Aroche, student, born in Seville, left to study on 24 May 1740.
20. Fr. Juan Antonio Arias, student, born in Baeza, Diocese of Jaen, left Baeza for the Novitiate on 9 June 1740.
21. Fr. Antonio Galindo, student, born in Vera, Diocese of Taragona, left Taragona on 2 October 1740.
22. Fr. Juan Bautista Soler, student, born in Xixona, Diocese of Valencia, left Girona on 2 June 1745.
23. Br. Miguel Ferrer, Coadjutor, born in Salomò, Diocese of Barcelona, left Tarragona on 20 March 1741.
Port of Santa Maria, 10 October 1746.
Joseph Calvo.

D2. Physical inspection upon departure

...
15. Fr. Juan Antonio Blesa, student, born in Tarazona(?), Diocese of Cuenca, 30 years old, medium-size body, slim, somewhat dark in complexion, long nose, light beard, black eyes and hair...¹

...
Cadiz 11 November 1746.
Don Joseph Ruiz de Zenzano.

¹ Ed. note: His birthplace may be Tarancón instead, the only similar name appearing on a modern map, near Cuenca, which lies southeast of Madrid. Fr. Blesa arrived at Guam only in 1750 (see Doc. 1750B) along with another, unnamed, individual.

Documents 1729C

The loss of the patache **Nuestra Señora de los Dolores y San Francisco Xavier, alias Príncipe del Mar**

Source: AGI Fil. 238 (formerly 68-6-20).

Note: AGI Fil. 238 is a complete record of proceedings, containing 459 folios, and is entitled: Audiencia of the Philippines—File regarding the return in distress and loss of the Patache Nuestra Señora de los Dolores that was carrying the subsidy of the Mariana Islands—Year of 1734. There may be a copy of this file in Fil. 415.

C1. Letter from Governor Valdés to the King, dated 19 June 1731

Original text in Spanish.

El Brigadier Don Fernando Valdés Tamon, Governador, y Capitan General de las Yslas Philipinas, y Presidente de la Audiencia de Manila.

*Dà quenta à V.M. con Testimonio de Autto sobre la arrivada, y perdida del Patache, **Nuestra Señora de los Dolores y San Franzisco Xavier**; que el año de 1729 havía salido con el Situado de las Yslas Marianas; y expresa haverse executado todas las diligencias conduzentes, a una y otra averiguazion de las que resultò, que el Juez Comisario absolvió al Piloto y Cavo, en lo tocante a la arrivada, Condenando en las penas que incluye la sentenzia à Luis Díaz, Piloto en sueldo, quien se havia hecho cargo de conducir el Patache de la Ensenada de San Miguel de Naga, donde arrivò, y se perdió en la Provincia de Cagayan, por Omission del mencionado Luis Díaz.*

Señor.

*Haviendo el año pasado de 1729 salido de estas Yslas, para las Marianas, con situado el Patache, **Nuestra Señora de los Dolores, y San Franzisco Xavier**, que despachò el Marquez de Torre Campo, mi antecesor, à cargo de Manuel de los Santos Camacho, Piloto y Cavo del mencionado Patache, bolvió de arribada por Noviembre de dicho año y no dandole lugar los tiempos, à que cogiese el Embocadero de San Bernardino, se viò prezisado à entrar en la Ensenada de San Miguel de Naga, Provinzia de Camarines, de donde diò quenta, pidiendo que por no ser practico de aquellos paraxes,*

è ignorar el tiempo, en que deviera salir à coger el Embocadero, se remitiese Persona inteligente, como asi se hizo nombrando à Luís Díaz, piloto en sueldo por haverse informado, que era Persona practica; hechoso este cargo del Patache, y retirandose dicho Manuel de los Santos, à esta Ciudad, por enfermo.] el mencionado Luís Díaz, salió de la Ensenada de San Miguel por Henero del año de 1730, y habiendo encontrado vientos menos favorables, y que le imposibilitaron à coger el Embocadero, se vió empeñado con las mares à montar la Ysla, por la Provinzia de Cagayan, en donde a vista de la Barra del Pueblo de Abulu, se perdió de noche, barando el Patache, sin que se pudiese remediar, con cuya noticia, y las que dió el Alcalde mayor de aquella Provinzia, se libraron por este Gobierno, todas las providenzias conduzentes a la mencionada perdida[,] se remitió a averiguacion à un Ministro de esta Real Audiencia, à quien estavan cometidos los Autos, y diligenzias de la arribada, y puestos los Autos en estado (como parece del Testimonio adjunto) pronunciò el Ministro Comisario sentencia absolviendo de la arribada à dicho Manuel de los Santos Camacho, y condenando por la perdida en su ausencia, y Reveldia (por estar refugiado) à dicho Luíz Díaz, en privazion perpetua del exercicio de Arte de Pilotto, y en diez años de un Presidio, el que siendo à vida su Persona, se le señalase por este Gobierno, de las expreiones de los Autos, y su literal constanzia, parece conforme la determinazion, y que toda la culpa, estuvo solo de parte de dicho Luís Díaz, quien sin embargo de ser Piloto de Profession, prozedió menos advertido, sin la practica, y caval experiencia de que se necesitava para manejar el Patache, en aquellos mares, y paraxes, que por sus muchos baxos, y positura [sic], mas piden experiencia que Arte, aunque al tiempo del nombramiento que se hizo de su Persona, le abonavan por inteligente. Luego que sea à vida se executará en ella la pena impuesta, y remision à Presidio por el tiempo de su condenacion.

Dios guarde la C. Y R.P. de V.M. quanto la Cristiandad hà menester.

Manila, y Junio 19 de 1731.

Señor

Don Fernando Valdes Tamon.

Translation.

Brigadier General Fernando Valdés Tamon, Governor and Captain General of the Philippine Islands, and President of the Audiencia of Manila.

Reports to Y.M., along with a Record of Proceedings, regarding the turning back, and loss of the Patache **Nuestra Señora de los Dolores y San Francisco Xavier** which had left in the year 1729 with the subsidy of the Mariana Islands, and that he had already carried out all the proceedings to investigate both occurrences, the outcome of which is that the Judge Commissioner absolved the Pilot and Commander, with regards to the turning back, but he condemned the staff pilot Luís Díaz to all of the fines mentioned in the sentence, after he had taken charge of the patache to take her from the bay of San Miguel de Naga, where she had sought shelter, but was lost in the Province of Cagayan, for negligence of the above-mentioned Luís Díaz.

Sire:

After the patache **Nuestra Señora de los Dolores y San Francisco Xavier** had left these Islands last year 1729, bound for the Mariana Islands with their subsidy, despatched by my predecessor, the Marquis of Torrecampo, and under the command of Manuel de los Santos Camacho, Pilot and Commander of said patache, he returned in distress in November of said year and, since he could not get into the Strait of San Bernardino, on account of bad weather, he had to get into the bay of San Miguel de Naga, Province of Camarines, from where he gave an account, and requesting, because he did not know that neighborhood nor the best time to sail through the Strait of San Bernardino, to send a knowledgeable person. So it is that Luís Díaz was sent; he is a staff pilot, and was recommended as a competent coastal pilot. He took over the command of the patache and Manuel de los Santos returned to this City, on account of illness. The above-named Luís Díaz left the bay of San Miguel in January of the year 1730 and, having met with winds even less favorable to make it through the Strait, had no choice but to go with the currents and go up along the Island, as far as the Province of Cagayan, where in sight of the bar of the Town of Abulu[g], he became shipwrecked at night. The patache ran aground, and it could not be helped. Upon receipt of this news, and the report received from the Mayor of that Province, this Government began all of the proceedings into said loss. The investigation was placed under a Minister of this Royal Audiencia, and he was given the record of the previous proceedings into the return in distress. As shown in the record of proceedings (copy attached), the Minister Commissioner pronounced a sentence, absolving said Manuel de los Santos Camacho in the return in distress, but condemning Luís Díaz for the loss, and his rebellion, in absentia, because he was in hiding, to the perpetual privation in the exercise of the job of pilot, and to ten years of service in a garrison. Should he ever come out of hiding, this Government will notify him of the details of the proceedings, and the sentence. It seems that the decision was correct, and that the only person to blame was indeed said Luís Díaz; he, in spite of the fact that he was a professional pilot, acted as a man without the proper experience and judgment required to manage the patache in those seas, and neighborhoods, where there are many shoals, and experience is more valuable than technique, although at the time of his appointment, he had been recommended as a knowledgeable person. Whenever he comes out of hiding, the sentence will be carried out upon him, and he will be sent to a garrison for the period of his sentence.

May God save the Catholic and Royal person of Y.M. for as long as Christianity needs.

Manila, 19 June 1731.

Sire.

Don Fernando Valdés Tamon.¹

1 Ed. note: Díaz eventually retired to Puebla in Mexico, because his sea chest is now on exhibit in the Bello Museum there (see illustration in the National Geographic magazine, for September 1990, bottom p. 22).

C2. Letter from Captain de los Santos, dated on board 1 November 1729

Source: AGI Fil. 238, Testimonio, fol. 1-6.

Original text in Spanish.

Muy Yllustre Señor Don Fernando Tamon y Valdes, Brigadier de los Reales Exercitos de su Magestad y Capitan de sus Guardias Españoles de su Real Consejo Governador y Capitan General de las Yslas Philipinas y Presidente de la Real Audiencia y Chancilleria que en ellas reside.

Mui Yllustre Señor

En cumplimiento de mi obligacion doy parte â V. Señoria como haviendome lebadado con el Barco de mi Cargo para yr en proceuçion de las Yslas Marianas[,] dia primero de Agosto, me levè del puerto de San Jacinto junto con el galeon el dia dos desemboque, con el Divino favor con el viento favorable el que me dio lugar â ponerme al Leste de las Yslas como sinquenta leguas, y luego me dio calmas, y vientos contrarios que la briza bonancible con que fuè de una buelta, y otra siguiendo mi viaje, mientras me dieron lugar para andar barlovento ando procurando hazer todas las diligencias poçibles, no hemos tenido bendaval ninguno las brizas han ido cargando mas la mano, y de tal suerte que nos dio un temporal que nos hizo correr dos dias donde perdimos mucho camino, y aunque abonazo siempre quedo la briza el viento mas favorable que experimentabamos era sur, y sur sueste mui recios y luego volvia a la briza, y â vezes eran tan recias que no podiamos marear, y os obligava [a] aguantar â la capa, y asi todo el discurso del viaje y solo experimentamos cerca de quatro dias de bendabal por el ueste y sudueste pero con tantas fuersa, y serrazon que corriendo con el trinquete con mastileros calsos nunca mas tubimos otra migaja de bendabal, y siendo estos necesarios para conseguir el viaje, y nos faltaron, y haviendo navegando setenta y tres dias sin haver experimentado mas que puras brizas y hasta la infelicidad de no tener aguaseiros para cojer agua pues no cogiendola es evidente que ningun Navio de Philipinas podra hazer viaje por la poca aguada que en ellos se embarca y tambien ya algo excasos de bastimentos, y haviendo echo escotriño del aguada que teniamos solo hallo ochenta tinajas, y esas mucha menguadas, y viendo la escases que teniamos me obligo â escasear, la racion y ver si el tiempo daba tregua y los vientos rendían, y poder conseguir el viaje por ser corta la distançia que me faltaba pues me consideraba de cinquenta ô sesenta leguas de las Yslas pero la gente de mar viendo los rigurosos de la briza y sin experanza de vendabal y la escases tan grande que tenemos [sic] de agua pues solo seles dava dos tazas de agua al dia, y aun con todo eso no alcanzaba el agua a veinte y cinco dias y solo haziendo una comida al dia[,] con esta consideracion motivo â la gente de mar â pedir que arrivase y viendo no havia Caso, pedieron por una, dos, y tres veses la arrrivada, y que de no, ellos lo executarian diçiendo que mas valia arribar que pereçer, de que me motivo, â hazer Junta de todos los Ofiçiales para que cada uno diera su sentir, y todos â una dijeron convenia arrivasemos, porque ya no ay esperanza de benda-

bales y la excases tan grande; Para lo qual me hizieron papel firmado de todos para mi resguardo, y viendo la razon que les asistia, y sin experanza, ya de otros tiempos hube de conformarme con ellos estando presentes los Reverendos Padres Capellan Antonio Marimon, y Juan Antonio Cantova dia dose de octubre volvimos la proa para Philipinas, y habiendo navegado tres singladuras la buelta de Philipinas nos dió un temporal desecho, por el Lesnordeste que corrió hasta el sueste con muchísima mar en que no obligo á echar toda la palisada del barco de Carolinas que teníamos en el conves al agua por lo muy fatigado que se halava el Navio con la mar pues quatro cureñas que estaban trincadas en la clava, y fogones todo selo llevo la mar, y al dia siguiente habiendo cargado mas el tiempo nos obligo a cortar la mesana y echarla al agua, como assi mesmo a tortorar el Navio, por lo mucho que travajava y las obras muertas se sentían y con la mucha mar las clavas ô trancaniles, y costuras del conves selas avento la estopa, por donde hazia agua el Navio y en la entrepuentes, no quedo cosa que no se mojará[,] los cables y xarçias de respecto, pañol de velas y la carga que en ella yva todo se amojado[.] este temporal nos duro seis dias con sus noches y habiendo abonanzado al octavo dia pude obserbar el sol, y me halle en dies y siete grados de latitud escasos y cerca de la costa de estas Yslas pues dicho temporal nos hiso caminar cerca de ducientos y sinquenta leguas, y habiendo navegado tres dias en buelta del sur a ponerme em busca del embocadero al quarto dia me halle poco mas de a media noche sobre la mediania de la Ysla de Catanduanes y con el viento Leste muy recio no me dio lugar a montarla, y aunque el dia siguiente hize fuerza de vela para montarla no fue posible por haver cargado mas el viento y mucha cerrazon me obligo á calar mastileros[,] me mantube a la capa por no tener donde correr con la caveza al norte, y el dia siguiente con la fuerza de viento, y mucha mar me puso sobre este Puerto donde procuré asegurar el barco de su Magestad considerando lo rigoroso del tiempo, y haverme hallado tan falto de agua, y bastimentos que aseguro a V.Señoria con toda verdad que el dia que di fondo a este Puerto solo havia dos tinajas de agua, y una rasion de biscocho, y como veinte cavanos de Pinava [sic = Palay], y unas quinze tinajas de Puerco; por cuiá falta é escrito al Alcalde de esta Provincia pidiendole bastimentos para racionar la gente como tambien de Providencia de un Camarin para poder recojer todos los Pertrechos, y secarlos por estar todo mojado por la mucha agua que entro en la entre Puentes con el tiempo y abordo no ay lugar para poder executar lo por lo mucho que lleve [rather llueve] en estos parajes, y en la abería que habrá lo cierto és, que con el tiempo salía el Palay por las bombas á cavanos, y una de ellas se nos tapo[,] habiendosele quedado la guarnición dentro quiso Dios el que se limpiara el barco neceçita segun dize el Maestro de Galafate recogerle la cubierta a conves, y algunas obras muertas porque todo és una gotera[.] lo qual en haciendo buen tiempo lo yrá componiendo dicho Galafate; Yo Señor me hallo algo confuso por no ser practico de estos parajes, y con evidencia ygnoro el tiempo que sera bueno para salir para el embocadero porque áora por estos parajes los vientos son mui recios, por el Norte, y las brizas con muchas serrazones, y segun mi corto sentir hasta a mediado de Henero que ban de caida y á los Nortes y ay vientos mas bonañcibles[,] esto es mi corta sentir[.] V.Señoria podrá alla disponer lo que fuere

servido, y pareçiendole ser combeniente remitir practico para la mayor seguridad del bajel[,] esto es no excusandome yo por ningun motivo al servicio de su Magestad aunque me hallo vien emfermo y mui travajado del viaje pues aseguro â V.Señoria que solo el punto me tiene en pie, y maiormente la gran pesadumbre que me asiste de no haver podido conseguir el viaje pues es lo que mas me aflige me tiene fuera de mí, pero me consuelo el no haver estado en mi mano, y haver sido voluntad de Dios, â quien pido guarde la vida de V.Señoria por muchos años.

*San Miguel y abordo Noviembre primero de mill setteçientos veinte y nueve años.
Besa la mano de V.Señoria su menor servidor.*

Manuel de los Santos Camacho.

Translation.

Most Illustrious Sir, Don Fernando Tamon y Valdés, Brigadier of the Royal Armies of His Majesty and Captain of his Spanish Guards, Member of his Royal Privy Council, Governor and Captain General of the Philippine Islands and President of the Royal Audiencia and Chancellery residing therein.

Most Illustrious Sir:

In compliance with my obligation I report to Your Lordship that, after I had left with the ship under my command to go in search of the Mariana Islands, on the first day of August, I departed from the port of San Jacinto and in company with the galleon sailed through the Strait of San Bernardino on the second, God favoring us with a favorable wind that gave me the opportunity to cover about 50 leagues to the east of the Islands, and then I experienced calm weather, or contrary winds. When the breeze allowed, I tacked one way or the other to make progress whenever possible to windward and was making all the efforts possible, but we did not get any monsoon wind at all, and the tradewinds had the upper hand, so that we were hit by a storm that forced us to run before the wind for two days, something which made us lose much headway. Although the wind sometimes abated, the more favorable breeze we got was a southerly, and very stiff winds from SSW, then the tradewind returned, and at times the winds were so stiff that we could not set the sails and were forced to lay to. So it is that during the whole voyage we only experienced about four days of monsoon winds from west and southwest, but with such strength, and overcast skies, that we ran with only the foresail, with the topmasts down, but we never got any more monsoon wind, not even a slight one. Since such a wind was necessary to accomplish the voyage, and it failed us, after 73 of navigation without experiencing anything but tradewinds, and even the absence of luck in getting the showers that are necessary to replenish our water supply, it is obvious that any ship from the Philippines cannot pursue its voyage, because so little water is carried on board; also, on account of the shortage of food supplies, and the water supply having been reduced to only 80 jars, and smallish ones at that, I was forced to apply rationing, in view of said shortages, in hopes of the weather improving, to such an extent that we could make our voyage, since the distance remaining was a short one; indeed, I considered myself within 50 to 60 leagues of the [Mariana] Islands.

However, the sailors, seeing how rough was the tradewind and without hope of a monsoon wind and the great shortage in our water supply (in fact they were given only two cups per day), and even then we would run out completely in 25 days and even with only one meal a day. This prompted the sailors to ask for our return in distress. When I did not pay attention to their request, they repeated it two more times, and otherwise, they said they would do it themselves, because they preferred to turn back than perish. This moved me to hold a Council of all the Officers in order for everyone of them to express his opinion. They unanimously voted for our turning back, because there were no longer any hope of any monsoon wind, and the greatness of the shortages. To this effect, they wrote a paper and signed it, for my defence. Upon considering the reason that moved them and the lack of hope of any favorable wind in future, I had to agree with them, in the presence of the Reverend Fathers Antonio Marimon, Chaplain, and **Juan Antonio Cantova**.

On the 12th of October we turned around, heading back to the Philippines, and after we had sailed three days, we were hit by such a violent storm, from the ENE all the way to the SW, with very heavy seas, that **we were forced to throw overboard the wood with which to build the boat for the Carolines that we carried on deck**, because the ship was laboring too hard; indeed, three gun carriages that were lashed to the scuppers, and the cooking fireplaces were all carried off by the sea, and the next day, when the weather worsened even more, we were forced to cut the mizzen mast and throw it overboard. We also had to apply strappings to the ship, because it laboured too much and the upper works were under stress. The heavy sea also affected the scuppers or waterways to such an extent that the oakum came out, even from the decking, so that the ship was leaky and not one thing between decks escaped becoming wet; the spare cables and rigging, the sail-room and the freight on board, nothing escaped becoming wet. This storm lasted six days and six nights. On the eighth day, the wind having abated, I was able to observe the sun, and found myself in almost 17 degrees of latitude, in the vicinity of these Islands; in fact, said storm had pushed us over a distance of about 250 leagues. Having sailed for three days southward in order to reach the Strait, on the fourth day I found myself a little after midnight near the center of Catanduanes Island, but the easterly wind being very stiff, I was unable to go past it, and although the next day I made all sails in an effort to go beyond it, it was not possible, on account of the wind having increased and the sky become overcast; so, I was forced to take down the topmasts, and lay to, since I had no room to run northward.

The next day, with the strength of the wind, but in a heavy sea, I came up to this Port, where I tried to shelter the ship of His Majesty, considering the roughness of the weather, and having discovered such a shortage of water and food supplies that I assure Your Lordship very truthfully that on the day that I anchored in this port there remained only two jars of water and one ration of biscuit, and approximately 20 cavans of rice, and some fifteen jars of pork. On account of this shortage, I have written to the Mayor of this Province, to request from him the supplies with which to feed my men, as well as the supply of a shed in order to be able to house all of the equipment, wea-

pons, and to dry them out, since they are all wet because of the large quantity of water that leaked down to the between-decks with the weather, and since there is no place on deck to do so on account of the rains in these neighborhoods, and on account of the losses that must certainly have taken place, because at times the rice would come out in cavans when the pumps were used, and one of them became plugged as a result. But the crew is still on board, thank God, and the ship will be cleaned. Then, as the Master Caulker says, the ship will need to have her deck redone, and a few of the upper works too, since the whole thing is but a strainer; this work will be done by the Caulker himself as soon as the weather improves.

As for me, Sir, I find myself somewhat confused, since I am not knowledgeable about these neighborhoods, and obviously do not know the best time to head for the Strait, because right now the winds in these neighborhoods are very stiff, and northerly, and the tradewinds bring overcast skies, and according to my short experience it may be until the middle of January before they abate and become northerlies. This is my defective opinion. Your Lordship will be able to arrange overthere what may be of your pleasure, but it would seem a good idea to send a coastal pilot, for the greater safety of the vessel. I say this, not to excuse myself from any service to His Majesty, although I find myself sick and very tired from the voyage; indeed, I assure Your Lordship that only pride keeps me on my feet. I am very sorry not to have been able to achieve the voyage; indeed, this is what affects me the most, but my consolation is that it was out of my power and the will of God, whom I pray to keep the life of Your Lordship for many years.

At San Miguel and aboard, 1 November 1729.

Your Lordship's least servant who kisses the hand of Your Lordship,
Manuel de los Santos Camacho.

C3. Extracts from the logbook itself

Note: The full logbook is in fol. 69v-118.

Original text in Spanish.

Diario que voy haciendo este presente año de mill setecientos veinte y nueve desde el Puerto de Cavite al embocadero de San Bernardino y luego á la Ysla de Guajan con el Divino favor.

Jullio onze.

Sali del Puerto de Cavite oy Lunes onze de dicho mes a las dos de la tarde con el viento por el uessudueste algo bonanza en demanda de Mariveles...

...

Martes onze del dho [mes de Octubre]

Este dia observe el sol, y me hallo en latitud de treçe grados y quarenta minutos[.]

[Notes in margin:] *Latitud observada 12°40', Longitud 14°22' Anda la gente con el murmur de Arrivar.*

E tenido viento lesnordeste bonañible y la mar del nordeste[.] Varie en latitud para el sur seis minutos por amor de la mar porque de cambiar la caveza para el norte la mar me hiziera perder longitud[,] navegue por angulo de veinte y seis grados del sur al Leste y sobre dicho angulo siete millas en distancia fué para el Leste tres minutos con que me hallo en longitud catorce grados veinte y dos minutos y quedo con veinte Nordeste algo fresco con horizontes claros y no demuestran otra cosa sino briza manteniendo la caveza para el sueste a la capa, Dios me guarde.

Miercoles dose del dho.

... En el dia acavado de observar se determino la llegada y vire en buelta del ueste quarta al sudueste guiñando para el ueste con el viento quasi Leste fresco los horizontes claros. Dios me guarde.

...

Translation.

Logbook begun by me in the present year 1729 from the Port of Cavite to the Strait of San Bernardino and then to the Island of Guahan, God willing.

July 11th.

I departed the Port of Cavite today, Monday, the 11th of said month at 2 p.m. with the wind from the WSW somewhat light, headed for Mariveles.

...

Tuesday 11th of said month [of October].

On this day I observed the sun, and found myself in the latitude of 13 degrees and 40 minutes.

[Notes in margin:] Latitude observed 12°40', Longitude 14°22' [E of Cape Espiritu Santo]. The men are beginning to murmur about turning back.

I have had a light wind from ENE and the sea running from NE. My latitude has decreased by 6 minutes, due to the current, because when I headed the bow to the north the current made me lose longitude. I sailed along a course S26° E for 7 miles, then eastward for 3 minutes [of longitude], which placed me in a longitude of 14 degrees 22 minutes, where I found the wind to be northerly somewhat fresh with clear horizons and this shows nothing else but a breeze, as we laid to with the bow pointing SE. God help me.

Wednesday 12th of said month.

... On this day, after I had observed the sun, it was decided that we should turn back and I veered towards W1/4SW to head W with the wind almost E fresh, the horizons clear. God help me.

...

Editor's notes.

The proceedings of the Council held on that day are not reproduced in the logbook, but the many petitions that preceded it are given separately.

There follows a formal declaration of Captain Camacho, 36 years old (fol. 125v-129). Then there is another declaration by Ensign Manuel Fereira Macoto, 45 years old, who acted as Boatswain, and stated that "the wood and masts that were carried on deck for the construction of a boat for the Caroline [Mission] were thrown overboard at the beginning of the storm." The third witness was Ensign Bartolomé de Oviedo, Boatswain's Mate of the patache, 25 years old. Strange to say (and unfortunately for us), Fr. Cantova was not asked to appear as a witness. The other witnesses were: Carlos Gutierrez, seaman of 36 years of age; Tomás Bautista, seaman of 35; Ignacio de Cabrera, 26-year-old ship's boy [sic]; Ensign José Pintelos Montenegro, 30 years old; Lucas de Villalobos, steward; Sergeant Manuel de Herrera, 45; Andrés Alfonso, 25-year-old carpenter; Salvador Sanchez, ship's boy, 18 years old; Juan Antonio, 34-year-old seaman; and Miguel del Castillo, 25-year-old ship's boy; etc. etc.

The so-called confession of Captain Camacho is contained in fol. 205-210. The rest of the file has to do with the second part of the voyage, under Captain Díaz, which resulted in the shipwreck in Cagayan.

Document 1734I

Letter from Fr. Bonani to the Superior of the Franciscans, dated Agaña 5 May 1734

Sources: Archivo de Pastrana, Cajón 26, Legajo 4; published in the Archivo Ibero-Americano, II (1914): 502-505; cited in S&D IX, n° 1307.

Notes: This Archivo Ibero-Americano was a bi-monthly publication of the Franciscan Fathers in Spain.

Original text in Spanish

Carta del P. José Bonanni, S.J., notificando al Provincial franciscano de Manila la defunción del P. Fr. José Francisco Gamboa de San Antonio.¹

Rdmo. en Xpto. P. Provincial.—

P. C.

Bien quisiera yo ser tan dichoso, y poder dar a V. Rdma. la noticia de haver su buen hijo, el R. Padre Fr. Antonio de Gamboa, recobrado su salud: pero no fué la voluntad divina el concederle la del cuerpo, que, finalmente, siempre llega a ser mortal, sino la de su dichosa alma que, como piadosamente creo, ya goza en el acatamiento divino inmortal y eterna.

Remito, pues, a V.P. Rdma. la Patente de su religiosa profession, como unos dias antes de su dichoso tránsito me dexó encargado, y con ella una breve relacion de su bienaventurada muerte, para consuelo de sus santos hermanos; y para no alargarme, la pondré con los mismos términos con que, para nuestro aliento en los trabajos de esta nuestra Mision, queda apuntada en un libro memorial, destinado para semejantes acontecimientos.

Quedé con nosotros este año de 1733 el P. Fr. Francisco de San Antonio Gamboa. Nació en Salamanca a 14 de Abril, año de 1698. Entró religioso a 8 de Julio del año 1714, tomando el hábito a las cinco de la tarde; y profesando a 9 de Julio el año de 1715, en el convento de San Joseph del Calvario, en Salamanca.

Pretendió la mision de Philipinas seis años, y alcanzada, se embarcó para la América. Pero cayó en el camino enfermo, y por tal se quedó en México el año pasado de

1 Véase Platero, pág. 432, donde dice que se llamaba Fr. José Francisco Gamboa o de San Antonio.

1733; mas, recobrando algo sus fuerzas, este año se atrevió a embarcarse, deseoso de servir a Dios en su pretendida apostólica Mision, o de alargar la vida navegando en su demanda.

La enfermedad se le originó de un tabardillo del vómito prieto, y pulmonía que le havian assaltado en su viage, que todas degeneraron, por último, en una mortal tísis, que en la navegación desde Acapulco se le aumentó con varias pesadumbres que le dió una persona que, mirando el officio que exercía y el estado que professava, tenía obligacion de consolarle, y creció de manera que se vió precisado [a] quedarse con nosotros, no por cobrar salud, que bien conocía ser cosa casi desesperada, sino para morir, como su Paternidad decía, con sosiego y con un sacerdote de confianza a su lado.

Desembarcóse, pues, a 15 de Junio desde año 1733; y, traído a esta Cabecera, frustrando la fuerza de la enfermedad toda la virtud de las medicinas, después de aver varias veces comulgado y recibido con su entero juicio todos los santos Sacramentos, con ternura y consuelo inexplicable de su alma, entre continuados actos de las más excelentes virtudes, fe, esperanza y caridad, etc., y repitiendo tan a menudo el dulcísimo nombre de María que en los solos últimos tres días llegaría a repetirle, a lo menos una mil y quinienta veces, entregó su dichosa alma al Señor, este mismo año, el día 9 de Julio y un quarto de la tarde.

Enterróse el día siguiente, con concurso de este Real Presidio, con vigilia y misa cantada, al lado del evangelio, cercanito al pie del altar maior, enfrente de la puerta de la sacristia, aunque su humildad me havia varias veces instado, le enterrara al umbral de la puerta de la iglesia, o a lo menos, a los pies de sus otros dos hermanos¹ enterrados en esta santa iglesia, y que fuese el entierro sin atahud, sin aparato, sin canto, etc.

Mas, digamos algo de sus virtudes, porque, en el corto tiempo que logramos conocerles nos dexó varios exemplos, principalmente de aquellas que forman un varon en toda línea religioso.

Su **obediencia** era como fiel regla de sus acciones; y assi, apenas se vió en tierra, su primera peticion fué no le tratase como a huesped, sino como a súbdito, pues me reconocía aora como a Prelado suyo. Comprobó con el hecho su dicho en varios lances de su penoso achaque; porque, al oír mi insinuacion, que tomase, o dexase esta o aquella bebida, al instante obedecía mui resignado, diciendo: "Esto ha de ser, porque es la voluntad de mi Prelado."

En la **castidad** parecía un ángel. Tanto era su recato en la cama, y parece se olvidava de sus dolores y de todo refrigerio aún entre las llamas de una mortal calentura que le abrasava, por acordarse tan sólo de que quedase recostado con decencia, tan a menudo avisaba a los mozos que le asistian tubiessen cuidado el que no quedasse descubierta alguna parte de su cuerpo.

1 Alude a los PP. Fr. Matias de S. José y Fr. Juan de la Concepcion, que fallecieron en el colegio de los PP. Jesuitas de Agaña; el primero, en 1 de Julio de 1721, y el segundo el 29 de Junio de 1724. Véase Platero, págs. 399 y 407.

*El amor a la santa **pobreza** y su profunda **humildad** se traducía en todos sus dichos y hechos, y, singularmente, en la ternura de conciencia que le obligaba a repetir a menudo el sacramento de la Penitencia, para poder parecer más limpio y más hermoso, por medio del baño de la sangre divina, ante el acatamiento de su Dueño y Señor. Desagradó tanto al demonio esta frecuencia, que intentó atemorizarle con varios assaltos de bien pessadas tentaciones y escrúpulos; mas como el santo varon era tan iluminado de lo alto, luego buscava el remedio en lo profundo de su humildad, y descubría con una cándida y sencilla narración a su Padre espiritual todo lo que passava allá dentro de su interior. Con esto, después de quatro dias de batalla quedó el común enemigo vencido, y el buen Padre con un ánimo tan sossegado y alegre que su rostro parecia respirar aire del cielo.*

*Su **paciencia** fué invicta, sin avérselo oido, en todo el discurso de su enfermedad tan grave, quexa alguna, y si arreciaban más los dolores, para aleviarselos, me pedía llamasse a los niños del colegio a que le cantassen algunas alabanzas de Dios y de su santísima Madre: lo que varias veces sucedió, y ordinariamente, al cantar la Salve, se le caían tiernas lágrimas y se esforzava con su voz, aunque quebrada, a acompañarlos. ¡Tanto era su cariño a esta Madre del Amor hermoso!*

¿Qué diré de su confianza en el patrocinio de los Santos de su Seráfica Orden? gustava mucho el oír sus alabanzas, y que alguno le rezase sus letanías; y, si no nos engañan algunos indicios, parece que algunos de sus santos Patronos le consoló en sus trabajos tres dias antes de su dichosa muerte.

*Su **caridad** para con Dios y con las benditas Animas fué, sin exageracion, heróica, porque animándole yo, dos dias antes de su muerte, a que llebasse varonilmente la pesada cruz de su penoso achaque que el Señor le havia embiado, con el motivo del premio que tienen prometido en el cielo a los que le siguen hasta el calvario, me dixo como espantado: “No me hable, Padre, de premio; porque yo soy un pobrecito que nada tengo y nada merece, y harto favor me hace dios en dexarse servir de mí. Y si Su Magestad juzga que algo merezco, nada es mio; porque, despues que entré en la Religion se les tengo todo dado a mis hermanitas las Animas del purgatorio (y levantando la mano y mostrándome una imagen del Corazon de María Santísima que tenía pegada a la cama, añadió, al parecer sin quererlo decir, estas palabras), que allí están y me dicen que aún tengo que padecer algo más.” Dicho esto, cayó repentinamente, como arrepentido de su respuesta. Lo qual me dió motivo a creer que en realidad tenía presentes, en el lugar señalado, a sus hermanitas las benditas Animas. Y me confirmé más, quando, de allí a un rato, me llamó para reconciliarse, como quien recelava el que en lo comunicado no se escondiesse algun rastro de vanagloria; y assi, para deslumbrarme, me dixo: “Parece que yo delirava antes; no crea nada, Padre, de lo que le dixé. ¡Yo ver a las benditas Animas! ¡qué disparate! Verlas, no; padecer por ellas, si.” Pero, yo creo que las vió y padeció por ellas, y que con muchas de ellas está ya gozando de el premio de su heróica caridad, y que, en compañía de la Orden Seráfica triunfante en el cielo, canta y cantará las misericordias del Señor *in æternum et ultra*.*

*Con todo esto, porque **indicio Dei abyssus multa**, no dexará V.P. Reverendísima de mandarle hacer los sufragios acostumbrados en su religiosa Familia; y juntamente suplico no se obvide de tener presente en sus santos sacrificios a esta su rendida Misión.*

Dios nuestro Señor guarde a V.P. Rdma. con perfecta salud para maior gloria suya, honra de su sagrada Religión, consuelo de sus hijos y bien de las almas.

Islas Marianas, y San Ignacio de Agaña, y Mayo 5 de 1734.

De su Paternidad Reverendísima, muy siervo en el Señor,

+

Joseph Bonanni, S.J. mpm.

[Al] Rdmo. P. Provincial, Fr. Lorenzo Perez.

Translation.

Letter from Fr. Bonani, S.J., notifying the Provincial of the Franciscans in Manila of the death of Father Fray José Francisco Gamboa de San Antonio.

Most Reverend Father Provincial in Christ.—

Peace of Christ.

How I wish I could be so lucky as to be able to give Your Reverence the news that your good son, Rev. Father Fray Antonio [sic] de Gamboa, has recovered his health, but this was not in accordance with the divine will that he be granted the health of the body, which in the end is always mortal, but that of his lucky soul that, as I piously believe, is already enjoying the immortal and eternal company of God.

I am therefore sending to Your Reverence the Patent of his religious profession, as he himself asked me to do a few days before his lucky passage, and at the same time a brief narrative of his fortunate death, for the consolation of your saintly brothers; and so as not to be long-winded, I shall follow the text that we keep written down in a memorial book, meant for similar happenings, the better to serve as encouragements in the midst of the missionary labors of our Mission.

Father Fray Francisco de San Antonio Gamboa stayed with us this year 1733. He was born in Salamanca on 14 April 1698. He became a religious on 8 July 1714, taking the habit at 5 p.m., and making his profession on 9 July 1715, in the convent of San José del Calvario, in Salamanca.

For six years in a row, he put in his name to become a missionary to the Philippines and, once he obtained permission, embarked for America. However, he became sick along the way, and that is why he remained behind in Mexico in the past year of 1733 [rather 1732], but, having recovered his strength somewhat, this year he dared to embark, wishing to serve God in his intended apostolic mission, or to seek a longer life by sailing towards it.

His sickness came from a burning fever, with black vomit, and a pneumonia that attacked him during his voyage, which degenerated into a mortal tuberculosis, which was made worse during the navigation from Acapulco by various troubles from a certain person who thought he had to console him, given the office that he exercised¹ and his profession. This sickness became so much worse that he was forced to remain with us, not to recover his health, since he knew very well that his case was almost desperate, but to die, as His Paternity used to say, with serenity and with a trustworthy priest by his side.

So, he disembarked on 15 June 1733 and, was taken to this Capital, but the application of various medicines could not overcome the sickness. After he had taken communion many times and received all of the holy Sacraments with complete consciousness, with devotion and an inexplicable consolation of his soul, between continuous acts of the most excellent virtues of faith, hope, and charity, etc. and repeating so often the sweetest name of Mary that, only during the last three days he would have repeating it at least 1,500 times, he delivered his lucky soul to the Lord, this same year, on the 9th day of July, at a quarter past noon.

He was buried the next day, with the attendance of this Royal garrison, after a wake and a high mass, on the gospel side of the altar, very close to the main altar, in front of the door to the sacristy, although his humility had made him beg me many times, to bury him on the threshold of the entrance to the church, or at least, at the feet of two other brothers of his, also buried in this holy church as well,² and that it should be without a coffin, informally, without chanting, etc.

Furthermore, let us refer to his virtues, because, in the short time that we got to know him, he gave various examples of them, mainly of the virtues that make a man a truly religious person in every way.

His **obedience** was like the faithful rule of his actions; and so, he had hardly stepped ashore that his first request was for us not to treat him as a guest, but as a subject; in fact, he then recognized me as one of his Prelates. He proved his determination in various incidents during his painful disease; because, just upon hearing my suggestion that he should take, or drink, something, he would instantly obey in a very resigned fashion, saying: "This must be right, because it is the will of my Prelate."

In **chastity** he seemed to be an angel. His modesty in bed was so great that he seemed to forget his suffering and even refused any kind of relief while he was in the midst of a burning fever, and always remembered to remain decently covered. He took care to warn the lads who were taking care of him to please make sure that no part of his body remained uncovered.

1 Ed. note: Perhaps he was the official chaplain of the ship, and his post had to be filled by that other person.

2 He refers to Fathers Fray Matias de San José and Fray Juan de la Concepción, who died in the college of the Jesuit Fathers in Agaña; the former, on 1 July 1721, and the latter, on 29 June 1724. See Platero, pages 399 and 407.

His love for holy **poverty** and his deep **humility** translated themselves in all of what he said and did, specially when his devout conscience made him repeat often the sacrament of penance, to be able to appear purer and prettier by means of a bath in the divine blood, in the awesome presence of his Owner and Lord. This frequency displeased the devil so much that he tried to terrorize him with various attacks of frightful temptations and scruples; however, as the holy man was so enlightened from above, he then searched for a remedy in the depths of his humility, and discovered with a candid and simple narrative to his spiritual Father everything that went on inside him. In this manner, after a battle that lasted four days, the common enemy was defeated, and the good Father showed in his face that he was so relieved and happy that it seemed that he was breathing the air of heaven.

His **patience** was unconquered, as no-one ever heard him during the course of such a grave illness to make any complaint whatever, but when the pain became extreme, in order to find relief, he would ask me to call the college boys and have them sing some praises to God and His most holy Mother. This happened a few times, and usually, when the *Salve* was being sung, devout tears would fall and, though his voice was broken, he would try to join them. Such was his love for the Mother of beautiful Love!

What can I say about his trust in the sponsorship of the Saints of his seraphic Order? He liked to hear them being praised, and to have someone recite their litanies; and, unless a few signs misled us, it seems as if a few of his holy patrons did console him in his hardships three days before his lucky death.

His **charity** for the love of God and the blessed souls was, without any exaggeration, heroic. For instance, two days before his death, I was encouraging him, by saying that he should bear with courage the heavy cross of his painful illness that the Lord had sent him, in view of the reward that heaven has promised to all those who follow Him as far as calvary. Surprised, he answered: "Don't talk to me, Father, about a reward, because I am such a poor man that I have nothing and deserve nothing. Nothing is mine, because, ever since I became a Religious I have given everything to my little sisters, the souls in Purgatory" (and, raising his hand and showing me an image of the Heart of the Blessed Virgin Mary that he kept fastened to his bed, he added, the words seeming to escape his mouth: "There they are, but I must suffer a little longer." Having said this, he suddenly fell silent, as if he repented for having said this. However, the incident led me to believe that he really could see his little sisters the blessed Souls in the place he had indicated. My suspicion was confirmed when, a short time later, he called me to hear his confession, as someone who felt that, by his having communicated his thoughts to me, he had perhaps shown some sign of conceit; and so, to confuse me, he told me: "It seems that I might have been delirious before. Father, do not believe anything I said about the blessed Souls! ;What nonsense! To see them, no; to suffer for them, yes." However, I do believe that he saw them, and suffered for them, and that he is finally enjoying with many of them the reward for his heroic charity, and that, in the company of the Seraphic Order, he is triumphant in Heaven, singing and praising the mercies of the Lord, now and forever and ever.

Finally, since *indicio Dei abyssus multa*,¹ Your Reverence should still order that the usual prayers be said within your religious Family, and in addition, I beg you not to forget this submissive Mission during your holy sacrifices.

May our Lord save Your Reverence and keep you in perfect health for the greater glory that is His, the honor of your sacred Order, the consolation of your Sons and the welfare of souls.

San Ignacio of Agaña, Mariana Islands, 5 May 1734.

From the servant of Your Paternity in the Lord,

+

José Bonanni, S.J. mpm.

[To the] Most Reverend Father Provincial, Fray Lorenzo Pérez.

1 Ed. note: Latin phrase meaning: "at God's indication many things are forgiven."

Document 1738C

Fort San Luís in Apra Harbor, and decreasing population of the Marianas

Letter from Governor Francisco Cárdenas Pacheco, dated Agaña 2 May 1738

Source: AGI Fil. 371 (formerly 105-3-12); cited in B&R 51:333.

Note: The map of Apra Harbor is already under Doc. 1734F.

Original text in Spanish.

Señor

En conformidad de mi propia obligacion doy cuenta à V.M. del Puerto de Apra nuevamente descubrierto en estas Islas Marianas, siendo el primer Patache que ancorò en èl, el que me condujo para el Gobierno de ellas el año pasado de mil setecientos y treinta y quatro, y havindose reconocido dicho Puerto con mas cuidado por los Pilotos del dicho Patache, y Platicos [sic] de estas Islas, la seguridad de èl, su entrada y fondo se ha hallado capaz de poder entrar qualquiera de los Galeones de la Carrera de Philipinas que por algun aconteçimiento ò casualidad se puede ofreçer de enemigos, piratas, y para resguardarse de los vendabales cada [vez] y quando se viere neçesitado en sus viages para su abrigo; y para la guarda y defenza de los pataches de V.M. que conducen el zituado de este Presidio en el tiempo de su invernada no sean invadidos de los enemigos, se determinò por conveniente edificar un Fuerte de cal, y canto que defiende su entrada y canal, el qual queda al presente concluido con advocaçion del Glorioso Rey S. Luís, y en el se hallan sostenidas seis piezas de cañon, dos de bronce de à diez y quatro de fierro, una de ocho, otra de seis, y las dos de a quatro por la inopia de Artilleria de maior calibre en estas condenadas Islas, y para la inteligencia del referido Puerto, remito [un mapa de ello]¹ por un Platico de ellas. El referido Fuerte [está] en el mismo lugar que señala segun y como [se indica].

Los años antedecentes de treinta y q[ua]tro y tre[j]nta y cinco hè puesto en la soberrana no[ticia] de V.M.] en dos que tengo escritas de la acelerada conf[un]sumpcion] que caminan à la muerte los Naturales de estas Is[las] en vista del Padron de su numera-

1 Ed. note: Original paper damaged.

cion y [lo que hi-]zo mi antecessor en estos cargos que obtengo p[...] del año de setecientos treinta y uno, que hallè [el nume-]ro de un mil noveçientas treinta y seis al ma-[... de am-]bos sexos, y todas hedades por lo que mira à esta [Ca-]pital de Guajan, compuesta de once Pueblos. [...] a formar por mi dicho Padron, en conformidad [de la cuenta general que hize, por febrero del año pasado [de mil sete-]çientos treinta y cinco, se contaron un mil [...-?]tas y diez y seis almas, y executando lo mis-mo este] presente año de setecientos treinta y ocho, por [el] referido mes de febrero, numerò un mil se[-. ?]cientos] y onçe, de los que se hallan muchos inhavil p[or] enfer-]medad, y crezida hedad, que apenas se carcula [sic] [...] cientos hombres para el trabajo, y que puedan t[om]ar armas en caso necesario. En la Isla de Rotta [que] dista quince leguas de atraveria [sic = travesia] por mar de esta [ya men-]cionada de Guajan se hallaron duçientos y sf-]esenta y] siete almas, habiendo precedido el acostum[brado] Padron para su quenta, en cuyo numero por la[s de-]]mas razones de enfermedad, y crezida hedad [se ha-]]llan cinquenta y quatro hombres para el tr[ab]abajo y] que puedan tomar armas. Y siendo del Real agraf-]do de] V.M. suplico con la mas profunda reverencia me [otorgue?] que los Naturales de esta nombrada Isla de Rotta [se] reduzcan à un Pueblo de esta Capital de Guajan [...-]]mo assi mismo la de un Partido nombrado [Pago que] tiene de distancia legua y media de esta Ciudad de Agaña a otro Pueblo de ella, y la de otro [Partido nom-]brado [Ynarajan] a otro [in-... a ...] leguas que se llama Merizo, por considerar [la cosa] conveniente a vuestro Real serviçio y alivio de estos [Na-]turales en tan continuos trabajos, como inexcusa[ble] que continuamente construyen para el servicio del tem[pl]o] de cada Partido, y Cassa de su Ministro doctrinero especialmente entecharlos por hallarse unos y otros techados de paja, sujetos a qualquier detrimento de [...]] pues en estas Islas se experimentan à instantes [algunos fu-]rriosos vaguios, de que sus moradores viven con el t[em]or ...-]sobra; y assi mesmo los que precisamente se trafica[-...-]da la manutencion de los Doctrineros de estas exp[-...-]das Islas, como por la de esta Infanteria que apenas e[]xcede?] el corto numero de dichos Naturales, pueden dar ex[-]]acto] cumplimiento à que por tales motivos se hallan expe[-ri-]]mentando no muy pocas miserias por no tener lugar à las labranzas para su propria manutencion, por lo [que] consiguiendo esta reduccion que espero alcanzar de un soberano Decreto de V.M. se aliviarán [de los] inexcusables trabajos por la agregacion [... ...] la mencionada Isla de Rotta, y Partidos de Pa[go] é Inarajan, a los otros en que con ella se construiran los expressados trabajos con mas alivio, y minoracion de los que podian tener en los tres que tengo expuestos [à] V.M. para dicha reduccion. Tambien en conformidad de la azelerada consumpcion de dichos Naturales que [se] dà à conocer por la baja tan exseciva, segun dichos Padrones, me hà pareçido, siendo muy propio de mi ob[er]]liga-]cion reproducir con la mas reverente dimission [rather submission] mis suplica que en las dos zitadas de treinta y quatro, y [la de trein-]ta y cinco tengo hecha à V.M. sobre que se sirva mandar al Governador de Philipinas, que de sus Naturales haga conducir à estas cient, ò Ducientas familias, para que pueblen esta Isla, por la privanza(?) [que] ellos gozan del temperamento de ella, pues se expe[-...-]]ta de un pueblo que tengo formado nombrado Santa [Cruz?] inmediato à esta referida Ciudad de [Agaña ...]-do de

setecientos treinta y cinco, de cinquenta y [...] ocho familias, que en ellas se contaron duçientas y dos almas, y desde aquel entonces se han acrescentado treinta y seis, segun por el Padron que formè de ellos este presente año. Assi espero conseguir del paternal amor, con que V.M. siempre atiende à sus muy leales vasallos, rindiendo con la mas fervorosa, y fragante estimacion infinitas graçias. Y pido à Dios nuestro Señor guarde la muy Augusta Esclarecida, y Catholica Persona de V.M. repetidos años en la maior amplitud de Imperio.

Agaña y Maio 2 de 1738.

B.L.P. de V.M. su muy Rendido y leal Vasallo

Francisxo de Cardenas Pacheco.

Translation.

Sire:

In compliance with my own obligation, I report to Y.M. about the Port of Apra, recently discovered in these Mariana Islands, since the first Patache that anchored there was the one that brought me here as Governor in the past year of 1734. Indeed, said port was surveyed very carefully by the pilots of said patache, and the local pilots of these Islands. It was found to be safe. Its entrance and bottom were found to be able to accommodate any of the Galleons of the Philippine Run, should they need to seek shelter from any enemies, pirates, or protection against the monsoon winds, whenever there is any need to seek protection during their voyages. It will also serve for the safety and defence of Y.M.'s pataches that bring the subsidy to this garrison, during the period of their wintering, by protecting them against enemies. To do so, it has been considered proper to build a Fort made of stone and mortar to defend its entrance and channel. Said fort is now complete, and has been given the name of the glorious Saint Louis the King, and on top of it have been installed six pieces of artillery, two ten-pounders of bronze and four iron guns, one of which being an eight-pounder, another a six-pounder, and the two others four-pounders, given the lack of artillery of greater caliber in these unfortunate Islands. And, the better to record information about said Port, I remit [a chart of it]¹ as drawn by a local pilot. The above-mentioned Fort is located on the spot, as shown [on the plan].

In the previous years of 1734 and 1735, I have brought to your royal notice, in two letters that I have written, the accelerated decline in the local population, as shown in the many census taken of their numbers, beginning with the census taken by my predecessor in this post and which I got for the year 1731, when their number was 1,936, counting both sexes and all ages, as far as this Capital [Island] of Guam is concerned, distributed among 11 towns. According to my own general census, carried out in

1 Ed. note: Original paper damaged at this, and many other, spots.

February of 1735, there were found to be 1,116 souls.¹ I repeated the same exercise in the present year of 1738, also in the month of February, and found 1,111,² of whom many are found to be invalid on account of illness, or too old, so that one could not count on x hundred men able to perform work, or to be able to bear arms, in need be.

In the Island of Rota, which is 15 leagues by sea from the above-mentioned Island of Guam, are found 2,070 souls,³ as revealed by the census taken of them, but, out of this number, due to illness and old age, only 54 men could be used for work or to bear arms.

Should it be of the Royal pleasure of Y.M., I beg you with the deepest reverence to please allow me to reduce the natives of the above-named Island of Rota to one town in this Capital [Island] of Guam, and in addition the people of a district named [Pago that is] 1-1/2 leagues from this City of Agaña to another town on the island, and the people of another [district named Ynarajan] to another [located ...] leagues away, that is called Merizo, since I consider it to be in the interest of the Royal service and the relief of these natives from continuous labors. Indeed, it is inexcusable that they should always work at maintaining a church in each district, and a house for their religious Minister, specially the work of re-roofing them, both roofs being made of thatch, subject to any damage [from the weather.] Indeed, these Islands can be hit at any time by [some] furious hurricanes, under the fear of which the natives live. In addition, there is the minimum work to be done to maintain the Missionaries of these Islands, and to maintain this Infantry that hardly [exceed?] the small number of said natives. Both types of chores are compulsory, and that is why the natives experience not a little trouble finding time to take care of their own maintenance. Therefore, I expect to obtain this reduction in a sovereign Decree from Y.M., in order to give them relief from the indispensable tasks, by aggregating [the people of the] above-mentioned Island of Rota, and of the districts of Pago and Inarajan, to other districts where they will perform said tasks with more commodity, and less often, that they would otherwise in the three places that I have mentioned to Y.M., for said reduction. Also in line with the accelerated decline in the population of said natives, as revealed by the excessive decrease in their numbers in said census, it seems to be also to be my duty to repeat, with the most reverent submission, the requests I made to Y.M. in the two previously-mentioned letters of 1734 and 1735, about you being pleased to order the Governor of the Philippines to send from those Islands to these Islands 100, or 200 families, to populate this Island, given the [similarity?] of climate between the two; indeed, we have the experience of one town named Santa [Cruz] built right next to this Capital of [Agaña which] consists of 735 inhabitants; it has 58 families, among which were counted 202 inhabitants, and since that time, their number has increased by 36, according to the census that I took

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- 1 Ed. note: The 100-digit is missing, due to holes in document, but it may be 1,716 for the Island of Guam, since he reported earlier (Doc. 1735C) that Guam and Rota had 2,000 natives then.
 - 2 Ed. note: Again, there is a hole in the document, but the 100-digit, in Spanish, reads “se-”, which means that the total was either 1,611 or 1,711, most probably the latter figure.
 - 3 Ed. note: Again, the damaged document does not reveal one digit, but it is either 267, or 277, because it begins with the letter ‘s’ in Spanish.

this year. This I hope to get from the paternal love with which Y.M. always deals with your most loyal vassals, and it is with the greatest of devotions and esteem that I render infinite thanks, and beg God our Lord to save the most August, Noble, and Catholic Person of Y.M. for many years, with an expansion of your Empire.

Agaña, 2 May 1738.

The most humble and loyal servant of Y.M., who kisses your feet,
Francisco de Cárdenas Pacheco.

Appendix 1

Instructions for the management of galleons, by Governor Valdés Tamón, 1732

Sources: Governor Fernando Valdés Tamón. Instrucciones y ordenanzas que han de observar los generales... (Manila, 1732); copy in AGI Fil. 256 (formerly 68-6-38), fol. 21-45.

Notes: See Instruction n° 41 for fires to be lit on the hills of Guam at the time of the yearly visit of the galleons. Doc. 1732B also refers. The text below was transcribed from the copy in AGI. The original book is so rare that I know of no copy extant. The documents that were annexed to the original are no longer available.

Original text in Spanish.

Las instrucciones que se dan à los Generales de los Galeones de esta Carrera de la Nueva España, ò à los que les subcedan en el cargo para que las guarden, cumplan, y executen, hagan cumplir, y guardar à todos los oficiales, pasageros, Gente de Mar y Guerra en el discurso del Viage en ida, estada y buelta son sus Capítulos en la forma siguiente:

1. Siendo tan de la obligacion del General el atender acuda cada uno à la suya debiendo tener las de Cristiano el primer lugar corrija con seberidad à quien à ellas faltase para que asi mediante el Castigo se destierre el mal exemplo.

2. Debiendo el General asistir como esta mandado à las listas que en Cavite se forman de la Gente de mar parece no tendra escusa si toda no fuese efectiva, y de servicio mayormente quando es a su arbitrio el escoger entre lo mas florido de la Rivera: Punto sobre que se hace especial encargo à este Gobierno por la ley cinquenta y una, Titulo quarenta y cinco libro nono de la Recopilacion de Indias: Procure llenar la confianza, y tendra ese cargo menos en su residencia.

3. Aunque por este Gobierno se hallan libradas las providencias que son notorias à fin de que los Galeones de esta Carrera se arreglen precisamente al permiso señalado por S.M. sin exeder en la carga con todo hà parecido repetir òtras al mismo asunto, y entre estas la de que echose cargo el General del Galeon (negado se puedan introducir fardos à bordo sin su inteligencia) desde àquel instante seran à su cargo quales quien exesos que se noten à advertido que de contravenir se le harà pagar todo el Valor del fraude à veriguado sin las demas penas que se crean, equivaler à su inobediencia.

4. Siempre que los Navios sean dos se guarde la concerba por necesaria à que mutuamente se socorran en qualquier riesgo, y supuesta la subordinacion del Almirante à

su General observará aquel las órdenes que este le diere segun que en la ocasion de variar rumbo, ú, otros accidentes le busque advertido, y dadose el consistir en distintas señales sobre quales ayan de ser se deja al arbitrio del General quien tendra presente quanto combiene para no estraviarse de noche el farol ensendido, y asi no olvide su practica ni altere el uso en el dintintivo de las banderas advertido de que la suya quadra debe colocarse en el tope del palo mayor y la de la Almiranta esquinada en el del Trinquete.

5. Hechoso cargo del Galeon, y ya proximo à desplegar las Velas sera el primer cuydado el pasar la lista à toda su gente executando lo proprio en Ticao ó San Jacinto y no permita en ambas ocasiones se disimule persona à bordo que no tenga los Despachos necesarios sin cuya circunstancia hará precisamente echar en tierra al que le falten fuera de aquel, ó aquellos que se presuman sospechosos pues à estos tales formandoles sumaria los ha de remitir à buen recaudo à esta Ciudad, y si en esto huviere dificultad se pueden entregar con los autos al Alcalde mayor de la Provincia de Albay [ò] otro Ministro de Justicia cobrando recivo para su constancia: Pero si à la mar afuera se remanesiese alguno de los ultimos en llegando al Puerto de Acapulco le depositará en el Castillo de San Diego hasta su retorno, en que cierto de algun delito, ó dependiencia en estas Islas bajo la misma custodia le bolvera à traer lo que cumplirá segun y como và expresado pena de quinientos pesos aplicados al reparo de las Reales obras de esta plaza, y en la misma incurrán los demas individuos de la Nao si en qualquier manera cooperasen à su ôcultacion.

6. En el proprio dia de hacerse à la Vela ó al inmediato à de comensar la racion pero siempre con reserva de la tercera parte de los bastimentos por el prudente recelo de que puedan faltar pero superado el peligro hará que el Maestre reintegre à todos las retenciones cuiu practica se observe asi mismo à la buelta de que pondrá constancia el escrivano de la Nao para que en la sindicacion à que General y Maestre estan sugetos seles haga cargo de no cumplirlo asi.

7. Aunque las leyes están clamando por el castigo de los delitos como quiera que en los criminales que se puedan ofrecer à bordo el General por falta de practica cometerá tal vez en su conocimiento algun exeso yà àdelantando la pena ó minorandola que corresponda al crimen: Para escusar estos inconvenientes, y otros mas graves que puedan resultar se le previene que en las causas criminales que se ofrecen à bordo hecha la sumaria, y asegurados los reos la remitira al fuero donde toque exeptuandose los casos de rebellion ó otros de su igualdad en que para el remedio se necesita la inmediata aplicacion de la pena: Que entonces obrará como pidiere el caso, y como quien tiene la cosa presente advertido de que los delitos que se cometieren à bordo, y de que previniere conocimiento durante el Viage de Cavite à Acapulco no los ha de remitir à la Ciudad de Mexico disponiendo que los reos se queden siempre à bordo con buena Guardia trayendolos à esta Ciudad en su torna Viage para que aqui se conosca de sus Causas.

8. Ciñiendose al contexto de la ley ciento y diez y ocho, Titulo quince, Libro nono de la Recopilacion de Indias qualesquier materias que ocurrieren de Guerra ó Navegacion las hará confêrir y resolver en junta aunque no le parecan de la mayor entidad ni arvitre en alguna sin este resguardo, y supuesta la presicion de tomar Puerto ó ensena-

da en el Embocadero donde asegurarse por defecto de Viento favorable para proseguir à la eleccion del mas apropiado concurren con su dictamen ofiziales, Pilotos, y practicos siguiendo [a-]cuerdo (despues que los oyga) el de la mayor parte, y si por algunas causas justas (son palabras de la misma Ley) que podrían ignorar los demas le pareciese executar otra cosa se ha de cumplir lo que el General ordenase pero que de constancia juridica por ante el Escribano del Galeon de el Voto de cada uno fundamentos que aya tenido, y firma de todos.

9. Al zafar del Puerto cumpliendo con la ley se sigue el que vaya prevenido de Guerra poniendo en orden la Artilleria, armas, y Gente de calidad que sin la menor confusion en caso de combate acuda cada uno al puesto señalado, y concurriendo à que se defienda mejor el desembarazo del Vagel ponga à su logro los medios competentes muy de antemano, y procure se navegue con el cuydado, y cautela necesaria pues no se encierran todos los riesgos en el Golfo.

10. Si al tiempo que desemboque encontrase razon de Baxeles que le aguarden pareciendo mas propio à este intento el Cavo de Engaño en este caso procuren navegar por el día con poca Vela, para que al resguardo de la Isla de Catanduanes frustre sus intentos: Pero à la noche no omita recrecer el Camino perdido proporcion que ha de guardar los quatro ô cinco primeros dias: Si no es que premeditado incierto el aviso siga la comensada derrota sin demorar su curso, y si en el discurso del Viage por accidente se encontrase con enemigos debiendo suponerle prevenido: sea su defenza de modo que el honor de las Armas y la nacion queden gloriosos, y corregido el contrario tenga en menos el perder la vida en defensa de su honra, y cargo que acaba de jurar que el concenterbarla con vituperio de las gentes que es lo que consiguiera faltando à su obligacion: pero como no sea el fin principal à que se embia el de pelear escuse siempre que pueda el reencuentro à fuerza de Vela segun que allase combenir advertido de que en nada opine sin junta de ofiziales dejando à su arbitrio el combocar solo aquellos que deban por sus oficios ser inteligentes en las materias que se huviesen de tratar.

11. Los Justos que se ocasionan de un Incendio à Bordo de un Baxel no ày como se exageren bastantemente motivo porque no en vano las leyes Reales se exfuerzan tanto en cautelarle especialmente en la ciento treinta y tres, Titulo quince Libro nono de la Recopilacion de Indias donde se encarga sea extraordinario el cuydado de los fogones, y el apagarlos antes de ponerse el sol: Que en las Camaras ni bajo cubiertas se permitian luzes à no ser el farol ô linterna, que dado el nombre se concenterben solo en la Vitacora, y Vandera, y esas con postef:] que en la sercania de los fogones se tengan à prebencion tinas de agua, y lampasos:] que en los pañoles de Polvora no entre luz sin grave necesidad fiada en linterna à persona de confianza. Condenase el fumar tabacos en otra parte que en el sitio acostumbrado sin las mas expresiones que contiene; en cuya inteligencia cumpla el General con su tenor bajo las penas de la misma ley, y otras al arbitrio de este Gobierno.

12. Por las leyes quince, y diez y seis, Titulo primero Libro sexto de la Recopilacion de estos Reynos prohíbe Su Magestad el que los Indios de estas Islas se embarquen para Europa, y el pasar à España por los motivos que alli se expresan, y hallandose manda-

do el que se guarden por dos Reales Cédulas posteriores se le ordena al General cele sobre su cumplimiento, y para que inclua Testimonio de el Vando publicado que contiene la citada prohibicion.

13. Si antes ò despues de montadas Marianas se hallase en el estrecho de no poder proseguir suponiendo el que no ha de arribar sino en el ultimo lance de escasearle los bastimentos, ò otros de igual atension procure mantenerse à la capa ò con bordos resistir el mal tiempo mientras le llega el favorable. Pero si por alguna de las razones expresadas deliverase la arribada sería menor la quiebra de este comercio esforzandose à que sea à estas Islas, y no à Puerto distante a cuyo fin hará quanta diligencia sea posible, y sin nada bastante sin las previas diligencias que justifiquen la causa, y el todo se resuelva en junta de Ofiziales.

14. En distintas leyes de la Recopilacion de estos Reynos se halla prohibido el desperdicio de la Polvora, y segun parece en la ciento y trece, Titulo quince Libro nono se destina solo para defenza de los Baxeles, y no para inutiles saluas que acostumbran los Generales por lo que se encarga la moderacion de tales exesos á fin de que no llegue à escacear, y es cargo que sujeta la misma Ley à la residencia en la quarenta y ocho, Titulo Veinte y dos Libro nono se condena las saluas de unos, a otros sin distincion de personas, y solo se permiten las debidas à las plazas, en cuyos Puertos se diese fondo entendiendose con tres piezas à la entrada, y dos à la salida[;] en la ciento treinta y tres Titulo quince Libro nono se halla regulada la correspondiente à los exercicios de la infanteria, y dadose que la lleven estos Navios hará el General tenga efecto su practica en los días de fiesta, y calma que se creen mas propios al intento: Advertido ha de pagar de su dinero toda la que en otra forma mandase expender: Providencie de que se tomara razon en las partes que deba constar para su cumplimiento.

15. Aunque la prohibicion de los Juegos se halla siempre en su fuerza, y vigor no por eso se ignora el, porque de la tolerancia origen de la ruyna de muchos que se han quedado sin caudal siendo lo peor el que tal vez lo padece el que llevan en confianza y en esta atencion he tenido por bien condenar como de nuevo condeno quantos no sean de puro entretenimiento como el del renegado caxcara, y otras; Pero el de dados, y Albures ocasionados no se disimulen por sser conforme à lo que S.M. tiene mandado por su Real Cedula dada en Buen Retiro à treinta de Diziembre de mil seiscientos sesenta y nueve à que el General no falte advertidole es cargo de residencia.

16. En caso de que falten General ò Almirante hora sea en la hida, estada, ò buelta el Sargento maior del Navio en que aconteciere hará juntar los ofiziales, y demas Gente de Mar, y abriendo en presencia de todos el pliego de futuras que se lleva à pretencion al primero en orden que señale reconoceràn por subcesor en el cargo, y en defecto de este al segundo, y asi en los demas hasta el postrero: facultad que es privativa de este Gobierno sin intervencion de otro: estendiendose la del señor Virrey à solo el despacho de los Titulos por los que en la ocasion deveran acudir à su Excelencia los interesados, como todo consta de Reales Cédulas que asi lo previenen cuyas Copias van al final para que se entienda asi y aunque en Virtud de la Ley quarenta y tres Titulo quarenta y cinco Libro nono de la Recopilacion de Indias se podrían igualmente despachar futuras para

los demas empleos, ha parecido (mediante la no practica de hasta aqui) el dejar la eleccion de sugetos al arbitrio del General, de quien se espera sabrà como es razon distinguir à los mas venemeritos, y para que todos se hallen en esta inteligencia lo harà publicar por Vando al tiempo de comenzar el Viage.

17. En la mas, ò menos altura consiste tal vez la felicidad del transito, pero ofreciendose tan varios los accidentes del tiempo es fuerza se ignore qual le estè mejor, y asi dexa que segun arte obre los Pilotos à quienes de paso se trae à la materia que de haverla recrecido demasiado en ocasiones han resultado gravisimas penosas enfermedades de suerte que por hallarse toda la mas gente agraviada del sumo padecer apenas se encontrava alguna para el travajo, y aunque se supero el fin el peligro tubo mucha parte de milagro, y no siempre hemos de aguardar su repeticion porque la demasiada confianza nunca fue cuerda la que importa es ayudarse para llegar al puerto.

18. Hallandose la Isla de Cedros despoblada segun noticias, huiga de reconoserla, y procure darle como à los demas cavos los resguardos competentes para que si huviese quien le aguarde, no le descubran desbiandose asi mismo de los bajos, y restingas en que puede sosobrar descuydado.

19. Al regosijo de haverse avistado señas es consiguiente la inventiva de algunos fuegos con que en tales ocasiones se suele celebrar el Viage vencido, no pues la permission se estienda à lo indecente aya en todos cordura, y sea de modo que en el principio su medio, y fin no se tranpase por alguno la raya de la modestia.

20. Como mientras dure en la mar sea cada dia su peligro inminente puede acontecer (aun quando libre mejor) llegue con tal quebranto à vista de tierra que de seguir, y no coger Puerto se empeoren las concequencias, y para este caso debe estar advertido de que en altura de veinte y cinco grados en las costas de California se halla una Bahía nombrada la Magdalena à donde el gran gente la instase se puede guareser[.] oyga sus señas à la banda de norueste ày una cordillera, y antes de llegar à la boca como cosa de una legua se enpina un Cerro redondo que hallandose de la parte del sueste de el, y de la boca del Puerto es su figura de bolcan registrandose luego dos farallones à la entrada arrimados asi à la tierra de norueste los que se avistan à quatro leguas de distancia y de la punta que hace del sueste hecha una restinga de tierra gruesa, y pelada en la que desde legos revienta el mar, y de la parte de la Voca para dentro hacia la del Norueste esta el surgidero para todos Vientos.

21. En la inmediacion a las costas de Nueva España pondra el pliego en tierra segun el tiempo le diese lugar participandole al Señor Virrey asi de su llegada el parage en que se halle como del estado de estas Islas, y de haver dado fondo instando antes, y despues quantas vezes le escriba sobre su mas breve Despacho, pues no ignora quanto puede consistir la felicidad del retorno, en que se adelante la salida expuesta de lo contrario Nao, y Caudales à mayores molestias, detencion, y peligros.

22. Como de la novedad de ir el Galeon arreglado se puedan (por que no sea à gusto de todos) sucitar en Acapulco otras en perjuicio de este Comercio alto(?) mar(?) cuerpo(?) alguna, el General, y commisarios haràn (ganando los instantes) despacho al Señor Virrey rogandole el que ajustado à la mente de Su Magestad no de lugar a la

ruina de sus Vasallos, y que el Apoderado de esta N.E. en la de Mexico haga por su parte todos los posibles exfuerzos à fin de que no se altere la costumbre recibida por Ley. Y quando lo dicho no tuviese efecto para desviar el golpe dejen escrito al de Madrid dandole razon integra por testimonio de el acaesido fracaso para que (como que se halle en la fuente) clame por la enmienda, y correccion del motor.

23. Suponiendo le duelan como proprias las violencias que gima la gente de su cargo es de discurrir saque sin desmayar à su defensa la cara pues no de otra suerte habra cumplido siendole de alguno el agravio notorio conste su interposicion, y de no ser suficiente no por eso desista de la instancia ocurra à su Excelencia à quien por la Ley sesenta y una Titulo quarenta y cinco Libro nuebe de la Recopilacion de Indias esta cometida la averiguacion de semejantes exesos, y el castigo de los culpados.

24. Por Real Zedula cuja copia va incerta al fin de estas instrucciones concede su Magestad à los Generales y Almirantes de esta Carrera el conocimiento privativo de todas las discenciones, ò exesos en que puedan delinquir los ofiziales[,] Marineros, y demas gente de la Nao sin intervencion de otra persona, y porque se hà llegado a entender contravenirse en ocasiones à esta ordenanza se creè tambien pueda dimanar de la misma gente de Tripulacion que acuden con indiferencia al Castellano en sus pleytos, y discordias ignorantes del fuero que gozan, y en este caval juicio harà el General que antes de llegar al Puerto se publique Vando con incersion de esta ordenanza en que deniegue à todos sus ofiziales[,] Pasajeros, y gente de plaza semejantes recursos por serle Reservados como vò dicho por la referida Real Cedula: apercividos unos, y otros que de executar lo contrario quedan por el mismo echo privados por quatro años de obtener plaza en los Navios de la Carrera, y que no obstante la sumaria que les haga el Galeon por el delito de la transgresion siempre que pareciese convenir seles abra el juicio de nuevo, aplicandoles la pena, ò penas correspondientes: pero si acontesiese que algun Pasajero, ò otra persona de las concurrentes al Puerto se presentare ante el Castellano contra algun ofizial u otro de plaza como quiera, que conforme à derecho deva seguir el actor el fuero de el reo llegado el caso le haga el General al Castellano los requirimientos debidos despachandole recaudo competente para la remesion de reo, y autos: punto sobre, que arreglado à los terminos del derecho y al privilegio de la Real Zedula citada, y leyes del fuero de la Guerra executarà quantas diligencias creyese conducir: pero atendiendo à que se abren competencias de jurisdiccion por su naturaleza odiosas, y otros inconvenientes que puedan resultar de igual empeño sera bien controvertir antes el punto amistosamente con el Castellano, y en caso de no convenirse (cesando en el entre tanto las disputas) ocurra al señor Virrey pidiendole ser amparado en las regalias del cargo sin tolerar sele disminuyan ni alteren respecto à que la Real Zedula de concesion se halla obedecida, y mandado cumplir su tenor por el Exmo. Sor. Duque de Alburquerque, el año pasado de mil setecientos cinquenta y quatro, y de no surtir el efecto deseado disimule, y traiga constancia de la denegacion para que por este Gobierno sele de quenta à su Magestad.

25. Entre Varias especies sugeridas por los Generales de la Carrera, y que en parte dieron materia à la ordenacion de estas Instrucciones fue una la de el modo que havia

en el repartir la racion à la gente de mar, y creiendole Vistado por no conforme à Reales disposiciones, hà parecido el mandar asistan los Maestres à ella en cumplimiento de su cargo los dias señalados, celando perciva cada uno integra la porcion, que estuviere en costumbre segun peso, y medida, y no en otra fôrma, à cuyo efecto sele escrivio por este Gobierno al Exmo. Sor. Virrey, quien en carta de Veinte y cinco de Marzo de mil setecientos treinta y uno avisa hallarse con orden de Ofiziales Reales de no resistirlo, no obstante la contraria practica, y en esta inteligencia asi se execute y aunque una vez, u otra durante la mancion en aquel Puerto hallase no ser los Viveres que se repartan de condicion de dar, y recibir crea lo accidente y no malicia pero de repetirse muchas haga las reconvençiones que tuviere por bien à quien fuese à cargo, y no descubrir la enmienda le dara quenta al señor Virrey, y supuesta la percepcion del tanto monta al retorno las de carne, Viscocho, Miniestra, Azeyte, Vinagre, y demas debido sea de el mismo modo cabal su distribucion enterado se han de introducir en esos Reales Almazenes todas las sobras, como efectos de su Magestad, combiniendo à sus descargos el que tenga un libro manual à donde asiente diariamente quanto vaia expendiendo en el discurso del Viage segun fuesen las Datas con tal claridad, que quando se pase al cotejo de lo recivido, y gastado no se encontre con algun ierro exesivo por que sera sin duda à pagar de su dinero.

*26. De executarse en Acapulco la paga à la gente de mar son graves los inconvenientes, que resultan; el primero el de que los mas se buelvan à sus Casas sin un real, y llenos de trampas porque todo lo consume el fuego sin que basten sus prohibiciones à contener el desorden à que se agrega para que el mal se empeore el que muchos entregados al despacho se ausentan de su Casa, y familia al coger la primera tierra que dandose à vezes el Galeon de S.M. sin la Marineria competente à su manejo como acontecio el año pasado de mil setecientos, y treinta à la Nao **Sacra Familia**, que fuè menester reforzar por esta razon con treinta hombres de la Provincia de Albay con nuebos costos de la Real Hacienda, y deseando ocurrir al daño no hay otro medio que el de suspender la paga hasta que por entero se concluga el Viage condenando al que no le acavase à que pierda la accion al sueldo vencido que se aplica à beneficio de las obras reales, y solo esta practica se altera el año que por necesidad se imbernase fuera que en este caso deberà socorrerlos bien que con lo preciso, y no mas que se deja sin limitacion à su arbitrio de cuya providencia enterado hara se practique asi, y que el Maestre lo entienda tambien para la retencion de caudales hasta llegar à Cavite tomandose razon en donde toque para su constancia.*

27. Con el pretexto de ser deudores à distintas personas son varios los descuentos que se hazen en la propartida à la gente de Mar sin otra solemnidad de juicio que el derecho del actor ni obsta la duda que ofrece el credito para que el defalque no corra en una papelera simple que Ofiziales Reales de Acapulco le entregan al Maestre quasi al mismo tiempo de levar el Ancla, y en el que estrechandosele negocios de mas consideracion se quedan los de menos sin registro por ser imposible el atender à todo, y de aqui es el resultar Abordo al de la paga de los pleytos, y discordias que se advierten cuias contiendas no terminandose alli se buelven à subcitar de nuevo al arrivo del Ga-

leon à estas Islas llenandole de embarazo à este Gobierno punto que por tocado en autos el año antecedente pide que el remedio no se difiera, y parece le podría tener si el general cumpliese mejor con su obligacion anticipando (como se le ordena lo haga) la acostumbrada concurrencia con el Castellano, y Ofiziales Reales à cuyo efecto los hará combocar días antes de hacerse à la Vela por quanto las cosas de prisa nunca se ordenan bien, y en dicha concurrencia se oiga à todos considerandose solo por de efectiva paga las deudas contestadas por confesion de parte papel de Abono, u otras justificaciones de igual valor quedandose el General con un apunte de las partidas apreciables el que entregará al Maestre para que al recivo de caudales no repugne su admision pero de introducirse otros desquentos los pretexte, y trayga constancia para los efectos que aya lugar pues aunque la desicion de iguales contiendas sea privativa suya por beneficio de la Real Cedula citada en el Capitulo Veinte y quatro de estas instrucciones como quiera que el animo no se estiende à mas que el escusar agravio de tercero à segundo el fin por lo que hace à este Gobierno no se estrañará el modo dejandole al General su derecho à salvo para pedir lo que le convenga.

28. Atendiendo à que las reclutas que annualmente se embian sean de mejor calidad, que en lo pasado se le ordena al General las inspecciones al tiempo de su entrega, y no se haga cargo de aquellos soldados, que desde luego no puedan entrar à la fatiga del servicio, pues como quiera que sea menor el numero que aora se pide à correspondencia del que antes venia à lugar la solicitud de que sean buenos, y el no contentarse con los que le quieran dar y sean todos sidable fuese de competente edad robusta, y buena presencia, Y respecto à que la ley quince Titulo quatro Libro tres de la Recopilacion de Indias prohíbe el poderse alistar en plaza de soldado para estas Islas mulato alguno, ò Mestizo del Reyno de Mexico creido no menos perjudicial, seles facilite à los Indios, y mestizos naturales de ellas: deverà el General luego que llegue escribir al señor Virrey à fin de que le ordene à los Capitanes que huviesen de intervenir en la leva, no recivian gente alguna de la expresada calidad, pues de executar otra cosa se expondràn en la entrega à que se les haga cargo, y à pagar de su caudal quantos gastos se ocasionaren à la Real Hacienda entendiendose la misma expulsion de los que constase ser Casados que resiste la Ley instando igualmente sobre que las reclutas vengan con Armas, pues ademas de lo defícil que se ofrece el encontrar algunas en esta distancia se ordena su practica asi en la Ley Veinte y siete Titulo quarenta y cinco Libro nuebe de la Recopilacion de estos Reynos.

29. En las ocasiones que se embiase algun refuerzo de Marineros que en lo regular será quando de aqui se pidieren por necesarios al servicio de esta Rivera ponga expecial cuidado lo sean en la realidad, y no solo en el nombre, y si dable fuese todos europeos por lo que antes que de ellos se encargue [rather embarquen?] hará sean examinados por el contra Maestre u otro segun su profesion dandole quenta al señor Virrey si algunos reprobasen [sic = reprobasen?] del numero que venga para que advertido de el descuido con que se procede en las reclutas sea otro el cuydado en adelante respecto à que mal se pueden tripular los Galeones de esta Carrera con gente de servi-

cio como quiere la ley quando la que regularmente viene (à Reserva de tal qual) no puede ser peor teniendo un mismo costo à S.M. el malo que el bueno.

30. Con la gente Presidiaria si alguna trae sera ociosa la persuacion sobre el cuidado que con ella debera tener quando el mismo peligro à que viene expuesto le abrirà los ojos esto supuesto sele amonesta de paso espere siempre lo peor de su condicion, y asi no les permita secretas juntas por sospechosas, ni el que hà raiz de su miseria decline hacia lo compasivo su entereza use antes de el rigor que de la suavidad por mas propio medio à contecerlos no sea que porque asi no lo haga se halle quando arepentido burlado en grave detrimento de estas Islas, avisos que le pueden importar en la precision de traer algunos pero vaia en el entender de que sobre este punto sele ha consultado à S.M. y escrito al señor Virrey ponderandole los ciertos gravisimos daños que à toda esta tierra se siguen de la introduccion de gente tan viciosa, en cuya inteligencia luego que el General llegue al Puerto de Acapulco repetira las mismas instancias à su Excelencia rogandole el que por manera alguna condescienda à tales embios haga le participe muy por menor de los riesgos à que le condena sin el particular del Galeon de S.M. y no omita referirle el deplorable estado de estas Islas, despues que se abrio la Puerta à hombres tan perversos. Harà tambien que los Comisarios de este Comercio escriban à su Apoderado instandole à que por parte de esta N.E. haga presente à su Excelencia y Real Sala del Crimen quando desdice el inficionar un Pais con los mal echores que se expurgan de otro siendo ambos de un proprio dueño, y por ultimo haga el General por su parte todas las protextas que hallare conformes resistiendo constante semejante encargo, y de no tener efecto su instancia à lo menos pida la racion competente al numero que traiga sin que en esto llegue à dispensar por los riesgos à que de lo contrario se expone: punto ya tocado à su Excelencia en Carta que se le escribió el año pasado, y siendo los que se tratan en este Capitulo de la mayor gravedad conferira sobre ellos con sus oficiales.

31. Por la Certidumbre que tiene este Gobierno de que al arribo del Galeon al Puerto de Acapulco luego el Castellano, y Oficiales Reales se Apoderan del Bote, y Barca pretextando el escusarlas introducciones de plata en el Galeon, y otros motivos: Como quiera, que estos no sean suficientes si se comparasen con los riesgos à que la Nao queda expuesta sin el uso de estos Vasos como el de un Incendio[,] sublevacion, y otros accidentes, resistira el General precisamente su entrega por abuso, que ademas de ser repugnante à la razon se ignora su practica en otro algun Puerto de los de la Corona, y de insistir Oficiales Reales les haga las pretextas, que deva, como à su Excelencia las expresiones mas conformes, y arregladas à este Capitulo.

32. Los repetidos clamores de la gente de mar sobre el exeso en los derechos Parrochiales de los curas de Acapulco ha dado motivo à que por este Gobierno se tomase la mano solicitando del Señor Virrey el que mediante su interposicion quedasen arreglados à los Aranzeles y Leyes Reales sin la notada percepcion de hasta aqui beneficio de que gustaria tanto miserable que con el mayor afan, y trabajo busca el sustento, y habiendo condescendido su Excelencia en carta de Veinte y cinco de Marzo de mil setecientos y treinta y uno, avisa quedar efectuado en la forma pedida, y de que hecho cargo

el General se estará à la mira para los recursos que convengan en caso de contravención.

33. Sele encarga la puntual observancia del Vando publicado en dos de Mayo de mil setecientos y treinta sobre contener el tolerado desorden en el embarco de Caudales pertenecientes à Vecinos del Reyno de Mexico tantas vezes prohibido por S.M. en la inteligencia de que nada disimularà este Gobierno que se oponga à su cumplimiento[;] antes bien se procedera por todo rigor de derecho contra los que en qualquiera manera viniesen ò le interpreten; Y porque algunos individuos de este Comercio, ú otros por su particular interes podran con exeder en el embarque de la plata fuera de registro teniendo el General presente la gran importancia de este negocio, y quanto convenga el atajar tan perniciosas livertades sera de su cuydado velar sobre esto como sino llevase otro à su cargo practicando para su remedio los órdenes, y secretas disposiciones que a su tiempo sele conferiran por este Gobierno.

34. Embarcada la Gente de plata [rather Mar] segun lista no ha de permitir el que por manera alguna buelvan à tierra pasado el acto, enterado ha de dar razon de la numerada por el Reistro de Oficiales Reales, y porque algunas Vezes segun noticia, se hân practicado varias inteligencias en perjuicio de la Real Hacienda para ajustarse à este Capitulo, observará muy por menor la vista, y Reistro, y siempre que por deslumbrarle se intenten atropellar haga à quien lo motive las protextas necesarias pidiendo testimonino de todo, y bolviendo à pasar muestra por ante de Escrivano, y Ofiziales del Galeon formará nuevas listas dando parte al Señor Virrey de la diferencia que encuentre.

35. Por Real Cedula cuya copia vâ incerta al fin de estas instrucciones consta fue S.M. servido de aprovar la condicion diez y ocho de este comercio, convenida entre otras con el Exmo. Señor Conde de Paredes el año de mil seiscientos y ochenta y seis, sobre el indulto de las Naos de esta Carrera, y se reduce, à que el Juez de intestados de esta Ciudad, y no otro aia de conocer en todos los bienes de quantos en el discurso de el Viage en ida, estada, y buelta muriesen abintestato, y que en el interin el Cao del Galeon ponga cobro en toda la Hacienda que este à cargo del difunto, no constandole de segundas consignaciones y para que tenga efecto siempre que llegue el caso de contravenire, hará todas las pretextas, y recursos, que halle convenir, y de quanto en esta razon execute, traera constancia que baste para que por este Gobierno se le dè quenta à su Magestad.

36. A pedimento de parte, y por creerse conveniente se ha condecendido en que para la asistencia de los enfermos, que pueda haver se destinen dos hombres de plaza, al arbitrio del General, y que estos durante esta piadosa ocupacion esten exemptos del trabajo personal à que son oligados, pero siempre que la causa cese acudan como todos à su obligacion: De lo que advertido el General, hará se lleve à puro, y debido efecto.

37. A fin de estas instrucciones se hallará la Nobilissima Real Cedula que contiene el reglamento del Comercio de estas Islas con el Reyno de Mexico segun que oy se practica. Y porque las condiciones quince, veinte y ocho, treinta, y treinta y seis, pueden con-

ducir à su mejor exito, y duracion, harà el General que los comprehendidos se impongan en su contenido para que en ningun tiempo aleguen ignorancia.

38. *Consistiendo toda la felicidad de la buelta (por lo regular) en que no le coja día de Abril en el Puerto de Acapulco ponga de su parte todos los medios al efecto, dexando lo demas à Dios, como à primer causa, y cuyde huir el peligro de los bajos é Islas que señalen las Cartyas dejandole su uso libre à los Pilotos, y quando descubriese Marianas procure sea el Puerto en que se de fondo el ia [sic = ya] cursado sin que altere pues aunque libre bien sele harà cargo por haverse expuesto, y supuesto el que el parage es sospechoso, la guardia en el tope sea indispensable.*

39. *Harà, que el Maestre se haga cargo de todos los generos, y pertrechos que en qualquiera manera sele entreguen por situado de las Islas Marianas que pondrà de paso con toda quenta y razon en poder de la persona à quien vengam dirigidos, y si el Governador le pidiese alguna infanteria[,] bastimentos, u otras cosas de que caresca le abastecerà de lo que pudiere de calidad que no le haga falta, pues no tendrà en la mar quien lo socorra si se hallase apurado, debiendo cobrar recivo de quien execute en esta razon, y no demore el tiempo de la aguada contemple el peligro à que se expose sorprendido de los Vendabales: descuydo para que no abra solucion.*

40. *Asi mismo ha de intervenir como es obligado en que el contra Maestre, y otros no Vendan à mas precio del justo valor los generos comestibles que estan en costumbre, y permitido su trafico, ni de lugar à que por su tolerancia se arruine, y destruya la pobre gente que no tiene mas Taberna, ni Tienda, à donde acudir, y como quiera que este sea punto de consiencia deberà para desempeñarle pedir le dè cada uno en particular razon integra de los generos que trujese, que vibandear,¹ y con esto, y poner à cada cosa los precios con moderacion abrà cumplido, pero nada abriamos echo sin Aranceles, y el precepto, y vigor de su observancia.*

41. *Conduce à que no estraño la novedad se halle con la noticia de haver en Marianas orden para ensender fuego en la parte mas eminente de aquellas Islas à fin de que à la buelta no se propase sin tocar en ellas cuya Señal sera efectiva desde las diez de la noche hasta el amanecer quando fuese tiempo de aguardarle lo que entenderà asi, y suponiendo no ignore estar prohibido el sacar gente alguna de aquellas Islas sin Lizencia de su Gobierno se le encarga lo execute asi: punto que se sujeta por lo que hace a la pena de la contravencion al Capitulo doze de estas instrucciones que trata de los fugitivos de estas Islas.*

42. *Al salir de Marianas seguirá su derrota en demanda del Cavo del Espiritu Santo hasta reconocerle, y supuesto que en Catanduanes, Viri, Bulusan, Borongan, y Batan ay sentinelas que le aguarden estará el Camino seguro de enemigos quando se ensendiese de noche un fuego, y apagado este dos: señal que observada podrá seguir sin recelo, pero si los fuegos fuesen de noche quatro, ò mas, y los mismas humadas de día enterado de ser la contraria haga por tomar razon de la sentinela mas cercana para que advertido de los motivos delivere con acuerdo de sus oficiales el como, y à donde se ase-*

1 Ed. note: Rather “vivandear”, an old word meaning “vender.”

guren mas bien Caudales y Galeon, y si el Puerto que se aya de tomar fuese en tierra firme de esta Ciudad, y por su situacion propio para que sin que obste el enemigo se puedan transportar la plata, y demas efectos al instante proceda à su desembarque, y al mismo tiempo de algunos Cañones que harà colocar en parte Ventajosa tal que asegure su resistencia y ofènza del contrario dandole à este Gobierno los mas frequentes avisos de su estado para que las providencias que de el penden no se retarden, y si nada de lo dicho acaesiese no hay hasta Cavite detencion dadose que el tiempo lo permita pero si le hallase contrario no temerario se arreste à contratarle tome Puerto, y si una vez tomado no pudiere salir, ò ia en la mar por nuevos accidentes se hallase en la presicion de bolverle à tomar hagalo asi, y de quenta al instante pero si en el entretanto que aguarda razon los Pilotos se inclinassen à proseguir porque el tiempo lo permita no lo deje perder prosiga sin detencion aunque por lo delicado que se ofrecen los puntos de que se trata en este Capitulo sele òrdena à nada se resuelva sin constancia juridica de el porque, Y consulta de sus oficiales segun se previene arriba, y no aia descuido en despachar el pliego antes si sea su remision puntual en la forma acostumbrada.

43. La residencia que el General y sus oficiales han de dar vencido el Viage està cometida por reales disposiciones à los Señores Presidente y Oidores de la Real Audiencia de estas Islas, y el hallarse asi en practica conviene no lo ignoren para que en ningun tiempo puedan alegar exepcion de fuero.

[Nota]

*Cuyo literal contexto de los quarenta y tres Capítulos antecedentes es copia de los que contienen las instrucciones originales formadas el año de setecientos treinta y dos por el M. Y. Sor. Mariscal de Campo Don Fernando Valdes Tamon Presidente Governador y Capitan General que fue de estas Islas para el Gobierno, y regimen de los Generales y Almirantes de la Carrera, de las quales haviendose dado quenta à su Magestad se sirvio aprovar y mandar se cuyde de su puntual observancia, y haviendo sido nombrado por General del Patache **Nuestra Señora de Cobadonga** Don Luis Manzo de Velasco, y salido por Julio del año inmediata pasado de setecientos quarenta y dos para el Reyno de la Nueva España sele entregaron las referidas Instrucciones impresas en un quaderno de que dejò recivo, y se halla en la Secretaria de mi cargo à que en todo me remito.*

*Manila, y Diziembre siete de mil setecientos quarenta, y tres años.
Don Blas Joseph Castrillon de Casariego.*

Translation.

Instructions to the Generals of the Galleons of this Run of New Spain, or to those who might succeed them in the post, for their observance, compliance, and execution, and for compliance and observance by all of their officers, passengers, seamen and soldiers during the course of the forward voyage thither, stay there, and return voyage, divided into chapters, as follows:

1. Given that the first duty of a General is to make sure that everyone does his duties, and those of a Christian being foremost, he is to correct with severity anyone who might fail in them, so that through punishment such bad example may be uprooted.

2. Given that the General, in accordance with his orders, must pay attention to the lists of seamen that are made at Cavite, it seems that he will not have any excuse if they should not be real seamen, able to serve as such, specially when it is in his power to select from among the best sailors available on that shore. This is a point about which this Government insists, by applying Law 51, Title 45, Book 9 of the Revised Code of the Indies. The General should fulfil this commitment, to avoid it becoming an issue at the time of his audit.

3. Although this Government has already published some measures that are well known, in order to make sure that the Galleons of this Run are managed precisely in accordance with the permission stipulated by H.M. without exceeding the load, nevertheless it seems advisable to repeat others about this subject matter, and among them, the one about the General of the Galleon saying that, from the moment that he takes over command he will be responsible for any excesses that are noticed (the excuse that cargo could be loaded without his knowledge will not be admitted), and he is warned that any such excesses will result in his having to pay the full value of the fraud committed, in addition to the fines that may be levied, in line with his disobedience.

4. Whenever there are two ships, they are to stay in company in order to give each other mutual assistance in any danger, and, with the understanding that the Admiral is subordinated to the General, the former is to obey the orders that the latter might give him, for instance, when it is time to change course, or for some other maneuvers, for which there should be distinct signals, the use of which is left to the discretion of the General, who should nevertheless keep in mind that a light should burn at night, to prevent separation. Thus, this practice is not to be forgotten nor the use of it altered, and the same for the flags: the General's square flag is to be shown at the top of the mainmast, while the triangular flag of the Admiral is to be shown at the top of the foremast.

5. Upon taking over command of the galleon, when the sails are about to be unfurled, his first concern is to pass a muster of all his men, and he is to do the same at Ticao or San Jacinto. On both occasions, he must not allow anyone to hide on board, unless it be with the necessary despatches, failing which he is to send ashore anyone without papers, even those who are suspicious; indeed, such men are to be charged and sent under guard to this City; should there be any difficulty in doing this, they may be turned over with the records of proceedings to the Mayor of the Province of Albay [or] another Minister of Justice, asking for a receipt, for the records. However, if there should be still some discovered in the high seas, they are to be placed in Fort San Diego upon arrival at Acapulco, until the return voyage. Then, since they will have committed a crime and be awaiting trial in these Islands, they are to be brought back under guard, at the responsibility of the General, under penalty of 500 pesos to be applied to the Royal works of this garrison, and the same penalty will apply to any individual aboard the galleon who might have cooperated in hiding them.

6. The distribution of rations is to begin on the day of sailing, subject to the third part of the supplies being kept as reserves, for fear that there might be a shortage, but once the danger is over, the Master is to release such reserves. This practice is to be observed also during the return voyage. The clerk of the galleon is to keep records, to prevent collusion between the General and the Master; such collusion would bring a criminal charge against them.

7. Although the law requires punishment for any crime, as there could be criminals on board, the General, for lack of knowledge may commit some excesses, such as increasing the penalty corresponding to a crime, or lowering it. To prevent such inconvenients, and other, more serious, ones that might result therefrom, he is warned that in criminal cases that take place on board, once the inquiry is over, and the criminals are in jail, he should forward the cause to a judge, with the exception of the cases of mutiny, or others of equal gravity, for which the penalty must be applied immediately. In the latter cases, he is to act as the cause requires, as someone best positioned to know about it, but he should be advised that the causes of the men arrested during the voyage from Cavite to Acapulco are not to be remitted to the City of Mexico; rather, the criminals should always remain on board under heavy guard, and brought back to this City in the return voyage, so that their causes might be pursued here.

8. With reference to Law 118, Title 15, Book 9 of the Code of the Indies, he is to confer and resolve in council any matter whatsoever that might occur, dealing with war or navigation, though it may seem of no great consequence, he must not act without this precaution. For instance, should a favorable wind fail, and it become necessary for safety to seek a port or bay within the Strait, in order to select the most appropriate one, the majority of the officers, pilots [of the run] and coastal pilots must agree with his decision (after they have been heard), and if for some just reasons (such are the words in the law itself) the others may be ignored, and he may order otherwise, but in the latter case, there must be a legal record made by the Clerk of the Galleon of the individual vote of everyone, with the reasons he might have had, and the signatures of everyone.

9. Upon sailing from the port, he is to comply with the law dealing with war preparations, by making sure that the guns and weapons are in order, and qualified men are assigned to action stations. Keeping in mind that a cleared ship can be defended better, he is to take appropriate means very much in advance, and then sail with all the care and precaution necessary; indeed, the dangers do not exist only in the high seas.

10. If at the time of leaving the Strait, there should be found ships awaiting him, though Cape Engaño might be a more suitable place for this to happen, in such a case he should sail in the daytime with few sails and seek the shelter of the island of Catanduanes, to frustrate their intention, but at night, he is to made efforts to regain the lost distance, a concern he should entertain over the first four or five days. If the advice be neither premeditated nor certain, he is then to pursue his route and course, as planned, and if in the course of the voyage he should by accident meet with enemies, supposing that he is prepared for same, then his defence is to be such as to be to the honor of the arms and the nation; when confronted with a superior force, he should consider losing

his life in the defence of his honor, something that he has just sworn to do, otherwise exposing himself to the vituperations of the public, which would result, should he fail his duty. However, as fighting is not the main objective of his voyage, he is to avoid any encounter as much as possible, by forcing the sails if necessary, but keeping in mind always to consult with his officers and letting them decide; for this purpose, he should convoke only those who are, due to their jobs, knowledgeable in matters to be considered during the council.

11. The straitened circumstances that result from a fire on board a ship cannot be overly exaggerated, and are a sufficient reason to respect the Royal laws dealing with this subject, specially Law 133, Title 15, Book 9 of the Code of the Indies, where it is said that extreme care should be taken with the fireplaces, that they are to be extinguished at sunset; that no lights be permitted in the cabins unless they be lanterns, and only this type used in the binnacle, and as a signal, and those with hooks; that in the vicinity of the fireplaces there must be jars of water and blankets, as a precautionary measure; that in the powder rooms no-one is to go in with a light, except when it is very necessary and that only with a lantern carried by a trustworthy person. The law also forbids smoking except in the designated place. Knowing this, the General is to comply, subject to the penalties stipulated in this law, and others that this Government may decide.

12. In accordance with Laws 15 and 16, Title 1, Book 6 of the Code of the Indies, His Majesty prohibits the Indians of these Islands to travel to Europe, or to Spain, for the reasons given therein, and as ordered in two Royal posterior decrees, the General is ordered to make sure that they be obeyed, and to include in the record of proceedings that said prohibition has been proclaimed on board.

13. If before or after passing the Mariana Island chain, there should be found an impossibility of continuing, supposing that turning back in distress is not an issue but the cause may be the lack of food supplies, or other reasons of a similar nature, then he should try and maintain himself by laying to, or tacking back and forth, to await more favorable weather. However, if for any of the above reasons, the consultation should be for turning back, then it would result in less bankruptcy for this Commerce if they headed for these Islands, rather than towards a distant port, provided that they have tried their best efforts first, and the whole thing is to be decided in a council of the officers.

15. In various laws in the Code of the Indies, the waste of gun-powder is found to be prohibited. As shown in Law 113, Title 15, Book 9, gun-powder is to be used only for the defence of the ships, and not for useless salutes that the Generals are fond of. Therefore, moderation ought to be used to prevent excesses, to prevent shortages. A charge for his audit may result, as foreseen in Law 48, Title 22, Book 9, where indiscriminate salutes, without distinction of persons, are condemned, and the only ones permitted are those done to recognize ranks, such as with three guns upon entering a port with the intention to anchor, and two guns upon departing it. Law 133, Title 15, Book 9 has foreseen what to do during infantry exercises; given that galleons have sol-

diers on board, the General is to hold firing exercises on holidays, and when the weather is calm, as they are more appropriate for the purpose. He is warned that he will have to pay with his own money for any powder expended in any other manner. Let him take measures to let all parties know about this, for its compliance.

15. Although the prohibition against gambling is always in force, nevertheless it should never be ignored, because tolerance would result in the ruin of many men who would be left without money. Perhaps the more trusting the General the more it will take place. Consequently, I have thought it well to condemn once again any game that is not for pure entertainment, like the game of shells, and such. However, games with dices or wild cards are to be watched closely, as they fall within the orders of H.M. issued in a Royal decree dated Buen Retiro on 30 December 1669, and the General should remember that non observance will result in a charge being made against him in his audit.

16. In case of the death of the General or Admiral, be it during the voyage to Acapulco, the stopover, or the return voyage, the Sergeant-Major of the ship in which this happens is to convoke all of the officers and other seamen, to open in the presence of everyone the letter of replacements; the first person mentioned is the one whom they will recognize as successor in the post, and failing him, the next one on the list, and so on until the last mentioned therein. Such appointments are the privilege of this government, without intervention of anyone else; that of His Excellency the Viceroy is limited to the despatch of the Letters of appointment, for which purpose the interested parties are to approach him, as is stipulated in Royal decrees (copies of which can be found at the end, for reference purposes). Although by virtue of Law 43, Title 45, Book 9 of the Code of the Indies, it is equally possible to provide replacements for other jobs, it seemed appropriate (given lack of practice so far) to leave such choice of individuals to the General, as it is hoped that he would have better knowledge of the more deserving persons for said posts. To make sure everyone knows the rule, it is to be published by proclamation at the beginning of the voyage.

17. With regards to the question of which latitude [in mid-Pacific] is the best to effect a happy passage, the unpredictability of the weather is such that no-one knows for sure which latitude is best for the purpose. Therefore, the General is to let the pilots decide when they get there. In the past the latitude was so high on occasions that there resulted very serious illnesses, so that everyone was made to suffer a great deal and there could hardly be found anyone to man the ship, and although at the end the danger was overcome, it was almost a miracle. So, we should not expect a miracle to occur again, because too much faith is misplaced when the objective of everyone is to help oneself to reach a safe port.

18. Since the Island of Cedros is uninhabited, apparently, he should avoid it, and avoid the other capes as well, to prevent any enemy who might be waiting for him there from discovering him. In addition he is to avoid shoals and barrier reefs upon which he could run, if careless.

19. Upon discovering the “signs” it is customary that some rejoicing for having achieved the crossing lead to some joyous firing, but this joy should be balanced by wisdom in some persons at least, so that the bounds of decency should not be exceeded.

20. Given that each day at sea could be a day full of imminent danger (the better when one thinks the way is clear), whenever circumstances are such that in sight of land he should decide to continue, or seek a port to avoid more dangerous situations, in this case, he should know that in the latitude of 25° North along the coast of California, there is to be found a bay named Magdalena, where he could find shelter should the majority so decide. Here are the sailing directions for this bay: To the northwest, there is a range of mountains, and at about one league before getting to the entrance, there arises a round hill such that, finding yourself southeast of it and the entrance of the port, it will appear to have the shape of a volcano.¹ Later on, two rock islets will be seen at the entrance, quite close to the land to the northwest, which can be seen from a distance of four leagues.² From the southeast point there is a thick and flat land barrier that comes out, upon which the sea can be seen to break from afar.³ From the part of the mouth inwards, toward that of the northwest, is the anchorage sheltered from all winds.

21. In the vicinity of the coasts of New Spain, he shall place the mail ashore, weather permitting, to announce his arrival to the Viceroy, the neighborhood where he is, as well as the condition of these islands, and as soon as he has anchored, and even before, he is to write many times to get his despatch as quickly as possible; in fact, he knows how important it is to leave early in order to get a successful return voyage, as otherwise the galleon and the funds on board would be facing greater problems, delay, and dangers.

22. Given that any change in the routine of the galleon at Acapulco (the established rules may not please everyone) would be prejudicial to this commerce ..., the General and the Commissioners (without wasting one minute) should send a despatch to the Viceroy, begging him to please follow the intentions of His Majesty and not do anything to ruin his vassals, while the Agent in New Spain residing in Mexico should on his part make all possible efforts to prevent any change to the custom established by Law. And should this approach be ineffective, they are to deflect the blows by writing to the Agent in Madrid, giving him a full report, including a record of proceedings, explaining the failure so that he might (being at the source of power) clamor for improvement, and correction of the procedure.

23. Supposing that he would feel any harm done to the people under his command as harm done to himself, he is to declare himself clearly in their defence whenever necess-

1 Ed. note: These sailing directions appear to be for Bahía Santa María, in 24°44' lat. N., actually located outside of Magdalena Bay.

2 Ed. note: The peak between Cabo San Lázaro and Punta Hughes is Mount Lázaro, over 400 meters high.

3 Ed. note: This sand spit forms Bahía Santa María, linking Punta Hughes with Cabo Corso to the south.

ary, since there is no other way to defend their interests. Any notorious damage done to them should also record his intervention; should it be insufficient, he should not desist but should appeal to His Excellency to whom is entrusted, in accordance with Law 71, Title 45, Book 9 of the Code of the Indies, the investigation of similar cases, and the punishment of the guilty.

24. By Royal decree, a copy of which is reproduced at the end of these instructions, His Majesty has granted to the Generals and Admirals of this Run the power of inquiry into all dissensions, or excesses that might be committed by officers, seamen, or other men aboard the galleon, without the intervention of any other person, and because this ordinance has been contravened on some occasions, it is believed that it might also emanate from the crewmen themselves who might indifferently approach the Warden with their complaints, and disputes, out of ignorance of the legal means at their disposal. Therefore, for proper justice to be carried out, before arriving at the port, the General is to issue a proclamation, enclosing this ordinance, in which he is to forbid all his officers, passengers, and men with employment on board to seek redress in a place other than before him, as stipulated in the above-mentioned decree; they should also be warned that to do otherwise would result in their being denied any employment aboard the galleons of the run for a period of four years. Notwithstanding the summary investigation that the Galleon might carry out against them for the crime of transgression, whenever it might be convenient to re-open the case, this is to be done, and the corresponding penalty or penalties applied to them. However, should it happen that some passenger, or another person from among those who flock to the port, should present himself before the Warden, against any officer or men employed on board, given that by law the complainant must file his case in the court having a jurisdiction over the accused, should the latter be arrested, the General is to contact the Warden and let him know officially that the accused must be handed over to him, along with the case file; on this point, the terms are dictated by [ordinary] law, the privilege of the above-mentioned Royal decree, and by martial law, and he is to take as many legal actions as he deems necessary. However, given that such may lead to jurisdictional disputes that are always odious, and to other disadvantages of a similar nature, he would be well advised to discuss the point unofficially first with the Warden, and in case of non agreement (the disputes having ceased in the meantime), he is to approach the Viceroy, requesting that his perquisites be respected, and not diminished nor altered, and referring to the Royal decree granted him that must be obeyed, and to the specific order sent to His Excellency the Duke of Alburquerque on this subject in the year 1754. Should this request be ineffective, he is to dissimulate, and bring back the record of the denial, so that this Government may report same to His Majesty.

25. Among various types of suggestions made by the Generals of the Run that provided some material for these Instructions, one had to do with the method of distributing the ration to seamen, and believing that it is not in line with royal dispositions, though approved, it seems proper to order the General to assist the Masters with this task on scheduled days, to make sure that everyone received his full portion, that it is

as customary, according to a certain weight, and measure, and not in any other form. To this effect, a letter was sent by this Government to His Excellency the Viceroy, who, in a letter dated 25 March 1731, advised that he had received an order from the Royal officials to desist, notwithstanding the contrary practice; hence, it is done thus, and although it might happen once or twice that the food supplies distributed during the stay in that port may not be fit to give, and receive, it is believed to have been an accident, and not out of malice. However, should it happen again, he should not hesitate to bring it up to the attention of the responsible persons, and if the situation is not improved, he is to report it to the Viceroy. Supposing that the amounts taken on board lead to surpluses in meat, biscuit, dried vegetables, oil, vinager, and other supplies, their distribution should be by the same method, but surpluses at the end of the voyage are to be handed over to these Royal warehouses, as belonging to His Majesty. To account for same, he is to maintain a record book where the amount spent every day during the voyage will be recorded, clearly, by category, such that at the end when the balance be taken, there will be found only small discrepancies between total received and total expended; otherwise, he will certainly have to make up the difference with his own money.

26. The disadvantages of paying the seamen at Acapulco are serious; firstly, most of them come back home without one real, and subject to swindles, because everything is consumed as by fire, and prohibitions do not prevent the disorder, and when the disease spreads, many such men abandon their house and family by stepping ashore at the first opportunity, and at times causing harm to the galleon of H.M. by leaving her without competent sailors to man her, as happened to the galleon **Sacra Familia** in 1730; she had to be reinforced with 30 men from the Province of Albay at additional cost to the Royal treasury. To prevent such a harmful situation, there is no other means than to suspend the pay until the voyage is entirely concluded, and condemning anyone who does not stay until the end of the voyage to lose their salary, said fine to be applied to Royal works. This practice can only be altered during a year that, out of necessity, the galleon might spend the winter [at Acapulco]; in which case they should be paid a minimum amount, and not so much as to nullify this measure. Thus warned, the General is to follow this practice, and the Master is to take it into account as well, in order to retain funds until the arrival at Cavite, and recording all details in the account books.

27. With the pretext of being indebted to various persons, there are many deductions made in the salaries due to seamen, without any other justification than a decision on the part of the accountant; doubts remain as to the amount of the credits, that are not removed by a simple list proffered by the Royal officials of Acapulco to the Master, at the last minute before the anchor is weighed. Given that at that time there are enough more momentous matters to deal with, such papers are left out of the manifest because it is impossible to do everything that needs to be done; consequently, many complaints arise about pay on board, and dissensions persist until they are raised anew upon the arrival of the galleon at these Islands, giving many headaches to this Government. Since this point was one discussed in the proceedings of last year, a remedy cannot be differed, and it seems that it could be alleviated if the General would comply better with

his duty, by anticipating the problem (as he is ordered to do) by paying the customary visit to the Warden and the Royal officials. To this effect, he is to call them to a meeting days before he sails, inasmuch as things done in haste are never arranged properly, and in said meeting he is to listen to everyone, considering only effective the debts for which there are signed acknowledgements, or other justifications of equal value. The General is to make a list of the entries affected, and hand over this list to the Master, so that upon receiving the funds, he will not reject them, but would know if other deductions have subsequently been made, and would record his protest, bring back a record, for whom it may concern. Indeed, although the decision of similar disputes is a prerogative of his, by virtue of the Royal decree mentioned in Chapter 24 of these Instructions, this cannot be extended to the rights of third parties over second parties, and that is why this Government does not wish to transfer its responsibility, at the detriment of the General, who remains free to demand what he sees fit.

28. Given the fact that the recruits that are sent every year should be of the highest caliber, as in the past the General is ordered to inspect them at the time of their handover, and not to accept those soldiers who, of course, are unfit to join the service; indeed, given that the numbers now required are lower than before, provided that they be all good, and we not be content to accept those they wish to give, they should all be of a competent age, robust, and presentable. And with reference to Law 15, Title 4, Book 3 of the Code of the Indies, it is prohibited to any mulatto or half-breed from the Kingdom of Mexico to enlist as a soldier destined for these Islands, in order to reserve such employments for the Indians, and half-breeds of these Islands, the General should therefore write to the Viceroy, for him to order the Captains who might intervene in the recruitment not to accept any man with the stated characteristic. In fact, if they do otherwise, they will be subject to a charge at the handover, and will have to pay out of their own pockets for any related expense caused to the Royal treasury. It is to be understood that married men are also excluded, by law, and that the soldiers must come with weapons; indeed, not only is it difficult to find weapons to buy in such a faraway place [as this one is], but it is so ordered in Law 27, Title 45, Book 9 of the Code of these Kingdoms.

29. On occasions when some reinforcement of seamen are being sent—this usually takes place as a result of a request having been made from here, for the service of this shore—he is to take special care in having them be real seamen, and not just in name; if at all feasible, they should all be Europeans, and before they are given a post, he should arrange for them to be tested by the Boatswain's mate or some other officer, according to their specialty, and reporting to the Viceroy anyone who fails the test, so that he be aware of the lack of care with which recruitment has taken place, as this might be done correctly in the future, considering that the galleons of this run can ill afford to have misfits as seamen, or to have to use servants in their place, as the law stipulates when those in such posts cannot serve, keeping in mind that a bad sailor costs the same as a good one to H.M.

30. With regards to convict soldiers, if any are on board, he is to take care that they might not cause some danger. The General is to keep his eyes open at all times. By the way, he is advised that he should always expect the worst from men in their condition, and so, he should not let them hold secret meetings, on accounts of their being suspicious, nor should he let himself be moved by pity towards their misery; instead, he is to apply rigor rather than sweetness, as it is a better means to deal with them, otherwise he might find out too late to regret it, at the grave detriment of these Islands. The following are advices that may be important, in case he brings convict soldiers. He should know that H.M. has been consulted on this point, as well as the Viceroy, and he has been told about the very serious harm done to this whole country when such vicious men are introduced in it. Consequently, the General should, as soon as he reaches the port of Acapulco, write to His Excellency to beg him that he should not accept under any consideration the idea of transporting convicts, telling him in details the disadvantages that would result aboard a galleon of H.M., if he should consent to do so, not omitting to remind him of the sad condition of these Islands, after the door was open to such perverse men. He should also ask the Commissioners of this Commerce to write to their Agent to request him to do his part in New Spain by reminding His Excellency and the Royal Criminal Court that they doom another country when they send evil-doers, and make both suffer, they being vassals of a same owner, and finally the General is to resist always such an undertaking by any means available, and should his protests be ineffective, he can at least request appropriate food supplies corresponding to their number, which he is to dispense accordingly, otherwise he would expose himself to additional risk. This last point was mentioned in a letter written to His Excellency last year. The matter covered by this Chapter being of the greatest importance, he is to consult with his officers about it.

31. From certain news received by this Government, as soon as the galleon at the port of Acapulco, the Warden and the Royal officials take possession of her boat and launch, under the pretext that they have to load the silver aboard the galleon, and other reasons. Such reasons are not sufficient when they are compared with the risks at which the galleon is exposed without the use of these boats, for instance, that of a fire, mutiny, and other accidents. Consequently, the General is to resist delivering them, because it is an abuse, besides the fact that this practice is unheard of in any port belonging to the Crown. Should the Royal officials insist, he is to tell them the reasons why, as he must, and also tell them to His Excellency, repeating the terms used in this Chapter.

32. Repeated complaints made by the seamen, regarding the excessive fees charged by the curates of the parishes of Acapulco have been the motive why this Government has written to the Viceroy to intervene, in order to regulate the duties and Royal laws, without the above-said tax against persons who have such a difficult time to find enough to maintain themselves to begin with. His Excellency has agreed in a letter dated 25 March 1731 in which he advised that it had been regulated in the form requested, and this said, the General is to watch for any contravention and apply the recourse available.

33. He is entrusted with a timely compliance with the proclamation dated 2 May 1730 regarding the tolerated disorder of the loading of funds belonging to residents of the Kingdom of Mexico. This has been forbidden by H.M. so many times. He is to understand that this Government will not object if he should comply with it; to the contrary, it will proceed with all the rigor of the law against those who in any way contravene it, or interpret it [to suit themselves]. And because some individuals belonging to this Commerce, or others, out of private interest, may commit excesses by loading silver not declared on the manifest, the General, keeping in mind the great importance of this business, and how convenient it is to stop such pernicious liberties, is to take care to watch out for this, as if he had nothing else to do, and to remedy the situation by applying the orders, and secret directives that in due course he will receive from this Government.

34. Once the seamen are on board, according to the list, none of them is to be allowed to return ashore under any pretext, after muster has been passed. This list can then be passed to the Royal officials, to appear on the manifest, and because sometimes, according to reports, various tricks have taken place, in prejudice of the Royal treasury, he is to abide closely with this Chapter, and is to observe in great details the inspection, and manifest, and whenever they try to confuse him in order to act recklessly, he is to make the necessary protest to the person responsible, adding same to the record of proceedings, then he is to pass a second muster before the Clerk and the officers of the galleon, forming new lists, and reporting any difference he might find to the Viceroy.

35. By Royal decree, a copy of which is inserted at the end of these Instructions, it appears that H.M. was pleased to approve Condition n° 18 regulating this Commerce, as agreed, among others, with His Excellency the Count of Paredes in 1686, regarding the exemption granted to the galleons of this Run, and it can be summarized by saying that the Judge in charge of instestate of this City, and nobody else, has jurisdiction over the property of anyone who dies without a will during the course of the voyage eastward, the stayover, or the return voyage, and in the meantime, the Commander of the galleon is to store safely all such properties that belonged to the deceased, and not entrust anyone else with this duty. To this effect, whenever a case of contravention should arise, he is to make all the pretexts, and take all the recourses available to him, and place on the record any action he took, enough to allow this Government to report further to His Majesty.

36. At the request of interested parties, and because it was thought proper to do so, it has been agreed that two salaried men, to be selected by the General, be assigned to take care of the sick, and that these men be exempt from having to render personal services while busy with this pious occupation, but whenever the need disappears, they are to resume their obligations like everyone else. Thus advised, the General shall apply this measure readily, and effectively.

37. At the end of these Instructions, there will be found a copy of the most noble Royal decree regulating the Commerce of these Islands with the Kingdom of Mexico, as practiced nowadays. Given that Conditions n° 15, 28, 30, and 36 may make it more

successful, and last longer, the General shall make sure that those mentioned therein are aware of their contents, so that they may not plead ignorance thereof at any time.

38. Considering that the success of the return voyage (generally) depends on his not being found still in the port of Acapulco on any date of the month of April, he is to take all the means at his disposal (the rest belongs to God), as such is the prime cause, and he is to make sure that he flees from the danger posed by the shoals and islands that are shown on the Charts, by giving freedom to the pilots, and when the Marianas are sighted, he is to try to use the same port that experience has shown adequate for an anchorage, without making any change; in fact, though free to choose, he would be charged if he has exposed himself. Also, supposing that the neighborhood be suspicious, a proper watch at the tops is considered indispensable.

39. He is to make sure that the Master be responsible for all of the merchandise and equipment of any sort that are delivered to him as part of the subsidy for the Mariana Islands, which he is to deliver there with a complete account to the persons to whom they are addressed. Should the Governor ask him for any infantry, supplies, or other things that he lacks, he shall supply him with what he can, of a quality that he has enough of; indeed, he would not find at sea anyone to succor him, should he run out, and he should obtain a receipt for same, and not waste time beyond that required to take on water, in view of the risk involved in being surprised by the monsoon winds, a circumstance for which there is no remedy.

40. In addition, he must intervene, as it is his duty, to prevent the Boatswain's mate, and others, from selling at a price higher than a just price the food items that are allowed by custom to be sold there, not tolerating that the poor people there who have no other tavern, or store, to visit, be ruined or destroyed. Given that this is a point of conscience, in order to comply with it, he must ask everyone with anything to sell to give him a list of their goods, for trading or for sale, and by assigning a price to everything, with moderation, he will have accomplished his duty, but everything should be done properly, with the collection of the standard customs duties, as required.

41. He should not be surprised to learn that an order exists in the Marianas for them to light a fire on the highest point of those Islands, to make sure that the galleon during her return voyage does not miss the Islands, without stopping there. Said signal will be on from 10 p.m. until sunrise whenever it is time for the galleon to appear. And, supposing that he knows that it is prohibited to take any one away from those Islands without a permit from its Government, he is to make sure that this order be obeyed—a point to be covered in his audit, the penalty for contravention of which appears in Chapter 12 of these Instructions dealing with fugitives from these islands.

42. After leaving the Marianas, he is to follow a course in search of the Cape of Espiritu Santo until it is sighted, and he should be aware that in Catanduanes, Biri, Bulusan, Borongan, and Batan, there are sentinels awaiting him; the way will be clear of enemies when one fire is lit at night, then extinguished, followed by two fires being lit; once this signal has been observed, he is to go on without fear, but if he should see at night four, or more, fires burning, or in the daytime smoke rising from four, or more,

spots, he should make contact with the nearest sentinel to find out what are the reasons, which he is to deliberate over with his officers, to decide how, and where he should seek a safe place to unload the funds and secure the galleon. If the port that he will take be located along the mainland of this City¹ and sufficiently out of reach of the enemy for the silver to be transported, the silver and other effects should be unloaded immediately, as well as a few guns that are to be transported to a vantage point from which to resist or offend any enemy, and giving most frequent advices to this Government as to his condition, so that the measures depending upon them might be taken without delay. And if nothing aforesaid should happen, there is no reason for him to delay his arrival at Cavite, weather permitting, but if an enemy be met with, he should not be as foolish as to attack him, but seek a port, and if unable to leave it afterwards, or should meet at sea with any other accidents forcing him to return to port, he should do so, and instantly report. However, if in the meantime the pilots advise him to proceed, because the weather so permits, he should not waste the opportunity and proceed without delay, although, the points treated in this Chapter being delicate, he is not to do anything without recording the reasons why in the customary legal format, and due consultation with his officers, as mentioned above. Care is to be taken that the mail be despatched in a timely manner, as usual.

43. The audit that the General and his officers must suffer after the voyage is assigned by Royal dispositions to the Gentlemen President and Members of the Royal Audiencia of these Islands, and this being the practice, they have no excuse not to be aware of it, or plead a change of jurisdiction.

[Note]

The above is a literal copy of the 43 Chapters contained in the original Instructions issued in 1732 by the Most Illustrious Field Marshall Fernando Valdés Tamón, former President Governor and Captain General of these Islands for the guidance and direction of the Generals and Admirals of the Run. Said instructions having been reported to His Majesty, he was pleased to approve them and order that they be obeyed very strictly. Don Luis Manzo de Velasco having been appointed General of the patache **Nuestra Señora de Covadonga** which departed for the Kingdom of New Spain in July of last year 1742, he was given the printed copy of the above-mentioned Instructions, the receipt of which he acknowledged, and it is to be found in the office of the Secretary under my responsibility, to which I refer.

Manila, 7 December 1743.

Don Blas Joseph Castrillon de Casariego.

1 Ed. note: That is, part of Luzon Island.

Appendix 2

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF MICRONESIA

**for Volume 13 of the
History of Micronesia
series**

1727-1746

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