

HISTORY OF MICRONESIA
A COLLECTION OF SOURCE
DOCUMENTS

VOLUME 7 — MORE TURMOIL IN THE
MARIANAS 1679-1683

Compiled and edited
by

Rodrigue Lévesque

LES ÉDITIONS
LÉVESQUE



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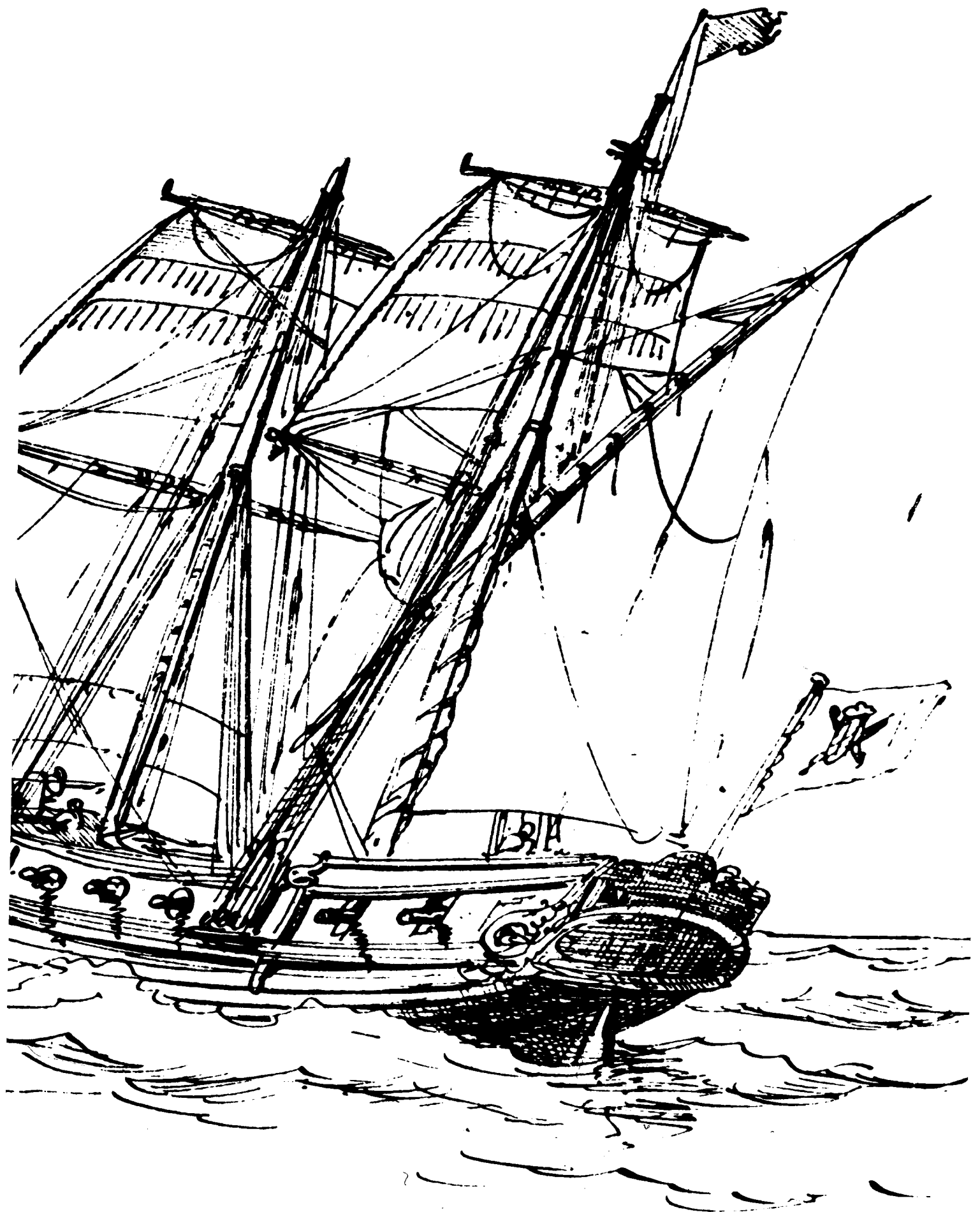
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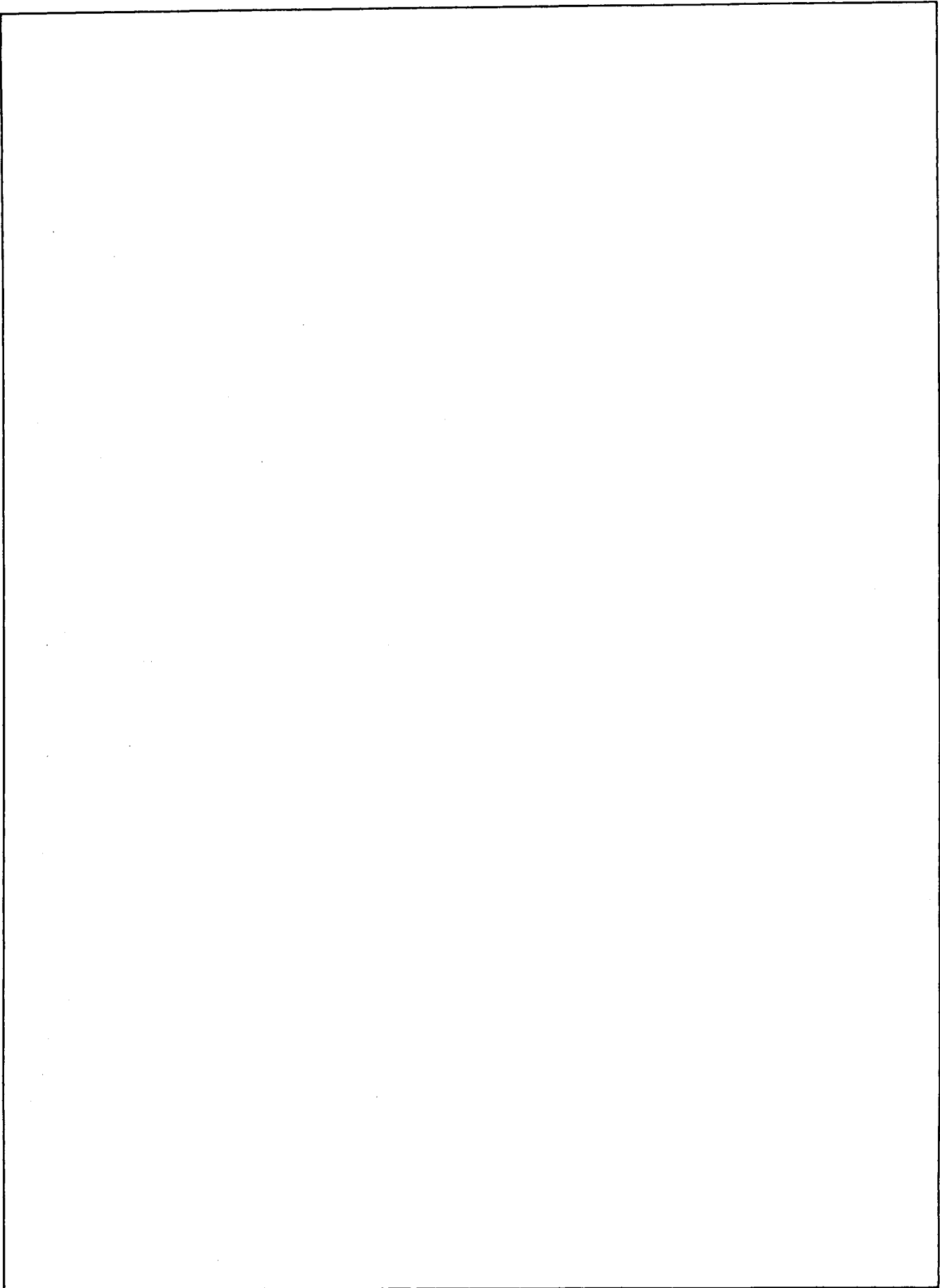
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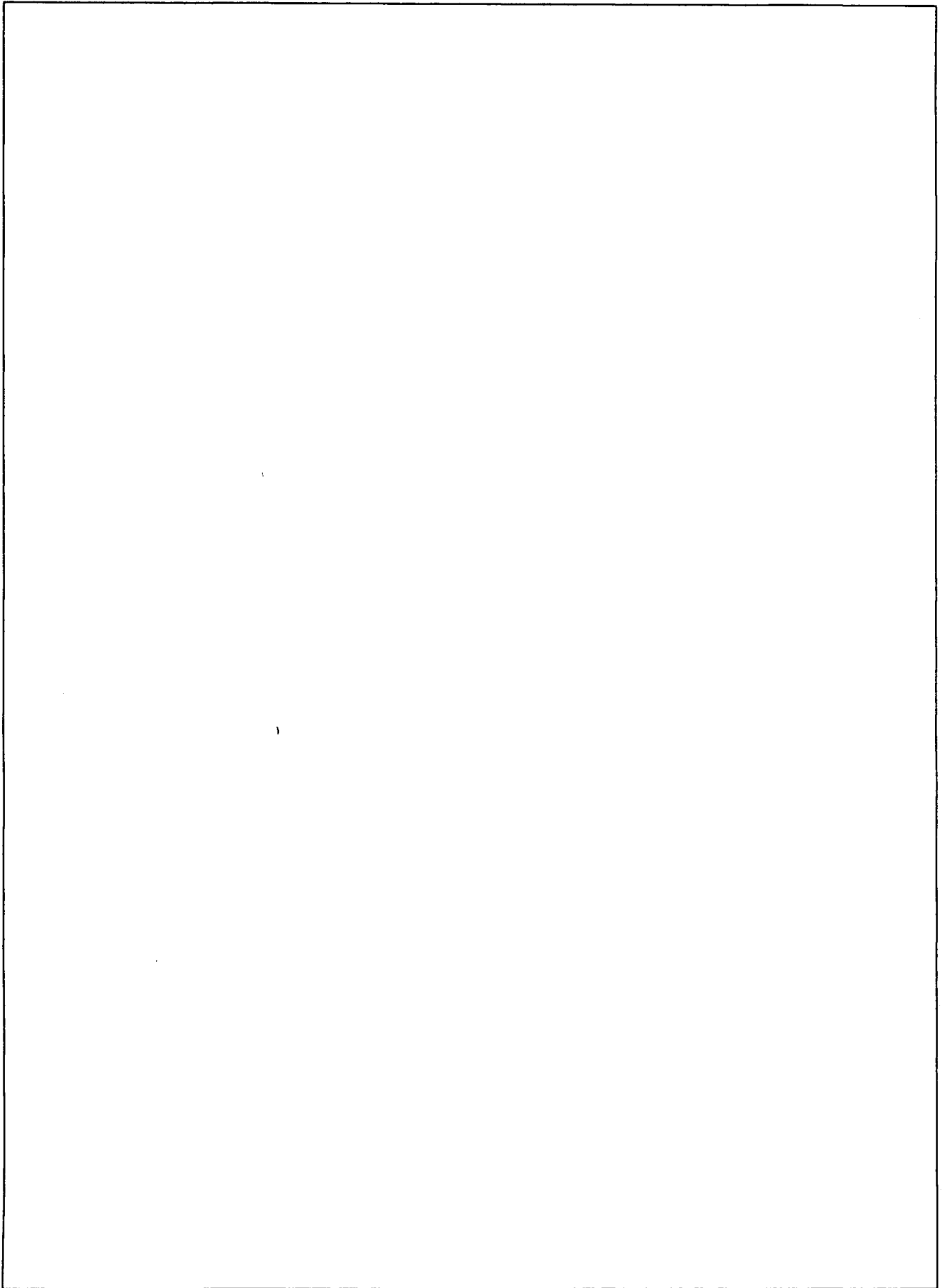
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Rear endpaper Spanish galleon of about 500 tons, the regulatory size for a Manila galleon, according to the Code of Laws for the Indies. This size was seldom respected, and Pacific galleons were soon to reach 1,500-ton capacity.	

Abbreviations

ABCFM	American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, Boston
AGI	Archivo General de Indias, Seville.
AGN	Archivo General de la Nación, Mexico.
AGR	Archives Générales du Royaume, Brussels.
AHN	Archivo Histórico Nacional, Madrid.
AHSI	Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu (Jesuit magazine, Rome).
ANU	Australian National University, Canberra.
ARSI	Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu (Jesuit archives, Rome).
BM	British Museum/Library, London.
BNM	Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid.
BNP	Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.
B&R	Blair & Robertson's series: The Philippine Islands.
CCSF	Cross-Cultural Survey Files, Smithsonian Institution, Washington.
CIMA	Coordinated Investigation of Micronesian Anthropology.
FBG	Filipiniana Book Guild, Manila.
FSM	Federated States of Micronesia.
G&E	Gilbert & Ellice Islands Colony [= Kiribati & Tuvalu].
GPO	Government Printing Office, Washington.
HM	History of Micronesia series, by Lévesque Publications.
HMS	His [British] Majesty's Ship.
HMSO	His Majesty's Stationery Office, London.
HRAF	Human Relations Area Files, Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut.
IJN	Imperial Japanese Navy.
JPH	Journal of Pacific History, Canberra.
JPS1	Journal of the Polynesian Society, Wellington, N.Z.
JPS2	Journal of the Pacific Society, Tokyo, Japan.
Laval	Laval University Library, Québec.
LC	Library of Congress, Washington.
LMS	London Missionary Society.
MARC	Micronesian Area Research Center, University of Guam.
MBU	Museo-Biblioteca de Ultramar (All documents moved to MN).
MCF	Microfilm.
MHA	Marine Historical Association, Mystic Seaport, Connecticut.
MMB	Mercedarias Misioneras de Berriz (Mercedarian Sisters of Berriz, Vizcaya, Spain).
MN	Museo Naval, Madrid.

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

Foreword

“Although truth is the essential form and the soul of history, it cannot become the instructor of the times, or be a [reliable] witness about them, when suspicion challenges it.”

Casimiro Díaz, O.S.A., 1718

When writing about the living, personal considerations often cloud the judgment of the historian. The narration of events long past may also suffer from a similar bias. The best way to prevent this from happening is to make available to the would-be historian a full set of historical documents, and then hope for the best.

Volume 7 contains about 131 documents covering the civilian and religious activities of the Spanish colony in the Mariana Islands during this period. The murders of missionaries and armed reprisals continued, with the assistance of a native militia. The soldiers built better protection for themselves, and the yearly galleon stops at Umatac became routine. The first government regulations were issued by the Governor of the Philippines. The first Governor directly appointed by the King arrived at Guam; he was Colonel Saravia. Captain Quiroga also arrived; this man was to be the most influential non-Jesuit foreigner until his death in the 1720s.

The main chapter of this volume is a discussion of the first book published about Micronesia, i.e. Father García's History of the Mariana Islands, which is really about the life and times of Fr. Sanvitores, the founder of the Jesuit Mission. Many corrections are made to this important, but secondary reference work. The record is set straight in Doc. 1681A.

Summary of the main facts.

The little-known Battle of Pignug in November 1678 is highlighted, because it is typical of the period and may lead archaeologists to an undisturbed historical site.

The first government regulations for the Marianas were issued by Governor Vargas of the Philippines in 1679, and re-affirmed in 1680.

As proven by a contemporary document, Tarrague on the north coast of Guam was the largest native settlement up to that time, with 76 houses. On the other hand, Umatac on the west coast had already become the regular port-of-call for the Manila galleon as of 1673.

The 1678 Map of Guam by Pilot Sorondo shows an incorrect orientation but an exact latitude.

Colonel Saravia became the first Governor of the Marianas to be directly appointed by the King of Spain himself. He was a sickly old man who soon died. His authority passed on to Captain Quiroga.

Captain José de Quiroga was an honest man. He had retired prematurely from the Spanish Army, but was convinced to go to Guam by a future Jesuit General and the Duchess of Aveiro. He was to spend the rest of his life in the Marianas, and yet he remained a bachelor all his life. His first report to the Duchess mentions many interesting points on routine life, both inside and outside the royal camp at Agaña, including the only mention ever made of sacred skulls with stones on **top** of them, and the destruction of the last houses “for bachelors only”.

Chief Hineti was typical of a local leader who sided with the Spanish and participated in the search for those who had murdered missionaries, and in their punishment. Between 1676 and 1686, the Spanish commanders carried out the death penalty on at least 30 natives.

The native population of Guam was at this time “reduced” to a few large settlements, and the first hospital was created inside the Spanish camp. By 1680, the colony had stone walls (actually made of adobe) and 7 horses, with other “modern” conveniences. There were then 10 priests and 3 assistants to educate the population. Many inter-racial marriages also took place. Religious indoctrination was making progress, as proven by the fact that young Christian men were often fanatical.

Some German-speaking Jesuits from Germany, Bohemia, Moravia, Austria and northern Italy appeared on the scene at this time. Consequently, some documents that have survived only in German are reproduced in this series, beginning with this volume. One Austrian by the name of Father Klein, better known as Fr. Clain, was to feature prominently in the exploration of the Carolines; his progress is charted, as he made his way from Italy to Spain, and to Mexico.

The first study was made of the strategic importance of the Marianas, for political and military reasons. However, the royal order to import 200 Filipinos to Guam was not carried out, for lack of ship transport.

In 1681, some disgruntled Spanish and Filipino soldiers stole a locally-built boat and fled to the Philippines. In 1681 also, the Governor of the Philippines, wanting to get rid of the bothersome General Rayo, named him Governor of the Marianas, but he refused and was jailed in Manila.

A confidential report to the Jesuit General, which I found in the Jesuit archives in Rome, gives an insight into the religious character of the missionaries. A new church was built in 1682 after the typhoon of December 1681. Other events of this period include the arrival of goats, and the creation of the first permanent mission station in Rota Island.

Rod Lévesque
Gatineau, December 1996.

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Errors and corrections

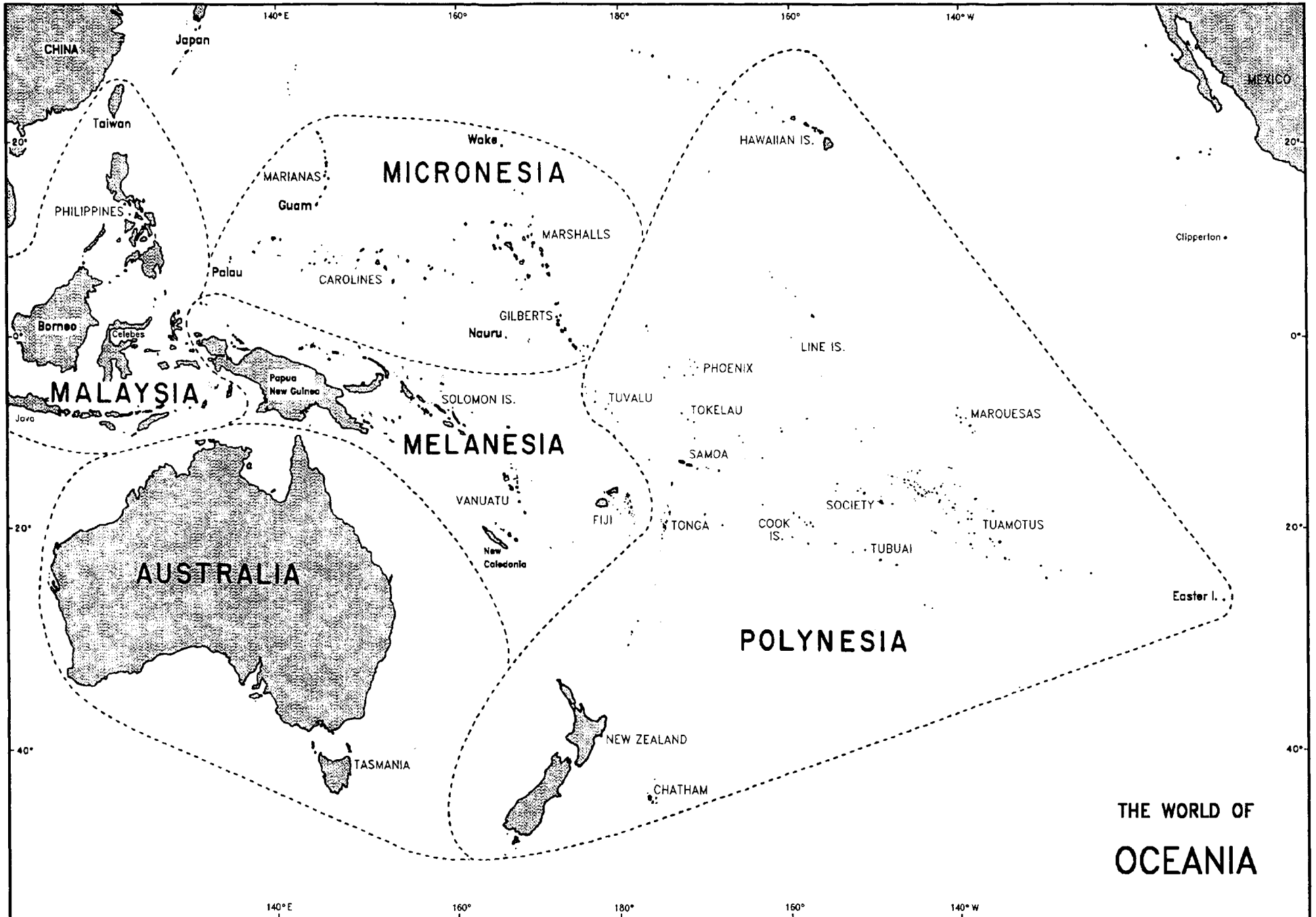
Despite every effort to check the facts, minor errors have undoubtedly remained. For these, as well as for the judgments expressed, the editor takes full responsibility. However, readers who spot factual errors are sincerely invited to submit corrections.

Note on sources

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

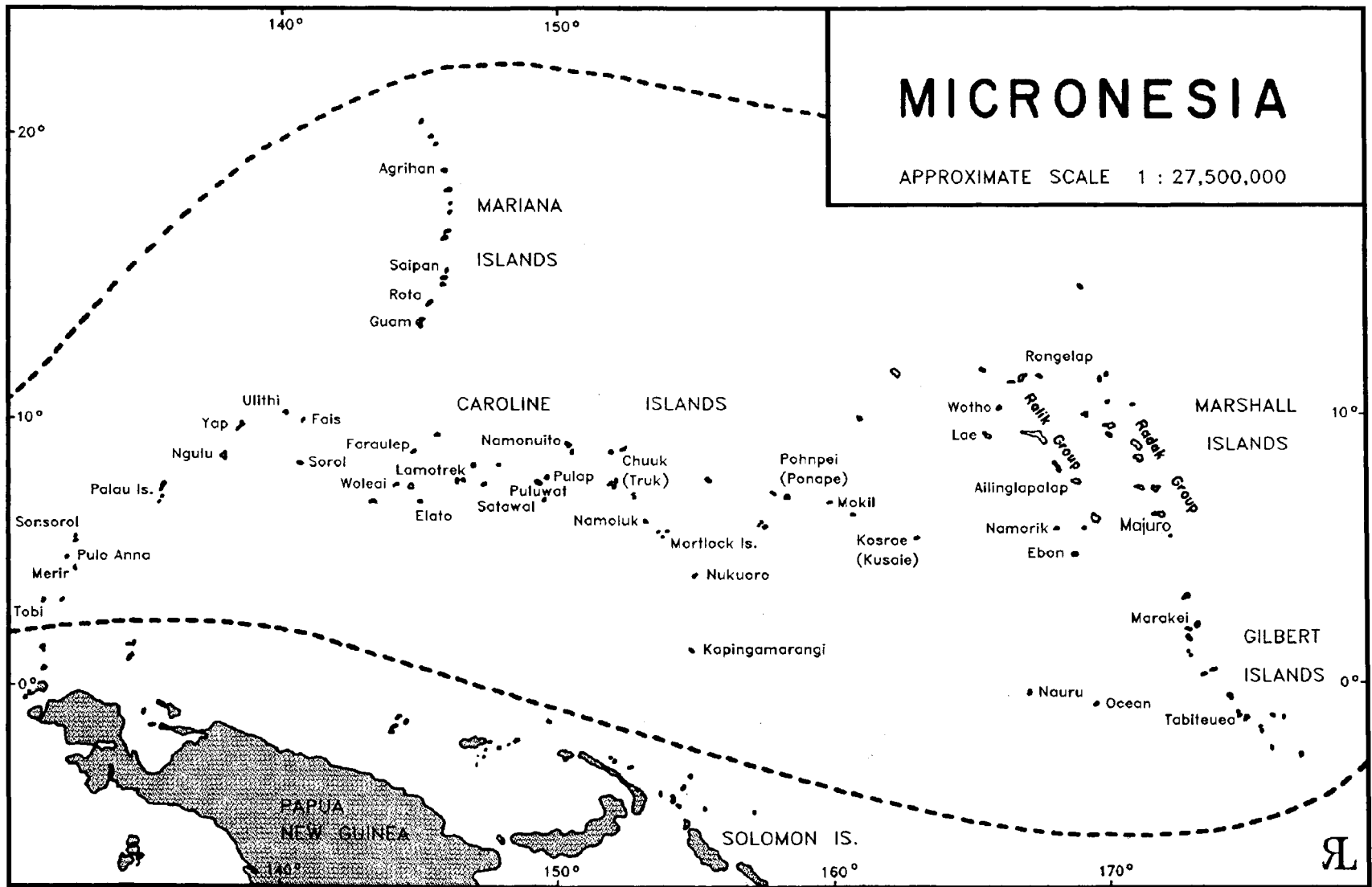
Note on place names

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



THE WORLD OF
OCEANIA

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Document 1679A

A petition about the Mariana Islands, by Fr. Pantoja

Source: AGI Fil. 82-6-256.

Note: The original memorandum, or a copy, may have been offered for sale by the Maggs Bros. of London in 1923 (Cat. N° 442, p. 120, according to S&D V, n° 914, pp. 301-302.

Petition requesting the appointment of a Governor for the Mariana Islands

Original text in Spanish.

M[uy] P[oderoso] S[eñor]

Alonso Pantoja de la Compañía de Jesus, y Procurador general por las Provincias de Indias: Dize que el año de 1668 se introdujo nuestra Santa fee en las Islas Marianas por medio del V.P. Diego Luis de Sanvitores, y cinco compañeros suios, con tan copioso fruto, que en el primer año quedaron reducidos a la Religion Catolica onze Islas, con mas de trece mil bautisados y veinte mil catecumenos que estavan instruiendose para rezevir el Bautismo, como consta de relacion del mismo V. Pe. Diego Luis de Sanvitores; este fruto se ha ido siempre continuando, añadidas nuevas Islas, y combertidos a Christo muchos millares de Gentiles, con los nuevos socorros de operarios que ha imbiado V.M., favoresiendo Dios esta empresa con singular providencia, y manifiestos milagros, para que crezca, y se multiplique la semilla Evangelica en aquel campo regado ya con la sangre del mismo V. Pe. Diego Luis de Sanvitores su primer Apostol, y otros quatro de la Compañía de Jesus, y algunos seglares que ayudavan a dhos Pes. a la comberzion de aquellos Gentiles.

Y aunque para los Ministros Evangelicos es logro morir por Christo y comprar con el derramiento de su sangre la corona del martirio como esto no puede ser sin menoscavo grande de aquella necesitada christiandad, que en cada Predicador que le falte, pierde muchos millares de almas; Propusso desde los principios a V. M. el V. Pe. Diego Luis de Sanvitores que combendria poner en aquellas Islas un Presidio de soldados con su Cavo que hiziesen escolta a los Missioneros para que pudieren estar con mas seguri-

dad, y libertad correr por las Islas, concervando a los christianos, y combirtiendo otros de nuevo, y V.M. se sirvio de mandar poner en la Isla de San Juan (que es la principal) quarenta soldados con un Cavo que los governase, lo qual se executo con poco gasto de la Real Hazienda de S.M. y mucho aumento de la Religion christiana, y mandado V.M. tambien fuesen 200 Pampangos de Philipinas, arrespeto de ser muchas las Islas, y nicesario en todas su asistencia para poder obrar los Ministros evangelicos, lo qual dependiendo del Gobierno de un Cavo u Governor que tenga las calidades tan necesarias de valor, experiencia, y gran Xptiandad, para reprimir a los Barbaros, tener arraya los soldados, y ayudar a la predicacion con el buen exemplo suio, y de ellos, pues suele ser mas eficaz que las palabras, principalmente en estos Gentiles, acostumbrados desde su niñez a delitos, y que apenas se diferenzian de los Brutos en la dezhonestedad, y fiereza. Por todo.

Suplica a V.M. que en atenzion a lo dicho se busque, y elija persona de las prendas que se requiere para que se logre el bien expiritual de aquellas almas y el çelo de V.M. que con paternal amor ha rezevido por vasallos à aquellos Pobres Gentiles para volverlos a Jesu Christo, hijos de su Iglèzia, interesandose mucho en anticipar el tiempo de suerte que pueda ir con la primer ocasion[,] en que recibira merced.

[Decision of the Council:]

Consejo.

Alonso Pantoja de la Comp^a de Jhs, Procurador General de las Procinvias de Indias: —Representa y pide lo mismo que contenia el papel que el Señor Presidente trujo al Consejo sobre barios puntos tocantes a la Mision de las Islas Marianas, en que esta tomada la resoluzion que es notorio:

Consejo en 5 de Julio de 1679.

Que se execute lo que está resuelto.

Translation.

Almighty Sire:

Alonso Pantoja of the Society of Jesus, and Procurator General for the Provinces of the Indies:

Declares that in the year 1668 our Holy Faith was introduced in the Mariana Islands through the Ven. Fr. Luis de Sanvitores, and 5 companions of his, with such a copious fruit that in the first year there were reduced to the Catholic Religion 11 Islands, with over 13,000 baptisms and 20,000 catechumens who were following instructions to receive baptism, as recorded in an account [signed] by the Ven. Fr. Diego Luis de Sanvitores himself; this fruit has kept on increasing, new Islands have been added, and many thousands of heathens converted to Christ, with the new succors of workers who were sent by Y.M., God favoring this enterprise with singular providence, and manifest miracles, to make it the evangelical seed grow and multiply in that field irrigated by the very blood of the Ven. Fr. Diego Luis de Sanvitores, their first Apostle, and 4 others of the Society of Jesus, and a few laymen who were helping said Fathers to convert those heathens.

And although Gospel Ministers consider it a success to die for Christ and to purchase the crown of martyrdom with the spilling of their blood, this cannot happen without being detrimental to the needs of that Christian community, where for every preacher who is missing, many thousands of souls lose out. From the start, the Ven. Fr. Diego Luis de Sanvitores suggested to Y.M. that it would be convenient to station a garrison of soldiers in those Islands, with a commander, to provide an escort service to the Missionaries so that they would be able to be safer, and have more freedom of movement to visit the Islands, preserving the Christians, and converting others anew, and Y.M. was pleased to order that 40 soldiers be stationed in the Island of San Juan (which is the main one) with a Commander to govern them. This was carried out at little cost to the Royal Treasury of Y.M. and much development of the Christian Religion, and Y.M. also ordered that 200 Pampangos be sent from the Philippines, given that the Islands are numerous and their assistance required in all of them, for the Gospel ministers to be able to operate. This would depend on the government of a Commander, or Governor, who would have the very necessary qualifications of valor, experience, and a great Christianity, to repress the barbarians, to keep the soldiers within bounds, and to help the preaching with his good example. As for the soldiers, suffice to say that they are more effective than mere words, specially in these heathens, accustomed since infancy to crimes, and who hardly can be differentiated from animals in their lack of honesty, and wildness. Consequently:

He begs Y.M., with respect to what was said, to select a person with the characteristics that are required for the spiritual good of those souls to be achieved, as well as the zeal of Y.M. who with fatherly love has admitted as vassals those poor heathens to turn them in to Jesus Christ as sons of His Church, keeping in mind that time is of the essence, so that he may leave at the first opportunity—which favor he hopes to receive.

[Decision of the Council:]

The Council.

Alonso Pantoja of the Society of Jesus, Procurator General of the Provinces of the Indies: Represents and asks the same as was contained in the paper that His Lordship the President brought into the Council, regarding various points related to the Mariana Island Mission, in which was taken the decision that is well known:

The Council, 5 July 1679.

Let the decision be carried out.¹

1 Ed. note: The Council was considering the candidacy of Captain Quiroga, proposed by the Jesuits for the post of Governor of the Marianas.

Documents 1679B

Financial accounts of the Mariana Mission, for the 10-year period 1668-78

Sources: AGN Mexico, AHH 326-2 & 26. Note: File 326-26 contains an important study of this controversy by Fr. Mansilla.

B1. Report by Bernabe Francisco Gutierrez to Fr. Provincial Altamirano, dated Mexico 24 January 1678

[To] Fr. Provincial Thomas Altamirano

Obeying the order received from Y.R., in which you ordered me to audit the accounts held by Fr. José Vidal, Procurator of the Mariana Islands, and to give you a report on a piece of paper apart from the reconciliation accounts, showing credits and debits, it is as follows:

Receipts

—The receipts accumulated over a period of 10 years are ninety thousand nine hundred and forty one pesos in reals, received from the Royal Treasury by said Fr. Procurator Joseph Vidal, as it appears in nine entries in the book of receipts: 90,941 pesos

Expenditures

—From which are deducted what said Fr. Procurator Joseph Vidal has spent on supplies for the subjects of said Mariana Islands, for their travel from Spain and supply as far as said Islands, i.e. one hundred and ten thousand three hundred and forty four pesos and six tomins and one half, as it appears in 10 entries in the book of expenditures signed by the Father: 110,344 p. 6+1/2t

Balance

—Hence it appears that the expenditures exceed the receipts by nineteen thousand four hundred and 3 pesos and six tomins and one half, which said Fr. declares he owes none to anyone, because he has received them as alms given by some persons for the Missions of the Marianas, or for disposal as he wished and has applied them to the Marianas: 19,403 p.6+1/2t

—Also, said Fr. Procurator, José Vidal, declares having bought three pieces of real estate [whose rental income] he has applied to the College that must be founded in said Islands, which income each year amounts to one thousand three hundred pesos. All of this appears in the books that are in his care, which include the present statement and reconciliation.

This is the manner with which the accounts have been reconciled, and which I certify in order for Y.R. to submit to our Rev. Fr. General on whose order they have been audited.

Mexico, 24 January 1678.

B2. Summary financial report for the 10-year period, 1668-1678

Source: ARSI Phil. 13, fol. 235-238v.

Original text in Spanish.

Razon y noticia del estado en que esta oy la Mision de las Yslas Marianas y el que tenia dicha Mission quando pasó a ellas el Ven. Padre Diego Luis de Sanvitores, año de 68.

Dicho año de 68 por Enero llego a este Reyno el Ven. Padre Diego Luis de Sanvitores para pasar a las Yslas Marianas[.] aqui se le dieron a su R^a diez mil pesos de la Caxa Real los quales entraron en poder del Almirante Bartholome Muñoz y no persebi de ellos ni una quartilla como se da razon en el libro de la entrada y el Ven. Padre lo dexo firmado en mi borrador el qual enseñe al Padre Provincial Thomas Altamirano quando di las quentas el año de 77 por orden de N. P. Gl.

Luego que vino el Ven. Padre me dixo su R^a mirase esta Mission como encomendada del Señor que la ponía a mi cuidado y que ya que no le podía acompañar en su viage le asistiese desde aca solicitando con todo empeño lo necessario para la consistencia y conservacion de la Mission y estas fueron las fincas y rentas con que reseni [sic] la Mission sin tener un real consignado para dicha Mission, ni aun despacho de medio pliego a su favor.

No solo me encomendo la Mission el Ven. Padre y los Superiores desta Prov^a y despues el Padre General confirmando mi asignacion de Procurador de las Marianas porque no huviesse impedimento, sino que tambien los PPes. Provinciales de Philipinas me escribieron repetidas vezes no desamparasse la Misssion ni dexasse su cuidado pues me la avia encomendado el Padre Diego Luis Sanvitores y no tenia otro recurso sino el socorro que de aca se embiava y se buscaba de limosnas.—

Cinco años estubo la Mission sin tener renta ni limosna alguna consignada de su Magestad y reconociendo aca no era posible que tubiesse consistencia sino tenia cituacion de la Caxa, y assi se pidio aca al Señor Marques de Mansera y a los Señores de la Junta informasen a su Magestad para que se señalase limosna a aquella nueva conversion. Consiguiose el informe y en virtud del Cedula de su Magestad para que se socorriese a los Misioneros de las Marianas como a los de Sinaloa: favor bien singular pues a los Misioneros de Manila es mui corta la limosna que se les da.

Aviendo conseguido esta cedula y cituacion de esta Real Caxa para la Mission Mariana paresio a los Padres Provinciales de Philipinas era mas conveniente corriesen todos estos gastos por una mano y no por tantas y que dicha cantidad que se cobrase

de la caja la administrase el que hiziesse aqui ofizio de Procurador de Philipinas; diose parte a N. Padre General y por tres o quarto cartas respondio su P^a que continuase yo en dicho ofizio de Procurador de Marianas hasta que este año de 78 a ordenado lo contrario su Paternidad.

Los cinco primeros años que estubo sin renta ni limosna cituada de su Magestad pasaron de diez y siete mil pesos los que se gastaron en dicha Mission lo qual consta del borrador que como llevo dicho enseñe al Padre Provincial Thomas Altamirano, y de las memorias y partidas que se contienen en el libro de las quantas y gasto de dicha Mission. Y las memorias de dichos cinco años y los restantes estan firmadas assi del Ven. Padre Sanvitores el año que estubo aqui como tambien del Padre Francisco Solano quando passo para las Marianas, y de los Arrieros que todos los años se an entregado aqui de los generos que [fol. 235v] llevaron al Puerto de Acapulco, y estos ultimos años se an presentado a su Exc^a las memorias de los generos que se remitian para que a su Exc^a constase como se empleava el dinero que su Magestad dava para las Islas Marianas. Y por el mismo Señor desde que la Mission tubo dicha Cituacion de limosnas en las Caxas an venido todos los años algunos Señores Oydores y otros Señores de la Junta y el Señor Factor D. Fernando Dessa [i.e. Deza], el Secrettario Sariñana y algunas vezes el Secrettario Montoya para que viesen los generos que se empleavan para la Mission: y todos los de casa an visto salir de aqui requas enteras con dicho avio para las Marianas.

Ase de advertir que todo mi cuidado y diligencia se a reducido a buscar los generos[,] encajonarlos, y entregarlos a los Arrieros para que los lleven al Puerto de Acapulco, y los fardos y terçios que van de aqui no se abren alla sino son los bastimentos (que estos solos se acomodan alla en tinajas) y los demas como van bien compuestos y acondicionados desde aca, assi se embarcan en el Puerto con que nunca puedo yo asegurar la fidelidad de los Arrieros y que de aqui a el Puerto procederian con toda seguridad por lo que sabemos a sucedido a otros, y a un Cavallero de esta Ciudad que embiando unos caxones de Reales para España en el camino de aqui a la Vera Cruz los llevaron de piedras y assi pasaron a España.

Yo e entregado aqui los generos, y los Arrieros se an dado por entregados y el Padre Provincial vio todos estos recaudos como consta de la Certificacion que su R^a da en el libro del gasto a [folio] 29.

Tampoco puedo yo asegurar que estos generos se an entregado con efecto a los Padres en las Marianas assi por la Razon dicha como tambien por que si el General no los entriega todos y se propasan muchos a Filipinas no es culpa mía: y esto a sucedido en varias ocasiones aun quando fue el Ven. Padre Sanvitores sucedio lo mismo y se propasaron muchos de los generos que llevaba su R^a de aqui como nos refirio el Padre Francisco Solano quando vino de Philipinas para Marianas.

Este punto se a prevenido quanto cabe en la dispoçission y humana prudencia pues se sacó mandamiento de su Exc^a para que el General passe por dichas Yslas y dexen en ellas todos los generos, gente, y demas cosas que se le entregasen para dicha Mission pena de dos mil ducados y de pagar todos los bastimentos que por su causa se perdieren.

Y despues se a traido Cedula de su Magestad confirmando este despacho de su Exc^a. Y despues de todo esto haran los Generales lo que les paresiese.

En las memorias que se an hecho al tiempo del despacho van muchas partidas sin distinguir, o la cantidad de algunos generos: porque solia suceder que en poco mas o menos de un mes se avian de prevenir los generos que de alla se pedian, encajonarlos, hazer cargas y entregarlas a los Arrieros lo qual pedia mas tiempo y espacio. Y en muchas ocasiones a sido tan corto el tiempo que para hazer el despacho salia a las seis de la mañana de cassa, y bolvia a comer quando tocaban la bachillera a las dos de la tarde y tal vez mui cerca de las tres, y acabado de comer era forcoso salir hasta la oracion por que aun mesmo tiempo se avia de hablar a los Se- [fol. 236] - ñores y a su Exc^a para los despachos, proprios y favorables y componer los generos que se avian de llevar; y assi que tiempo podia quedar para hazer las memorias con toda distincion y escribir quantas menudencias yban que era cossa inacabable.

Ase de advertir tambien que mi Hermano el Lizenciado Xaverio Christoval Vidal llevado del amor que tenia al Ven. Padre Sanvitores le dio ornamentos y al[h]ajas de la Congregacion de San Francisco Xavier y su abalucion de dichas alajas fue de diez mil pesos como consta del papel que hizo imprimir el Ven. Padre. Y como fue sin authoridad del ordinario despues de muerto dicho mi hermano a mi como Albacea suyo y que por su muerte guarde las alajas[.] de la Congregacion me las pidieron por los inventarios que tenia la Congregacion de todas ellas y para entregarlos se hizieron otras equivalentes y se dieron al Do[cto]r Juan Yañez Primicerio de dicha Congregacion. Y porque despues de muerto dicho Dor. Yañez los Curas de la Parrochia de la Vera Cruz de esta Ciudad pidieron a su Exc^a parasen en su poder dichas alajas con esta ocasion procuraron se me notificara diese las que yo tenia. Respondi lo que llevo dicho y satisfice a la notificacion con la entrega que avia hecho de todas las alajas al Dor. Juan Yañez.

De estos 10,000 pesos, los 2,773 pesos estan cargados como consta de las Primeras foxas del libro del gasto. Dos mil se rebastan de siete mil que estan cargados en el f^o 18 del libro de gasto que se embiaron al Padre Francisco de Florencia a Sevilla y su R^a gastó en el avio de las Misiones que vinieron para Marianas año de 73 y año de 75 cinco mil pesos con que estos dos mil pesos que van a dezir que estaban cargados en el gasto se devengan por dos mil a quenta de los diez mil de las alajas con que de los diez mil quedan ya cinco mil.

Al tiempo de conchavar los generos para la Mission se asentaba el presio en los libros por lo que esta ajustado; y despues al tiempo de la paga procuraba que me hiziesen rebaxas de lo conchavado, y ajustando las rebaxas que e conseguido en estos años montan 2,875 pesos 4 tomins 1/2. Lo que va a dezir que son 2,351 p. 3 t^o 1/2 no los e cargado a la Mission.

Razon de lo que se â gastado en la Mission y lo que le queda situado en la Caja y otras fincas.

Aunque la Mission no tenia renta ni finca alguna el año de 68 en estos onze âse halla averse gastado en sus avios y socorros 133,103 p 2t^o como consta del libro del gasto

desde foxa 1^a hasta el 32, a la buelta: y añadiendo los 2,351 p3t^o1/2 que no tengo cargados de las alajas son 135,454 p5t^o1/2.

Lo gastado hasta el año de 77 inclusive son 110,010 p5t^o1/2 y de lo que entonces alcance a la Mission se lo dexé aplicado.

Este año de 78 monta el gasto 23,092 p. 5t^o1/2 y la entrada à sido de diez y ocho mil novecientos y treinta pesos porque el embio del año de 77 importo mu-[fol. 236v] -chos millares de pesos como consta de la memoria que se presentó a su Exc^a que es la misma que llevó el Padre Bartholome Besco y para ajustarlo me suplieron adelantados seis mil pesos a cuenta de este año de 78. Y el embio del año de 78 fue tan abundante que el Padre Procurador Balthasar de Mansilla lo vio y su R^a me a dicho yban generos para dos o tres años, y assi alcanza el gasto de este año y las partidas que se dexaron de cargar el año de 75 quatro mil ciento sesenta y dos pesos quatro tomines y medio que me an suplido.

El dinero que esta cituado en la Real Caxa para la Mission es lo siguiente:
çinco mil pesos cada año para los Seminarios de Niños y Niñas que se crían en ellos. Las limosnas de los PPes. segun la certificacion viniere de los que ay en dicha Mission a cada uno tresientos y cinquenta pesos.

Vino para las Missas, y Azeite para los SAGRARIOS segun la certificacion viniere.

El sueldo de quarenta soldados pagado aqui en plata como a los de Sinaloa con la misma obligacion de llevar a su costa polvora, armas, y demas cosas necessarias para la guerra, trayendo certificacion del Superior de su asistencia: todo lo qual importa cada año mas de veinte y dos o veinte y tres mil pesos.

Ytem un mil pesos de principal que el Señor Benito de Gama dexó en su testamento para que todos los años se den cinquenta pesos a la Mission.

Ytem dos mil pesos que me dio la Señora Marquesa de que se da razon en el libro de la entrada y con ellos y mayor cantidad se compraron y se an labrado tres pocessiones [sic] de casas que pagados los censos que tenían sobre sí quedan de los alquileres ochocientos pesos cada año que corresponden a diez y seis mil de principal con que los diez mil pesos que resivi y estaban puestos acend [sic] no se an perdido pues estan puesto en fincas corrientes; y de los censos que dichas casas tenían se an redimido dos mil pesos cuya redencion esta con la escritura de venta de una de las pocessiones de dichas casas.

Razon de los Despachos que se an sacado a favor de Marianas. Cédulas de su Magestad.

En 24 de Mayo de 1670 se ordeno al Virrey de Nueva España diese por libres a los fiadores que dio Diego Luis de Sanvitores de la Compañia de Jesus de llevar aprovaçion de los diez mil pesos con que le socorro de las Caxas Reales para la reduçion de los Indios de las Yslas Marianas. —

En 6 de Junio se ordeno al mesmo que informase de la forma que se podria dar para sacar la artilleria de bronce de los dos Galeones que se perdieron en las costas de aquellas Yslas segun la noticia que dio el dicho Padre Sanvitores. —

*El mismo día se ordeno al Virrey que informase en la primera ocasion sobre[fol. 237] aver pedido los Misioneros de la Compañia de Jesus que asisten en las reducciones de los Naturales de las Yslas de los Ladrones al Governor de Philipinas alguna **gente y armas** que los resguarden.—*

*En 12 de Agosto del mismo año se remitió al Virrey copia de un **apuntamiento** firmado del Ven. Padre Sanvitores de las cosas que necessitan aquellas Misiones para que disponga la prevencion de ellas.—*

*En 15 de Agosto se le encargo que valiendose de dichos Misioneros pusiese particular cuidado en que se descubra un **surgidero** donde tengan abrigo las Naos de aquellas Islas.*

*El mismo día se le encargo que valiendose de los dichos Misioneros poniendo particular cuidado en que se reconozcan los frutos de las Yslas Marianas y si ay algunos **Minerales** embie relacion de lo que huviere.—*

*El mismo día se ordeno que sin embargo del informe que se le pidio en 6 de Junio de 71 disponga lo que le paresiere mas conveniente sobre la **gente y armas** que los dichos Misioneros pidieren al Governador para su resguardo y que informe de donde podra pagar el çituido de esta gente.—*

*El mismo día se le encargo que sin embargo del informe que se le pidio en 6 de Junio de 71 hiziese sacar la **Artilleria** referida.—*

El mismo día se ordeno al Governador que se correspondiese con el Virrey para el mexor cumplimiento de todo lo referido.—

*El mismo día se dixo al Padre Sanvitores continuase en la reduccion de los Yndios por lo que importaba al Servicio de Dios N. Señor y que alentase a sus compañeros a lo mismo, y que procure descubrir el **surgidero** para el abrigo de las Naos y que avise de lo que obrare.—*

En 10 de Octubre del mismo año se ordeno al Virrey que proveyesse a los Religiosos de la Compania que fuesen a estas Islas y Missiones de lo que invieren menester como se hazia con los de Sinaloa.—

En 24 del se encargo al Virrey ordenase que de los generos que se llevasen para el sustento de los Religiosos que asisten en dichas conversiones no se les llevasen derechos.—

*En 16 de Nobiembre se ordeno al Virrey se comunicase con el Padre Sanvitores y que dispusiese que el y sus compañeros tengan la **embarcaçion** que piden para pasar de unas Yslas a otras.—*

El mismo día se mando lo mismo al Governador de Philipinas para que lo dispusiese tambien.—

El mismo día se encargo al Virrey embiase a las Yslas Marianas todos los Religiosos de la Compañia que pudiesse para la conversion de sus Naturales y que se les diesen las asistencias que huviesen menester.—

El mismo día se ordeno al Virrey se comunicasse con el Governador y con el Padre Sanvitores para disponer que vayan desde Manila 200 Yndios Pampangos a las Marianas y que en trueque de ellos vayan otros tantos de ellas a Manila.—

[fol. 237v]

El mismo día se ordeno al Gobernador se correspondiesse con el Virrey para la execucion de lo referido.—

En 29 de febrero se ordeno al Virrey se informase del paraje donde estaban las Yslas de Salomon en Philipinas y que avise que medios se podran aplicar para descubrirlas.

*En 12 de Noviembre se repite se informe de los Misioneros de dichas Yslas de los **Puertos, Minerales, y frutos** que ay en ellas y que se cuide mucho de la conversion de sus Naturales.—*

*En 20 del mismo se encargo al Virrey disponga sean proveydos dichos Misioneros de la **gente y armas** que piden para su resguardo.—*

*En 21 se encargó al Gobernador disponga por su parte se saque la **artilleria** referida.—*

*En 18 de Abril de 1673 se dixo al Virrey se comunicasse con el Padre Sanvitores para la fundacion del **Collegio Seminario** que se à de hazer en la Ysla de Guan para la criança de los Niños huérfanos de aquella tierra remitiendole tres mil pesos cada año para ello ó lo que menos fuere necessario; assi mismo con lo que fuere menester segun lo que dicho Padre le avisare para fundar una casa donde se crien las Niñas Marianas.— Quando esta çedula llegó avia ya muerto el Ven. Padre pero aca se dispuso bien con la gracia del Señor.—*

El mismo día se aviso al Padre Sanvitores de lo referido y que se le diesen las gracias por el zelos con que se emplea en las conversiones dicho Padre y sus compañeros.—

El mismo día se dieron gracias al Capitan D. Juan de Santa Cruz por lo que ayuda al Padre Sanvitores a estas conversiones.—

En 15 de dicho mes se encargo al Padre Provincial de Castilla la nueva procure que vayan algunos Religiosos a emplearse en estas conversiones.—Los mesmo se dixo el mesmo día al Padre Provincial de Andalucia, Padre Provincial de Castilla la vieja, y Padre Provincial de Aragon.—

En 26 del se dio aviso por orden de su Magestad al Padre General de la Compañia de lo que les encargaba a los PPes Provinciales para que por su parte le ayude.—

*En Mayo de 73 se aprobo al Virrey el remitir tres mil pesos al Gobernador para que se haga la **embarcacion que se pide**.—*

Memoria de los Despachos y generos que se an entregado al Padre Procurador Balthasar de Mansilla a 2 de diciembre de 78, dia que se leio el orden de N.P. General.

Mandamiento duplicado para que los Ofiziales Reales de Acapulco den cassa y avio a los Padres que van a Marianas.

Cedula de su Magestad para que se den limosnas a los Misioneros.

Otra Cedula para que se les embiasen ornamentos.

Cedula en que aprueba su Magestad aver buuelto al Gobernador la embarcacion que se trujo y el averse descalfado los tres mil pesos para que se hiziese otra.

Cedula para que la Nao de Philipinas de fondo en Marianas para dexar alli los Misioneros, soldados, y generos.

[fol. 238]

Cedula y mandamiento para que no se paguen derechos por los generos que van a dichas Yslas Marianas.

Cedula para que se haga la embarcacion para andar de unas Yslas a otras.

Cedula de la fundacion de los Seminarios.

Otra Cedula para que de fondo la Nao no obstante qualquiera orden en contrario del Governador de Philipinas.

Mandamiento para que el General dexé los generos, soldados, etc en Marianas [só] pena de dos mil ducados.

Otro Mandamiento para lo mismo.

Mandamiento para que el Superior de Marianas nombre cabo de los 40 soldados.

Otras dos Cedula para que de fondo la Nao de Philipinas en Marianas.

Varios despachos y Mandamientos que estan en seis foxas.

Cedula en que aprueba se Magestad los cinco mil pesos para los Seminarios, la limosna de vino y Azeite, el estipendio de los Misioneros, y sueldo de los soldados.

Generos y Libros.

—Tres tomos de S. Geronimo.—

—Mendo [sic] sobre la Bulla.—

—Dos tomos de Salazar in proverbial.—

—Zerda in Judith.—

—Christiano sabio del Padre Aguado.—

—Quaresma de Andrada.—

—Cartas de Santa Teresa Comentadas.—

—Un Bullario quatro tomos.—

—Diez y seis Sabanas 12 de orea de a 9 baras, 2 de Ruan y 2 de presilla.—

—Una almoada.—

—Cinco camisas de Ruan.—

—Dos baras de paño negro veinte y quatro.—

—Yna frasquera grande con 12 frascos.—

—Un atado de cintas blancas con 12 masos de ellas.—

—Diez masos de cintas de varios colores, y otro de cintas moradas.—

—Un estante nuevo con su mesa.—

—Algunos medicamentos de miel asucar rosadas, oximiel, &.—

—Tres escrituras de venta de las casas y sus titulos que estan en cabeza de este Colegio por que entonces no avia licencia de N. Padre General como la ay aora para fundar Collegio en Marianas.

Algunos juzgaran que muchos de los gastos hechos en despachos y otras cosas son superfluos: pero se à de advertir que es mui distinto ver la Mission con el corriente que tiene aora que considerarla en sus principios quando se comenzo a fundar y que en todos estos años se an yendo asentando las materias y mas quanto con la grazia del [fol. 238v] Señor se an conseguido todos los despachos que se podian desear para la conservacion de dicha Mission.

Con ocasion de los sujetos que se an propasado a Manila quisó el Señor Fiscal reclamar aqui y informar al Consejo que no se quedaban en Marianas los sugetos que su Magestad embiara para aquella Mission, se levantaba una contradición grande a la Mission y para evitarla se pidio a su Exc^a mandamiento para que el Superior de Marianas no permitiese pasar a Manila ninguno de los nuestros.

No estan cargados los dosientos pesos de los dos mil y quinientos que se dieron al General y solo estan cargados dos mil y tresientos.

No estan cargados dosientos y setenta y quatro porque gasto el Padre Francisco de Florencia en el avio de las dos Misiones que solo cargue cinco mil y los gastados son cinco mil dosientos y setenta y quatro pesos como parese por las quentas.

No estan cargados seiscientos pesos que pague año de sesenta y ocho al Padre Procurador de Philipinas por otros tantos que la Provincia de Philipinas suplio al Ven. Padre Sanvitores quando vino a este Reyno y se avian de dar al Padre Andres de Ledesma y los entregue en esta Ciudad al Hermano Manuel Duarte.

Resumen de todo el gasto.

<i>Gastos cargados a la Mission:</i>	<i>133,103 pesos 1 tomin</i>
<i>Entrada que le e solicitado assi de la Caxa Real como de otras limosnas monta:</i>	<i>128,122 pesos 1 tomin 1/2</i>
<i>Gastos que no estan cargados a la Mission:</i>	<i>4,225 pesos 3 tomins 1/2</i>
<i>Se an de cobrar de las casas ciento y ocho pesos:</i>	<i>108 pesos</i>

no se debe nada de reditos de sus cor[r]jidos, y solo se deve lo que va corriendo.

Esto es lo que a procurado hazer esta Provincia por la Mission y el estado en que se entrega al Padre Balthasar de Mansilla. Y esta entrega se leyó en consulta de Provincia presentes Padres Francisco Salgado y Padre Balthasar de Mansilla a dos de Enero de seisçientos i setenta i nueve años 1679.

+

+ Joseph Vidal +

Translation.

List and news of the present condition of the Mariana Island Mission and the condition it was in when the Ven. Father Diego Luis de Sanvitores went there, in the year 1668.

In January of said year of 1668, the Ven. Father Diego Luis de Sanvitores came to this Kingdom in order to go on to the Mariana Islands. Here His Reverence was given 10,000 pesos from the Royal Treasury, and said pesos came into the possession of Admiral Bartolomé Muñoz and I did not touch not even a quarter of a real from these pesos, as is recorded in the book of receipts, and the Ven. Father has signed for it in my notebook, the one I showed to Father Provincial Thomas Altamirano when I gave the accounts in the year 1677, by order of our Fr. General.

As soon as the Ven. Father came, His Reverence told me that I should consider this Mission as recommended by the Lord and that he was placing it in my care and that, given that I could not accompany him in his voyage, I should assist him from here, in making every effort to solicit the necessities for the establishment and preservation of

the Mission, and these were the pieces of real estate and rental incomes with which I received(?) the Mission, without having one real [of money] consigned [by the King] for said Mission, not even the despatch of half a note [written] in their favor.

Not only did the Ven. Father entrust the Mission to me, and also the Superiors of this Province, but afterwards the Father General confirmed my appointment as Procurator of the Marianas, so that there would not be any impediment. The Father Provincials of the Philippines wrote to me also, many times, not to abandon the Mission and to continue taking care of it, since Father Diego Luis Sanvitores had entrusted it to me and it had no other recourse but the succor that was being sent from here, and that came from the solicitation of alms.—

For five years the Mission was without any income or alm whatever consigned by His Majesty, and it was recognized here that it was not possible for it to become established, unless it had a subsidy from the Treasury here; therefore, His Lordship the Marquis of Mancera and the Gentlemen of the Council were requested to send a report to His Majesty so that alms could be earmarked for that new conversion. The report was obtained and by virtue of His Majesty's decree the missionaries of the Marianas are to be succored the same as those in Sinaloa. This is indeed a special favor, given that the missionaries in Manila receive a very small alm.¹

Having obtained this decree and permanent subsidy from this Royal Treasury for the Mariana Mission, it appeared to the Father Provincials of the Philippines that it was more convenient to have all these expenditures go through one hand and not through so many, and that said sum collected from the treasury be administered by the man filling the post of Procurator of the Philippines here. A report was sent to our Father General and His Paternity answered by 3 or 4 letters, saying that I was to carry on in said post of Procurator of the Marianas, until this year of 1678 when His Paternity ordered otherwise.

During the first five years without fixed income or alm from His Majesty, over 17,000 pesos were spent in said Mission, according to the notebook that, as I have said, I showed to Father Provincial Thomas Altamirano, and to the lists and entries contained in the book of accounts and expenses of said Mission. And the lists for said five years and the remainders are signed, not only by the Ven. Father Sanvitores for the year that he was here, but also by Father Francisco Solano when he passed here on the way to the Marianas, and by the muleteers who have signed every year for the goods delivered to them for transport to the Port of Acapulco, and these last few years the lists of the goods shipped have been presented to His Excellency so that he might become aware of how the money given by His Majesty for the Mariana Islands was employed.² Likewise, for the same gentleman, since the Mission has had alms permanently consigned in the treasury, every year some of the Gentlemen members of the Audiencia and other

1 Ed. note: Hence some of the jealousy.

2 Ed. note: Doc. 1677K is a case in point.

gentlemen of the Council and the Royal Factor, Don Fernando Deza, Secretary Sariñana¹ and a few times Secretary Montoya, to see the goods that are purchased for the Mission; everyone in the house has seen entire droves come out of here with said supplies for the Marianas.

I must warn that all my care and efforts have been directed at looking for the merchandises, packing them, and delivering them to the muleteers for them to take to the Port of Acapulco, and the bundles and packages that go from here are not opened there, except for the food supplies (and only these are repacked overthere into jars). As for the rest, as they are shipped in well-packed condition and proper containers from here, they are thus loaded in the port. However, I can never vouch for the fidelity of the muleteers, or say that they would have proceeded in total security from here to the port, given what we know has happened to others, and to a gentleman of this city who sent a few crates full of Reals to Spain, but along the road between here and Veracruz, they substituted stones, and the crates went on that way to Spain.

I have turned over the goods to the muleteers and they have signed the waybills, and Father Provincial saw all these receipts, as confirmed by the Certification that His Reverence wrote in the book of expenditures, on folio 29.

Neither can I vouch for these goods to have been effectively delivered to the Fathers in the Marianas, not just for the above-mentioned reason, but also because, if the General [of the galleon] does not deliver all of them and many of them go on to the Philippines, it is not my fault. This has happened on various occasions, even when the Ven. Father Sanvitores went there, the same thing happened to many of the goods that His Reverence carried from here, according to what Father Solano told us when he came from the Philippines to go to the Marianas [in 1671].

This point has been offset, as much as human arrangement and prudence render possible; indeed, an order was obtained from His Excellency to the effect that the General was to pass by said Islands and leave there all the goods, people, and other things destined for said Mission. And afterwards a decree has been issued by His Majesty, confirming this despatch of His Excellency. And after all of this, the Generals might continue to do as they please.

In the listings that were made at the time of the despatch, there are many entries that do not mention the exact quantity of some goods, because it usually happened that, in just one month more or less, the goods requested from there had to be bought, packed, recorded, and delivered to the muleteers, and all of this took more time and space. And on many occasions the time has been so short that, in order to make the despatch, I would leave the house at 6 in the morning, and return to eat when the “bachillera” was sounded at 2 in the afternoon,² and sometimes very close to 3 o’clock, and after I had eaten it was necessary to go out again until the prayer, because I also had to spend time

1 Ed. note: Written Lanziñana in Doc. 1677K.

2 Ed. note: Perhaps the bells of the Cathedral sounded to mark the beginning of the 2-hour afternoon siesta, and the closing of the shops and offices. Fr. Vidal could not have done business during that period, even if he had wanted to.

to talk to the gentlemen and to His Excellency to get expedient and favorable despatches, and to arrange the goods that were to be carried off. So, what time could remain to make lists with every detail and to write the great many details that were possible? That was something interminable.

I must also state that my brother, Licentiate Xaverio Cristobal Vidal, carried off as he was by love for the Ven. Father Sanvitores, gave him ornaments and jewels from the Sodality of St. Francis Xavier; said jewels were evaluated at 10,000 pesos, as can be seen in a paper that the Ven. Father asked be printed.¹ And as the matter was without authorization from the ordinary, after the above-said my brother died, as I was his executor, I kept the jewels. The Sodality asked me for them for the inventories that the Sodality had of all of them and in order to deliver them others, equivalent ones, were made and were given to Doctor Juan Yañez, Majordomo of said Sodality. And because after the death of said Doctor Yañez the Curates of the Parish of La Veracruz of this City asked His Excellency to hold said jewels for safe-keeping, on this occasion they tried to have me notified to give those I had in my possession. I answered with what I have just said and I satisfied the notification with the delivery that I had made of all the jewels to Doctor Juan Yañez.

Out of these **10,000 pesos**, **2,773 pesos** are charged to the accounts, as appeared in the first sheets of the book of expenses. Then 2,000 were deducted for the 7,000 that are charged on folio 18 of the book of expenses and were sent to Father Francisco de Florencia in Seville and His Reverence spent them in the outfitting of the mission bands that came for the Marianas in the year 1673, and 5,000 in the year 1675.² So, it means that these 2,000 that were charged as expenses are earned [i.e. cancelled out] by 2,000 on the account of the 10,000 of the jewels; so, from the 10,000 there remain 5,000.

When it was discovered that the goods for the Mission had been tampered with, quality-wise,³ their price was recorded in the books for what was their adjusted value; and later on, at the time of making the payment, I tried to have them give me discounts for what had been tampered with, and by adjusting for the discounts that I have gotten in these years, the total is **2,875 pesos 4 tomims and 1/2**. In other words, what I have not charged to the Mission amounts to **2,351 pesos 3 tomims and 1/2**.

List of what has been spent in the Mission and what remains as permanent subsidy in the Treasury and other properties.

Although the Mission had no fixed income or property whatever in the year 1668, in these 11 [years?], a total of **133,103 pesos 2 tomims** have been spent for their outfittings and succors, as appears in the book of expenses, from folio 1 to folio 32 verso;

1 Ed. note: See Doc. 1668E. The gifts received were described in part 1 of the 8th section of the printed Memorial (HM4:379).

2 Ed. note: Badly expressed. From what follows, he means that a further 3,000 pesos were sent and spent for 1675, and thus a total of 5,000 were spent on both mission bands.

3 Ed. note: This is my interpretation of the Spanish word "conchabar." By the 18th-century, it applied only to the practice of mixing wools of inferior quality at the time of delivery.

and adding the **2,351 pesos 3 tomins and 1/2** that I have not charged from the jewels, makes **135,454 pesos 5 tomins and 1/2**.

The expenditures up to and including the year **1677** amount to 110,010 pesos 5 tomins and 1/2 and what I then advanced to the Mission I have applied it.

This year of **1678** the expenditures amount to 23,092 pesos 5 tomins and 1/2, and the amount [collected and] entered is 18,930 pesos, because the shipment of the year **1677** cost many thousands of pesos, as appears from the listing that was presented to His Excellency, which is the same as the one Father Bartolomé Besco took along¹ and to reconcile it, they credited me with an advance of 6,000 pesos on the account for the year **1678**. And the shipment of the year **1678** was so abundant that Father Procurator Baltazar de Mansilla saw it and His Reverence told me that there were enough goods in it to last for 2 or 3 years. So, the expenditures of this year and the entries that remained to be charged in **1675** give a total of 4,162 pesos 4 tomins and 1/2 that they have given me in advance.

The money that is recorded under permanent subsidy in the Royal Treasury for the Mission is as follows:

Each year 5,000 pesos for the Seminaries of boys and of girls who are being raised in them. The alms for the Fathers, in accordance with the certification to come from there giving the number of those in said Mission, is 350 pesos to each.

Wine for masses, and oil for the sanctuaries, in accordance with the certification to come.

The salary of 40 soldiers paid here in silver, as for those in Sinaloa, with the same obligation of taking at their expense powder, weapons, and other necessities for war, witness a certificate from the Superior of their assistance: all of which amounts every year to over 22,000 or 23,000 pesos.

Item 1,000 pesos in principal that Mr. Benito de Gama gave in his testament, so that every year 50 pesos be given to the Mission.²

Item 2,000 pesos that Her Ladyship the Marchioness gave me, which are listed in the book of receipts, and with them and a greater sum 3 houses were purchased and repaired; once taxes on them are paid, there remain from the rent 800 pesos net every year, which correspond to a principal of 16,000 pesos.³ Therefore, the 10,000 pesos that I received were placed [i.e. invested] and they have not been lost, since they are placed in ordinary real estate. Furthermore, from the taxes on the said houses, 2,000 pesos have been redeemed; said redemption appears with the bill-of-sale of one of the said houses.

1 Ed. note: See Doc. 1677K.

2 Ed. note: We learn here that a long-term investment in Mexico in the 1670s paid an interest of 5% per annum.

3 Ed. note: He is right, to get 800p in interest from an investment at 5% p.a., a principal of 16,000p would be required.

List of the Despatches that have been issued in favor of the Marianas. Decrees from His Majesty.

[Not translated here, as they are all included in Doc. 1673F.]

List of the Despatches and goods that have been turned over to Father Procurator Balthasar de Mansilla on 2 December 1678, the day that the order of our Fr. General was read.

Order in duplicate for the Royal Officials in Acapulco to give a house and outfit to the Fathers who go to the Marianas.

Decree from His Majesty for alms to be given to the missionaries.

Another decree for ornaments to be sent to them.

Decree in which His Majesty approves the return to the Governor of the boat that was brought and having deducted the 3,000 pesos in question from him, until he made another.

Decree for the Philippine galleon to anchor in the Marianas to leave there the missionaries, soldiers, and goods.

Decree and order for duties not to be charged on goods going to said Mariana Islands.

Decree for the building of the boat to travel between Islands.

Decree of the foundation of the Seminaries.

Another decree for the galleon to anchor, notwithstanding contrary order from the Governor of the Philippines.

Order to the General to leave the goods, soldiers, etc. in the Marianas, under penalty of 2,000 ducats.

Another order for same.

Order for the Superior of the Marianas to appoint a commander for the 40 soldiers.

Two other decrees for the Philippine galleon to anchor in the Marianas.

Various despatches and Orders written on six folios.

Decree in which His Majesty approves the 5,000 pesos for the Seminaries, the alm for wine and oil, the stipend of the missionaries, and the salary of the soldiers.

Goods and Books.

—2 volumes by St. Jerome.—

—Mendo [sic] about the Bull.—

—2 volumes of proverbs by Salazar.—

—Cerde in Judith.—

—“Christiano sabio” by Father Aguado.—

—“Quaresma” by Andrada.—

—Letters of St. Theresa, with commentaries.—

—One set of [Papal] Bulls, in 4 volumes.—

—16 bed-sheets, 12 of “orea” of 9 yards in length, 2 of Rouen, and 2 of “presilla”¹
 —1 pillow.—
 —5 flannel shirts.—
 —2 yards of black cloth N° 24.—
 —1 large flask holder with 12 flasks.—
 —1 bundle of white ribbons, each with 12 bunches of them.—
 —10 bunches of ribbons of various colors, and another of purple ribbons.—
 —1 new bookcase with its table.—
 —A few medicines of honey-sugar pastils, oxymel,² etc.—
 —3 bills-of-sale for houses and their titles written on letterhead paper of this College, because then there was no permission from our Father General, as there is now, to found a College in the Marianas.

Some people will judge that many of the expenditures made in the despatches and other things were superfluous; however, it must be said that it is one thing to see the Mission in its present condition and compare it to what it was in its beginnings, when it was founded, and that in all these years the material aspects have been improving steadily, specially so considering that, thank God, all the despatches that could have been desirable for the preservation of said Mission have been obtained.

On the occasion when individuals bypassed [the Marianas and went on] to Manila, the Fiscal tried to put up a claim here and inform the Council [of the Indies] that the subjects whom His Majesty sent to that Mission were not staying in the Marianas; a great contradiction to the Mission was being raised and, in order to avoid it, His Excellency [the Viceroy] was asked to issue an order to prevent the Superior of the Marianas from giving permission to our people to pass to Manila.³

There are 200 pesos not charged from the 2,500 given to the General; only 2,300 have been charged.

There are 274 pesos not charged in the expenditures made by Father Francisco de Florencia in the outfitting of the two mission bands, because I only charged 5,000 and he spent 5,274 pesos, as appears in the accounts.

There are 600 pesos not charged, which I paid to Father Procurator of the Philippines in the year 1678, to cover that amount given as an advance to the Ven. Father Sanvitores by the Province of the Philippines when he came to this Kingdom and they were to have been given to Father Andrés de Ledesma but I have delivered them in this City to Brother Manuel Duarte.

1 Ed. note: Three types of linen, actually.

2 Ed. note: Syrup made of water, honey, and vinegar.

3 Ed. note: This ruckus was raised by Fr. Alonso Lopez who left Guam in 1675. He was ordered to return to the Marianas at about this time, but I have not found a document about this affair, and also, there is no record of an order having been issued by the Viceroy on this occasion; he must simply have told the Fiscal to back off.

Summary of all the expenses.

Expenses charged to the Mission:	133,103 pesos 1 tomin
Receipts that I have solicited from the Royal Treasury and from other alms, total:	128,122 pesos 1 tomin 1/2
Expenses not yet charged to the Mission:	4,225 pesos 3 tomins 1/2
What must be recovered from the houses is 108 pesos:	108 pesos.

Nothing is due by way of interest for overdue accounts, and only current interest is due.

This is what this Province has endeavored to do for the [Mariana] Mission and the state in which it is passed on to Father Balthasar de Mansilla. And this turnover report was read at the regular consultation meeting of the Province, in the presence of Father Francisco Salgado and Father Balthasar de Mansilla, on 2 January 1679.

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+ Joseph Vidal +

Document 1679C

Letter from Fr. Vidal to Fr. Francisco Ximénez, dated Tepotzlán 24 March 1679

Source: AGN Mexico, AHH legajo 326-2.

Original text in Spanish.

Mi Padre Provincial Francisco Ximenez

Pax Christi,

Recibí la de V.R^a con las estimaciones que debo i el agradecimiento que merezca la mucha caridad que V.R^a me hace. No tengo con que servirla, pero he pedido en tres Misiones que hice desde que sali de México muchas oraciones, i de mi parte he aplicado lo que he podido suplicando a N. Sor. conceda a V.R^a mui felices Pasquas, i de la salud mui cumplida para los muchos cuidados que prenden de V.R^a. Confío en N. Sr. me ha de dar tiempo, i ocasión su Magestad, para que queda servir lo mucho que debo a V.R^a.

En los que me ordena V.R^a del libro en que se asienten los clajos(?) i apuros recibidos, i aparte el gasto, lo executaré como le manda V. Ra.

En quanto al compañero por Diciembre, Enero, Febrero, Marzo, lo estimo i agradezco a V. R^a i lo acepto de mui buena gana que io proseguiré más misiones, hasta que venga nueva de nao de Filipinas, i para quando vuelva V.R^a se asentará el quedar io en el Colegio, porque sino es de esa suerte, no se han de cobrar los dos mil pesos. Y en San Andrés fuera de la distancia grande que ai para Palacio, donde son todos los negocios, el desabrigo grande que tiene es mui contrario a la salud a que se llega imposibilitarse el reparar al Hermano Pedro, quando vaia al Colegio, que como dije a V.R^a con mi asistencia, en poco tiempo [hole in document = terminará?] todo el curso de la Filosofía, quando N. Sor. sea servido me vuelvo de la Vera Cruz. [A] V. R^a diré a boca otros razones en este particular.

Los Señores Alcaldes de Corte han echo muchos empeños por que los de la Compañía asistan a los justiciados, i nunca han permitido hazer una plática en la horca los clérigos. Después que salí de Mexico han ahorcado dos, i no les han asistido los nuestros,

según han dicho algunas personas que han pasado por aquí, suplico a V. R^a se lo deja mui encomendado al Padre Prepósito, i que siempre se señale algun Padre que haga la plática en la horca.

*Los papeles del negocio i materia tocante al **Hermano Duarte**, remitiré, como me ordenó V. R^a al Padre que queda en lugar de V.R^a. En su respuesta a las preguntas de V.R^a dice el Hermano Duarte que los 7,000 pesos que resten de sus gastos los puso en la carta quenta de la Provincia de Filipinas, i que como Procurador suio los ha retenido en sí. Conviene sepa V.R^a que el Hermano Duarte dijo al Padre Provincial Manuel de Arteaga, que como las Marianas por ser misión no podía tener renta, avía dispuesto el Padre Provincial de Filipinas se pusiesen a censo los dineros, que dejó el Sor. D. Diego de Salcedo a las Marianas en cabeza de un colegio de Manila, i que la renta fuese para las Marianas. Sera mui importante declare este punto el Hermano Duarte i que si estan puestos a renta, la perciban las Marianas, i tambien conviene tenga V.R^a noticia, como el Gobernador D. Diego de Salcedo escribió al Hermano Duarte una carta en que le ordenaba cobrase 14,000 pesos del Cap. D. Gerónimo Pardo, de los generos que paraban en su poder, i estos son distintos de los que quedaron en poder del Hermano Duarte por muerte del P. Combes i dicha carta pasa en poder del Hermano Duarte. V.R^a me perdone tantos enfados, que como a mi Padre me atrevo.*

El Hermano Pedro esta bueno i se encomienda cordialmente a V.R^a, a quien agradezco el cuidado de la cobranza de Doña Isabel... N. Sor. que a V. R^a con mui entero salud como le suplico.

Tepotzlán y Marzo 24 del 79.

Siervo humilde de V.R^a.

Joseph Vidal

[Endorsement:] A mi P. Francisco Ximenez Provincial de la Provincia de la Compañía de Jesús de Nueva España. JV

Translation.

My dear Fr. Provincial Francisco Ximenez,¹
Peace of Christ.

I got the letter from Your Reverence with the esteem I owe Y.R. and the thankfulness that your great charity toward me deserves. I have nothing with which to respond in kind, but during three missions that I preached since I left Mexico, I have made many prayers, and on my part I have made great efforts to beg Our Lord to grant a very happy

¹ Ed. note: He was the former Provincial, from 1674 to 1677, and probably more sympathetic to the author. It is also possible that Fr. Altamirano, the present Provincial, was temporarily incapacitated.

Easter to Y.R., and the great health necessary for Y.R. to undertake your many tasks. I trust that Our Lord will give me the time, and His Majesty the opportunity, to let me remain and serve Y.R. as much as I must.

Referring to the book in which Y.R. orders me to make the entries for the committed receipts, and separately the expenditures, I will do as Y.R. orders.¹

As for the companion for December, January, February, March,² I am thankful to Y.R. and accept it gratefully; I will continue with my missions, until news comes about the Philippine galleon, and when Y.R. gets back, my staying at the College will be discussed, because otherwise the 2,000 pesos will not have to be recovered. San Andrés is such a distance from the Palace, where every business is transacted; its great lack of shelter is very contrary to [good] health that, once Br. Pedro goes to the College, he will be unable to return, and as I told Y.R., with my assistance, in a short time [hole in ms. = he will finish?] the whole course of Philosophy, when Our Lord will be pleased that I should come back from Veracruz. I will give Y.R. other reasons verbally about this question.

The magistrates of the court have made many efforts to have those of the Society assist the sentenced criminals, and the priests have never allowed a sermon from the gallows. After I left Mexico, they have hanged two, and our people have not assisted them, as has been reported by a few persons who have passed by here. I beg Y.R. to make an express recommendation to the Fr. General, and that some Father should always make a sermon on the gallows.

I will remit the business papers and material regarding **Brother Duarte**, as Y.R. ordered me to do, to your replacement. In answer to your questions, Brother Duarte answers that the 7,000 net pesos that remain after his expenses have been entered in the account of the Philippine Province by him on the letter, and as their Procurator, he has retained them. It is proper for Y.R. to learn that Brother Duarte has told the Fr. Provincial Manuel de Arteaga,³ that as the Marianas being a mission could not have [interest] income, the Fr. Provincial of the Philippines had placed the moneys left by Don Diego de Salcedo to the Marianas nominally in favor of one of the colleges in Manila, but that the income was to be for the Marianas. It would be very important for Br. Duarte to make a declaration to this effect and, if they are indeed invested, the Marianas should perceive the interest. It would be also proper for Y.R. to know that Governor Diego de Salcedo wrote Brother Duarte a letter in which he orders him to collect 14,000 pesos from Cap.⁴ Gerónimo Pardo, from the goods that remained with him, and

1 Ed. note: See some of the credit and debit statements contained in Doc. 1676G, and a summary statement of receipts and expenditures in Doc. 1679B. The so-called committed receipts were the accounts receivable, I think.

2 Ed. note: Doc. 1678B3 says that Fr. Vidal had been quite sick; perhaps he needed a brother to tag along with him on his missions.

3 Ed. note: He had preceded Fr. Jiménez as Provincial, for one year, 1673-74.

4 Ed. note: That does not stand for Captain, but for Chaplain (see Doc. 1676G).

that they are different from those that remained with Brother Duarte after the death of Fr. Combés and the said power-of-attorney passed to Brother Duarte. Y.R. will please forgive me for so many bothersome remarks, but I dare to do as with my Father.

Brother Pedro is in good health and sends his cordial regards to Y.R., to whom I am thankful for the care Y.R. took in collecting from Doña Isabel...¹ I pray Our Lord to keep Y.R. in complete health.

Tepotzlán² 24 March 1679.

Y.R.'s humble servant,

Joseph Vidal

[Endorsement:] To Fr. Francisco Ximenez, Provincial of the Province of the Society of Jesus in New Spain. JV³

1 Ed. note: Probably referring to the wife of the Viceroy of New Spain.

2 Ed. note: Tepotzlán is a town south of Mexico City, not far from Cuernavaca.

3 Ed. note: The next day, Fr. Vidal had reached Mexico City and he wrote a longer letter to Fr. Jiménez in which he says that Brother Duarte was ready to come up with 7,021 pesos that he had gotten from Gerónimo Pardo, that Br. Duarte had invested them in accordance with the order from the Provincial of the Philippines and therefore could not have handed over the sum to the Mariana Mission. Earlier Gerónimo Pardo had said that he had given the 10,000 pesos to Br. Francisco Vello as Procurator of the Philippines, and that the money had not been turned over to Br. Duarte. The religious concerned by this matter did not know how to proceed to straighten the accounts between various Colleges, as well as what to do with the almost 3,000 pesos in so-called expenses; it seems that some of the money loaned to these colleges could not be recovered. Some even said that to hand over only 7,000 pesos to the Marianas would be to disobey the Fr. General of the Jesuits who had ordered them to hand over 10,000 pesos, which order ran counter to that of the Provincial of the Philippines to which the money had been bequeathed for the benefit of the Mariana Mission.

Document 1679D

Letter from Fr. Vidal regarding financial matters, dated Mexico 8 June 1679

Source: AHH Mexico, Misiones de Filipinas, Temporalidades, leg. 326-2, pp. 1728-1730.

Original text in Spanish.

Al papel quel Pe. Baltazar de Mansilla dio a V. R^a de la tasaçion de las casas, que entregue a su R^a como Procurador de las Marianas, digo lo urvrero(?): que quando el Procurador de un Collegio compra algunas casas maltratadas i gasta dineros en adereços, llaves, i otras cosas, i despues de estos gastos le parece mejor i de maior i mas conocida utilidad de derribarlas i reedificarlas de nuevo, no se llaman tassadores para que diciendo estos el valor intrinseco que tienen las paredes, sitio i techos; se le passe en cuenta i se le admita per gasto solo este valor intrinseco en que las tasan i se omitan los dineros que pago por ellas lo que gasto en las diligencias judiciales, estra judiciales, adereços, i otros gastos. Pues todos estos son gastos mui considerables aunque no sean del valor intrinseco de las casas.

Esto passo assí en las casas que entregue al Padre Baltazar de Mansilla. Pues fuera del dinero que se dio de contado por ellas, se gasto mucho in diligencias juridicas, en sacar los papeles i titulos, con advertencia que los de las casas de la calle del Relox son testimonio de lo de el pleito que se avia seguido, de los pregones i demas diligencias. Tambien se gastaron muchos dineros en adereçar estas i las demas, en ponerlas llaves, emurar aposentos, i echarlos de nuevo. Hasta que viendo era mejor hacer de nuevo una posesion de dichas casas, que estaban mui maltratadas, se derribaron estas y se labraron de nuevo sacandolas de cimientos. Con que el gasto que se ha hecho en ellas no se ha de atender, solo al valor intrinseco, i precio en que se tasseo i mas se se advierte que los sobrestantes pedian a vezes dineros prestados, i estos no le podian cobrar despues; se daban dineros adelantados para materiales i hacian falta con ellos. Los Maestros alegaban a cada cosa que se ofrecia no ser de su obligacion i se les avia de pagar de nuevo. Y assí fue mucho lo que se gasto, i mucho mas las pesadumbres i cuidados que costo;

por lo qual no se ha de atender al valor intrinseco que tienen sino tambien a lo mucho que han costado para ponerlas en el estado que estan.

En lo que se dice de los doce mil pesos, que tienen de censo dichas casas. Respondo que no tienen doce mil pesos de censo contra las Marianas. Porque los dos mil pesos que se dice, se recibieron con dos mil pesos de la S^a Marqueza de Manzera. Es menester decir con distincion, i claridad, que dichos dos mil pesos, los solicite io, i pedi a la S^a Marqueza me los diesse, i aviendo los conseguidos, a instancias mias, con ellos redimi dos mil pesos, que estaban contra las Marianas, i quedaron estos a su favor, i todos los años le tocan a la Mission Mariana, i ha de percibir los cien pesos de reditos, que corresponden a los dichos dos mil de principal, con que no tienen las casas doce mil pesos de censos contra las Marianas. Pues busque i soluisse los dos mil pesos dichos, con los quales quite los que estaban en contra, i los deje a su favor[.] de los censos que estan sobre las casas en contra de las Marianas diraron bastante, i con toda claridad, i nunca dije palabra de valor intrinseco [words missing] solo dije que segun lo que rentaban. Pagados los censos que tienen en contra, quedaban ochocientos pesos.

Insta el Padre Baltazar de Mansilla, en que el Colegio debe los dies mil pesos de litigio que hubo, i que per orden de N. Pe. Gl. se me entregaren, como lo respondi en la consulta preguntado de V. R^a, texto: digo que puse por entrada i me hice cargo de dies mil pesos del Sor. D. Diego de Salcedo. Con qual si aun lo de el Colegio de Mexico dies mil pesos subiran a veinte mil los que solos eran dies mil.

Dies mil de que me hice cargo en el libro de la entrada a favor de las Marianas, i los dies mil que debe el Colegio. O si quedan en dies mil i estos los debe el Colegio de Mexico. Se avran de rebajar los diez mil pesos de la entrada de que me hice cargo a favor de las Marianas, i excedera el gasto al recibo en dichos dies mil pesos que avren de pagar las Marianas, i el Padre Baltazar de Mansilla como su Procurad]or y io quando hice el entrego del oficio de Procor. de Marianas, nunca dije que daba las casas, para que con ellas se pagasse deuda alguna i mucho menos dies mil pesos, sino que llanamente i con toda lisura entregue sus titulos, i escrituras, como consta del papel que di a V. R^a i se leio en la Consulta.

Y como solo mortificado quiero decir en este i dar satisfaccion a los que en vari[as] ocasiones se ha defendido entre algunos de casa, aunque es en otra materia, pero que toca a las Marianas, i se ha dicho, que auiendo io questo en el libro, se debia a Francisco de Morales, vez[in]o de esta Ciudad el alcance que hizo el Gasto al Recibo el año seis[cientos] sesenta i ocho ; parecio que la cantidad que se debia, i pago a dicho Francisco de Mo[rales] fue corta, i que lo restante se me llebo a mi Aposento.

La materia es grave i que cada uno podra discurrir lo que le pareciere, que ---- por la gracia del Sor. me parece que aunque soi mui malo, he procurado proceder [nun]ca que ninguno de fuera ni de casa pueda decir con verdad que io le he hecho ---- o trampas. Y para satisfacer a esta duda, asi ha tenido de mi verdad; no dire otra satisfaccion que la que V.R^a sabe i aqui retenire por maior i si necessaria [fue]re la dare mui por menor i con toda individuacion.

Bien consta a V.R^a que la persona que me suplio la demas cantidad del alcance, pagada la deuda de Francisco de Morales, me la suplio, i otras cantidades, que debe el Colegio, las suplio con cargo i calidad, que no se avia de decir su nombre en tales deudas, como lo he hecho con otras personas de fuera, que le deben dineros, i le han otorgado las escrituras en cabeça de otro, haciendo luego el resguardo necesario. Y este re---- se ha ocasionado, de que siendo Albacea de un H[erman]o suio, algunos interesados le impusieron falsamente, avia ocultado un cofre lleno de Reales i de esta calumnia i de esta calumnia [sic] se han originado muchos pleitos, sin sabores i gastos, i lo gastado en dicho pleito passa de veintinuebe mil pesos. Y si llegasen a entender algunos de los interesados, avia hecho semejantes suplementos, o enprestados (aunque los que [a]bra supliido es de los esquilmos de sus proprias haciendas, que le valen muchos pesos, i de estos me ha embiado en varias ocasiones cantidades mui considerables a guardar, como he dicho a V. R^a i muchos de casa Chanuisto) avian de lebantar maior quimeras, que las passadas; i se le seguirian nuebas persecuciones, i cuidados. Pues para evitar estos graves inconvenientes no se puso su nombre en el libro pero como llebo dicho, lo sabe V. R^a mui bien. Y si fuere necesario, en la Consulta cuia materia i puntos que en ella se tratan, se callan con el silencio que se debe, dire quien es la persona, como i de que manera hiço el suplemento. Y en esta materia he procedido con tanta verdad, como procuro en los demas, que escribiendo a N. Pe. Gl. el entrego que hiçe; avise a su P[aternida]d de esta circunstancia, i del modo, con que se avia escrito el alcance en el libro, porque he procurado tener mucha claridad con mis superiores.

Mexico y Junio 8 de 679 años.

+Joseph Vidal+

Translation.

Regarding the paper that Fr. Baltazar de Mansilla gave Your Reverence about the valuation of the houses which I have delivered to His Reverence as Procurator of the Marianas, I declare the following(?): that when the Procurator of a College buys some run-down houses and [has to] spend moneys in renovating them, in locks, and other things, and then sees that cost for cost it seems to him better and more useful to demolish them and rebuild them anew, evaluators are not called in to have them say the intrinsic value of the walls, site and roofs; there is taken into account, and are admitted, only this intrinsic value in the valuation, and are omitted the moneys paid for them, the legal transactions, other transactions, the renovations, and other expenses. Indeed, all those expenses are very considerable, but they are not part of the intrinsic value.

That is what happened with the houses that I delivered to Fr. Baltazar de Mansilla. Indeed, besides the money that was given in cash for them, much was spent in legal transactions to obtain the papers and ownership titles, with the notice that those for the houses on Clock Street are the judgment in that legal action that took place, of the proclamations and other transactions. Also much money was spent in renovating those and the others, in fitting them with locks, removing the partitions between cells, and making new ones, until it was seen that it was better, upon taking possession of the said

houses again, which were badly run-down, [that] they should be torn down and built anew with cement. Hence the expense made in them is not to be taken into account, only the intrinsic value, and the [selling] price that they were assessed at; furthermore, it should be noted that the overseers used to ask for advance payments, and these could not be recovered later on; moneys would be given in advance for materials and they absconded with them. The master [carpenters] alleged every time that such things were not their responsibility and they asked for payment again. Thus, much was spent, but the tribulations and troubles were even greater. Hence, one should not pay attention only to the intrinsic value, but also to the great expenses made in putting them in the state they now are.

Regarding what is said about the 12,000 pesos of valuation for tax purposes of the said houses, I answer that these 12,000 pesos are not taxes due by the Marianas, because the 2,000 pesos that are said were received were the 2,000 pesos from the Marchioness of Mancera, it is important to say so with distinction, and clarity, that the said 2,000 pesos were solicited by me. I myself asked the Marchioness to give them to me, and having gotten them, at my instance, I redeemed 2,000 pesos from taxes owed by the Marianas, and these remained in their favor, and every year with regard to the Mariana Mission, the 100 pesos in interest must be collected, as they correspond to the 2,000 pesos of principal. Hence, the houses do not have 12,000 pesos of taxes due by the Marianas. Indeed, I looked for and obtained the 2,000 pesos in question, and credited the same to them. Regarding taxes owed on the houses by the Marianas, they have said enough, and with complete clarity, but I have never said a word about the intrinsic value [words missing]; I said only that, depending what the actual rent income was, once the tax that was due was taken off, there were 800 pesos left.

Fr. Baltazar de Mansilla pretends that the College owes the 10,000 pesos of the previous dispute, and that by order of our Fr. General were delivered to me. As I answered during the Consultation, when asked by Y.R., I said quote: that I made an entry and took charge of the 10,000 pesos from Mr. Diego de Salcedo. Hence, if I were to give [another] 10,000 pesos to the College of Mexico, that would amount to 20,000, whereas the amount was 10,000.

There were 10,000 pesos that I recorded in the book as a receipt in favor of the Marianas, and the 10,000 pesos were debited from the College. Now, if 10,000 pesos were still owed by the College of Mexico, the 10,000 pesos that I had credited to the Marianas would have to be reduced, and expenditures would exceed receipts by the amount of the 10,000 pesos that would [then] be owed by the Marianas, and by Fr. Balthasar de Mansilla, as their Procurator.¹ As for myself, when I handed over the job of Procurator of the Marianas, I never said that I gave the houses, so that he could pay any debt with them and much less 10,000 pesos, but I purely and simply delivered their title deeds, as appears on the paper that I gave to Y.R., and that was read in the Consultation.

¹ Ed. note: Confused statement. The uncertain punctuation does not help to understand.

Much embarrassed as I am, I wish to say here and give satisfaction to those who in various occasions have been defended, including some of our people, although the matter is something else, but touches on the Marianas, it was said that, what I had entered in the book, was the balance due to Francisco de Morales, resident of this City, for the expenditure bill made in the year 1668. It seemed that the sum that was due, and paid to the said Francisco de Morales was short, and that the rest was brought to me in my cell. The matter is serious and each one may say what he fancies, [1 word missing] thank God, it seems to me that I may have been a very bad one to have changed(?) the procedures(?), but no-one outside or inside our residence may say truthfully that I have done any tricks on purpose. In order to remove such a doubt, I have thus said the truth. I will not mention the other explanation that Y.R. knows about, but I will keep it to myself until a bigger occasion; then if necessary, I may expose it all in detail and name names.

Y.R. is right in mentioning that the person who supplied me the sum of the balance owing to Francisco de Morales, supplied it to me, and other sums owed by the College; he made up for them with corresponding obligation and condition, that there was no need to mention his name with respect to such debts, as I have done with other persons from outside who owed him moneys, and I have written up the entries under another heading, then made the necessary voucher. This voucher(?) was made necessary, since he was executor of a brother of his, as some interested parties accused him falsely of having hidden a strong-box full of reales.¹ Many court actions have resulted from this calumny, at great disgust and costs, and what was spent in the said action exceeds 29,000 pesos. If some of the interested parties should hear about similar supplements, or loans (even though they were made with the [income from the] harvests of his own landed properties, which cost him many pesos, and from which he has sent me on various occasions very considerable sums for safe-keeping, as I told Y.R. and many from the Cha-nuisto house), they would make an even greater fuss than in the past, and he would suffer new persecutions and worries that would follow. Hence, to avoid these serious difficulties his name was not placed in the book but as I have said, Y.R. knows about it very well. In the Consultation, when points are to be considered, should it be necessary not to keep the matter quiet and under wraps, I will say then who the person is, how and in what manner he made me the advance [i.e. loan]. I have proceeded in this matter with the same truthfulness as with the others regarding the handover about which I wrote to our Fr. General. I advised his Paternity of this circumstance, as well as the procedure followed in recording the advance in the book, because I have insisted upon being clear with my superiors.

Mexico, 8 June 1679.

+Joseph Vidal+

1 Ed. note: Fr. Vidal could be referring to his brother Cristobal Xavier.

Document 1679E

Letter from Fr. Coomans to Fr. de Pape, dated Agaña 30 May 1679

Source: AGR 2, fol. 177-178v; supposedly also in ARSI Phil. 20, fol. 322+

Original text in Latin.

Reverende in Chro Pater,

Pax Ejusdem

Gaudeo tandem aliquas mearum pervenisse in manus Ræ Væ: ita intellexi ex datis Bruxellis 21^a Martii 1677, quas accepi in Insulis Marianis 19^a Junii 1678; ex quibus, uti ex adjunctis D[omin]i Petri Ræ Væ fratris intellexi miserrimum Belgii nostri statum, tam continua bellorum undique ingruentium mole fatiscentis. Et quamquam oculi augent dolorem, non potuit tamen tam miseranda rerum facies non aliquem sensum generare sed Deo committenda, quæ non sunt posita in nostra potestate. Itaque ut vobis respondeam.

*Ego et P[ate]r Gerardus valemus hactenus in Missione nostra Mariana, apostolice quidem interdum, non tamen plene vitam exigentes. Causam præbuere barbari hujus insulæ, qui eo tempore, quo ego aut Manilæ, aut in itinere moram feci, contemptis nostris viribus, vix receptæ Christianæ fidei jugum excutere conati sunt, repetitis [sic] rebellionibus, in quibus tres nostrorum in diversis occasionibus cum sociis sæcularibus non paucis crudeliter occuparunt, et in alia aggressi hostiliter Prem Gerardum, socios duos ad latus ipsius multis vulneribus pene exanimarunt: adeo ut unus paucis post diebus vitam finierit, alter superstes fœdis cicatricibus plane deformatus vix animam traxerit. Donec anno 1676, posito timore, et verecundia, conjurarunt omnes in perniciem nostram, atque exustis circumquaque sex Residentiis nostris (nam Patres, pejora veriti, in Residentiam principalem Sti. Ignatii sese receperant) et convocatis ex universa insula undequaque sociis, ultro nos bello petere, et præcipuam armorum et fidei sedem armis invadere, et delere funditus decreverunt. Hujus ego calamitatis causas in præsentiarum breviter expediam: nam successus hujus anni magis prosperos et Apostolicæ spei plenos dedi in **Relatione** ad Pem Norbertum.*

Itaque A^o 1674, illo ipso, quo ego, præter intentionem devuctus sum Manilam, remansit in Insulis D[omin]e Damianus de Esplana, vir militiæ expertus, et longa experientia in Chilensi regno bellis Indorum aprime assuetus. Hic animi plenus, ubi vires suas, non usque pares tanto operi, circumspexit, ausus est tamen suos in hostem educere, primum nocturnis excursionibus ad viciniores, quibus incautos, et

somno opressos agressus, panico terrore omnia complevit; deinde luce palam et claro die audendum ratus, semel atque iterum tam feliciter, et fortiter cum hoste conflixit, ut parta insigni victoria consternatos barbaros fœde profligarit. Atque inde conversus ad malefactores castigandos, quamquam Patrum paricidæ se fuga subtraxerint, sumpto supplicio de aliquibus culpæ propioribus et in illorum pagis edita ingenti strage, famam sibi, et invicti nomen comparavit. Deinde, quo mari dominaretur, celocem extruxit quam ad belli et pacis [177v] usus quaquaversum circumducens, docuit tandem efferatos barbaros frenum, et alienum imperium ferre. Itaque patres, qui pertæsi jam dudum molestæ detentionis, ad Apostolica munia anhelabant, levare oculus ad messem, et zelose circumspicere qua potissimum via promoveri posset res Christiana. Ergo ut fructuosius res perficeretur, septem sacerdotes, qui tum præsentibus censebantur, in septem residentias dividi placuit, tribus ad partem septemtrionalem, tribus ad Meridionalem erectis, relicta in medio antiqua Sû. Ignatii tanquam reliquarum matre; non invitis ad hæc, sed volentibus barbaris; quippe qui sub Patrum tutela tutos se ab armis ducis nostri sperabant, cujus vel solum aspectum nudipelles tremebant. Et fluebat res sub initium sane feliciter, Duce Residentias singulas interdum visitante, et res Christiana magnis passibus incrementum capiebat; nec quidquam adversi a barbaris metu percussis hoc anno tentatum, Cæterum nec Residentiæ muniri poterant contra vim barbarorum quod majoris moliminis hæc res censeretur, nec Patribus armati sufficientes ad defensionem attribui, quod pauci milites, si deviderentur, rem universam in discrimen adducerent. Itaque prima illa barbarorum consternatio paulatim imminui, ferociiores etiam aut situ locorum magis præfidentes imperia detrectare, nec domi vires suppetere, quibus malorum initia ferro researentur; mitioribus remediis, quæ a blanditiis et precibus petebantur, facile in contemptum versis. Nec tamen hactenus in Residentiis Patrum quidquam mutabatur: donec exeunte anno 1675 mense Decembri turbatum in Pago Retiyan [Retidian] dicto, ubi hostilita aggressi F[rat]rem Petrum Diaz necdum sacris initiatum, crudeliter occiderunt cum duobus sociis sæcularibus; sacerdote, qui tum aderat adjuvantibus fidelioribus nonnullis, fuga elapso. Causa barbarorum inconstantia, et odium fidei. Occasio desumpta ex acriori reprehensione efferatæ libidinis, qua soluti matrimonio brutorum instar fœde bacchantur. Atque hic demum patuit vires nostras inferiores esse, quam ut illis dispersi per Residentias Patres tuto defenderentur. Nam accurrens ad ultionem Dux, quamquam in domos et arbores late terrorem circumtulit, non ausus est tamen cum suis diutius subsistere, quod pauci milites at incensis furore barbaris, præsertim si convocarentur e vicinis pagis, circumveniri facile possent. Et vero in eo stetit mali summa, quod cædem hanc primam singulari: supplicio Dux ultus non sit ad exemplum reliquorum, ne ad audendum similia animos sumerent. Nam, vix trimestri elapso, ineunte jam A° 1676, 17 feb[ruar]ij in vicino pago Upe dicto, confecere P[at]rem Antonium Sn. Basilio Siculum, nobiscum ab Hispania in has insulis profectum. Causa eadem, sed occasio dissimilis: quippe ad coemendos fructus, quibus hic panis loco vescimur, pro præsidio nostro montana solus ascenderat. Neque hanc cædem secuta est ultio. Itaque nudipelles hi larvam timoris aperte deponere: et ex Meridionali parte alterum sociorum impune occidere, et ex Septentrionali 24^a Martii P[at]rem Gerardum hostiliter aggredi. Insecutum deinde aliud infortunium, nam mala vix usquam sola eveniunt, quod navigium quo ad belli pacisque munia dux utebatur, exorta in itinere ingenti tempestate 3^a Maii vi undarum, et æstu abreptum cum majori, et meliori parte militum nostrorum, comitante Pe. Francisco Gayoso, tandem vario errore delatum ad oras incolarum Philippinarum ibique illis scopulis, dissolutumque naufragium fecerit, salvis tamen omnibus, qui illo vehebantur. Ad hæc erigere animos feroces barbari, et libertatem suam undequaue respicere, nisi præsentia Ducis nostri incertos contineret: quippe hic animi potens, et manus promptus, ac mirus simulandi artifex, jam jam in-

*clinantes utcumque sustentabat. Verum ille etiam aut animo [fol. 178] fractus, aut desperans ex honore rem posse conficere, apulsa navi, Manilam discessit; relicto sibi successore D[omin]o Francisco Elizarde. Atque hic demum res tota desperari cœpit: nam licet hic egregii ducis partibus abunde esset instructus, erat tamen natura blandior, quam res presentes ferrent. Quod ubi subodorati sunt barbari, oblatam sibi occasione[n]i putavere ad suam telam ordiendam. Supererant ex novis Residentiis solæ tres magis vicinæ Residentiæ principali. Itaque in illis turbari etiam cœptum; barbaris Patrum imperia proterve detrectantibus, imo etiam minas non raro et convitia arroganter ingerentibus: præsertim in pago **Orote** dicto, Residentia **S. Josephi**, et quamquam occurrere his malis dux nitebatur, facta etiam nocturna expeditione ad pagum **Tarisay** memorato vicinum, non sine damno, et terrore Indorum, auctis etiam militibus præsidariis, qui P[at]rem **Sebastianum Monroy**, cui commissa erat hæc sparta, suis armis defenderent, sera tamen erant hæc omnia, et quando jam frænnum non patiebatur barbarorum insolentia. Nimirum spargebantur jam, insciis nobis, occulti rumores, occidendos una vice externos omnes cum suis patribus, et intolerabile jugum patriis morebus tam inimicum sumptis armis excutiendum. Ergo conjuratio indicitur in diem **30 Augusti**, D[omin]æ Rosæ Peruanæ sacram, qua, utpote titulari festo, encœnia fiebant in pago **Tupungan**. Animus erat aut in processione supplicabundos, aut inter epulus incautos invadere. Et ne res non rite fieret, antecedenti die emiserant confidentes suos ad pagum **Ayran**, qui intempesta nocte sacram ædem, domumque Patris flammis consumpsere, Patre qui aderat adhuc proditiōnis ignaro, ea intentione, ut dum pars sociorum ad ferendum auxilium hanc in partem feruntur, ipsi interea commodius reliquos in **Tupungan** conficerent, et simul, nam illud etiam animo conceperant **Principalem Residentiam Sti. Ignatij** indefensam, ut rebantur, et paucis habitatam, incendio delerent. Sed providus Pater, qui Residentiæ moderabatur, præconceptam proditiōnem ante suboluerat, ut enim conspexit pallidos plerosque, et palpitantes barbaros, pars fustibus, pars etiam hastis armatos, facile sensit non illos ad celebranda festa, sed ad contaminanda accedere. Itaque socios milites domo egredi vetuit, et ad cancellos dispositis ignivomis armis eventum rei operiri jussit; ipse cum sociis Patribus, qui ad festum accesserant, foras egressus, tentare cœpit animos barbarorum: qui detectam proditiōnem conspicati, et veriti, ne si quid auderent, non impune id facerent, tum quidem cogitata exsequi ausi non sunt. Nec melior fortuna illorum fuit, qui invadendam et eremandam susceperant Residentiam Principalem; nam Patres, et pauci milites, qui domi remanserant, aberat enim cum suis Dux ad componendos tumultus foras egressus, armati omnes illis obviam facti, coegerunt ab incepto invitos desistere. Eodem tempore nempe **7 septembris** conspiraverant furibundi barbari in pago **Orote** contra **P. Sebastianum Monroy**; et quamquam animus erat periculo se fuga subducere, intercepti tamen a barbaris, dum in ipso littore alii cymbares picuint, alii sese armis defendunt, cecidere tandem obruti multitudine milites 7, et cum illis ultimus ipse Pater, uno solum, qui reliquos præcesserat, terrestri itinere fuga elapso. Nec contenti his agitati furiis barbari, statim ad arma conclamant, convocata ad bellum novis inferendum universa insula, quod tenuit a **Septembri 1676**, usque ad **Martium 1677**: nullo alio opere pretio, quam quod barbari in perniciem nostram, et ruinam Residentiæ principalis vires omnes animosque exererent, et nostri, adjuvantibus superis, sese generose defenderent; hoste etiam [178v] non raro memorabili elade superato: donec tandem ipsi ruinis suis, et eladibus fessi ab incepto destiterunt. Atque hic erat rerum nostrarum status quando ego appuli redux ad Insulas Marianas [in 1677].*

Reliqua quæ deinde successerunt perscripsi tam superioribus meis ad RRas VVas, quam præsentibus ad P. Norbertum van Coukerken], quæ precor R^a V^a boni consulat, et a me amicos et notos omnes, ac nominatim P. de Clercq, ¹ salute plurima impertiatur. Nam quod ad Amplissimos parentes et familiam spectat, illos ego in litteris D[omin]i Petri[de Pape] quo possum affectu gratitudinis, submisce amplector. Ac me SSmis Ræ Væ Sacrificiis et precibus iterum iterumque commendo non immemor vicissim in itæ pactionis.

Agatña, ex Residentia S.P.N. Ignatii 30 Maii 1678 [sic].²

Ræ Væ Servus in Chro

Petrus Coomans S.J.

[Endorsement:] *Et Ræ Væ nusquam immemor*

Gerardus Bouwens

[Address:] *Reverendo in Chro Patri Pri Liberto de Pape Societatis Jesu Sacerdoti, Bruxellis.*

Loose translation.

Reverend Father in Christ,
Peace be with you.

I am glad that finally a letter of mine has made it into the hands of Y.R. As I understand from a letter dated Brussels 21 March 1677, that I received in the Mariana Islands on 19 June 1678, in which, as I understood from the attached letter from Mr. Peter, the brother of Y.R., the state of our Belgium is very miserable. The nearness of so many battles on all sides must be tiring for the masses. Although the eyes may hurt, it is nevertheless not possible to make some sense out of the face of things to be deplored, but that are permitted by God, and are not placed within our power. Hence, I answer your letter.

Fr. Gerardus and I are in good health so far in our Mariana Mission, in any case sometimes apostolic, but not plainly demanding one's life. The barbarians of this island has caused a conflict. That was at the time when I was, either in Manila, or travelling.³ Our forces were desultory. Hardly had the yoke of the Christian faith been received that they began to shake it off, by repetitive rebellions, in which three of our people on various occasions were cruelly cut down⁴ with not a few lay companions, and on another occasion aggressing Fr. Gerardus in a hostile manner, two of his companions hardly survived the many wounds received at his very side, so much so that one lost his life a few days later; another survivor hardly clung to life but will remain

1 Ed. note: This could have been Fr. Anthony De Clercq who died at Bruges that year.

2 Ed. note: The letter was mistakenly dated 1678. As the author answers a letter received on 19 June 1678, it was therefore written in 1679. The letter was endorsed by Fr. Bouwens who was then Superior of the Mission.

3 Ed. note: Between 1674 and 1677. He returned to Guam only in 1677 (see below).

4 Ed. note: Brother Díaz, and Fathers San Basilio and Monroy (see below).

plainly deformed by the horrible scars. While in 1676, having put asides fear and shame, they all plotted our destruction, besides burning six of our residences in the outlying areas (for the Fathers, fearing the worst, had gathered at the main residence of St. Ignatius). They invited associates from over the whole island, and beyond, to come to make war on us. They invaded with weapons the special seat of the arms and the faith, and they thoroughly tried to destroy it. I will mention the causes of this calamity in the present letter, albeit briefly, as I gave full details of the prosperous and apostolic events of that year in a **report** I sent to Fr. Norbertus.¹

Therefore, in the year 1674, the very year when I was unintentionally carried off to Manila, there remained behind in the island Don Damian de Esplana, a man experienced in military matters, with a long experience in the Kingdom of Chile, used to fighting at the front in Indian wars.² Full of spirit, when he inspected his soldiers, he did not go so far as to treat them as equals. Nevertheless, he was daring enough to lead them against the enemy, firstly, in nightly sorties to the nearer places, where he attacked them unaware and overtaken by sleep, and in panic they were filled with terror. Then he figured that he could pull off just as successful a trip in broad daylight, and he clashed strongly with the enemy, so that he might horribly beat the consternated barbarians by hatching a famous victory. Besides, he then knew how to punish the malefactors, although the patricides of the Fathers did make themselves scarce by flight. Some whose faults were more appropriate were given the death sentence, and his fame was raised by a huge massacre in the villages of those people, and he won the name of invincible. Afterwards, to control the sea, he built a boat that was used to take him anywhere in war and peace. Finally, he taught the barbarians to curb their savageness, and to bear foreign domination. Consequently, the Fathers, who had been fed up for a long time with the bothersome delay, were longing to do their apostolic duties, to raise their eyes towards the harvest, and to determine the most powerful way with which to promote the Christian business. Therefore, in order to perform more productively, seven priests, who could then be counted on, were divided among seven residences, three built in the northern part, three in the south. The rest remained in the center in the old house of San Ignacio, which was like a mother to the others. The barbarians did not go to these involuntarily, but flocked in. In fact, under the protection of the Fathers, they were hoping to be completely out of the range of our commander's weapons, which made their naked bodies tremble at the mere sight of them. At the beginning the business was of course working well, with the commander visiting each of the residences in the meantime, and the Christian business was making great steps forward. Nothing contrary was attempted this year by the barbarians, who had been hit by fear. Besides, the residences could not be protected against the force of the barbarians because this would have required a major effort, and the armed men were not in sufficient number to be assigned

1 Ed. note: This 1678 letter to Fr. van Coukerken was lost in a shipwreck. As for the 1676-77 Report, there is no copy of it in the AGR files; however, there are 2 copies of it in Rome in the ARSI files.

2 Ed. note: Captain Esplana served his first term as governor from 1674 to 1676.

to the defence of the Fathers; there were too few soldiers and to divide them would have meant to put the whole business in jeopardy.

Therefore, that first consternation of the barbarians decreased little by little, or else they were more ferocious, as the site of the places gave them greater confidence, and the forces were not sufficient at home, with which to cut down the beginnings of the evils. They were reduced to having to use softer remedies, making requests by blandishments and prayers, which could easily be taken with contempt. However, nothing had changed up to that time in the residences of the Fathers, until the **end of the year 1675**; during the month of December, there was trouble in the village called Retiyan [**Retidian**] where the hostilities affected **Brother Pedro Díaz**, not yet a priest. They cruelly killed him, with two lay assistants. The priest, who had then gone to help some of the more faithful, escaped. The cause was the inconstancy of the barbarians, and hate for the faith. The opportunity came from the severe repression of their wild pleasure, which the brutes, outside of marriage, enjoy horribly. Besides, he had suffered from the lack of our forces here, as they had been dispersed among all the residences to defend all of the Fathers. The Commander ran up to [the site of] the massacre, although he brought terror [sic] to houses and [coconut] trees over a wide area, he did not dare to stay any longer than that with his men, because there were few soldiers to oppose the mounting fury of the barbarians, specially if they came from the neighboring villages, they could easily have surrounded them. It is true that much evil resulted from this, because the Commander did not set an example for the others with a special punishment for that first massacre, so that they would not take courage and dare to do similar things. For, hardly had three months gone by that, already at the beginning of **the year 1676, on 17 February**, in the neighboring village called **Upe** they killed **Fr. Antonio San Basilio**, a Sicilian, who had been sent to us in these islands from Spain. The cause was the same, but the opportunity was different; in fact, he had gone up alone to the wild interior to buy fruits, which is eaten instead of bread overhere, for our garrison. One massacre was to follow another. For instance, these naked people openly removed the mask of fear; in the southern part they killed another of the companions with impunity, and in the northern part, on **24 March**, they attacked **Fr. Gerardus** with hostility. Then immediately after that infortunate incident, for evil things seldom happen alone, the ship which the commander was using for the duties of war and peace, was carried off during a trip in a huge storm on **3 May** by the force of the waves and the high tides, with the greater and better part of our soldiers, accompanied by **Fr. Francisco Gayoso**. After various errors they made the shores of the Philippine Islands, where the boat crashed upon some rocks, broke up and they were shipwrecked, but all those who were aboard it were saved.¹ As a result, the ferocious spirits of the barbarians arose; anyhow, they looked to regain the liberty that had been kept under control

1 Ed. note: See Doc. 1676K for the narrative of this drift voyage, which was just that, an unplanned voyage; hardly had any food or water been taken on board the boat Santa Rosa, as the destination was simply Umatac.

by the presence of our Commander. In fact, this spirit and a ready hand, and a talent for dissimulating, now and again were sustaining the deviates in every possible way. Truly, he also, either from a broken courage, or despairing of being able to accomplish this business with honor, at the arrival of the galleon, he split off for Manila. He left behind as his successor Don Francisco Elizarde.¹ Moreover, this was the beginning of total despair, for, although this commander was excellently trained for the part, he was nevertheless of a blander nature, than required by the present situation. Because, when barbarians were brought into line, they thought the opportunity had come to resort to their spear. Out of the new residences, there remained only the three largest ones. Then, there also began some troubles. The barbarians detracted from the direction of the Fathers with impunity. In fact, even threats [against them] were not rare and they would throw insults arrogantly, specially in the village called **Orote**, Residence of San José, and although the commander made an effort when these evils occurred, even making a night expedition to the village of **Tarisay**, neighbor of the above, much to the harm and terror of the Indians, augmented also by the soldiers of the garrison, who defended with their weapons **Fr. Sebastian Monroy**, whose mission was this spartan area, all these things were nevertheless too late, when the insolence of the barbarians no longer suffered any curb. No doubt, behind our backs they were already disseminating their secret intentions, one being to kill all the foreigners with their Fathers, and to shake off with raised weapons the so inimical yoke [imposed] intolerably by the Fathers on their customs. Consequently, **the uprising began on 30 August** [1676], the feast-day of Saint Rose of Peru, whose feast was celebrated, naturally, with a feast to dedicate the church in the village of **Tupungan**. Their plan was to attack, either by joining the procession of those praying, or infiltrating at meal-time. And to show that they did not lack confidence, the previous day they sent their confidants to the village of **Ayran**, where in the middle of the night they burned down the church and the house of the Father. The Father who was present was ignorant of this treachery; their intention was to attract part of the companions to the assistance of this area, so that meanwhile they would themselves kill the other people at Tupungan, and similarly, as they had also conceived the intention of destroying by fire the residence of San Ignacio [of Agaña] left defenceless, with few inhabitants. However, the prudent Father who was in charge of the residence, had smelled this preconceived treachery beforehand, so that when he saw many pale and excited barbarians, armed partly with sticks, partly with spears, it was easy for him to sense that they were not there to celebrate the feast, but to bring in some contamination. Therefore, he forbid the companion soldiers to leave home, and he ordered them to go to the enclosure and be prepared to make use of their firearms in the event that the thing should happen. He himself with his companion Fathers, who had come to the feast, went out and began to test the minds of the barbarians. Having noticed that their treachery was detected, and fearing that if they dared, they would not do so with impunity, they then did not dare to follow through. Those who had intended

1 Ed. note: Error for Irisarri.

to invade and burn the main residence did not fare any better, on account of the Fathers, and a few soldiers, who had remained home. The Commander with his men came outside to face the crowd, all of them armed and ready to meet them, but they were forced to desist unwillingly from their enterprise.

At that time, actually on **7 September**, the furious barbarians in the village of **Orote** were conspiring against Fr. Sebastian Monroy. Although the idea was for them to escape from the danger by fleeing, nevertheless they were intercepted by barbarians, when they went to look for canoes on that same shore. They defended themselves with their weapons. Finally, 7 soldiers were overcome and killed by the crowd, and along with them the last one being the Father himself. Only one, who had preceded the others, managed to escape overland. These excited barbarians were not contented. They called to arms, and had meetings to make war upon us over the whole island. **The war lasted from September 1676 until March 1677.** We got no other reward for our works than what the barbarians would reveal to us, with all their forces and minds bent on our destruction and that of the main residence. Our people, assisted by superior forces, would have defended themselves generously from the enemy, even once this memorable, but not rare, disaster had passed, until finally they themselves, tired of their own ruins and disasters would desist from their project.

This was the status of our affairs when I arrived back at the Mariana Islands [in 1677]. As for the rest of the news from then on, I mailed them through my superiors to Your Reverences,¹ as well as through the present ones to Fr. Norbertus [van Coukerken]. I beg Y.R. to partake the good news with him, and with all my acquaintances and friends, specifically Fr. de Clercq,² to whom I send a thousand compliments. As far as their Excellencies your parents and your family are concerned, I embrace them humbly in my letter to Mr. Petrus [de Pape] to whom I owe a debt of gratitude. I commend myself to the most holy sacrifices and prayers of Y.R., again and again, and I do not forget the pact made between us long ago.

Y.R.'s servant in Christ,

Petrus Coomans S.J.

[Endorsement:] And I never forget Y.R.,

Gerardus Bouwens

Agatña, from the Residence of our Father St. Ignatius, 30 May 1678.³

[Address:] To the Reverend Father Superior in Christ, Fr. Libertus de Pape, priest of the Society of Jesus, Brussels.

1 Ed. note: All letters mailed from Guam the previous year, 1678, were lost in a shipwreck and never reached Europe.

2 Ed. note: This could have been Fr. Anthony De Clercq who died at Bruges that year.

3 Ed. note: The letter was mistakenly dated 1678. As the author answers a letter received on 19 June 1678, it could only have been written in 1679. Besides, the mail sent in 1678 was lost, as already said.

Documents 1679F

Jesuit annual reports for 1678-1679

F1. Report in Latin by Fr. Coomans

Source: ARSI Phil. vol. 13, fol. 239-243a.

Note: This report was paraphrased and published by Fr. García, in chapter 29 of his History (ref. Guam Recorder, April 1939).

Narrative of notable events that occurred in the Mariana Mission from May 1678 to May 1679

Original text in Latin.

[239]

Relatio earum quæ in Missione Mariana gesta sunt a Mayo 1678 ad Mayum 1679.

*Labente jam anno 1679 subierat militum nostrorum armis posse frenare barbarorum audaciam, si deveniret in manus insignis paricida Vis. Pis. San Victores et exemplari supplicio afficeretur. Ergo exeunte maijo intempesta nocte iter arripiunt in locum **Higat** dictum, duobus circiter leucis a nobis dissitum, ubi domicilium fixerat; sed ille, sive insidias suboluerat, sive casu accidit, loco aberat. Valuit tamen exemplum vel inter ipsos barbaros; nam paucos intra dies obtulit se unus ex nuperis sociorum interfectoribus, si fides publica illi obstringeretur, daturum se operam ut vivus aut mortuus sisteretur nobis impius paricida. Et admissa postulatio securitate vitæ, et præmiis etiam condictum si res exitum sortiretur. Itaque factus obviam illi in domo, ad quam excurrere consueverat, suâ ipsius hastâ inopinatum a[d]greditur, et femur transfigit, tum cultro invadit ac reluctantem licet, et multa contra minitantem ter quaterque transadigit, in facie, in ventre, et brachio. Rem confecerat, nisi culter debilis, ut solet inter hos barbaros ferro destitutos, conatibus obstetisset, et accurrentibus in tumultum vicinis, coactus fuisset fuga sibi consulere. Et jacuit ille quidem pro desperato habitus, verum mutatis sæpius sedibus, tandem viribus restitutus insulam deseruit.*

*Interim **decimâ octavâ junii**, adfuit ab nova Hispania navis et in illa D. Joannes de Bargas et Hurtado, in locum D. Emanuelis de León, superiori anno defuncti, Philipinas Insulas pro rege gubernaturus. Et veniebat amplissimis mandatis ab aula instructus, ut Missioni nostræ omni meliori via succurreret. Itaque, quod reliquorum caput, e suo comitatu unum elegit futurum militibus nostris Ducem, et in politico regimine insulis omnibus Præfectum D. Joannem Antonium de Salas Madritensem, virum et mili-*

taris scientiæ non [sic] expertem, qui in Europa stipendia pro Rege cum laude meruerat, et reliquis corpori animique dotibus abunde instructum. Additi sunt huic præsidarii fere triginta, cum necessario belli apparatu annonâ etiam in aliquot menses suffecturâ. Deinde in se recepit curaturum, quamprimum in Philipinas insulas apulisset, ut navis recto itinere ad nos inde properaret, cum qua expetitas toties Pam-pangorum sup[p]jetias, reliquumque subsidium ex voto destinaret, atque negotium fidei nemini plus quam sibi credens, voluit ipse coram inspicere, num portus, uti dicebatur, et a situ idoneus, et a profunditate securus inveniretur. Itaque cum nauclero, aliisque peritis cymba devectus, bolide locum omnem exploravit, et unâ omnium voce peracomodum recipiendo navigio invenit. Nec contemnendam animi hausit voluptatem, cum tractum hunc non tam sterilem et incultum invenit, quam vulgo depingatur: nam præter fructuum et oryzæ copiam sane abundantem, allatæ sunt gallinæ plus quam mille, et porcorum saginatorum tanta multitudo, ut in reliquum iter suffectura vectoribus plærisque abunde videretur. His ita peractis, cursum tenuit ex voto navis [239v] et nostri ad sua reversi disponendo novo regimini initium dedere.

Nec diu deliberandum fuit qua parte arma circumferrent: aderant haud procul præcipua rebellionis nuperæ capita, et turbarum incentores, qui a domibus suis profugi, receperant sese in sinum præruptis circumquaque cautibus a natura munitum ibique haud gravate ab incolis recepti, domicilium fixerant; freti loci asperitate et viarum angustiis quas sectis arborum ramis, sparsisque hastarum suarum venenatis aculeis, prægrandibus etiam saxis in sublime elatis, et fulcris fallentibus per insidias dispositis late circumseperant. Huc se nostri per noctis silentia contulere die 29^a Junii, et primo diluculo obstacula omnia quam cautissime, poterant eluctati, quamquam non sine periculo. Nam dubiam inter lucem dum forte fortuna in fallentia fulcra impingunt, devoluta ingentia saxa subeuntes impellunt, imo aucto impetu per montis abrupta, parum absfuit quin complures in perniciem traherent. Jamque locum ingrediebantur cum detecti ab uno casu obviam facto, et adesse nostros inclamante, fugæ locum dedere, quam incondito clamore arripuere omnes. Solos tres celeritas nostrorum occupavit, reliqua omnia flammis contradita, inter quæ naviculæ illorum sane complures. Sex illarum onustæ orizâ et reliquâ prædâ, quam non milites tantum, sed Indi etiam socii sane lautam retulère, domum avectæ. Hostes partim in alias insulas, partim in remotiora a nobis et tutiora loca sese recepère. Ad terrorem hujus expeditionis, venère sup[p]plices, quotquot universum hunc tractum circum vicini incolebant, qui omnes in gratiam recepti, si jussa facerent, si delinquentium neminem apud sese permitterent, si recens natos parvulos ad baptismum deferrent.

At e diversa insulæ parte supererant impuniti nuperi paricidæ Vis. Pris. Sebastiani Monroy, et sociorum, qui veteri statione relictâ, receperant sese in asperiora montium, ibique se contra incursum nostrorum satis, ut rebantur, obfirmaverant. Et consilium erat incautos adoriri, non virium defectu, aut diffidentiâ, sed quod locorum gnari si luce palam adoriremur, facile per abrupta et invia fugam capeserent. Itaque adjecto viæ duce ex ipsis malefactoribus uno, qui il[le] lectus a filia, juncta matrimonio cum uno ex nostris, ultro citroque clam cæteris comeabat. Nocte quæ sequitur 16am. Julii naviculis patriis devecti exscendimus in littus rigatum sanguine nostrorum; ibique, dum reficiendis corporibus spatium datur, occasionem nacti ex Indis comitibus duo cum ductore conveniunt, et secreto paciscuntur, ut dum illi de adventu nostro hostes commonefaciunt, ipse interim moras nectat, et per viarum dispendia tantis per circumducat, dum locus concedatur ponendi in tuto omnia, et præmaturâ fuga justam nostrorum ultionem eludendi. Ita compertum est postea, institutâ quæstione, ex unanimi confessione multorum. Et ille quidem, uti naturâ subdolos, pacta conventa egregie complevit: nam deduxit nos per avia et invia, tam fragrosa, tam aspera, nec minus a naturâ quam ab hostium insidiis præmunita, ut non nisi summâ

jam difficultate, præsertim per tenebras, enitendum nobis fuerit, obnoxii etiam vel imbellibus telis, si adfuisset qui impediret: cum tamen haud procul [240] adesset via et a compendio, et sua planicie facilis, et ab hostibus neglecta. Nec illo contentus proditor infamis, ubi jam periculo eluctati loco imminebant, non in pagum sed in littus proximum deduxit. Ibi primum se dedere in conspectum duo illi, quos superius memoravi recepisse in sese de adventu nostrorum hostibus aperiendo. Et illi quidem egregie operi insudabant, jamque instabant ultimo agmini; quod cymbis patriis mari sese committeba[n]t, sui nimirum securi. Enimvero excanduit ad tam inopinatum spectaculum præ cæteris dux noster, et stricto azinace, tam furiose in unum illorum impetum fecit, ut primo vulnere prostraret, secundo conficeret. Verum represso tantisper impetu, nam comites Indi pro timore vacillabant, et milites nostri ferale nescio quid in omnes obmurmurantem, reliquos duos ligari continuo jussit, utilius in exemplum reliquorum mox capite plectendos, uti postea est factum. Reliquos vero metum ponere, et sui securos expeditionem prosequi voluit. Interea pars sociorum pagum occupaverant, habitatoribus suis vacuum, qui statim, concessâ sociis qualicumque prædâ, igne consumptus est; præter parvulos duos, quos in festinatione a parentibus neglectos melius apud nos educandos nobiscum adduximus. Inde progressis, apparuere, sed extra teli jactum, ex hostibus aliquot. Verum ad nostrum conspectum cæcis silvarum ambagibus occultati, fugæ locum habuere. Unus, confidentior reliquis, jamjam emissurus hastam vibrabat, cum melior sociorum alter glande trajecit, et accurrentes alii ferro confecere. Et fuerat ille quidem de familia Pris. Sebastiani, uti et alter quem in proximo vico **Tuparao** dicto invenimus cum suâ irretitum, adeoque fugæ securum. Et illa quidem servata est ob sexum prærogativam, quamquam haud levi vulnere in brachio saucia. Hic vero, ubi recepto vulnere in terram prostratus est, voce tristi inclamat: Heu, fratrem Alfonsi vestri occidistis. (Erat Alfonsus unus ex illis, qui superioribus annis Manilam profectus ibi baptismum receperat, et resumpto itinere Mexicum usque ad suos reversus, quæ foris didicerat [sic] factis comprobabat) et aderat ille inter primos armatus. Ergo ut vocari se sensit, accurrit ilico, et ubi præsentem agnovit (noverat autem omnes ex illa vicina oriundus): Apage, inquit, præstigia, et tibi similium frater esto, et cum illis ad infernum progredere. Hæc fatus, capulo tenuis ferro transegit. Interim domus, et si quæ reliqua, flammis absumpta, etiam in pago **Orôte** dicto, ubi femuista etiamnum rudera exustæ superiori rebellione Residentiæ nostræ cum dolore conspeximus, nemine rebellium in conspectum progredi auso: donec in pago **Fuñia** armati aparuere fidentiores aliqui, protecti vallo, quod e saxis natura loci suppeditabat. In illos, ubi conspexere ferebantur nostri clypeis demore contra hastas obversi; et illi venenatos cuspides intrepide fulminabant, tam furiose, ut adversum asserem, e quibus hic clypeas concinnant, militis ex aggressoribus primi plane perforarint. Verum obstrepentibus undique bombardarum telis, læsis etiam nonnullis, deserto vallo, plures in silvam oportune delapsi, duo in proximum mare sese conjecere, si forte nando, quâ arte potissimum valent, nostrorum tela effugerent. Sed frustra, nam comites Indi fugiente nando et cymbis insecuti, alterum quidem hastis confectum in littus extrahere; alterum tribus minimum vulneribus [240v] saucium, incertum an mare hauserit, quod præter solitum intumuerat, an ad suos semivivus evaserit. Atque hic etiam flammis sævitum. Interea dum remensi iter domum revertimur, egressi e latibulis barbari naviculas quas indefensas in littore reperere, avexerant, nonnullis etiam confractis. Itaque consistendum tantisper fuit dum aliæ adducerentur, quibus tandem salvi omnes domum revecti.

Supererant ex hac parte rei conjurationis, quam superiori anno detectam, et cruento stratagemate disturbatam memoravi in Pago **Agofan** [ssic], quos ex itinere invisere, et ad officium revocare vi pactisve animus fuerat, sed votis tum quidem frustrati **Augusto** mense ad illos properavimus. Infestaverant late vias consuetis insidiis, vallum etiam pago obduxerant sane altum e vicinis lapidibus; extractis quoque

domibus hinc et hinc ad agendas excubias. Verum hæc omnia magis fiebant, ad metum dissimulandum quam ad parandam defensionem: nam superatis difficultatibus pagum ingressi, invenimus illum habitatoribus suis destitutum. Comparuere tamen, ubi nostros sensere, naviculis suis littus proximum adremigantes, sed extra teli jactum, ac tandem fide acceptâ, quamquam trementes ad colloquium accessere, in quo hæc demum constituta, ut illorum domus, qui conscientia malefactorum, insulam deseruerant, in pœnam et exemplum reliquorum consumerentur, reliqui ad officium redirent, et penates suos pacifice colerent. Verum patuit ilico quæ fides pactorum: vix, injecto igne, ardebant designatæ domus, quando pactorum obliti, huc illicque consternati discurrere, cimbas respicere, et ad mare proximum, quasi hostiliter appetiti [sic], confugere; imo, vix ullis precibus ad pactorum memoriam posse revocari. O[b]fuscata videlicet ratio inter hos barbaros vincitur affectibus naturalibus, et prædominante spe aut metu, non agunt, sed aguntur. Patuit illud haud ita multo post, nempe 8^a Septembris, ipsâ natæ Dei Genitricis luce conspicatus Dux noster vela aliquot a meridie Septentrionem versus vento propelli, ratus id quod erat, fædifragos barbaros extra insulam securitatem quærere, eduxit quoque naviculam nostram, et assumptis Indorum aliquot, sociis etiam nonnullis armatis, tandem fugientium unum est assecutus, quo capiendo dum tantisper immoratur, reliqui velis remisque fugâ longisu elapsi. Sed erat hic, omnium instar, Principalis inter suos, et prædives; vehebatque secum, præter unum a famulatu, liberos tres, masculum unum circiter decennem, et puellulas duas, unam natu majorem, alteram minorem. Qui omnes apud nos educandi jure belli sepositi, præterea suppelectilem, Cræsi divitias inter hos, conchas testudineas decem, secures sex, ascias decem, acinacem unum, retia duo, pileum unum, tum denique reliquorum instar ipsam naviculam; quæ omnia inter socios, tam nostros quam Indos distributa. Et ipse cippo hebdomadas aliquot detentus, et quod nequiverant arma, nec preces, potuit melior his spes libertatis. Quippe sui, imo etiam aliqui pagi incolæ, ubi Principalem suum contineri cippo, nec deterius in illum quidquam statui animadverterunt, primum commiseratione ducti, munuscula et lautitias adferre, mox posito metu, de amicitia nostra et obsequio prætando serio agere. Atque ita demum compertum non omnia vi et armis perfici, sed esse suas etiam pietati vires.

*Inter hæc devenere in manus duo ex malefactoribus, quorum alter nupera rebellione signum extulerat reliquis, dum nactus unum e nostris **Emanuelem** [241] **de Hijosa**, aut via fessum aut invaletudine retardatum, socios intervallo subsequentem, hostiliter ipse agressus, hastâ confossum, crudeliter vitâ spoliaverat, ablatisque exuviis, vestibis armisque ad suos reversus impie fuerat gloriatus, ita se deinceps presturum [sic] ad reliquos socios ipsosque Patres conficiendos. Alter nostris pridem infensus, **Vem. Pem. Ludovicum de Medina** fustibus olim pœne confecerat, et **Emanuelem de Navas** obvium forte factum e rupe vicina præcipitem egerat, et jam viciniam nostram obibat, si forte sociorum aliquem, a reliquis diversum ofenderet, crudelitati suæ victimam. Uterque supremo supplicio est affectus, et ille quidem Ecclesiæ Sacramentis rite præmonitus, non exiguam post se spem reliquit vitæ melioris per supplicium adeptæ. Hic naturâ indomitus, et furens, et non unâ nece inter suos infamis, vel cippo constrictus etiamnum ferociam retinebat, dumque visendi gratiâ, propius accedit dux noster, similis furenti amplexus genua tam arcte constringit ut vix ullâ demum vi aut pœnâ revelli potuerit. Animus erat obluctantem in terram prostertere, compressisque faucibus, si posset, suffocare, aut si non posset, dentibus unguibusque furorem suum ulcisci. Sed accurerant in tempore milites vicini, qui occidissent in loco, nisi dux obstetisset. Fustibus tamen, irâ stimulante, tam egregie exceperunt, ut pene conficerent; indubia vindicantis numinis permissione, ut qui **Vem. Pem.** fustibus olim violaverat, iisdem ipse pœnas daret. Itaque vocato sacerdote, postquam resedit paulisper furor, qui ad mortem obeundum rite componeret, quamquam initio visus est*

compungi plane, et imminens supplicium pie suscipere, postea tamen, dum educitur ad locum, reviviscente furore, iras expromere, et ad palum alligatus, desperantis indicia haud obscura præ se ferre.

*Post hæc retulere amici Indorum in vastatis nuper pagis profugos incolas reliquisse in agris fructuum jam maturorum copiam haud contemnendam, qui omnes, si defensores nostri accedant, cogi possint, non exiguo, tam suo quam nostro emolumento. Comes ire voluit ipse dux. Ergo devectus naviculis, dum in littus exscendit, certior fit plures hostium in pagis suis passim latitare et nostri securos quiete degere. In illos moturus, partem sociorum defendendis naviculis cum Indis reliquit, ipse cum reliquis aliquibus piscatui intentis inopinatus supervenit in pago **Fuña**, in quos dum nostri explodunt, reliquis per domos dispersis signum attollunt fugâ sibi consulendi. In fuga relictus a parentibus parvulus octennis, quem Christiane educandum nobiscum abduximus. Dumque iter prosequimur, invenimus in littore deserta passim retia, naviculas, aliamque per domos supelectilem: donec in pago **Taraifac** conspicati nostri educendis naviculis Indos distineri, in illos feruntur, verum dum cursu properant, jam illi a terra cimbas extra teli jactum provexerant. Itaque nequidquam consumpto labore, tanquam venando fessi, iter relegerunt, incensis late domibus terrore circumlato. Nec frustra, nam qui vicini his a culpa remotiores, venêre tandem sup[er]plices, imperata facturi.*

*His confectis, ex adverso littore, persistebat adhuc major Indorum pars, aut Patrum cœdibus immixta, aut imperia nostra proterve detrectans; in hos visum est arma longius circumferre. Et quidem initium ductum a pago **Pucpuc**, precipuo [241v] totâ insulâ e natura loci monumento, tum propter asperitatem montium vicinorum, cum propter viarum angustias, scararum instar præruptas et unico solum loco uni soli accessibiles. Itaque, **29^a Novembris** post mediam noctem profecti, prævio ductore experto Indo, per semitas avias et occultas penetravimus tandem post medium diem in pagum imminentem quæsito littori, ibique reficiendis corporibus spatio tantisper dato, in littus descendimus ad pagum **Tarofofoc**, et vivebant hic quidem, adventus nostri nimium securi. Occupati festis tripudiisque ad quæ celebranda præcipuum suorum poetarum e vicinia nostra cursaverant, quando nostrorum primus in adversum forte Indum sclopum explodit. Enimvero consternari omnes, et relictis ludicris, seria agere, alii tela, alii supelectilem, alii cimbas proximas, omnes fugam respicere. Et accurrebant turmatim nostri, qui et ferro infesti, non dubiam stragem in rebelles illaturi, nisi interjectu amnis prohiberentur, qui cum late restagnantibus undis vadari non posset, exspectandum tantisper fuit, dum nando sociorum aliqui trajicerent, et ex adversa ripa cimbas deferrent. Quo spatio occasionem nacti longius per silvas elabendi, direptâ qualicumque prædâ, reliqua flammis consumpta, interim sclopetarios aliquot cum sociis Indis præmiserat dux, qui viarum angustias occuparent, aut occupatas hostibus obsiderent. Trames erat in maris vestigio gentibus saxis sub prærupta rupe instratus, unius hominis difficulter capax; ex illo ascensus patebat prærupte arduus in ipsa rupe a defluentibus rapide fluvialibus aguis modice excavatus; rupem superius omnem ipsasque fauces barbari insederant, hastis suis fundisque, et ingentibus saxis ferocientes; imo et novum telorum genus convexerant; plærisque Indorum hactenus incognitum, venenatum cuspidem, id est humanum os, turbini seu tronculo infixum, quem alligato superius fune, impetu circumductum in nostros intorquebant. Contra eniti [sic] animose nostri, et emissis eminu plumbeis telis hostes fatigare; sed iniquâ plane condicione, utpote qui emissâ glande vix locum invenirent quo inerme telum reficerent, nisi se hostilibus inulte objicerent. Præcedebat audacter cæteros Alfonsus ille, de quo superius memini, eo confidentius quod scuto armatus ingruentem in se hastarum saxorumque turbinem commodius propulsaret, et inferebat continuo obfirmatos pedes, nihil moratus adversam tempestatem, quæ jam clypeum ipsum fœde dilaceraret, multoque minius convitia insultantium, quibus insolentes barbari obnitentem incesse-*

bant: ascende huc, patriæ tuæ hostis infamis, temeritatis hic tuæ pœnas exolves. Quibus ille: Et vos, ubi ego ascendero, vestigia premite. Et ilico syncipite [= sincipute] experimentum capiamus quid me inter vosque intersit. His dictis saltu emicans in altum penetravit, subsequentibus pene sociis, et arma virosque haud segniter inferentibus. Ad horum conspectum consternati barbari in fugam rapiuntur. At nostris temperandum animo fuit, nec ultra progrediendum, dum socii advenirent, ne in paratas per abrupta insidias temere se induerent; qui postquam advenère, conjunctis viribus descendimus in pagum. Situs a reliquis admodum diversus, sinus inferne placidus, sed angustus, paucarum cœdium ac nautici etiam instrumenti capax, qui deinde per clivum satis arduum assurgit. In planitiem ex altera parte, quâ mare respicit, prærupte inaccessibilem. In hanc sese tanquam in arcem, barbari receperant, ultima experturi, et ne quidquam deesset, dorsum congestis lapidibus multo ante obfirmaverant. Neque segniter hoc victoriæ suæ [242] complementum capessebant milites nostri, per ipsam frontem præruptæ rupis ascensum molientes. Et quamquam, qui reliquos procedebant, scutis tegerentur, ingrueba[n]t hastarum impune vibratarum, et prægrandium saxorum tanta vis, ut efractis tegminibus, resistendo diutius non essent. Jamque cedebant aliqui non satis caute animosi, alii saxis, alii saxorum pondere haud leviter saucii, nec tamen ab incepto ultionem suam frementes absistebant, quando ex adversa parte adfuit cum sociis ipse dux, dispendia quidem, sed meliori viâ hostem assecutus. Itaque ingeminato clamore exiliunt, qui ex adversa fronte subeundo laborabant, et ipse fugientium tergis inhærens, campo potitur. Barbari, quod mirere, salvi omnes fugâ evasère, sed nempe cœcis latebris, et objectis ingentium saxorum tam caute se texerant, ut dextros alioquin colimatores eluderent. Uni dum fundam [sic] circumagit, manus terebrata. Hostibus profligatis, domus direptæ, et flammis consumptæ. Præcipuum damnum navicularum fuit, quas ultra viginti exquisitas, et singularis pretii inter illos, flamma consumpsit. Tum relecta parumper via, alligandis sauciis cura impensa, qui omnes, quæ Dei bonitas, præter opinionem brevi convaluere. Posteris diebus, per vicinum tractum visendi gratiâ iter remensi, hospitaliter imprimis, et præter modum amice excepti sumus. Quippe vicinum incendium sollicitos reddiderat, et maluerunt alieno malo quam, suo sapere.

*Jamque effluserat annus 1678 et novis auspiciis novum ordiri omnes optabant. Quiescebat jam universa propemodum insula Sto. Jois., turbatoribus præcipuis aut bello subactis, et mutatis sedibus per diversas insulas dispersis, aut supplicio affectis. Atque primitias fausti successus attulerat unus ex Indis Principalis dictus **Ignatius Inete**, ille ipse qui quinque abhinc annis armis nostrorum strenue resisterat, sed bello tum victus, fidelem exinde operam nostris præstarat, in plerisque expeditionibus socius cum suis, nec exiguum ad felices exitus momentum. Hic ergo convenerat jamdudum cum nostro Duce, ut si quos inveniret ex hostibus per insulæ interiora impune vagos, ipse conficeret. Ergo **Sextâ Januarii 1679** vestigando assecutus tres, qui commercii causâ ad vicina nobis et amica loca excurrerant ex pago **Ter-ragi** adhuc armis nostrorum intacto, et proterve rebeli, interrogat num ignorent hæc loca rebellibus interdicta, metu consternatos et vim vi repellere parantes, ipse cum suis ultro invadit, et primum eminus hastas intorquent, mox stricto ferro cominus agrediuntur, impetuque prosternunt. Corpora cæсорum barbarorum in morem fœde deturpata, capita rescissa ad nos delata, et per littus ad terrorem furcis imposita. Et facinus a nostris cum plausu exceptum, nec sine præmio dimissum.*

Interea omnium sententia decretum gestis hactenus formam dare, et confusos turmatim barbaros ad nos excurrentes, seu divinatorum officiorum, seu commercii causâ in ordinem redigere, digestâ rite matriculâ, seu albo omnium, qui in hac insula pagatim morabantur. Adeoque excursiones sæpius frequentatæ, jam ad remotiores, qui ab institutis Christianis magis alieni, attractandi primum erant et consuetudine molliendi, ut positâ paulatim barbarie, jugo politici tandem assuescerent, jam ad viciniore, qui Chris-

tianis disciplinis jamdudum imbuti, aut interlapsis tumultibus delabebantur aut segnius in officio perseverabant.

*Verum brevi intervallo resumenda fuit armorum cura, quippe inquietiores aliqui barbarorum, ex illis quos nuper in **Pucpuc** victos memoravi, reliquorum animos [fol. 242v] stimulabant, cumque ex vicinis pagis ad nos excurrissent, ab duce nostro pacem impetraturi, ipsi intempesta nocte, furore et invidiâ agitati, clientum nostrorum domos conflagrant. Nec his contentus, alios jam ex nobis amicos atque inimicis ductorem illum, quem eâdem expeditione operam nostris fidelem navasse memoravi, negotiorum suorum causâ, per insulam diversos, ad necem exquisiverint, certo illaturi, nisi meliores alii impedissent. Sæpe principiis motionum obstitisse pars victoriæ fuit. Itaque comparatis confestim armis in illa expeditione instituta **31^o Januarii**, et emensis consuetâ difficultate viarum ambagibus, post medium diem incautos adoriuntur. Pagus erat **Ginetan** [sic] dictus, in interioribus insulæ ad ripas fluvii paucis domibus constans; illuc e vicinis pagis convenerant ad curandas orizæ segetes, quas in aperta planitie propter aquæ irriguum amplas colebant. Et procedebant nostri hostium securi a designato loco plusculum distantes, quando Indorum fideliores turbatores internoscunt, et vix expectato signo arma expediunt. Accurrunt nostri, et inopinatâ aggressionem palantes invadunt. Cecidère circumbenti a nostris tres, reliqui, quamquam saucii aliqui, fugâ elapsi. Nec inulte animam vendidit unus ex illis, quippe adversam hastam humero excipiens, dum sese domus angustiis utrumque protegeret, ubi inferri flammam conclamantium rumore percepit, fremens iracundiâ, ab ipso vulnere necessitatis ferale telum mutuatus, hastam e corpore extractam in militem invadentem retorquet, tanto furore, ut e valido assere clypeum adversum plane perforaret. Progressi deinde, turbatorum domus flammis consumpsere, nemine ultra se oponere auso, nisi quod ex insidiis aliqui, silvarumque latebris probe contacti, incertas hastas incassum vibrarent. Noctem illam apud vecinos amicos Indos nostri securam transegere; postero die, confectis hic prius incolarum indicibus, in littus descendere ad pagum **Umatac**, atque ex illo omnem meridionalem tractum visitarunt; non contemnendo operæ pretio, præter reliqua usitata, quod senem Philipinum, olim ad has insulas naufragum, adeoque linguæ gnarum. Quem Patres in suo comitatu aduxerant, jam ab octo annis ad barbaros profugum, sollicitâ indagine perquisitum, tandem supplicem, et lacrimis veniam poscentem, in gratiam admiserint et fidelibus aggregarint.*

Satagebat interim dux noster per ipsos barbaros insulam purgare, propositâ conditione, ut si quis ex nuperis malefactoribus, præteritorum veniam suamque gratiam promereri vellet, pervestigaret alium alicujus Patris nece infamem, illumque aut vivum aut mortuum sibi sisterent [sic]. Itaque duo ex illis qui ad cædem Vis. Pis. Sebastiani Monroy, et sociorum pars magna convenerant, jam rerum suarum solliciti, perquirunt diligenter præcipuum paricidam Vis. Pis. Francisci Ezquerræ, Sangro vocatum, qui sibi scelerum suorum conscius, cæcis silvarum latebris sese abdiderat, ubi remotus a commercio reliquorum, exstructâ domo, familiam sustentabat. Verum, facto indicio ab amico confidente, huc profecti, inopinatum adoriuntur. Jamque, quod solum peterat, fugâ sibi consulebat, quando fugientem insecuta velocior hasta lateri adhæsit, quâ fugam retardante, licet ipse conatum intenderet; haud longe intervallo ab insequentibus comprehensus, ferroque confossus, pœnas tandem dedit, et rescissum caput ad nos delatum spectaculo fuit furcæ impositum.

*Nec minus fidem suam duci nostro probavit alter Indorum, e vicinis [243] nostris, qui negotiorum causâ profectus ad partem insulæ meridionalem, in pago **Merico** deprehendit alium paricidam Vis. Pis. Sebastiani Monroy, Cheref dictum, qui nuper metu ducis nostri tractum hostilem armis infestantis. Profugerat ad proximam insulam a **Sta. Anna**, incolis **Rota** dictam, et jam reversus ad suos, oryzam con-*

quirebat; allectus messis oportunitate, et in amico pago, et a nobis octo circiter leucis dissito securitatem sibi promittebat. Ubi præsertim agnovit, subiit animum cogitatio incautum invadere, verum timore retardatus, ne forte in alieno pago hospitem suum vicini defenderent, statuit, remenso itinere, rem omnem duci nostro aperire, qui occasionem nactus egregio exemplo barbaros coercendi, illum ipsum, qui num-tium attulerat, ex templo præmittit instruitque diligenter, ut prætextu coemendi gallinas, exploret primum silentio quâ domo noctem exigat, tum se in vicino pago, tanquam aliud agens, sub vesperam operiatur: si res exitum sortiatur, par meritis præmium non defuturum. Ipse cum sociis devectus na viculis patriis die 15^a Aprilis alto mari sese committit, velisque contractis ultro moratur, ne indicium fieret, donec, lapso jam sole, per tenebras explicari vela jubet, et ad designatum locum apellit sub octavam vesperinam. Præstolabatur jam in loco coricæus noster, et rem rite confectam memorabat, quippe sub ipsum crepusculum accesserat designati domum, et exhibitis tabaci foliis (nam genus hoc herbæ difficile dixerim quantum apetescant [sic]) ab ipsomet exquisiverat num venales gallinas haberet; quo negante, quasi re infectâ dolens, falsum deserverat: Itaque per lunæ silentia in locum profecti, domum primum omnem armatis circumdant, mox accenso lumine ingressi, profundo somno immersos omnes inveniunt. Erat quippe domus publica ad quam soluti conveniunt. Nec primo aspectu cognitus, nam pronus cubabat. Ergo dum stoream removet, et vultum pervestigat Alfonsus, ille de quo supra (qui ad ardua quælibet momenti plurimum adferebat, quod suorum vultus ipse internosceret, et manu promptus animoque, nulli sociorum ipse concederet) expergefactus ipse, et remordente conscientia, ratus id quod erat, candelam, quam manu gerebat alter, extinguit et excusso torpore, in superiora domus tignosque evadit. Dum lumen accendunt, et locum revisunt, jam ipse desiderabatur, celantibus sociis, donec unus, cui major fides an metus, nomen ipsius et latebram in aurem susurrat. Jussis igitur egredi qui domo morabantur, ne quis præter intentionem inter tela damnatum pateretur, in domus fastigio tandem detectus, et ne elaberetur, nam capi iussus antea fuerat, ab ipso duce glande trajectus, et secundantibus sociis corruit in terram pronus, advolan[s]que Alfonsus caput a cervice revulsit, et alter sociorum manum dexteram amputavit, quam in Dei sacerdotem extendere non fuerat veritus, aprobantibus post factum, et aplaudentibus barbaris, quod hominem inquietum et turbatorem odissent: imo ferebant (nam post mortem audebant expromere, quæ antea metu, aut sanguinis conjunctione celabant) hoc præcipue ductore motionem in Orote fuisse sustentatam, adeo ut conjuratis jam barbaris in necem Pis. Sebastiani et sociorum, verum quod sese nostri defenderent, et in adversis exploderent, fractis animo fugamque exorsis, ipse a fuga retraxerit, inclamans: aut moriendum hic nobis, aut vincendum socii est, exterique cum suo Patre ad interneccionem delendi. Imo cum, cæsis jam reliquis, pergerat ad mare, ubi recepta naviculâ Pater ab ultimo socio utcumque defendebatur, arreptam pugno arenam e littore secum detulerit, quâ in faciem projectâ obcæcaret prius, turbaretque, ac deinde conficeret. Ad truncum cadaver invocatos barbaros dux serio admonuit: se quidem, quod paricidam occupasset, nihil in illos deterius statuere. Ceterum caverent [fol. 243v] imposterum ne turbatorem aliquem suo pago reciperent. Secus ultionem suam cum perniciæ experturos.

Atque hic fuit armorum nostrorum victricium cursus, quibus illud tandem perfectum, ut universa hæc insula unius ducis nostri imperium agnosceret, et ad ipsius mandatum undequâque convenirent imperata exsequentes. Qui quidem primus erat gradus inter hos barbaros Evangelium cum securitate disseminandi. Itaque datâ operâ in illud intendimus, ut remotiores, et qui nuperis motionibus inquietiores fuerant, ad servicium præstandum sæpius evocarentur; ibique dum aut cunctando obtemperant, aut antiqui juris nimium tenaces in pluribus delinquent, tam a militibus nostris, quam a suis excepti verberibus, discerent aliquando feroces animos ponere, domitâque superbiâ, superiorem et majores vires agnoscere. Illud

etiam severâ lege stabilitum, ne [sic] universâ hac insula secure constiteret, qui Patrum aut sociorum nece infamis, aut prætorum tumultum auctor præcipuus haberetur, atque in receptores ipsorum malefactorum, pœna decerneretur. Nec defuere consueti fructus in tot excursionibus, quibus continuo insulam hoc anno circumcursavimus, aut ad militares expeditiones socii, aut conficiendis incolarum indicibus insulam visitantes. Verum præcipua cura (nam in diversas Residentias nostros dividi tutum non videbatur) ad circumvecinum tractum sese extendit, in quo quod arma nostra liberius dominarentur, et diuturnâ instructione formati barbari plus malitiâ peccarent et pertinaciâ quam ignorantia aut simplicitate, Christianæ Leges cum fructu stabilitæ. Atque in primis sublatum scandalum, quod antea tumultibus irreperat, inter illos qui in fide Ecclesiæ matrimonio juncti, ad vomitum redierant, et antiquæ libertatis dulcedine allecti, deserto toro cum aliis se junxerant, ad monita et preces facile surdi, nisi exactor metus accederet. Qui omnes ad officium redire compulsi, non absque pœna illorum, qui perniciosi divortii auctores comperti sunt. Perseverabant etiam, irretiti gentilicis suis superstitionibus, defunctorum suorum exequias ritu patrio celebrare, adeoque induci non posse, ut eorum cadavera humanda Christiano ritu ad nos deferrent. Sed invaluit hoc anno pia consuetudo, et suus honor ex debito defunctis datus. Exustæ dein publicæ domus, capitale idolum regionis et inferni scholæ, et sua cuique familia assignata, sub qua conformem suo statui et tranquillam vitam exigeret, ipso duce non raro nocturnas excubias educente, ut si quos inveniret publicæ quietis turbatores pœna mulctaret. Complures ex illis, qui olim sub disciplina nostra in Collegiis educati, occasionem nacti in nuperâ rebellionem ad suos abierant, ibique, crescente cum ætate audaciâ, et libertate, lupanariis publicis sese mancipaverant, obliti facile melioris educationis, qui sollicitâ indagine perquisiti, et flagris primum laute excepti, tum vinculis alligati, servire domi jussi sunt, donec plane perdomiti, meliora omnia non solum promitterent, sed etiam præstarent. Ubi ego in laudem nationis illud an notare non omittam, quod ex omnibus, qui aut cippo constricti, aut acriore correctione excepti, inventus sit nemo quem remedii, asperitas magis exarcerbarit; imo contra, operante salutem medicinâ, formandos se nobis, limandosque tradiderint. Nec minus gentis indolem plane docilem et ad quælibet aptam declarat, quod hoc anno aperte ludo non pauci tantum profecerint, ut publice et prompte in Collegii cenaculo lectionem [243a]¹ sacram ipsi prælegant, non exiguo solatis auditorum.

Atque hæc sunt quæ de Missione nostrâ Marianâ, singularia ut opinor, nam actum agere animus non fuit, perstringenda breviter judicavi.

*Rdi Ad. Ptis. Væ minimus in Chro filius,
Petrus Comano S.J.*

1 Ed. note: The lines that follow had originally been written on the back cover of the notebook. That explains why the ending is rather abrupt.

Loose translation.

Narrative of the events that occurred in the Mariana Mission from May 1678 to May 1679.

The year 1679 would have arrived already without the arms of our soldiers being able to curb the audacity of the barbarians, had not the notorious patricide of the Ven. Fr. San Victores fallen into our hands and been given an exemplary death.¹ Hence, going out one stormy night in May [1678] they made eruption into the place called **Higat** [= Agat], about two leagues distant from us, where he had fixed his residence; but he, either perceiving the ambush, or by happenstance, was not there. Nevertheless, the example was effective, even among the barbarians themselves, for a few days later one of the killers of the previously-mentioned helpers offered himself, if it were made a public commitment, to make an effort to bring to us the impious patricide, dead or alive. His proposal was accepted with a guarantee of life, and even rewards, if the affair resulted in success. Therefore, he went to meet him at the house which he used to visit, and attacking him by surprise with his own spear, transpierced him in the thigh, then attacked him with a knife, albeit reluctantly, as he was threatened, and transpierced him three or four times, in the face, in the abdomen, and the arm. He might have finished him off, but the knife was either weak, or, as often happens among these barbarians devoid of iron, was impeded by ornaments.² The neighbors came running at the disturbance, and he was forced to think of himself and flee. In any case, he [i.e. the intended victim] was left dejected and in a desperate state of health, often forced to move between settlements, until finally, having regained his strength, he left the island.

Meanwhile, on **18 June** [1678], a ship arrived from New Spain³ and aboard was Don Juan de Vargas Hurtado, to replace Don Manuel de León, who had died the year before, and to govern the Philippine Islands for the King. He was coming with instructions and a very large mandate from the court, in order to assist our Mission in every possible way. Therefore, he selected one out of his retinue of soldiers, to be chief of the rest⁴ and commander of our soldiers, and Prefect in things concerning the political government of all the islands, Don Juan Antonio de Salas, from Madrid, a man who was not [sic] expert in military science, who in Europe had done laudable military service for the King, and was abundantly provided with physical and mental qualities. He brought along almost 30 men for the garrison, with the necessary war equipment for a year and even for some months beyond that. Afterwards, he came back [to the question] of what he was to do, as soon as he would arrive at the Philippine Islands, in order to expedite the voyage of a ship directly to us from there, with the assistance so often requested for the Pampango [soldiers], and the rest of the subsidy to be distributed as

1 Ed. note: This was Matapang, who had fled to Rota (see below).

2 Ed. note: It is not possible to decide from context whether the ornaments belonged to the knife, or any of the two men. A possible translation could also be "head-dress". In any case, Fr. Coomans is only speculating.

3 Ed. note: This was the galleon **San Telmo**, Captain Thomas de Endaya, Pilot Leandro Coello.

4 Ed. note: There were 30 new soldiers (see below).

desired. Besides, no-one more than him believed in the business of the faith. He then openly stated his wish to personally inspect the port, in order, it was said, to move in to a suitable, deep, and safer spot. Therefore, he quickly explored the whole place with the pilot and other experts aboard a canoe, and they had agreed that it was an excellent anchorage for a ship. He did not despise the pleasure his mind got, by stopping at this land, not so sterile and unproductive as is commonly depicted, for the supply of fruits and **rice** is of course abundant, more than 1,000 chickens have been carried off, and there is such a large number of pigs being fattened that in the last voyage there was an extra supply of them for the passengers. So, once this business was done, the ship pursued its planned course and our people went back to theirs, to prepare to give a beginning to a new government.

It did not take long to decide to which part the weapons should be taken, specially as the leaders of the above-mentioned rebellions and the instigators of the troubles were by no means far away. They had fled from their homes, and had retreated to a cove naturally surrounded by steep cliffs which even the inhabitants had difficulty reaching. There they fixed their residence, trusting in the steepness of the area and the narrow trails that they blocked with branches cut from trees, and by planting here and there poisoned tips of their lances, also placing very large rocks in high places and laid out many setups such that they could be pried to make them fall during ambushes. Our men headed there at night and in silence on **29 June**, and firstly they very cautiously removed all the obstacles that they could spot, although not without danger, for in the uncertain light they had the bad luck of triggering the stone supports, and huge stones were impelled to come down; the steep decline made matters worse, and it was sufficient to carry many to their doom. They were already entering the place¹ when they casually met one man who announced the presence of our men by shouting. They all fled the place, shouting in their confusion. Only three of them were quickly caught by our men.² What they left behind was burned down, including of course many of their canoes. Six of the canoes were loaded with **rice** and other booty, splendidly taken not so much by the soldiers as by the Indian allies, which they carried home. Part of the enemies went to other islands, part took refuge in safer places, more remote from us. The terror caused by such expeditions was such that the neighbors who lived in the surrounding district came begging. They were all received gracefully, on the conditions that they obey the orders not to allow any delinquent among themselves, and bring the newborn children to be baptized.

There were still many unpunished patricides of the Ven. Fr. Sebastian Monroy and of his assistants at large in various parts of the island, who had left their old residence and taken refuge in the steep bush, where they had reinforced themselves to repel any

1 Ed. note: According to Fr. García, who must have gotten his information from another primary source, only two died and the fight took place at Haputo on the NW coast, where, he says, Aguarín lived, and where they went as the trail to Tarague was blocked.

2 Ed. note: Fr. García adds that one of them was a companion of Aguarín; he was killed by Captain Salas himself.

incursion on the part of our men. They thought they were safe from attack, not because we were short of men or diffident, but because, if we were to attack openly in daylight, they who knew the places would have been able to escape easily through steep and trackless trails. Therefore, the commander having been advised of the trails by one of those malefactors who, attracted [to the garrison] by a daughter who was married with one of our men, mutually agreed to secretly lead him to the others. The following night, **16 July**, we went up aboard native canoes to the shore that had been irrigated by the blood of our people,¹ where, while a pause was taken to refresh the bodies, the opportunity was given to two of our Indian companions to make a secret pact with the guide, so that they would warn the enemies of our coming, while he would cause delays, and lead us around through so many detours, that would allow them all to flee prematurely and thus elude our just revenge. This [treachery] was found out later on, after some questioning, and the unanimous confession of many people. The guide, who was naturally subservient, carried out the whole of the agreed plan, for he led us through much unknown and trackless trails, so broken up, so rough, but no less laid out with traps by the enemy, so that it caused no little difficulty, specially on account of darkness. He would have seemed brilliant to us, who were at the mercy of passive spears, if only he would have helped instead of impeded us, since the distance was not really too far and the way easy by a shortcut along their plateau that was not used by the enemies. However, he was not content with this infamy, having already exposed us to the danger of the chosen route, but he led us not to the village, but to the shore next to it.² The two mentioned above had gone there indiscreetly and arrived first, so that the enemy had been warned about our coming. And they [i.e. the soldiers] in any case were sweating excessively and already exhausted by the last march, while they [i.e. the enemies] were fleeing to the sea in native canoes, undoubtedly for their own safety. In fact, our guide became irritated at such an unexpected spectacle before the others, and drawing his sword, he attacked one of them so furiously that he fell down at the first blow, and died at the second one. The attack was indeed repressed, for our Indian allies vacillated out of fear, and our soldiers were all murmuring sadly, I do not know what. He instantly ordered that two others be tied up, intending to punish them soon with capital punishment as an example to the others, as this was done later on. The rest were indeed made fearful and, for their own safety, he wished to proceed with the expedition. Meanwhile, part of the allies had occupied the village, now empty of its inhabitants; the allies immediately seized whatever booty, and burned the rest. Except for two children who had been abandoned by their parents in their haste; we took them along to be educated by us. They were about to leave the place, but some spears were thrown by a certain number of enemies. They were so well hidden by the forest that they could not be seen. One of them, bolder than the others, was already about to throw a spear when a better one

1 Ed. note: This was the Orote Peninsula, as the text that follows makes abundantly clear.

2 Ed. note: The first village visited by the army seems to have been Orote (see below).

among our allies shot him, and the others ran up to kill him with iron [i.e. swords]. The latter man in any case was from the family of Fr. Sebastian. Another was from the next village, called **Tuparao**,¹ which we next entered, was captured along with her, thus unable to flee. In any case, she had been saved on account of sex prerogative, although she had been wounded lightly on one arm. It happened this way. After she had received the wound, and was prostrated on the ground, she shouted with a sad voice: "Alas! you have killed the brother of your Alonso." (Alonso was one of those who had sailed to Manila some years before and received baptism there. He had returned to his people by way of Mexico, whose door he had spread open(?), to check how it was made) and he [i.e. the so-called brother] had been one of the first ones to take up arms among them. Therefore, believing that he had received a calling, he ran up to this place, and when he recognized [our] presence (he came to know all those from this nearby village): "Away with prestige, said he, I agree to be like a brother to you, and to go down to hell with you." After having done this prediction, he pushed in the iron up to the hilt.² Meanwhile, the house, and those that remained, were burned. The same thing was done to the village called **Orote**, where even now we looked with pain at the half-crumbled ruins of our Residence burned down in the previous rebellion. No rebel dared to come into view. Whereas in the village of **Fuña**, some bolder ones appeared armed and, protected by a wall, which was well built with natural stones of the place. When our men set eyes on them, they took time to protect themselves against spears with shields, while the others were intrepidly throwing poisoned spears, so furiously that the first spears thrown at their military adversaries were plainly perforating the outer poles with which they produce shields here.³ Certainly, they were bombarded by spears from all sides, some even killed. So, the wall was deserted and many fell back into the forest in time. Two of them who threw themselves into the sea nearby would have been able to avoid the spears of our men, if they had swam at random, an art they are very proficient at. But they were frustrated, by Indian allies who swam after the fugitives and quickly

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- 1 Ed. note: A village in the Orote Peninsula whose name is now pronounced and written Tipalao.
 - 2 Ed. note: The original text is somewhat confused, but it appears that the would-be brother of Alfonso committed suicide. The names Alfonso and Alonso are equivalent in Spanish. Fr. García says that the man in question was none other than Alonso Soon (pronounced in two syllables, So-ón), a Chamorro who was a trustworthy ally of the Spaniards and was later to be made district mayor of Agat and vicinity.
 - 3 Ed. note: Sorry, the Latin is not clearer. Perhaps these were light shields made of split bamboo poles in more than one layer.

pursued in canoes. One of them was hit by a spear and dragged ashore; the other was wounded at least in three places, had an uncertain fate at sea, except that he took a breath deeper than usual, and may have escaped half-alive back to his people. Besides, this [village] was also torched. Meanwhile, we had turned around to go back home by the way we had come, when the barbarians came out of hiding to look for their canoes that had been left undefended along the shore; they had been carried off, and some had also been destroyed. Therefore, they had been used [to load things] as long as other things were brought in.¹ Finally all arrived home safely.

There remained in this part the uprising which was detected the previous year, and the disturbance by bloody stratagem, which as I recalled [started] in the village of **Agofan**.² On the way back, the people there were visited and called back to duty by force or peace, as they preferred, but our wishes being then frustrated in this case, during the month of **August** [1678], we make haste to reach them. They had widely set up the usual traps along the trails. They had even brought stones from the vicinity to the village to build a high wall.³ They had built houses here and there to be used by sentinels. Truly, they seemed to think that all of these works could hide their fear, more so than to act as a defence, for, once the difficulties to enter the village had been overcome, we found it had been left completely deserted by its inhabitants. In any case, some of them were spotted by our people in their canoes rowing towards the nearby shore, but at the throwing of a few spears,⁴ they finally accepted to trust [us], although trembling, and came to the interview, during which it was precisely found out which houses belong to the malefactors who, by remorse, had fled the island; as a punishment and as an example to the rest, they were burned. The other people returned to their duty, and to the peaceful possession of their belongings. The [bad] faith they placed in pacts became evident right away: hardly had fire been set, and the designated houses were burning, that the pacts were forgotten. They were discussing here and there in consternation, took to their canoes and to the nearby sea, and fled, as if acting(?) in a hostile manner, hardly something that would appear as a way to ask for peace pacts.⁵ Obscured reason can be seen among these barbarians to be won over by their natural optimism or fear predominating; they do not act, but react. That was indeed revealed afterwards, on **8 Septem-**

1 Ed. note: The meaning of this sentence is not clear.

2 Ed. note: This was Agosan, located between Piti and Sumay. Its inhabitants moved that year, 1678, to Rota where they established the village of Agusan. This is one rare case documenting the origin of place names in the Marianas, i.e. the transfer of a name from one island to another.

3 Ed. note: Warning to archaeologists: The word "vallum" in Latin could also mean trench, or ditch, a translation sometimes used by Fr. García, but it is clear that this document at least refers to the construction of makeshift walls, not only at Agusan, but also at Fuña (north of Agat), as mentioned earlier. These walls were probably just piles of chunks of coral rocks; they were soon destroyed and it is unlikely that ruins could be found today.

4 Ed. note: The shouted warnings had no doubt been disregarded.

5 Ed. note: The Jesuit missionaries present were specially disappointed, as they had negotiated the agreement, and spared them some damage.

ber in fact, the very feast-day of the birth of the Mother of God. At noon, our commander spotted some sails being propelled northward by the wind. Realizing what it was, seditious barbarians seeking safety outside the island, he took charge of some canoe of ours, and taking some of the Indians along, also some armed allies, in any case he gave chase to one of them, which was captured as it remained behind the others that had sped away with sail and oars. But in this [canoe] there was a man like a chief among them all, and small booty being taken along. Apart from a slave, there sailed with him three children, one a boy about 10 years old, and two small girls, one born before, the other after.¹ They were taken in accordance with the law of war to be educated by us. Meanwhile, the belongings, worth as much as the riches of Cresus among them, were: 10 turtle shells, 6 axes, 10 adzes, 1 sword, 2 nets, 1 mortar, in short, everything including the canoe itself. The man was kept in fetters for about one week, and what the weapons could not do, nor the prayers, his hope for freedom could do it better. In fact, his people, rather some villages of the island, the chiefs of the villages where he was held in irons, noticed that he was of no worse status [than they]; led by pity at first, they brought him small gifts and gruel.² Soon his fear abated, and he pretended to seriously want our friendship. So it is that not everything can be accomplished by force of arms, but can also be done by the power of piety.

Meanwhile, two malefactors came into our hands. One man had raised the banner for the others [to follow]. While one of our men, **Manuel de Hijosa**, either made tired by the road or delayed by sickness, the companions [i.e.] had agreed to make a rest stop; he was attacked with a spear and had his life cruelly taken away. He [i.e. the malefactor] took off with the booty, the clothes and the weapons, returned to his people and impiously boasted about it, and in turn, about killing the rest of the companions and the Fathers themselves. The other man had become irritated against our people some time ago, and had then hit the Ven. Fr. Luis de Medina with sticks, and Manuel de Navas whom he had met by chance on the road by jumping him from the bush nearby. Now he had been visiting our neighborhood to see if perchance he could attack some companion separated from the others. In any case, prepared with the sacramental rites of the Church, I do not exclude the hope that he after found a better life brought in by the death sentence. This man had a wild and ferocious nature, and famous among his people for one murder. Even now, restrained by fetters he retained his ferocity, until our commander came up in person, in order to see this. Embracing his knees with the same fury, he compressed them so viciously that force had to be used, or else he could have caused pain. He was inclined to prostrate himself, fighting with the ground, with his teeth and fingernails, to avenge his fury. But in time some soldiers in the vicinity ran up and would have killed him on the spot, had not the commander objected. In any case, their anger rising, they gave him a welcome with sticks, so much so that they would

1 Ed. note: In other words, they were sisters.

2 Ed. note: Although the classical Latin word "lautitia" also means some table luxury in general, in particular it means some flour mixed with water. I fancy that this was "laulau", the Chamorro delicacy of rice flour in coconut milk.

almost have finished him off, no doubt avenging with the divine permission the violent treatment with sticks that he had given to the Ven. Father a long time ago, as if he would give the pain himself through them. Therefore, the priest was called, after which his fury abated somewhat. He imposed the rite of preparation to die, although at first he seemed fully contrite, [ready] to piously accept his imminent execution, but afterwards, when he was led to the place, his fury returned, shouting invectives.¹ Once tied to the post, he did not show any clear signs of being desperate.

After these events the friends of the Indians in the depopulated above-mentioned villages² of the fugitive inhabitants were reporting that the crops left in the field were already ripe and by no means negligible, and that if our defenders went there, they could harvest them, not a small thing, considering their emolument and ours as well. The commander himself was inclined to agree. Therefore, boarding canoes,³ when he stepped ashore, he was informed that many of the enemy in their villages stayed hidden on all sides and our men were left undisturbed and safe. While moving about them, he left behind part of the companions to defend the boats with Indians, and he himself with some of the rest, pretending to fish, came by surprise upon the village of **Fuña**. When our men stormed it, as they spread out through the houses they found signs that their flight had been deliberate. In fleeing, a child of about 8 years old had been abandoned by his parents; we took him with us to be educated in the Christian way. While we proceeded [southward] along the shore, we came upon nets abandoned here and there, as well as canoes, and other belongings from houses, as far as the village of **Taraifac**.⁴ When our men saw these, they launched some Indian canoes to press forward aboard them. The canoes were getting on their way when hit by spears thrown from the shore. Therefore, they had wasted their energy in the hunt. So, they turned back, and burned the houses over a wide area, to spread terror. Not in vain as it turned out, for their residents, being more remote from the fault respectfully addressed prayers, and were ordered what was to be done.

This done, on the opposite [southeast] side, there remained a large portion of Indians, either mixed with the killers of the Fathers, or impudently refusing our dominion. It seemed that it was time to round them up by force of arms. In any case, the enterprise began with the village of **Pucpuc**,⁵ where nature has built a monument, special in the whole island, not just on account of the steepness of the cliffs around it, but on account of the narrow trails, and the unique stair-like access to it [by land]. Therefore, on **29 November** [1678], a start was made past midnight, led by an expert Indian guide, by way of hidden and trackless trails [across the island], after noon anyway, we

1 Ed. note: Literally "producing weeds." His execution was, as usual, by choking collar.

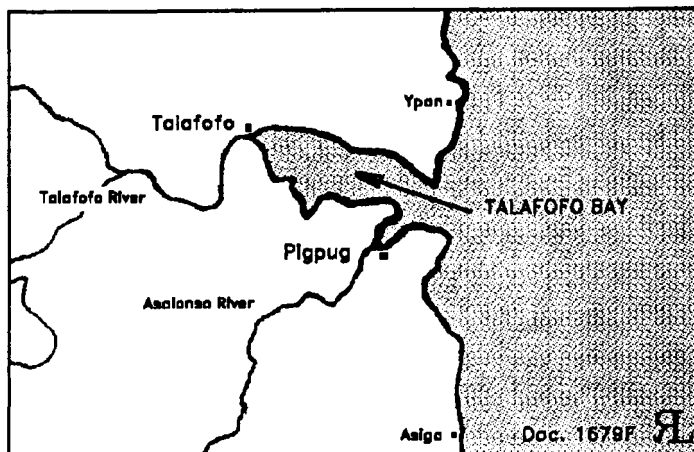
2 Ed. note: I think that they went directly to Orote, and Tupaao. Fuña had not been abandoned.

3 Ed. note: The date was 27 September 1678, according to Fr. García.

4 Ed. note: The village of Talefac still exists today. It is the site of a ruined Spanish bridge and, more recently, was the site of a landing of U.S. troops in 1944.

5 Ed. note: Also written Pigpug, a village that was located on the SE side of Talafofo Bay.

penetrated into the village overlooking the one in question on the shore.¹ After a short pause had been made there to rest the bodies a little, we descended into the village of **Tarofoc**, and in any case, the people were staying here, extremely safe at our arrival. They were busy with feasts and dances, to which the people of our vicinity had flocked for a special celebration of their poets, with the first [poet] was competing on our side when by



The expedition to Pigpug in November 1678.

accident an Indian fired his musket. Indeed everyone became consternated, and leaving the dances, they took it seriously, some took up spears, other grabbed their belongings, others took to the canoes nearby, and all took flight. Our own men ran up in bands, swords at the ready, intent on bringing a massacre to the rebels, had they not been prevented by a river whose waters could not be forded as they had overflowed over a wide area.² There were so many waiting, when some companions swam across to fetch canoes from the opposite river bank. This delay gave them a longer opportunity to escape through the forest, and plunder whatever booty, before they burned the rest. Meanwhile, the commander sent some musketeers with Indian allies to occupy the narrow trails, or to dislodge the enemies who might be occupying them. There was a shortcut for people walking in the water to a rock under an overhanging woody cliff, possible but difficult for a man to climb. From there, it was possible but hard for him to make his way carefully through the said bush along a stream somewhat eroded by waters rapidly flowing down; all the upper bushes above and the defiles themselves were occupied by ferocious barbarians, with their spears and [sling-]stones, and huge stones.³ They had brought a new type of spears so far unknown to the Indians,⁴ with poisoned tips, that is, made of a human bone fixed to the tip or hasp and tied with a cord, which they launched at our men with force. Our men faced them strenuously, but were tired of the enemy's bothersome spears thrown from a distance, but the situation was plainly

1 Ed. note: Nowadays, there is still a small lookout point there, on the NE side of Talafofo Bay.

2 Ed. note: In other words, the high tides made the mouth of the Talafofo River unfordable, by people on foot. The following description makes sense only if the site of the Talafofo village was on the north side of the river. The people fled south, across the river, to join the rebels of Pigpug.

3 Ed. note: These stones were set near the edge of the cliffs, ready to be pushed over the edge.

4 Ed. note: The description of the spear that follows does not explain why it was a new type; rather, it seems to have been the usual bone-tipped spears, except that their use had been banned in all subjugated areas already.

unfair, since they could hardly shoot from the place they had come to, and their spears were useless, unless they exposed themselves to the enemies. That brave Alonso [Soon], whom I mentioned earlier, was preceding the others. Made more resolute by his large shield, he might have more easily fended off the tips of the incoming spears and rocks, and he was continuously moving forward resolutely, not at all happy with the contrary storm that was already splitting the shield itself something horrible, and being insulted too much by the invectives that the insolent barbarians kept directing at him: "Come up here, infamous enemy of your country, and get the reward for your temerity here." To which he shouted back: "You there, when I get up there, I'll step on your corpse. Right now, let's have that brain of yours try and settle the matter between you and me." This said, he made a jump forward and penetrated higher up, followed with difficulty by the companions, the men attacking with weapons by no means nonchalantly. Consternated at the sight of them, the barbarians rushed headlong into flight. Our men tempered their spirit, by not proceeding beyond, while the companions made their way up, so as not to ensnare themselves through the steep and fearful traps that had been prepared for them. After they had all come up, they joined their forces, and we went down to the village. The site was completely different from the rest, in a peaceful but narrow inlet below, such as would cause hate in a few people, even with nautical instruments, then to come up this tough incline.¹ On the plateau from the other part looking back from/at the sea, it is so steep as to be inaccessible. Here the barbarians had retired, in a fort so to speak, to make their last stand. Not short of anything, they had consolidated the crest beforehand by piling up stones. Not nonchalantly either, our soldiers were trying to reach this complement to their victory, directly up the face of the steep cliff to accomplish their ascent. Although, others were preceding them, covered by their shields, they were to keep on throwing their spears with impunity, and their stones with so great a force as to break their protective covers, and they were no longer able to resist. Some, not courageous enough, were already yielding, some by no means lightly wounded by the [sling]-stones or by the weight of the stones, but they, grumbling in anger, were not giving up their enterprise forward, when from the opposite direction came the commander himself with the companions. In any case, he had taken a longer but better way to pursue the enemy. Therefore, those who were laboring up the opposite front jumped ahead with even greater shouts, and making contact with the fleeing rear guard, they became masters of the field. Upon seeing this, the barbarians all took flight to safety. However, it is a fact that, in the blind ravines, where traps had been made to push over some stones, [they had advanced] so cautiously that they could otherwise elude the tripping mechanisms(?), by having people go around to dig them up with the hand.² The enemies having lost, their houses were sacked and burned. The canoes

1 Ed. note: Meaning unclear. I would have to visit the actual site in order to figure out what the author meant exactly. Another possible rendering is: ... "to overcome this difficulty" But which difficulty? To sail up the narrow inlet?

2 Ed. note: The basic text would admit some other interpretation at this point.

were immediately condemned, and were burned, including more than 20 exquisite ones that were considered special prizes among them. Then the wounded quickly retraced their steps, to get proper care; it was thought then that all of them, thank God, would recover within a short time. Over the next few days, we returned by way of the neighboring district,¹ were received hospitably for the most part, if not amicably. In fact, the fire next door had made them solicitous, and they preferred that bad things be done to others and not to their own.

The year 1678 was coming to a close and there were good signs that all embraced the new order of things. The Island of San Juan was already most quiet. The trouble-makers had either been affected by war and moved their settlements to other islands, or been executed. One of the first successes were brought in by one Indian chief named **Ignatius Inete**, the same man who had vigorously supported our arms over the last five years, but then used to making war, hence he would distinguish himself in being faithful to our enterprise, by taking part in many expeditions with his men, in order not to miss sharing in the successful moment. So, now he concluded an agreement with our commander without delay, so that, if he should meet with some unpunished enemies loose in the interior of the island, he might kill them himself. Therefore, on **6 January 1679**, when he was on the trail of three such men, who had come out of the village of **Terragi** to disrupt the traffic between our neighborhood and places friendly to us—Terragi had until then been spared by our army—as he was interrogating the impudent rebels, asking them whether they knew that these places were now forbidden to rebels, [they were] consternated by fear and preparing to repel force with force. So, he advanced himself with his people, and when spears were thrown from afar, presently he drew his sword, attacked them and brought them down. The bodies of the blind barbarians were horribly disfigured as per custom, the heads chopped and brought to us, to be impaled on the seashore to spread terror. Having done this, he was congratulated by our men, and not dismissed without some prize.

Meanwhile, some thought was given to maintaining the order achieved thus far. The confused barbarians would come in bands, in order to submit themselves, either for reasons of religious duty, or to trade. The inhabitants of this island were to be properly registered, or all in white, to live in villages. Thus, the excursions were to become more frequent, now to the more remote places that had been for the most part strangers to Christian institutions, to attract them at first and to soften their customs, so that they would let go of their barbarity little by little, to finally become accustomed to the yoke of government, as well as those closer to us, who have already been imbued with Christian discipline, either fallen back into trouble in the meantime, or continuing to be negligent in their duties.

So, after a brief interval, the military endeavor was resumed. In fact, some of the more disturbing barbarians, from among those who had been vanquished at the above-mentioned **Pucpuc**, were exciting the spirits of the rest, and when the people of the

1 Ed. note: By way of the coast, through Ypan, Irig, and Pago.

neighboring villages would come to meet us, to make peace with our commander, they would then become agitated with fury and envy and burn down the houses of our clients. Not happy with this, some other people who were friends with us and above all with the commander, those who had faithfully supported the above-mentioned military expedition, and who, for business reasons, had visited various places on the island, had run the risk of finding death, which would certainly have been inflicted to them, had not others, better ones, prevented them. The part played by victory often consists in preventing fools from acting up. Therefore, the army immediately began an expedition on **31 January** [1679], and having conquered the usual difficulty of the trackless byways, they reached their goal after midday. The village was called **Pinetan** [sic]¹ in the interior of the island and consisting of a few houses on a river bank. There they would congregate from the neighboring villages to take care of **rice** fields which they cultivated in an open plain because it was well irrigated with water. Our enemies were seeking safety a little too distant from the designated place, when the more faithful Indians recognized the trouble-makers, and hardly waiting for the agreed signal delivered their weapons. Our men ran up, and dispersing themselves invaded with a surprise attack. Our men surrounded three of them and killed them, although some wounded ones escaped. One of their people did not sell his soul cheaply; in fact, having received an enemy spear in the thigh, when he was defending both sides of his narrow house, he perceived the shouts announcing that the flames were being set; fuming with rage, he found it necessary to borrow the spear that was unfortunately in his own wound, extracted it from his body and threw it at the invading soldiers, with such fury that it fully pierced the strong slat of an enemy shield. Then the soldiers went off and burned the houses of the trouble-makers. No-one else dared to oppose them, except a few who threw badly-aimed spears from ambush, well protected by the shelter of the forest. Our men spent that night safe among the neighboring friendly Indians. The next day, having gathered prior information from the inhabitants, they went down to the shore at the village of **Umatac**. From here, they visited the whole of the southern district. The reward gathered was not negligible, specially an unusual one, in the person of an old Filipino who had been shipwrecked in these islands a long time ago,² and thus knew their language. The Fathers had brought him in their retinue [in 1668]. It had been eight years already that he had fled to the barbarians. Discovered after a thorough search for him, he finally came begging and shedding tears. He was pardoned and joined the faithful.

[Official bounty hunters in Guam]

Meanwhile our commander was doing what he could to purge the island of barbarians, by the barbarians themselves. He proposed a condition, to the effect that if any of the above-mentioned malefactors wished to win his pardon and favor for past deeds,

- 1 Ed. note: This is possibly Hinetan, or most probably Hincan, as they seemed to have gone in the direction of Umatac (see below).
- 2 Ed. note: In 1638, in the shipwreck of the galleon *Concepción* at Saipan. His name is unfortunately not given here. He had helped Fr. Sanvitores to make his Chamorro grammar.

he should track down any one responsible for the death of any of the Fathers, and bring him to him, dead or alive. Therefore, two of them, who had participated in the death of the Ven. Fr. Sebastian Monroy and a great part of the companions, already sought after for their deeds, tracked down diligently the special patricide of the Ven. Fr. Francisco Ezquerro, named Sangro. Conscious of his crimes, he had fled to secret hiding places in the forests, where, far from any contact with the rest, he had built a house and was sustaining his family. Indeed, having received information from his friend and confidant, they went there and attacked him unexpectedly. Already, he had hit the ground, then he thought he'd better flee, but a spear faster than the fugitive hit his side. It slowed him down, as he kept making an effort to succeed, but within a short time he was captured by his pursuers, and pierced with a sword. Finally, he paid with his head, which was cut off and taken to our people to be impaled in public.

Another Indian, a neighbor of ours,¹ proved no less faith in our commander. He had gone to do business to the southern part of the island. In the village of **Merizo** he caught sight of another patricide of the Ven. Fr. Sebastian Monroy, called Cheref, who had previously feared our commander's invasion of the hostile district and had fled to the Island of Santa Ana, called Rota. He had since returned to his people and was looking for rice. He had been admitted to participate in the harvest in this friendly village distant about eight leagues from us and thought himself in safety. When he recognized him, the first thought that occurred to him was to attack him by surprise, but fear caused him to wait, as the residents of this foreign village might defend their guest. So, he decided to return and expose the whole thing to our commander, who, finding the opportunity to coerce the barbarians with a very good example, he personally [i.e. the informant] would bring the [ventium = vendium = trade goods?], publish and inform diligently the pretext that he was buying chickens. Firstly, he [i.e. the informant] was to explore in silence until night-time would have brought him home, then he would send another agent to him [i.e. the commander] in the neighboring village, and carry out his operation towards evening. If the thing did succeed, a commensurate reward would not be long in coming. He himself left aboard native canoes on **15 April** and went off to the high sea where he waited by bringing the sails down, so as not to be blown around, until the sun was down, and then unfurl the sails; he went to the designated place at about 8 p.m. Our *Corycus*² was already waiting in the place and he was remembering the pact rightly made. In fact, at sunset he had approached the designated house, and showing tobacco leaves (for this type of plant is difficult to obtain here as much as they relish) and inquiring from the man in question whether he had any chickens to sell. As the man said no, he acted almost sorry, to preserve the lie. Then, the armed men having arrived at the place by moonlight in silence, they all encircled the house. Presently, they lit a candle and entered the house, to find everyone immersed in deep sleep. In fact,

1 Ed. note: Meaning from Agaña.

2 Ed. note: A reference to the spy, who is here compared to, either a character described by Cicero, or the inmate of a cavern on the flank of Mount Parnassus.

this was a public house, at which single men gather. Not recognized at first, as he was lying down now. Therefore, when Alonso [Soon] (he who was mentioned above, who was representing much importance in whatever difficult situations, because his face itself was well known among them, he was quick of hand and spirit, and none of the companions would have come by himself) pulled the [top] mat and looked at his face carefully, he woke up and with a remorse of conscience realized what it was all about; the candle, which was managed by another hand, went out. Aroused from his torpor, he escaped to the beams in the upper part of the house. When the light returned, and the place was inspected, he was missed already. His companions dissimulated, until one, whom he trusted and feared most, whispered in his ear the name of the man and his hiding-place. Therefore, those who lived in the house were ordered out, so that they would not be harmed unintentionally by spears. Finally, he was discovered hiding inside and, to prevent his escape, his capture had been previously ordered. The leader himself, seconded by the companions, shot him. He fell down flat upon the floor. Alonso ran up and decapitated him, and one of the companions amputated his right hand, the one that he had irreverently laid upon the priest of God. After the fact, the barbarians approved and applauded what had befallen this disturbing and trouble-making man. Rather, they made it a point to inform the commander about the disturbance that had happened in Orote (for after his death they dared to express what they had kept quiet before, out of fear, or on account of their blood connection) to such a degree that the barbarians who had already plotted the death of Fr. Sebastian and companions [affirmed that] our people had been defending themselves, that they had pushed back their adversaries, then with failing courage they began to flee, while he shouted: "Companions, either we die here, or we win," and they went out with their Father to be destroyed in the massacre. Rather when, the rest having been cut down already, he headed for the sea, where the Father had boarded a canoe and was being somehow defended by the last companion. Grabbing a handful of sand from the beach, he brought it with him; he tried to blind his assailant by throwing it into his face, but then they made a corpse out of his body. The chief called the barbarians and seriously admonished them. In any case, as far as the [possible] arrest of the patricide, nothing worse [than a criticism] was decided by them. Otherwise, they took care that none of the known trouble-makers would be made welcome in their village. Otherwise, they would have experienced their revenge with destruction.

Besides, such was the course of our victorious arms, that finally it was done, and every single village in this island acknowledged the government of our commander, and they agreed to follow the orders for whatever mandate itself, the foremost of which among these barbarians was in any case that the Gospel be propagated in safety. Therefore, we intended to put it into effect, by providing the service more often to the more remote places and to those who had been more troublesome in the above-mentioned commotions. Where they would either hesitate, or too many returned more tenaciously to their old law, they would get whipped as much by our soldiers as by their people, to teach moderation once and for all to their ferocious minds and, when the arrogance

had been tamed, to have them recognize their superior and greater citizenship. In order to make the whole island secure, one severe law was to be reaffirmed: he who was notorious, either in the death of Fathers or companions, or as principal actor in the past troubles, was to be administered punishment, and those who had welcomed the malefactors as well, in order not to waste the fruit gathered in so many excursions that we performed throughout the island this year, either on expeditions with military companions, or visiting the island to gather information from the inhabitants. Truly, this special care (for we had not all divided ourselves among various Residences) was extended to the neighboring district, where our arms had given us more freedom to give daily instruction in the Christian laws to the barbarians who did sin more out of malice and obstinacy than by ignorance or simplicity. Moreover, the scandal caused by common-law marriage, which had erupted once more during the troubles, was the first to be removed, by joining them in matrimony in the church; they had returned to their vomit, and to their ancient sweet liberty, divorcing and marrying with others, easily rejecting advices and prayers, unless fear made them more observant. All of those who were made to return to their duty, not to punish them, but for the authors of the pernicious divorces to be recognized. Wrapped in their gentile superstitions, they were also continuing to celebrate their deceased in accordance with the native rite, and so far it has not been possible to bring the corpses to us to be inhumed in accordance with the Christian rite. However, this year the pious custom was strong, and due honor was given to the dead. Then the public houses, the main idol of the region and schools from hell, were destroyed by fire, and every one back to his designated family, with which he was obliged to live a quiet life in accordance with his status. The commander himself would often place sentinels at night, in order to catch and fine the disturbers of the public peace. Many of them, who had been educated under our discipline in the colleges, had taken the opportunity to return to their people during the above-mentioned rebellion, where, growing in age, as well as in daring and freedom, they had emancipated themselves in the public houses of prostitution, easily forgetting their better education. They were searched for relentlessly; first, they were well whipped, then tied up. They were ordered to serve in the house, until they are fully reformed, not only promising to reform themselves, but also doing so. Now I will not fail to mention something in praise of this nation, which is that, from all those who were either put in irons, or given a rougher correction, no-one could have invented something to exacerbate more the harshness of the remedy. Rather, the medicine would effect the cure; they would accept to be formed and refined by us. And not a few people declare, with any amount of suitable comments, that they have become fully docile. This year also not a few have attended school openly and progressed so much that they have themselves chosen publicly and assidu-

ously to follow the sacred lessons as catechists¹ in the College, not just as simple students.

Those are the events in our Mariana Mission, particular in my opinion. It is not that I lacked the spirit [to say more], but I decided to make it brief.²

Your Reverence's least son in Christ,
Petrus Comano, S.J.

F2. Report in Spanish by Fr. Besco

Sources: (1) Original, in Spanish, in RAH 9/2677; (2) transcript of Latin translation in Georgetown University's Special Collections, Schwartz Collection, doc. n° 30 (unnumbered), a 5-1/4 page transcript.

Notes: Since the above report, plus what Fr. Garcia has already published, are sufficient coverage for that one year, the report by Fr. Besco will only be briefly described. The Schwartz transcript bears the following title: "Relatio rerum notabiliorum, quæ a Junio anni 1678 usque ad Maium anno 1679 in insulis Marianis acciderunt."

Description of this document

The document consists of 14-1/2 pages. The report is entitled: "*Relacion de las cosas mas notables que an suzedido en las Yslas Marianas desde el mes de Junio de 1678 asta Mayo de 1679, y del estado en que queda esta Christiandad.*"

The text begins with the words: "*1ª A 18 de Junio de 1678 llego con feliz subçesso la Nao San Telmo a esta Ysla de San Juan y dio fondo en el Puerto de Umatag o de San Antonio para dejarnos al socorro que su Magestad nos embia para mantener y llevar adelante esta nueva Christiandad.*"

The text ends with the words: "*que sea de dilatar mucho esta Christiandad y mas con los socorros que al presente esperamos de Nao y de Patache que nos enbiara el Señor Governador de Philipinas protector nuestro y el de las Oraziones de los Santos y zelosos de la grandeza de Dios y Salvazion de las Almas Y asi las de estas Yslas se puede creer que Poblaron el çielo y llenaran las sillas que no supieron merezer los malos Angeles. Quiera Nuestro Señor que asi sea.—San Ignazio de Agaña y Junio 5 del 1679.—Bartolome Besco.*"³

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- 1 Ed. note: The word "canaculus", rather "canacopulus" is not really Latin, but comes from the Spanish word "canacopole", which meant acolyte, or catechist in the Indies.
 - 2 Ed. note: In fact, he had run out of paper; the last two paragraphs were scribbled on the back cover of a notebook in the original document.
 - 3 Ed. note: The Schwartz transcript gives the erroneous date 5 June 1678, and leaves the document unsigned.

Documents 1679G

Answers to the decree of 1 July 1677 regarding the mission boat

Source: AGI Fil. 11-1-6. Note: See also Doc. 1677H and next document, 1679H

G1. Steps taken as a result of this royal decree

Original text in Spanish.

Obedecimiento a la Real Zedula.

*En el Galeon Capitana **San Telmo** que hace viaje de tornabuelta de el puerto de Acapulco para el de Cavite de las Islas Philipinas surto en el puerto y bayha de Sant Juan de Yguan una de las Islas Marianas en veinte dias del mes de Junio de mill seiscientos y setenta y ocho años, el Señor Maestro de Campo D. Juan de Vargas de Urtado, Cavallero del Orden de Santiago, del gro.[?=Consejo] de su Magd. Governador y Capitan General de dhas Islas Philipinas y presidente de la Audiencia y Real Chancilleria de ellas; en execucion y obedeçimiento de la Real Cedula de las foxas [=hojas] antes de esta, Dixo que mandava y mando que el presente escrivano requiera al Padre Bartholome Vesco de la Compania de Jesus Vize provincial de las misiones que actualmente resside en dhas Islas Marianas y que al presente se halla en este dicho Galeon y Capitana con asistencia de el Padre Gerardo Vobens [=Bouwens] y Thomas de Cardeñosa asimisimo Religiosos de dicha Compania, informe sobre todo lo que se les ofreciese y conduxere al mayor servicio de su Magestad, y estencion de nuestra Santa Fee Catholica assi de las viberes[,] pertrechos[,] municiones y perssonas de que necesitare para dicho efecto y su seguridad para lo qual dicho escrivano le ara notorio lo contenido en dicha Real Cedula y instruccion a ella anexa en dos foxas como para que se observe lo conthenido en ellas y se mande lo que mas con venga assi lo proveyo mando y firmo.*

Don Juan de Vargas Urtado

Ante my Antonio Flores Escrivano Real

Nottificac[i]on.

Le y notifique el auto de esta otra parte segun y como en el se contiene y hiçe nott[ari]a la Real Cedula e ymforme conserniente a dicho Auto al Reverendo Padre Bartholome Bezco de la Comp^a de Jesus Vize provincial de las Misiones de estas Islas Marianas en su presencia, y haviendolo entendido, Dixo:—

Que lo oyo y que en observacion de ello imformara lo que se le ofrece por escrito y esto dio por su respuesta.

*Fecho en este Galeon Capitana **Sant Thelmo** en veinte de Junio de Mill y seiscientos y setenta y ocho años y de ello doy fee.*

Antonio Flores Escrivano Real.

Auto.

En dho Galeon día mes y año el dho Señor Maestro de Campo Governador y Capitan General de dhas Islas Philipinas:—

Dijo que en prosecucion de las diligencias conthenidas en dha Real Cedula para mayor inteligencia y acuerdo de lo que se deve obrar combenia el que su Señria con asistencia del Almirante Leandro Coello Piloto Mayor de dha Galeon y de los Religiosos ministros misioneros que se hallan en el, reconoscan la enseñada de esta ysla de Sant Juan de Guan en cuya frente esta surto dicho galeon y si ay en ella puerto con fondo suficiente para surgidero de Navios y pataches, y assi missmo el therreno de dha ensenada para las disposiciones de los efectos a que mira dha Real Zedula y de todo lo que constare se ponga por diligencia y lo rubrico.

Rubricado.

Ante my Antonio Flores Escrivano Real.

Testimonio.

*Yo el Capitan Antonio Flores Nottario publico en las Indias por el Rey nuestro Señor y escrivano del Galeon Capitana **Sant Telmo** que hace viaxe de tornabuelta de el puerto de Acapulco de la Nueva Spaña al de Cavite de las yslas Philipinas, doy fee y verdadero testimonio como oy de la fecha a oras de las siete de la mañana poco mas o menos, su Señoria el Señor Maestro de Campo Don Juan de Vargas Urtado Cavalero de el horden de Santiago de el Concexo de su Magd. Governador y Capitan General de dhas Islas Philipinas y pressidente de la Audiencia y Real Chanzelleria de ellas se desembarco de dho Galeon para la lancha de el en compania del almirante Leandro Coello Piloto Mayor y de el Padre Xacintho de Montenegro Religioso de la Compania de Jesus ministro misionero de las yslas Marianas y fueron a la ensenada, de este puerto de la Isla nombrada Sant Juan de Guan una dellas y hico sondear la baia de dha ensenada y por la canal que entra de la punta de ella se hallo fondo de seis brazas y mas y junto a tierra de tres a quatro brazas limp^a por la mediania y algo suficiente para surgidero de navios pequeños y pataches, y llegado a tierra salto a ella dho Señor Governador y hallo en la playa al Padre Tomas Cardeñoso Religioso de dha Comp^a Misionero asi missmo, y con asistencia de los dhos Religiosos como personas de experiencia rec-*

onocio un baluarte de madera ya maltratado que esta en la marina de dha ensenada y vio por una y otra parte su terreno y con acuerdo de dhos Religiosos discurrio en otros puntos que miran a la mayor conveniencia de el servicio de Ambas Magestades y para efecto de dar quenta a su Magestad para que disponga y mande lo que mas convenga, mando que de todo lo mencionado lo diesse por testimonio en cuyo obedecimiento doy el pressente, en este papel, por no aver otro de el sellado.

Fecho en dho Galeon a veinte y uno de Junio de Mill seiscientos y setenta y ocho años, siendo testigos los capitanes Don Joseph de Urias, Don Juan Gallardo y D. Diego de Aro presentes.

En testimonio de verdad lo signe:

Antonio Flores Escrivano Real.

Informe [del P. Besco].

El Padre Bartholome Vesco Vice Provincial, y superior de la mission Mariana de la Compania de Jesus en conformidad del requerimiento que se me a fecho por el auto de Vss^a [= Vuestra Señoría] en horden a que informe lo necessario para el maior logro de la extension de la Santa Fee en estas yslas Marianas, y servicio de su Magestad lo que se me ofrece es lo siguiente:

1. Suplicase a Vss^a se sirva poner algun remedio para que los Cavos no hagan algunos arroxos que pueden caussar notable daño a toda la mission como si intentasen (y de hecho lo han intentado algunos) de dexar los Religiosos solos, y con los soldados irse a vivir a otra parte fuera, lexos del Real.

2. Ytem de disponer como los Cavos no se metan con la gente que sirve a los Religiosos; y menos con los Collexiages, y Ministerio de la doctrina.

3. Ytem que no se hagan entradas, ni emprendan facciones sin tiempo y sazón: lo qual se puede evitar prohibiendoles no emprendan estas cossas sin averlo primeramente con madurez consultado con los Religiosos experimentados en la tierra y naturales.

4. Ytem que no quieren disponer de los sitios de los Pueblos que se huvieren de hacer sin consultar el superior de la Mission y que venga en ello.

5. Ytem que no impidan a los Religiosos el buscar entre los naturales el sustento hordinario y necesarios de la tierra para sí y para los de su servizio.

6. Ytem que cada vez que fueren requeridos del Superior dè el Cavo los soldados necesarios para escolta.

7. Ytem como se podra disponer que no disipen la hazienda que les fuere entregada para complar el sustento de el campo.

8. Ytem que se ponga algun remedio para que no se disipen ni deshagan las armas, porque no ha faltado quien las deshaga para sus comvinencias.

9. Ytem que se disponga algun medio para que no se embarguen en las naos quando passan por estas yslas los soldados y demas gente de el presidio sino despues de algunos años porque si el año despues de aver venido a la Mission se van, nunca habra gente de experienzia.

10. *Yten se dexe ordenado, que ningun Cavo, ni otros intenten hacer esclavos los naturales de estas yslas.*

11. *Yten que quando los Padres Missioneros llaman algunos Indios para cossas necesarias de la doctrina, no los impiden la execussion de lo que se les fuere mandado.*

12. *Yten que se sirva Vss^a de declarar la authoridad que ha de tener el Cavo en orden a castigar en particular con castigos de muerte.*

13. *Ytem que se guarde la palabra que se diere o por el Cavo o por el superior de la mission, en orden a perdonar algunos deliquentes que an merecido castigo de muerte quando conviene para mayor servicio de Dios, y del Rey, sin que los suscesores puedan castigar dichos crimenes ya una vez perdonados.*

14. *Ytem que socorra la Mission con algun barco de cinco o seis remos por banda, como lancha o bote mediano por dos, o tres años arreo.*

15. *Ytem que se socorra la Mission con los Pampangos o otros naturales de Filipinas, o por aora la gente que a Vss^a pareciere necessaria.*

16. *Yten que se cada año se dejen [sic] algunos marineros oficiales naturales de Filipinas para fabricar algun Barco pequeño.*

Fecho en este puerto de Umatac en veinte de Junio de mill seiscientos y setenta y ocho años.

Bartholome Vesco.

Auto.

En dho Galeon dia mes y año el Reverendo Padre Bartholome Vesco conthenido en el informe de la foxa antes de esta parecio ante su Señoria el dho Señor Maestro de Campo Governador y Capitan General que de dho Informe hizo presentaseba y su Señoria lo ubo por presentado y mando se acomulase con los demas Autos y diligencias y lo que mas fuere justificado al mayor logro del servicio de nuestro Señor y execussion de la Real voluntad se haga y forme instruccion en forma para que el que esta nombrado por Governador y Capitan de las Islas Marianas, y los que le sucedieren ynter que su Magestad disponga y manda otra cossa lo observen y manden observar y guardar cumplidamente y fecha se acomule con dhas authos y se les den copias authorisadas al dho Cavo y Governador, y al dho Reverendo Padre, Vice provincial Bartholome Vesco para que cada uno lleven la mira a su execucion en mayor asierto y conserbacion de dhas yslas que assi lo proveyo y rubrico.

Rubricado.

Ante my Antonio Flores Escrivano Real.

Translation.

Obedience to the Royal Decree.

Aboard the flagship galleon **San Telmo** that is returning from the port of Acapulco to that of Cavite in the Philippine Islands, anchored in the port and bay of San Juan of Yguan [=Guam] in the Mariana Islands, on the 20th day of the month of June of the year 1678, Master-of-camp Don Juan de Vargas de Hurtado, Knight of the Order of

St. James, of His Majesty's Privy Council, Governor and Captain General of said Philippine Islands, and President of the Audiencia and Royal Chancellery there; in compliance with the Royal Decree reproduced on previous pages:

Declared that he was ordering and he ordered that the present notary request Father Bartolomé Besco of the Society of Jesus, Vice-provincial of the missions, who presently resides in said Mariana Islands and who is presently aboard this said galleon and flagship, and assisted by Father Gerardo Bouwens and Father Thomas de Cardeñoso, also Religious of said Society, to inform about everything he pleases that might lead to the greater service of His Majesty, and extension of our Holy Catholic Faith, not only in the way of food supplies, equipment, ammunitions and persons that might be need for said purpose and their safety; to this effect, said notary is to make known the contents of said Royal Decree and instruction attached thereto in two sheets, in order for their contents to be observed, and for him to order what would be best. So he ordained, ordered, and signed his name:

Don Juan de Vargas Hurtado

Before me, Antonio Flores, Royal Notary.

Notification.

I read and notified the statement of this other part and, as stated therein, I made known the Royal Decree and report concerning said statement to the Reverend Father Bartolomé Besco of the Society of Jesus, Vice-provincial of the Missions of these Mariana Islands, in his presence, and having understood it, he Declared:—

That he heard it and in observance of it he would give his opinion in writing, and that is what he gave as an answer.

Made aboard this flagship galleon **San Telmo** on the 20th of June of the year 1678, and in faith whereof I affix my name.

Antonio Flores, Royal Notary.

Decision.

Aboard said galleon, on said month and year, said Master-of-camp, Governor and Captain General of said Philippine Islands:—

Declared that in compliance with the details contained in said Royal Decree, for a greater comprehension and agreement on what must be done, it was proper for His Lordship, with the assistance of Admiral Leandro Coello, Pilot Major of said galleon, and of the Religious ministers and missionaries presently on board, to survey the bay of this Island of San Juan of Guan, before which said galleon is anchored, to find out if there is in it a port of sufficient depth to be an anchorage for ships and pataches, and the bottom of said bay as well, in order to comply with the tenets of said Royal Decree, and everything that will be found out is to be recorded accordingly, and he initialled this.

Rubric.

Before me, Antonio Flores, Royal Notary.

Declaration.

I, Captain Antonio Flores, Notary public in the Indies on behalf of the King our Lord and clerk of the flagship galleon **San Telmo** that is making the return voyage from the port of Acapulco in New Spain to that of Cavite in the Philippine Islands, testify and attest as true that, on this date and at 7 a.m. more or less, His Lordship, Master-of-camp Don Juan de Vargas Hurtado, Knight of the Order of St. James, of His Majesty's Privy Council, Governor and Captain General of said Philippine Islands, and President of the Audiencia and Royal Chancellery there, disembarked from said galleon and boarded her launch, in company with Admiral Leandro Coello, Pilot Major, and with Father Jacinto de Montenegro, Religious of the Society of Jesus, missionary priest in the Mariana Islands,¹ and they went to the bay of this port of the Island named San Juan de Guan, one of those Islands, and he caused the cove of this bay to be sounded. Within the entrance channel by the point, bottom was found at 6 fathoms and more, and next to the shore at 3 to 4 fathoms, clean for the most part, and somewhat sufficient for the anchorage of small ships and pataches. Upon arriving ashore, His Lordship the Governor stepped ashore and on the beach he met with Father Thomas Cardeñoso, Religious missionary of said Society, as well, and with the assistance of said Religious, as persons of experience, he surveyed **a bulwark of wood, already dilapidated, that is on the sea-shore of said bay** and he inspected the terrain on either side, and with the agreement of said Religious he discussed other points that concern the greater advantage of the service of Both Majesties, and in order to give a report to His Majesty for him to make the best decision, he ordered that everything discussed be officially recorded. In obedience thereof, I give the present, on this paper, because of the lack of stamped parchment.

Made aboard said galleon on the 21st of June of the year 1678, with Captain Don José de Urias, Captain Don Juan Gallardo, and Captain Don Diego de Aro, acting as witnesses. In faith whereof I have affixed my signature.

Antonio Flores, Royal Notary.

Report [by Fr. Besco].

Father Bartolomé Besco, Vice-provincial and Superior of the Mariana Mission of the Society of Jesus, in compliance with the requirement that has been intimated to me by the decision of Your Lordship, ordering me to report on what is necessary for the greater success of the propagation of the Holy Faith in these Mariana Islands, and for the service of His Majesty, my thoughts on the subject are as follows:

1. Your Lordship is requested to please put a stop to the waywardness of the Commanders who may cause significant harm to the whole mission by trying (and some have indeed tried) to leave the Religious alone, and go with the soldiers to live somewhere else, outside of and far from the camp.

1 Ed. note: Fr. Montenegro had been absent from the Marianas for at least one year, and was then returning aboard the *San Telmo*, in 1678.

2. Also, to please arrange for the Commanders not to meddle with the persons serving the Religious, and even less with the children in the Colleges, and the ministry of the doctrine.

3. Also, that no sorties be done, or battles undertaken, without proper planning: this can be achieved properly, by forbidding them to undertake such things without first consulting it at length with the Religious who have experience with the local situation and the natives.

4. Also, they should not decide on the sites for settlements without first consulting with the Superior of the Mission, and he should concur.

5. Also, they should not prevent the Religious from looking among the natives for ordinary sustenance and necessary local foods for themselves and for those in their service.

6. Also, that the Commander give the necessary soldiers for an escort, every time the Superior asks for them.

7. Also, about the procedures to put in place to prevent the waste of the supplies delivered to them for the sustenance of the camp.

8. Also, some remedy is needed to prevent the misuse and disappearance of weapons, because some have indeed gotten rid of them for their own profit.

9. Also, some means should be found to prevent the embarkation of soldiers and other men from the garrison on board the galleons that pass by these Islands, except after a number of years, because, if they leave one year after having come to the Mission, there will never be any men with experience.

10. Also, an order should be given to prevent any Commander, or others, from making slaves out of the natives of these Islands.

11. Also, that whenever the Missionary Fathers call some Indians for the necessary things concerning the doctrine, they should not be prevented from carrying out what they have been ordered.

12. Also, Your Lordship should be pleased to declare what authority that the Commander may have in order to punish, specially with capital punishment.

13. Also, that the word, once given either by the Commander or by the Superior of the Mission, in order to pardon some delinquents who deserve capital punishment, for the greater service of God, and of the King, should be respected by their successors, and said crimes not punished once they have been pardoned.

14. Also, that the Mission be succored with some row-boat with 5 or 6 oars on each side, either a launch or a medium-size boat, as a loan for 2 or 3 years.¹

15. Also, that the Mission be succored with the Pampangos or other Filipino natives, or for now with the men whom Your Lordship may think necessary.

16. Also, that every year, some Filipino natives who are master ship carpenters be left to build some small boat.

¹ Ed. note: The missionaries got this wish granted as well, as Governor Vargas left them one such boat. See item n° 10 of the Instruction below.

Made in this port of Umatac on 20 June 1678.
Bartolomé Besco.

Decision.

Aboard said galleon, on said date, Reverend Father Bartolomé Besco, whose report in contained on the previous folio, appeared before His Lordship, Master-of-camp, Governor and Captain General, and asked that said report be received, and His Lordship acknowledged receipt thereof and ordered it to be recorded along with the other Decisions and proceedings, and what might be more justified for the greater success of the service of our Lord and compliance with the Royal will, there be written up an Instruction in due form, so that the man who is appointed to become Governor and Captain of the Mariana islands,¹ and his successors, until such time as His Majesty might decide and order otherwise, said Commander and Governor is to observe it and have it observed and respected in full. Once written up, it is to be recorded with said decisions and authentic copies given to said Commander and Governor, and to said Reverend Father Vice-Provincial, Bartolomé Besco, so that both of them may carry it out more assuredly for the preservation of said Islands, and so he arranged it, and initialled it.

Rubric.

Before me, Antonio Flores, Royal Notary.

G2. Instruction given by Governor Vargas to the Governors of the Marianas in 1678

Sources: As above, i.e. AGI Fil. 11-1-6, page 25 et seq; transcribed in Appendix N° 5 of Governor Luis Ibañez y García's Historia de las Islas Marianas (Granada, 1886), pp. 180-187; translation published in the Guam Recorder 15:6 (1938): 18-19, 36-37; 15:7(1938): 14-15, 38-39.

Note: The translation that appeared in the Guam Recorder was made by Father Sylvester P. Staudt, Capuchin missionary of Guam in 1938; this version has therefore been somewhat adjusted, as follows.

Original text in Spanish.

*En execussion de lo conthenido en el Auto de arriva su Señoria el Señor Maestro de Campo Don Juan de Vargas Urtado Cavallero de el horden de Santiago del Consejo de su Magestad Governador y Capitan General de las Islas Philipinas y presidente de la Real Audiencia y Chanzilleria de ellas hizo la **instruccion** del thenor siguiente:*

1ª Primeramente se a de poner todo conato en los medios mas eficases y esfuersos posibles que se hallaren para concequencia de la extencion de nuestra santa fee y buen exemplo de los naturales de dicha yslas Marianas acreditandolos con todas las demonstraziones que se les puediere enseñar de virtud evitando todos los peccados publicos y

1 Ed. note: This was Captain Juan de Salas.

escandalosos de que hubiere conossimiento como quien se encamina al fin principal al mayor servicio de nuestro Señor y execussion de la Real voluntad.

2ª Que el Governador y Cavo superior que estuviere en adelante ponga expecial cuidado en la defenza seguridad y amparo de los Padres misioneros como motibos para lo referido y se entregue de el pueblo de Agaña donde oy ressiden y tiene asenttado su Real el qual no se a de desamparar por ningun motibo, ni combeniencia temporal menos que no sea con consentimiento de dhos misioneros y siendo conveniente para el servicio de ambas Magestades.

3ª Que se ampare a los Indios pacificos y ya reducidos a la Real obediencia defendiendolos de los enemigos y tratandolos con cariño y agasajo para que con suavidad se arrayguen en la santa fee y a su exemplar se redusgan los demas theniendoles siempre a la vista y empadronandoles para que con promptitud se le pueda dar quenta a su Magestad y se ponga remedio en los que descaesieren de cuyo numero tambien se de quenta todos los años, a dho señor Governador.

4ª Que en las entradas y operaciones, que se hubieren de executar contra los que fueren rebeldes y malhechores no se proceda menos que aconcejo comunicassion y parecer de dhos misioneros para que con esta union se obre lo que mas convenga y sea[,] salvo en las particularidades que se ofreciere de castigos de delitos particulares.

5ª Que los vandos que se echaren asi para los soldados como Indios y demas gente de la Jurisdiccion sea con todas maduras y deliberazion, porque una vez publicados se deven y an de executar y inbiolablemente porque de no hacerlo se pierde el respecto al Superior y se sigue el que no se enseñen a vivir con justificazion donde se pueden originar mayores daños.

6ª Que las armas que se hallaren actualmente en aquel Real, reziva dho Governador y se entregue de ellas dando rezivo al Cavo que cy las tiene a su cargo para poder despues de entregado pedir quenta a los soldados que las manexan castigando inviolablemente al qual incurriere en dar, vender, deshazer, o enajenar dhas armas porque de lo contrario se menoscaban [las fuerzas propias, y se aumentaran las contrarias] sin dar lugar a que los soldados que sirvieren las guarden en su casa que saquen de el cuerpo de guardia que tubieren o se formare.

7ª Que a los naturales que favorecieren nuestras armas se las agasaje y ayude con todo lo que las fuerzas alcanzaren y a lo que desidiere la tierra para que se alienten mejorandoles en la propiedad de la que laborraren y necesitaren para su sustento.

8ª Que a los que hicieren algun servicio particular como son algun avisso ymportantel[,] matar o prender qualquiera de los inchos facinerosos o tumultuarios que ympidiren los sucessos mas favorables se les premie y señale la tierra que neçitaren y les onrre dicho Governador en alguno de los oficios que sea necesario elejir para su mejor gobiernof[,] republica y confirmaçon y esto se guarde y execute en tal manera que de unos y a otros Governadores no se les desposea ni quite el oficio, comveniencia una vez dada[,] menos que abiendo cometido delito enorme en deservicio de ambas Magestades.

9ª Que al tiempo en que se hallare pacifica la tierra se le den medios y facultad por el dicho Governador al alfez Francisco Ruiz para que baya por las costas de dha ysla

a sondear y reconocer si se alla otro puerto mas diferente que el que por los autos parece se a reconocido en la ensenada de San Juan de Guan que mira a la parte de el sur donde pueda tomar puerto y ymbernar el patache que se a de fabricar para el trajino de estas yslas y esto se execute hasta la concequencia y averiguazion de lo referido.

*10ª Que asimismo se le den al dho alfez los medios marineros y demas pertrechos que deyo en esta ocasion para sacar la artilleria que se quedo en la Isla de la Sarpana grande de la perdida del galeon nombrado **Nuestra Señora de la Concepción** por quanto le deyo orden al dho alfez Francisco Ruiz para que con una embarcazion que queda en estas Islas echa vaya a sacarla como tiene ofrecido y representado se conseguira con facilidad por lo que esto ymporta al maior servicio de su Magestad.*

11ª Que aserca de lo que ba declarado execute el dho Governador en la conservacion de las armas, ademas de ello haga cada mes pasar muestra a la gente que sirviere a su Magestad en dho Real y reconosca las armas[,] balas, frascos, picas, chusos, polvora y demas peltrechos y municiones castigando seberemente al que las hubiere menoscavado o enajenado conforme las que usare cada uno.

12ª Yten que el dho Governador no tenga yntrbenzion con la gente que sirve a dhos misioneros ni con sus colexiales ni demas personas del ministerio de su doctrina sino es en casso que ayan cometido delito probable o aya vastante causa para ello.

13ª Que en casso que se ayan de formar nuevos pueblos y se haga eleccion de sitios[,] en ninguna manera se haga sin consultarlo primero con el superior de la mision y que venga en ello.

14ª Que no ympida dho Governador el que dhos Religiosos y misioneros busquen entre los naturales el sustento ordinario de la tierra para sí y para los de su servicio, pues se deve persuadir a que siempre sera por medios licitos.

15ª Que cada y quando que fuere dicho Governador requerido de dho Superior de los soldados necesarios que le fueren pedidos para escolta de sus viages o facciones.

16ª Que no disipen con pretexto alguno que se les entregare de hacienda para el sustento del campo cuyo manexo a de correr con yntrvenncion y noticia que se le de a menudo a dicho Padre Superior.

17ª Que de ninguna manera ni por ninguna razon ni pretexto dicho Governador haga ni consiente hazer en dicho distrito que de los dichos naturales se use como de esclavos sino es que se les deje usar de la livrtad sin oprimirles ni forzarles a mas del servicio que fuere desente pagandose por algun camino conforme a lo dispuesto por muchas y repetidas ordenes de su Magestad.

18ª Que en las caussas que se le ofrecieren a dho Governador de delito, a que deva corresponder mutilacion de miembro o pena de muerte no proceda a determinazion y sentencia de ella sin que lo consulte con los quatro cavos mas principales y oficiales de dho campo cuyos pareceres rezivira por escrito y acomulara a dhos autos en la forma que le ba advertido en su Titulo que observaran asi mismo sus suçores.

19ª Que aviendo hecho empeño de palabra assi por parte de dho Governador como de el dho superior de la Misión en orden a perdonar algunos delinquentes que an merecido castigo de muerte quando comvenga para mayor servicio de Dios y de el Rey se

execute y cumpla segun se hubiere asentado indultandolos en nombre de su Magestad sin que quede dro. [=derecho] a los suscesores de dho Governador a que conoscan de dhas causas pues desto se puede seguir el que dhos naturales sean de mucho fruto y provecho para lo referido que se abra camino para muchos exemplares.

20ª Que dho Governador todos los años desde primero de Junio asta fin de el haga poner candeladas y luminarias en las partes mas alta[s] de estas Islas desde las dies de la noche hasta que amanezca para governacion de las naos que navegan esta carrera y evitar que se propassen caso que por algun suceso contrario alguna dellos ynbernase en el puerto de Acapulco des[d]e el tiempo que tenga noticia que la echaren menos an de ussar de dhas luminarias y candeladas desde primero de mayo de cada año hasta fin de el por el propio horden.

*La qual dha instruccion dho Señor Governador mande cumplir y executar por el dho Governador y Cavo superior de dhas yslas Marianas que al presente este nombrado y adelante fuere ymbiolablemente y sin que se proceda a omission alguna ymponiendoles como desde luego le ympone por lo que de ella toca a distracion de armas fechas por su mano o yntervencion desamparo de dhos misioneros mudanzas de Real y menos-cavos de la fee qual su caussa pena de muerte; y por las demas ordenanzas de dha yinstruccion en casso que baya contra ellas las penas por leyes y ordenanzas Reales y con advertenzia de que aya de ser residenciado por todo lo conthenido en ella que es fecha en dha Capitana y Galeon **Sant Thelmo** surto en la dha ensenada de la Isla de San Juan de Guan de dhas Marianas por la parte de el sur a veinte y uno de Junio de mill seiscientos y setenta y ocho años.*

Don Juan de Vargas Urtado.

Ante my Antonio Flores Escribano Real.

Translation.

To comply with the contents of the above decision, His Lordship, Master-of-camp Don Juan de Vargas Hurtado, of the Order of St. James, of His Majesty's Council, His Governor and Captain General of these Philippine Islands, and President of the Royal Audiencia, and Royal Chancellery, residing in them, issued the **instruction** whose tenor is as follows:

Article 1. Firstly, making available the most efficient means, every endeavor is to be made to bring about the extension of our Holy Faith, and to set a good example for the natives of the said Mariana Islands, confirming them by giving them every possible demonstration of virtue, and avoiding all public and scandalous sins which may become known, as behooves him who sets out to reach the main objective, the greater service of our Lord, and the execution of the Royal will.

Article 2. The present Governor and senior officer, and whoever may succeed him in the future, shall place special care upon the defense, security, and protection of the Fathers of the mission, for the reasons explained, and take charge of the town of Agaña, where they now reside and where the forces are garrisoned, and for no reason, nor any

temporary convenience, is the place to be abandoned, unless it be with the consent of the said missionaries and accrue to the service of both Majesties.

Article 3. Protection shall be given to the peaceable Indians, already subjected to the King's authority, defending them against their enemies, and treating them with charity and benevolence, so that, with gentleness, they may be led to become rooted in the Holy Faith, and the rest be induced to follow their example; never losing them out of sight, and registering them, so that a prompt report can be made to His Majesty, and remedial measures shall be applied to those who have fallen away, the number of which should also be reported every year by the said Governor.

Article 4. In the sorties, and operations, against those who have been rebellious and evil-doers, nothing shall be done without the advice, knowledge and approval of the said missionaries, so that because of this unity of action, the best results may be obtained, and this shall hold, except with regard to the details of punishment to be meted out for particular crimes.

Article 5. The orders to be given, whether for the soldiers or Indians and other people in the jurisdiction, shall be issued only after full and mature deliberation, as, once they have been published, they should and must be carried out inviolably, because, if this is not done, respect for the Superior is lost and the result will be that they are not taught to uphold justice, whence the greatest evils may arise.

Article 6. The weapons that are actually found in that garrison are to be officially turned over to the said Governor, and a receipt given to the one in whose charge they are presently, so that, after having taken charge, he may exact an account of the soldiers who handle them, punishing inviolably whomever may be found guilty of giving away, selling, destroying or alienating the said weapons, because otherwise our own strength will be diminished and that of the others increased, without giving occasion to soldiers who may be on duty, to keep them in their homes or take them from the guard-house, be it in existence already or yet to be formed.

Article 7. The natives who may have favored our forces shall be treated benevolently and helped in every possible way, and with what the land provides, so that they may be encouraged, improving their property rights in the soil which they cultivate and need for their sustenance.

Article 8. Those who may have performed some special service, such as furnishing some important information, the killing or arresting of any of the wicked or rebellious Indians who may hinder the best outcomes, shall be rewarded and allotted the land which they need, and the said Governor shall honor them by appointing them to one of the offices which it may be necessary to create for their better government, welfare and maintenance, and this should be observed and carried out in such wise that they may not be dispossessed by any succeeding governor nor be deprived of an office or privilege once granted, unless they have committed an enormous crime in the service of both Majesties.

Article 9. When the country will be found at peace, the said Governor is to give the means and faculty to Second Lieutenant Francisco Ruiz so that he may go to the coast

of the said island to take soundings and survey to find out if there exists a larger port [than Umatac] which the records indicate has been observed in the Bay of San Juan of Guajan which faces southward where one can seek shelter, and where the patache that must be built for the shuttle service with this Island could spend the winters. This instruction is to remain in effect as long as necessary, until the above-mentioned objective has been met.

Article 10. The said Second Lieutenant Ruiz is to be given the means, the sailors and other equipment that I now leave behind for the salvage of the guns that were left at the island of **Zarpana grande** [i.e. Saipan] from the loss of the galleon named **Nuestra Señora de la Concepción**, and I have left an order to that effect to the said Second Lieutenant Francisco Ruiz, so that he may, with the pre-assembled boat that I leave behind at these islands, go and raise them, as he has volunteered to do and said that it could be done easily, and such is in the best interest of the service of His Majesty.

Article 11. The said Governor shall carry out what has been mentioned with regard to conservation of the weapons and, besides, shall order the men in the service of His Majesty at the said garrison to pass an inspection every month, and he shall examine the weapons, bullets, powder-flasks, lances, pikes, powder, and other equipment and munitions, punishing with severity whoever may have damaged or alienated anything of what he uses.

Article 12. The said Governor shall not interfere with the people in the service of the said missionaries, nor with the College children, nor other persons helping them in the teaching of religion, except in case they have committed a probable crime or there be sufficient cause for it.

Article 13. In case new towns are founded, and sites chosen, in no way shall it be done without first consulting with the Superior of the mission, and he must concur with it.

Article 14. The said Governor shall not prevent the said religious and missionaries from seeking their sustenance among the natives, according to the standard of the land, for themselves and for those in their service; for he should be aware that it will always be done by lawful means.

Article 15. Each and every time the said Superior so requests, the said Governor shall give him the necessary soldiers to escort him on his travels and undertakings.

Article 16. They shall, under no pretext, squander what goods they were given for the sustenance of the camp, the management of which is to be checked frequently by the said Father Superior.

Article 17. In no way, for no reason, nor under any pretext, shall the said Governor cause or consent that the said natives in the said district, be treated as slaves, rather they should get the use of their freedom without being oppressed or forced, unless it be for some decent service, in which case they are to be paid in some fashion, in accordance with the often-repeated orders of His Majesty.

Article 18. In criminal cases presented to the said Governor, to which correspond mutilation or capital punishment, nothing shall be determined nor sentence passed, be-

fore and without consulting the matter with the four most senior officers of the said camp, whose opinions he shall receive in writing, and endorse the said opinions in the form outlined for him in his Letter of appointment, and this his successors shall likewise observe.

Article 19. After word has been pledged either on the part of the said Governor or the said Superior in connection with the pardoning of some transgressors who have merited capital punishment, when this accrues to the greater service of God and the King, it shall be carried out and fulfilled as had been decided, pardoning them in the name of His Majesty, and the successors of the said Governor shall have no right to try such cases [again], as this procedure may have the result that the natives in question may be of much use and benefit for the cause, and the way will be open for many more to imitate.

Article 20. Every year, from the 1st to the end of the month of June, the said Governor shall order that bonfires and torches be lit on the highest point of these islands, from 10 p.m. until daybreak, for the direction of ships that sail this route, and to prevent their overshooting the island. In case of any contrary event, such as any of them spending the winter in Acapulco, from the time it is known to be missing, the said bonfires and torches are to be used from the 1st to the end of May every year by special order.

Which said Instruction His Excellency, the said Governor, ordered to be obeyed and carried out inviolably and without any omission whatever by the said Governor and Superior Officer of the said Mariana Islands who has been appointed for the present and will be appointed in the future, imposing upon them, becoming effective at once, the death penalty for whatever refers in it to the diverting of arms, by himself personally, or with his intervention, the abandonment of the said missionaries, moving the garrison, and damage to the Faith on his account, and in case of transgress of the other provisions of the said Instruction, the law and royal ordinances provide penalties, and with the warning that he is to be held accountable for anything contained therein.

Given aboard the said flagship and galleon **San Telmo** at anchor in the said bay in the southern part of the Island of San Juan of Guahan in the said Marianas, on the 21st day of June of the year 1678.

Don Juan de Vargas Hurtado.

Before me, Antonio Flores, royal notary.

G3. Other clarifications.

Original text in Spanish.

*In dho Galeon Capitana **Sant Thelmo** en dho dia mes y año atras dho su Señoria el dho Señor Governador y Capitan General dijo que para mas inteligencia de el despacho que avia que su Señoria deja para la guarnizion del Real de Agana en esta Isla de San Juan una de las Marianas y demas diligencias contenidas en estos authos mandava y mando que yo el escribano ponga por testimonio el numero de ynfanteria spa-*

ñola gente de mar y demas pertrechos que deja para los efectos dichos y fecho se acumule con estos auttos y por este assi lo mando y rubrico.

Rubricado.

Ante my Antonio Flores Escribano Real.

*In cumplimiento del autho de esta otra parte yo el Capitan Anttº Flores notario publico en las Indias por el Rey nuestro Señor y escrivano del galeon Capitana **San Thelmo** doy fee y verdadero testimonio como oy dia de la fecha su Señoria el Señor Maestro de Campo Don Juan de Vargas Urtado cavallero del horden de Santiago del gº [=Consejo] de su Magd. Governador y Capitan General de estas yslas Philippinas y pressidente de la Audiencia y Real Chanzillaria de ellas, estando con dho Galeon surto en la enseña [sic] de Umatas [sic] de la Isla de Sant Juan de Guan una de las Marianas en cumplimiento y observançia de la Real Cedula que va con estos autos[,] aviendo hallado el Real de Agana de dha Isla sin cavo para el gobierno de la Infantaria de su guarnicion y otras disposiciones que miran a su conservazion y adelamiento de la exaltazion de la fee y abrigo de los Religiosos misioneros elixio y nombro por Governador y Cavo Superior de dho Real y de los naturales pacificos a Don Juan Antonio de Salas y formo con la infanteria de dho Real y con la que dejo compañia en forma nombrando al dicho cavo por Capitan de ella y a Francisco Ruiz por su alférez y a Antonio de Lara por Sargento y se les dio sus nombramientos y titulos entregandoseles al dicho Capitan y alférez las insinias y pocession en forma de dhos puestos y al dho Capitan de ellas su titulo de tal Governador y Cavo con testimonio de la instruccion que a de observar y guardar y hazer se guarde y execute segun la original que ba en estos authos y otro testimonio de dicha instruccion entrego dicho Señor Governador al Padre Bartholome Vesco de la Compª de Jesus Vice provincial y superior de los Religiosos misioneros para que su Paternidad por su parte haga se execute inbiolablemente para el mexor logro de la conversion de los naturales de dichas yslas Marianas y aumento[,] proveyo a dho Real de veinte ynfantes mas de los que tiene de pressidio entresacandolos de las compañias de Infanteria española de la Guardia y custodia de dho Galeon que passa al socorro de las Philipinas con mas dos marineros para que con el dho Alférez Francisco Ruiz saquen la artilleria que se menciona en estos autos y para su avio dejo asimismo un calabrote y una veta de abaca nuevo para el dho efecto todo lo qual se entrego al dho Governador y Cavo Capitan Don Juan Antonio de Salas con intervencion de el dho Padre Superior de dhas misiones que lo condujeron al puerto y tierra de dha ensenada para llevarlo al dho Real de Agaña y para que conste donde comvenga de dho Mandamiento doy el presente que es fecho en dho Galeon en veinte y uno de Junio de mill seis cientos y setenta y ocho años siendo testigos el Alférez Fernando Castell, Capitan D. Manuel Coello y Alférez D. Juan de Alicalde presentes y por falta de papel celado de oficio se despacha en este.*

En testimonio de verdad lo signe:—

Antonio Flores escrivano Real.

Nota.

En primero de Jullio de mill seiscientos y setenta y ocho años de traslado de los autos conthenidos en las dies foxas con esta de Mandamiento de su Señoria.

Rubricado.

Translation.

In said flagship, the galleon **San Telmo**, on the above-said date His Lordship the said Governor and Captain General, declared that for a greater understanding of the despatch that His Lordship had left with the garrison of the camp of Agaña in this Island of San Juan, one of the Marianas, and other proceedings contained in these decisions, he was ordering and he ordered that I, the notary, make a record of the number of Spanish infantry, seamen and other equipment that he leaves for the said purposes, and once done, it be added to these decisions, and by this note he does order it so, and has initialled it.

Rubric.

Before me, Antonio Flores, royal notary.

In compliance with the decision of this other part, I, Captain Antonio Flores, notary public in the Indies for the King our Lord and clerk of the flagship galleon **San Telmo**, do attest to be true that on this date His Lordship, Master-of-camp Don Juan de Vargas Hurtado, Knight of the Order of St. James, of His Majesty's Council, Governor and Captain General of these Philippine Islands and President of the Audiencia and Royal Chancellery therein, while said galleon was anchored in the bay of Umatac in the Island of San Juan of Guam, one of the Marianas, in compliance with and observance of the Royal Decree enclosed with these decisions, having found the Camp of Agaña in said Island to be without a commander to administer the Infantry of its garrison and other decisions made in the interest of its preservation and the progress made in support of the faith and protection of the Religious missionaries, he selected and appointed as Governor and Senior Officer in charge of said Camp and of the peaceful natives Captain Don Juan Antonio de Salas, and he re-organized the infantry of said Camp by leaving behind a full company, with said commander as its Captain and with Francisco Ruiz as its second lieutenant and Antonio de Lara as its Sergeant, and they were given their letters of appointments, and the insignias belonging to said posts were duly delivered to said Captain and Second Lieutenant, and said Captain was given his Letter of appointment as Governor and Commander, complete with a copy of the Instruction that he is to observe and respect and make others respect and carry out, in accordance with the original copy that is included with these decisions, and another copy of said Instruction was delivered by said Governor to Father Bartolomé Besco of the Society of Jesus, Vice-Provincial and Superior of the Religious missionaries, so that His Paternity may for his part carry it out inviolably, for the greater achievement of the conversion of the natives of said Mariana Islands and increase: he provided to said Camp twenty infantrymen over and above what the garrison has, by selecting them out

of the companies of Spanish infantry in charge of the guard and defence of said galleon which is on the way to the succor of the Philippines, with two additional seamen with whom the said Lieutenant Francisco Ruiz may salvage the cannon mentioned in these decisions, and for their outfitting he also left one stream-cable and a line made with new hemp for said purpose, all of which was delivered to said Governor and Commander, Captain Don Juan Antonio de Salas, with the intervention of said Father Superior of said missions, and they carried it all to the port and shore of said bay, intending to take it to said Camp of Agaña, and in faith of this Order, to whom it may concern, I give the present, made aboard said galleon on the 21st of June 1678, witnesses being Second Lieutenant Fernando Castell, Captain Don Manuel Coello and Second Lieutenant Don Juan de Aicalde, and for lack of official stamped parchment, it is despatched as is.

In faith whereof, I have signed my name:—
Antonio Flores, royal notary.

Note.

On 1 July 1678, I have made an official copy of the decisions contained in the 10 folios herewith, by order of His Lordship.

Documents 1679H

Letter from Governor Vargas to the King, postdated Manila 20 June 1679, with enclosures

Source: AGI Fil. 11-1-6.

Notes: This file has 50-odd pages attached to the above letter from Governor Vargas. It was received in Spain by the Quicksilver (i.e. Atlantic) fleet on 26 November 1681; a duplicate file had been sent by way of Holland. Some of the attached documents have been annexed to Doc. 1679G above.

Attached are the minutes of a General Meeting called at Manila, some of those present were: Manuel Caravallo, a pilot's mate, who had made 4 voyages to Acapulco; Captain Matheo Lopez, who had made 8 voyages; Captain Antonio de Acevedo, 7 voyages; Admiral Leandro Coello, 13 voyages; General Don Francisco de Texada, 2 voyages; General Don Thomas de Endaya, 3 voyages; General Antonio Nieto; General Cristoval Romero; General Francisco del Fresno, 5 voyages. There is a note to the effect that, in another letter from Governor Vargas, dated Manila 21(?) May 1680 (received at Madrid in June 1681), he said that the voyage of the boat to the Marianas was not considered so difficult by a pilot recently arrived at Manila [in 1680, i.e. Lazcano].

H1. Letter from Governor Vargas

Original in Spanish.

*Del Maestre de Campo Don Joan de Bargas Urtado, Governador de Philipinas.
Señor*

En cumplimiento de la Real Zedula de V. Magd. de 1º de Julio de 1677 en que me manda fomento quanto fuere posible la mision de las Islas Marianas donde padeçio martirio el Benerable Pe. Diego Luis de San Vitores por el fruto espirital que de ella se puede seguir al mayor serviçio de nuestro Señor, y en conformidad de un papel y informe presentado en el Real Consejo que recibi con dicha Real Zedula; y aviendo llegado a dichas Islas el dia 18 de Junio de el presente y tomado puerto en una de ellas llamada San Joan de Guan donde residen los Relixiosos de la Compañia de [Jesus] de dicha mision les hize requerir y informasen de todo lo que se les ofreziese y nezesitasen para su conserbazion y extension de nuestra Santa Fee Catholica, en cuya respuesta presentaron escrito de lo que se les ofrezia per donde se reco[no]çio allarse en estado de

*neçesidad de jente y at[ra]sados en las disposiciones de su seguridad por haverse sin cavo alguno que governase los soldados [para] su aumento y mas en tiempo que a su parecer b[an] mej[or] encaminados los animos de los naturales para abrazar en comun nuestra Relijion; para cuyo remedio forme una Compañia de veinte y quatro hombres ynclusos dos marineros nombrando sus cabos y oficiales de satisfazion que se coroboren con los que estan de presente] en el Real de Agaña de dicha Isla donde tienen echo asiento; y asimismo nombre Governador y Cavo Superior de el Don Juan Antonio de Salas natural de esa Corte y persona de satisfazion por allarse sin quien los governase y exercite para cuyo reximen dispuse una ynstruccion que mirando a la Real Boluntad, al ymforme que presentaron dichos Relixiosos y las demas adbertencijs que me parezieron justas se le entrego con su Título dando otro traslado de ella al Padre Superior de dicha mision a cuyo zelo y experiencia ba dirigida su mayor parte como por menor parezera de los autos fechos en esta razon cuyo testimonio acompaña a esta como asi mismo el quedar puesto en practica se saquen las piezas de Artillería que el año de 1638 se quedaron en una de dichas Islas llamada la Sarpana [grande] por la perdida de la nao llamada **Nuestra Señora de la Concepcion** por aber lo asi ofrezido persona que a estado otra vez en la tierra; save a donde estan y queda con los peltrechos nezesarios para que siendo posible como afirma se consiga sin costa alguna de la Real hazienda, como tambien constara lo demas q. haze a descubrir puerto seguro para el vajel que manda V. Magestad fabricar para el trajino de dichas Yslas para cuyo efecto discurri las ensenadas de la referida y se descubrio una que puede [servir] a no allarse otra mas aproposito aunque con algun riesgo por el ybierno si bien comunicada esta materia con distintas personas de esta ciudad ponen mucha dificultad el que con dicho vajel se pueda continuar viaxe a dichas Islas y que haya jente que se atreba a yr en el sino es que sea a mucha costa de la Real Hazienda, y con yntereses que les obligue a atropellar el riesgo que temen de les muchos mares que se leban en la distancia que ay de aqui a ellas por la oposiçion de bientos contrarios por cuyas razones tiene este mar fama del mas riguroso que se conoce por aca causa por que no ha proçedido asta aora a la fabrica de dicho vajel; asta ber en que se resuelben estas y otras opiniones bien aberiguadas; y entretanto encargare a los Generales que hicieren a la Nueva España viaje, las dejen secorridas con -- quanto necesitaren los misioneros y soldados y remitire los Panpangos nezesarios con el primero y por que segun tengo aberiguado suele haver discordia entre los susdichos sobre la distribuzion de su situado que V. Magestad, tiene mandado remitido de la Nueva España; si fuere de el agrado de V. Magestad el que se remita a disposiçion de el que fuere Cabo Superior se obiaran muchos disgustos y es lo propio que desean muchos de dichos misioneros, espero de V. Magestad a de mandar en todo lo que mas conbenga que executare con la promptitud de fiel y leal basallo de V. Magestad a quien prospere Nuestro Señor con tan felizes subçesos como nezesita tan dilatada Monarquia.*

Manila y Diziembre 30 de 1678.

Añadido: El día 15 de Mayo de el corriente hize Junta de Generales y Pilotos de esta carrera donde se confirió sobre la fabrica de el bajel referido para el trajino de las Yslas Marianas y se oponen todos los pareceres que se dieron por entonces que pueda cojerlas por estar estas en treze grados donde por reynar al tiempo muchas brizas y borrascos mares no pueden reconocer los galeones que hazen biaje a la Nueva España y les obliga esto a buscar altura desto a 30 grados para montarlos; y por no haver puerto asta aora (segun declaran) no obstante lo referido competente; de que remito testimonio en los autos Duplicados para que V. Magestad se sirva de mandar lo que mas conbenga sobre ello y los 32 pesos que truje para el. Remito a ellas veinte y cinco soldados Panpangos que es lo que por aora nezesitan y estare a la mira de lo que en adelante hubieren menester para acudirles con promptitud y obedezzer a V. Magestad con el amor de fiel basallo, cuya Catholica y Real Magestad guarde nuestro Señor felizes años.

Manila y Junio 20 de 1679.

Remito asimismo dos piezezuelas de Bronze para su fortificazion, y una embarcacion pequeña para el trajino de aquellas Yslas que ara mueso [sic = menos?] al caso ut supra.

Juan de Bargas Urtado

[Endorsement:] *Da quenta a V. Magd., de lo que ha actuado en el fomento y ayuda de lo necesario en las Islas Marianas; de como nombro Governador, y Cabo Superior y hizo ynstruccion para su rejimen[,] formo una Compañía de veinte y quatro hombres que deyo de socorro y dio lo necesario para sacar las piezas de Artillería que el año de 1638 se perdieron con la Nao **Concepcion** y remite testimonio de todo.*

Translation.

From Master-of-camp Don Juan de Vargas Hurtado, Governor of the Philippines.
Sire:

In compliance with the Royal Decree of Your Majesty dated 1 July 1677 in which I was ordered to foster as much as possible the Mariana Island Mission where the Venerable Fr. Diego Luis de San Vitores suffered martyrdom for the spiritual fruit that may result from it for the greater service of our Lord, and in accordance with a paper and report presented in the Royal Council which I received with said Royal Decree, and having arrived at said Islands on 18 June of the present year, and made port in one of them called San Juan de Guan where the Religious of the Society of Jesus of said mission reside, I had them summoned to make a report of everything that came to mind and might be judged necessary for its preservation and the extension of our Holy Catholic Faith. In their answer they presented their opinion in writing, wherein it was recognized that the Mission was in need of men and had some backwardness in arrangements concerning its security, since it is found to be without any commander to administer the soldiers [for] its increase and the more so when in their opinion the minds of the natives are becoming better channeled toward the idea of embracing our Religion once and for all. As a solution, I organized a Company of 24 men, including 2 seamen, appointing their commanders and suitable officers in order to strengthen those who are presently

in the Camp of Agaña in said Island where they have made a settlement. In addition, I appointed as Governor and Superior Officer, Don Juan Antonio de Salas, a native of that Court [i.e. Madrid] and a satisfactory individual, as they were found without anyone to manage and train them. For this regimentation, I issued an Instruction, after considering the Royal will, the report presented by said Religious and other measures that I thought just. This Instruction was delivered to him with his Letter of appointment, and I gave another copy of it to Father Superior of said mission, to whose zeal and experience is due the greater part of it, as will be seen from the acts written up in this respect, whose copy accompanies this letter.¹ Also, I ordered the effective accomplishment of the salvage of the cannon that in 1638 were left on one of said Islands called [Big] Sarpana as a result of the loss of the galleon named **Nuestra Señora de la Concepción**, as a result of the offer made by a person who has been once again ashore; he knows where they are located and he remains with the necessary equipment to perform same, and he says that it will be done at no cost to the Royal Treasury. Moreover, his other offer of exploring to find a safe port for the vessel that Your Majesty has ordered built for the shuttle service to said Islands is also recorded. To this effect, I visited the bays of the above-mentioned Island and one was found [useable], since another, more suitable one was not found, although it is somewhat risky in the winter-time. However, having discussed this matter with various persons of this city, they see many difficulties in having said vessel travel directly to said Islands and in finding men who would dare go aboard it, unless it be at great expense to the Royal Treasury, and with financial benefits that would oblige them to face the risk that is feared from the heavy seas that arise over the distance between here and the Islands in question, on account of contrary winds; for such reasons, this sea is famous as one of the roughest in these parts, reason for which I have not proceeded with the construction of said vessel so far, and not until these questions have been resolved and other opinions well discussed. In the meantime, I will entrust the General who may make the voyage to New Spain to leave as many succors at the Islands as the missionaries and soldiers might need and to send the necessary Pampangos by the first ship. Now, as I found out that there is usually some discord among the above-said [missionaries and soldiers] as to the distribution of their subsidy, that Your Majesty has ordered remitted from New Spain, if it should meet with the approval of Your Majesty that it be remitted into the hands of whoever might be Superior Officer, many unpleasantnesses would be avoided; this is what many of the said missionaries desire. I hope that Your Majesty will order everything as you please, that I might carry it out with the readiness of a faithful and loyal vassal of Your Majesty, to whom may Our Lord favor with many happy outcomes, as this vast Monarchy so needs.

Manila, 30 December 1678.

1 Ed. note: See Doc. 1679G.

Postscript: On 15 May of the current year, I called a Meeting of Generals and Pilots of this run in which was discussed the construction of the above-mentioned vessel for the shuttle service to the Mariana Islands and all the opinions then expressed are against it; as they can only be met with in 13 degrees where, on account of the prevailing weather, that is many tradewinds and turbulent seas, the galleons that make the voyage to New Spain cannot come in sight of them and must try and gain higher latitudes up to 30 degrees to pass beyond them; and on account of the lack of port until now (according to their declarations) in spite of the suitable port mentioned above. I am sending a copy of the proceedings, in duplicate, so that Your Majesty may be pleased to order what you may see fit about it, and the 32 pesos that I brought for this. I am sending over there 25 Pampango soldiers, which is what they need for now, and I will keep my eyes open for their needs in future, in order to respond quickly to them and thus obey Your Majesty with the love of a faithful vassal, whose Catholic and Royal Majesty may our Lord preserve for many happy years.

Manila, 20 June 1679.

I am also sending two small bronze cannon for their fortification, and one small boat for the shuttle service of those Islands that might alleviate(?) the situation mentioned above.

Juan de Vargas Hurtado.

[Endorsement:] He reports to Your Majesty on the actions he took for the development and provision of necessities in the Mariana Islands; how he appointed a Governor, and Superior Officer and issued an Instruction for their governance, organized a Company of 24 men that he left as reinforcements, and gave the necessary means to salvage the cannon that were lost in 1638 with the galleon **Concepción**, and he sends a record of all these proceedings.

H2. Minutes of the General Meeting regarding navigation to the Mariana Islands

Original text in Spanish.

Junta de personas practicas en la carrera destas Yslas.

En la ciudad de Manila en quince de mayo de mill seiscientos y setenta y nueve años, el Señor Maestro de Campo Don Juan de Vargas Urtado Cavallero de el horden de Santiago del Concxo de su Magd. su Governador y Capitan General de estas yslas Philipinas y presidente en la Audiencia y Chanzilleria Real de ellas; comboco junta de Pilotes y personas practicas y entendidas en la navegacion de la carrera de estas yslas a la Nueva Spaña a que asistieron; el General Francisco Garcia del Fresno que lo es del artilleria de ellas, General Christoval Romero Castellano Governador y Justicia Mayor del puerto de Cavite; los Generales Don Thomas de Endaya, Antonio Nietto, y Don Francisco de Texada, el Almirante Leandro Coello, Capitan Antonio de Azevedo ambos pilotos maiores de esta carrera, Capitan Matheo Lopez y Manuel Caravallo

acompañado de Piloto mayor de la nao que este año se despacha a la Nueva España; a quienes su Señoría propuso como su Magestad (que Dios guarde) por su Real Cedula a primero de Jullio de seis cientos y setenta y siete manda se fomenten y socorren las Islas Marianas tomando puerto en ellas a la buelta de la Nueva España, con gente, bastimentos, y demas cossas necessarias para la extenzion del santo evangelio, que alli se predica haziendo relacion de un papel presentado en el Real Consexo informando de todo lo que necesitan al qual por dicha Real Cedula se remite su Magestad para que conforme a el se obre.

Y entre los paragrafos de que se compone dho ymforme el principal a que se dirigen los demas de el es: que depende totalmente la mission de Marianas de que ay a un vagel que las haga comunicables con Manila de donde distan trescientas leguas, para llevar la gente, bastimentos, operarios y lo demas necesario pues de otra suerte es imposible el conservarse en una total separacion del mundo, y da la forma de su porte que aya de ser de cient toneladas y otras razones, como tambien contiene otras sobre tres mill pesos que remite su Magestad para este efecto.

Que se confiera, trate y den sus pareceres sobre la posibilidad de comunicacion de dhas yslas Marianas con estas por dicho vaxel y el porte de que se necessita, gente, bastimentos y lo demas necesario para ello.

Y habiendose tratado y conferido dieron su sentir y pareceres en esta manera:

Manuel Caravallo.

Manuel Caravallo acompañado de piloto m[ay]or dixo que en quatro viaxes que a hecho a la Nueva España, tiene por experiencia ser el paraxe de las Islas Marianas muy riguroso principalmente desde Mayo hasta Henero y que hasta aora no se save aya en la Isla de Sant Juan en que asisten los Padres de la Comp^a de Jesus puerto ninguno para que pueda inbernar navio, y que por esta caussa no se puede ya con vaxel en derechura desde el puerto de Cavite a ella para bolverse porque faltando puerto en que pasar la imbernada es imposible escaparse de naufragar.

Capitan Matheo Lopez.

El Capitan Matheo Lopez dixo, que passo a estas yslas el año de quarenta y uno, y a hecho ocho viaxes a la Nueva España y quatro arrivadas y de todas nunca se pudo passar por las Yslas de Yguan y la Sarpana porque en desembocando por el Embocadero cien leguas, o doscientas a la mar, dan la naos con las brissas y pasan mucho travaxo con que no tienen otro remedio que ir a buscar altura y bienen a passar las naos por veinte grados veinte y cinco, veinte y siete, veinte y ocho y treinta y lo menos es por diez y seis como lo passo el año de cinquenta y quatro con mucho trabajo, y assi no podra conseguir viaje el patache que se despachare a las dhas Islas por estos inconvenientes; y dado casso que el dho patache haga el viaje y llegue a las Islas no tiene puerto para recogerse y le sera forsosso barar en tierra hacerse pedassos y ahogarse la gente por ser en estos tiempos aquellas Islas de mucha mar y si se desgarita yra a dar al Japon o a alguna ysla de las que estan por el mar y se ahogara la gente sin remedio como sucedio

*el año de treinta y nueve que fue una naveta hecha en el Peru de mas de doscientos toneladas a meter el socorro en Therrenate y de alli salio para yr a los Ladrones a buscar la gente que se escapo de la nao **Concepcion** que alli se perdio y no pudo conseguir el viaxe y a buen librar arrivo a Cagayan y alli se perdio bien que se salvo la gente.*

Capitan Antonio de Acevedo.

El Capitan Antonio de Acevedo dixo aver hecho en esta carrera siete viajes y seis arriadas de Piloto Mayor y acompañado y jamas se a podido coxer la Ysla de Yguan que esta por trece grados y medio por caussa de ser los tiempos contrarios y rigurosos y montar las Islas desde veinte grados hasta treinta y quatro y pues esto sucede a estas naos siendo de porte de ochocientas a mill toneladas tiene por imposible que patache de cient thoneladas pueda conseguir este viaje, y tiene noticias bastantes de los Españoles que asisten en aquella Isla averla boxeado muchas veces y no aver en ella puerto ninguno para patache.

Almirante Leandro Coello.

El Almirante Leandro Coello dixo que considerada la propuesta sobre si del puerto de Cavite podra navegar a las yslas Marianas baxel de porte de cient toneladas para llevar el socorro y demas avio necessario a los Religiosos de la sagrada religion de la Compania de Jesus que estan entendiendo en la conversion del gentilismo desta Isla de San Juan una de dichas yslas que esta en treçe grados y veinte minutos de latitud a la parte setentrional y mas de trescientas leguas de longitud oriental destas yslas Philipinas por la experiencia que tiene adquirida de trece viaxes de yda y buelta en esta carrera, aviendo surxido con quatro galeones en dicha Isla y dexado en tierra el socorro que para dhos religiosos se ymbiava y por el conosimiento que tiene de este Archipelago y de las juracanes que en el a tenido y tempestuosso que es, ningun vaxel grande ni pequeño puede hacer viaxe del puerto de Cavite a la dicha ysla para ymbernar en ella por no tener hasta el pressente descubierto ningun puerto en que se pueda asegurar el vaxel que fuere a dha Isla siendo forssoso estar en ella a lo menos cinco meçes para poder bolver a Cavite passados los bendavales y entrado la Monsson de las brissas y mientras no se descubriere puerto seguro para hazer dha imbernada qualquier baxel que alli fuere va condenado perdersse.

General Don Francisco de Texada.

*El General Don Francisco de Texada dijo que el año de sesenta y nueve salio del puerto de Lampon a hacer viaje al de Acapulco de la Nueva Spaña en la Nao **Buen Socorro** yendo por General Diego de Arevalo y por su piloto mayor el Capitan Antonio de Acevedo y estando en la mar por seis meses no llegaron a ver ni descubrir cossa alguna de las Islas Marianas por cuya razon bolvio a arrivar dho General a estas de Manila y el año setenta y seis salio de el puerto de Cavite a hazer biaxe a el de Acapulco en la Nao Capitana **Santa Rossa** de su cargo y siendo assi que en la instruccion que se le dio para el viaje se manda que monte las yslas Marianas por diez y ocho grados no pudo*

hazerlo assi, aunque para ello hiço todas las diligencias que le fueron posibles por quanto las corrientes y variacion de vientos no dieron lugar a que passase por dichos dies y ocho grados, y haziendolo, por treinta y quatro no vio ysla ninguna de dhas Marianas, pues se la de Yguan esta en trece grados mal podra un patache de cient toneladas hacer viaxe a dha ysla de Yguan donde estan los Padres misioneros, y assi es de parecer que dho patache no se haga para este efecto ademas de que hasta agora tanpoco se save que aya puerto en dhas yslas adonde se pueda guarecer y dar fondo dho patache.

General Don Thomas de Endaya.

*El General Don Thomas de Endaya, dixo que segun el conossimiento que le assiste por las experiencias de tres viajes hechos en esta carrera hallar ser imposible que un patache de cient toneladas pueda hazer semexante viaje porque evidentemente fuera a que se lo tragasse la mar, respecto de que los tiempos son tan grandes que suelen en menos de dos oras andar todos los rumbos de la aguja y duran por la parte que afixa, dos y quatro y mas dias pues con Galeones de mill y ducientas toneladas se an visto expuestos a riesgo conocido de perderse por ser lo mas penoso del viaje lo que ay desde esta Isla a la de las Marianas como los accidentes sucedidos lo acreditan y enseñan de muchas naos que an arriado disarboladas y abiertas por lo recio de dhos tiempos, y aunque se fabricasse otro patache de mayor porte que quando menos a de ser de doscientas y cinquenta toneladas tambien se va a perder casso que consiga el poder coger la ysla de Guan que es a donde asisten dhos Padres por no tener puerto porque en el que ay a estado dado fondo tres veces la una quando passo a estas yslas y las otras dos de General del Galeon **Sant Thelmo** y ha reconossido que esta abierto al bendaval y con este viento se a de llegar al surgidero a donde conossidamente se va a perder porque es cossa imposible que aya amarras que puegan de tener un patache quando vienta el vendaval porque en aquel parage le da de lleno por no ser mas de una ensenada sin mas abrigo que el de la orilla y con unas corrientes muy grandes; y casso que la voluntad de su Magest. fuera el que se fabricasse dicho patache del porte de dhas doscientas y cinquenta toneladas se avra de hechar al mar con las missmas prevenciones que las que lleva un Galeon que se despacha para Acapulco porque lo mas cierto es que se avra de passar, de que se originan grandes gastos a la Real Hazienda y el mexor medio que alla es que se solicite con su Magestad se sirva despachar sus ordenes a los Señores Virreyes de la Nueva Spaña para que los Galeones de estas yslas que se hallasen en el puerto de Acapulco se les adelante su despacho con tal tiempo que no les coxa día de marzo en el, y con esta diligencia pueden con todo desembarazo llegar a la dicha Isla de Guan y dejar en ella qualesquier socorros separadamente, y aun mismo tiempo se consigue que puede embocar las naos y tomar puerto en el de Cavite sin ya a otro alguno de estas yslas de que se ocasionan a los naturales de las provincias muchos subcidios y a su Magestad gastos y assi missmo se excussan del evidente riesgo de perderse hallandose sobre estas costas por ser los tiempos muy recios, y los exemplares de las naos que se an perdido nos lo enseñan y en los tres viaxes que a hecho se a visto muy cerca de perderse estando sobre el embocadero ocasionado solo por la tarda salida de Acapulco.*

General Antonio Nieto.

*El General Antonio Nieto dixo que aunque la distancia de esta ysla a las Marianas no es mas que de trecientas leguas poco mas o menos es peçimo navegar las con monson y este no le ay sino de año en año que es quando las naos salen a hazer viaxe a la Nueva Spaña por el Real situado y son los tiempos tan tormentosos que las mas veces apenas dichas naos pueden correr con solo el trinquete y siendo como es muy apropiato para el viaje que se haze a la Nueva Spaña montan dichas yslas por trece o quinze grados no es posible conseguirlo por lo referido y de ordinario se montan de veinte a treinta y dos grados y a vezes por mas altura y si es pressisso se haga dho patache a de ser de tal porte y con tan buena prevencion y apresto assi de gente como de mantenimiento como se ubiesse de yr a dicha Nueva Spaña, que tiene por sin duda respecto de las experiencias que le asisten de la carrera, que si dho navio saliesse diez veces directamente para dichas yslas Marianas no llegarra a las donde estan los religiosos de la Compania de Jesus, una, y dado que casualmente sucediera se perderia dho vaxel en qualquier Isla que tomasse por no aver puerto ninguno hasta oy descubierto y la parte donde pudiera dar fondo haçe travesia a los vientos y por ser tan borrascosos no podra estar ningun navio surto respecto de no aver amarras que puedan resistir los que ay en aquella parte por el tiempo en que se a de yr y que el año de sesenta y siete salio del puerto de Cavite en el Galeon **Sant Diego** de porte de mas de trescientas toneladas gobernando estas yslas el Señor Don Diego Salcedo con el Venerable Padre Diego Luiz de Sant Vitores y otro religioso para dejarlos en dhas yslas y no fue posible poderlo hacer sino que passo a la Nueva Spaña y lo hiço de buelta de viaxe el de sesenta y ocho que fue quando dexo a dhos Padres en la ysla de Guan, y el de setenta salio del puerto de Lampon en compania del Almirante Leandro Coello que assi mismo llevaba dos Religiosos para dhas yslas y no fue possible hazerlo hasta la buelta de viaxe, que es quando se pueden dexar alli los Missioneros, gente y lo demas necessario para aquellas Misiones como se a continuado hasta oy; y segun el sitio donde las naos dan fondo de buelta de viaxe de la Nueva Spaña sera muy posible se pierda alguna por ser dho sitio travesia a los vientos, sur, sudueste, oeste, y norueste, de forma que si alguno de estos vientos corriessse con la furia que suele suceder estando dado fondo alguna nao, es evidentissimo se a de perder sin remedio alguno; que tiene por acertado y conveniente para el mexor logro de dhas misiones aya en la ysla de Guan, quatro o seis barcas y que estas esten al tiempo de venir las naos de dha Nueva Spaña en la punta que mira al leste y en viendo la nao salgan a ella a coxer el socorro y Missioneros[.] de este modo se puede socorrer aquello con mucha facilidad y sin perder las naos su viaxe para estas yslas mas que tan solamente a lo mas medio dia porque el dar fondo ademas de lo que deja dicho respecto de estar alli tres o quatro dias mientras que con una barca se lleve a tierra lo que se trae para dhas misiones, se experimenta que por la falta de aquel tiempo dexan de embocar las naos que seria muy posible lo hiciessen trayendo aquellos tres o quatro dias mas de navegacion, y que esto es evidente segun lo muestra la experiencia y la que tiene de veinte años que navega esta carrera y assi es su parecer no se haga a dho patache por lo que se a referido.*

General Christoval Romero.

El General Christoval Romero dixo que su parecer es se informe a su Magestad la poca utilidad que se a de seguir de hacer e ymbiar el patache y que a de ser en vano el trabajo, costo y avio del por ser mui dificultosso consiga viaxe alguno a dhas yslas por aver de hacer la navegacion en tiempo de vendavales el mas tormentosso que se a experimentado, y que con ser las naos que van a la Nueva Spaña tan grandes y tan fuertes se an visto en peligros y en quarenta y ocho años que a que sirve a su Magd. a hecho algunos viaxes a la Nueva Spaña y siempre a experimentado que por reynar con mucha fuerza las brissas en las yslas de Yguan que esta en trece grados a sido pressiso multiplicar altura y montar las yslas por veinte y ocho; treynta y treinta y quatro grados y que demas de esto no ay en ellas abrigo ni puerto alguno y que estas yslas Philipinas como es notorio estan muy faltas y necessitadas de Pilotos y gente nautica, y que supuesto que el intento es socorrer las Yslas Marianas y ese se consigue con la Nao que viene de Nueva Spaña que presisamente passa por la ysla donde estan los Religiosos por ser por alli su navegacion[,] no es necessario otro vagel y puede llegar a un abrigo que la Isla tiene de las brissas y dexar el socorro y aun alli si le sobreviene como es contingente algun bendaval pues es el principio de ellos quando alli llega la nao esta a peligro de perderse con el situado Real de estas yslas y quedar destruida y arruinada esta republica por la perdida de dha nao y hazienda de vezinos por ser travecia el abrigo que tiene dicha ysla, y el fondo piedras y arrecifes sin ningun reparo, y en casso que en las dhas yslas Marianas sobrevenga alguna ymbacion es imposible socorrerlas por la distancia[,] dificultad y riesgo de la navegacion por las razones que lleva dichas y tiene experimentadas en tantos años.

General Francisco Garcia del Fresno.

*El General Francisco Garcia del Fresno: Dixo que en casso que pudiera ser traxible el viaje de esta ciudad a la ysla de Guan una de los Ladrones es vaxel de muy poco porte el de cient toneladas que se propone, pues de trecientas es mui chico como se a visto por experiencia en los que an salido desde el tiempo del Señor Don Sebastian Hurtado de Corcuera hasta aora porque el mar es muy tormentoso y tanto que en los Galeones que a hecho viajes que an sido cinco, los mas de ellos an desarbolado con uracanes de brisa que son los generales y assi le llaman los antiguos que hicieron las derottas de aqui a Nueva Spaña y dicen en ellas assi: si salido del embocadero a ciento o ciento y cinquenta leguas se topan las brissas que son las generales te dexaras ya buelta del noroeste hasta altura de treinta grados y aunque parezca que no se monta la ysla del Japon, es cierto que va montada respecto de que las aguas corren con grande violencia a la buelta del nordeste, y hallo cierta esta derrota el año de cinquenta y tres en el Galeon **Sant Diego** y aora lo verifico el Capitan Antonio de Azevedo con el Galeon **Santa Rossa** que passo por mas de treinta grados y no vio Ladrones ni tierra de la ysla de Japon por donde se conoce la fuerza que las aguas llevan al nordeste el ser este pedasso de mar tormentoso como se a experimentado es por la maquina de yslas, las muchos corrientes, la variedad de los contrastes y como estan las mas de ellas entre el tropico y*

la linea son tormentosas segun opinion de todos los plasticos y como reynan las brizas assi en este mar como en el oceano y en todo el mar que coxe el distrito desde el tropico a la linea de fuerza a de aver brissa y no otros vientos como esta experimentado, esta es opinion recibida, y siendo cierto, como lo es no se puede continuar la navegacion de esta ciudad a la ysla de Guan o Mariana porque esta en altura de trece grados largos leste ueste con el embocadero de Sant Bernardino de esta ciudad y siendo los vientos lestes y nordestes que son los generales seran por la proa y con viento por la proa no se navega; y aunque es verdad que por el mes de Jullio y agosto ay vendavales y algo recios vientos sures y suduestes es por las muchas lluvias con que provee Dios el archipelago de estas yslas para que puedan vivir en ellas sus moradores, de donde procede, que los muchos vapores humedos y gruesos engendran los vendabales y assi son accidentales y tienen poca durazion pues lo mas que suelen ventar, es hasta apartar un vaxel ciento o ciento y cinquenta leguas quando mas de esta ysla y si el piloto no va con cuidado de apartarse del tropico a buscar altura es infalible que volbera de arrivada a Manila como a todos los que lo an hecho les a sucedido; de todas estas evidencias es constante a esta republica y a todos los que an navegado este golfo; esto es lo cierto y lo que a experimentado en cinco viajes que a hecho[,] en lo que a leydo en las derotas y diarios de los Pilotos antiguos; y que naturalmente no es posible el viaxe que propone de esta ciudad a Mariana maiormente no aviendo puerto que seria reconossido hasta aora en ella ni en otra alguna; y mas quando el principal intento de la Catholica Magestad es que sea socorrida y proveyda de lo necessario, y esso se hace todos los años con el Galeon que se despacha a la Nueva Spaña por el socorro de estas yslas y de buelta de viaxe llega a la de Guan o Mariana y le deja lo que su Magd. le tiene señalado y lo que algunos vezinos de esta ciudad embian de limosna para ella que de este modo sera socorrida con seguridad y para que pueda ser lo y nosotros tambien y no suceda alguna perdida por la detencion respecto de que la nao la despachan tan tarde de Acapulco que ya llega a estas yslas quando empieissan los vendabales y assi rara es la que puede embocar y les hace gran falta los dias que se detienen en la dha ysla y con despacharla los Señores Virreyes a primero de Março o a ocho u dies quando mas tarde tendran tiempo de desembarcar el socorro que se le trae a la ysla Mariana y meter aca el otro que no es el de menos ymportancia; y que esto es lo que le pareze y alcanza por la experiencia que tiene en la tierra de treinta y tres años de asistencia y por las que adquirio assi en este mar como en el oceano en el arte nautico.

Y entendido por su Señoria se confirmo con los pareceres de esta Junta y se firmo y los conthenidos lo firmaron:

Don Juan de Vargas Urttado.

Francisco Garçia del Fresno.

Christoval Romero.

Don Thomas de Endaya.

Antonio Nietto.

Don Francisco de Texada.

Leandro Coello.

Antonio de Azevedo.
Matheo Lopez.
Manuel Caravallo.
Ante my Juan Lopez Perea.

Translation.

Meeting of pilots expert on the run of these Islands.

In the city of Manila on the 15th of May of the year 1679, His Lordship, Master-of-camp Don Juan de Vargas Hurtado, Knight of the Order of St. James, of Your Majesty's Council, your Governor and Captain General of these Philippine Islands and President of the Audiencia and Royal Chancellery therein, called a meeting of pilots and experts knowledgeable about the navigation of the run of these Islands to New Spain. Those who attended were: General Francisco García del Fresno, who is General of Artillery of the Islands; General Cristobal Romero, the Fort Commander, Governor and Senior Justice of the port of Cavite; and the Generals Don Thomas de Endaya, Antonio Nieto, and Don Francisco de Tejada; Admiral Leandro Coello, Captain Antonio de Azevedo, both pilots major of this run, Captain Mateo Lopez, and Manuel Caravallo, Pilot Major's mate of the galleon that is going this year to New Spain. His Lordship placed before them the Royal Decree of Your Majesty (whom may God save) dated 1 July 1677, in which you order that the Mariana Islands be developed and succored by making port there upon returning from New Spain, with men, food supplies, and other necessities for the propagation of the holy Gospel that is being preached there. There was read a paper presented in the Royal Council, informing of everything that they need, and which was remitted by Your Majesty along with said Royal Decree, for compliance thereof.

And among the paragraphs contained in said report, the main one around which the others revolve is: that the Mariana Mission is totally dependent upon the existence of a vessel to bring them in contact with Manila, from which they are distant 300 leagues, to carry the men, food supplies, workers and the other necessities, given that otherwise it is impossible to preserve themselves, being totally separated from the rest of the world. And its proper capacity is given as 100 tons and other considerations are given, for instance those regarding the 3,000 pesos remitted by Your Majesty for this purpose.

The discussion was to bear on the possibility of [direct] communication between said Mariana Islands and these Islands by means of said vessel, and the capacity it ought to have, the men, food supplies and other necessities for that, and they were to express their opinion.

And having discussed their respective views, they gave their opinion in the following manner:

Manuel Caravallo.

Manuel Caravallo, pilot major's mate, declared that in four voyages that he has made to New Spain, he has experienced the neighborhood of the Mariana Islands to be very

rough, specially from May until January, and that until now it is not known whether or not there exists in the Island of San Juan where the Fathers of the Society live any port suitable for the wintering of a ship, and that for this reason it is not yet possible to go directly with a vessel from the port of Cavite to that Island and return, because the lack of a port to winter in makes it impossible to avoid a shipwreck.¹

Captain Mateo Lopez.

Captain Mateo Lopez declared that he first came to these Islands in 1641, and has completed 8 voyages to New Spain and had 4 returns in distress, and every one of them did not take place by way of the Islands of Yguan and Sarpana, because upon exiting from the Embocadero and reaching 100 leagues, or 200 leagues beyond it, the galleons meet with the tradewinds and they labor very much. So, they have no recourse but to go looking for a higher latitude and the galleons end up crossing [their longitude] at 20 degrees, or 25, 27, 28, and 30, with the minimum being 16 degrees as happened to him in 1654 with much trouble. So, the patache will not be able to make any voyage that might be undertaken for said Islands on account of such disadvantages. That being so, even if the patache were to make the voyage and arrive at the Islands, there is no port to shelter it and it would be forced to run aground, would break up, and the people would drown, since at such times the seas about those Islands are very rough. And if it drifts off, it might end up either in Japan or at some of those islands that are in that sea and the people might drown without a remedy, as happened in 1639 when a small ship of over 200 tons built in Peru went to deliver the relief in Ternate and from there she went out toward the Ladrones to look for people who might have survived the shipwreck of the galleon **Concepción** that was lost overthere, and she could not complete the voyage and finally succeeded in turning back to Cagayan and there she was lost, although the people were saved.²

Captain Antonio de Acevedo.

Captain Antonio de Acevedo declared having made 7 voyages on this run and 6 returns in distress, as Pilot Major and mate, and he never could make the Island of Yguan which is in 13 degrees and 1/2 because of contrary and rough weather and had to pass above the Islands from 20° as far up as 34°. And that was with galleons of a capacity from 800 to 1,000 tons; so, he thinks it is impossible for a patache of 100 tons to complete this voyage, and he has heard enough from Spaniards who live in that Island and have circumnavigated it many times and not found any port for a patache in it.

1 Ed. note: This warning was to be very prophetic, as this is what happened to the first patache that made it to Guam in 1683.

2 Ed. note: The patache **San Nicolás**, Captain Machado, left Manila for Ternate on 5 November 1639 and was to go afterward to the Ladrones (ref. B&R 29:200-201), but it was the **San Ambrosio** and the galliot **Concepción** that were shipwrecked in Cagayan in 1639 (see STM).

Admiral Leandro Coello.

Admiral Leandro Coello declared that, considering the proposal whether or not a vessel of 100-ton capacity can navigate from the port of Cavite to the Mariana Islands to deliver the relief and other supplies to the Religious of the sacred Order of the Society of Jesus who are involved in the conversion of the heathens of this Island of San Juan, one of said Islands, which is in 13°20' lat. N. and over 300 leagues of longitude east of these Philippine Islands, according to the experience he has obtained in 13 round-trip voyages on this run, having anchored with 4 galleons at said Island and left ashore the relief supplies that had been shipped to said Religious and taking into account his knowledge of this Archipelago and of the hurricanes that he has experienced in it, including some rough ones, no vessel whatever, large or small, can make the voyage from the port of Cavite to said Island to spend the winter there, because until now no port has been found where the vessel going to said Island could be made safe, during the minimum of 5 months that it would necessarily have to be there before it could return to Cavite, once the monsoon winds are over and the tradewinds have begun. And until a safe port is discovered to allow such a wintering, any vessel that would go there is condemned to become lost.

General Don Francisco de Texada.

General Don Francisco de Texada declared that in the year 1669 he left the port of Lampon to make the voyage to Acapulco in New Spain aboard the galleon **Buen Socorro**, under the command of General Diego de Arevalo, the pilot major being Captain Antonio de Acevedo. It sailed for 6 months and not once was any part of the Mariana Islands sighted, for which reason said General turned back to these Islands of Manila. In the year 1676, he left the port of Cavite to make the voyage to that of Acapulco aboard the flagship galleon **Santa Rosa** under his command, and as stated in the Instruction that was given to him for the voyage, he was ordered to cut through the Mariana Islands by 18° but he could not do so, even though he made all the efforts possible to achieve it, because the currents and variable winds prevented him from passing them at said 18°. He did so in 34° and saw none of said Mariana Islands. Since that of Yguan is in 13°, a patache of 100 tons will have a hard time to make the voyage to said Island of Yguan where the missionary Fathers live. So, his opinion is that said patache should not attempt such a voyage, specially since no port has yet been made known in said Islands where the patache could remain safely at anchor.

General Don Thomas de Endaya.

General Don Thomas de Endaya declared that, according to the knowledge he gained from the experiences of 3 voyages made on this run, he finds it impossible that a patache of 100 tons could make such a voyage, because obviously, besides the bother from the sea, regarding which the storm winds are so great that they usually make a complete circuit of the compass in under two hours and then they remain fixed for 2 to 4 or more days on end, in such a way that even galleons of 1,200 tons have been placed

at known risk of becoming lost, on account of it being the worse troublesome part of the voyage—the part from this Island to that of the Marianas—as the accidents that have happened prove it, for instance those of the many galleons that have turned back dismasted and leaky by the roughness of said storms. Although another patache of larger capacity might be built—though it has to be under 250 tons—it too will become lost, should it manage to reach the Island of Guan which is where said Fathers reside, as there is no [suitable] port. Indeed, he has anchored there three times, once when he came to these Islands and the other times when in command of the galleon **San Telmo**,¹ and he has surveyed the port that is open to the monsoon and with this wind [blowing] it will have to reach the anchorage where knowingly it will become lost, because it is impossible to find mooring ropes that could hold a patache when the monsoon wind is blowing, because in that neighborhood it hits directly, simply because it is but an open roads protected only from the in-shore wind and with very strong currents. Now, in case the will of His Majesty results in said patache being built with a capacity of 250 tons, it would have to be launched with the same preventive measures as those carried by a galleon despatched to Acapulco, because it is almost certain that it would have to overshoot, the result being great wastes of Royal Treasury. And the best means he can find is that His Majesty be solicited for the issue of royal orders to the Viceroy of New Spain so that whenever the galleons of these Islands are found in the port of Acapulco they be despatched earlier, by enough time that they would no longer be there by the last day of March, and with this procedure they could easily arrive at the said Island of Guan and unload there whatever relief supplies leisurely, and even then still be able to make it to the Embocadero with the galleons and make the port of Cavite, and not end up at any other port of these Islands which would cause many subsidies on the part of the natives of the provinces and expenses to His Majesty, besides the removal of the obvious risk of becoming lost on account of reaching these coasts [too late] and meeting with very rough weather; the examples of the galleons that have been lost teach us this and in the 3 voyages that he has made, he found himself at great danger of becoming lost upon almost reaching the Embocadero, due only to the late departure from Acapulco.

General Antonio Nieto.

General Antonio Nieto declared that, although the distance from this Island to the Marianas is only 300 leagues more or less, navigation over this route during the monsoon season is abominable, and this wind is available year after year only when the galleons leave to make the voyage to New Spain for the Royal subsidy. The weather then is so stormy that most of the times said galleons can hardly run with only the foresail, and although it would be very appropriate for the voyage to New Spain to pass said Islands by 13° or 15°, it is not possible to achieve it for the reason just mentioned, and they are passed anywhere between 23° and 32° and sometimes at even higher latitude.

¹ Ed. note: That is, in 1675 and 1678 (ref. STM).

And if it be necessary to build said patache, it should be of such a capacity and with such good planning and readiness in men as well as in sustenance as if it had to go to said New Spain, where it will surely end up, according to the experiences gained on the run, and such that if said ship were to depart 10 times to go directly to said Mariana Islands it would not end up where the Religious of the Society of Jesus are even once. What might happen is that said vessel would become lost accidentally on any island it would stop at, because until now no port has been discovered and at the place where it could anchor there are cross-winds and since they are quite stormy no ship could remain at anchor, given that there do not exist moorings that could resist the winds in that neighborhood during the season that it must sail there. For instance, in 1667 the galleon **San Diego** of a capacity of over 300 tons left the port of Cavite, when Don Diego Salcedo was Governor of these Islands, with the Venerable Father Diego Luis de San Vitores and another Religious on board, intending to leave them at said Islands,¹ but it was not possible to accomplish it. Rather, it bypassed them and went to New Spain and it stopped there only during the return voyage in 1668; in fact, that is when said Fathers were disembarked at the Island of Guan. In 1670, he left the port of Lampon in company with Admiral Leandro Coello with a galleon that also carried two Religious destined to said Islands,² and it was not possible to make it until the return voyage, which is when it is possible to leave there missionaries, men and other necessities for those missions, as has been the practice so far. In accordance with the site where the galleons anchor on the return trip from New Spain, it will be very possible that some of them will become lost, given that said place is subject to cross-winds from the South, Southwest, West, and Northwest, such that if any of these winds blow with the fury that usually occur, any galleon at anchor would very obviously become lost without any remedy. He is very sure about the following being appropriate for the greater success of said missions existing in the Island of Guan: 4 to 6 boats; at the time that the galleons are about to come from New Spain, these boats could be waiting at the point that faces East, and upon sighting the galleon they would go and meet her to collect the succor and the missionaries. In this fashion, that can be taken care of very easily, and without the galleons risking making it to these Islands. Indeed, they would be delayed by at most half a day, whereas when they anchor, on top of the risk described above, they lose 3 or 4 days there waiting for one boat to ferry ashore what is carried for said mission, the result being that for the lack of this time [period] the galleons are unable to enter through the Embocadero, which would otherwise be possible had they had those 3-4 days advance in their schedule; this is obvious according to the experience that he has gained over 20 years of sailing this run. Thus his opinion that said patache should not be built, for the reasons he has given.

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- 1 Ed. note: In reality, the direct route was considered but not attempted then, as a subsidy was to be sought in Mexico City.
 - 2 Ed. note: They were Fathers Solano and Ezquerria.

General Cristobal Romero.

General Cristobal Romero declared that his opinion is that His Majesty should be informed of how little a benefit would be gained by sending the patache, and that it would simply result in a waste of labor, money and supplies, because any voyage to said Island would be very difficult to achieve, as the navigation must take place during the season of the monsoon, the most stormy period that has been experienced; indeed, even the large and strong galleons that go to New Spain have been seen in danger. And during the 48 years that he has served His Majesty,¹ he has made a few voyages to New Spain and always he has experienced strong winds prevailing in the neighborhood of the Islands of Yguan which lies in 13°, and it was necessary to increase the latitude and pass the Islands by 28°, 30°, and 34°, and in addition there does not exist there any shelter or port of any kind. Furthermore, these Philippine islands are devoid of and much in need of Pilots and nautical men, as is notorious, and supposing that the intention is to succor the Mariana Islands, this can be accomplished with the galleon that comes from New Spain, and that its proper route must necessarily pass by the Island where the Religious live. No other vessel is therefore necessary, and it [i.e. the galleon] can reach a site in the Island where there is shelter from the tradewinds and leave the succor, and even there, if some monsoon wind should come up, as might happen given that it is then the beginning of that season when the galleon arrives there, it runs the risk of becoming lost, along with the royal subsidy of these Islands, with the resulting destruction and ruin of this government on account of the loss of said galleon and goods belonging to the residents, given that the shelter in question at said Island is an open roads and its bottom is but coral stones and reefs without any remedy, and in case any of said Mariana Islands be invaded, it is impossible to reinforce them, on account of the distance, difficulty and risk of the [direct] navigation, for the reasons that he has just mentioned, and has experienced over so many years.

General Francisco García del Fresno.

General Francisco García del Fresno: Declared that in case the shuttle voyage from this city to the Island of Guan, one of the Ladrones, be feasible, the proposed vessel of 100 tons would be very small. Indeed, one of 300 tons is very small, as it has been learned from experience since the days of Don Sebastian Hurtado de Corcuera until the present, as most of them have been dismasted by hurricanes of tradewinds, which are the prevailing ones, and so called by the old sailors who wrote sailing directions for the route from here to New Spain. Some of them say: if at 100 to 150 leagues after leaving the Embocadero you meet the tradewinds that are the prevailing winds, you should veer north-northwest until you reach a latitude of 30 degrees and although it might appear that you cannot bypass the Island of Japan, it is certain that you will succeed, because

1 Ed. note: Captain Romero was in command of just one ship, the patache **Buen Jesús**, 30 years earlier.

currents run with great strength toward the northeast.¹ In the year 1653 with the galleon **San Diego**, he found these sailing directions to be accurate and Captain Antonio de Azevedo has since verified it with the galleon **Santa Rosa** that passed at over 30° and did not see the Ladrones or any land of the Island of Japan; thus proving the strength of the currents that bear to the northeast in this stormy part of the sea, as has been experienced, and it is caused by a clash between islands, many currents, the variability and sudden shift of the winds, and as most of them are found between the tropic and the equator, they are stormy ones, according to the opinion of all practical pilots, and as the tradewinds prevail, not only in this sea but in the ocean, and in the whole sea comprised between the tropic and the equator, there must necessarily be tradewinds and no other winds, as proven by experience, it is an accepted opinion, and being as accurate as indeed it is, it is not possible to sail [direct] from this city to the Island of Guan or Mariana, because it is situated at a latitude of 13°, on the same east-west parallel as the Embocadero of San Bernardino of this city. And since the winds are easterlies and north-easterlies, which are the prevailing ones, they would therefore blow from the bow and with a wind that comes from the bow, one cannot sail. And although it is true that during the month of July and August, there are monsoon winds and some brisk winds blowing from the south and southwest, it is on account of the many rain showers with which God provides the archipelago of these Islands so that its inhabitants can live in them; consequently, they cause many damp vapors and fogs that generate the monsoon winds. So, they are accidental and do not last very long; indeed, they blow at most until a vessel reaches 100 or 150 leagues at best from this Island, and if the pilot does not take care to leave the tropic to gain latitude, he must necessarily return in distress to Manila, as was the result for all those who have tried it and failed. From all these examples, it is evident to this government and to all those who have sailed across this vast ocean. This is certain and is what he has experienced in 5 voyages that he has made,² from reading the sailing directions and the logbooks of the old Pilots, and naturally, the proposed voyage from this city to Mariana [sic] is not possible, mostly because there is no port that might have been discovered up to now, in that Island or any other, and much more so when the main intent of the Catholic Majesty is to provide relief and all necessities to it, and that is what is done every year by the galleon that is despatched to New Spain for the subsidy of these Islands, during the return leg of the voyage, upon arriving at the Island of Guan or Mariana, where is left what His Majesty has earmarked for it, plus what some residents of this city send as alms for it. This method is the safest one and in order for it and ourselves as well to be succored without any losses resulting thereof, as a result of tardiness in departing Acapulco, and arriving at these Islands when the monsoon winds begin and so they rarely make it through the entrance channel, and they feel cheated by the days that they have been detained in said Island. And

1 Ed. note: Spanish sailors were first to discover the famous Black Stream or *Kuro Shio*.

2 Ed. note: Besides the 1653-54 voyage mentioned above, he sailed as General on the last two voyages, in 1658 and 1663. He must have been living in retirement at the time of this inquiry.

if their Lordships the Viceroy were to despatch it on the first of March, or on the 8th or 10th at the latest, they would have time to unload the succor that is brought for the Mariana Island and still bring in here the other succor that is no less important. So, this is his opinion and point of view that come from the experience of living in this country for 33 years and that gained in the nautical arts in this sea as well as in the ocean.

And His Lordship having heard all the opinions expressed in this Meeting, he agreed with them and signed his name and those involved signed it also:

Don Juan de Vargas Hurtado.

Francisco García del Fresno.

Cristobal Romero.

Don Thomas de Endaya.

Antonio Nieto.

Don Francisco de Texada.

Leandro Coello.

Antonio de Azevedo.

Mateo Lopez.

Manuel Caravallo.

Before me, Juan Lopez Perea.

[There follow some notarial notes of authentication.]

Document 1679I

Map of Guam, drawn in 1678 by Pilot Fernando Sorondo

Source: Manuscript map among Philippine mss. II, Lilly Library, Indiana University, Indiana.

The visit of the galleon San Telmo at Umatac in 1678

This manuscript map drawn by Sorondo is reproduced on page 117. Although Sorondo says that the year was 1679, we know for a fact that the 1679 galleon came from the north and did not anchor. However, we also know from the documents of 1678 that a survey took place that year. Sorondo must have been one of the pilots aboard the **San Telmo** coming from Acapulco under the command of Thomas de Endaya.

Translation of Sorondo's comments.

The notes that Sorondo made on his sketch can be translated as follows. Firstly, along the dotted line that represents the track of the galleon as it approached from the east along the 13° latitude, it is said: "Course for Omate [Umatac]" then, after rounding Cocos Island, there are recorded the results of some soundings in "brazas," or fathoms. The bow anchor lied at 19 fathoms. Along the departure track to the west, it is said "Course for San Bernardino [Strait]."

The comments in Spanish on the right side of the island say: "In the year '79 [sic] I was at this island in the bay in front of the fort of Omate. The Governor¹ told me that the circumference of this island was from 26 to 30 leagues. Fernando Sorondo."

Then the pilot adds: "With my position where the anchor [symbol] is, I observed [i.e. took the sun's elevation] in a completely satisfactory manner with an octant in 13° 8' of latitude."

Up the western coast of Guam, there is a label to mark the relative position of the "city" of Agaña: "Capital of the Marianas, Island of Guajan."

¹ Ed. note: The out-going Governor in 1678 was Captain Irisarri; as he departed for Manila that year, he had plenty of time to speak with Sorondo during the voyage.

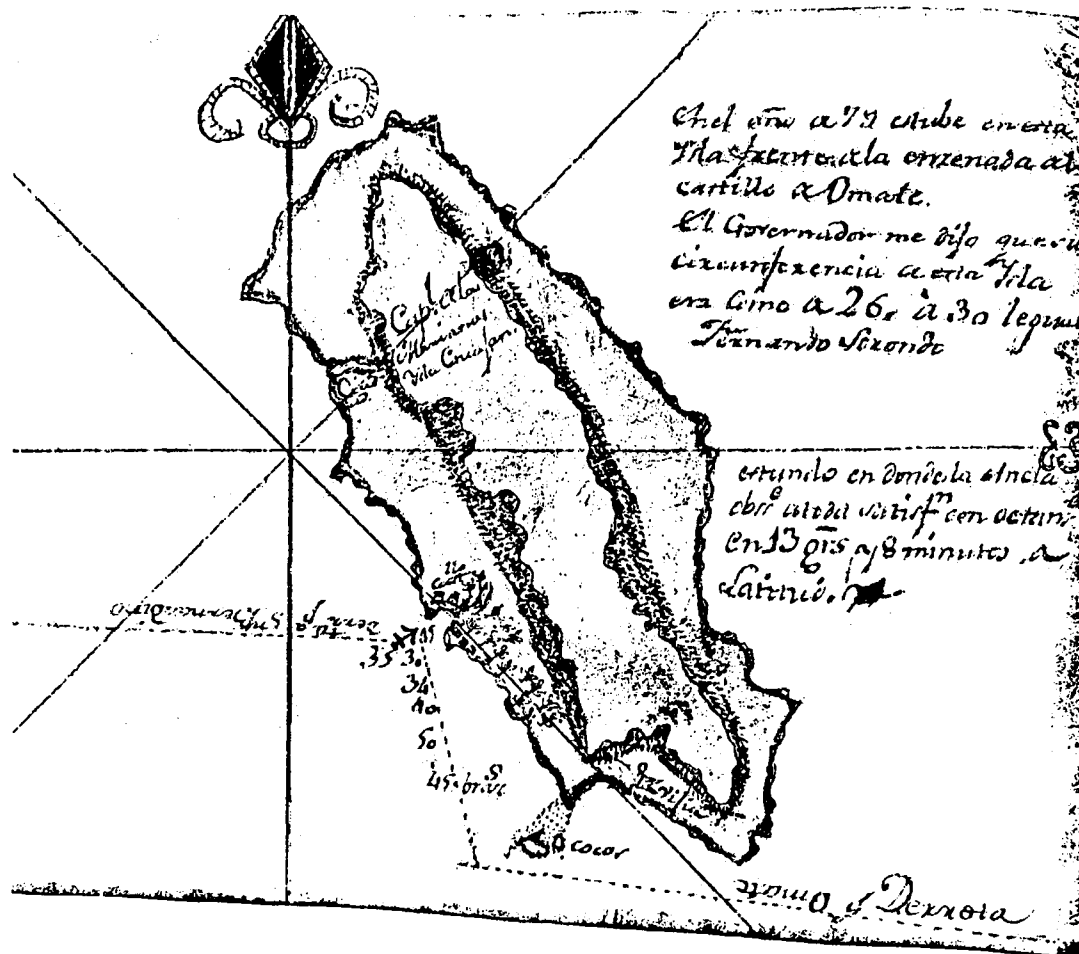
Editor's comments.

As early as 1673, this particular galleon had established Umatac as the preferred port of call. From that year we can therefore date the transfer of the name Port San Antonio from Haty (or Cetti) to Umatac. This map provides one more proof that a wooden fort had been built on the northern cove at Umatac Bay in the first half of 1676; Fr. Gayoso first mentioned it in Doc. 1676K. Note that what appears to be the number 220 above the symbol representing the fort is in fact the end of the word "castillo". A residence, probably that of the Jesuit missionary, and a church are also shown at Umatac. This church must have been a temporary one, because a more solid building was begun the next year and was completed in February 1681.

Near the flag symbol that is shown south of Merizo, in what is perhaps Balang Point today, near what may have been the village of Paa then, there appears the word "Vijia" or Lookout. In 1673, the Spanish had already established the custom of posting a guard there to give a warning of the arrival of the yearly galleon, at the end of May or the beginning of June (see Doc. 1674I2). The implication is that Spanish galleons no longer came in at the latitude of Rota, rounding the north end of Guam. This new practice remained the established pattern until the end of the galleon era, about 1815.

Another interesting note concerns navigation instruments. Sorondo says that he used an "octant," not a quadrant. At first I thought that he may have used a sort of modified quadrant, invented by the Englishman Hadley, that had a small reflective mirror, the forerunner of the modern sextant. However, Hadley-type instruments did not exist until after 1730. So, what Sorondo had was an improved quadrant, possibly a device similar to what the English called Davis' quadrant, which was a modified back-staff. Its ancestry was not the astrolabe, but the cross-staff or Jacob's staff (*ballestilla* in Spanish). John Davis had described his reflecting octant in a book published in London in 1607.¹ Another possibility is that Sorondo had just a regular quadrant (the type that had existed in Magellan's time) but that he had just heard about new research done to improve that instrument. In 1669, the Frenchman Jean Picard had fitted telescopic sights to an experimental "reflecting" quadrant. In 1678, Halley, Hooke and Hevelius were working on similar designs; Halley's device was even collapsible. Young Isaac Newton had invented a reflecting instrument for measuring angles and presented the idea to the Royal Society in March 1672, but Sorondo could not possibly have heard of it, because Halley hid Newton's notes and they were not discovered until 1742. One possibility is that the Spanish had also invented a similar instrument at about the same time and kept it secret, something that was hard to do in France, Germany and England at that time, because the scientists there were in open competition with one another.

1 John Davis, *The Seamans Secrets*, reprinted by the Hakluyt Society in 1880.



Map of Guam by Sorondo, 1678. The pilot of the *San Telmo* gave a wrong orientation to the island of Guam, as even the southern half of the island should be aligned north-south, not NNW—SSE as shown. The latitude he gives for Umatac is quite a good one, only about 10 minutes in error. The explanations on the right are, in Spanish, as follows: "En el año de 79 [sic] estube en esta Ysla frente de la ensenada del castillo de Omate. El Governador me dijo que su circunferencia de esta Ysla era como de 26. à 30 leguas. Fernando Sorondo. Estando en donde la Ancla observe con toda satisfaccion con octante en 13 grados y 8 minutos de Latitud." (Courtesy of the Lilly Library, Indiana University).

Documents 1679J

Report by the secretary of the Council of the Indies, dated 2 July 1679

J1. Covering letter from José Veitia to the Duke of Medinaceli, dated Madrid 2 July 1679

Source: AGI Fil. 82-2-49.

Original text in Spanish.

Excellentissimo Señor

Señor, remito a V. Ex^a relacion de lo que consta en la Secretaria estar ordenado por su Magd. acerca de lo contenido en los apuntamientos que dio a V.Ex^a mi Señora la Duquesa de Avero, y en quanto a las cartas que se piden á V.Ex^a parece que no tendrá inconveniente el que se de la tocante al padre Joseph Vidal; y la de encargar al Governor de Filipinas que se execute lo mandado en quanto á la embarcacion para las Marianas pero en lo que mira á la remision de los Pampangos tiene representado el Governor de Filipinas que tendria grandisimos inconvenientes.

En lo que mira á los otros puntos no ay tomada resolucion alguna por el Consejo, con que será necesario que se vean el el, y sobre todo lo que V.Ex^a fuere servido.

Dios guarde a V.Exc^a muchos años como deseo y hemos [meneste]r.

Madrid a 2 de Julio 1679.

Excentissimo Señor,

B.I.p. de V.E.

Joseph de Veitia Linage.

[Al] Excellentissimo Señor Duque de Medinaceli

Translation.

Most Excellent Sir:

Sir, I remit to Your Excellency what is recorded in the Secretariat as having been ordered by His Majesty concerning what is contained in the list of points that my Lady the Duchess of Aveiro has given to Y.E., and as far as the letters that I requested from

Y.E., it seems that there would be no inconvenient in giving her the letter about Father José Vidal, and also the one entrusting the Governor of the Philippines to carry out the orders regarding the vessel for the Marianas. However, in the matter of the despatch of the Pampangos, the Governor of the Philippines has made representations, saying that it would be greatly disadvantageous.

As far as the other points are concerned, there has not been any decision made by the Council, and therefore they should necessarily be seen in it, and in everything Y.E. will decide accordingly.

May God keep Y.E. for many years, as I wish and we all need.

Madrid, 2 July 1679.

Most Excellent Sir,

I kiss the feet of Y.E.,

José de Veitia Linage.

[To] His Excellency, the Duke of Medinaceli.

J2. Note from the Duchess of Aveiro [to the Duke of Medinaceli], undated

Source: AGI Fil. 82-2-52.

Original text in Spanish.

La cartas que S.E. debe escribir son:

Una al Virrey de Mexico diciendole este con adbertencia de que se execute el orden que le dio el Presidente pasado para que el padre Vidal de la Compañia de Jesus no salga de Mexico por que se necesita alli de su asistencia para negocios del servicio del Rey, y aunque la Religion tenga Procurador de Philipinas y Marianas, en aquella Ciudad todas las dependencias que tocaren a estas ultimas Islas por los ofiçiales de S. Mgd. se traten con el Padre Vidal solamente a respecto de querer el Consejo corran por su Interbension.

La segunda carta es al Governador de Philipinas para que ponga en execuccion, ú de quenta de como lo ha puesto, el orden que aqui se le dio de que hubiese embarcaçion que navegase de Philipinas a Marianas, y que remita allá los Pampangos para Presidio y las familias que se le ha ordenado por çedulas antecedentes de S. Mgd.

La mayor neçesidad de estas Islas despues del Bagel, es de Cabo, ó Governador, como se diçe en el Papel de los Indios pues continuamente estan matando Ministros Evangelicos y enfrene los soldados, y si S. Mgd. señalara sueldo competente (que al Capitan de Sinaloà se dan tres mil pesos) con dar la mitad a este y esperanza de aumentos, no dejara de hallarse persona combeniente, a que debe aplicarse para que quanto antes llegue, que sera muy grande servicio de Dios.

[Unsigned]

[Endorsement:] *Apuntamientos que ha dado mi Señora la Duquesa de Abero sobre las Islas Marianas.*

Translation.

The letters that Y.E. must write are:

One to the Viceroy of Mexico, telling him to be careful and carry out the order given him by the past President to make sure that Father Vidal of the Society of Jesus does not leave Mexico, because his assistance is needed there for official business in the service of the King, and although his Order has a Procurator for the Philippines and Marianas in that city, all the proceedings concerning these last-named Islands with the officials of His Majesty are to be conducted only through Father Vidal, since the Council wishes that they all be transacted through his intervention.

The second letter is to the Governor of the Philippines, for him to carry out the order sent to him from here, for a vessel to sail from the Philippines to the Marianas, and that he is to send overthere the Pampangos for the Garrison and the families that he had been ordered to send by previous decrees of His Majesty.

The greatest need of these islands after the vessel, is that of a Commander, or Governor, as is mentioned in the petition of the Indians; indeed, they are continuously killing Gospel ministers, and to restrain the soldiers, and if His Majesty could fix a decent salary (for instance, the Captain of Sinaloa gets 3,000 pesos) with only half of this amount and some hope for future consideration, there should be no lack of a competent person to whom to apply these, so that he would get there as fast as possible, which would be a great service to God.

[Unsigned]

[Endorsement:] List of points given by my Lady the Duchess of Aveiro concerning the Marianas.

J3. Paper that the Jesuit Procurator gave to the Duchess

Source: AGI Fil. 82-2-51.

Original text in Spanish.

1° El principal medio para la estavilidad y aumento de la Xptiandad de Marianas es que hará navegacion de Philipinas á aquellas Islas. Para lo qual ha mandado S.Mgd. al Governor de Philipinas se haga embarcacion a proposito que una u dos vezes al año pueda ir y venir.

2° En el interin se deve continuar el que se guarden las çedulas de S.Mgd. para que las Naves de Philipinas, quando buelven de Mexico den fondo en dhas Islas dejando alli Missionarios y lo mas de que se necessita.

3° Que siendo precisso el Presidio de duzientos Pamgangos como S.M. ha mandado pasen a dhas Islas, deve ponerse en execucion, y vastara para su sustento lo mismo que S.M. da para los çinquenta soldados del Presidio de Sinaloa que son 1,300 pesos, con que viene a tocar a cada un 25. Pues porque en Marianas no corre oro, ni plata, ni mone-

da alguna, se ha de emplear esto en Mexico, en vestidos, y demas cossas necesarias para repartirlos por los soldados en dhas Islas.

4° Combendra mucho llevar una dozena de familias de personas virtuosas de las Philipinas, u de Mexico á Marianas para cuidar a criar niños, y niñas, porque los hombres tendran escuela, y siendo fazil hallar los Muzicos en Philipinas enseñaran los muchachos los cantares de la Iglesia y las mujeres a las niñas, coser, hilar, y los demas exercicios que ignoran los barbaros de heda[d] civil.

5° Sobre todo se necesita de Governador ó Cavo que gobierne lo temporal, en unas partes tan barbaras, remotas, y desamparadas, este deve ser soldado u hombre de valor y experiencia y mui christiano (porque si voluntad es lei en aquellas partes) expecialmente en materia de castidad, arrespeto que pueda dar buen exemplo, y enfrenar los soldados, siendo los naturales de estas Islas excesivamente dados a vizio contrario, y haviendose padezido gran detrimento en la Xptd. de ellas por las culpas de los Cavos antecedentes, y soldados.

6° Deve entender el Governador ó Cavo que ha de dar quenta de su proceder a S.Mgd. u al Virrey de Mexico, ó Governador de Philipinas para que obre como quien ha de ser residenciado, y combiniera que estubiese obligado a comunicar los negocios de mas importanzia de aquel Gobierno con el Superior que hubiere alli de aquella Mission, y que este tenga obligacion de avisar a S.Mgd. lo tocante al Gobierno de estas Islas.

7° Para hallar sugeto con las prendas, y virtud que combiene a tan grande empleo en tierra tan desdichada, si se tomase el medir de que este puesto fuesse ascenso a otros en Indias, parece que los facilitara, y siendo cassado el Governador fuera mucho mejor porque los hombres en esta parte del mundo se diferencian poco u nada de los brutos en la fiereza y vizio de la carne.

Translation.

1° The principal means of stabilizing and increasing the Christian community of the Marianas is to have ship transport between the Philippines and those Islands. Consequently, His Majesty has ordered the Governor of the Philippines to build a suitable craft that could make the round-trip voyage once or twice a year.

2° In the meantime, there must be compliance with the decrees of His Majesty regarding the galleons of the Philippines to the effect that upon their return from Mexico they are to anchor in said Islands, leaving there missionaries and everything else that is necessary.

3° That, considering the need for the Garrison to have 200 Pampangos, as His Majesty has ordered to go to said Islands, this order must be carried out, and for their maintenance the same as H.M. gives to the 50 soldiers of the Garrison of Sinaloa should be sufficient, i.e. 1,300 pesos, which means 25 pesos to each one of them. In fact, since there is no currency being used in the Marianas, be it of gold, silver, or any other metal, and this amount ought to be spent in Mexico, to purchase clothes, and other necessary things to be distributed among the soldiers in said Islands.

4° It would be most convenient to transport a dozen families made up of virtuous persons from the Philippines, or from Mexico, to the Marianas to take care of raising boys and girls, because the men could teach school, for instance, it would be easy to find musicians in the Philippines to teach the boys the chants of the Church, and the women could teach the girls how to sew, weave, and the other exercises that the barbarians of school age do not know.

5° Above all, it is necessary to have a Governor or Commander to take charge of temporal affairs in such barbarian, remote, and isolated places. This man must be a soldier or a man of valor and experience and very Christian (because his will would be the law in those parts), specially in matters concerning chastity, concerning which he would serve as a good example, and restrain the soldiers, considering that the natives of these Islands are exceedingly addicted to the contrary vice, and since a great detriment was caused to the Christian community there, on account of the sins of the previous Commanders, and soldiers.

6° The Governor or Commander must understand that he must give a report of his proceedings to His Majesty or to the Viceroy of Mexico, or to the Governor of the Philippines, to make sure he understands that he must act as someone who will be audited, and it would be proper to oblige him to inform the eventual Superior of that Mission of business of greater importance of that government, and that the latter be made responsible to report to His Majesty on the affairs of the government of these Islands.

7° In order to find an individual with the qualities and virtue that are suitable for such a great employment in such a forsaken country, if it were accepted that this post would be considered as a step to other posts in the Indies, it seems that they would find it advantageous. Also, if the Governor be married, it would be much better, because men in that part of the world are not much different from animals in the wildness and vice of the flesh.

J4. Veitia's report

Source: AGI Fil. 82-2-47.

Original text in Spanish.

Relacion de lo que parece está mandado en algunos puntos de los que refiere el papel adjunto, tocante a la conservacion y aumento de la Mision de las Islas Marianas.

Lo que por los libros de la Secretaria de Nueva España, parece está mandado en algunos puntos de los que refiere el papel adjunto tocante a la Conserbacion y aumento de la Mision de las Islas Marianas, es lo siguiente.

Nº 1 de la otra relacion.—En quanto a la embarcacion, se halla que la fabricó el Governador de Philippinas, y que la remitió en quarteles al Virrey de la Nueva España, el qual por haver reconocido no ser aproposito, se la volbió á embiar, y los 3,000 pesos que supo havia costado los descontó del situado de Philippinas, y los entregó a los Reli-

giosos de la Comp^a de Jhs, para que la hiciessen fabricar en la forma que la huviesen menester, como mas individualmente parece por dos despachos de su Magd dirigidos al dho Virrey y Governador de 30 de Mayo y 30 de Julio de 1676.

Nº 2.—Y en otro de 17 de Junio de 678, se dieron gracias al Virrey por haver ordenado al General de la Nao que el año de 676 volvió a Philippinas pasase por la Isla de San Juan y dejase los Religiosos Misioneros con todo lo demas que llevaba, para las Marianas. Y por otro de la misma fecha se mandó al Governador de Philippinas diesse orden a los Generales de las Naos de aquellas Islas, que de buelta de la N^a España á ellas por ningun casso dejasen de pasar por la dha Isla de San Juan.

Nº 3.—En lo que mira a los 200 Indios Pampangos, que al Governador de Philippinas se mandó remitiesse a las Marianas en cambio de otros tantos, respondió, en carta de 31 de Mayo de 674, tendria graves inconvenientes con cuya vista en el Consejo, se le dijo en despacho de 30 de Mayo de 676 que asistiesse en todo lo posible al mayor fruto de la mision de las Marianas.

En lo que toca á haver soldados parece que el Arpo. Virrey, en carta de 10 de Mayo de 676, avisó lo que havia obrado en el fomento desta mision y dijo havia librado al Procurador de ella lo que montó el sueldo de 40 soldados que havia en las Islas Marianas assi para aquel año como para los venideros como se hacia con los del Presidio de Sinaloa, de que se le dieron gracias por despacho de 23 de Diciembre de aquel mismo año.

Los demas puntos del papel incluso, son nuevos y asi no hay cossa alguna sobre ellos en la Secretaria.

Translation.

Account of what appears to have been ordered in some of the points mentioned in the attached paper, concerning the preservation and progress of the Mariana Island Mission.

According to the registers of the Secretariat of New Spain, what seems to have been ordered in some of the points listed in the attached paper, concerning the preservation and progress of the Mariana Island Mission, is as follows:

Nº 1 of the other list.—Regarding the vessel, it turns out that the Governor of the Philippines did build it, and sent it in quarters to the Viceroy of New Spain, but the latter, having recognized it as unsuitable, sent it back to him, and the 3,000 pesos that he learned had been spent on it, he discounted same from the subsidy of the Philippines, and he turned them over to the Religious of the Society of Jesus, for them to have it built in the manner that was required; more details are available in two despatches that His Majesty sent to said Viceroy and to the Governor on 30 May and 30 July 1676.¹

Nº 2.—And in another dated 17 June 1678, the Viceroy was given thanks for having ordered the General of the galleon returning to the Philippines in 1676 to pass by the Island of San Juan and leave the Religious missionaries with everything else that it

1 Ed. note: That sent to the Governor is Doc. 1676F2.

carried for the Marianas. And in another of same date the Governor of the Philippines was ordered to order the Generals of the galleons of those Islands that, upon returning from New Spain, under no excuse they are to omit the stopover at the Island of San Juan.¹

Nº 3.—Concerning the 200 Pampango Indians that the Governor of the Philippines was ordered to send to the Marianas in exchange for as many others, he answered, by letter dated 31 May 1674 that it would have very serious disadvantages; this was seen in the Council, and he was told in a despatch dated 30 May 1676 to attend in everything possible to the greater fruit of the Mariana Mission.²

As far as the soldiers are concerned, it appears that the Archbishop Viceroy, in a letter dated 10 May 1676, advised on what he had done for the development of this mission and said that he had delivered to its Procurator the amount of the salary for 40 soldiers posted in the Mariana Islands, not only for that year but also for future years, as was done for those of the Garrison of Sinaloa, and by despatch of 23 December of the same year, he was given thanks.³

The other points of the attached paper are new ones. So, there is nothing about them in the Secretariat.

J5. Minute from the Duke of Medinaceli, dated Madrid 2 July 1679

Source: AGI Fil. 82-2-50.

Original text in Spanish.

He recibido sus dos pliegos de V.M. y estimo mucho su puntualidad; y para que mañana en el Consejo se despache el negocio tocante á las Islas Marianas, hará V.M. buscar y llevará en la Volsa la Carta del Governador de Filipinas en que dize los Inconvenientes que tendria la remision de los Pampangos.

Dios guarde á V.M. muchos años.

Madrid 2 de Julio 1679.

[Al] Señor Don Joseph de Veytia.

Translation.

I have received the two files from Your Grace and I very much esteem your punctuality; and in order for the business concerning the Mariana Islands to be despatched tomorrow in Council, will Your Grace please have a search made and add to the pouch the Letter from the Governor of the Philippines in which he states the disadvantages that the despatch of the Pampangos would cause.

1 Ed. note: Doc. 1678D1 & D3 respectively.

2 Ed. note: Doc. 1674F & 1676F2 refer.

3 Ed. note: The despatch in question is Doc. 1676F3.

May God keep Your Grace for many years.
 Madrid, 2 July 1679.
 [To] Don José de Veitia.

J6. Decision of the Council, dated 3 July 1679

Source: AGI Fil. 82-2-51.

Original text in Spanish.

Consejo en 3 de Julio de 679.

Vista la memoria de la hoja adjunta que truxó al Consejo el Señor Presidente y otra relacion que está con ella de la Secretaria, y la carta del Governador de Filipinas escrita en 31 de Mayo de 1674 se acorde lo siguiente:

A los numeros 1, 2. Lo resuelto.

Al n° 3, tocante a los 200 Pampangos se remite al Arpo. Virrei con facultad para que execute lo que en orden à esto tuviere por mas conveniente y si estimare los inconvenientes que repito de Manuel de Leon vea si con otro genero de gentes de Islas ó de aquel Reino se puede socorrer à las Marianas, y obre en todo lo que tuviere por mas del servicio de Dios y de Su Mgd.

Lo mismo sobre lo contenido en el n° 4.

Al n° 5 se da facultad al mismo Virrey para que nombre sugeto y le embie de las prendas que se dice señalando le el sueldo que juzgare competente, y prometiendole que los servicios que alli hiciere le seran premiados teniendole presente para los ascensos à otros gobiernos, y sobre esto se haga consulta à Su Mgd. ponderando la importancia de los progresos en la propagacion de la fee.

En quanto al n° 6 que se participe su contenido al Arpo. Virrey para que dé la Instruccion que tuviere por mas conveniente.

Al n° 7 va satisfecho en el n° 5.

*S.E. y Señores: Valdes, Santelices, O[choa] Bernabe, Laguna.
 Executado todo.*

Translation.

The Council, 3 July 1679.

In view of the aide-mémoire on the enclosed sheet that the President brought into the Council and the other paper that comes with that from the Secretariat, and the letter from the Governor of the Philippines written on 31 May 1674, the following has been decided:

To Numbers 1 & 2: already resolved.

To N° 3, regarding the 200 Pampangos: it is referred to the Archbishop Viceroy with the authorization to execute whatever he may find most useful, and after considering the disadvantages which I copy from Manuel de León he is to see whether or not another kind of people from the Islands or from that Kingdom could go to the relief of

the Marianas, and he is to act in everything as best he can for the service of God and that of His Majesty.

The same thing regarding the contents of N° 4.

To N° 5, the same Viceroy is given authorization to appoint an individual with the qualities that are mentioned, and he is to send him along with the salary that he thinks suitable, and promising him that the services performed overthere will be rewarded and taken into consideration for promotions to other governments, and regarding this matter some recommendations are given to His Majesty,¹ in consideration of the importance of the progress in the propagation of the faith.

With regards to N° 6, its contents is to be reported to the Archbishop Viceroy so that he will give him the Instruction that he may think befits the situation.

To N° 7, it is already satisfied in N° 5.

[Initialed by:] His Excellency and Gentlemen members: Valdés, Santelices, O[choa] Bernabe, Laguna.

Everything complete.

1 Ed. note: See next document.

Documents 1679K

The appointment of Antonio Saravia as Governor of the Marianas

General sources: AGI Fil. 3-2-114 & -115; AGI Fil. 82- 6-257 to -259; and Fil. 331, libro 7; also in AGI Ultramar 562, col. Simancas, folios 29-31; copy in Colección Pastells, Fil. 2, pp. 369- 370; AGN Reales Cédulas.

K1. Deliberations of the Council of the Indies, dated Madrid 3 July 1679

Original text in Spanish.

Consejo de Indias á 3 de Julio de 1679: Sobre que comvendra dar facultad al Virrey de Nueva España para que nombre y embié Gobernador ó Cavo que tenga á su cargo las Islas Marianas.

Señor.

Por diferentes despachos de V.M. y de la Reyna Nuestra Señora, se ha encargado al Virrey de la Nueva España y al Gobernador de Filipinas el fomento de todo lo que conduzca al bien logro de la mision que tienen á su cargo los religiosos de la Compañia de Jesus en las Islas Marianas, y como mas cercano á ellas, á ido dando cuenta el Virrey á V.M. en las mas ocasiones que ha habido de lo que ha obrado, diciendo los religiosos que pasaban, el habiamiento y socorro con que les asistia, y que para que tubiesen algun resguardo les habia dado 40 soldados cuyos sueldos les hacia pagar de la real hacienda lo cual se le ha aprobado.

Ahora una persona celosa del servicio de Dios y de V.M. ha dado un papel á mi el Duque de Medinaceli en que representa necesitan las Islas Marianas (que han reducido y van reduciendo los religiosos) de Gobernador ó Cavo que gobierne lo temporal de ellas que no solo sea soldado de valor y experimentado, sino muy cristiano y virtuoso, para que discipline la infanteria la corrija y enfrene y á su exemplo le imiten los avitadores en aquellas partes, donde los naturales son escesivamente dados al vicio.

Habiendose visto en el Consejo y considerando la gravedad de la materia por el gran fruto que se puede esperar de los progresos de esta mision en la propagacion de la fé, á

que es tan justo y tan del real Católico ánimo de V.M. y obligacion asistir por todos aquellos medios que conduzcan al intento. Parece al Consejo podría V.M. servirse dar facultad al Arzobispo Virrey de Nueva España, para que nombre sugeto que sea Gobernador ó Cavo de la infanteria, y demas gente que residiere en las Marianas, encargandole le embie de las prendas referidas, señalandole el sueldo que juzgare competente, y prometiendole que los servicios que alli hiziere le serán premiados, teniendole presente para los ascensos á otros Gobiernos.

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

Madrid á 3 de Julio de 1679.

El Duque de Medinaceli,

D. Tomas de Valdés,

D. Juan de Santelices,

D. Bernabé Ochoa,

Marques de la Laguna.

Como parece, D. José de Veytia.

Acordada el mismo día.

Translation.

The Council of the Indies, 3 July 1679: Concerning the appropriateness of letting the Viceroy of New Spain appoint the Governor or Commander who would be in charge of the Mariana Islands.

Sire:

In various despatches by Y.M. and by the Queen our Lady, the Viceroy of New Spain and the Governor of the Philippines have been entrusted with the development of everything that may lead to the good success of the mission that the Religious of the Society of Jesus have in the Mariana Islands, and as someone closer to them, the Viceroy has reported to Y.M. on as many occasions as there were on what he has done, reporting on the Religious who were passing through, the outfitting and succor which he provided to them, and in order for them to have some protection on having given them 40 soldiers whose wages he ordered paid out of the royal treasury, which was later approved.

Now then, a person zealous in the service of God and of Y.M. has presented a paper to me, Duke of Medinaceli, in which the idea is put forward that the Mariana Islands (that the religious have reduced and are reducing) need a Governor or Commander to govern their material affairs, that he should not only be a valorous and experienced soldier but also very Christian and virtuous, in order to discipline the infantry, correct it and restrain it, and serve as an example for the inhabitants of those parts, where the natives are exceedingly addicted to vice.

This having been seen in the Council and considering the seriousness of the matter on account of the great fruit that can be hoped from the progress of this mission in the propagation of the faith, something that is so just and so much to the liking of the Royal Catholic mind of Y.M. and an obligation to help by all means that may achieve the

purpose intended: the Council is of the opinion that Y.M. could give authority to the Archbishop Viceroy of New Spain to appoint an individual to become Governor or Commander of the infantry, and other people who might reside in the Marianas, and that he should be told to send one with the above-mentioned qualifications, and to fix a salary for him that he thinks proper, and to promise him that the services that he might perform there will be rewarded, and taken into account for promotions to other governments.

Y.M. will order what your royal will decides.

Madrid, 3 July 1679.

The Duke of Medinaceli,

Don Tomás de Valdés,

Don Juan de Santelices,

Don Bernabé Ochoa,

Marquis of La Laguna.

As it appears, Don José de Veitia.

Granted on the same day.

K2. Letter from the King to the Viceroy, dated Madrid 11 July 1679

Sources: Original copies in AGI Fil. 82-6-258 & -259; also in AGI Fil. 331, libro 7, fol. 282-282v, pp. 587-588.

Important note: It appears that this letter was never mailed, because of what follows, and also because the two original copies, signed by the King himself, are still on file.

Original text in Spanish.

El Rey

Al Virrey de la N^a España que nombre y embie Governador o cabo que tenga a su cargo las Islas Marianas.

[Note in margin:] *Ojo. Esta resolucio[n] se altero despues, ymbiandole de España.*

Muy Rdo. in Christo Padre Don Fray Payo de Rivera Arzobispo de la Iglesia Metropolitana de la Ciudad de Mexico de mi Consejo, mi Virrey Governador y Capitan General de la N^a España y Presidente de mi Audiencia de ella en interin, ó à la persona, ó personas a cui[o] cargo fuere su gobierno.

Bien saveis lo mucho que he deseado la reducion de los naturales de las Islas Marianas que tiene a su cargo la religion de la Compañia de Jhs, y los medios que he tenido por bien se les apliquen para su fomento; y agora se me ha representado que necesitan de Governador ó cabo que gobierne lo temporal de ellas.

Y havindose visto en mi Consejo de las Indias, y consultadoseme sobre ello; he rresuelto daros facultad (como por la presente os la doi y conçedo) para que nombreis sugeto que sea Governador ó cabo de la Infanteria y de mas gente que residiere en las Marianas, y os encargo y mando le ymbieis à ellas en la primera ocasion que se ofrezca, y que no solo sea soldado de balor y experimentado, sino mui christiano y virtuoso

para que diçipline la Infanteria[,] la corrija y enfrene, y a su exemplo le ymiten los avitadores en aquellas partes. Al qual le señalareis el tiempo y sueldo que juzgaredes por competente, prometiendole que los servicios que alli hiçiere le seran premiados teniendole presente para los asçensos à otros Governos; y en la ynstruçion que le dieredes (si os pareciere) le advirtireis que de lo que obrare me ha de dar quenta siempre que se ofrezca comunicandose tambien con vos y vuestros subçesores, con el Governador de Philipinas y con el superior de los religiosos que tubieren à su cargo aquella mision para que se porte con el desvelo y atencion correspondiente a lo que se le fia, pues con esto y sabiendo que ha de ser residençiado atendera al cumplimiento de su obligaçion; y en quanto a estos puntos de la In[s]truçion lo dejo a vuestro arbitrio para que le hagais las prevençiones que tubieredes por mas combenientes; y del sugeto que eligieredes y calidades que en el concurrieren con lo demas que en esto obraredes me dareis quenta.

Fha en Madrid a onze de Julio de mill y seiscientos y setenta y nueve años.

Yo el Rey.

Por mandado del Rey nuestro Señor,

Don Joseph de Veitia Linage.

Señalada del Consejo.

Translation.

The King

To the Viceroy of New Spain, to let him appoint and send a Governor or commander to take charge of the Mariana Islands.

[Note in margin:] Caution! This resolution was altered later on, and he was sent from Spain.

Most Reverend Father in Christ Don Fray Payo de Rivera, Archbishop of the Metropolitan Church of the City of Mexico, member of my Council, my Viceroy, Governor and Captain General of New Spain and President of my Audiencia there by interim, or to the person, or persons, in whose charge their government may be.

Your know very well how I have desired the reduction of the natives of the Mariana Islands which are in the care of the Order of the Society of Jesus, and the means the application of which I have encouraged for their development; and now it has been represented to me that they need a Governor or Commander to be in charge of material things.

And this having been seen in my Council of the Indies, and following their recommendations, I have decided to give you authority (as I by the present do give and grant you) for appointing an individual to become Governor or Officer in charge of the Infantry and of other people who may reside in the Marianas, and I entrust and order you to send him there at the first opportunity that presents itself, and he should be not only a valorous and experienced soldier but also very Christian and virtuous, so that he may discipline the Infantry, correct it and restrain it, and serve as an example for the inhabitants of those parts to imitate. You are to fix an appropriate term of office and a salary for him, according to your judgment, and are to promise him that the services

that he might perform there will be rewarded, and taken into account for promotions to other governments; and in the Instruction that you will give him (should you think it appropriate) he is to be advised that he is to report to me at every opportunity, and be in contact with you and your successors as well, with the Governor of the Philippines and with the superior of the Religious who are in charge of that mission, to make sure that he will behave with due care in everything entrusted to him, given that this advice, plus the knowledge that he will be subject to a management audit afterwards, will ensure the accomplishment of his duty; and as far as these points of the Instruction are concerned, I leave it to your judgment to write the appropriate details. You are to give me a report about the individual that you have selected and the pertinent qualifications that you have found in him, as well as about the other actions that you have taken in the matter.

Made at Madrid, 11 July 1679.

I, the King.

By order of the King our Lord,

Don José de Veitia Linage.

Countersigned by the Council.

K3. Deliberations of the Council of the Indies, dated Madrid 19 July 1679

Sources: As above; copy in Colección Pastells, Fil. 2, pp. 371-372, and Fil. 17, fol. 236-236v.

Notes: They examined a list of potential candidates for the post of Governor and Captain General of the Marianas with the rank of Master-of-Camp [i.e. Colonel]. They chose Lieutenant Master-of-camp Don Antonio de Saravia and promoted him to Master-of-camp. He arrived at Guam in 1681 and died there in 1683.

Original text in Spanish.

Camara de Indias á 19 de Julio de 1679: Propone personas para el cargo de Gobernador y Capitan General de las Islas Marianas con el grado y sueldo de Maestre de Campo. Nombro al Teniente de Maestre de Campo D. Antonio de Sarabia, con el grado y sueldo que se propone.

Señor.

En consulta del Consejo de 3 de este mes fué V.M. servido de resolver se diese facultad al Arzobispo Virrey de Nueva España para que nombre y embie Gobernador ó Cabo que tenga á su cargo las Islas Marianas nuevamente reducidas por los religiosos de la Compañía de Jesus, señalándole el sueldo que juzgare ser competente y prometándole que los servicios que alli hiziere le serán premiados, teniéndole presente para los ascensos á otros Gobiernos, encargándole que no solo sea soldado de valor experimentado sino muy Cristiano y virtuoso para que discipline la infanteria[,] la corrija y enfrene; y á su exemplo le imiten los havitadores en aquellas partes, donde los naturales son escesivamente dados al vicio.

Y considerando la Cámara que de la dilacion de embiar quien gobierne aquellas Islas pueden resultar graves inconvenientes, no adelantadose la reduccion de aquellos naturales de que tanto se ha an[h]elado por todo los medios posibles aplicados por el Católico y piadoso celo de V.M. sino que antes se puede temer la minoracion no teniendo alli persona que cuide y asista á su fomento, con la eficacia que se requiere, y que aunque del celo del Virrey se puede fiar que embiaria la que fuese á proposito para este empleo: Tambien se puede temer el que no la halle en la Nueva España, por lo falto que está de sugetos venemeritos y de graduacion, por que los que han ido á servir officios, ó los estarán exerciendo, ó se escusarán de ir á este Gobierno por ser tierra en que tan nuevamente se ha plantado la fé, y no reconocer utilidades humanas.

Y asi ha parecido á la Cámara buscar en las personas que hay aproposito en estos Reynos las que juzga por mas combenientes para ser Gobernador y Capitan general en las Islas descubiertas y que se descubrieren en las Marianas todo el tiempo que V.M. tubiere por bien. Proponiendolas á V.M. en esta Consulta por la graduacion que en ella se dirá, cuyos méritos se contienen en las relaciones inclusas, siendo de parecer que para alentar al que V.M. nombrare, se sirva V.M. graduarle de Maestre de Campo, señalándole los 110 escudos que por tal le tocan de sueldo al mes, los cuales se mande al Virrey, le haga pagar de qualquier hacienda real que hubiere, ó entrare en la Caxa de Mexico en el interin que las Marianas produzcan efectos de que poder lo hacer.

En primo lugar el Teniente de Maestre de Campo D. Antonio de Sarabia, en segundo D. Antonio Valenzuela, el tercero Don Antonio Hidalgo de Cisneros. De estos ú otros sugetos nombrará V.M. el que fuere servido.

Madrid á 19 de Julio de 1679.

Duque de Medinaceli,

D. Tomas de Valdés,

Marques de Mejorada.

Acordada el mismo dia. Nombro el Theniente de Maestre de Campo General Don Antonio de Saravia con el Grado y sueldo que se propone.

Publicada en 7 de Agosto.

D. José de Veitia.

Translation.

Committee of the Council of the Indies, 19 July 1679: They put forward the names of persons for the post of Governor and Captain General of the Mariana Islands with the rank and salary of Master-of-camp [i.e. Colonel]. He appointed Lieutenant-Colonel Don Antonio de Saravia, with the proposed rank and salary.

Sire:

In the consultation of the Council held on the 3rd of this month, Y.M. was pleased to decide that the Archbishop Viceroy of New Spain be given the authority to appoint and send a Governor or Commander to be in charge of the Mariana Islands newly reduced by the Religious of the Society of Jesus, and to pick an appropriate salary and promising him that his services there will be rewarded and taken into account for pro-

motions to other governments, entrusting him to select one who would be not only a valorous and experienced soldier but a very Christian and virtuous one, for him to discipline the infantry, correct it and restrain it; and he is to serve as an example to the inhabitants of those parts, where the natives are exceedingly addicted to vice.

And the Committee having considered that the delay in sending someone to govern those Islands could result in serious disadvantages, and not result in some progress in the reduction of those natives, which has been the intense desire of the Catholic and pious zeal of Y.M. to achieve by all means possible; to the contrary, it might be feared that it be slowed down, if a person is not sent to take care of its development, with the efficiency that is required, and although the zeal of the Viceroy can be trusted upon for the despatch of an appropriate person for this employment: Nevertheless it can be feared that one such person cannot be found in New Spain, for the lack overthere of worthy individuals of the appropriate rank, because those who have gone there to fill posts would either be effectively filling them, or would have an excuse not to take charge of this government, given that it is a land where the faith has been so recently planted, and they may not see any human advantages in it [for themselves].

So, the Committee has seen fit to look for appropriate candidates in these Kingdoms among those available to become Governor and Captain General in the Islands already discovered and yet to be discovered in the Marianas, for a term that Y.M. should find proper. In this consultation they are being proposed to Y.M. by order of merit, and such merits are described in the attached narratives, and it is of the Committee's opinion that, in order to encourage the one that Y.M. will appoint, Y.M. should be pleased to promote him to Master-of-camp, and to fix 100 escudos as a monthly salary for him, and the Viceroy should be ordered to pay said salary out of whatever source of funds that can be found, or due to the Treasury of Mexico, as long as the Marianas do not produce an income sufficient to absorb it:

In first place is Lieutenant of Master-of-camp¹ Don Antonio de Saravia; in second place Don Antonio Valenzuela; third place Don Antonio Hidalgo de Cisneros. Y.M. may appoint one of the above, or anyone else you please.²

Madrid, 19 July 1679.

The Duke of Medinaceli,

Don Tomás de Valdés,

Marquis of Mejorada.

Granted on same day. Published on 7 August.

Don José de Veitia.

1 Ed. note: The year 1679 marks the first time we meet with this newly-created military rank equivalent to Lieutenant-Colonel in the Spanish army.

2 Ed. note: This last paragraph, with the names of the candidates, is not part of the original draft, which is in AGI Fil. 82-6-257. It should be noted that the candidate preferred by the Jesuits, Zelaeta, is not listed here; he did not meet the first qualification, that of being an army officer. As for Captain Quiroga, his rank was not high enough for promotion to Colonel.

K4. Letter from the King to the Viceroy, dated Madrid 26 August 1679

Sources: AGI Fil. 331, libro 7, fol. 284v-285v, pp. 592-594; AGN Reales Cédulas, vol. 17, decree n° 32. Note: A duplicate copy was given to Don Antonio de Saravia.

Original text in Spanish.

El Rey.

Al Virrey de la N^a España avisandole que V. Magd. ha nombrado por Governador y Capitan General de las Islas Marianas a Don Antonio de Saravia para que disponga que quanto antes pase a ellas, y execute lo demas que ariva se rrefiere.

Muy Rdo in Christo Padre Don Frai Payo de Rivera Arzobispo de la Iglesia Metropolitana de la çiudad de Mexico de mi Consejo, mi Virrey Governador y Capitan General de la N^a España y Presidente de mi Audiencia de ella en interin ó a la persona ó personas a cuió cargo fuere su gobierno; el gran deseo que he tenido y tengo de la conseruacion y aumento de las Islas Marianas me ha obligado à considerar lo mucho que importara ymbiar à ellas persona de experiencia valor y virtud que deçipline y corrija a los avitadores y naturales de ellas; y porque estas y otras buenas partes concurren en la del Maestre [de] Campo Don Antonio de Saravia, he tenido por bien de nombrarle por mi Governador y Capitan General de aquellas Islas con el grado y sueldo del puesto referido de Maestre de Campo, como mas particularmente lo entendereis por el Titulo y Provision en forma que le he dado y presentara ante vos, y respecto de que en el le mando haç.er bueno el sueldo desde el dia que se hiçiere a la vela en San Lucar ó Cadiz para ir à servir el dho puesto (cuió viage à ofreçido haçer con la primera ocasion que aya para esas Provinçias) y de lo mucho que conbendra que quanto antes llegue a exercerle os encargo y mando dispongais que con la mas proxima envarcacion que hubiere de yr ó pasar por las Marianas haga su viage a ella el dho Governador Don Antonio de Saravia llevando consigo todo lo que estubiere prompto y se hubiere de remitir à dhas Islas, asi para la Infanteria que las guarneçe como para los Religiosos que estan entendiendo en la reduçion y enseñanza de aquellos naturales y si os pareçiere le advirtireis y dareis Instruçion de lo que juzgaredes combendra que execute, asi en la parte de comunicarse con vos y vuestros sucesores, como con el Governador de Philipinas, y con el superior de los religiosos que tubieren à su cargo aquella mision, lo qual con lo demas que se os ofreçiere dejo à vuestro arbitrio para que dispongais y hagais executar todo lo que tubieredes por mas conveniente al seruiçio de Dios y mio, y del recivo de este despacho y de lo que en su virtud executaredes me dareis quenta que para que se halle enterado de su contenido el dho Don Antonio de Saravia y os le lleve y entregue he mandado darle duplicado de el.

Fha en Madrid a veinte y seis de Agosto de mill y seisçientos y setenta y nueve años.

Yo el Rey.

Por mandado del Rey nuestro Señor, Don Joseph de Veitia Linage.

Señalada del Consejo.

Translation.

The King

To the Viceroy of New Spain advising him that His Majesty has appointed Don Antonio de Saravia as Governor and Captain General of the Mariana Islands, so that he may arrange for him to go there as soon as possible, and carry out the other above-mentioned things.

Most Reverend Father in Christ Don Fray Payo de Rivera, Archbishop of the Metropolitan Church of the City of Mexico, member of my Council, my Viceroy, Governor and Captain General of New Spain and President of my Audiencia there on an interim basis, or to the person or persons in whose charge the government may be.

The great desire that I had and have to preserve and develop the Mariana Islands has obliged me to consider the importance of sending there persons with experience, valor and virtue to discipline and correct their inhabitants and natives. Because I have been recommended Master-of-Camp Don Antonio de Saravia by all concerned, I have seen fit to appoint him as Governor and Captain General of those islands, with the rank and salary of the said post as a Master-of-camp, in accordance with the specific letter of appointment and order to that effect (attached). Regarding his salary, I order you to make it effective as of the day he is to sail from San Lúcar or Cádiz to go and serve in the said post, which voyage he has volunteered to make at the first opportunity of a ship to those parts. As it is proper that he starts carrying out his duties as soon as he arrives, I order you to make arrangements for the said Governor, Don Antonio de Saravia, to go aboard the first vessel available that will pass by the Marianas, taking along everything that belongs to him or is necessary to remit to the said Islands, for the infantry that is garrisoned there, as well as for the religious who look after the religious and educational needs of those natives.

Should you consider it desirable, you may give him the appropriate Instructions regarding what is proper for him to do in communications with you and your successors, as well as with the Governor of the Philippines, and the Superior of the Religious who happens to be responsible for that Mission. This, and anything else, I leave to your judgment, in order that arrangements be made for the greater convenience of God's service and mine, and, upon receipt of this despatch, you are to acknowledge it and report to me about the arrangements that were made within your sphere. In order for the said Don Antonio de Saravia to be aware of its content, and to take and deliver it to you, I have ordered that he be given a duplicate of the present.

Made at Madrid, on 26 August 1679.

I the King.

By order of the King our Lord,
Joseph de Veitia Linage.

Countersigned by the Council.

Document 1679L

Royal order for the colonization of the Marianas

Sources: AGI Fil. 331, libro 7, fol. 283-284v, pp. 589-592; duplicate copy in RAH 9/2677.

Letter from the King to the Viceroy, dated Madrid 11 July 1679

Original text in Spanish.

El Rey

Al Virrey de la N^a España para [sic] dandole facultad para que execute lo que tubiere por mas convèniente sobre ymbiar a las Islas Marianas familias, y Pampangos u otro genero de gentes.

Muy Rdo. in Christo Padre Don Fray Payo de Rivera Arzobispo de la Iglesia Metropolitana de la Ciudad de Mexico de mi Consejo mi Virrey Governador y Capitan General de la N^a España y Presidente de mi Audiencia della ó a la persona ó las personas à cuió cargo fuere su gobierno.

Por despacho de diez y seis de Noviembre del año de mill y seiscientos y setenta y uno, tubo por vien la Reyna mi Señora mi Madre, mandar à Don Manuel de Leon que fuere Governador y Capitan General de las Islas Philipinas, se correspondiese con el Marques de Mançera, sirviendo esos cargos para disponer el cambio de doçientos Indios Pampangos de aquellas Islas con otros tantos de las Marianas; y satisfaciendo a este orden[,] en carta de treinta y uno de Mayo de mill y seis y setenta y quatro, me dio quenta de las incombenientes que se le ofreçian en su ejecuçion diçiendo que a vos os los partiçipava tambien los quales por sino llegaron à vuestra notiçia se reduçen a la gran costa que caviaria la conduçion de estos Pampangos, en seis meses de viage quando mas breve desde Philipinas a esa N^a España, y quatro desde Acapulco a las Marianas, la mucha falta que harian en la Provinçia de donde saliesen, por ser los que mas trabajan en tantas cosas como alli se ofreçen de mi serviçio, que en caso de Guerra son de quien con mas confianza se podia hechar mano, y que asi mil de los Marianas no llenarian el baçio de los doçientos Pampangos de mas de que no los havia tan sobra-

*dos que pudiese desaçerse deste numero, sin haçer gran falta, pues mientras los unos se ocupavan en mi serviçio, trabajavan los otros en la lavor de sus sementeraz de arroz para su sustento y el abasto de la çiudad de Manila y aora una persona çelosa del serviçio de Dios y uno mio me ha reepresentado que para el buen logro de la reduçion de las Islas Marianas es preçiso poner en ellas el **Presidio de los doçientos Pampangos** y que para sustento vastara lo mismo que se da a los çinquenta soldados de la Sinaloa, que son mill y tresçientos para los quales por no correr en las Marianas oro, plata, ni moneda, combendria se empleasen en esa çiudad de Mexico en vestidos y demas cosas neçessarias para repartirlas en los soldados de su guarniçion; y que tambien combendra llevar a las Marianas, una doçena de familias de personas virtuosas de Philipinas, y de Mexico.*

Y haviendose visto en mi Consejo de las Indias, deseando por todos los medios posibles el fomento de la mision de las Marianas, he tenido por bien daros facultad (como por la presente os la doi y conçedo) para que ejecuteis lo que en orden a esto punto de embiar a ellas familias y los doçientos Pampangos referidos, tubieredes por mas conveniente y estimareis los yncombenientes que en quanto a estos representa Don Manuel de Leon, os encargo y mando veais si con otro genero de gentes de Islas ó de ese Reyno, se puede socorrer a las Marianas, y en todo obrareis lo que tubiereis por mas del serviçio de Dios y mio y de lo que executaredes me dareis quenta en las ocasiones que ofreçiren.

Fha en Madrid à onze de Julio de mill y siesçientos y setenta y nueve años.

Yo el Rey.

Por mandado del Rey nuestro Señor,

Don Joseph de Veitia Linage.

Señalada del Consejo.

Translation.

The King ³

To the Viceroy of New Spain giving him authorization to carry out what he would find most adequate regarding the despatch to the Mariana Islands of some families, and Pampangos or another kind of people.

Most Reverend Father in Christ, Don Fray Payo de Rivera, Archbishop of the Metropolitan Church of the City of Mexico, member of my Council, my Viceroy, Governor and Captain General of New Spain and President of my Audiencia there, or to the person or persons in whose charge its government may be.

In a despatch dated 16 November of the year 1671, the Queen my Lady and Mother did think it appropriate to order Don Manuel de León who was to become Governor and Captain General of the Philippine Islands, to correspond with the Marquis of Mancera, to please use his good offices in order to arrange the exchange of 200 Pampangos Indians of those Islands with as many from the Marianas; and in satisfaction of this order, in a letter dated 31 May 1674, he gave me a report on the disadvantages that would result in its execution, saying that he would also let you know about them; in

case they have not reached you, suffice to say that he mentioned the great expenditures that the transport of these Pampangos would entail, during the minimum of six months that the voyage from the Philippines to New Spain lasts, and four months from Aca-pulco to the Marianas, plus the great shortage [of people] that would result in the Province of their origin, given that they are the ones who work in so many things there having to do with my service, for instance, in case of war, they are the most trustworthy ones that can be called upon, and that 1,000 Marianos would not begin to fill the void left by these 200 Pampangos. Furthermore, [he says that] there is no excess of them as to be able to do without this quantity, without creating a great shortage; indeed, while some of them were busy in my service, the others work in their rice plantations for their own sustentation and the provisioning of the city of Manila.

Now then, a person who is zealous of the service of God and mine has represented to me that for the sure accomplishment of the reduction of the Mariana Islands, it is necessary to place in them a **garrison of 200 Pampangos** and that for their maintenance it would be sufficient to give them what is given to the soldiers in Sinaloa, that is 1,300 pesos; given that there is no currency, either of gold, silver or coins, circulating in the Marianas, it would be proper to spend this money in that city of Mexico on clothes and other necessary things in order to distribute them among the soldiers of the garrison; and that it would also be proper to take to the Marianas a dozen families of virtuous persons from the Philippines, and from Mexico.

And this having been seen in my Council of the Indies, wishing by all means possible to develop the Mariana Mission, I have decided to give you authorization (as by the present I do give and grant you) so that you may carry out what you think appropriate concerning this order to send the above-mentioned families and 200 Pampangos overthere, and you shall weigh the disadvantages mentioned with respect to the latter point by Don Manuel de León, and I entrust and order you to see whether or not the Marianas can be relieved with another kind of people from the Islands or from that Kingdom. In everything you are to act for the greater service of God and mine, and you are to give me a report on your actions at every opportunity that may offer itself.

Made at Madrid, 11 July 1679.

I, the King.

By order of the King our Lord,

Don José de Veitia Linage.

Countersigned by the Council.

Documents 1679M

Fr. Anthony Thomas and the Duchess of Aveiro, 1679-1680

M1. Proposal for a charitable foundation in the Marianas

Sources: 3-page ms. presently located in the Sonkei Kaku Library of the Maeda Ikutoku Kai Foundation in Tokyo; published by Yushodo, Tokyo, 1975. Originally sold by Maggs Bros. of London in 1924 (Cat. N° 455, n° 1293, p. 78).

Fundatio Missionis Marianæ proponenda R.P. Generali **[Foundation of the Mariana Mission proposed to the Fr. General]**

Draft of a proposal to the General of the Jesuits concerning the spending of an endowment of 20,000 ducats for the foundation of a mission in the Mariana Islands, where missionaries for Japan and China might be trained.

1. It should be announced that the founder has the intention of assigning 20,000 ducats for the foundation of a mission. Although he leaves the distribution of this sum to the discretion of the General, he much hopes that it will be spent in the following way.

2. It should be proposed to found two Colleges, one on an island in the North, and the other in the East, each with a Seminary attached to it, to instruct aborigines, who will later become either priests or catechists.

3. The College in the North shall be obliged to support and instruct six disciples for Japan, and six for China, and in case in some year that total should not be reached, the number should be proportionately increased during the following years. The remaining disciples will be destined for the missions north of the equator.

4. The College in the East should educate the Seminary disciples for the support of the missions in the islands south of the equator, and of the region to the East [i.e. the Carolines?], when a mission is established there.

5. Each Seminary will be responsible for the expenses incurred for voyages, the taking of holy orders, the journey to the missions, or the return to their country of the disciples for Japan and China. They must admit sick or aged priests, who are old disciples, and have labored since in the vineyard of the Lord. The same applies to catechists.

6. Two infirmaries should be erected, one for men and one for women, to which in the first place will be admitted the aged parents of priests and catechists, if they be of proven Christian probity, etc.

7. For voyages from Europe to the Marianas there should be set aside a yearly sum of 2000 ducats...

8. It should be requested that this mission be a vice-province, distinct from that of the Philippines. Etc. etc.¹

M2. Letter from Fr. Thomas to the Duchess of Aveiro, dated Seville 16 July 1680

Sources: Present location may be Tokyo; 2-page ms., in Spanish, originally offered for sale by the Maggs Bros. of London in 1923 (Cat. N° 442, n° 1858, p. 133); probably one of the letters bought by Marquis Maeda (ref. book published by Yushodo in Tokyo in 1975). The letter is also cited in S&D V: 907.

Notes: There is another letter (reported by S&D p. 45) said to be from a Fr. Tomás Donvides [or Donvidas] to the Duchess, dated Cádiz 22 September 1680, saying that he is about to sail for the Marianas, but this man is never (again) mentioned in connection with the Marianas. In fact, this Fr. Thomas Donvidas is another person, who ended up as a missionary to Argentina. As for Fr. Anthony Thomas, he headed for China aboard a Portuguese ship by way of India, and reached Macau.

[In July 1680, there were 23 missionaries leaving for the Philippines, Marianas, Paraguay, and Mexico, ready to sail from Cádiz. The ship carrying the the 23 Jesuits came to grief on leaving port.]

“The Religious speedily landing again, and being dispersed among the passengers on board the other ships.”

[The writer states that he is forwarding, through Fr. Pantoja, some books and a history of Paraguay, “which type of history should be read with the spirit and appreciation of Your Grace... accept them as a small token of my gratitude.”

¹ Ed. note: Fr. Anthony Thomas seems to have been suffering from delusions of grandeur; he believed that he had been appointed by God to be the new Apostle of Japan (ref. his other correspondence with the Duchess and the Fr. General in 1680).

Documents 1679N

The missionaries who did not leave Spain in 1678, but only in 1680

N1. Letter from Fr. Pantoja to the Council of the Indies

Source: AGI Fil. 82-7-281. Note: The date of this document is not stated, but it was written in February 1680.

Original text in Spanish.

Alonso Pantoja de la Compañía de Jhs Procurador General de Indias.

Señor

Alonso Pantoja de la Compañía de Jesus Procurador General de las Provincias de Indias: Dize que por zedula de V.A. de 20 de Jullio del año passado de 1677 se conzedieron a la Provincia de Filipinas y Marianas treinta y seis Religiosos, y quatro Coadjutores, y que fuessen a cargo de Pedro de Espinar de la misma Compañía, y por otra Real zedula su fecha a 21 de maio de 1678 en que se sobrecarto la antzedente, fue V.A. servido de librar sobre los ofiziales de la Real Haçienda de la Ciudad de La Vera Cruz y Mexico lo que ubiessen de aver por su aviamiento, viatico y entretenimiento, por no aver con que satisfacer lo que esto importasse en la cassa de la Contratazion de Sevilla, donde aviendo acudido se dio Zertificazion para que dhos ofiziales Reales pagassen a Francisco Salgado que en virtud de orden de V.A. fue en lugar del dho Pedro de Espinar lo que ubiessen de aver por esta razon y assimismo despacho de embarcazion al dho Francisco Salgado de 36 Religiosos y 4 Coadjutores en cuió numero, en virtud de la facultad conzedida por V.A. a mi Religion, se incluie el terzio de estrangeros, para que passasen a la dha Provincia en la flota que por Jullio de dho año de 678 fue a la N^a España a cargo del General D. Diego de Cordova Lasso de la Vega. Los quales estando en Cadiz, para executar el biage enfermaron por la gran Navegazion que traian y llegar a clima estraño, y nezessitar para el biage de las Indias de embarcarsse, con entera salud, por cuiá razon no le hizieron y solo fueron las otras dos terzias partes a los quales los dhos ofiziales Reales de la Vera Cruz pagaron lo que les toco como pareze

de la zertificazion que presento por la qual se justifica no aver passado los otros y de que quedaron enfermos parece assimismo por zertificazion de Theodomiro Barba, Rector del Colegio de la Ciudad de Cadiz; y por que estos sugetos que dejaron de passar por su indisposizion en la ocassion referida estan prontos para azer el viaje a que se dedicaron siendo V.A. servido de permitirlo en la flota que este año a de ir a aquella Provincias a cargo del General Don Gaspar de Velasco.

Pide y supplica a V.A. se sirva el mandar se de el despacho nezessario para que el dicho terzio de sugettos que falta agan el biage cuios nombres consta de la memoria que presento que son los mismos que avian de ir en la flota antezedente, mandando a los ofiziales Reales de la Real Hazienda de la Vera Cruz y Mexico paguen al Religioso que fuere por superior de ellos lo que dejaron de satisfazerles del aviamiento, viatico, y entretenimiento librado a todos en la Cassa de la Contratazion de Sevilla, y ademas dello la cantidad que V.A. fuere servido en atenzion a la demora que an tenido dos años en el Collegio de San Hermenjildo de la Ciudad de Sevilla, como constta de la Zertificazion de Juan de Azevedo Retor de el, que presento que son desde Julio de 678 astta Jullio de 80 por aversse gastado en su sustentazion y curazion mucho dinero, mayormente habiendo sido dhos dos años tan caros como a V.A. es notorio, y no aver ssido echo suio propio, el quedarsse, sino el accidente referido por cuia razon y la de aver gran falta en las Islas Filipinas y Marianas de Ministros evanjelicos se espera de la gran piedad, y Catolico zelo de V.A. conzedera lo referido por ser muy del servizio de Dios Nuestro Señor.

Translation.

Alonso Pantoja of the Society of Jesus, Procurator General of the Indies.

Sire:

Alonso Pantoja of the Society of Jesus, Procurator General of the Provinces of the Indies: Declares that by decree of Your Highness dated 20 July of the past year of 1677 a total of 36 Religious and 4 Coadjutors were granted to the Province of the Philippines and Marianas, and Pedro de Espinar of the same Society was to be in charge of them, and by another Royal decree dated 21 May 1678 in which the previous decree was substantiated, Your Highness was pleased to tell the officials of the Royal Treasury in the City of Veracruz and in Mexico to deliver to them what they had for their outfitting, travel expenses and maintenance, because there was nothing to meet these expenditures with in the House of Trade in Seville, where a request was made for and a Certification issued so that said Royal officials would pay to Francisco Salgado, who by virtue of an order from Your Highness went in replacement of said Pedro de Espinar, what there they had to for said purpose, and in addition there was issued to said Francisco Salgado the despatch for the embarkation of 36 Religious and 4 Coadjutors, among which number, by virtue of the authorization granted by Your Highness to my order, are included the third part of foreigners, so that they would go on to said Province aboard

the fleet that by July of said year of 1678 went to New Spain under the command of General Diego de Cordova Laso de la Vega.¹ However, while the latter were in Cadiz to embark, they became sick, on account of the long navigation they had made and arrival at a foreign climate, and since they have to be in good health before they can embark for the voyage to the Indies, they did not board, and only the other two-thirds went. To these, said royal officials at Veracruz paid what concerned them, as it appears in the certification that he presented, which is proof that the others did not travel, and proof of their sickness similarly appears in a certification of Theodomiro Barba, Rector of the College of the City of Cadiz; and because these individuals who failed to pass to the Indies on account of their indisposition on the above-mentioned occasion are now ready to make the voyage for which they are dedicated, Your Highness may be pleased to allow them to go aboard the fleet that is going this year to those Provinces under the command of General Don Gaspar de Velasco.²

He begs and beseeches Your Highness to please order that he be given the necessary despatch for the said third part of the individuals who have yet to make the voyage, whose names appear on the list he presented and are the same ones who had to go aboard the previous fleet, ordering the Royal officials of the Royal Treasury in Veracruz and Mexico to pay to the Religious who will eventually go as their Superior what remains to be satisfied by way of outfits, travel expenses, and maintenance delivered to all of them in the House of Trade in Seville, and in addition the sum that Your Highness will be pleased to give with respect to the delay of two years that they have spent in the College of San Hermenegildo in the City of Seville, as appears in the Certification of Juan de Azevedo, its Rector, which he presented, which is from July 1678 until July 1680, given that much money has been spent on their sustenance and medical expenses, specially given that these past two years have been expensive as Your Highness knows, and because the delay was not of their making, but an accident as mentioned above, for which reason it is hoped from the great piety and Catholic zeal of Your Highness that you will grant the above, as it is very much to the service of God our Lord.

N2. Letter from Fr. Theodomiro Barba to the Council, dated Cádiz 24 January 1680

Source: AGI Fil. 82-7-280.

Note: He gives the names of the Philippine and Mariana missionaries who had stayed behind at Cádiz in 1678, on account of illness.

Original text in Spanish.

El Padre Theodomiro Barba de la Comp^a de Jhs Rector del Colegio de la Ciudad de Cadiz.

1 Ed. note: This fleet reached Veracruz on 15 October 1678.

2 Ed. note: That fleet arrived at Veracruz on 15 September 1680. There was no fleet in 1679.

Certifico que por los papeles del dho Colegio consta que los Religiosos de nuestra Compañia de Jhs que avajo iran nombrados, aviendo llegado a esta Ciudad de Cadiz para embarcarse en Mision a expensas de su Mgd. para las Misiones de las Provincias de Filipinas, y Marianas, en la flota que el Año pasado de mil y seiscientos y setenta y ocho salio de estos Reynos a cargo del General D. Diego de Cordova Laso de Vega: Los dhos Padres con la navegacion de Mar y caminos de Tierra que hiran traído, y novedad de temple enfermaron de modo que no parecio combeniente se embarcasen en dha flota por la contingencia de que el nuevo viage no les ocasionose algun grave accidente o la muerte de muchos: Los nombres de los Padres son los siguientes:

—*P. Juan Baptista Copar*

—*P. Luis Ortiz*

—*P. Juan Baptista Gonzalez*

—*P. Carlos Xavier*

—*P. Juan Baptista Pérez*

—*Pe. Luis de San Basilio*

—*Pe. Luis Turcot*

—*Pe. Luis Xavier*

—*Pe. Juan Escut*

—*Pe. Juan Comans*

—*Pe. Gerardo de Loyola*

—*Cornelio Bander*

Y para que assi conste donde combenga de pedimento del Padre Pedro de Espinar de la Compañia de Jhs Procurador General de Indias en Sevilla doy la presente en Cadiz à veinte y quatro de Henero de mil seiscientos y ochentas.

Theodomiro Barba, S.J.

Rector.

Translation.

I, Father Theodomiro Barba of the Society of Jesus, Rector of the College of the City of Cadiz, do certify that the papers of said College record that the Religious of our Society of Jesus whose names are listed below, upon arriving at this City of Cadiz to join the mission band and go at the expense of His Majesty to the missions of the Provinces of the Philippines and Marianas, aboard the fleet that in the past year 1678 departed these Kingdoms under the command of General Don Diego de Cordova Laso de Vega: Said Fathers became sick as a result of their voyages at sea and overland that they had made, and the novelty of the climate, in such a way that it appeared not proper for them to embark in said fleet for the contingency that the new voyage might cause some serious accident, or even death to many of them. The names of the Fathers are as follows:

—Fr. Juan Bautista Copar[t]

—Fr. Luis Ortiz

—Fr. Juan Bautista Gonzalez

- Fr. Carlos Xavier
- Fr. Juan Bautista Pérez
- Fr. Luis de San Basilio
- Fr. Luis Turcot
- Fr. Luis Xavier
- Fr. Juan Escut
- Fr. Juan Comans
- Fr. Gerardo de Loyola
- Fr. Cornelio Bander

And in faith whereof and to whom it may concern, at the request of Father Pedro de Espinar of the Society of Jesus, Procurator General of the Indies in Seville, I give the present at Cadiz on 24 January 1680.

Theodomiro Barba, S.J.
Rector.

N3. Letter from Fr. Juan Azevedo, dated Seville 30 January 1680

Source: AGI Fil. 82-7-281.

Original text in Spanish.

El Padre Juan de Azevedo de la Comp^a de Jhs Rector del Colegio de San Hermenegildo de esta Ciudad de Sevilla.

Certifico que por los Libros de dho Colegio consta que los Religiosos de nuestra Compañía de Jhs que abajo hiran nombrados, habiendo llegado a Cadiz para embarcarse en Mision a espensas de su Magd. para las Misiones de Filipinas y Marianas en la flota que el año pasado de mil seisçientos y stenta y ocho salio de estos Reynos a cargo del General Don Diego de Cordova Laso de la Vega no pudieron executar su viage por enfermedad que les sobrevino y aviendo venido de dha Ciudad de Cadiz a este Colegio de San Hermenegildo de la de Sevilla el mes de Julio de dho año de 78 an estado y estan en el esperando executar su viage para dha Mision de Filipinas y Marianas en la primera ocasion y flota que se ofrezca.

Los nombres de los Padres son los siguientes:

- Pe. Juan Baupstista Copar
- Pe. Luis Ortiz
- Pe. Juan Baupstista Gonzalez
- Pe. Carlos Xavier
- Pe. Luis de San Basilio
- Pe. Luis Turcot
- Pe. Luis Xavier
- Pe. Juan Escut
- Pe. Juan Comano

—*Pe. Gerardo de Loyola*

—*Cornelio Bander*

Y para que asi conste donde combenga de pidimiento del Pe. Pedro de Espinar de la Comp^a de Jhs Procurator General de Indias en esta Ciudad, doy la presente en Sevilla de treinta de Henero de mil seiscientos y ochenta años.

Joan de Azevedo, Rector.

Translation.

I, Father Juan de Azevedo of the Society of Jesus, Rector of the College of San Hermenegildo of this city of Seville, do certify that, according to the books of said College, it is recorded that, upon arriving at Cadiz to embark on a mission at the expense of His Majesty for the Missions of the Philippines and Marianas aboard the fleet that in the year 1678 departed these Kingdoms under the command of General Don Diego de Cordova Laso de la Vega, they could not undertake their voyage on account of a sickness that occurred to them and having come from said city of Cadiz to this College of San Hermenegildo in the city of Seville in July of said year of 1678, they have been and are still waiting to undertake their voyage for said Mission of the Philippines and Marianas at the first opportunity and fleet that become available.

The names of the Fathers are as follows:

[Same as in N2 above]

...

[The Council of the Indies reviewed Fr. Pantoja's request on 4 April 1680 and decided to authorize the expenditure of 5,800 silver reals as alms to compensate for the expenses made during the two-year delay, as recommended by the Fiscal. Only 24 priests and 4 brothers had left in 1678.]¹

N4. The House of Trade to the King, dated Seville 19 March 1680

Source: AGI Fil. 82-7-283.

Original text in Spanish.

Señor

El Señor Don Joseph de Veytia Linage en carta de 2 de este nos diçe que Alonso Pantoja de la Compañia de Jhs Procurador General de las procinzias de Indias a representado que de los 36 religiosos y 4 coadjutores que para la flota pasada se conzedieron a su Religion para las Philipinas y las Islas Marianas solo pasaron 24 y los coadjutores, y que los demas que eran estrangeros conforme al permiso que tiene se quedaron en Andaluzia por causa de que à la partida acavaban de llegar, de que presen-

¹ Ed. note: Most, if not all, of the above names were fictitious, as can be verified in documents of 1678 and the real names of the missionaries who arrived at Guam in 1681.

to nomina de los nombres y zertificazion de Rector de el Collegio de esta ciudad de haver estado en el desde Jullio de 78 aguardando embarcazion; y otra de los ofiziales Reales de la Vera Cruz de haver pagado solamente el aviamiento[,] viatico y entretenimientto de los 24 Religiosos y 4 coadjutores que fueron aquel año, suplicando à V.M. mande aprovar los 12 que faltan para que se embarquen en la flota de este año y que se les haga bueno lo que pareciere por el tiempo que an estado detenidos y que esto y su aviamiento se les libre en la mesma parte que se pago el de los antezedentes.

Por el informe que a hecho la Contaduria mayor de esta casa sobre lo contenido en esta orden que va inserta en el testimonio adjunto de Juan Garcia, Real Escrivano de ella, juntamente con Petizion del Padre Pedro de Espinar, i de una zerttificazion que presentto de los Oficiales Reales de la Veracruz; mandara ver V.M. como se dio despacho de embarcazion al Padre Francisco Salgado de la misma Comp^a para pasar à N^a España con 40 Religiosos para las Misiones de las Islas Philipinas y Marianas à expensas de la Real Hazienda, los 36 de ellos sazerdottes y los 4 coadjutores en cuyo numero se incluíeron 14 estranjeros por la terçia parte basallos de V.M. conforme al permiso que esta Religion tiene por zedula de 12 de março del año pasado de 674, à los quales se les libro, por otra zedula de V.M. de 21 de mayo de 78 sobre los Ofiziales Reales de la Vera Cruz 541,688 mrs. de plata en platta a cuyo espeçie se redujo el vellon que importo su aviamiento[,] viatico y entrenimiento[,] ajustado lo que toca al entretenimiento por orden del Consejo à raçon de dos reales de platta cada uno al dia.

Y en quantto a si se embarcaron ó no todos los dhos Religiosos no consta en la contaduria, pero por la zerttificacion presentada pareçe solamente se desembarcaron en la Veracruz los 24, y 4 coadjutores; y no obstante havíendose librado enteramente todo lo que importto el gasto de los 40 religiosos como tambien al mestre del Navio en que havian de pasar 1,908 Ducados de platta por sus fletes y pasaje sobre dhos Ofiziales Reales, pareçe que se deve justificar por parte del Padre Alonso Pantoja el que no cobro en Mexico entteramente todo lo que se libro pues si se hubiese cobrado lo que corresponde à los 12 religiosos que se quedaron, se podra aplicar para sus entretenimienttos del tiempo que an estado demorando en esta ziedad, que es lo que se nos ofreçe que informar à V.M. en cuya vista mandara lo que fuere servido.

C.C.R.P. guarde Dios muchos años,

Sevilla y marzo 19 de 1680.

Don Juan Ximenez Montaldo Saravia

Juan Baptista de Aguinagro

Alvaro Gil

Translation.

Sire:

Don José de Veitia Linage, in a letter dated 2nd of this month, tells us that Alonso Pantoja of the Society of Jesus, Procurator General of the provinces of the Indies, has made a representation that out of the 36 religious and 4 coadjutors who had been granted to his Order for the last fleet for the Philippines and Mariana Islands, only 24

[priests] and the coadjutors went forward in 1678, and the others are foreigners in accordance with the license that it has, remained in Andalusia, because at departure time they had just arrived, and that he presented a roll of the names and certification from the Rector of the College of this city that they had remained there from July 1678 awaiting embarkation; and another from the Royal officials in Veracruz, as having paid only for the outfits, travel expenses and maintenance of the 24 Religious and 4 coadjutors who went that year, beseeching Y.M. to please order the approval of the remaining 12, to allow them to embark with this year's fleet and that they be compensated for the time that they have been detained and that this amount plus their outfitting be delivered in the same manner as it was paid out for those who preceded them.

According to the report made by the Main Accounting office of this House, the contents of the order (copy attached) from Juan García, its Royal Notary, as well as the Petition of Father Pedro de Espinar,¹ and that of a certification that he presented from the Royal Officials of Veracruz: Y.M. will please order that it be approved, in view of an embarkation despatch that was delivered to Father Francisco Salgado of the same Society to pass to New Spain with 40 Religious for the Missions of the Philippine and Mariana Islands at the expense of the Royal Treasury, 36 of them being priests and the other 4 coadjutors, including 14 foreigners as the third part, all vassals of Y.M., in accordance with the permit that this Order has by decree of 12 March of the past year 1674,² for whom were obligated, in accordance with another decree of Y.M. dated 21 May 1678, on the Royal officials of Veracruz³ the sum of 541,688 maravedis of money in silver coins, to which form the bullion was reduced, as budgeted for their outfitting, travel expenses and maintenance, with the maintenance portion adjusted, by order of the Council, at a rate of 2 silver reals each per day.

As to whether all the said Religious embarked or not is not recorded in the accounting office; however, by the certification presented, it appears that only 24 [priests] and 4 coadjutors disembarked in Veracruz, and notwithstanding that the full amount of the expense for the 40 religious was obligated, including the [full] amount of 1,908 ducats in silver that they had to pay to the master of the ship for their freight charges and fares upon said Royal officials, it appears that a justification on the part of Father Alonso Pantoja is required, stating that he did not collect in Mexico everything that had been obligated; indeed, if it turns out that he collected the amounts corresponding to the 12 religious who remained behind, said amount should be applied to cover the cost of their food allowances for the period that they have been waiting in this city. This is what seemed appropriate for us to report to Y.M., who will order what you please once you have seen it.

May God keep the Catholic and Royal person of Y.M. for many years.
Seville, 19 March 1680.

1 Ed. note: This petition is not reproduced here, but is to be found in the file, as Fil. 82- 7-282.

2 Ed. note: See Doc. 1674B.

3 Ed. note: See also Doc. 1678F4.

Don Juan Ximenez Montaldo Saravia.
 Juan Bautista de Aguinagro.
 Alvaro Gil.
 [The Council issued a decree (not in file) on 4 April 1680]

N5. Letter from Fr. Pantoja, undated but written in April 1680

Source: AGI Fil. 82-7-285.

Original text in Spanish.

Señor

Alonso Pantoja de la Comp^a de Jhs su Procurador General por las Provincias de Indias:

Dize que V.M. fue serbido de conceder a Luis Pimentel de la dha Comp^a de Jhs Procurador General por las Provincias de Filipinas pudiese llebar a ella 34 Religiosos y 4 hermanos Coadjutores a expensas de su Real Hazienda: De estos le faltaron dos Hermanos Coadjutores.

Y assimesmo se le concedio a Andres de Ledesma de la dha Comp^a Procurador General de la dha Provincia pudiese llebar a ella 34 Religiosos y 4 Hermanos Coadjutores: faltaronle seis Religiosos Sacerdotes que con los dos Hermanos Coadjutores que faltaron a Luis Pimentel son ochof.] todo lo dicho consta de testimonio que presento de la Casa de la Contratazion.

Tengo juntos los dhos 8 sujetos en las Provincias de España:

- 1. Juan de Cassero, sacerdote, natural de Monfort, obispado de Orensse en Galicia*
- 2. Carlos de la Calba, Balenciano, Arçobispado de Valencia*
- 3. Theofilo Angel, sacerdote, natural de San Clemente en la Mancha, obispado de Cuenca*
- 4. Pe. Joseph de Saldibar, sacerdote, natural de San Sebastian, obispado de Pamplo-
na*
- 5. Pedro de Abaunça, sacerdote, natural de Sevilla*
- 6. Simon de Silba, sacerdotte, natural de Sidonia, obispado de Cadiz*
- 7. Sebastian de Monrreal, coadjutor, natural de Berdun, obispado de Xaca en
Aragon*
- 8. Juan Balero, coadjutor, natural de Olibares, obispado de Cuenca*

Supplica a V.M. que atendiendo a la mucha necesidad que ai de obreros assi en las Indias Felipinas como en las Islas Marianas se sirba dar licencia para que estos 8 sujetos pasen a Indias para dhas Misiones[.] espera recibir esta gracia de la liberal mano de V.M.

Translation.

Sire:

Alonso Pantoja of the Society of Jesus, its Procurator General for the Provinces of the Indies:

Declares that Y.M. was pleased to grant to Luis Pimentel of said Society of Jesus, Procurator General for the Provinces of the Philippines, a license to take there 34 Religious and 4 Coadjutor brothers at the expense of your Royal Treasury: out of these, he went without 2 Coadjutor brothers.

And also it was granted to Andrés de Ledesma of said Society, Procurator General of said Province to take there 34 Religious and 4 Coadjutor brothers: he went without 6 Religious priests. With the 2 Coadjutor brothers that Luis Pimentel went without, that makes a total of 8. Everything said here was recorded in a declaration that he presented to the House of Trade.

I now have at hand said 8 subjects in the Provinces of Spain; they are:

1. Juan de Casero, priest, born in Monfort, diocese of Orense in Galicia.
2. Carlos de la Calba, from Valencia in the diocese of Valencia.
3. **Theofilo Angel**, priest, born in San Clemente in La Mancha, diocese of Cuenca.¹
4. Fr. José de Saldibar, priest, born in San Sebastian, diocese of Pamplona.
5. Pedro de Abaunça, priest, born in Seville.
6. Simon de Silva, priest, born in Sidonia, diocese of Cadiz.
7. Sebastian de Monreal, coadjutor, born in Berdun, diocese of Xaca in Aragon.
8. Juan Valero, coadjutor, born in Olivares, diocese of Cuenca.

He beseeches Y.M., in view of the great need for workers not only in the Philippine Indies but also in the Mariana Islands, to please give a license for these 8 subjects to pass to the Indies for said Mission. He hopes to receive this favor from the liberal hand of Y.M.

[Unsigned and undated. The Council, on 2 May 1680, granted the request, in view of a certification received from the House of Trade, dated 8 February 1677, to the effect that, out of the concessions made in 1664 and 1669, a total of 8 subjects had failed to make the voyage.]

1 Ed. note: A little trickery is involved here; this was the Mariana Missionary, Fr. Teofilo de Angelis, who was in fact from Sienna, Italy.

Documents 16790

Fr. Klein and companions and their voyage from Italy to Spain in 1678

Source: Three transcripts in the Schwartz Collection at Georgetown University: documents n° 18, 14 & 21 respectively, although the manuscripts bear no pagination as such.

Note: Fr. Klein (or Clain, as will be written later on) will become famous in relation with the discovery of the Caroline Islands (ref. Doc. 1697F).

O1. Excerpt from a letter from Fr. Klein, dated Genoa 6 June [1678]

Original text in Latin.

Ex litteris Patris Pauli Klein datis Genuæ 6 Junij.

Dies discessui nostro decreta est dies Mercurij proxima (:8 Junij:) sed timemus ne usque ad diem Sabbathi subsistere cogamur, quod die Jovis seu Festo Corporis Christi solennis hic, navalis maximi, sit solennitas, et aliunde navium peregrinarum pene nulla adsit. Accomodatio nostra hæc est: solvemus singuli pro Navi ac victu 60 Imperiales Hispanicos (:patacones hic vocant, suntque nostris Imperialibus paulo minores:) quem victum in mensa Capitanei cum 22 Dominis secularibus habituri sumus, adeoque universim 40 ad unam mensam cibandi.

...

Advenerunt tandem Patres Siculi duo, homines egregij, nec tam miserabiles iet(?) Neapolitani. Eorum alter in Mexicum, alter in Insulas Marianas ab ipso A[dm]odum] R.P.N. destinatis. Qui ex nobis in Marianas ituri sint, incertum; quod determinatio Procuratori relinquatur in Mexico facienda. Ego tamen spero me unum ex ijs fore. Nomen eorum alteri P. Georgius Cali (:in Mexicum:) alteri Jacobus Castrogiovani. Causa remoræ eorum erat defectus navigij, quo è Sicilia huc trajicerent, quod iam a fine Martij Palermi expectarunt.

...

Atque hæc hac vice sufficient. Sunt has ultimas quas ad R. V. Genua do, nam descriptionem Processionis, quas hic Festo Corporis Christi solemnissime habenda dicitur, R. V. per Pragensium aliquem transcribi faciam, aut certe ipsum meum autographum mitti jubebo.

Translation.

From a letter by Father Paul Klein dated Genoa 6 June.

The day of our departure was been fixed at next Wednesday (8 June) but we fear that we will be forced to remain here until Saturday. We are told that on Thursday, or on the feast of Corpus Christi, is a solemn day here, with a large number of ships, but no pilgrim ship from other places will be present. We have made the following arrangement: we will sail in a single ship and it will cost 60 Spanish imperial coins (pesos as they are called here, and they correspond to our imperial coins but a little smaller), including food, for which we will sit at the captain's table with 22 secular gentlemen and all together there will be 40 people eating at one table.

...
[There follows a description of the touristic activities within the city of Genoa. For instance, the hospital is said to have had 780 bed patients. Churches and other religious establishments are described. One Fr. Wenceslaus Christman was convalescing. Fr. Rott was going back to the Indies. Fr. Gratz, from Prague, had some medical knowledge.]

Finally, the two Sicilian Fathers have arrived. They are distinguished men and not so miserable as the Napolitans. One of them goes to Mexico and the other has been assigned to the Mariana Islands by our Most Reverend Father himself. It is not certain who among us will go to the Marianas; such a decision has been left to the Procurator in Mexico to take. In the end, I hope to be one of them. The name of one of them is Fr. George Cali (to Mexico) and of the other Jacob Castrogiovanni.¹ The reason for their delay was the lack of a ship, with which to come here from Sicily, as they had already been waiting in Palermo since the end of March.

...
Moreover the above news will suffice for now. These are the last news sent to Y.R. from Genoa, for as I said, a description of the very solemn procession that took place on the feast of Corpus Christi were sent to Y.R. via Prague by someone who will transcribe them, or for sure I shall order him to send the original copy that I wrote with my own hand.²

1 Ed. note: He never made it to the Marianas.

2 Ed. note: Left undated and unsigned.

O2. Excerpt from a letter dated Alicante 27 June 1678

Original text in Latin.

Pax Christi

Post longam illam nostram in Domo Professa Genuensi per 6 prope hebdomadas commorationem, ac, si ita loqui liceret, celebratam ibidem vix non Quadragesimam serenior tandem illuxit dies nostri inde discessus 12ma. videlicet Junij quas fuit Dominica post Pentecostem 2da. Pascha nostrum non immerito dicenda si difficilem per mare Mediterraneum ex Italia in Hispaniam transitum intueamur, si vero toleratas in toto navigationis decursu ærumnas, Dominica plane Palmarum ac Sancta recolendæ peregricia Crucis Christi experimenta Passioni dicata hebdomada. 12^a ergo Junij (:cum pridie ad inferendas sarcinas nostras navim ingressi, omnino non ante 19am Junij nos discossuros intellexissemus a Nautis, ac idcirco tristissimi domum remeassemus:) summo mane ipsius videlicet matutinas Orationis tempore Florentinum ille Dominus, noster deinceps in decursu navigationis humanissimus convictor, ad sacram Confessionem accedens Patri suo Confessario denunciat intra bihorium omnino navim utramque qua vehendi eramus, discessuram. Orto igitur confestim tumultu dictoque sacro, raptim qua relicta erant, itineri aptamus, ac sumpto ientaculo, ad portum discedimus, R.P. Rectore Genuensis Collegij, P. Paulo Sauli, P. Joanne Baptista Camellmo, ac P. Thoma Nassio, aliisque Genuensibus humanissime nos comitantibus.

Naves interim iam è portu digressæ erant, tribusque circiter milliaribus distabant, ac hac illacve se se girando ventum captabant (:solent enim nauta quicumque tandem ventus sit, ita eum capere ut eodem tanquam secundo progredi possint; sciuntque tam dextre, eum in finem vela omnia aptare, ut etiamsi ventus directe contrarius sit, ita tamen eum pansis velis excipiant, ut eodem inde antrorsum provehantur, licet interdum aliquantulum idcirco ad latera è directo itinere deflectere cogantur:) unde scaphis seu cymbis geminis maioribus eosdem cujus consecuti, navim nostram Capitaneum seu majorem ascendimus ac vela cum bono Deo fecimus.

...
Celebraverunt tamen duo Austriaci (:è quibus unus P. Adamus Gerstl toto deinceps tempore passus est nihil sic tamen alij:) P. Neüman; igitur hac die fere exisa ditionem Genuensem atque oram maritimam eorum Domino subjectam (:Riviera di Genova:) Monacum videlicet pervecti sumus.

...
Die Martis seu 14^a a prandio in conspectum Corsicæ à latere sinistro seu meridionali, status vero Medioll[an]ensis ubi ad mare descendit Pedamontis, ac Gallix à latere dextro seu septemtrionali se nobis objicientis progressi sumus, arcemque Gallix maritimam, munitissimam Toulon à longe, clare tamen ac distincte vidimus.

...
Accesimus ad Insulas Ibizam, et Formenteram, easque sub vesperam pretervecti sumus à latere meridionali, 21 et 22^a et reliquis diebus omnibus mire nos malatia maris vexavit, ob quam non nisi lentissime nobis progredi licuit, adeo ut eum 21 nos sperare-

mus in Alicante adfuturos, non nisi 25 adfuerimus. Nautas interim tempori fallendo lusum sibi 22^a instituerunt, quo equitum pro annulo depugnantium more cursus imitari sunt, atque ad eum hastulis tangendum, in prora navis decurrerunt non sine ingenti risu ob frequentes decurrentium errores. Sed et Hispani, qui eadem nobiscum navi vehabantur iocis suis, quibus inter se colludebant, non unam nobis distractionem fecerant, plus enim quam crederent nugaces se ostendesunt, varijs se invicem ut vocamus nequitijs amice bivexantes, quo se aliosque vectores recrearent. 23^a apparuit terra firma seu contingens, ora videlicet Hispanica, montesque portui Alicante adjacentes. Post meridiem exortus è ventus paulo fortior, unde spem cæpimus ea nocte portum ingredi. Sed frustra quando nec postridie quidem eum ingressi sumus.

Patrum eorum qui nos in Indiam antecesserant, unus iam est Superior in Insulis Marianis natione Siculus. Nobis liber omnino (:Deo gratias:) patet in Indias aditus, nec umbra difficultatis se se ostendit, ex hoc Collegio unus etiam iam Gades præcessit, Missionarius Indicus nobiscum abiturus, qui Gadibus huc ad nos scripsit: Adesse iam inibi missionarios collectos pro Philippinis omnino 40^a pro Mexico 22os quibus nos 19 ubi accesserimus quanta Deus bone compagna! qui ibi adsunt fere Hispani sunt, aliquos etiam Belga. Dicunt Patres hujates si sibi liceret se ad unum omnes ituros in Indias, sperantque adhuc successionem. Philippinenses à Patre Salgado, Mexicani à P. de Florentia ducentur, ex quibus patet falta esse quæ alias de Hispanorum penuria dicebantur. Dies abitus Flottæ in 2dam. Julij indictus est, sed solantur nos omnes dicendo semper maturius ab Hispanis terminum abitus indici, eum interim notum sit eos pedem bovis habere. Atque hæc pro hac vice sufficiant illud tantum adhuc addo, quo magis à Bohemia recedimus atque ad Indos accedimus, tanto nos etiam in paupertate victus, vestitus, ac habitationis proficere, quantum enim ex hujus domus vivendi ratione colligere licet (:nisi forte ob ingentem illius paupertatem sentiendum videatur de alijs Hispaniæ Collegijs:) partim Italia Hispani vivunt; in Italia aliquando saltem et diebus Hospitalitatis aliquid assi, et ultra consuetum apponitur servulum, hic præmonuerit, nos solvendas expensas in nos suscipere.

Coquantur hic æque ac in Italia omnia in fornaculis, Apothecis nostris similibus, ob lignorum defectum, quæ causa est quod assare nihil possint.

Vinum Alicante, quod apud nos pro Hispanorum optimo haberi videtur, unum est ex ijs, quæ per mare portari debent, ut meliora evadant. Hic certe tam durum est ad bibendum ut nisi copiosa ac quadrupla aqua diluatur, bibi à nobis non posset. Dicitur ad gesta Natalitia primum colligi à viribus, imo ad usque Aprilem durare in botris.

Recollectionem hic habent in Festo SS. Petri et Pauli, Genuæ in Festo Beati Aloysij, Litanias omnium Sanctorum (:in quibus post Sanctum Xaverium, quem ipsi Haverium appellant sive pronuntiant, addunt etiam Santum Borgiam:) dicunt ad primum pulsum ante cænã. Nulla in templo nostro Confessionalia, sed eorum loco, parvula quasi cubicella (:in templo:) bina penes quodlibet Altare. Fæminæ modestissime omnes ac fere religioso cultu incedunt.

Proximo die Jovis speramus nos abituros, eadem qua venimus navi. Faxit Deus ut ante classis abitum nos Gadibus videamus.

Interim in manus DEI nos totos resignamus.

In portu Alicante 27 Junij 1678.

Reverentiæ vestræ

Servus in Christo

Paulus Klein.

Translation.

Peace of Christ!

After that long stay of ours of nearly 6 weeks in the Professors' House at Genoa, and, if I may be allowed to say so, after the celebration of a Quadragesima [Sunday] that could not have been fairer, finally the day of departure came on the 12th of June, which of course was the Sunday after Pentecost. It is not unjustly that one could say that we expected our sea voyage from Italy to Spain to be difficult, if indeed one recalls the hardships suffered in the course of the whole voyage, on Palm Sunday and the experience of the famous bearing of the cross of Christ during the said Passion Week. It was therefore on 12 June (on the previous day we had gone aboard with our baggages, and we had been led to believe by the sailors that we would not leave before 19 June, and that is why we had gone back home very sad) that very early in the morning, after saying the matins for the day in question, that of that Florentine saint, our very obliging messmate during the course of the voyage in turn came up to confess to his Father confessor, and announced that his ship and the other aboard which we were to sail were about to leave within two hours. Consequently, a commotion was immediately raised inside said sacred place; the remaining things were hurriedly done as we prepared for the trip and, after breakfast, we departed for the port, in the very obliging company of the Rev. Fr. Rector of the College of Genoa, Fr. Paolo Sauli, and Fr. Giovanni Bautista Camellmo, Fr. Thoma Nassio, and other Genoese.

In the meantime the ships had already left the port, and were about three miles away. Here and there they could be seen as they were tacking back and forth to catch the wind (for any sailor whatever does so when there is a wind, in order to catch it and make progress on the second tack; and they are so skilled that, by maneuvering the sails, even if the wind blows contrary and directly, in the end they catch it with expanded sails, in order to be carried forward in this fashion, though in the meantime, that is why they divert some little distance to the side of a straight course). From there, with two launches or large boats, we followed them and boarded the larger one, the flagship, and we sailed with Godspeed.

...

Finally they were praised by two Austrians (one of whom was Fr. Adam Gerstl who the whole time left nothing to the others), Fr. Neüman; consequently, on this day we came out of the sway of Genoa, to whose lord this seashore is subject (in Italian: Riviera di Genova) and were sailing toward Monaco.

...
On Tuesday 14th, at noon we sighted Corsica on the left or southern side, and, on the right or northern side, we were progressing along the state of Milan toward where Piedmont and France meet by the sea. We saw the very heavily fortified French port of Toulon, from afar but clearly and distinctly.

...
We reached the Islands of Ibiza and Formentera, and sailed past them on the left side by sunset of the 21st, and on the 22nd and all the other remaining days we were troubled with calm weather, which made our progress so very slow that our arrival at Alicante predicted for the 21st, did not take place until the 25th. In the meantime, when the wind was lacking, the sailors amused themselves, by imitating a circular race course for the usual contest with horses, and also by touching with small spears, and they were running around at the bow of the ship, not without some laughs caused by their frequent errors in course. However, the Spaniards who were sailing in the same ship as ourselves were in collusion with one another as a joke; they were not just providing us with a distraction but they believed that they were showing themselves to be very funny, by mutually playing various tricks on one another, which we called wicked, thus they were recreating themselves and the other passengers. On the 23rd, the mainland appeared, the Spanish shore as it were, and the hills that are in the vicinity of Alicante. In the afternoon, the wind became a little stronger; therefore, we entertained the hope of entering the port that night. However, we were frustrated and it was not until the next day that we entered it.

...
[Naval protection against the Turks and Moors are described, as well as news from naval engagements on the North African coast, off Algeria and Morocco. Two Spanish Jesuits came with launches to take the travellers to their College. The house and its organization are described. A religious procession took place at this time; it contained Capuchin Fathers, calced Carmelites, Augustinians, Franciscans, Dominicans, as well as diocesan priests, some dressed in black, others in purple, or red clothes, etc.]

Out of the Fathers who have preceded us in the Indies, one of them, a Sicilian, is already Superior in the Mariana Islands.¹ The opportunity is fully open to us to go to the Indies (thank God), and not the shadow of a difficulty shows itself. One from this College has already preceded us to Cadiz, to join us as a missionary to the Indies. He has written to us here from there, saying that a number of missionaries have already gathered overthere, 40 in all bound to the Philippines, 22 to Mexico, and God willing, 19 of us will go and join this good company. Those present there are almost all Spaniards, but a few are Belgians. Such Fathers say that, if they are permitted, one and all will travel to the Indies, and they hope that they will be in the missions bands being led to the Philippines with Father Salgado, or to Mexico with Fr. de Florencia, by whom they were told that there is a shortage of Spaniards to be made up with others. The day of

1 Ed. note: He refers to Fr. San Basilio.

departure for the fleet is July 2nd, but we are all being told that the departure date from Spain to the Indies is usually earlier; meanwhile, it is known that they have a cow's foot for them.¹ The above news are sufficient for now, but I add the following: the farther we get from Bohemia, the closer we get to the Indies; even in poverty we have managed to get fed, clothed, and lodged, for it is permitted to collect as much to live on from that house (lest it appear perhaps deplorable on account of the great poverty of the other Spanish colleges) the Spaniards live partly in Italy. In Italy, whenever something is served [roasted?] and at least on days of hospitality, it is served up by the customary small servant; here we were forewarned that we would have to bear such expenses ourselves.

Here, as well as all over Italy, cooking is done in little ovens, similar to our storehouses,² for lack of wood, for which reason they cannot roast [rather broil] anything.

As for the wine of Alicante, which seems to us to be the best of Spanish wines, it is one of those that they have to carry at sea, in order to make it better. It surely is a strong drink and, unless it is copiously diluted with water and four times its volume, it is impossible for us to drink it. It is said that to make it, it first gathers strength at Christmas; rather, it is kept in the form of grapes as long as April.

They had a gathering here on the feast of St. Peter and St. Paul, at Genoa on the feast of Blessed Luis [de Gonzaga]. When they say the litanies of all the saints, at the first bell preceding dinner, after the name of St. [Francis] Xavier, which they pronounce Havier, they also add Saint [Francis] Borgia. There are no confessionals as such in our church, but instead of them, there are some small cells (inside the church) placed anywhere on either side of the altar. The women are all very modest and they are almost consumed by religious ceremonies.

Next Thursday we hope to leave, aboard the same ship that brought us. May God permit that we see Cadiz before the departure of the fleet.

Meanwhile, we all place ourselves in the hands of GOD.

From the port of Alicante, 27 June 1678.

Your Reverence's servant in Christ,

Paul Klein.

1 Ed. note: This must be an old German expression equivalent to "rabbit's foot," meaning hope of some good luck. We could also translate this loosely with: "they tell them to keep their fingers crossed.

2 Ed. note: Obviously, he meant something else, not the classical meaning of "store", but probably that of a stove of some kind.

O3. Excerpts from letters, unsigned and undated

Note: The original letters seem to have been posted in Spain in 1680, and/or in Mexico in 1681.

Original text in Latin.

...
Prænomen mihi excidit, cognomen erat: de Medina.¹ Similiter et reliquos. Sed dispari occasione. Decima Julij à Hispania solvemus hibernaturi in Mexico, quo ex his 22 qui Genua soluturi sumus, 8 destinantur, 3 videlicet Coadjutores (: quorum unicus adest isque ex nostra Provincia:) et quinque Sacerdotes, à quibus tres primo adsunt, P. Josephus Neüman, P. Eusebius Chinus Tyrolensis, P. Ferdinandus Baro Neapolitanus, ex plaga pedis apud nos adhuc decumbens. Reliqui 14 Sacerdotes omnes in Philippinas ituri sunt, in qua quidem Provincia Coadjutoribus minus, quam PP. opus se habere prostentur: iamque inibi 600 circiter Sacerdotes bini semper ac bini occupantur. Habent Indiæ Hispanicæ, eodem de quo supra, P. nostro Hispano referente 6 omnino Provincias ad Assistentiam Hispaniæ pertinentes, cum Hispania ipsa (: nisi fallor:) non nisi quinque habent. Eæ sunt: Mexicana, Peruviana (: omnium ditissima, ac celeberrima, quosque nullis unquam suppetijs opus habeat:) Philippinica, Novæ Granatæ, Paraquariana, et (: nisi fallor:) Novæ Guianæ. Earum omnium Procurator P. de Espinar (: qui modo cum utroque Procuratore et Mexicano P. Joanne Mo[n]roy, et Philippinico P. Salgado, Romæ fuit ad missionarios impetrandos:) Seville (: Hispali:) residet, manebitque ibidem 6 omnino annis; ad quem proinde, seu potius per illius manus, literas omnes ad nos promoveri, dirigo poterunt, postquam Gadibus (: Cadiz:) solverimus, donec melius aliquid significavero.

...
Vero proximo à Mexico solvemus, ac post 3 Mensium Navigationem in Philippinis erimus: brevius enim est iter à Mexico in Philippinas, quam à Philippinis in Mexicum, quod ad captandum ventum ad usque Japonias conspectum ascendere cogantur in Mexicum navigaturi, ac tum prius eo vela convertant, cum contra à Mexico solventos, secundioribus longe ventis utantur.

Translation.

...
 My first name was removed and my last name was: de Medina. Similarly with the others, but on a different occasion. On the 10th of July we sailed from Spain to go and spend the winter in Mexico. Out of the 22 who had been ready to sail at Genoa, 8 were selected, 3 of course being Coadjutors (only one of whom is from our Province) and 5 priests, and among them the 3 who got there first were Fr. Joseph Neüman, Fr. Eusebius Chinus [i.e. Kühn, alias Kino] from Tyrol, and Fr. Ferdinand Baro from Naples, who arrived at the house on a litter on account of sore feet. The other 14 priests are all

¹ Ed. note: This assumed name is not one of those appearing in either Doc. 1679N or 1680U.

going to the Philippines, in which province there are fewer Coadjutors and the Fathers stand out; indeed, there are already about 600 priests overthere, always working in pairs and all busy. The Spanish Indies, in the care of our Spanish Father mentioned earlier, of 6 Provinces in all, grouped under the Assistency for Spain, including Spain itself (unless I am mistaken), unless it be only five. They are as follows: the Mexican Province; the Peruvian Province (a most splendid one and very famous, but they are not asking for any workers anywhere); the Philippine Province, the New Granada Province,¹ the Paraguay Province, and (unless I am mistaken) that of New Guinea.² The Procurator of them all is Fr. de Espinar (who is assisted by another specific Procurator for the Mexican Province, Fr. Juan Monroy, and for the Philippine Province by Fr. Salgado, who went to Rome to beg for missionaries). He resides at Seville, and will also remain there for 6 more years, so that I direct that any letter addressed to us could be channeled through his hand, after we have sailed from Cadiz, until I will state something better.

...
Soon indeed we sail from Mexico, and after 3 months of navigation we will get to the Philippines; indeed, the voyage from Mexico to the Philippines is shorter than the one from the Philippines to Mexico, which, depending on catching the wind to sail up until sighting Japan, there to change the sail to proceed to Mexico takes longer because contrary and secondary winds are used.³

-
- 1 Ed. note: The former region containing the modern states of Panama, Columbia and Ecuador.
 - 2 Ed. note: He was indeed mistaken about New Guinea, as it was not even explored then.
 - 3 Ed. note: Ends abruptly thus.

Documents 1679P

Four letters by Fr. Strobach sent from Spain in 1678 and 1679

Source: Transcripts in the Schwartz Collection, Special Collections Division of the Georgetown University Library, Washington, D.C. (unpaginated, but indexed as documents n° 3B, 4, 6 and 24 respectively).

P1. Letter dated Seville 27 September 1678

Original text in Latin.

Reverende in Christo Pater

Pax Christi

Quam è terra et cognatione abiens Reverentiæ vestræ hic submitto. I^a iam est epistola an omnes ritè semper advenerint vehementer dubito, vix enim mihi persuaserim, ut accepsis à me epistolis uno alteròve me non dignatetur responso, exceptis namque unicis responderijs ad Ratisbonenses meas Monachienses et Ænipontanas.¹ II^a adhuc Maij datis, ad reliquas tum Tridentino, tum Genua sextuplices,² tum duplices Mona Gadibus unas et ternas iam Sevilla transmissus, responsum expecto in horas singulas et postas; quid si verò Reverentia vestra scripserit quidem hactenus sæpius sed (ut opinor) non amplius in Italiam, sed recta in Hispaniam per Sevilam Gades direxerit litteras, et pio ut hic crebrius usuvenire solet, aliquod fortassis passæ sunt naufragium, nunquid primum eris suspicari et meas quas in Hispania scripsi aut scripturus eram, simile subijisse aut subiturus esse periculum; neque mea solummodo hæc est suspicio et nostrum è Bohemia omnium cum ne ullus adhuc ab ullo è Provincia (cum tamen diversis scripsum frequentius) quidquam literarum acceperit à die et ego Reverentiæ vestræ literas nactus, licet interea Româ ad suas Genuæ datat, quinimo Panormâ loco summè dissito Sevilâ, responsum acceperint Patres aliquos. Patres Austriaci verè aliquoties iam et Vienna et Lintzio primò 28 Julij missas, 12^a Septembris iam acceperiat, hoc quidem non ita mirum circa Patrum Austriacorum literas quia Madritum ad Confessarium Legati Cæsarei directa fuerant; quid autem cum nostris, seu hinc transmissis seu ad nos datis

1 Ed. note: He wrote letters to his correspondent in Ratisbonne [Regensburg], Bavaria, from Munich and Innsbruck.

2 Ed. note: Trent, in northern Italy, and Genoa respectively.

actum sit aut agatur, ignoramus penitus, aliunde quidem etiam rescivimus, omnium è Societate literas aperiri, lustrarique diligentius, spero tamen meas patere posse semper omnibus. Et quid si Deus fortè nos (præsertim verò me) hoc solatio et communicatione mutua, etiam tantum per literas privatos vellet? nec hoc recuso, nihil tamen interea remittendo de consueta eaque perpetua apud Deum nostri memoria in quotidianis precibus Sacrificijs et religiosis exercitijs, quod unicum et solum mihi maximo semper fuit, eritque solatio et voluptati, et optarem animitus ab alijs etiam, notis præcipuè et amicis etiam domesticis et inprimis à charissimo Fratre Tobia (cui licet non scribam, vetus tamen illud inter nos pactum et iugem apud Deum nostri memoriam invicem promissam notam adhuc esse quam optime, non dubito) per frequentem met commendationem in litteris et familiaribus alloquijs à Reverentia vestra fieri desiderarem assiduè; nimis enim quam clarum videtur Deum omnino rogari velle à nobis impensius et instantius, cogi quodammodo et vinci importunis nostris precibus et obsecrationibus, ut ad munus hoc Apostolicum semel iam vocatos et electos ad desideratum quantotijus perducatur terminum; dicuntur quidem navigia 5 proximo vere solutura in Mexicum, sed quis toties iam delusus amplius iam credat istiusmodi rumoribus.

Ceterum Flottam Hispanicam quæ anno currente 14^a Julij Mexicum petijs, continentem iam appulisse à nonnullis proximè sparsum est, certius quid resciemus paulo post. quis felicios Patribus illis! quando iam medium confecerant æquos; nos oportebat interea hic modicum probari in igne id est caloribus ætavis vehementibus, et quibus maiores non sunt in tota Hispania, certè unus è nostris caloribus ceteroquin bene astuetas, quia Italus grave valetudinis subijs discrimen, imò in periculo non modico versabatur, si non versatur adhuc, reliquendos Missionis Indicæ, quando calore e malo hæretico(?) laboravit adeo, ut medicus amandandum aliò iudicaret quantotijus, nisi manifestum vitæ perdendæ subire vellet periculum, sentit quidem etiamnum paulò melius, necdum tamen omni periculo absolutus recrudescere cæpit in illo malum hoc, quod 7 abhinc annis in Provincia sustinuit, ex quo tamen in integrum iterum restitutus fuerat, ita Deus probat suos, et non nisi diu, multumque probatos suscipere vult et admittere ad munus suorum Apostolorum! est autem Pater ille Carolus Caly [sic = Calva], Siculus, ab Adm. Reverendo Patre nostro in Insulas Marianas deputatus, vir magnorum talentorum, et unus è primis Sicilia proteribus quos Equites vocant, magnæ inter suos familiæ et nominis, insignis quoque Societatis nostræ Benefactor plurimis in Missiones arduas dispertitis millibus; et cum amplius iam non haberit quod daret pro animarum Salute, seipsum pro earundem salute liberaliter obtulit, et vitam et sanguinem pro ijs profundere paratus. Ecce verus Jesu socius, et dignus omninò vocari Christi Discipulus, ut de alijs taceam, quorum ego minimus, nec dignus vocari Apostolus, qui non electus, sed tantum substitutus.

Hi omnes, unicum si excipias, P. Italum Theophilum de Angelis debiliore alioquin complexionis et valetudinis, prosperâ adhuc, Deo sint laudos, utuntur valetudine, varijsque interea sese exercent studijs et laboribus ad munus hoc Apostolicum perquam idoneis, dat his Astronomiæ operam, alius Geometriæ fabricant hi horologia, fundunt agnos illi, medicinæ studet Pater Klein, alij intenti alijs et cui Augustinus? totus est ille in solitoquis: unus etiam Pater Austriacus Pater Adamus Gerstl videlicet artis suæ pictoriæ insigne iam dedit specimen, depigendo Apelleâ manu quatuor nostros Martyres, pro quo Christi nomine et Fide Catholica gloriosam Martyrij adepti sunt coronam, in Marianis Insulis Sus enim in ijsdem etiam passus ab alia multo rudiore manu effigiatus iam extabat domi nostra, et quia fortè nec omnium horum innotuerunt nomina et Martyria, subijciam unius quisque sub imagine factam subscriptionem, quæ quia hispanica in latino sonat ità:

V.P. Ludocivus de **Medina** Societatis Jesu, natus Malagæ unus è fundatoribus Missionis in Insulis Marianis, et primus qui in illis ardentissimum zelum suum et charitatem ferventissimam excrevit, ac demum in populo de Chao dicto, sanguinem suum rigavit, ad magnum Catholicæ fidei incrementum, lanceâ perpectus transverberatus 29^a Januarij anno 1670 ætatis suæ 33.

Secundus V.P. Franciscus **Ezquerria** Societatis Jesu natus Manilæ, ex Insulis Philippinis in Marianas transiens, plurimis perpessus in ijs laboribus et ad fidem Catholicam conversis, earundem quoque superior existens, coronidem tandem Missionis prædicationisque suæ cum palma Martyrijs imposuit, quando apud gentem de Ati dictum fameâ caput ei divisum est 2^a Februarij Anno 1671 [rather 1674] ætati 31.

Tertius V.P. Jacobus de **S. Vitores** Societatis Jesu, Insularum Marianarum Apostolus, post labores perpessos plurimos atque ærumnas, multa quoque animarum millia ad Orthodoxam fidem adducta, munus suum Apostolicum glorioso fine coronavit, lanceâ in pectore transfixus, lethali quoque vulnere in capite sauciatus: 2^a Aprilis Anno 1672 ætatis suæ 44.

Quartus V.P. Antonius de **S. Basilio** Societatis Jesu natus Catanæ in Sicilia, perfectissimum omnium virtutum exemplar et prototypon, ferventissimusque Insularum Marianarum apud populum de Upi Apostolus, ubi etiam postmodum post labores penè innumeros prædicationem Fidei morte suâ gloriosâ et sanguine illustravit, lethali accepto vulnere in capite 27^a [rather 17] Janij. 1676 ætatis 37.

Quintus zelosus et charitativus Frater Petrus **Diaz** Societatis Jesu Hispanus, hic multa pro fide animarumque salute passus in Insulis Marianis, ac tandem in Residentia de Cedetiam [rather Ritidian] pro eiusdem fidei defensione gloriosum agonem sustinuit 9^a Dec. 1675.

Hi sunt viri Apostolici, hæ gloriosæ eorum mortes, in quorum labores succedere quia necdum digni sumus, sufficiat interim in imagine diopietas videre virtutes, ut non degeneremus à procelis cogitationibus Patrum antecessorum et antesignarorum nostrorum, in hoc certè iam multum ab illis degenerasse videri possumus, quod ætatis glorem maximum, vigoremque virium optimum, quem illi inter labores Apostolicos, summè charitatis obsequia, animarumque conversiones assiduas, nos interea hic nihil agendo transigamus, præsertim vero si longe adhuc diutius et prout non omnino improbalite, triennis integro hic commorari contigerit, nunquid et præclarissimorum heroum virtus in otio languere habetarique paulatim incipit? quando interea inter acios et conflictus assiduos magis atque magis acuitur, nobis autem operandi huc nullus pater campus, tum propter hispanici idiomatis imperitiam, tum propter minimè necessariam nostri operam, cum ipsi sibi sufficiant, faxit tantum Deus, ut tempum istud quod iam hic in otio transigimus et sinè fructu, postmodum labore plurimo compensemus et cum manipulis plurimis fructum recuperemus.

Non incolimus iam amplius Divi Xaverij et Indicorum Missionariorum Collegium, sed magnum Sancti Hermenegildi, neque illud nisi ad communem refectionem adimus, mihi pro reliquis hæc infelicias translatio accidit, quando in ipso penè ingressu rerum mearum passus sum naufragium, vix enim aliquot diebus in eo commoratus, de clara die eiusmodi cubiculi mei nactus sum hospitem, qui memet rebus meis penè omnibus spoliavit, concesseram ego de more ad consuetas omnium Sanctorum Litanias, horâ 2^a pomeridianâ haberi solitas in Ecclesia, et post eas ad tonstrinum vocatus comparueram, prius tamen bene obseratâ portâ appensâque serâ, redux verò reseratam portam reperi, unco cui appesa fuit sera videnter fracto et in conclavi ablatam valisiam cum reculis meis, quas utpotè modò non itâ necessarias, et tanquam securiori loco reconditas asservabam, hinc quidquid scriptorum, melioris lationis, medicinarum Pragâ seu ab Excellentissimo D. Burgravio, seu Medico, seu Apothecario Pragensi, quidquid imagina, qua chartacearum, qua membranearum, quidquid crucum Hispanicarum, turribianarum, numisnatum,

agnorum, rosariorum, pecuniæ et liberalitate piorum in Provincia Mecænatum comparatorum tam Monachij quam Genuæ aut in Hispania cum reculis alijs necessarijs, ablatum est totum, derelicti tantummodo libri aliquot, quos utpotè usui quotidiano necessarios alterabam alibi sunt autem isti: Breviarium, diurnale, S. Scriptura, Bibliotheca Viri Apostolici P. Ardechin, Soliloquia S. Augustini, Epistolæ S. Xaverij, usus meditationum ex Thomas Kempensis, sed nunquid amplius quid necessarium ad munus Apostolicum? Imò adhuc his caruis Magnus Indiarum Apostolus S. Xaverius, in hoc saltem aliquomodo similis ero illi! videtur me Deus etiam hoc qualicumque solatio et reculis istis humanâ industriâ comparatis privatum velle, ut in illo solo spem meam ponere, illique me totum quantum confidere addiscam, quod colligo ex die quo id accidit qui fuit 14 Septembris. Ex altationi Sanctæ Crucis sacer, ut absit mihi gloriari in alio præterquam in Cruce D. N. J. C. et in ea nudus nudum meum sequar desum. Illud tamen beneficij loco à fure mihi præstiti reputo, quod præter enumeratos libros, quos hinc inde disjecerat, reliqueris etiam literas meas Natalitias, duplices à Senatu, et unas à Parocho, quas ex singulari instinctu extra valitiam observaveram, non fuerint licet hæc adhuc necessaria, possunt tamen fortassis adhuc esse. Multum hoc furtum consternavit Collegiales omnes, ipsum præcipuè R.P. Rectorem qui decire auditus, non esse factum quid simile à quo stat Collegium, ipseque P. Minister lustravit cubiculum undique et portam, visisque libris adhuc disjectis, à nemine præterquem à Domestico id factum esse asservit, qui noverit quam optimè observare tempus et horam, quo me allibi legitime detentum fortè scivit, suspicionem auget adhuc, quod id non factum sub Litanijs, quod factu fuisset facilius convenientibus omnibus ad recitandas OO.SS. [=Omnium Sanctorum] Litanias sed post illas primò in præsentia Patrum aliquot in illo ambitu degentium, prout illud procertò affirmat Pater aliquis, qui me finitis Litanijs in cubiculo quæsierat, et illud clausum observatumque repererat, sed ut ut sit quandocumque demum factum sit, ego rapinam bonorum meorum cum gaudio suscipio, sciens meliorem me habere substantiam, fiducialius iam possum iactare super Dominum curam meam, illi enim utpote pauper derelictus sum totus, iam oculi eius in me tanquam in magis pauperem magis etiam respicient, et nunquid Dominus regit me? consequenter mihi nihil erit. Sed hæc privata nimis nova, veniamus ad magis publica. Frequentiores hic fiunt ignes missiles, plures paucioresve professorum solennitate sumtibus tum communibus tum proprijs cuiuscumque monasterij, templi, eorundemque Mecænatum incipiunt statim in ipso pervigilio ad primas quasi vespervas, repetuntur vesperi, expositis etiam circa turrim templi luminaribus, in ipsa verò festivitate sub ipsam iam auroram inchoant, repetunt iterum in meridie et vesperi. Nec caruit suis ignibus Magnus Noster Pater Divus Ignatius, neque suis magnus Augustinus, imò vix aliquod festum quod suis non exornaretur ignibus, estque hic singularis Hispanorum erga cælites cultus et devotio. Celeberrimus nos in Ecclesia D. Hermenegildi dedicationem illius 31 Augusti, quæ suis feria quarta hebdomados, habuitque hæc dies ab alijs seriatis in templo nostro, ceteroquin nihil, præterquam quod cum octava celebratum. Habuit autem hoc singulare festum Sanctissimi nominis Mariæ quod in 17 Septembris incidit, celebratum namque cum Missa solenni, Pontificante, Patre Præfecto templi, assistentibus tribus Coadjutoribus nostris, quorum duo agebant Acolythos (fuit autem unus Simon noster)¹ tertius ferebat thuributum cum navicula in choro autem Sacerdoti respondentibus, totumque sacrum quasi choraliter decantantibus nostris Patribus, cum ipso etiam Reverendo Patre Rectore, fit hoc ex paupertate nimia, ob quam musicos

1 Ed. note: The family name of this Brother Simon was something like Borukradsky. He was then acting as Fr. Strobach's companion.

condutore non possunt pro Missa solenni, quæ tamen ad lucrandas Indulgentias, quas illâ die Jubilæum vocant, scilicet ut illi intersint, est necessaria.

Aperiæ sunt rursus Scholæ hic 19^a eiusdem frequentans etiam duo nostri Missionarij Lectionem Theologicam, quorum unus primi anni, Magister videlicet Carolus Calysanesi [sic = Calvanese], alter tertij Pater Theophilus de Angelis, hic quidem pomeridianam tantum audit lectionem, eo quod matutinam iam antea audiverit, non enim prout apud nos et alibi, quot annis unaquaque absolvitur materia, sed durat una quandoque etiam tribus annis ad libitum cuiusvis Professoris, tradunturque materiæ cæteræ, quæ interim tractandæ privatim. Hac die quoque primarius Theologiæ Professor in Cathedrali Ecclesia dictionem funebrem habuit, paucis abhinc diebus hic defuncto, dixit ad Auditorium sanè copiosum, parvum tamen respectu Ecclesiæ, quæ magnitudine vastitateque Viennensem S. Stephani si non superat, -- adeoque(?), quamvis pulchritudine, elegantia (salvo tamen meliorem indicio) multis paraj--- exerdat, ex omni parte per gradus templum conscenditur, interceditque inter hos et ---- peramplum curritorium seu ambitus, ut indique liberrimè patent aditus omnibus, usque(?) à curribus aut rhedis quas etiam hodie pene 50 numerare fuit, impediator aliquis, terris templi etiam elegans, ita instructa ut equo liceat eam conscendere. Canonicatus admodum celebris, ex quod hic in Hispania singulare summeque laudabile, nullus hic Canonicatus in quo non quatuor personæ ex Canonici eiusmodi quorum unus SS. Theologiæ Canonis(?), Juris Canonici alter Juris Civilis tertius, et quartus Concionator, et hi quidem quantum, eis(?) nulâ nobilitate prædicti ad Canonicatum quemcumque habent aditum, quantorum quoque p---entium sint Canonicatus Hispanici, colligendum est ex Sevillano ArchiEpiscopo, qui hoc anno de magna annonas caritate veniet ad 300 millia aureorum, conficit autem aureus Hispanicus nostratem medium imperial-em, non sufficit hoc tam amplium patrimonium bono ArchiEpiscopo ad sublevandos Hispalenses pauperes, quorum quotidie propè 20 millia pane suo pascie, certa unicuique alli panis, quali et nos ves-cimur designati portione 6 videlicet uncia---, pretium fortè duorum nostratium crucigerorum, intantum optimus hic Præsul in pauperes liberalis est et profusus, ut ipsam iam aggrediatur supellectilem argentam, eamque ent(?) appignoret aut divendat, tantum ut pauperibus, quorum hic infinitus est numerus, succorret. Namquid bonum opus operatur hic Sanctus Præsul, qui Thesaurus Ecclesiæ dat pauperibus, eum quibus pauperibus cogor et ego finem scribendi facere, et factus cum illis quoque in Hispania quoque pauperior, à R[everen]tia v[es]tra cæterisque omnibus id unicè efflagitans, ut et mihi de thesauris Ecclesiæ quotidie impertiri aliquid non graventur, scientes quod facultates Ecclesiæ, quas in eiusmodi pauperem dispergunt, in Cælestes Thesaurus, manus pauperis istius deportate conserverunt.

Reverentiæ vestræ omniumque

Servus in Christo

Indignissimus Indiarum Missionarius

Augustinus Strobach.

Sevillæ 27^a Septembris A^o 1678.

Synopsis.

[He refers to the previous letters he sent to his addressee (probably Fr. de Boye) earlier from places in Germany, Austria and Italy. He compares the potential mail delays and gives examples of faster mail service between Sicily, Rome and southern Spain. The Austrian Jesuits were able to send their letters care of their Ambassador's confessor, i.e. via the diplomatic pouch. He expects that 5 ships will soon leave for Mexico, but this could be a rumor. The fleet had just left on 14 July [1678], and the missionaries aboard were lucky people! The weather is hot in Spain during July.]

[There was a certain Sicilian cavalryman called Carolus Caly [sic] who had been chosen to serve in the Mariana Islands by the General of the Jesuits.¹ He was a virtuous man. Other missionaries bound for the Philippine Province were: 1) the Italian Father Teofilo de **Angelis**, whom he described as having a flimsy health, and knowledgeable in astronomy, geometry, and clock-making; 2) Father **Klein**, who had some knowledge of medicine; 3) the Austrian Father Adam **Gerstl** who was an accomplished painter, who painted one portrait each for the first 4 martyrs of the Marianas: **Fr. Luis de Medina**, **Fr. Francisco Ezquerra**, **Fr. Sanvitores**, and **Fr. Antonio de San Basilio**, but not for Br. Pedro Díaz.]²

[On 14 September, while staying at the College of San Hermenegildo in Seville, his cell was broken into while he was at the barber shop and his suitcase containing personal effects was stolen. He lost a book on medicine by a Prague physician called Burgrave, a breviary, a diary, a bible, a Life of the Apostles by Fr. Ardechin, the Soliloquies of St. Augustine, the Letters of St. Francis Xavier, the Imitation of Christ by Thomas a Kempis, etc. He also had lost copies he had made of letters sent to/from the Royal Council, private correspondence from friends, etc. An investigation turned up nothing. He thinks that a logical explanation was the work of students looking for pyrotechnic materials, which some Jesuits kept in their own cells. Such fireworks were used during religious festivities; for instance, they had been used on 31 August, the feast-day of St. Ignatius. He described this celebration, plus that of the Blessed Virgin on 17 September. Regular classes at the College began on 19 September. Two of his missionary colleagues, Fathers Calvanese and Angelis, attended classes in theology in the morning, and taught them to others in the afternoon. On that same day, a funeral service was held in the Cathedral of Seville for a Professor of Theology. He compares this church to that of St. Stephen's in Vienna and thinks it is more beautiful and elegant. He describes other courses given, in Canon Law, in Civil Law, and in oratory (i.e. preaching). He also mentions the charitable activities of the Archbishop of Seville.]

1 Ed. note: This Fr. Carlos Cali [rather Calvanese] was Sicilian (see p. 161). Upon arrival at Guam, his place was taken by Fr. Strobach, while he went on to Manila (see Doc. 1682D).

2 Ed. note: These paintings have disappeared, unfortunately. Each painting had a short explanation, in Spanish, whose Latin equivalent is given above. After passing by Guam on the way to the Philippines in 1682, this Austrian Jesuit visited Guam again, as he was aboard the Manila sloop that brought Fr. Xaramillo for an official visit between August 1683 and February 1684.

P2. Letter dated Seville 21 October 1678

The original text in Latin.

Elapsum iam propè annum medium à quo è Provincia Bohemiæ ne vel unicas accepimus literulas summè(?) mereunt omnes, neque satis capimus, quomodo intra tantum temporis nulla adhuc ad nos perve---- primera(?) littera, cum Româ iam aliquoties ad ipsas etiam Sevillianas responsoriæ advenerat(?), nos ad Tridentinas in Aprili adhuc datas responsum expectamus, postis singulis, itane lo---- è Bohemia in Hispaniam transitus? illud quidem nos probè experti sumus, et utinam non experiremur multo lentiore adhuc ex Hispania ad optatum nostrum terminum ultimum in Indiam, cuius vix aliqua spes est intra triennium, sed et hi anni videntur nobis pauculi p--- - --is magnitudine, dummodo liceret tandem id assequi, quò vota etiamnum aspirant nostra.

*Compertum namque compluries Patribus huiatibus, ubi aliquantò diutius in Hispania morari prætolarique occasionem comedandi in Indias oportuit Patribus Missionarijs Indicis, vix medietatem eorum postmodum petijisse Indias, morte prius in Hispania obiit, ei huius iam inter nos ipsos factum esse initium vidimus proximè ablato uno à nobis, placuit nempe Omnipotenti deo Primitias sumere in nostrum aliquo, fuit is, seu potius, cecidit hæc fors super Patrem Mathiam **Fischer** Austriacum, opinione iudicioque omnium è nobis robustissimum, ætatis suæ annum vix adhuc attigerat 29m et hoc anno currente absolverat primò cursum Theologicum, etiam etiam cursum vitæ Missionisque Apostolicæ persolvit. Occasio mortis fuerat diarha [=diarrhœa], qua laboravit diebus aliquot, quæ in dijsenteriam degenerant 8 dierum spatio in tantum bonum Patrem debilitavit atque confecit, ut post omnem medicorum aliquot in consilium advocatorum curam, ternâ adhibita emissio, ne sanguinis è venis diversis de vita tandem clamari cæptum: quarè 10 huius SS. Viatico munitus ad vesperum sub horam septimam, post cænam verò horâ circiter nona sacro unctus oleo, et die postero, qui fuit 11 eiusdem hora primâ post meridiem in corona omnium comprecantium placidè obdormivit in Domine. Et quia non potui non approbare piam hic et laudabilem consuetudinem ægris hic administrandi Sacramenta, placuit hic illum attexere: dato ætis campani domestici signo, ac tutum omnes Patres, fratresque Ecclesiam adeuns, inde accepto in pyxide SS. Sacramento à templi Præfecto, omnes procedunt ordine bini, et bini cereos accensos gestantes manibus in infirmi cubiculum, in via clara voce recitantes psalmum **Miserere, et De profundis** præbitoque SS. Sacramento infirmo, revertuntur omnes suo ordine in Ecclesiam inter recitandum hymnum Ambrosianum Augustinianumque uti et psalmum **Laudate Dominum in Cælis**. Numquid hæc pia imitatuque dignissima est consuetudo? Sed nec fortè ingrata erit consuetudo altera sepeliendi mortuos. Vix mortem obiit Pater Matthias, in templo pulsatum, qui pulsus ad ipsam usque noctem perduravit, et manè rursus finitâ meditatione inchoatus, neque finitus citius, quam corpus Cryptæ fuisset impositum Altaria templi tecta omnia, in medio templi erectus pes altus ad unam spitamam nigro panno vestitus, collocata circacircum candelabra pro facibus 6 et pro candelis octo omnes è cera viride. Post nonam matutinam ad signum campanum omnibus nostris è varijs Collegijs, domoque Professa huc invitatis, convenientibus, omnes et Patres et fratres superpelliceis induti cereos accensos portantes manibus, funus in hunc modum deduxerunt: depositum iacebat corpus defuncti in Congregatione in tumba media supernè apertâ, ita ut totus videri potuerit, indutus super religiosam vestem, albâ stolâ, manipulo, quasi Sacrificaturus superimpositâ casula, manus tenebat elevatas alligato ad eas calice, et in capite gestans quadratum, itâ iacebat pectandus ab omnibus, et itâ elato factâ prius à musicis symphoniâ aliqua; præcesserat cum umbella nigra (nostrate multo angustiore longioreque) frater noster Simon, subsequebantur Fra-*

*tres alij ac Patres linteati omnes cum accensis cereis, et psalmum **Miserere** intonabant, post illos ferebatur corpus à 12 nostris Patribus Missionarijs palliatis (quod ultimum charitatis obsequium et ego illi præstiteram) et sic processum circa Scholarum arcam ad Ecclesiam nostram, ibi deposito corpore super pedem præmemeratum, in tumba media supernè aperta nullo alio supposito feretro, et nostris utrimque confidentibus, decantatus à musicis nocturnus unus cum lectionibus, ità quidem ut psalmi cum Antiphonis decirentur choraliter, lectis prima et responsoria cum vocibus omnibus e instrumentis musicis, lectio secunda et tertia ab uno Ecclesiastico per meras coloraturas modo planè tonoque extraordinario, finito nocturno cantatum Sacrum à Patre Præfecto Templi assistentibus nostris Patribus et Fratribus, post quod peractæ cærimoniæ reliquæ et corpus Cryptæ impositum dempta etiam illâ tumbâ mediâ calice et casula, reliquo apparatu relicto duravit hic processus duabus propè horis, et iam requiescit in benedictione interpellaturus pro nobis apud Deum, patronum et advocatum nostrum acturus in Cælis causæ nostræ Missionisque Apostolicæ, q--- non licuit habere in terris Socium coadjutorem. Et hic mos est sepeliendi nostros mortuos in Fratribus, prout die subsequenti in Hybernorum Collegio videre erat illud(?) singulare, quod in pallijs sepeliantur, et quia paulstinum est illud Collegium, nec advo--- auas(?) externi musici, sed nostri tantum nocturnum unum cum lectionibus decantarunt ex illo decantato reliquisque cærimonijs consuetis persolutis corpus terræ mandarunt sinè obra tumba(?) pallis antè complicato terra super eum iniecta et sic requiescit à laboribus fuit(?) et ut omne trinum perfectum sit, tertium etiam adnecto funus et modum sepeliendi reos die 16 eiusdem in furcam actos. Fuerunt hi fratres duo, ideò supplicio affecti, quod Cavallerum quondam occidissens. Erectum est in medio fori patibulum è trabibus funibus tantum compagiratum. deducti ad illud in ipso meridie ab uno Patre Missionaris celeberrimo ab ijsdem rois(?) petito et idcirco è-- Missione sua huc advocato, suspensi in cappa alba, qualis apud nos disciplinantium esse consuevit, horâ pomeridiana circiter quarta è patibulo depetiti et quisque suo superimpositus feretro eleganti undique cancellato, pannoque investito cæruleo ad hos iam sic depositos longus procedebat Patrum Franciscanorum primi Ordinis numerus, ducentas quippe personas amplissimum eorundem hic monerat Cænobium, et ibi utrimque fantes acconsis cereis pro ijsdem parentarunt, his successit Clerus cum musicis consuetis persolventes preces et cantus, et tandem hoc ordine processum est, prælatum labarum unum inter faces 12 virides, subsecuta tota quasi Cavalleria Hispalensis maxim sanè numero cereos virides prægrandes gestantes manibus, hæ sequebatur Clerus cum musicis et tandem unusquisque à Cavallerijs delatus ad Sacellum, seu potius Ecclesiam SS. Sacramenti Cathedrali Ecclesiæ adjunctam, ibi deposito utriusque corpore in templo medio dictoque à Clero et musicis nocturno uno cum lectionibus reliquisque pro more peractis, è templo elati ad eiusdem templi Cæmeterium perquam augustum, ibique honorificè sepulti, factumque sic saltem sepulchrum eorum gloriosum, quorum mors fuit nimis quam ignominiosa, illud præ ceteris me, et alios plures in admirationem rapuit, præter 16 illos Cavalleros omnino perillustres reorum istorum corpora ad sepulchrum deferentes, duos alios Cavalleros magni nominis pro ijsdem diebus aliquot videre mendicantes, obibant hi vicos ferè omnes et plateas, præsertim ubi maior affluxus hominum, manibus gestantes scutellam, supplicando pro ijs eorundemque exequijs eleemosynam, quod postmodum peractis exequijs super est erogatur uxori et prolibus si quæ est.*

Et quid ego interea inter has mortes, numquid ad longè acerbiores pro fide animarum Salute subeundam me excito et anno? quid similia exspectare in Hyspania? peste in satis vicina nobis Malagæ videlicet 15 circiter leucis à nobis distante, multum iam grassante nec inanis omnino hic timor, est, neque frustranea quæ adhibentur undique custodia et tutelas ad ipsas Civitatis portas stans semper duo ex hon-

oratoribus baculos in modum crucis disingentes in terra, nè ullus ingredi possit aut egredi, nisi prius bene examinatus, neque ullus egredi permittitur. Secularis saltem nisi Scheda prius exhibita, nec hoc satis, constituti insuper 40 equites, qui uno ab Urbe milliari vias omnes lustrant, investigantes omnes, unde et quousque viatorum tendat, num è loco suspecto sit, necne, contigit ut una penè familia Malaga huc Sevillam se transtulerit, ingressi iam etiam Urbem et domum incolentes, sed proditi, ideoque ex esse ex Urbe, et foris quarantenam facere, combustis eorum rebus, vestibus, quidquid secum attulerant, iam quoque instituta semel hic supplicatione, et proce ad malum istud hinc avertendum apponitur à nobis etiam inordinarijs OO. SS. Iytanijs semper oratio illa pro peste avertenda: avertat Deus tam grande malum ex urbe hac maxima valdeque populosa, in qua trecenta dicuntur degere hominum millia, solorum Gallorum viginti millia et amplius feruntur esse millia, Genuentium 8 millia, ipsorum etiam Anglorum millia aliquot demto tamen religionis eorum exercitio profecto tanto in populo accedente insuper grandi malo famis quam facile enasci est malum alterum, pestem videlicet digna verè compassione, et quæ quotidie Deo in precibus commendetur Hispania, quæ triplici laborat malo, peste, fame, bello! et quid si quem terra Bohe-ma rejecit, Hispana caperet? Quod si et nos incideremus in has Dei manus? Certe Augustini nihil omnino refert, humine in terra qualicumque putrescat, an sublimè, dummodo in causa Dei, fide, animarumque salute. Illud solatij omnibus nobis Missionarijs hic morientibus esse potest, in duabus minimum parenturi provincijs, inprimis in Hispania hoc nomine Bætica, in qua sumus in Philippinis ad quas pertinemus, et ubi quidem pro more loci pro quolibet duplex persolvitur Missæ Sacrificium, prout et pro Patre Fischer uti iam significabitur et nec nostra à qua egressi sumus Provincia, ita omnium nostrum oblita, ut non etiam illorum meminerit in suis SS. Sacrificijs, et precibus ubi eos mortuos intellexerit, quod quidem ex suffragijs Româ mitti solitis difficulter intelligent, nisi à nostrorum è Provincia aliquo fuerit significatum, nimium enim quantum mutila, et defective fiunt, hic nomine nostra Provincia, ita ut in ipso loco in quo piè obijt Pater Fischer in Sacristia iam vocatus sit et scriptus Fisch, quid fiet si per plures scriptores transeat nomen istud? Sed licet omnes etiam in Provincia nostra obliviscerentur nostri, Deus certè nunquam obliviscetur, propter quem en cuius causa eandem deservimus, Dei gloriam, animarumque salutem et in altero mundo propagaturi.

Hactenus nova tristia, nunc ad alia lætiora veniamus: Festivitas Beatæ Virginis de victoria prima Dominica Octobris magna cum solennitate celebrata est a Patribus Dominicanis, præcipue in templo eorum monasterioque primario, in quo et vigent studia omnia humanistica pridie auditi ignes missiles plurimi è diversis eorundem cænobijs, turres omnes ac tecta templorum plena omnia luminaribus, ipso die instituta processio in præfato monasterio primario sub horam quintam pomeridianam, quæ ducta tantum per eiusdem monasterij ambitus hoc audire procedebant comicè induti 10 tripudiantes toti, saltantesque ubique quâ ibant perstrepenes lignellis illis alias iam descriptis, nodulis quæ è vestibus dependebant undique mirè personantibus, hos sequebatur longus Cavallerorum ordo, grandes ferentes cereos virgineos, hos novus claudebat psallentium ordo virorum simul et mulierum, comicè itidem, sed elegantius in mero auto argentoque vestitorum, numero 8 larvati omnes procedebant semper vir iunctus mulieri eiusdem coloris et ornatus, viri quidem manibus pulsantes citharas et fides varias, fæminæ verò lignellis perstrepen-tes; gyabant autem se omnes et artificiosius prioribus quacumque incedebant tripudiantes ad modulos musicos, post ipsos venere musici vocum omnium, et post illos secuta umbella, quam sequebantur Religiosi illius ordinis 50 ferè paria, tandem Domini faces gestantes manibus copioso numero ante et post Beata Virginis statuam perquam magnificam et in grandesa Hispanica collocatam super feretrum undique tectum, ut à nomine ferri videretur, ferebatur hæc statua sub Baldachino, quod octo Patres Do-

minicani sustentabant Beatam Virginem comitabatur Pontificans cum suis Ministris et devotus fæminæ sexus, eundo per ambitus et processione totâ resonabant ubique pyroboli, ignes missiles maximè in templi atrio, erecto ad id artefacto aliquo è varijs circulis opere pyrotechnico confectis, quod accensum transeuntem B. Virginem ignibus missilibus salutavit ut plurimum, ut et applausit.

*Solennitatem hanc Beatæ Virginis sequebatur die altero Beati Francisci Borgiæ nostra solennitas peropportunè ego Domum Professum adij ad salutandum hunc S. Patronum nostrum eo ipso tempore quo ipse loci Archiepiscopus eundem salutaturus advenit sub horam quintam pomeridianam rectâ templum petijt, nostris aliquot Patribus (inter quos et ego cum meo socio palliati) cum ipso Reverendo Patre Provinciali simpliciter sinè omni veste domestica eum deducensibus, in templo primum aram D. Borgiæ adijt, coram qua corsuum humi prostratus effudit nullo supposito pulvillo, inde ad aras alias D. Xaverij Sancti Patris nostri conversus idem factitabat, defixis in nudam terram poplitibus, per actaque devotione sua Colloquium in eodem templo cum Rdo. Patre Provinciali cæterisque inijt perquam familiare, nobis inde discedentibus, colligere licet inde affectum magnum, quam tenet Præsul optimus erga Societatem nostram, si iam aliunde non constaret manifestius ex ipso scilicet novo S.P.N. sacro per illum procurato, pro quo etiam idcirco per totam Societatem indicta fuere suffragia videlicet pro **Ambrosio Spinola**,¹ cui id nomen est multum etiamnum agitur per eum pro Canonizatione nostri Patris Spinolæ, de cuius Familia et ipse est, det Deus plures eiusmodi Prælatos atque Episcopos.*

8va. huius aliam celebritatem habuit universitas seu potius facultas Philosophica promotionem nimirum Baccalaureorum Philosophiæ, quos hic Cavalleros vocitant, peracta in hunc modum: horâ tertiâ pomeridianâ præmisso prius examine privato in triplici facultate Philosophica, nostrorum, Dominicanorum, et externorum de novo examinati publicè in Universitate quam externi tenent vix unus alterve Syllogismus propositus etiam quoque finiebatur examen, quo finito tubicines ad portam præstantes duo tubis plautum dederunt, omnium 28 persoluto examine iam iam ritè examinati approbatique vicinam adirunt scholam et unus post alterum conscendens cathedram factum se Baccalaureum seu Cavallerum proclamabat, pueris qui illic aderant et reliquis applaudentibus cum festivis acclamationibus, post hoc redas iam præparatas tres conscenderant in ijs deveci per primaria Urbis compita et plateas cum acclamationibus et proprijs et alienis puta: vivant Cavalleri Sevillenses! --go hic applausus cum die finem fecit, sed durat ad ipsum noctis medium ad ipsas præsertim nostrorum fenestras et Professori suo et sibi invicem applaudendo. Circum e uno quoque occasione ista et similibus et in domorum parietibus præsertim Scholarum, Collegij etc. colore rubro depingunt Professoris nomen apposito supernè Victor ita efformato V+R, hinc et scholorum et Collegij aliarumque vicinarum domum, parietes pleni picturis eiusmodi V+R celebravit etiam hæc universitas promotionem anniversariam initio anni fieri solitam 18 huius quæ quomodo instituta, ignoro.

Cæterum expectamus hac posta ordinationem aliquam ad Collegia huius provinciæ, ita namque ab Admodum Reverendo Patre nostro Româ scriptum ad Reverendum Patrem Provincialem huius Provinciæ, ut nos ad consueta Societatis munia a Collegijs applicet, quod et acceptaverat statim, id tantum à nobis expetens, ut quisque sibi significet, quæ aura cuiusque Complexioni accomoda, nos è Provincia Bohemiæ indifferentes nos obtulimus ad auram quamcumque. Interea tamen responsi loco expectare jussi, nescio quibus intervenientibus difficultatibus et impedimentis, non amplius iam nos adimus men-

¹ Ed. note: Perhaps a relative of the Marquis Ambrogio Spinola, an Italian who fought for Spain in the Low Countries and Lombardy, but died in 1630.

*sam in privato Missionariorum Collegio, sed communem in Collegio Sancti Hermenegildi ad solutionem tamen Procuratoris nostri pendendo quot diebus prose et socio nobisque 17 Ducatos nostrates duos et nos cras ad villam suburbanam à Reverendo Patre Rectore cum toto Collegio ibi tractandi invitati sumus. Si interea de me nova acciderit ordinatio ut alio migrem, litteras suas Reverentia vestra dirigat Seville ad Patrem nostrum Procuratorem **Petrum Espinar**, licet enim omnes dispersi fuerimus in Collegia. Frater tamen Simon cum eodem permanebit Seville, qui data occasione ad me transmitti faciet. Interea me, meaue exercitia quæ hac Septimana probabiliter inchoabimus Reverentiæ vestræ Sacrificijs, cæterumque omnium quos peramanter saluto semper commendo.*

Reverentiæ vestræ

Servus in Christo, et indignissimus Indiarum Missionarius.

A. S.

Seville 21 octobris 1678.

Synopsis.

[Again he mentions that the Fathers from Bohemia have not yet received letters from home. Most of this letter speaks of the death of one of the Austrian missionary, Fr. Matthew Fischer. He died of severe diarrhea on 29 September 1678 at the age of 29, and was buried after elaborate ceremonies in the Spanish style, which are described in detail. The plague was then affecting southern Spain, Malaga was a closed city, and the epidemic had reached to within 15 leagues of Seville. He describes how the cavalry was keeping control over the movements of the population. Rumor had it that already 300,000 people had died in Europe, of which 20,000 Frenchmen, 8,000 Genoese, and even 1,000 in England.]

[He mentions that Fr. Fischer's name was pronounced and written Fischi by the Spanish, for unexplicable reasons. He describes a street procession of over 100 Dominican Fathers with horsemen, musicians, etc. in attendance on the first Sunday of October. They used firecrackers too. The Jesuits in turn celebrated the feast-day of St. Francis Borgia. There is mention of an attempt by the Jesuits to have one of their own, a Father Ambrose Spinola, canonized. The graduation of some students from the Faculty of Philosophy of the local university is fully described. One custom was that the schools and colleges which the graduates had attended placed the symbol V+R, meaning Victor, besides their names on honor boards. The whole college was invited to a party in a suburban villa the next day. He asks that letters be addressed care of **Fr. Pedro Espinar**, the Procurator, as the missionaries may be distributed among various houses. His companion, Brother Simon,¹ was to stay in Seville.]

1 Ed. note: See earlier footnote.

P3. Undated letter, but written in August 1679

Note: The date of this letter can be determined from the events described therein (when compared with Doc. 1679Q).

The original text in Latin.

Jhs.

Reverende in Christo Pater.

Tres à Reverentia Vestra, et quas 7^a Maij, et quas 4^a Junij, inclusas in Patris Cuculini ---- recreatus sum litteris, posta unica, 7 Augusti, in ipsa octava S.P.N. Ignatij; et nec ego -----, sed una mecum omnes, qua PP. Missionarij, qua PP. Hispani, specialissimè R.P. Præpositus Domus Professæ, qui avidissimè ejusmodi præstoletur litteras, plurimo cum gustu eas dedit(?), et mirum in modum in stylo Latino sibi complacet, siquidem illius nullus pene, et in scribendo, et loquendo, apud PP. Hispanos nostros est usus, et exercitium.

Bolvimus tamen etiam ex parte altera, quam maxime de jactura tot litterarum, solationumve, quæ nobis Ra. Va. copiosè semper communicasse commemorat per continuum litterarum commertium, angustus(?) interim valde exiguum à me saltem, reciprocum, scilicet æquat numquam, nec æqua--- eum Filiorum, et gratitudo, amorem, curam, et sollicitudinem Patris amantissimi. Et ut quis ex omnibus nobis, certè ego Ræ. Væ. plurimum me debere lubens fatebor semper, præ singularibus præ ceteris obstrictum sibi reddidit beneficijs, et gratijs, inter quas prima semper numeranda venit hæ ipsissima Missio Indica, ad quam ne aspirare quidem ausus, taceo, ut eandem assequeretur, sperare potuissem unquam, nisi mecum semper fuisset Emmanuel, --- suum, quod ad Missiones ejusmodi habuit maximum, mihi omnino transcripsisset, egissetque modis omnibus, ut me suum in Indis faceret substitutum, seu potius Legatum, et Apostolum, cujus beneficij uti memor quam frequentissimè, ita et gratus esse studeo in quotidianis meis, quamvis indignissimis precibus, et sacrificijs. Sed à si Ra. Va. efficacissimis suis quibuscumque potest modis, et viribus, id adhuc ageret etiam efficiretque apud Altissimum, ut Legatione hac nostra quam primum fungeremur, apud Indos et infideles populos, hic enim in Hispania fructum nullum sortietur Legatio nostra, tam quia nec missi, nisi ad oves, quæ perierunt in Indis, tum quia Legatis alijs ibi haud opus est, ubi ipsi terrarum Domini, Hispan-- nostros intelligo, præsentibus sunt. Sic inaudivimus P. Thomam Bonvides, socium Rdi. P. Procuratoris è Paraquaria, relictum in Hispania, dum alter Romam petijt, in montana Madritensia excurrisset interim ad functiones Apostolicas, usque ad præfinitum solutionis navium in Paraquariam cum adventuris ex omni parte (uti adhuc speramus etiam ex partibus Germaniæ, licet heri iterum nuntium venerit in contrarium) Missionarijs, tempus. Non vult scilicet Zelosissimus Indiarum Apostolus, quantumvis ætate jam gravis, tempus illud quantumcumque breve, quod adhuc restat, quiete transigere, et otio, turpius nihil existimans in Viro Apostolico, quam turpi diffuere otio, dum plurimarum animarum interim periclitatur salus, nullaque re magis Missionariorum languescere virtutem, et fervore tepetere, quam otio et quiete, et quomodo non nostra languescere jam debet virtus, priusque conceptus fervor tepescere per quietem tam diuturnam, et otium annuum: sed hæc ipsissima quies et otium carceris instar nobis est, et tormenti maximi, hæ solitudo instar supplicij acerbissimi, dum velut in carcere compediti continemur vinculis ad omne viri Apostolici ministerium. O infelices nos! quis liberabit nos de carcere isto? nemo certè alius, quam Ra. Va. suis, suorumque SS. Sacrificijs, et ferventissimis precibus, tunc enim verò, sicut quondam orante Paulo, subito commoveantur fundamenta

Carceris, aperirentur ostia omnia, universorum solverentur vincula, irentque tum Angeli veloces ad gentem illam convulsam et dilaceratam, et ad populum terribilem, postquam non est alius.

*Sed satis de his antiqua hæc sunt nimium vota nostra, et desideria, ad alia jam potius veniendum. Vota sua ultima emisere hodie quatuor nostri Sevilla, emissuri alioquin quinque, si Pater unus è nostro Collegio non abisset in Patriam ibidem sua Coadjutoris Spiritualis emissurus, docet hic alias quinto jam anno infimam classem Grammatices, docebitque fortè ut hic moris est quasi in perpetuum. Ceteri quatuor fuerant Patres duo Missionarij P. Mathias **Cuculinus**, et P. Antonius **Kersbaumer** Tyrolensis, et duo Coadjutores temporales. Nostri PP. Missionarij professionem suam emisere in Ecclesia D. Hermenegildi, in manibus R.P. Petri **Espinar** Domus Professæ, et alter in Novitiata, ita enim hic usus obtinuit, ut eo, quo quisque degit loco, vota sua edat ultima, cui incumbit simul etiam totum postmodum tractare Collegium; habetque hæc Provincia speciale quodpiam præ ceteris privilegium, ut die quo Nostri seu solennia Professorum; seu ultima Coadjutorum spiritualium; aut temporalium; seu etiam prima tantum simplicia, finito tyrocinio, Religionis emittunt vota, solenniter tractetur totum Collegium, quæ tractatio quidem ab ipsis, qui vota emissuri sunt, vel à cognatis, et notis, aut pijs alijs Mecænatibus procuranda. Sic Fratrum aliquis in Festo D. Dominici prima sua emittens vota, totum nostrum opiparè habuit Collegium, excedit tamen multis parasangis super veniens tractatio in Festo Aussumptionis D. Virginis, quam in defecta notorum et amicorum, aut aliozem benefactorum, ipse R.P. Procurator noster, velut noster Superior, Pater, et Nutritius sollemnissimè instituit, ad triduanam enim mendicationem præviam (quæ horis solum pomeridianis instituitur) cum nec completos 6 ex germanicos collegerint, necesse fuit ut aliunde pro tam solenni tractatione venirent suppetiæ; invitati et ad Professionem ipsam, et ad Tricinium ipsemet R.P. Provincialis et Provinciales duo alij, R.P. Præpositus, cum PP. duobus nostris Missionarijs, sed propter sollemnitatem tum templi Domus Professæ, tum ipsium refectorij, quæ illo die habetur ex omnibus maxima, præter PP. Nostros Missionarios comparuit nemo.*

Ceterum quod mendicationem, quæ quidem in albis saccis lineis instituitur, tum ad meliorem distinctionem à veste reliqua, tum ad majorem submissionem animi: sollemnitatem ipsam in templo ad luminaria mediæ libra 24 ad muficere comparatam 6 pataconibus; tractationem in Refectorio, in qua cuivis præter alia, integra venit perdix; et particularia quæpiam attinet, non dubito ab ipso P. Cuculino omnium melius conscio, quia propriamet experientia, enucleatius transinbeulla(?). Apud Religiosos alios, dum vel alicujus habetur Professio, aut etiam primitiæ, festivitatis illius, quos imitantur in sollemnitatibus alijs ipsi etiam seculares, ex quorum domibus, tectis atque fenestris, undique hujusmodi diversorum colorum suspenduntur verilla(?), majora, minorave, et pretiosa quæque aulæa et perixtromata, prout sic ornatam vidi platera integram vicinam PP. Franciscanorum Ecclesiæ, in dedicatione B. Virginis de Angelis; seu ut vocant, de Portiuncula. Ad vota pertinere videtur etiam, quod et ipsa accidit hebdomada, quando Cavallerus quispiam jam septuagenerius, voto castitatis obstrictus, modo sanè mirabili interemtus est, recitaverat is sub ipsas jam tenebras in conclavi domus suæ coronam D. Virginis, et inter recitandum ab aliquibus ita contusus est, et dilaceratus, in facie maxime, unguibus; ut pene exanimis à suis repertus sit, quinam illi fuerint, constare haud potuit, cum nec ipse sic affectus nullum conspexerit, sed solum ictas senserit et dilariationes; provisum illi statim de sacramentis omnibus, quibus ritè munitus sanctè in Domino objit post dies aliquot, respiciebatque hic semper ab omnibus ob vitæ integritatem, moresque non christiano tantum, sed religioso dignissimos, nunquam comparebat in publico nisi instructus corolla precatória B. V., quam seu stans, seu sedens, seu ambulans, pertexebat B. Virgini, sed gratius volens eidem præstare obsequium Virginitatem à temeris servavit integram, neque sua placuisse D. Vir-

gini contentus, nisi eandem suæ persuasisset Germanæ. Promiserant sibi prius mutuo unum sine altero non initurum matrimonium, quod ubi servassent aliquamdiu, tandem in virtute perfectioneque progressi ulterius, uterque statuit suam servare Virginem, in qua cum 40 annis simul vixissent exercendo se quoque in alijs pijs operibus, siquidem castitas magna haud quaquam est sine bono opere, nec opus aliquod bonum sine illa, invidia acti ut non nulli autumant maligni spiritus, vita hujusmodi semper hostes infensissimi, et amplius iam non sustinentes, conati sunt tandem abrumpere sed vel ideo laudanda eo magis virginitas, quia verè sic fecit Martyrem. Sacra pro se post obitum legenda decrevit 4000 B. V. de populo nuncupatæ, pro inauranda ejusdem ara maxima transcripsit pataconum 4000. Germanæ suæ Virgine legavit 7 pataconum millia una cum domo sua, nisi SS. Virginum aliquod ingredi vellet cænobium, tunc enim alteri cuiquam amico cedendam ordinavit. Sepultas in prædicta B. Virginis Ecclesia, ad ejusdem aram, per quam latè, vult quiete sempiterna perfrui.

Tam quod nova attinet, 3^a Augusti celebrata satus populi Malagæ, volo dicere, declarata à peste libera Urbs Malaga consequenter intermissa hactenus, et quasi sopita cum alijs qua terra, qua mari habita commercia, resumì et reviviscere incipiunt iterum, sed quando nostrum; jam quasi sopitum, revisiscet tandem iterum cum terra, marique commercium? quando Deo visum fuerit et beneplacitum, sed commiseratione dignissimum, dum Malagæ celebratus satus populi, et quasi Domini cum lætare ad salutem populi consequitur. Passionis interim manei civitatibus alijs Dominicus, novæ enim civitates quatuor, inter quas Montilia, Caha- peste jam infectæ in ordinarijs circumferuntur sanitatis patentibus, distanti hæ Urbes viginti aliquot leucis à nobis, unde non parvas rursus timor, subortus est Sevillanis pro imminente jam autumno, non sunt hoc Anno, calores tanti, quanti præterito, et hoc ipsum suspicionem non nullis facit suspectumque reddit Autumnum intenduntur quidem nonnunquam, sed mox remittunt iterum afflante faventiori vento aliqæ; contra hos calores longè magis munire sese et claudere, quam unquam in Germania contra frigora, necesse est, illisque sustinendis licet magis æsueti PP. Hispani, nobis mirus tamen telerantes sunt, quam unquam nos, hinc aliquos calor nimius, et inde consecutus languor, deproperare non nihil facit, seu dicere expeditius missæ sacrificium, alios dicere materius, sub frigidiuscula aura matutina, imò ob nimium corporis languorem, debilitatemque planè intermittere cogit SS. Missa Sacrificium, quæ tamen omnia Deo sint laudes, nec anticipare me sacrum, nec solito brevius dicere, multò minus planè intermittere fecerunt, ullud Augustini mecum semper reputans: Hic ure-- dummodo inæternum parcas; et optans potius ac desiderans majorem ignem ad immolandum holocaustum illud divinissimum, interius, et incendium. Alio igne nuper incensam sumptuosissimam Societatis Ecclesiam cum ejusdem domi Pragæ, intelleximus ex Cæsetis proximis Hispanicis, sed veriora et benigniora nobis attulit hestern(?)posta Romana per P. Ampringen, combustam scilicet ex fulmine Tainensem Ecclesiam cum turri horti nostri, Refectorio, et sacello D. Michaelis. hic in Hispania tuti sumus ab hujusmodi incendijs et ignibus, sed utinam et sic ab aquis, novit Deus quid agatur cum Galeonibus, et Flotta, quod solito tardius hoc anno revertantur, jam quidem Propheta plures prædicere adventum Galeonum et Flottæ auditi sunt, unus quidem pro vigilia S. Laurentij, sed hunc falsum fuisse eventus jam comprobavit, qui pro vigilia Assumptionis B. V. prophetam egit, num verum dixerit, vespertina hodierna Gadibus declarabit posta, quod si nec hic, in tertio spes adhuc remanet, pro vigilia D. Bartholomæi, sed videntur hæc potius pia quorundam desideria, et singulares ad hos Sanctos affectus, et patrocina. desiderium meum et votum esset unicum, ut et R. P. Emmanuel de nobis prophetizaret, abitum nempe nostrum præpropem in Philippinas et Mexicum, tunc enim verò noster assecuraretur abitus, et huc omnium nostrum propend-

ent vota, sit itaque nobis Ra. Va. cum suis, suorumque SS. Sacrificijs et precibus Emmanuel, his nos commendamus animius.

*Reverentiæ Nostræ servus in Christo et indignissimus Philippinarum Missionarius,
Augustinus Ig[atius] Al[oysius] Strobach, S.J.*

P.S. Adsaluto quam humillimè, simul et reverentissimè cum debitis gratijs pro submissa nuper elemosyna R.P. Rectorum non cessat etiam in Hispanijs suis benefacere Tertiarijs Pater optimus, sed nec eidem cessabunt benedicere obsequentissime Filij. Adsaluto item P. Joannem, qui hodie singulariter exultus cum Angelis suis, neque eum inturbare litteras consuetum est, P. Ministrum, P. Lgetsy, PP. Tertianos, ac Fratres omnes, quorum SS. Sacrificijs, et precibus me semper, quam enixissimè commendo. Adsalutant Ram. Vam. una mecum omnes, tum præcipuè contubernalis meus, et conthesaurarius Charissimus Simon, qui hodie velut Martha satagebat circa suum ministerium.

Synopsis.

[Three letters were received from his correspondent. The first two, dated 7 May and 4 June, were received on 7 August. The one addressed to him he circulated among the Spanish Jesuits, who were amazed at the quality of the Latin, a good reading exercise for them.¹ He goes on to talk about the missions, the presence of various procurators seeking missionaries, specially **Fr. Thomas Bonvides** the Procurator for the Province of Paraguay, who was headed for Germany. He complains of the long wait in Spain, and the enforced idleness, comparing it to a stay in prison.]

[Various Fathers made some vows, notably 2 missionaries: Fr. Matthew **Cuculino**, and Fr. Anthony **Kersbaumer** [i.e. Cerezo] who was from Tyrol, as well as 2 coadjutor brothers. He describes the religious celebrations on the feasts of St. Dominic and the Assumption of the B.V.M. He narrates the story of a very religious old man who gave 4,000 pesos to have an altar of the Virgin redone in gold leaf. Not to be outdone, his sister gave 7,000 pesos. Both were subsequently buried inside the same church. On 3 August [1679] the city of Malaga was declared free of the plague. There were no galleons and no fleet that year. One rumor of a possible sailing turned out to be false. He sends greetings to religious acquaintances at home.]

1 Ed. note: Unlike other parts of Europe, the Spanish Jesuits did not have to use Latin in their correspondence.

P4. Letter to Fr. Manuel de Boye, dated Seville 24 October 1679

The original text in Latin.

Reverendo Patri in Christo Emmanueli de Boye è Societate JESU.

Reverende in Christo Pater.

Pax Ejusdem.

Annuncio Ræ Væ gaudium magnum, quod erit omni populo Indico, quia promulgatus est tandem, et irrevocabiliter decreto Flotta abitus, ad ætatem anni sequentis, quem quidem, quo poturunt, modo anticipare conabuntur, sum propter infortunia plurima, casusque varios, quos experti alias sæpius, dum navigatione proxima, in qua fuerunt in manifestissimo vitæ, naufragijque periculo naves omnes, ac homines: nisi Dei misericordia, opeque Cœlitum, prodigiose omnino inde erepti, hinc beneficiorum istorum memores, votisque ibidem factis rei, grati etiamnum se sistunt Tutelaribus suis, Patronis, et Auxiliatoribus; inter cæteros unus aliquis voto facto ad Divum Nostrum Thaumaturgum Xaverium, ex Mexico candelabra duo argentea (8 librarum unum, et pretio 80 pataconum:) ejusdem Sancto aræ in nostra Divi Hermenegildi Ecclesia submisit, consecravitque. Et faciant utinam, adlaborentque modis omnibus Mercatores Hispaniæ, quorum causa hic maxime agitur, ne pretioso mecium(?) suarum periclitentur thesauro, ut quantocujus Flotta solvat ex Hispania; nostra quoque animarum mercatorum plurimum intererit, continuis ad DEUM emissis precibus, ac observationibus, votis omnibus, atque suspirijs naves propellere ne nostro pretiotiori longe animarum periclitemur thesauro. Sed nec vellemus, ut RR. PP. FFumque nostrorum, tum præcipue Ræ Væ cum tota sua Aula Sancta desiderarentur partes in hoc negotio, pro nobis indesinenter DEUM, Cœlitumque implorando opem et auxilium, ut itineri, conatibusque nostris tandem faveant, atque obsecudent, quando jam Divinæ benignitatis aura freti, vela ut pandamus, omnino conclusum est; eamque nobis in hoc negotio paulatim jam afflari confidimus, nisi forte ob nostra delicta, quominus rem tantam attingamus, conficiamusque, nos deferat, atque destituat.

Sit itaque DEUS nobis auxilio semper atque præsidio! Cæterum cum promulgata Flotta, navigia quoque alia Mercurium pro elaborando argento summe necessarium, una itura etiam conclusum esse, passim spargitur, omine pro nobis optimo, addet alas Mercurius, ut plenis velis, et alarum remigio quam citissime desideratas nostras attingamus Indias.

Galeorum vero abitum in Octobrem usque sequentis anni, et una etiam Paraquariensium navigiorum reditum, translatum esse a plerisque creditur; necdum ergo spem omnem deponant, aut animum, Indicarum Missionum candidati in partibus Germaniæ, cessante quippe jam Adm. R.P.N. ratione, ob nimias videlicet temporis angustias, propter quas adesse posse in tempore nostros ex Germania, sibi non persuaderat, multumque jam prolongato reditus tempore, quominus votis multis ac precibus inde desiderati Missionarij, saltem aliquot, faveantur etiam Paraquariensi Provinciæ, si præter enumeratum, aliud impedimentum non fuit, nequaquam est dissedendum. Et licet hic etiam impeditus jam esset adytus, aut præoccupatus forte jam ab alijs, ut aperiatur novus quantocujus alibi, in novum Granatense Regnum, nova spes iterum affulget, Procurator enim illius Provinciæ, cum socijs suis, Patre altero, et altero Coadjutore. 11^a hujus Sevilla Madritum abijt, inde postmodum iturus Romam, ubi acta prius Provinciæ suæ causa in Consilio Regio, et impetratis sine dubio sociorum, Missionariorumque manipulis, designet Adm. R.P.N. et alios, quos mittat ante faciem suam, ex partibus nimirum Germaniæ et Italiæ. Si

ergo spe sua prima, expectationeque fraudati sunt viri illi desideriorum pro Indica Missione in Paraquariam, manebit adhuc spes altera, et expectatio pro Indijs, in novum Granadæ regnum, non confundet enim vero illos DEUS ab expectatione sua. Fidelis DEUS, per quem vocati sumus omnes: et qui cooperatus est nobis in Apostolatum Mexicanicum, aut Philippinensem, operabitur et illis inter Gentes alias.

Quare in cunctis orationibus meis (præsertim hoc sacro exercitio rdm(?) tempore, quod cum Novembri auspicatorum sum) pro omnibus cum gaudio deprecationem facio, confidens hoc ipsum, quia qui cœpit in nobis opus bonum, perficiet. Sine dubio et ipsi magis satagent, ut per bona opera certam vocationem, et electionem faciant.

Itaque finem scribendi facio, DEUM obtestans, ut pro sua immensa misericordia nos ad suam felicitatem aliquando aggreget, ad quam facti sumus, et simul in hac vita vires nobis augeat, quo sedulam illi, ut par est, navantes operam, ad ejus nutum et voluntatem, totos nos usque quaque conformemus.

Hispani 24 Octobris Anno 1679.

Reverentiæ Vestræ

Servus in Christo,

indignissimus filius, et Philippinarum Missionarius

Augustinus Ignatius Aloysius Strobach S.J.

P.S.

Promisi nuperis meis, 10ma. hujus ad Ram. Vram. datis, submissurum me, ubi primum in lucem prodierint, transmissa per flottam R.P. Procuratori nostro nova Chinensia, seu Relationem status, constitutionisque tum Societatis nostræ, tum S. Fidei Catholicæ in Chinis: quia vero posset accidere, ut septimanis et mensibus sub censura desudarent, et prælo, transcripta interim misimus ad loca varia nostræ Provinciæ, ut perditio forte uno, habeatur saltem exemplar alterum; et 17 quidem hujus misimus Litteras Clericorum Gallorum ad nostros, et nostrorum vicissim responsorias ad illos, cum additis solennibus P. Magellanes exequijs, missuri etiam residua, ipsamque totius Chinensis status substantiam, occasione proxima.

Ego quantumvis R:V: ea me transmissurum promiserim, quia tamen majori semper cedendum est, P. Cuculino permisi jure meritissimo, contentus mea transmittere sanctæ tertiæ probationis Domui, tum, ut si ibi tertium annum agit R.P. Emmanuel, ijsdem una gaudeat, tum si alibi, ijs etiam non careat tam Sancta Domus, de me cum ejusdem Domus amantissimo R.P. Rectore optime merito, cujus me, et una Ræ Væ paterno affectui iterum, iterumque me commendo.

Clausis jam literis resto P. Cuculinum gloriosam mortem V.P. Sebastiani de Monroy cum adjuncto ejus elogio à R.P. Superiore Marianarum Philippinis transmissam, non prius, ut putaveram, ad Ram. Vram. sed recte ad R.P. Mathiam Tanner dirigere, misso solo Ræ Væ excerpto illo ex litteris P. Solorsano super statu Missionum Marianarum; ne ergo hoc etiam R^a V^a privetur solatio, R.P. Rectorem Philippinensem (cui hanc eundem transmisi) rogavi in litteris, ut et illa Ræ Væ communicaretur, ad meliorem, pleniorumque totius martyrij (cujus Relationem alteram ab ejusdem P. Sebastiani in Missione socio P. Ahumada scriptam, Ræ Væ hic transmittito) ex relationibus varijs cupiendam notitiam.

Iterum ergo in Marianis vacat locus pro Missionario! O si dignus quanto cujus fierem pro hac Christi missione!

Translation.

To the Reverend Father in Christ, Manuel de Boye of the Society of JESUS.

Reverend Father in Christ.

Peace be with you also.

I announce a great joy to Y.R., which will be popular in the whole of the Indies, because it has finally been promulgated, and irrevocably decreed, that the departure of the fleet will take place next summer, which is in any case as far as they have been able to predict. Given the numerous reverses and various unlucky incidents, I am no more sure than other experts whether the next navigation will involve a manifest risk to life, or all the ships in danger of shipwreck, unless, of course, through God's mercy and the miraculous works of Heaven then bring to mind these past benefits and also vows for good happenings, thanks to favors coming from their patron and auxiliary saints. Among them a special ex-voto presented to our miracle worker, St. Francis Xavier, came from Mexico in the form of two silver candelabras (one weighing 8 pounds, and worth 80 pesos) meant for the Saint's altar in our church at [the College of] San Hermenegildo, and consecrated. I only wish that the merchants of Spain, whose cause has been put forward here, did their best by all means possible to stop putting the precious money in danger, and have the fleet sail from Spain; and so, with our own interest lying in the hands of so many merchants, let us continuously offer all our prayers, observances, vows and wishes to GOD, to propel the ships, to prevent our more precious treasure of the souls from being endangered. However, dear Reverend Fathers and Brothers, let us not forget that you all have parts to play in this affair, specially Y.R. and your whole saintly class, by praying incessantly to GOD, and imploring the intervention and assistance of Heaven, so that they will favor our voyage and also our efforts, that they be complied with, when, thanks to Divine kindness, the conclusion is near and the sails ready to be unfurled to the wind in the strait. And we already hope that in this regard to be blown little by little, unless perhaps we are prevented from achieving this thing on account of our sins, and we bring about another delay for ourselves.

Consequently, may GOD be our help and protection always! Now that the fleet has been announced, it is extremely important to take pains with money to arrange for some other merchant ships, and also to prepare for the voyage, it is spreading out in all directions, a good omen for us. Let Mercury give them wings, so that with full sails and with all possible speed we may reach the Indies, our intended destination.

Indeed the departure of the galleons in October, and also the return of the fleet of the Paraguay ships, is believed to have been delayed until next year; therefore, there is still hope for the candidates for the missions of the Indies from parts of Germany, for instance, in case of a delay in getting permission from our Most Rev. Fr., our people may come from Germany on time, unless he has persuaded them of the extreme shortage of time, and many would-be missionaries may apply once again, now that there is more time available, in accordance with their many wishes and prayers. Anyhow, many may also be sent to the Province of Paraguay, if only the list has been made, and they are not otherwise prevented; this is by no means impossible. And even if the departure

were already impossible, or if perhaps the preoccupation of others with the opening of a new field elsewhere, in the Kingdom of New Granada, new hope once again has opened up, for another Father and another Coadjutor to join the Procurator of that province and his companions. He left Seville for Madrid on the 11th, then he will travel to Rome, where, after having first presented the case for his province in the King's Council, and undoubtedly requested a mission band, our Most Rev. Fr. will most certainly assign more, as he sees fit, from parts of Germany and Italy. Consequently, if these men are frustrated in their first hope and expectation of their desires for an overseas mission in Paraguay, there thus remains another hope and expectation of still going to a mission in the Indies, but in the Kingdom of New Granada. May GOD, our faithful GOD, not deny them their expectation. We have all been called through Him, and He cooperates with us in the evangelization of Mexico, or of the Philippines, and by opening the field among other peoples.

That is why I joyfully invoke Him in all my prayers on behalf of everyone (specially during the most sacred exercise, now that I look forward to November), trusting in this because He who has begun the good work within us will finish it. No doubt they should be more than satisfied that their good works have led them to a sure vocation, and they have made the right choice.

Consequently, I have come to the end to my writing, and beg GOD that through His immense mercy He may call us anytime to His felicity, for which we have been created, and also that he may increase our strength in this life, to the degree necessary for us to be able to perform our duties carefully, and we all conform to His beck and call.

Seville, 24 October 1679.

Your Reverence's servant in Christ,
your unworthy son, and missionary to the Philippines,
Augustin Ignatius Luis Strobach, S.J.

P.S.

As I promised in my previous letter that I would do, whenever they come to light, on the 10th of this month, a letter was sent by me to Your Reverence, with news received by the fleet from our Rev. Fr. Procurator in China, i.e. a Relation of the status and condition not only of our Society but of the holy Catholic Faith in China; because, what was possible did happen, they have sweated under censure for weeks and months on end. In the meantime, we have quickly made copies and sent them to various places in our Province, so that if one be lost, there will surely be another copy; and on the 17th also, we sent [copies of] the letters of the French priests addressed to our people, and the answers that were in turn sent to them by ours, with the additions of the solemn requests by Fr. Magellanes, which will be sent also with the rest, and all dealing with Chinese affairs, at the first opportunity.

As for me, I very much indeed promise to send it to Y.R., because I would be made happy, with the permission of the very deserving Fr. Cuculinus, if my probation to the third vow be sent from home; either Fr. Manuel does a third year there, one will rejoice

them, or else he does it elsewhere, and will not miss such a sacred house. As for me, I will do mine at the same house, thanks to a favor from the Rev. Fr. Rector, who commends himself to the paternal affection of Y.R., and so do I, again and again.

This letter was already closed when Fr. Cuculinus came up with [a copy of] the eulogy sent by the Rev. Fr. Superior of the Marianas in the Philippines, and about the glorious death of the Ven. Fr. Sebastian de Monroy. It was not sent first, as I thought, to Y.R. but directly to Rev. Fr. Mathias Tanner. I send only that excerpt from a letter by Fr. Solorsano regarding the status of the Mariana Mission. But, so as not to deprive Y.R. of some consolation, I have begged in a letter I sent to the Rev. Fr. Rector of the Philippines (copy of which is enclosed) to communicate it to Y.R., for a better and fuller description of the whole martyrdom (whose other Relation by the very companion of Fr. Sebastian in the mission, written by Fr. Ahumada, I enclose here for Y.R.)¹ gathering news from various relations.

Therefore, there is once again a vacancy for a Missionary in the Marianas! O, how I wish to be worthy of this mission of Christ!

¹ Ed. note: The relation in question was a Latin translation of Doc. 1676C4.

Document 1679Q

Letter from Fr. Neüman, dated Seville 15 August 1679

Source: Doc. n° 5 in the Schwartz Collection at the Georgetown University Lauinger Library in Washington, D.C.

Note: Fr. Neüman ended up serving in the missions of New Spain. He was sent to the Valley of the Tumarara in New Vizcaya, along with Fr. Ratkay.

Original in Latin.

Reverende Pater in Christo P.

Pax Christi

Naves quæ expectatur ex Indijs jam plus anno dimidio, necdum advenere ingenti omnium sollicitudine et mærore, causas timoris ne quid sinistri accideri scripsi literis prioribus; speramus tamen paulo post mærorem in gaudium convertendum, siquidem ultra Septembrem certum est eos tardare non posse plus quam 50 milliones auri et argenti dicuntur allaturæ, Deus det ut pertingant feliciter, alioquin Hy[spa]nia magna ex parte foret ruinata præsertim hæc Provincia Andaluzia, quæ tota viv[at] ex commercio cum Indis.

P. Mathias Cuculinus cum P. Antonio Kerspaumer ex Bavarica, hodie faciunt Professionem in Collegio nostro in manibus Patris de Espinar Generalis Indiarum Procuratoris, cui eam excipiendi potestas delegata est, isque totam solennitatem sumptibus suis sustentat interdum et totius Collegij 40 Personarum tractatione-- 50 facile imperiales expensurus 24 Luminaria magna stant in altari, Musici aliunde p-tio invitati. Non minor solennitas in domo Professæ, faciente ibidem vota in manibus Provincialis Societat[is] Procuratoris Provinciæ hujus, et alio in Novitiatu Gradum Coadjutorum accipiente, non enim hac in Provincia consuetum est, ut omnes gradum accipiant in domo Professæ, sed quivis in loco ubi degit, tractatur tota domus splendidius qua unquam alias toto anno, etiam quando absoluto Novitiata quis facit vota simpl[ic]ia, uti 4 hujus Festo S. Dominici in hoc Collegio ea emisit Coadjutor quidam, et Collegium tractatam fuit metius quam ipso festo S. Ignatij; non dicuntur Litanix nec pulsa[nt] pro fine recreationis sicut apud nos in maximis solennitatibus, datur vero signum sut[ilem?] sacro campana domestica, ut omnes intersint votorum emissioni, etiam cum fit in fac[ie].

Nos iter Dei gratiam omnes ac singuli valemus quam optime quod singulari Dei [fa]vori et precibus PP. ferventer pro nobis orantium in Provincia referimus in accep-- Malagæ ingenti cum solennitate sanitas vobis jam est publicata, postquam duobus annis quod peste infecta esset, omnia commercia cum Urbe

illa prohibita fuissent, et naves alibi non admisæ, quæ portum illum in Mediterraneo situm intraverant. Hic sententiæ prohibitæ à moderno Papa necdum sunt receptæ, interim vero decretum proxime emanavit ab hujate Inquisitione, in quo configuntur et prohibentur libri aliquot.

1° Liber in folio, cujus titulus Disputationes Theologicæ de justicia originali auctore P. Antonio Gonzalez de Rosende ex Clericis Minoribus impressus Lugduni, quod contineat propositiones hæreticas, erroneas, condemnatas à Conc. Triden. et summis Pontifi. Pio V, Gregorio XIII, Innocentio X, Alex. VII, etc. Sapientes hæresim, impias, blasphemias, temerarias, malesonantes, scandalosas, derogatorias Misericordiæ divinæ, injuriosas in S. Thomam et Auctores ejus doctrinam explicantes, et contra PP. Societatis ac alios Catholicos, continentque doctrinas Jansenij, Boij, etc.

2° Liber Hispanicus Vita Venerabilis Matris Joannæ de JESUS Maria Sanctimonialis S[anct]æ Claræ de Burgo auctore F. Francisco de Anagugo Ordinis S. Francisci, impressus Madriti, quod contineat propositiones erroneas, abusivas Sæ Scripturæ et adulterantes loca ejusdem irrisoria Mysteriorum fidei et Purgatorij, malesonantes --riarum aurium offensivas, temerarias, scandalosas, injuriosas Christi D.N. et contra B. V., Sanctos, Angelos etc. perniciosas, contra doctrinam Sanctorum PP. multosque contineat casus fabulosos, nec vero similes, indecentes, qui causare possent irrisionem apud hæreticos et scandalum prudentibus, etc. etc. multis additis aliis censuris et epithetis.

3° Comædia de eadem Sanctimoniali ex ejusdem vita cum ijsdem censuris.

4to. folium quoddam in 4 columnis in 4° continens facillimum modum quotidie sæpius confitendi cum augmento gratiarum Auctore F. P. Francisco Gavarri Concionatore ordinis S. Franc. quod contineat propositiones erroneas et temerarias et injuriosas contra eos qui durant in convenientiam quotidianæ Communionis in sæcularibus etc.

Sto Sermo Italicus seu Panegyris R. P. Josephi Galeti Soci. JESU, habita in Ecclesia Cathedrali Messinæ in festivitate Epistolæ scriptæ à B. V. ad Messinenses, quæ Panegyris habita fuit Anno 1675 quod contineat propositiones, impias, seditiosas, scandalosas et abusivas Sæ Scripturæ.

Prohibentur item: Libri sequentes donec expurgentur: Consilia pro ærario Civili, Ecclesiastico, militari publico et privato auctore Maximiliano Faust ab Aschafenburg, impressa Francofurti, quod sit auctor hæreticus etc. Item Cornelius Tacitus cum Rotis Alciati, Ferreti, Ursini, etc. multorum, inter quos plerique hæretici, quod inter Notas inveniuntur propositiones hæreticæ et erroneæ. Opera omnia Zacuti Lusitani Medici, quod auctor sit Apostata Judaizans. Item opera omnia Danielis Senerti Wratlaviensis Doctoris Medicinæ et Professoris Wittenbergensis 4 tomis contenta, quod contineant Elogia hæreticorum et Auctor sit hæreticus etc. Item ex Atlante Geographiæ Blau jacet ad pedes Mulieris representantis sectam Mahometicam. Sunt autem hi libri ita prohibiti hic sub pæna excommunicationis majoris, et nisi eos habentes intra 9 dies à ubicatione decreti eos deferant ad S. Officium et sub ducentis ducatis in pecuniaria pæna apud quos posterius deprehensi fuerint. etc. etc. Prævenerunt multi et libros prædictos jam alio transmisere, ubi non sunt prohibiti, erant enim hic multa millia exemplarium quorundam, præcipue 2di et complura 7mi Libri.

Nuptiæ Regis nostri cum Aurelianensi quando futuræ necdum certum, illius discessus Parisijs in Hispaniam dicitur conductus ad 1^a Septembris, adeoque in Novembri Nuptiæ probabiliter celebrabuntur; Misit Rex pro dono in Gallias 150 Equos ex Andalusia, quod hi præceteris æstimentum, et certum est me nullibi Gentium tam pulchros Equos beneque proportionatos conspexisse quam sint Cavilliani et per totam Andalusiam, non valent pro curribus ad quos difficulter assuesiunt sed à natura sua ad equitandum apti, omnes Hispaniæ Grandes, et ipse Rex ijs utitur præsertim in hastiludijs, alijsque exercitijs

æquestibus ad quæ præ ceteris valen, cum majoribus Turcicis aliquam videntur habere similitudinem colli capitisque, sed pedes tenuiores et sunt longiusculo corpore, sed pulcherumæ proportionis. Prohibitum fuerat Anno superiore Regio decreto ne Nobilitas in curribus uteretur mulis (prout hactenus hic semper factum) sed equis, ut sic major inducatum Equorum copia, pro belli quoque usibus servitura, sed Domini vix reperire passunt Equos, quos ad carpenta (carozas ut vocant) assuefaciant, unde lepidum defacto est videre, quod plerique dum curribus vehuntur mulo semper adjungant equum, ut equus à mulo discat trahere, et si 6 vehantur tres erunt muli, et totidem equi ijs associati; difficultas oritur ex eo quod hactenus equorum intrahendo nullus hic fuerit usus ne quidem in campis, ubi aratris boves junguntur, oneribus vehendis asini deputantur; equi vero pro equitando solum serviebant, quorum tamen pretium hic non magnum, muli plus constant quod et pro curribus et equitando deserviant, excipiendi tamen illi, quibus major Nobilitas utitur centenis Imperialibus æstimati.

Scripsi iam alias totam Hispaniæ Nobilitatem pro Nuptijs Madritum invitata, decem millia ulnarum auræ materiæ hic laborari pro conclavium ornatu, aliosque fieri apparatus ac deputatos legatos sponsam adducturos, quousque Rex obviam processurus sit adhuc ince[p]tum. Iter Barcinonense videtur mutatum et dilatatum in tempus aliud, ne in Sponsæ gratiam ad fines usque Hispaniæ obviam ei videretur processisse prout putabatur, et forte mutationem causarunt Legati Gallici aliam, non sat(?) Hispanis honorificæ prætensiones.

Alia quæ novi à P. Augustino scribi hic omitto, quia scio literas nostras ad plurimorum manus pervenire, ijs proinde quibus Fas R^aV^a dignata fuerit communicare supplementum quoque ex P. Augustini literis et de Paraquariæ Procuratoribus per aliquem curare dignetur adscribi.

Cæterum adsaluto humillime R.P. Rectorem Novum quisquis is sit, item R.P. Ministrum, aliosque tum PP. Veteranos, tum Tertiarios expectaturus à R^aV^a cum desiderio Provinciæ ordinationem, seu Cathalogum tali compendio, ut Anno Superiore transmissum, quem ad Patrem Pantojam directum, spero priore citius adfuturum, demum me cum Socijs Sanctissimis Ræ Væ Sacrificijs humillime commendo.

Hispani 15 Augusti A. 1679.

Ræ Væ Indignus Filius et Servus in Christo,

Josephus Neüman

*Eadem a se scripta censeri vult indignissimus servus hodie gratulationibus excipiendis occupatus Heu!
Mathias Cuculinus.*

Translation.

Reverend Father in Christ.

Peace of Christ.

Ships which had been expected from the Indies for more than half a year already have not yet come, much to the great consternation and worry of everyone, for fear of some sinister causes that might have happened to them, as I wrote in previous letters. Nevertheless, we hope that soon this grief will be converted into joy, since it is certain that they cannot be delayed beyond September and they are said to be bringing in over 50 millions in gold and silver. May God give them success. Otherwise, the greater part of Spain would be ruined, specially here in the Province of Andalusia, which lives completely from the commerce with the Indies.

Fr. Mathias Cuculino [i.e. Kuklein], with Fr. Antonio Kerspaumer [alias Cerezo] from Bavaria, have made their Profession today in our College at the hands of Father de Espinar, the Procurator General of the Indies, who had this authority delegated to him, and it was celebrated with full solemnity, in the presence of the whole College. Some 50 pesos were easily spent on 24 large lamps that stand on altars, and musicians were invited from elsewhere. There was no less solemnity in the Professors' House, where their vows were also made in the hands of the Provincial of the Society, and Procurator of his province, and at some Novitiate he admitted others to the rank of Coadjutor, for it is not a custom in this Province to admit all to this rank in the Professors' House, but at whatever place they graduate. The house is decorated more splendidly than at any other time in the whole year, even when the simple vow of a novice is involved, such as happened to a certain Coadjutor of this College on the 4th, feast-day of St. Dominic, and the College was decorated better than on the feast of St. Ignatius; they do not say the litanies nor do they ring the house bell for recreative purposes as we do at home with maximum solemnity, but only a sacred signal is given, to remind everyone to be aware of the issue of the vows, even when not in attendance.

Each and everyone of us is in good health, thank God. It is due to a special favor from God and the fervent prayers that the Fathers of the province are saying for us. This is in the context of Malaga whose health has already been mentioned to you; for two years it was infected with the plague and all commerce with that city had been prohibited; ships were not admitted there, when they came into that port of the Mediterranean Sea. The decrees by the modern Pope have not yet been received here. In the meantime, the local Inquisition has recently issued some decree, in which some books have been earmarked and prohibited:

1° a folio-size book entitled "*Disputationes Theologicæ de justicia originali*" whose author is Fr. Antonio Gonzalez de Rosende, Franciscan, and printed at Lyon, which contains propositions considered heretical, erroneous, condemned by the Council of Trent, and Popes Pius V, Gregorius XIII, Innocent X, Alexander VII, etc. and sayings that are heretical, impious, blasphemous, daring, awkward, scandalous, derogatory to the divine mercy, and explanations injurious to the doctrine of St. Thomas and Authors, and against the Fathers of the Society and other Catholics, and containing doctrines of Jansenius, Boius, etc.

2° the Spanish book on the Life of Mother Juana de Jesus Maria, of the Monastic Order of St. Clare of Burgos, authored by Fr. Francisco de Anagugo, of the Order of St. Francis, printed at Madrid, which contains propositions considered erroneous, abusive of Holy Scriptures and adulterated in places then scornful of the mysteries of the faith and Purgatory, awkward and offensive to the ears of the ..., offensive, daring, scandalous, injurious to Christ our Lord and contrary to the B.V.M., the Saints, Angels, etc. pernicious, against the doctrine of the Holy Fathers and containing many fabulous cases, not true to life, indecent, which may cause derision among the heretics and scandalize the prudent, etc. etc. with many additions of other censures and epithets.

3° a Play about the same Nun from the same Biography with the same censures.

4° a certain broad-sheet printed in 4 columns in 4° containing a very easy method to follow daily to increase one's grace, authored by Fr. fray Francisco Gavarrri, of the Order of St. Francis, which contains propositions considered erroneous, daring and injurious against those who support daily attendance to communions for the secular members of the Church, etc.

5° a Sermon in Italian, or an Eulogy by Rev. Fr. Joseph Galeti of the Society of Jesus, delivered in the Cathedral church at Messina on the feast of Our Lady, and addressed to the people of Messina, said eulogy having been delivered in the year 1675, which contains propositions considered impious, seditious, scandalous and abusive of the Holy Scriptures.

They have prohibited also the following books which are expurgated at length: "*Consilia pro ærario Civili, Ecclesiastico, militari publico et privato*" whose author is Maximilian Faust von Aschafenburg, and printed at Frankfurt, and is an heretical author, etc. The same for Cornelius Tacitus, with Rotis Alciati, Ferreti, Ursini, etc. among many more heretics who are said in Notes to have made heretical and erroneous statements. All the works by Zacuti, a Portuguese physician who is an apostate author leaning toward Judaism. Also all the works by Daniel Senerti, a Doctor of Medicine from Bratislava and Professor at Wittenberg, 4 tomes of which contain an Eulogy of the heretics and this author is said to be an heretic, etc. Also the Geographic Atlas by Blaeu showing at the bottom a woman representing the Sect of Mohammed. Moreover, these books are prohibited here on the penalty of major excommunication, and unless they are turned in within 9 days at the decreed place, otherwise they will be deferred to the Holy Office, and a fine of 200 ducats imposed on those who have them in their possession after said date, etc. etc. They have warned many not to ship said books to other places where they have not yet been prohibited, for there were many thousands of copies here, specially of the 2nd and 7th titles.

As for our King's marriage with Aureliana,¹ though future is not yet certain. It is said that he has left Paris and will arrive in Spain toward September 1st, in order to celebrate the wedding probably in November. As a gift the King has sent to France 150 horses from Andalusia, among other valuables, and I am certain that such beautiful horses have never been seen anywhere; they are well-proportioned and riding horses, the best that can be spotted throughout Andalusia, but they are no good for races to which they can be accustomed with difficulty. However, they are by nature inclined for ridership; all the Grandees of Spain and the King himself use them, specially during tourneys, and other equestrian exercises for which they are most suitable. They have some similarity with Turkish horses in the neck and head, but their feet are finer and their bodies longer and their proportion more beautiful. Last year the Nobles were prohibited by the King to use mules for pulling carts (which has always been done up to now) but to use horses only, so that a large supply of horses may thus be trained for war purposes, but the Lords hardly ever ride on top of horses; rather, they customarily

1 Ed. note: His way of latinizing the name of Marie-Louise d'Orléans.

ride in carts (coaches, as they are called), which is something pleasant to watch. During the races the horse always has a mule as a partner, so that the horse learns to pull a mule, and if 6 are brought in, 3 of them are mules, and associated with their own horse. A difficulty arises now that they can no longer be paired with a horse, not even in the field, where they tie oxen to the plough, and delegate the carrying of loads to donkeys. It is true that horses were used only for riding, although their price here is not high; mules cost more, as they are used for pulling carts as well as for riding, with the exception of the majority of the Nobility, and are estimated at hundreds of pesos.

I have already written in another letter that the Nobility from the whole of Spain has been invited to Madrid for the wedding. Ten thousand yards of golden stuff had been woven here for the decoration of the venue, and others were made ready for the deputies and legates will lead the bride, up to where the King will be waiting to meet them. The trip to Barcelona has been changed and delayed for another time, as it was thought that it might force the bride to choose that route into Spain, and perhaps that other change was caused by the French legates, despite the honorable pretensions of the Spaniards.

I omit the other news that were written by Fr. Augustin [Strobach], because I know that our letters will reach many hands, therefore, will Y.R. please transmit them with a supplement from Fr. Augustin's letter and from the letter from the Procurators of Paraguay which I place in your care.

I send my humble regards to the new Rev. Fr. Rector, to Rev. Fr. Minister also, and the other veteran Fathers, as well as those awaiting their third vow, and I expect to receive from Y.R. the calendar of the Province, or catalogue of such a compendium as was sent last year, and addressed to Fr. Pantoja. I hope to receive the next one as fast as possible, and finally I humbly commend myself and my companions to the most holy sacrifices of Y.R.

Seville, 15 August 1679.

Y.R.'s unworthy son and servant in Christ,
Joseph Neüman

Your most unworthy servant wishes that he could have written to you today also but he is busy with receiving congratulations, alas!

Mathias Cuculino.

Document 1680A

Letter from Governor Vargas to the Duchess of Aveiro, dated Manila 15 January 1680

Source: Ayer ms. Robles suppl. n° 4, Newberry Library, Chicago.

Note: This manuscript letter is a duplicate of the original. It was sent by way of Batavia on 2 June 1680, in case the true original sent via New Spain did not make it to Madrid.

Letter from Juan de Vargas, Governor of the Philippines, with postscript dated 2 June 1680

Most Excellent Lady:

I am in receipt of two letters from Y.E. dated 4 May and 15 June 1678. With regards to the news that are given to me in both of these, I see that Your Excellency applies herself to the promotion of the Mariana Islands with such a very pious zeal that anyone who does not hold a similar inclination would partake of it. In order that not one thing will be missed that will lead to their development, thank God I have not failed up to now and I promise Y.E. that I will respond in the future, inasmuch as my chores will allow me, executing also your orders.

In order to fully inform his Majesty, Y.E. and the Count of Medellín about the condition of the said mission, I am sending this as well by way of Batavia in accordance with your instructions. According to the news that I have heard about it being shorter by way of Holland, I have sent a duplicate of what I despatched to New Spain in the envelope for his Majesty, and which no doubt has reached the hands of Y.E. The condition of the said islands will be clear from the documents in question and also the efforts I have made for those islands and this city.

As Y.E. will have noted in the said documents, it was found impossible, much to my regret, to implement what has to do with the boat—which I was ordered to see if one could sail and communicate with the said Mariana Islands—for the reasons given, [and impossible] as well by the southern route as I have informed Y.E., given that we do not have a port [there] from which to despatch it. Today God has been served as a way will

be found by one pilot; he came last year from New Spain and he is called Francisco Lazcano. He is very intelligent in that field and he offers himself to have a **sloop** built under his supervision, a light craft not used overhere with the sails in such a way as to sail under all wind conditions. He himself will make the voyage with whatever will be necessary and I [told him that I] would keep him informed about the part that concerns me, and that I wish to be kept well informed about the supplies I will place at his disposal. To achieve this, I will later give orders to proceed with its construction and despatch for the said voyage and I will let Y.E. know about it. It is certain that if we succeed it is a very efficient means for the reduction of those gentiles, God will decide what is most convenient.

Meanwhile, in the relation that I enclose,¹ Y.E. will see the condition in which they are found and which is a very happy one, thank God, with great hopes on account of the many benefits that have been obtained in one year since I was there and left a new military chief in the person of Juan Anselmo [sic] de Salas Nasl.² from that court [at Madrid] who until now has complied with his duty and with the orders I have given him. I hope [to receive] news about greater progress this [past] year, God willing, and [I hope that] Y.E. will communicate this at the first opportunity to their Majesties because I wish it for their greater service and because of the many prayers and very Catholic works by Y.E. might bear fruit.

May our Lord keep Y.E. for many years.

Manila, 15 January 1680.

P.S. At this time, the sloop that I told Y.E. about is being built with every care and speed possible so that it may go out soon, perhaps, God willing, in the middle or the end of the next [month] more or less to the said Mariana Islands. The said pilot is very motivated and I placed at his disposal a member of the Society of Jesus to go with him. I hope that his Majesty will obtain much fruit for his efforts and that next year I will have pleasurable news to give to Y.E. about the events at those islands.

May God decide what is proper and keep Y.E. in complete happiness.

Manila, 2 June 1680.

[To the] Most Excellent Lady, Duchess of Arcos and Aveiro.

At the feet of Y.E.

Juan de Vargas Hurtado

1 Ed. note: This must have been the annual report for 1678-1679 written in Spanish by Fr. Besco (see Doc. 1679F2).

2 Ed. note: His exact name was Captain Juan Antonio de Salas, his maternal name being abbreviated Nasl.; his term as governor of the Marianas was from 1678 to 1680.

Document 1680B

The Mariana Mission finds a rich benefactor

Letter from a Mr. Aragona to Fr. General Oliva, dated Madrid February 1680

Source: ARSI Phil. 13, fol. 243-245v.

Original text in Spanish.

R[everendissimo]mo Señor

Haviendo de pasar a esa corte el Padre Juan de Caneda a quien estimo al igual de lo que mereçen las grandes partes que le asisten de que hara V.R. experiencia comunicandole me[,] valgo de la ocasion que me ofreçe su viage para Suplicar a V.R. le favorezca en lo que se le ofreziere como lo espero de la merced que me haze y que V.R. le oyga en lo que de mi parte expondra a V.R. açerca de las Islas Marianas a donde deseo se logre lo que se ha comenzado a tratar tan del servicio de nuestro Señor en la reduçion de aquellas Almas y espero se devera a V.R. el efecto de este yntento de que se agradara su Magestad Divina, hara V.R. obsequio a San Igaçio y se lo agradezera S. Francisco de Borja y por que quien dara a V.R. esta sera carta viva me remito en todo a lo que dira a V.R. y solo añado que V.R. me tiene tan a su ovedençia como no lo deve dudar de un verdadero afecto a su serviçio y que por el correo tengo [fol. 244v] respondido a las dos cartas que me escrivio con ocasion de la muerte de mi Prima (que haia gloria) que en ttodo experimento los efectos de la fineza que deseo merezerle.

Guarde Dios a V.R. muchos años como deseo.

Madrid a [blank] de Febrero 1680.

Rmo. Sor.

H[umilmente?] de V.R. su menor servidor,

P^o Andrés Aragona.

[Al] Rmo. Sor. Juan Pablo Oliva.

[Endorsement, in Italian:] *Madrid feb. 1680.*—*Signore Don Pietro d'Aragona loda il P. Caneda, à cui rimetté, in ciò ch'espressà la fondatione di due Collegii nelle Mariane, con due Seminarii per fanciulli, due per fanciulle, due ospedali.*

Translation.

Most Reverend Sir:

As Father Juan de Caneda has to go to that court [i.e. Rome] and I esteem him as much as he deserves to be on account of his great talents, I would be much obliged if Y.R. did extend this esteem to him, and I take this opportunity offered me by his voyage to beg Y.R. to favor him as much as you can and I hope to receive this favor from Y.R., that Y.R. listen to the proposal that he will present on my behalf concerning the Mariana Islands where I wish that what was begun, that touches so directly on the service of our Lord, that is the reduction of those Souls, will be continued successfully. I hope that Y.R. will effectively support this project, one that will please His Divine Majesty. Y.R. would thus be obliging St. Ignatius and would please St. Francis Borgia. Given that the person who will hand over the present to Y.R. will be a living letter, I rely on him to tell everything to Y.R. and only add that Y.R. can expect from me the obedience that you should not doubt, as it comes from someone who truly loves to be at your service. By mail, I have already responded to the two letters that you have written to me on the occasion of the death of my [female] cousin (may she rest in peace) by which I have experienced the effects of the delicacy that I wish to respond to.

May God keep Y.R. for many years as I wish.

Madrid, [blank] February 1680.

Most Reverend Sir.

Y.R.'s most humble servant,

Pedro Andrés Aragona.

[To] Most Reverend Sir, Juan Pablo Oliva.

[Endorsement, in Italian:] *Madrid Feb. 1680.*—*Mister Don Pedro de Aragona praises Fr. Caneda, to whom he remitted one [a letter] in which he expresses the foundation of two colleges in the Marianas, with two seminaries for boys, two for girls, two hospitals.*¹

¹ Ed. note: Unfortunately for the Mission, it seems that the proposal was not taken seriously. Fr. Xaramillo later commented that the moneys would be better used for the purchase of a vessel (see Doc. 1685U).

Document 1680C

Letter from Fr. Cardeñoso to Fr. Gonzalez, dated Agaña 3 May 1680

Source: Present location unknown; 6-page Spanish ms. offered for sale by Maggs Bros. of London in 1923 for 31 pounds (Cat. N° 442, n° 1843) and again in 1927 (Cat. N° 491, n° 41).

Note: Fr. Gonzalez became General of the Jesuits only in 1684.

Extracts from the letter to Fr. Tirso Gonzalez

...

Much has already been mentioned in our reports, and specially now that Fr. Thomas Vallejo is here. He is an angel, and will write about it all to you... He has already trained his choir, having baptized the boys and taught the catechism to the adults. A short time ago we baptized a lovely boy and called him Tirso Gonzalez, to perpetuate the memory of his benefactor. Believe me, these are very nice people, and very capable; the collegiates are dear little boys, and very fond of reading and writing, which they can do quite well. They sing in the church, and are specially delighted with the tonic sol fa... We try to pray together, Fr. Vallejo and I, and have spent some amusing hours struggling with the Mariana language.

Do you know, the letters from here are sent to Manila, where they are delayed one year, and from there they go to New Spain, and after that they are packed on board again and cross to Cádiz; so that many are the hands they have to pass through, and we can hardly expect a reply before some four years have elapsed... We have had much to contend with in these missions; the uprising of the natives, who killed their ministers; and the lack of helpers, both clerical and secular... I assure you that helpers would not be lacking, if there were sufficient wealth here to tempt them over...

When we see in other and much older Christian communities that they, too, have murdered their priests and burned their temples, nor have enormous garrisons of soldiers availed to break them of their vices—and to this day, do we not know that there is hardly a nation that is not addicted to drink?... These poor Marianos are most temperate; they never drink intoxicating liquor—merely water; they are monogamous, whereas in other countries polygamy is permitted; and they are far less superstitious

and yet, as I say, they do not appeal to the less zealous, because they have neither gold nor silver to offer...

It seems that as some people, heedless of the glory of God, ... finding little chance here of satisfying their greed, turn to the occupation of slandering the Mission; and, hearing these wild stories, the callous authorities affirm that it is risky for the vessels to stay here for as much as two days—which is all the time required to obtain our assistance from New Spain, and exchange letters and despatches... and this, be it understood, only once a year, and without our possessing any other recourse beyond those two days—and although God has willed that some of these ships should be lost... and I have frequently heard the pilots of these vessels speak very well of this place... Besides—if any vessel travelling from the Philippines to New Spain were in distress, we of the Mission might help them here and not let them die in the hands of the Indians, as was the fate (still fresh in our memory) of two vessels, which were once lost off these islands, whose passengers were killed by the Indians, after being saved.¹

Etc.

S. Ignacio de Agaña, Island of Guam, 3 May 1680

¹ Ed. note: He, of course, refers to the shipwrecks of the *Santa Margarita* in 1601 and the *Concepción* in 1638.

Document 1680D

Letter from Captain Quiroga to the Duchess of Aveiro, dated Marianas 10 May 1680

Source: RAH 9/2677.

Notes: This letter was hard to decipher, on account of wrong or no punctuation, words and syllables running together, or split at the wrong places, etc. It had to be edited somewhat, for the sake of legibility. It remains incoherent, and is highly religious in character.

Original text in Spanish

La gracia de Nuestro Señor sea para siempre en el alma de V.E. para que, con acelerado paso suba V.E. a la cumbre de la perfeccion, y con animo varonil rompa los lazos que nuestros adversarios ynbi-diosos nos arman, para quitarnos tan alto y soberano fin: que yo no me espanto que cosa tan soberana, sea tan invidiada, denos Dios sus copiosos auxilios para romper como agua rrepresada correr con mas belocidad, y a V.E. de mucha salud, para el amparo de tantos como es tan debajo del amparo de V.E. en particular de esos mis Señores a quien suplico al Señor aga mui suyos, para que ansi se conosca la el arbol por su fruto a quien suplico de V.E. mis unildes memorias y que por amor de Dios no me olviden en sus oraciones, para que aga muchas cosas del serbiçio de Nuestro Señor, y bien destas pobres almas, a V.E. parece superfluo, referir en todas esta petiçion, pues no dudo, que aunque tan distantes en lo exterior, en lo interior mui presentes, en Nuestro Señor Jesu Christo, en cuyo amor se abrasen nuestros co-razones para que con San Pablo, digamos quien confirma(?) yo no adoleco, quien se escandaliza, yo no me quemó, aí Señora con el mesmo S. Pablo digo que esta figura se bando [cebando?] y para sando [per-eciendo?] y anse prebengamos nuestras lamparas para que quando benga el esposo estemos prebenidos para que ansi esa grandeza perezadera, y caduca, se tranplate [transplante?] a nuestra patria, para que sea estable, y permanesca, por toda la eternidad, aunque a mi no me parece mal la grandeza con que V.E. se porta, segun el estado en que el Señor por su bondad a puesto a V.E. antes si fuera persona de autori-dad, como soi polvo casi indivisible aconsejava a V.E. que en lo exterior grandeza, no se pribara de nada que la seriedad, es mui propia de la virtud, que era la mesma grandeza, que suele produzir espinas en que se espina el buen Dios, tambien: bien cultivadas suelen dar rosas de admirable olor y ermosara adonde se debita Nuestro buen Jesus cumpliendose aquello que sus deleytes son estar con los hijos de los hom-bres, el abito no aze al monge que esto cada dia se be, pobres mui desnudos y mal comidos, mui distray-

dos, y grandes Señores por lo contrario mui Santos, y desto ai tan exemplos, que no ai para que cansara V.E. en referir los y suplico a V.E. me partcipe algo de la buena distribuicion de gastar el tiempo, que con la prisa al partir, no me alarde, digo aquello que se pudiere fiar de una Carta, que sera para mi de mucho consuelo, y esto no por mera caridad, sino caridad ynteresada, como dos mercaderes que ban a medias, que se desean todo a cierto en sus compras, y bentas, y ansi yo como tan ynteresado, deseo de todo mi corazon, que V.E. sea mui Santa, y quando beo los muchos medios que el Señor a dado a V.E. para conseguir este fin, el qual le de el Señor a V.E. mui dichoso y feliz y a mi de muchas fuerzas para llebar con buen animo, y conformidad, con la boluntad de Dios los trabajos, que aqui se ofrezan, y muchos mas que espero me estan guardandos en estas Yslas aunque a lo presente no falta que ofrezan al Señor que casi podemos decir con San Pablo: peligro de ladrones, segun el nombre destos naturales, peligro de gentiles, peligro en la ciudad, peligro en la ysla, peligro en la mar, porque cada vez que nos embarcamos en estas embarcaciones, de la tierra bamos con mucho riesgo, fiados en unas tablas, del gordon de dos dedos atadas con unos cordeles, y ansi es menester andar con cuidado, desnoslo(?) su divina Magestad de no ofenderle y de grangear mucho con nuestro talento.

Desde Mexico e dado parte a V.E. de la nabegacion del norte y llegada a Mexico, y de como fue nezesario sentar plaza de marinero, para pasar permitandolo asi el Señor para mucha merito mio si yo me supiera aprovechar mas me parece fue todo comido(?) por serbido(?), que es cierto que quando me al ver de las muchas ocasiones que el Señor me a dado despues que dege la milicia para estar mui abentajado en el camino de la virtud, y me beo tan atrasado no puedo escribirlo sin lagrimas, ni acordarme sin pesadumbre me parece que V.E. con su mucha birtud lo echara, a umildad, lo que es tan gran bera[ciudad?]. Suplico al Señor que be todos los corazones le de llarca [claro a?] V.E. mi poco aprovechamiento, y conosca V.E. la mucha razon que tengo para sentirlo: porque a la plaza de marinero se an agregado algunas circunstancias que no dejaban de ser algo pesadas a la carne flaca, el Padre Salgado mui Santo mas sienpre con su gran enlogimiento [sic], y sus escrupulos, y su santa pobreza que eso tan bien ayudo a que se pasase algo mas de mortificacion.

Sale [=sali] de Mexico para Acapulco, con la tropa de soldados y marineros y nos metieron con mucha guardia en el Castillo, a quiera adonde yo mereya, concurimos junta D. Francisco Valenzuela[,] yo en la prision, con que teniamos mui buenos ratos de conbersacion que la tiene mui buena en qualquier materia, teniamos nuestra min(?) Sabado dia y aciamos nuestras debociones que D. Francisco frequento los sacramentos a menudo.

*Y luego nos sacaron del Castillo para embarcarnos y tubimos mui buen biaje, gracias al Señor mas al llegar a estas Yslas nos dio tan reño bien toque a los que saltamos en tierra porque **la nao no dio fondo**, sino se anduvo a la capa mientras se desenbarcaba el socorro y gente que abia de quedar, mas con todo se paso parte del socorro, y los Padres [y] yo, nos metimos en el barco, y desde que saltamos en el asta que salimos todo fue con continuo peligro de la vida, porque no podiamos coger el nabio ni la tierra porque el viento contrario y corientes afuera y ademas no aber quien supiese gobernar, ni remar, yo me serbia de mucho alibio el considerar que Dios lo queria que mas me ynportaba morir en la mar que en tierra, los Padres que benian eran mui Santos que es el Padre Vallego la mesma ynocencia, el Padre Basalio [sic], extranjero, tambien mui Santo y mui prudente, musico, que aqui ensena los Colegiales [a] cantar, tambien un hermano Coadjutor, tan bien extranjero y mui birtuoso, al fin cayendo y lebantando, saltamos en tierra[,] los Padres se fueron a su casa [y] yo me fui a sasa del cabo[,] alli comi y dormi algunos dias, mas la providencia de Dios que no se olvida de sus criaturas me tenia guardada una casa la mejor*

que abia despues de la del Capitan y de los Padres, confirmandose lo que V.E. dice que soi mui dichoso y afortunado que es cierto que quando me alverdo [=olvido] de la mucha merçed que el Señor me a echo, y sus criaturas por su amor lo mesmo, me dava tristeza, pareciendome, que el Señor, me queria pagar en esta vida mas biendo que aunque sea para mi castigo, en ber que se cumple la boluntad de Dios estoi mui contento que parece que el mundo me trata como alijo. Sea Dios siempre alabado, en particular destes nuestros hermanos desnudos de quien quiero dar a V.E. algunas notiçias, aunque en todo quedare corto, por mi poca capacidad, mas sin escrupulo de mentira; bien se yo que tendra V.E. mui por entero relacion de todo de mejor pluma que la mia mas como la naturaleza humana sea tan ynclinada a la bariedad de manjares y ansi entre tantos tambien g[u]lisados recibira V.E. este tan tosco y grosero, bien sé que le sirviran a V.E. de piedra de toque, mis cartas, mas ofrecalo V.E. a Dios, que tambien yo no careasco de alguna en escribir que quisiera estar en la postrera ysla que nadie supiera de mi ni yo de nadie aunque a V.E. no dejare de escribir este a donde estubiere, y aiga las ocupaciones que ubiere y ansi escribo a mis parientes, que en casa de V.E. hallaran nuebas mias que es mucho el cariño que tengo a toda esa casa, conta razon para ello, pues parece que asta los animalillos ynsensatos conoçian la mucha caridad que V.E. me acia cumpliendo bien aquel adagio bulgar, que dice que en la cara del criado se conoce el amor que tiene el amo, pues ber la asistencia de los criados, la mucha afabilidad, de los hijos de V.E. a quien yo tanto quiero y quer[r]je asta que muera, todo en el Señor por cuyo amor se aze todo.

Una cosa quiero suplicar a V.E. porque no se me olvide, y es que si V.E. por su [u]mildad me escribi no sea de pie como V.E. suele azer sino de asiento, para que me diga V.E. muchas cosas de su gran capacidad para mi consuelo y es de façion [sic] porque sí quiero mucho a V.E. en Nuestro Señor tambien estimare en el mesmo grado las cosas que V.E. me digere, pues es cierto que tanto estimamos las cosas que oymos quanto es el [a]mor que tenemos a quien las dijo y por eso encomiendan tanto los Padres espirituales que no agamos a todos para ganar los a todos, en particular la do[ct]ora destes tiempos[,] S. Teresa, de quien quisiera fuera V.E. mui debota y que si acaso V.E. gustare hablar algunos ratos conbersaçion espiritual no suele ser mala parte las Carmelitas descalzas, que yo aseguro a V.E. que mi alma sacaba[r]ia mucho provecho desta conbersaçion, y es medio para aprovechar en la virtud, y sienpre es bue[no] ynformarse de las que mas se abentaja porque en todo en todos tiene el Señor almas mui fervorosas para animar a los labios[.] esa carta suplico a V.E. me aga caridad, de mandarla, echar en el cor[r]jeo de Flandes que en ella ban cartas para quatro conbentos de Santa Teresa, que días y noches me es tan encomendando a Dios, que no es poco, pues tanta balen las oraçiones del justo, y mas continuados mas destes conbentos, a quien escribe que e comunicado [con] almas de rrara birtu[d], Dios por su misericordia se la [a]umente, y a V.E. de aquella ropa de muchas colores, que Jacob dio a su hijo [Jo]seph, y a mi como saco a los tres niños del horno, y a su sona del falso testimonio, y a Daniel del lago de los leones, saque mi alma, limpia, de tantas ocasiones como por su amor andamos metidos.

[Routine activities inside the Agaña garrison.]

Y juntamente me de su santissima graçia para dar alguna quenta a V.E. de algunas cosas de la mision comenzando primeramente por lo que se aze aqui en el campo con los soldados y con los yndios, y los Padres: los quales tienen sus Santos exerçios, el Padre Antonio Jaramillo, platica todos los domingos a los soldados con mucho ferbor, y talento, y tambien ensena a los muchachos y muchachas destes tres pueblos que se an echo aqui alrededor del campo, a media legua poco mas u menos de distançia, que seran asta 200 ococ(?) mas u menos, estos bienen dos días entre semana, que es Miercoles, y Sabado y

están muy bien enseñados que alguno surna(?) de [E]uropa no les aran bentaja, porque tiene rara capacidad, y mucha virtud, y mucho ferbor que en esta parte antes me parece pecara por carta de mas que de menos[.] también enseña a un pueblo, de los cercanos los Biernes y Juebes, que no es poco trabajo porque algunos es lo mesmo ablar con ellos que con troncos siendo estos me parece los porque en abla la escritura diciendo que salva Dios hombres y gumentos [sic] estos son los jumentos, y juntamente cumpliendo con las obligaciones del estado, y del oficio de ministro, y las salidas que se ofrecen, que suele ser muy a menudo, ya para enfermos, ya para bautismo, ya para mision, y sus sermones que predicó la pasión la semana santa, con admiración[.] el Padre Manoel Solorzano, tiene cuenta de la enseñanza de las mugeres de los soldados y oficiales del campo, porque todos los días a las dos, tocan la caja para que los soldados basen [sic = vanse] al rosario, a la yglesia, y después del Rosario de los españoles, tocan la campana para las mugeres, que también bienen a la yglesia, a rezar las oraciones en voz alta, como lo puede hacer un loro de monjas bien concertado, en su tonadilla mariana que aseguro a V.E. rezibi mi alma harto goco en oyrlas y me fue(?) esta mortificación en degarlas de oír[.] después de las oraciones les platica el Padre Manoel, con mucho ferbor, porque es muy entendido y muy Santo, hace una bida como la pidian acerca aquellos monjes antiguos no sale de su aposento sino por el negocio de las almas u por la obediencia, y los Juebes enseña a los yndios casados y sus salidas a enfermos u bautizar, u mision, el Padre Gerardo [Bouwens] tiene cuenta de los solteros y solteras que aquí llaman *uritao*, también es muy Santo, y les platica con tanto ferbor, que en comenzando las oras son muy cortas y así quando vamos juntos luego le digo que es menester anpolleta, que se deja llebar de su Santo ferbor de modo que ya quando hemos de la mi(?) no lo tomamos, y a este modo ocupados el Padre Comano, y el Padre Tomas Cardenoso, de los compañeros de San Bitores que ya andubo toda las ysas, el Padre Bustillos, también compañero de San Bitores, tiene cuenta de los Colegiales, muy sencillo, y muy afable en su conbersación, que todo lo ha menester para con los muchachos, aunque ai muy buenos muchachos y muy abiles, y ai algunos los mas sencillos que parece que se les sale el alma por los ojos que rara vez los beo que no me alver [=olvidar?] de V.E. que quisiera remitella a V.E.[.] se enseñan a leer y a escribir, que ya ay algunos que den muy bien, y suele a días(?) leer en el ynterin que comen.

El Padre Bustillos [sic] es de los que mejor sabe la lengua mariana, que casi puede enseñar a los mesmos naturales; el Padre Basilio ensena algunos colegiales a cantar; ya cantan el responso el lunes en la yglesia, y ai muy buenas bozes que creo que en nada tengo de allar menes [sic] a la Europa, que como fue tan ynclinado a musica. Una de las cosas que mas sentia era dejar las musicas de las catredales [sic] adonde mas esplandeze, el culto divino: el Padre Ballego [i.e. Vallejo] ayuda al Padre Bustillos y juntamente aprende la lengua, es un angel, el Padre Tirso es quien sabe muy bien su birtud.

Estos son los negocios en que se ocupan estos santos religiosos, obreros que el Señor tomo para trabajar en esta nueva biña, estrumentos escogidos de Dios, para por sus medios tomar la parte que tan justamente se le debe; las mugeres cantan las oraciones todas las noches, las una a las siete, otras a las 8 otras a las nuebef[,] esto poco mas u menos y así asta las 9 u las 10 suele aber musica que para mi la es de mucho consuelo, como lo era la Romana en algun tiempo, han confesado y comulgado muchos yndios y yndias, destes pueblos cercanos, en particular todos los muchachos del rezo, y dicen que están muy bien en todos los puntos de la confesion, que es cosa rara ver los muchachos en sus pueblos, tantos cos y cimarones y en estando algunos días entre nosotros, no parecen los mesmos.

Esta semana santa se diciplino un muchacho mariano, y como ellos son tan gordos, tenia traza de llenar la yglesia de sangre. En las proçesiones lleban a la Virgen quatro mugeres marianas, los días pasa-

dos se murieron dos mugeres de los del campo dejandonos grandes senales de su salvaçion, la una dijo que le cojiesen la mortaja o que la queria ber primero, y pidio que le dejen una palma para llebar con ella en el cielo, y digo a los yndios que oyesen a los Padres que era lo çierto y berdadero, que sino que los abia Dios de castigar porque abia tanto tiempo que estaban aquí los Padres y no los querian escuchar, ni siger [=seguir] su doctrina, y al marido tambien daba consejos que sirviesca Dios y no le ofendiese, y otras muchas cosas de mucha edificaçion, esto fue despues de un gran des.mayo; yo no me [h]alle presente porque estaba en exerçios. Eran dos hermanas, y la postrera dijo que su hermana lo abia benido a buscar, con que se llevaron mui pocos dias la una a la otra.

[Life outside of the Agaña garrison]

*Esto es lo que paso en el campo; fuera en estos tres pueblos becinos rezan tambien todas las noches, se an casado por la Santa Madre Yglesia muchos, bautizandose juntamente, y se ban casando; juntamente se ensenan como se an de confesar. Lo restante de la ysla no esta sujeta, costara aun mucho trabajo, y alguna sangre antes que este como a de estar, y aun en muchos anos es menester cuidado, porque son traidores y siempre que pudieren la an de pegar la prinçipal que aora ai que hazer, es el reducirlos a pueblos grandes, y lebantar yglesias, para que los Padres los ensenen mas ynmediatamente, espero en la generosa bondad de Nuestro Señor y en la ynterçesion de su Santissima Madre que el ano que viene tingo de escribir a V.E. con mas gusto, porque abra mas que escribir, que este ano se paso no se como, sea Dios alabado que sabe quando esto estara de sazón para que de maduro se [o] aiga no o[b]stante que parece que no se a echo rea [ría = riego] en este ano, conosco, mucha megoria cada dia en todas las cosas que algunos Padres con su santo ferbor que saran que todo se yziera en un año, y no puede ser hablando naturalmente, que como el arbol primero echara yzel(?) y despues echara mas y luego el fruto, así esto con la sangre derramada con las contradiciones, con los trabajos y mertefecaciones [mortificaciones] todo esto es el riego con que creçe este arbol, para que eche pues las rayces y no lo derebe qualquier bien-tof.] Dios nos de berdadera conformidad, que es mas que reducir todo el mundo sin ella como lo dijo el Señor por San Marco que le aprovecha al hombre ganar todo el mundo si pierde su alma; y así agamos de Nuestra parte lo que nos toca, que Dios, no faltara por la suya; pues berdaderamente ninguno tiene tanto cuydado ni tanto deseo, de la salvaçion de las almas como el mesmo Señor que padescio por ellas, y esto se podra conocer alguna senbra [prueba?] dello, en el mucho cuidado, que su gran bondad, tiene con los cuerpos. pues su gran probidencia no se olvida de las mas minimas criaturas, y esto se conoce mas en todas las yndias pues biendo la mucha flogedad, de los yndios, los probeya de sustentos tan faciles de conseguir, en estos barbaros gente sin Dios ley ni casi razon, lo estamos experimentado cada dia que en todas las cosas les dio industria para bivir, el sustento destos son unos generos de Rayzes, que lla-man, **nica**, y **dago**, y **suní**, y otro genero de fruta que lla[ma]n **rima**, las rayzes y la fruta se comen asadas y sirben en bes de pan, yo entre en ellas como si me ubiera criado con ellas sin hacerme daño alguno, que algunos que ai muchos dias que esta aqui no las queden comer, comen el pescado crudo, sin como pezes en el agua, y benados en el monte, que como el monte es tan espeso en metiendose en el, no ai que buscarlos, en la mar lo mesmo. Tambien ai algun arroz, algunos plantas [i.e. platanos] que es el unico arbol frutefero que ai aqui despues de la rima, y cocos que ai muchos[.] tanpoco la probidencia de Dios no se olvido de nosotros disponiendolo de modo que tubiesemos carne que comer, y fue que trageron los Padres casta de puercos, y los tenian aqui en el campo ençercados, y permitiendolo Dios se uyeron al monte sin que se pudiesen coger y se an multiplicado de modo que creo que con el tiempo nos han de*

hacer mucho daño, y sino fueran ellos este año lo ubieramos pasado miserablesimamente porque no abian enbiado de Mexico lo que solian enbiar que son tasajos, que es carne mui seca al sol, tambien suelen enbiar miniestras secas, como son [h]abas, lentejas, garbanzos, y algun biscocho. Estos [puercos] los cogemos con alguna dificultad, con los per[r]jos porque ai algunos tan feroces que aze[n] [h]uir a dies, u doce peros, y a nosotros nos hazen andar al retor tiro, solemos llebar lanza u escopeta, tambien ai algunas gal-linas, y creo que esta tierra que era la mas miserable que creo que abia en todo lo descubierto, a de aber tiempo que a de aber lo nezesario, esto es en quanto a la comida que de lo demas siempre ella sera miserable.

[The natives are learning how to wear clothes]

Tambien espero en Dios que se a de coger algodón para [a]llibi[a]r esta tan gran desnudes que no es de las cosas que menos cuidado me da, por las muchas combeniencias que en ello ay, por las muchas ofensas que se ebitaran, ya aora claman por ropa ya ellos a nuestro exemplo ban conoziendo que es mejor andar vestidos que desnudos, ya tambien algunos comen carne, y les sabe bien en particular estos bizi-nos [=vecinos] que los demas aun no; de antes reçien benido me acian reir con sus barbaridades en particular en quanto al bestido, porque si algunos cogen alguna ropa y no saben lo que acerse con ello, ber a uno que traya los calcones al pescuezo como corbata, y lo demas desnudo, otro un sombrero y lo demas en carnes, otro que coge una media, o solo un zapato, otro hallo una camisa se la pone encima de la casa, las mugeres lo que trae saya casi es lo mesmo que si no la tragera, porque suelen estar en la yglesia, y para a rodillarse[,] por no ensuçiar la saya la pone en la cintura, lo que la tienen traen la cogida y en llega[n]do al campo se las pone, y en saliendo se las buelve luego a quitar, en llubiendo ordinariamente se meten en la mar por no mojarse, no tienen menester mucho aposento para quitarse la saya ni poner-sela, porque suelen yr por medio del campo quitandose y poniendose la saya quando les parece, y a esto modo fueraron(?) la a labar [a lavar?] el contar la barbaridad de Nuestros hermanos, desnudos y ansi la continuacion de ber esto no me hazen fuerza ninguna, porque las mira uno como a brutos, en mi casa no entra ninguna mas los domingos suele estar la casa rodeada a que les de tabaco, que es lo que ellos y ellas mas estiman[,] a la bentanas y puertas de los Padres lo mesmo y es cosa para alabar a Dios ber con la modestia que biben estos Santos religiosos, el quarto del Padre Antonio yoromillo [sic = Xaramillo] esta casi en frente de mi puerta, y solemos tener nuestros ratos de risa, con el Padre Ballego es cosa de ber porque es escrupuloso y dicen que nunca mira a muger, y como aqui ai tantas, quando sale no sabe a donde meterse, todo esto durara has[ta] que sepa bien la lengua, que en sabiendo la es menester tratar con ellas para su enseñanza.

El gobernador lo ha echo mui bien con la mision al pasar por aqui segun dicen los Padres no se alla [=aya] metido en el gobierno como lo ara hartas cosas a ofreçido se si las cumplira solo beo que el patache no biene que tan enlargoado fue dello, puede ser que no sea su culpa, porque dicen que es mui buen caballero, y mui temeroso de Dios, que han lo que pudiere, que aunque sean gobernadores es menester cumplir con muchos.

[Military expeditions]

Ya e abisado a V.E. de lo que se aze en el campo no sera malo abesar de lo que se a echo fuera en las salidas, que esto:

1. Salio el Capitan, 40 soldados, 2 Padres, el Ayudante, yo, y 40 yndios amigos, fuimos al pueblo de **Tarage**, creyendo pelear, mas los yndios se uyeron al monte, abean quedado mui pocos los man[damos] llamar, y binieron algunos 200 personas, poco mas y menos hombres y mugeres, arto [h]ermosas que quando yo las vi unas muchachas, con el pelo tendido, larga y mui castaño, adornadas con las galas de Nuestra madre Eva, acordandome que si sigian las malas costumbres de su gentilidad, se condenaban, para todo una eternidad, blasfemar el nombre de un Dios, que tanto debemos, me dio el Señor un deseo de perder mil vidas por que sigan la berdad, y dejen su suelta y viçiosa vida, los hombres [eran] mui altos y mui gordos; dormimos y a la mañana, se puso el altar, en un camarin que es adonde tienen sus bancas, digeron los Padres misa; en el ynterin cantaban los yndios los oraçiones, y acabados laas misas al Padre Gerardo, algunos soldados, yo, fuimos a buscar el cuerpo del Ven. P. S. Basilio qua abia 3 años [sic] que le abian muerto, los barbaros, y quemado la yglesia, llevabamos los dos que le avian enterado, que era el uno el mozo que asistia al Padre, el otro era yndio, y no podian allar el lugar, por la mucha yerba, que abia, comenzamos a cortar la yerba con los cuchillos, y a pocas diligencias se [h]allo, ec[fe]pto algunos guesos de una pierna, que se presume, que los barbaros los an quitado para sus lanzas, la otra pierna se la abian quebrado, y ansi se allo que no les podía serbir tambien le abian echo pedazos el casco, tambien se allo un pedazo del avito, y algunos quentos, luego nos benimos adonde estaba el Padre Manoel Solorzano, enpadronando y bautizando, y se rescato una casulla, una campana, un ara, y algunos trastes del Padre, y un santo christo, que yo trae para mi oratorio, se quemo una casa de un malechor, salimos para bolver [a] Agaña en el camino, encontramos su retirada, y subio el cabo, yo y algunos soldados[.] los barbaros uyeron, se cogieron algunos allamos alguna açienda de la que ellos llaman açienda, que son algunas conchas de tortuga, algunos cuchillos, algunos cascabeles, abalorios, algun arroz, alguna cantidad de lanzas, que se quemaron con las baracas[.] se les dego su **guineja**, que asi llaman a la acienda, benimos a otro pueblo, donde abian muerto a un Padre, y a un Caballero español, y quemado la yglesia, a nos salieron a recibir los muchachos, y muchachas casi media legua, con la Cruz cantando las oraçiones, aqui se rescato un caliz, sin patena que dizen los que les abrasaba las manos, y que se les ynchaban, y ansi que la avian ahogado[.] aqui se cogio a malechor de las g[u]jer[r]as pasadas que andaban uydo en otra ysla, este benia entrar sin saber que nosotros estabamos allí[.] mando el cabo poner una emboscada para que lo degasen saltar en tierra para cogello megor, mas el descubrio la enboscada y se reteraba a toda priesa, tiraron un arcabuzazo, y le hirieron, y con la erida y con el susto se cayo en el agua y se escapaba a nado, un yndio de los que yban con nosotros se arogo al agua, y le tiro una lanza, que le entro por un ojo y le salio al [h]ombro contrario, y con mui buen animo se bino a donde estaban los Padres, para que lo dispusiese para arcabuzarlo, y dexia que no queria el ynfierno, que queria el cielo y despues que le parecio al Padre Gerardo que estaba bien dispuesto se arcabuzeo. A la mañana digeron los Padres misa por su alma y se cantaron las oraciones se bautizaron algunos niños y luego nos benimos por otros pueblos los Padres Bautizando, y enpadronando, y benimos a dormir a otro pueblo, adonde, avian quemado otra yglesia, estando al presente el Padre Manoel Solorzano que se escapo, aqui se cantaron las oraçiones, y a la manana nos benimos [a] Agaña.

2. Salio el Cabo 40 soldados poco mas u menos el Padre Pedro Comano, el Padre Solorzano, el Ayudante yo y algunos yndios amigos, fuimos a dormir [a] arciguan [i.e. Asigan? Sasayan?] que es un pueblo, que esta cerca de Janon [i.e. **Hanum**], que es un pueblo rebelde, que les parecia que no abiamos de poder entrar, por la aspereza[.] se dispuso que fuesen algunas embarcaçiones porque no se escapasen por la mar al tiempo que nosotros enbestiamos, por tierra, nosotros caminamos de noche llegamos alla

a las 8 poco mas u menos de la mañana, antes de entrar, ai una cuesta mui grande a donde estaban los barbaros, en una enboscada, con su çintenela, lo qual quando nos descubrio comenzo a dar bozes, a sus compañeros, y a llamar al **manganite**, que no nos dejase bajar abajo al pueblo, que ansi llaman al demonio, abia el Cabo nombrado algunos compañeros para que fuesen [a]delante, en los quales fui yo, antes de llegar a la enboscada, se abian quedado algunos, llegamos 9 de los quales tenian, a 9 arinconados de miedo que no podian menearse por la maquina de piedras y lanzas, otro compañero [y] yo procurabamos defenderlos y defendernos con las escopetas, el Cabo los Padres tambien se beyyan en prieto gue[r]ra todos avia, y no pudiendo resistir los arcabuces uyeron, y se hizo abajo al pueblo y se quemó, y se le trageron sus embarcaciones, mataron dos barbaros, y de los nuestros no salio ninguno erido de cuidado, algunas puyas que ponen muchas en los caminos con otras trampas, a la retira daños hicieron [a] un yndio amigo que luego murio dejando no[s] muchas esperanzas de su salvacion, y hirieron a otro, y nos benimos al campo con mucho gusto haciendo Salve a la Virgen.

3. Salimos el Capitan el Ayudante yo y 43 soldados, el Padre Antonio Jaramillo, el Padre Pedro Comano para **Urunao**, embarcados en 16 banquillas, y nos dio un fuerte biento, que nos hizo andar con arto cuidado, en particular el Padre Garamillo que es cosa de admiracion lo mucho que teme al mar, que creo sera mucho su merito segun lo mucho que le cuesta que por Dios todo le ace, llegamo[s] a Uronou [sic], se cantaron las oraciones, y les platico el Padre Xaramillo[.] A la mañana se puso el altar, digeron los Padres misa, y les repre[h]ndieron sus biçio [=vicios] como es que en estando uno malo, con muchos dolores, el se suele a[h]orcar, u le ahorcan, que no llamen a diablo, que llamen a Dios, el que en estando preñada una soltera, por miedo de los dolores, y porque despues no la quieren tambien, si estandos días sin comer, y acen otro remedio, y matan el niño, antes que nasca, del biçio de la deshonestidad quitandoles las casas de oritas [i.e. urritaos], que son unas casas adonde se juntan los solteros y solteras. — darles notiçia del ynfierno, y del çielo que estos no an menester muchos lugares de la sagrada escritura, de alli nos fuimos a terage [i.e. Terrague] por tier[r]a atravesando algunos pueblos encontrando mui poca gente, que se uyyan al monte se les dejaba dicho que para la buelta estubiesen todos guntos, y que tubiesen deribada las casas ariva referidas[.] **llegamos a Tarague que es la cabeza de un lado de la ysla, pueblo de 76 casas que para aqui es grande.** tambien allamos poca gente la una se abia ydo al monte, y los otros a las otras yslas a buscar arroz. el cabo hizo llamar los que estaban en el monte, por el miedo fueron beniendo hasta 200 personas poco mas u menos y casi todas mugeres el Padre Garamillo les platico y a todo esto una pura desnudes sin que en tantas mugeres biese un hilo de ropa, materia arta para alabar a Dios, y ansi desnudas como es estan se guelgan de parezer bien, y ansi trayen una roseta de muchas rotos [=rotas? rosas?] que son a modo de jasmín, se dan tantos golpes con un palo en las piernas de la pa[rte] de afuera, abajo de la rodilla, de modo que hazen unos bultos como guebos [huevos = welts] y con esto ban aziendo mas piernas que se llevara la mejor gala de ropa, los hombres se labran el cuero con muchas zecabrizes [sic = cicatrices], que se azen mordiendose unos a otros; que quedan unos costurones mui grandes, y esto tambien las mugeres y es sin reservar ninguna parte de su cuerpo, estubimos aqui dos dias[.] rezaban a mañana y tarde, y se les platicaba, se deribaron las cas[as] publicas de deshonestidad se bautizaron algunos niños. Se trageron quatro muchachos para el colegio arto hermosos, mui abiles, de alli nos benimos a Ynausan [i.e. **Inapsan**], se les platico, y se trageron tres muchachos para el Colegio, de alli nos benimos ari tellan [sic = a Ritidían], aqui nos salieron a recibir los muchachos y muchachas casi media legua antes, con el alabado, que es el reçimiento de todos, y despues binieron delante de nosotros cantando las oraciones en su lengua mariana, y despues en lengua española, con arto, y con-

suelo de mi alma, luego se les platico, y se trugeron tres muchachos para el colegio, y luego nos benimos a Urunau, se dijo misa se les platico, y se trageron dos Colegiales, luego nos benimos a Iran, tan tambien se les platico, y se saco otro muchacho para el colegio, de aqui nos benimos [a] Agaña.

4ª salida. Salio el Cabo el Ayudante, 40 soldados dos Padres, el Padre Garamillo, el Padre Gerardo, yo, nos estuvimos 9 dias bisitando los pueblos, de la sola mitad de la ysla, lo que los Padres hacian era bautizar niños besitar enfermos, hacer que rezasen platicarles, todo con mucho ferbor, y cuidado, lo demas en cada pue[blo] deribar casa de **oritas**, que es lo que mas los arastra, quemar calaberas de sus antepasados, que es parte de sus ydolos, porque las untan con açeyte de color, y se ban a pescar les piden pescado, y en otras cosas lo mesmo, aunque en diziendoles que es malo digen, otros enbustes sin pies ni cabeza en que es demonio los tiene engañados, lo que yo e bisto en un pueblo fue **una piedra ençima de una calavera, para pedir agua**, y viento, y otras cosas, la piedra mui tosca, y otra piedra que dezian, que el que escupia en ella se bolvia lo[co], y unos cocos, que llamamos pecoras, mui enramados adonde dezian que benia a beber el demonio, que ellos llaman, **manganite**, llamamos los barbaros, y delante de ellos se escupio en la piedra, y se les platico y esplico la falsedad de sus enbustes, tambien se trageron algunas lanzas, que son las mas malas harmas que creo que ai en todo el mundo, que no se le alla contra para su beneno, se trageron siete muchachos para el colegio, en el camino encontramos un penasco que dicen que deçe [=diciende] de ella.

5ª salida[.] Salio el Capitan 48 soldados, el Padre Pedro Comano, y el Padre Cardeñoso, el Ayudante [y] yo, a ber unos pueblos que abia 5 años que no se abian podido bisitar, y a castigar otros que estaban alzados. y con fama de mui balientes, de modo que yo creya que me abia de faltar polvora y balas segun deçia que [e]ran balientes, en el camino se nos juntaron 100 yndios amigos poco mas u menos, llegamos a los pueblos, y huyeron todos, se cogieron quatro mugeres y dos niños de pecho, la una muger pensando que era hombre, se le tiro dos lanzas que la atrebasaron de que murio luego, las otras con sus niños se trageron [a] Agaña; se quemaron las cas[as], a la buelta nos yrieron un Yndio amigo de lanzada de la qual murio mui bien dispuesto.

6ª salida, salio el Capitan el Padre Pedro Comano, el Padre Tomas Cardeñoso, el Ayudante 30 soldados [y] yo a socorer a unos yndios amigos que abia quatro dias que estaban peleando, con otros yndios, enemigos suyos y nuestros, y antes que llegasemos se abian uydof.] aqui himos alto un dia para que binesen los niños de los pueblos zercanos y tambien comida para los soldados[.] binieron con gran alga-za, y bozeria, corespondiendo los yndios que benian con nosotros, con arto gusto de todos, el Capitan tomo su escopeta, para dispararla, para mas rigorigo [=regocijo], y se le rebento en la mano que toda la recamara se le hizo pedaços. Sin aber dañado al Capitan ni a los que estaban alado [al lado]; que se tubo por particular merçed que el Señor le yzo y nos hizo, aqui se bautizaron 25 niños cada Padre la mitad, los Padres bautizaban [y] yo probeyya de nombres no olvidandome de los debotos y debotas de V.E. despues se cantaron las oraciones y les platico al Padre Tomas Cardeñoso, con mucha debozion, y luego hizieron su danza, y comedia que aunque barbaros tambien a su modo tienen sus entretenimientos, de aqui salimos sabado de Ramos caminamos todo el dia atrabesando algunos pueblos que abia algu[nos] años que no se bisitanban. los Padres bautizando, que en los dos dias se bautizaron 44 niños, dormimos tres u quatro leguas de casa, se bendigeron las palmas y se dijo misa, y luego nos benimos al campo.

Otras muchas salidas se an echo en las quales no e ydo yo ni el Capitan sino el Ayudante u algun cabo de esquadra, que son a mision u algunos bautismos, u enfermos y a buscar alguna yndia u yndio, que se suelen uyr, que estas casi todos los dias se sale: estas salidas començe a escribir al prinçipio del ano creyen-

do que ubiese mas de que abisar a V.E. que del modo que estaban las cosas al principio me parecia que se podia hazer mucho mas de lo que se a echo, que arto me alegrara lo primero, por Dios y su Santisima madre, y tambien por alegrar a V.E. con las buenas nuebas del aumento de esta nueba christiandad, y hijos espirituales de V.E. por esto conozera V.E. que deseo abisar de todo, y quien es fiel en lo poco lo sera en lo mucho, solo quisiera que V.E. me abisara si este es buen modo abisar u sacar las cosas mas particulares que del modo que mas agradarece a V.E. lo are[.] me parece que V.E. me preguntara, qual sera la causa porque mas se aumentara u [a]trasara[.] la causa mas principal es la union de los dos superiores de la mision, eclesiastico, y seglar, porque esta tan pendiente de las armas que sin ellas no se puede hazer nada, porque de los Padres solos azen los yndios mui poco caso que son hijos del miedo y en esto casi todos los yndios son unos, y ansi dicen que quando naçe el yndio naze tambien un beguco, para castigarle[.]

El Cabo que a estado aqui esos dos años es hijo de bezino de ese lugar [i.e. Madrid], se llama D. Juan de Salas, a echo mui buenas cosas en la mission, como lo abra bisto bue[stra] Exçelencia en la relacion pasada, es mozo de buen animo, capaz, y afortunado[.] desea mucho que V.E. lo reçiba en el numero, de los criados de V.E. y en su lugar a un hermano, que tiene en esa Corte llamado D. Françisco de Salas aguaçil de Corte; los matadores, que se an muerto este año son 11, de Padres y soldados, que uno es bastante para rebolver a muchos y como son barbaros se creen de ligero, que es menester harta prudencia para sufrelles [=sufrirles] sus cosas, que suelen ser arto redicalas [=ridiculas], deles Nuestro Señor conocimiento de sus santos misterios, y a V.E. de mucha paciència para leer oyr [=ó oir] leer tanta maquina de desparates que es çierto que sino quedara con la confianza, de que V.E. como abeja de Nuestro buen Dios de todas las cosas sacara miel no las escribiera, no porque en esta carta dexo un testimonio firmado de mi poca capacidad, sino por no cansar a V.E. cuya bida guarde Nuestro Señor muchos años,

Marianas, 10 de mayo 1680.

Besa la mano de V.E. su menor, é mas umilde criado,

Joseph de Quiroga y Losada.

Translation

May the grace of God be always in the soul of Your Excellency so that Y.E. may reach the peak of perfection at an accelerated rate, and with a virile courage break the traps that our envious adversaries are setting for us, in order to take away from us such a high and sovereign aim: I, for one, am not surprised that such a sovereign affair be so envied. May God give us his copious assistance to break out like water [once] dammed that runs with more speed, and may He give much health to Y.E., for the protection of so many who are under the protection of Y.E., in particular those my Lords,¹ whom I beg the Lord to make his own, so that the fruit of the tree will indeed be recognized, and to whom I beg Y.E. to submit my humble remembrance, and for the love of God do not let them forget me in their prayers, so that I may do many things in the service of Our Lord, and good of these poor souls. It may seem superfluous to Y.E. that in this petition I refer to all [of them], since I do not doubt that although they are so

¹ Ed. note: He refers to the Duchess' children.

distant externally, they are very present internally, in Our Lord Jesus Christ, the love for whom burns in our hearts, so that with St. Paul let us say “if one confirms [or gets sick?], I do not sympathize [fall sick/suffer from], if one becomes scandalized, I do not get burned [or burn myself].” There my Lady with the same St. Paul I say that this figure takes the bait(?) and perishes(?) and thus we prepare our lamps so that when the bridegroom will come we will be ready; hence that greatness will thus perish, and once invalid/expired, it may be transplanted(?) to our country, so that it will become stable, and will last, for all eternity, although the greatness with which Y.E. behaves does not seem bad to me, according to the state in which the Lord has placed Y.E. Rather, if I were someone in authority, and not the almost-indivisible dust that I am, I would recommend to Y.E. that, with regards to exterior greatness, you should not deprive yourself of anything, as solemnity is very proper to virtue that is intrinsic in greatness itself, which usually produces thorns upon which the good Lord pricks Himself. Also: “when roses are well cultivated, they usually give off a wonderful smell and beauty” where our good Jesus revels(?), thus fulfilling that [prophecy?] that his delights are to be with the sons of men. “The cassock does not a monk make,” is what is seen every day:¹ poor people being very naked and badly fed, [but] well entertained, and to the contrary great Lords being very saintly, and of this there are so many examples that I have no need to bore Y.E. by mentioning them, and I beg Y.E. to let me know something about how best to distribute and spend one’s time, so that, once I have made a good start, I will not become a show off, I mean, that which can be told within a letter, which would be of much consolation to me, and this not out of mere charity, but interested charity, like the one between two merchants who go halfway, who wish to make a success of their purchases, and sales. So, since I am so interested, I wish with all my heart that Y.E. be very saintly, and when I see the many means that the Lord has given Y.E. to achieve this aim. This very lucky and happy aim has been given to Y.E. by the Lord, and to me [He has given] the great strength to bear with good spirit, and compliance, as the will of God, the hardships that are present here, and the many more that I hope are awaiting me in these Islands, although at present there is no lack of them to offer to the Lord, so much so that we can say with St. Paul: “in danger from robbers (in accordance with the name of these natives), in danger from the Gentiles, danger in cities, danger in the island, danger in the sea,”² because every time we board these local canoes we do so at great risk, trusting on a few boards of the thickness of 2 fingers, fastened with some cords, and thus it is necessary to proceed with caution. May His Divine Majesty give us [the strength] of not offending Him and to let our talent prevail.

From Mexico I have given Y.E. a report about my voyage across the Atlantic and arrival at Mexico, and about how it became necessary for me to sign on as a sailor in order to get a passage, the Lord permitting it to be so, that I might earn much merit, if only I knew how to take advantage of it more. It seems to me that I have not known

1 Ed. note: This refers to a popular proverb, translated here literally.

2 Ed. note: A reference to the Bible: II Cor. vi, 26.

how. It is true that when I consider the umpteen opportunities that the Lord has given me to serve Him after I left the army in order to concentrate better on the virtuous path, and I see myself so much behind, I cannot write this without tears, nor can I remind myself without sorrow that Y.E., with your great virtue, may ascribe to humility what is in fact a great truthfulness(?). I beg the Lord who sees all hearts to let Y.E. see my small improvement, and let Y.E. know how much a reason I have to feel this way, because in addition to the post of sailor a few circumstances were added that proved to be no less regretful to the skinny flesh: Father Salgado, very saintly but always with his great craziness(?), and his scruples, and his holy poverty and that too helped me to do more mortification.

I departed Mexico for Acapulco with the troop of soldiers and sailors and we settled down among the large corps of guards in the fort, where I deserved to be: in the jail, right next to Don Francisco Valenzuela¹ with whom we spent good times in conversation, as he is well learned on any subject. We had/took our min[=?]² on Saturdays, and we made our devotions together; Don Francisco received the sacraments often.

And later on they took us out of the fort to embark and we had a very good voyage, thank God, but upon arriving at these Islands, those of us going ashore received such a stiff blow because **the galleon did not anchor** [in 1679], but it simply tacked back and forth while the relief men and supplies were being unloaded. But in the end part of the relief was carried off, and the Fathers and myself went down into the boat, and from the time we stepped into it until we left it, everything was a danger to our lives, because we could neither make the ship or the shore, on account of the contrary wind and the currents [running] away from the shore, in addition to our not having anyone who knew how to man either the rudder or the oars. As for me, it was of much relief to think that God may have wanted me to die at sea rather than ashore. The Fathers who came were very saintly, for instance, Father Vallejo who is innocence itself, Father Basilio [Le-Roulx], a foreigner, and also very saintly and very prudent, a musician who teaches the college students here how to sing, also a Coadjutor brother, another foreigner and very virtuous.³ Finally, after many ups and downs, we stepped ashore. The Fathers went to their residence and I went to the house of the commander. There I ate and slept for a few days, but the providence of God, who never forgets His creatures, has reserved for me a house, the best after that of the Captain⁴ and that of the Fathers, thus confirming what Y.E. told me that I am very lucky and fortunate. It is true that when I forgot the many favors that the Lord made me, and His creatures also for His love, it made me

1 Ed. note: Valenzuela was the former Queen Mother's lover, who was then being exiled to prison in the Philippines, where he was jailed in Cavite upon arrival.

2 Ed. note: I could not decipher this word "min", also written "mi" below. It has something to do with a break, recess, lunch, or chow. Perhaps it is some military slang.

3 Ed. note: This was Brother Dubois.

4 Ed. note: I.e. Captain Salas, who remained for one more year as Governor.

sad to think that the Lord wanted to pay me in this life, but seeing that although it be for my punishment, to see that the will of God be fulfilled, I am very happy that it seems that the world treats me like ballast.¹ May the Lord be always praised, in particular these new naked brothers about whom I wish to give Y.E. some news, although in everything I will come out short, on account of my small capacity, but without any scruples about lying. I know very well that Y.E. will get the full details from a pen better than mine, but as human nature is so inclined as to eat a variety of foods, so it is that among so many other stews Y.E. will receive this one, so rough and tough. I know very well that these, my letters, will serve Y.E. as a touch stone, but may Y.E. offer them to God, so that I too may not lack someone to write to, no matter if I live in the last island where no-one knows about me, nor I of anyone, although I will not stop writing to Y.E. wherever I am, and whatever my occupations will be, and so I write to my relatives that in the house of Y.E. they will find news about me, since the love I have for that whole household is so great, and there is a reason for this; indeed, it seems that even the stupidest little animals knew the great charity that Y.E. was doing to me, thus fulfilling very well that popular proverb, that says "in the face of the servant you will know the love that the master has for him." Indeed, to see the attendance of the servants, the great affability of the children of Y.E. whom I love dearly and will love until I die, everything in the Lord for whose love everything is done.

One thing that I wish to beg Y.E. because I do not want to forget, is that if Y.E. to practice humility writes to me, please let it not be on foot as Y.E. usually does² but let it be while seated, so that Y.E. may tell me many things from your great capacity for my consolation and it is my duty to love Y.E. very much in Our Lord. Also I would esteem to the same degree the things that Y.E. might tell me, since it is true that we esteem the things that we hear in relation with the love that we have for the person telling them to us and that is why all the spiritual Fathers recommend so much that we should not do [something] to others only to gain them over, specially the Doctor of our times, St. Theresa, to whom I hope Y.E. is very devout, and if perchance Y.E. would like to talk for a while with me about spiritual subjects, you would have nothing to envy the discalced Carmelite nuns, and I assure you that my soul would get much benefit out of this conversation. It is a means to make progress in virtue, and it is always good to inform oneself of the best means because in everything in everyone the Lord has very zealous souls to animate the lips. That letter I beg Y.E. to favor me with, and order that it be placed with the mail of Flanders, as in it there are enclosed letters addressed to four convents of St. Theresa, as day and night I am commending myself to God, and it is not little; indeed, the prayers of the just are worth so much. However, to return to these convents, to which I write, I have been in contact with souls of rare virtue. May God through his mercy increase yours, and give Y.E. that coat of many colors that Jacob

1 Ed. note: My interpretation of the Spanish word "alijo" in this context. Like someone having some weight?

2 Ed. note: Meaning, walking around while dictating her letters to a secretary.

gave to his son Joseph, and to me as he saved the three children from the oven, and to Susan from the false testimony, and to Daniel from the lions' den, let Him save my soul, pure, from so many occasions as we go through for his sake.

[Routine activities inside the Agaña garrison.]

In addition let Him give me His most holy grace so that I may let Y.E. know of a few things concerning the mission, beginning with what happens here inside the camp with the soldiers and with the Indians, and the Fathers. The Fathers have their holy exercises.

Father Antonio Xaramillo preaches every Sunday to the soldiers with much fervor, and talent, and also he teaches the boys and girls of these three towns that have been built around the camp, at a distance of half a league more or less.¹ There are 200 of them more or less. They come on two days during the week, that is, on Wednesdays and Saturdays, and they are so well taught that no school(?) in Europe could better them, because he has a rare capacity, and much virtue, and so much fervor that on this score it seems to me that he would sin through excessive fervor than otherwise. He also teaches in another town, from the nearer ones, on Fridays and Thursdays, and it is no small amount of work, because to talk to some of them is the same as to talk to some tree trunks. They make me think of a saying in the Bible: "God saves men and donkeys." They are the donkeys in question. In addition, he complies with the duties of his state and the office of minister, and he makes the required sorties, which occur very often, to visit the sick and for baptisms, when on a mission tour, plus the sermons that he preached about the passion during Holy Week were admirable.

Father Manuel Solorzano takes care of the teaching of the wives of the soldiers and officers of the camp, because every day at 2 p.m. the drum is beaten to call the soldiers to recite the rosary in the church, and afterwards there is the rosary for the Spanish.² They ring the bell for the women, who also go to church to recite the prayers aloud, the same way that a well-trained parrot belonging to a nun's convent would do, in their little Mariana tone of voice that I assure Y.E. makes my heart very glad when I listen to them and it is a mortification to stop listening to them. After the prayers Father Manuel gives a talk, with much fervor, because he is very knowledgeable and very saintly. He lives his life as the ancient monks used to practice; he never leaves his cell except for the business of the souls or out of obedience. On Thursdays he teaches the married Indians and attends to his sorties to visit the sick or to baptize, or on a mission.

Father Gerardo [Bouwens] takes care of the female, and male bachelors who are called here **urritao**. He is also very saintly, and he preaches to them with so much fervor that, once he has begun the hours run very short; so, when we go together, I tell him then that he needs an hour-glass, as he lets himself be carried away by his holy

1 Ed. note: These would be Apurguan, Asan, and perhaps Anigua.

2 Ed. note: The rosary for the mostly-Filipino soldiers must have been in either Pampango or Tagalog, then in Spanish for those of that nationality, and finally in Chamorro for the natives.

fever, so that when it is time for chow(?), we do not take it. Father Coomans and Father Tomás Cardeñoso, one of the companion of San Vitores who has seen all the Islands, are similarly occupied. Father Bustillos [sic], another companion of San Vitores, takes care of the children of the colleges. He is very simple, and very friendly in his conversation, and he needs all of it in order to talk to the children, although there are very good children and very skilled, there are some who are so simple that one can see their soul through their eyes and when I see that, I do not forget Y.E. and I wish I could send it to Y.E. They are taught how to read and write; already there are some who respond very well, and they usually read during the noon-time meals.

Father Bustillos is one of those who best knows the Mariano language, as he can almost teach it to the natives themselves. Father Basilio teaches some college children how to sing; they already sing the responses [during mass] on Mondays in the church, and there are very good voices, which makes me believe that in nothing I could find a match in Europe, as he is so inclined to music. One of the things that he is sorry for is to have left behind the music performances in cathedrals, where the divine cult is more splendid. Father Vallejo assists Father Bustillos and at the same time learns the language. He is an angel; Fr. Tirso is the man who knows his virtue very well.¹

These are the affairs that occupy these saintly religious workers that the Lord took to work in this new vineyard, instruments selected by God so that through their means he may take the just place that is due Him. The women sing the prayers every night, some at 7 p.m., others at 8 and others at 9, and these are approximate times. So, until 9 or even until 10 music can be heard, and this is of much consolation to me, as much as Gregorian chant used to be. Many Indian men and women from the neighboring towns have confessed and taken communion, specially all the "children of the devotions"² and they say they are very good in all the points in confession. It is something strange to [first] see the children in their towns, so wild(?) and untamed but after a few days among us they do not appear to be the same.

During this Holy Week a Mariano boy disciplined himself, and as they are so fat, it seems as if he would fill the church with blood.³ During processions four Mariano women carry the Virgin. During the last few days, two women from those living in the camp died, leaving great signs of their salvation; one of them asked to have them find a shroud for her, that she wished to see it first, and she requested that a palm branch be left with her for her to take along to Heaven, and she declared to the Indians that they should listen to the Fathers, that it was something certain and true, that otherwise God would punish them because the Fathers has been here for a long time already, and they did not wish to listen to them, nor follow their doctrine. She would also give advice to her husband, that he should serve God and not offend Him, and many other

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- 1 Ed. note: The future General of the Jesuits, Fr. Tirso Gonzalez, was Quiroga's confessor in Salamanca, and was the one who recommended him to the Duchess, for posting to the Marianas.
 - 2 Ed. note: "Muchachos del rezo" was the expression the Spanish used to denote the school children who were not boarders at the colleges.
 - 3 Ed. note: Self-flagellation tended to be rougher among the newly-converted.

things of much edification. This happened after a long fainting spell. I was not then present because I was busy with [military] exercises. These two were sisters, and the last one said that her sister had come to get her; that is why, they died only a few days apart.

[Life outside of the Agaña garrison]

This is what happened in the camp. Outside, in these three towns in the vicinity they also pray every night, many have been married through the Holy Mother Church, being baptized at the same time, and they continue to get married. In addition, they are being taught how to make a confession. The rest of the Island has not yet been subjected; it will yet cost much labor, and some blood, before it is as it should be. And it will even be necessary to be careful for many more years, because they are treacherous and whenever possible we must stick to the main thing that must be done, that is, to reduce them to larger towns, and build churches, so that the Fathers may teach them more immediately. I hope in the generous kindness of Our Lord and in the intervention of His Most Holy Mother that next year I will be able to write to Y.E. with more pleasure, because there will be more to write about, as this year went by I don't know how. God be praised, who knows when this will be mature enough for the picking. Notwithstanding that it appears that not much progress has been done this year, I know of much improvement every day in everything that some Fathers do with much fervor will show results in one year, and I cannot be talking about natural things, as like the tree first sends up shoots and afterwards more shoots and finally the fruit, so it is with the blood spilled plus the contradictions, the hardships and mortifications, all of which is the watering that makes the tree grow, so that it may then put out roots and not be uprooted by any wind. May God give us true conformity; what is the use of reducing the whole world without it, as the Lord said through St. Mark: "How is a man the better for it, if he gains the whole world at the expense of losing his own soul?"¹ So, let us do our own part that concerns us, and God will not fail to do His. Indeed, no-one else truly takes greater care or has greater desire to save souls than the Lord Himself who suffered for them, and a proof(?) of this can be gotten from the great care that His great kindness has for the bodies. Indeed, His great providence does not forget the least of His creatures, and this fact is more easily recognized in the whole of the Indies where, in spite of the Indians' great idleness, He provides them with foods that can be easily obtained. In these barbarian

1 Ed. note: Mark viii, 36.

people, Godless, lawless and almost devoid of reason, we are experiencing it every day, as in all the things that He gave them as industry to survive. Their food consists in a few types of root crops, that they call **nica**, **dago**, and **sun**i, and another kind of fruit they call **rima** [i.e. breadfruit]. The roots and the fruit are eaten roasted and they are a substitute for bread. I took to them as if I had been raised with them, and they did not do me any harm whatever, though some people after a few days here still cannot eat them.¹ They eat fish raw, without [...] as they come from the water, and the deer [sic] in the bush, but since the bush is so thick, as soon as they enter it they have no need to look for them, and the same at sea.³ Also there is some rice, a few bananas from the only fruit tree in existence besides the **rima**, and coconuts which are plentiful. God's providence did not forget us either, by arranging some way for us to have meat to eat, and it happened this way: the Fathers brought in a breed of pigs, and they were keeping them in pens inside the camp, but God permitted that they fled into the bush and not all could be recovered and they have multiplied in such a way that I believe that in time they will cause much damage to us,⁴ and without them we would have had a most miserable time this past year, because they had not sent from Mexico what they used to send, i.e. jerk beef, which is beef dried up in the sun, also they use to send dry vegetables, such as beans, lentils, chick-peas, and some biscuit. These [pigs] are hunted with some difficulty, with dogs, because there are a few that are so wild that they make 10-12 dogs flee, and as for us, we have to go around with arms at the ready; we usually take spear or shotgun.⁵ There are also chickens, and I believe that this land, once so miserable and I believe it was the most miserable yet discovered, will in time have everything necessary, with regards to food at least; as for the rest, it will always be miserable.

[The natives are learning how to wear clothes]

Also I hope to God that some cotton will be grown [locally] to relieve this so great nakedness that is one of the things that give me some worry, on account of the many advantages that there is in it, on account of the many offences that would be avoided. Now, they already ask for clothes and already they are learning that, following our example, it is better to go around with clothes on, rather than be naked. Also some al-

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- 1 Ed. note: From modern medicine, we know that a change of diet does not necessarily result in diarrhea; many other factors can be responsible: lack of hygiene, polluted water, a weak body, uncooked food, etc.
 - 2 Ed. note: Words missing. He probably meant to write "without cleaning them or cooking them."
 - 3 Ed. note: Deer were introduced from the Philippines into Guam by the Spanish, but in the next century. They were not native animals. However, 7 years earlier cattle had been brought into Guam (see below) and must have multiplied rapidly. Therefore, I think that the Spanish word "venado" which normally means "deer" should be translated as "wild cattle." We know that they were running loose, if not before, at least by the war of 1676-77. The cows, being half tame, must have been easy to catch, and chickens cannot fly.
 - 4 Ed. note: Meaning, damage to the local environment.
 - 5 Ed. note: What I translate as shotgun was actually its forerunner. It was then a newly-invented lighter musket.

ready eat meat, and those residing in our vicinity know it very well but the rest not yet. Before, when I was recently arrived, they made me laugh with their antics, specially with regards to clothing, because if some of them got their hands on some clothes, they did not know what to do with them. For instance, one would wear pants about his neck like a tie, and the rest [of the body] naked; another would wear a hat but the rest stark naked, yet another who had gotten one stocking, or only one shoe, another found a shirt and wore it on top of the jacket. As for the women, when they wear a skirt, it is almost the same as when they do not, because when they are in church, and are to kneel down, so as not to dirty the skirt, they usually place it under their belt. Those who have a skirt carry it separately and upon arriving at the camp they put it on, and when they leave they once again remove it. When it rains, so as not to get wet, they go into the sea. And they do not need a cell in order to remove this skirt or put it on, because they are usually in the middle of the camp when they remove or put on the skirt, whenever it suits them, and they do the same when they go to wash it. Recounting the barbarity of our naked brothers does not please me and I do not relish to see it continue this way, because one comes to look upon them as animals. In my house no-one enters except on Sundays when the house is usually surrounded by people begging me for tobacco, which is what men and women esteem the most. At the windows and doors of the [house of the] Fathers it is the same, and it is something worth praising God about to see with what modesty these saintly religious live. The room of Father Antonio Xaramillo is almost in front of my door, and we sometimes share some moments of laughter. As for Father Vallejo, it is something to see, as he is scrupulous and they say that he never looks at a woman, and as there are so many of them here, when he goes out he does not know where to hide; all of this will last until he has learned the language well enough, as he will have to face them then in order to teach them.

The Governor [i.e. Vargas] has behaved very well toward the Mission when he passed by here [in 1678]. The Fathers say that he did not meddle with the [local] government for nothing; he offered necessary things. I don't know if he will accomplish them. I only notice that the patache is not coming, and he was so emphatic about it. Perhaps it is not his fault, because they say that he was a very good gentleman, and very fearful of God; be that as it may, although they are governors they have many things to accomplish.

[Military expeditions]

I have already advised Y.E. of what happens in the camp. It would not be bad to narrate what happened outside of it during the sorties, which was:

1. The Captain went out with 40 soldiers, 2 Fathers, the Adjutant, I, and 40 friendly Indians. We went to the town of **Tarague**, thinking that we would have to fight, but the Indians fled into the bush; very few had remained. We called for them and there came some 200 persons more or less, men and women, the latter very pretty, and when I saw some of the girls, with flowing hair, long and very brown, adorned with the formal dress of our mother Eve, I remembered that if the bad customs of their heathen-

ism were to continue, they would be condemned for all eternity to blaspheme the name of a God to whom we owe so much, the Lord gave me a desire to lose a thousand lives in order to have them follow the truth, and leave their loose and vicious life. The men [were] very tall and very fat. We slept and in the morning the altar was set up inside a shed where they keep their canoes, and the Fathers said mass. In the meantime, the Indians were singing the prayers. Once the masses were over, Father Gerardo, a few soldiers and I went in search of the body of the Ven. Fr. San Basilio. It had been 3 years¹ since the barbarians had killed him, burned the church. We brought along the two [men] who had buried him; one was the lad who had assisted the Father, and the other was an Indian, but they could not find the place, on account of the thickly-growing grass. We began to cut the grass with the [long] knives, and after a few efforts it was found, except for some bones from one leg, which are presumed to have been taken by the barbarians for their spears. The other leg had been broken, and so, it was found to be useless to them. They had also broken his skull. A piece of his cassock was also found, and a few beads. Then we came back to the place where Father Manuel de Solorzano was registering and baptizing, and we ransomed one chasuble, one bell, one altar slab, and a few former belongings of the Father, plus a crucifix that I took for my private chapel. The house of one evil-doer was burned.

We left to return to Agaña and along the way we came upon their hiding place. The commander, I and a few soldiers went up. The barbarians fled but a few were captured. We found some valuables, what these people call valuables, that were a few tortoise-shells, a few knives, a few jingle bells, beads, some rice, a quantity of spears that were burned with the huts. We let them keep their **guineja**, which is how they call their valuables. We came to another town where they had killed a Father and a Spanish gentleman and burned the church.² The boys and girls came out for about half a league to welcome us, with the cross, singing the prayers. Here were ransomed one chalice, without its paten, which these people said had been burning their hands and they would become swollen; so, they had drowned it.³ Here was captured one of the evil-doers in the past wars who had fled to another island. This one was returning, not knowing that we were there. The Commander ordered that an ambush be set up, to let him step ashore in order to capture him more easily, but he discovered the ambush and was retreating with much hurry when they shot him with an arquebus. They wounded him and he fell into the water and escaped by swimming. One of the Indians who was with us threw himself into the water and threw a spear at him, which entered by one eye and came out of the opposite shoulder. With a very good courage he came to where the Fathers were, asking them to prepare him to face execution by arquebus, and he was saying that he did not want Hell, that he wanted Heaven. After Father Gerardo determined that

1 Ed. note: He died in January 1676. So, in the fall of 1679, it had been over 3 years.

2 Ed. note: This was Ritidian.

3 Ed. note: If this paten was made of solid gold, rather than merely gold-plated, it might still be found off the beach at Ritidian...

he was well prepared, he was shot by arquebus. The next morning the Fathers said mass for his soul and the prayers were sung. A few young children were baptized. Then we passed through other towns, where the Fathers baptized and registered.¹ We came to sleep at another town, where they had burned another church, when Father Manuel Solorzano was present but he had escaped [harm].² Here the prayers were sung, and the next morning we came back to Agaña.

2. The Commander went out with 40 soldiers more or less, Father Pedro Coomans, Father Solorzano, the Adjutant, I and a few friendly Indians. We went to sleep at Ar-ciguan³ which is a town that is near Janon [i.e. **Hanum**], which is a rebel town, but it seemed to them that we would not be able to enter it, on account of the roughness [of the terrain]. It was arranged that a few canoes would go out and prevent their escape by sea, at the same time as we would ourselves attack it from the land side. We made our way there at night, and arrived there at 8 in the morning more or less. Before we went in, there is a very high cliff where the barbarians were stationed, in ambush, with their sentinel. When he sighted us, he shouted the alarm to his companions, and called on the **manganite**,⁴ which is how they call the devil, not to let us go down to the town. The Commander had assigned a few companions to go in vanguard, and I was one of them. Before we arrived at the ambush [site] where a few had remained, 9 of us went up and all 9 became trapped by fear that they could not wiggle through the mess of stones and spears. Another companion and I were trying to defend them and defend ourselves with the shotguns. The Commander, the Fathers also, they all saw themselves in the middle of a live war. And when they [i.e. the enemy] could not resist the arquebuses, they fled. And we went down to the town and burned it, and their canoes were taken away. They killed two barbarians, and no-one on our side was wounded in action. A few [buried] barbs, of which they place many along the trails with other traps, when we retreated, caused harm to one friendly Indian, who later died, leaving us much hope for his salvation. They wounded another. And we came back to camp with much pleasure, singing the Salve [Regina] to the Virgin.

3. The Captain, the Adjutant, I and 43 soldiers went out with Father Antonio Xaramillo and Father Pedro Coomans to **Urunao**, aboard 16 canoes, and we were hit by a strong wind that made us proceed with great caution, in particular Father Xaramillo; it is admirable to see how he fears the sea, and I believe that he will earn much merit, because it cost him much fear, but he does it for God. We arrived at Urunao, prayers were sung and Fr. Xaramillo gave a talk. The next morning, the altar was set up, the Fathers said mass, and they were scolded for their vices: for instance [he said], when one of them is sick, and in much pain, he usually hang himself, or they hang him, they should not call on the Devil but call on God; when an unmarried girl is pregnant, for

1 Ed. note: These towns were called Achay, Urunao, Pugua, and Haputo.

2 Ed. note: This town was Ayran.

3 Ed. note: Unclear writing and hard to decipher. This could be transcribed as and corresponds to Nisi[c]han.

4 Ed. note: Plural form of "aniti", the ancestral gods.

fear of the [future] pain, and because afterwards they also do not love her, she remains many days without eating, and they apply another remedy, and they kill the baby before he is born. About the vice of indecency, [it can be cured] by taking away the houses of the **oritas** [i.e. *urritao*], which are houses where bachelor boys and girls meet: in order to let them know about hell, and heaven, there is no need of many references from the sacred scriptures.

From there we went on to **Terrague** overland, passing through a few towns and meeting with very few people, who were fleeing into the bush. They were told that on our return they should all be assembled, and they were to tear down the above-mentioned houses. **We arrived at Tarague, which is the capital of this side of the Island, a town of 76 houses, which is a big one overhere.**¹ We also found few people; some had fled into the bush, and the others to other Islands to look for rice. The commander had those who had fled into the bush out of fear recalled; there were about 200 persons more or less, most of them women. Fr. Xaramillo gave them a talk and they were all in complete nudity; so many women, yet not one thread of clothing could be seen on them, a material which is necessary to praise God. Naked as they are, yet they endeavor to have a good appearance; so, they wear a tassel [wreath?] of many flowers(?) which are like jasmine. Also, they give themselves so many blows with a stick on the outside of the legs below the knee, that they create bunches like eggs [i.e. welts], and this way they decorate their legs in lieu of the most formal set of clothes. The men fashion many scars on their bodies, which they make by biting one another; the result are some very big stitches, and this the women do as well, and there is no part of the body that is spared. We remained here for two days. They were praying morning and afternoon, and they were instructed. The public houses of indecency were torn down.² A few young children were baptized. Four very handsome and very bright boys were brought along for the college.

From there we came to **Inapsan**. They were given a talk. Three boys for the College were taken in tow. From there we came to **Ritidian**. Here the boys and girls came out to meet us, almost half a league forward, with the approval, rather welcome of everyone, and afterwards they preceded us singing the prayers in their Mariano language, and afterward in the Spanish language, much to the consolation of my soul. Later on they were given a talk, and three boys were taken along for the College. And then we came to **Urunao**. Mass was said, a sermon given, and two college boys were taken. Then we came to Iran [i.e. **Ayran**]. There was another sermon here also, and another boy was taken for the college. From here we came back to **Agaña**.

1 Ed. note: Much more detailed information must have been registered by the Fathers, but their records were all burned in the big revolt of 1684.

2 Ed. note: In Doc. 1680H, Fr. Coomans mentioned that there were 3 chiefs, more correctly 3 heads of families, in Terrague, a town of 76 houses we are told. Therefore, there must have been 3 such houses.

4th sortie. The Commander went out with the Adjutant, 40 soldiers, 2 Fathers, i.e. Fr. Xaramillo and Fr. Gerardo, and I. We spent 9 days visiting the towns of only one side of the Island.¹ What the Fathers were doing was to baptize young children, visit the sick, make them pray, give them talks, all with much fervor, and care. What the others were doing was to take down the houses of the **oritas** [urritao], which is what makes them cringe the most, to burn the skulls of their ancestors, which is part of their idols, because they anoint them with colored oil, and when they go fishing they pray to them for fish, and in other things the same, although when we tell them that it is bad, they reply with other senseless frauds into which the devil has tricked them. What I have seen in a town is **a stone on top of a skull, to pray for water**, and wind, and other things. This stone was very coarse. [I have also seen] another stone about which they said that if anyone were to spit on it, he would become crazy. Also some coconuts, which we call “pécoras”² as they are very intertwined with branches; there, they said, is where the devil—which the barbarians call **manganite**—comes to have a drink. Before their eyes some of us spat on the stone, and they were given a talk to explain to them the falsehood of their frauds. Also some spears were taken away; I think that they are the worst weapons in the whole world, because there is nothing that can be done against their poison. Seven boys were taken for the college. Along the way we met with a boulder about which they say that they are descended from it.³

5th sortie. The Captain went out with 48 soldiers, Fr. Pedro Coomans and Fr. Cardeñoso, the Adjutant and I, to see some towns that had been impossible to visit in 5 years, and to punish others who were in revolt, and had the reputation of being very brave; so, I believed that I would surely run out of powder and balls, the way they talked about their bravery. Along the way we were joined by 100 friendly Indians more or less. We arrived at the towns⁴ and they all fled. Four women were captured and two babies in arms. One woman was mistaken for a man and was hit by two spears that transpierced her and she died of these wounds. The other women with their babies were brought to Agaña. The houses were burned. While returning, one of our friendly Indians was wounded by a spear, and he died from it, after he was well prepared for death.

6th sortie. The Captain went out with Fr. Pedro Coomans, Father Tomás Cardeñoso, the Adjutant, 30 soldiers and I to assist some friendly Indians who had been fighting for 4 days with other Indians, their enemies and ours, but before we got there they had fled.⁵ Here he halted for one day, to give time for the children of the towns in the vicinity to be brought in, and some food as well for the soldiers. They came making a

- 1 Ed. note: Since they passed by Fuña, they visited the southern half of the Island of Guam.
- 2 Ed. note: A Spanish word that means “heads of sheep,” or more properly here “woolly balls” because of their appearance. They were probably coconuts that had already sprouted roots and shoots.
- 3 Ed. note: The site of this famous rock was Fuuña, north of Agat. Its size is not given, but the Spanish word “peñasco” makes one believe that it was a large rock, perhaps even a pinnacle, or crag. So, it can hardly have been destroyed by newly-converted fanatics, and must still exist.
- 4 Ed. note: Mapaz and Chuchugu.
- 5 Ed. note: Hinca area in the south part of Guam, according to Doc. 1680H.

great uproar and battle cry, and the Indians who came with us responded, at the great entertainment of everyone. The Captain took his shotgun, to shoot it, in order to accentuate the rejoicing, but it blew up in his hand; the whole chamber broke to pieces. However, neither the Captain nor those who were by his side were injured, so that it was taken to be a special favor that the Lord did to him and to us. Here were baptized 25 children, each Father taking half. As the Fathers were baptizing, I was supplying the names, and I did not forget the male and female saints to whom Y.E. is devoted. Afterward the prayers were sung and Fr. Tomás Cardeñoso preached to them with much devotion. Then they performed their dance, and comedy, as although they are barbarians, they too have their own forms of entertainment. From here we went out on Saturday before Palm Sunday and we walked the whole day, passing through some towns that had not been visited in a few years, with the Fathers baptizing. In these two days, 44 children were baptized. We spent the night at 3 to 4 leagues from home. The palms were blessed and mass was said, and then we came back to the camp.

Many other sorties were made, in which neither I nor the Captain went along, but only the Adjutant or some squad corporal, for example, on mission tours or visits for baptisms, or to visit the sick, or to look for some Indian girl or boy, as they usually flee, specially the girls, with one fleeing almost every day. I began to write down about these expeditions at the beginning of the year, believing that there would be much more to write about to Y.E.; at the beginning things were such that I thought that much more would be done than has been done, and I would have been the first person to be glad, for God and His Most Holy Mother, and also to cheer Y.E. By this Y.E. will recognize that I wish to advise you of everything, as one who is faithful in little things will be faithful in greater things. However, I wish Y.E. will advise me if this is a good way to advise you of or summarize the more special events; whatever would please Y.E. more, I will do. It seems to me that Y.E. would want to know from me about the cause that would most increase or harm the progress [of the mission]. The foremost cause is the union of the two superiors of the mission, the ecclesiastical, and the secular, because it is so dependent upon the arms that without them nothing can be done, because the Indians pay little attention to the Fathers when they are alone, as they are fear's own children, and in this matter all Indians are alike. So, they say that when an Indian is born, there is also born a cane, to punish him.

The Commander who has been here for these past two years is the son of a resident of that place [i.e. Madrid]. His name is Don Juan de Salas. He has done very good things for the mission, as Your Excellency will have noticed by the above narrative. He is a lad of good courage, ability and fortunate. He wishes very much to be counted among Y.E.'s servants, and in his stead a brother of his, who resides at that Court, whose name is Don Francisco de Salas, constable at the Court. The killers of Fathers and soldiers, who have been killed this year are 11 [in number]. As just one is enough to make many revolt, and as they are barbarians they take everything thoughtlessly, and it is necessary to exercise extreme prudence in suffering their antics, which are usually so ridiculous. May our Lord give them the knowledge of His holy mysteries, and endow Y.E.

with much patience to be able to read, or listen while this nonsensical mess is being read. It is certain that if I did not believe [as I do] that Y.E. is like the bee of Our good Lord and will find some honey in all those things, I simply would not have written them, not because I give a definitive proof of my lack of ability by this letter, but because I do not want to bore Y.E., whose life may Our Lord preserve for many years.

Marianas, 10 May 1680.

Y.E.'s least, and humblest servant who kisses your hand,
Joseph de Quiroga y Losada.

Document 1680E

Memorandum regarding the Mariana Island mission, dated 25 May 1680

Source: 2 manuscript copies of this narrative exist in the Lilly Library, Indiana University, under Phil. mss. II, 1680, May 25.

Note: The author is not mentioned but was likely a clerk working for the Council of the Indies. The addressee was most probably the Duchess of Aveiro at whose request the paper must have been prepared.

Narrative of what appears to have been ordered for the maintenance and promotion of the Mariana Island mission

By means of two decrees dated 16 November 1671,¹ the Governor of the Philippines was ordered to make an arrangement with the Viceroy of New Spain about giving a boat to the Jesuit missionaries of the Marianas for inter-island transport, and about the exchange of 200 Pampango Indians of the Philippines for as many from the Marianas. With regard to the craft, it has been discovered that the Governor has had it built and that he sent it in pieces to the Viceroy, the latter, having recognized it inadequate, sent it back and the 30 pesos² that he learned it had cost he debited them from the subsidy for the Philippines, given that he had been given the amount earlier for this purpose, and had delivered it to the missionaries of the Society of Jesus for them to have it built the way they saw fit, as it appears in two other despatches of his Majesty sent to the said Viceroy and Governor dated 30 May and 30 July 1676.

With respect to the 200 Pampangos, the Governor answered in a letter dated 31 May 1674 that this would have serious disadvantages.³ This letter was seen by the Council and he was sent a despatch dated 30 May 1676 asking him to assist in every way possible for the benefit of the Mariana mission.

1 Ed. note: See Doc. 1671L.

2 Ed. note: Actually, this should have been 3U, which means 3,000 pesos, as recorded in the accounting documents of the period and corresponds to the actual amount budgeted for this boat.

3 Ed. note: See Doc. 1674C.

In another despatch dated 23 December of the same year of 1676 the Viceroy was congratulated for having worked toward the progress of this mission by delivering to the Procurator the amount corresponding to the salary of the 40 soldiers stationed at the Marianas, for one year as well as for the coming ones in the same manner as was done for those of the garrison of Sinaloa [in New Vizcaya].

In another despatch dated 17 June 1678 the Viceroy was also thanked for having ordered the General of the galleon that the galleon of 1676 that returned to the Philippines stop at the island of San Juan and leave the missionaries with everything else that he carried for the Marianas.¹ In another one of the same date, the Governor of the Philippines was ordered to order the generals of the galleons of those islands that return there from New Spain not to fail to stop at the said island of San Juan under any circumstance.

In another despatch dated 11 July 1679, on the occasion of a paper which covered many points, his Majesty granted authority to the Viceroy to carry out what he thought best about sending families and Pampangos, or another kind of people to the Mariana Islands.²

Lately, His Majesty has appointed Master-of-Camp Antonio Saravia as governor of those islands and he embarked aboard the advice boat that left for New Spain on 5 November 1679.³

Madrid, 25 May 1680.

1 Ed. note: See Doc. 1678D.

2 Ed. note: See Doc. 1679I2.

3 Ed. note: There was no regular fleet that year. The rank of Master-of-Camp is now called Colonel. He reached the Marianas only in July 1681 aboard the **San Telmo**.

Document 1680F

Jesuit annual report for 1679-1680, by Fr. Besco

Source: RAH 9/2677.

Notes: There exists a 4-page Spanish ms. (perhaps an exact copy) offered for sale by Maggs Bros. of London in 1923 (Cat. N° 442, n° 1852, p. 130) and again in 1927 (Cat. N° 491, n° 42); cited in *S&D V*, p. 45.

Fr. Besco died one and a half months after having written this letter (i.e. on 26 July). Not much is known about the life of this Mariana missionary, other than that he was born in Sabandia (near Naples), Italy, in 1614 (see Doc. 1681F). He was serving at the Palapag Mission in the Philippines in the 1650s (ref. *B&R 36: 56*) and later went to Manila, where he was involved in negotiating with the Chinese insurgents there, in 1663 (*B&R 36: 227+*). He arrived at the Marianas in 1677.

Original text in Spanish

Copia de Carta del Padre Vice Provincial de Marianas en que da noticias de los progresos de aquella mission.

P. C.

*En esta comunicare brevemente los sucessos mas notables desta nuestra Mission Marianas desde que llego a esta Ysla la nao **S. Antonio** que fue a diez y siete de Junio de mil seiscientos setenta y nueve. Luego que se descubrio por la parte del norte me embarque con algunos Padres en las banquillas de estos Yndios para llegar a rezevir el socorro y remedio de lo mucho que aqui se neçesita mas haviendo llegado con buen tiempo a la nao despues se levanto un viento por la parte del sur que la apartava mucho de la tierra[,] lo qual nos dio mucho cuidado y temor de que no nos havia de dexar descargar el socorro[.] cargose la lancha de la misma nao con lo que se pudo pero haviendo navegado un buen trecho para tierra como el viento creçiese y cayasen algunos aguaçeros acompañados de nublados y obscuridad que les hizo perder la nao de vista sin atender a nuestro socorro ni à la neçesidad de la mission y gente deste preçidio bolvieron la proa y a vela y remo arribaron en breve dando por escusa el mal tiempo pero Dios sabe qual fue la causa verdadera desta arribada que a todos nos dexo bien desconsolados.*

En este tiempo llego a la nao nuestro Barco y habiendo dexado los pobres soldados lo que con mucho trabajo havian adquirido de Puercos, Aves, frutas no hallaron una oja de tabaco que es lo que por la ora mas se estima ni en que emplear un real y assi cargando el Barco con parte del socorro y la gente que se quedava de nuevo en esta Ysla con los Padres Baçilio Roulx[,] Thomas Ballejo y el hermano Baltahzar Bouies [sic] se desatracaron al anocheçer con mucho desconsuelo[.] navegaron toda aquella noche y todo el dia siguiente con grande riesgo de desgarritarse porque el viento era contrario y no havia quien supiese ni remar ni gobernarle por el mayor peligro quando el viento leste les yva desgarritando a toda priesa nuestro Señor los remedio con embiar un poco de Bendaval y haver dispuesto que encontrase con el Alferez Francisco Ruiz que yva con una banca a la nao para pasar a Manila y por esta causa se quedo este año en Marianas y con esto quando se veyan ya perdidos cassi se alentaron y disponiendo el dicho Alferez las cosas pudieron al anocheçer coger la tierra y entrar en este puerteçillo de Agatña mas muertos que vivos[.] no se puede creer la tristeza que a todos nos afligio mientras no se tubo noticias del Barco a los que estavamos en la nao que veyamos de mas cerca el mal tiempo que corria y a los que estavan en tierra que consideravan la falta que havia de hazer la gente que yva en el Barco[,] el desamparo de las mugeres casadas que en el tenian sus maridos y tambien la falta del socorro que todos havian de experimentar muy grande[.]

Al mesmo tiempo me hallava yo en la nao con los padres Pedro Comano[,] Thomas Cardeñoso[,] Lorenzo Bustillo[,] Manuel Solorzano sin ninguna banquilla en que bolvern[.] ya era el dia dies y ocho a las nueve de la mañana areçiava el tiempo[,] alexavase cada momento la nao de la tierra y no parecia una embarcazion en toda la mar con que estavamos con grande susto el qual suamento [sufriamos?] con grande afliccion nuestra oyendo decir que nuestro Barco no podia coger tierra y que arribava tambien a la nao y assi pensavamos que nos haviamos de propasar todos a Manila y esto mesmo lo pensaban los demas Padres y gente de Agatña[,] mas fue Dios servido que a poco rato se descubrieron velas las quales llegaron y al punto nos embarcamos en algunas banquetas ligeras sin hazer caso de lo demas del socorro por asegurar las personas si era asegurarnos exponer nos en peligro conosido de la vida[.] en fin con continuos aguaçeros y torvellinos de viento en nuestras cascarras de nueçes que assi podemos llamar a estas tan pequeñas embarcaçiones sin tener sobre nosotros una hilacha en Juta llegamos[,] entrada bien la noche en Agatña excepto el Padre Thomas Cardeñoso que se vio en mayor peligro hasta llegar muy cerca de Rota que hubo de navegar todo aquel dia y la noche y la mitad del dia siguiente que enfin entro muy rendido y cansado por aver caido esto sobre mojado por una disposicion y achaque que le sobrevino antes que saliasse de la nao[.] regalos con estos que embia nuestro Señor y se cogen en estas Yslas[,] sea su divina Magestad por todo bendita.

Comensaronse a visitar los pueblos o rancherias que no se havian podido visitar desde el tiempo de las guerras que comensaron el año de setenta y seis en particular los que caen a la parte de leste y si bien los mas se hallaron cassi desamparados porque como los Yndios no sabian el designio de nuestra gente se havian retirado a sus escon-

drijos de los montes pero habiendoles avisado como yvamos de paz y que no se pretendia hazerles mal ningunof,]sino mucho bien[.] algunos comenzaron a parecer y juntarse a oir la doctrina Christiana y a traer los niños que tenian para que los Baptisemos de los quales se Baptisaron cantidad y con esto quedaron con alguna comunicazion con esto Real y correspondençia con el capitan[.] otros quedandose en su reveldia confiados en la aspereza de sus çitios como eran los pueblos de Tarragui[.] Hanum y algunos otros[.] no quicieron sujetarse pero no tardaron a experiementar el rigor de nuestras Armas pues por mas que tenian asegurados los pasos con enpuyados y varias trampas[.] al fin se entraron y quemaron unas casas no para que huviesen que no era todo rigor sin que suçediese a los nuestros mas daño que haver alañeado a dos Yndios amigos de las quales el uno se murio vençido de la fuerça del veneno que tienen estas lanças de huesso humano que en quedandose una sola puntita en el cuerpo es çierto la muerte[.] no faltaron tampoco algunas muertes de los enemigos que como son tan praticos de sus montes y sendas façilmente se escapan entre las espesuras que parece milagro se pueda coger uno[.] In el temor que consibieron del capitan y por no verse en otros peligros de perder la haçienda con la vida se determinaron pedir paçes y se admitieron a ellas.

*Despues entre año se hiçieron varias salidas y correrias por la Ysla y en ellas derribaron y quemaron muchas cassas de los solteros que son los seminarios de todas las torpesas desta pobre gente y donde se haçen Pagos del senso de su alquiler torpe[.] Tambien se quemaron muchas calaveras de muertos y otros Instrumentos con que imbocan sus **manganitis** y sobre todo se truxeron de los pueblos mas distantes y de menos correspondencia alguna cantidad de niños escogidos para Aumentar el collegio donde se crian y se les enseña a leer[.] escribir[.] Ayudar a missa y los demas costumbres de christianos y entran admirablemente en todo con lo qual se alcanso ver aqui gente de aquellos pueblos distantes que acuden al reclamo de sus hijos[.] en todas estas salidas se hizieron muchos Baptismos de parbulos de los quales ya algunos estan gosando de Dios como tambien algunos adultos viejos emfermos que en esta ocassion Baptisados se han volado como se deve esperar de la misericordia del Señor al çielo lograndose la preci- osissima sangre que tambien por esta gente tan miserable derramo nuestro Señor Jesu Cristo.*

Varios matadores assi de religiosos como de los soldados andaban alborotando la tierra y era difiçil sacarlos de sus madrigueras[.] para façilitarlo procuró el capitan que los mesmos naturales fuesen los cassadores desta gente[.] a algunos les ofreçio el perdon de sus delitos si trayan alguna caveza de los malhechores[.] a otros premio[.] Valio la trasa porque algunos comensaron a ponerla en execuzion y habiendo visto otros que les yva bien se confirmaron en su Yntento y aun no faltaron pueblos que para entablar con nosotros amistad tomaron este medio y assi en poco tiempo trugeron unas seis o ocho caveças de los mas culpados y otros mataron entre estos malhechores entraron algunos matadores del Padre Francisco Ezquerria y Sebastian de Monroy que a manos de sus mesmos naturales pagaron su delito y con esto como ya ninguno se podia fiar de otro se limpio algo la tierra no obstante que no faltan todavia reveldes y algunos que

dizen tener paz se piensa que son de los mayores enemigos[.]esta gente neçesita de Virga ferrea.

Lo mexor de todo es el averse comensado a reducir a pueblos muchas rancherias que estan exparçidos alrededor deste çitio e in distancia de un terçio de legua poco mas o menos se ban formando tres barrios raçonables que todos acuden a una Yglesia que se levanto para ellos fuera de la çerca deste preçidio con lo qual se experimenta notable fruto y como tienen la enseñaanza mas frequente y de asiento entra mexor en las costumbres cristianas[.] Los mas se han casado por la Yglesia[.] confiesan y muchos comulgan con no pequeño consuelo nuestro y suio todas las fiestas de preçepto y domingos se juntan a oir la missa y la platica de doctrina que se les haze y entre semana un dia acuden los casados[.] otros los solteros y solteras[.] otro todos los muchachos y muchachas y a todos se les da su enseñaanza y se les explican las cossas conforme a su capacidad y estado con evidente adelantamiento espiritual de sus almas[.]

Esto es sumariamente lo que ay al presente y no desconfio en que ocuparnos bien todos los que aqui estamos en asentandose los pueblos que pretendemos hazer[.] ojala se efectue presto este yntento para mayor gloria de nuestro Señor que me guarde a V. Señoria.

S. Ygnacio de Agatña y Junio primero de mil seisçientos y ochenta.

*De V. Señoria su minimo Capellan que sus Manos Bessa,
Bartholome Besco.*

Translation

Copy of the Letter from Fr. Vice-Provincial of the Marianas in which he gives news of the progress of that mission.

Peace of Christ.

In this letter I will briefly report the most noteworthy events of this our Mariana Mission from the arrival at this Island of the galleon **San Antonio**, which was on 17 June of 1679. As soon as it was sighted north of us, I embarked with a few Fathers aboard the canoes of these Indians to go and collect the succor and remedy which is so much depended upon here, but having arrived with fine weather at the galleon, there arose afterwards a wind from the south that was pushing it off from the shore, and it gave us much worry and fear that they would not be able to let us unload the succor. The launch of the galleon itself was loaded with as much as possible, but after sailing for a good while toward the shore, as the wind kept on increasing and some showers fell, accompanied by clouds and darkness, they lost sight of the galleon and, without paying attention to our succor nor to the need of the mission and men of the garrison, they turned the bow and with sail and oars arrived back in a short time, giving the bad weather as an excuse. However, God knows what was the real cause of this turning around, and it caused us all a great disconsolateness.

At about this time, our own boat reached the galleon, and the poor soldiers having left what they had with great difficulty acquired, such as pigs, sheep, fruit, etc., did not

find a single leaf of tobacco, which is greatly prized nowadays, and which they most desired; neither was there anything upon which to spend a single *real*. They therefore loaded the boat with some of the supplies for the mission, and brought ashore some of the people who are coming to stay at the Island, together with Father(s) Basilio Roulx, Thomas Ballejo, Brother Balthasar Bouies [=Dubois]. They sailed all that night and the whole of the next day with a great risk of drifting off, because the wind was contrary and there was no-one who knew how to row or steer it, to make matters worse. When the easterly wind was pushing them rapidly away from the shore, our Lord came to their rescue by sending a little monsoon wind, and He arranged for them to meet en route with Second Lieutenant Francisco Ruiz who was going to the galleon aboard a canoe in order to go on to Manila, but for this reason remained this year in the Marianas. This is how, after seeing themselves already lost they almost regained hope and said Lieutenant arranged things and they were able by nightfall to reach the land and come into the small port of Agatña, more dead than alive. It is not possible to believe the sadness that afflicted all of us who were aboard the galleon while we had no news of the boat, as we had a closer view of the bad weather that prevailed, and the same with those who had remained ashore when they considered the men who were aboard the boat; married women despaired of seeing their husbands who were there, and also the thought of losing the succor affected them all very greatly.

At the same time I found myself aboard the galleon with Fathers Pedro Coomans, Tomás Cardeñoso, Lorenzo Bustillo, and Manuel Solorzano without any canoe in which to go home. It was already 9 o'clock on the 18th and the wind was becoming brisk, the galleon steadily receding from the coast and not a sign of a craft on the waters. We were greatly scared by it all, specially when we heard it being said that our boat could not reach the land and would also have to turn back to the galleon. So, we thought that we would all have to pass forward to Manila. This too is what the other Fathers and people in Agatña were thinking, but God was pleased to let us at last discern some sails, and as soon as they arrived, we immediately boarded these few light canoes, no longer caring whether or not we brought back the remainder of the supplies, in our anxiety for our personal safety. Finally, under continuous showers and swirls of wind aboard our nut-shells—and so we could call such small craft—and without a shred of jute on our backs, we made it, after nightfall, to Agatña, except for Father Thomas Cardeñoso who saw himself in greater peril until he arrived very close to Rota after sailing for the whole of that day and night and half of the next day, until he finally came in, very tired and exhausted, because he had been soaked after being indisposed by an attack of fever before he left the galleon. Such are the rewards that our Lord sends and are gathered in these Islands. May His Divine Majesty be blessed for everything.

Visits were begun of the towns or hamlets that had been impossible to visit since the time of the wars that began in the year 1676, specially those that face the eastern side. However, most of them were found to be almost abandoned, because, as the Indians did not know what our men had planned, they had retreated to their hiding places in the bush, but after we had them advised that we came in peace and that we had no in-

tention of doing them the least harm, but only much good, a few began to appear and gather to hear the Christian doctrine and to bring the young children they had, for us to baptize them. Many were baptized and in this way they were left with some contact with this Garrison and contact with the Captain. Others remained with their rebellious attitude, trusting on the roughness of their sites, as were the towns of Tarrague, Hanum and a few others. They did not wish to submit, but they did not have to wait long before they experienced the severity of our weapons. Indeed, although they had made the trails secure with buried barbs and traps, still they went in and burned some houses, not [all] so that they would learn that it was not full severity, without any of our men receiving more harm than having two friendly Indians speared, of whom one died, vanquished by the strength of the poison that these bone-tipped spears have, so much so that if only a small point remains in the body, death is certain. There was no lack of dead men on the enemy side either [but] as they are so knowledgeable of their mountains and trails, they escape easily through the thick jungle that it seems like a miracle when even one is captured. With the fear that they conceived of the Captain and so as not to see themselves in other dangers of losing their properties in addition to their lives, they decided to ask for peace and their offer was accepted.

Afterwards, in mid-year, various sorties and expeditions were made through the Island and in them many houses of bachelors were torn down, as they are the seminaries of all the torpitudes of these poor people and where they pay themselves sensually for their lewd rent. Many skulls from dead people were also burned and other tools with which they invoke their **manganiti** and above all there were brought from the more distant towns with least contact with us a quantity of children selected to increase the college where they are being raised and taught how to read, write, assist at mass and other Christian customs; they fitted in wonderfully in everything. One result was that we now see here people from those distant towns, who came to visit their sons at the latters' invitation. In all of these sorties many baptisms were done of infants, a few of whom are already enjoying God, as well as of a few adults, old ones and sick ones who, after the opportunity of baptism, have gone, as we hope from the Lord's mercy, to Heaven, a grace that the most precious blood of our Lord Jesus Christ spilled for these so miserable people also.

Various killers, not only of religious but also of soldiers, were wandering and sowing rebellion in the land and it was difficult to take them out of their lairs. To make it easier, the Captain tried to use the natives themselves as bounty hunters of these men. To some he offered the pardon of their own crimes, if they brought in some head belonging to evil-doers; to others, he rewarded them. The plan worked, because a few began to put it in practice and, when others saw that the first ones were making out very well, they were convinced to go ahead. There were even a few towns that took this course of action, in order to make friends with us. So, within a short time, they brought in from 6 to 8 heads from the more guilty ones. They killed more and among these evil-doers were found some killers of Fr. Francisco Ezquerria and Fr. Sebastian Monroy, who at the hand of the natives themselves paid for their crime. Now then, as none of

the criminals could trust any other, the country was rid of them somewhat, notwithstanding the fact that there are still some rebels and a few who pretend peace but who are among our greatest enemies. These people need an iron rod.

The best thing of all is that a beginning was made in reducing to towns many hamlets that are spread out around this site and, at a distance of a third of a league more or less, three reasonable *barrios* [suburbs] are being created, and all of them attend one church that was raised for them outside of the enclosure. With that some notable fruit is being experienced, and as they are being taught regularly, they are becoming more surely introduced to Christian customs. Most of them have been married before the Church. They attend confession and many take communion, with no little consolation for us and for themselves, at every religious holiday and on Sundays they come together to hear mass and the explanation of the doctrine that is given them, and on a certain day during the week the married people come; the same for the bachelors, boys and girls. They are all given their instruction and things are explained to them in line with their ability and status, with an obvious spiritual progress made by their souls.

This is a summary of what there is at present and I trust that all of us here will be fully busy with the resettlement of the towns that we plan to do. God grant that this project be carried out, for the greater glory of our Lord. May He keep your Lordship.

San Ignacio de Agaña, 1 June 1680.

Your Lordship's least Chaplain who kisses your hands,
Bartolomé Besco.

Document 1680G

Governor Vargas forwarding the Jesuit annual report for 1678-79

The Council to the King, dated Madrid 1 July 1681

Sources: AGI Ultramar 562, col. Simancas, folio 32; copy in Colección Pastells, Fil. 2, pp. 372-374, and in Fil. 8, pp. 439-440, and again in Fil. 17, fol. 262.

Note: The original letter from Governor Vargas to the King, dated Manila 27 May 1680, must still be in AGI, but is not filed with the main source, and may be presumed lost.

Original text in Spanish.

Consejo de Indias á 1º de Julio de 1681: Pone en las reales manos de V.M. una Carta del Gobernador de Filipinas, con relacion del prospero estado de la Cristiandad en las Islas Marianas, para que V.M. se halle con noticia de ello.

Señor.

Demas de las noticias particulares, de que el Consejo dió á V.M. en consulta de ayer, de las que ha traído el navio de aviso que ha venido de la Nueva España, se han visto hoy las que remite D. Juan de Vargas, Gobernador de Filipinas, con la carta adjunta de 27 de Mayo del año pasado de 1680 con que acompaña la relacion por copia que va con ella hecha (segun dice) por Bartolomé Besco Superior de los religiosos de la Compañía de Jesus que estan entendiendo en la reducion y enseñanza de los naturales de las Islas Marianas en quanto se refieren latamente las cosas notables que han sucedido en ellas desde Junio de 1678 hasta Mayo de 79 y el prospero estado en que quedaba la Cristiandad, á que habian ayudado mucho los treinta soldados y un Cabo que dexó el dicho Gobernador cuando pasó por alli el año de 678 por que con esta gente y la que habia se castigó á los indios rebeldes y en particular á los dos que habian muerto á Sebastian de Monrroy y Francisco Ezquerria, Jesuitas que se empleaban en dicha mision, con que amedrantedos los infieles y asegurados los nuevamente convertidos se iba logrando fruto de la predicacion del evangelio, como mas por menor podrá V.M. siendo servido verlo en la relacion citada, la cual ha parecido al Consejo ponerla en las Reales Manos de V.M. rindiendo á Dios las devidas gracias por lo que se digna [de] amparar á los vasallos de V.M. que residen en las Marianas cooperando en la estension de la fê en aquel-

las partes, tanto soldados como misioneros á quien el Consejo ha procurado y siempre lo hará, se les asista con cuanto han pedido, reconociendo el Católico Celo que V.M. ha tenido en la reduccion de aquellos naturales; por lo que desea la mayor honrra y gloria de Dios.

Madrid á 1° de Julio de 1681.

Don Vicente Gonzaga, D. Juan de Santelices,

D. Vicente de Ochoa, D. Bernardo de Valdés,

D. Diego de Albarado, D. Miguel de Dicastillo.

Acordada el mismo dia. Quedó enterado. D. José de Veitia.

Translation.

The Council of the Indies, 1 July 1681: places in the royal hands of Y.M. a Letter from the Governor of the Philippines, with an account of the prosperous state of the Christian community in the Mariana Islands, so that Y.M. may be informed about it.

Sire:

In addition to the detailed information that the Council gave Y.M. in the consultation of yesterday, from those that the advice ship from New Spain has brought in, those sent by Don Juan de Vargas, Governor of the Philippines, have been reviewed today, including the enclosed letter dated 27 May of the past year 1680 which accompanies a copy of the report that goes with it and made (as he says) by Bartolomé Besco, Superior of the Religious of the Society of Jesus who are busy with the reduction and education of the natives of the Mariana Islands, as far as are concerned at some length the noteworthy events that have occurred there from June 1678 until May 1679 and the prosperous state in which remains the Christian community, to which have helped significantly the 30 soldiers and their Captain that the said Governor left when he passed by there in the year of 1678, in order that the rebellious Indians might be punished with these men, and specially two [sic] of them who have killed Sebastian de Monroy and Francisco Ezquerria, Jesuits who were employed in said mission. Consequently, once the gentiles have been scared off and the newly-converted made safe, much fruit from the preaching of the Gospel was being gathered, as Y.M. may see for yourself in greater detail in the above-mentioned report. The Council saw fit to place said report in the Royal hands of Y.M., and renders to God due thanks for having deigned to protect the vassals of Y.M. who live in the Marianas, and collaborate in the extension of the faith in those parts, soldiers as well as missionaries, whom the Council has tried, and always will try, to assist as much as possible, recognizing the Catholic zeal that Y.M. has shown in the reduction of those natives, on account of the great wish you have for the honor and glory of God.

Madrid, 1 July 1681.

Don Vicente Gonzaga. Don Juan de Santelices.

Don Vicente de Ochoa. Don Bernardo de Valdés.

Don Diego de Alvarado. Don Miguel de Dicastillo.

Granted on the same day. Was left informed. Don José de Veitia.

Document 1680H

Long report from Fr. Coomans to Fr. de Pape, dated Agaña 6 June 1680

Source: AGR 2, fol. 179-183v.

Original text in Latin

Reverende in Xhro Pater,

P. E.

Unicus hic annus est, quo litterarum nihil a R^a V^a, nec ab amicorum aliquo ex Europa accepti: credo in tanto iterum intervallo, aut casu aliquo interceptas, aut errore retardatas: ita ut, quod RRæ VVæ conquesti toties merito sunt, id mihi tandem hoc anno contingeret. Nisi forte quod tamen refugit animus vel leviter suspicari, suscepti laboris fructu dudum frustrati, disparaverint tandem et indipetam suam, suorum oblitum, relinquendum suis barbaris juste determinarint. Quid? quod in tanta temporum acerbitate, obstrepentibus undique bellis, ubi tuendæ vitæ cura impenditur, vix fovendæ amicitiae locus relinquitur. Ut ut [sic] sit: ego, evoluta spatio annuæ pensionis, ad solita commercia lubens regredior; certus dum vita suppetet, et valetudo permittet, amantissimis capitibus meritas vices, et obsequium omne, quantum in me fuerit, deferre: hoc solo contentus, si forte meæ ex longinqua peregrinatione portum attigerint, tum demum tanquam a naufragio tabulæ, aut a longinquo merces, amicis manibus excipiantur, et non invitis oculis terantur.

Itaque, ut quæ nos, et missionem nostram concernunt, hisce expediam, ego et P. Gerardus valemus, laboribus apostolicis non solum pares, sed etiam avidi, et fastidiosæ quietis, quam in hac insula S. Joannis, una ex Marianis jam dudum facimus, non semel impatientes. Verum divinæ Providentiæ committenda sunt, quæ non sunt posita in nostra potestate. Regiones hae in ipso orbis angulo remotissimæ sunt ab omni commercio, gens indomita, quam nisi armis prius, et metu compescas. Ubi ad refrænanda vitia deventum fuerit, barbariem suam repetunt, et imbelles Prædicatores facile ulciscuntur. Ergo hoc opus, hic labor est. Milites qui his in locis ferunt ab Rege stipendia ex illis plerumque sunt, quorum vitiis orbis non sufficit; illorum Duces plus divitiis inhiant, quam animarum saluti; quarum dum regiones hæ inopes plane sunt, etiam illi qui magnis conatibus rem confecturi videbantur, vix cæpto opere, fatiscunt laboribus. Et commoditates suas primum, tum cupiditatum suarum terminum Manilam, aut Mexicanum respiciunt: et sic operarii Apostolici qualiscumque zelus dissoluti ducis angustis terminis circumscribitur. Atque hæc eo adnotanda paucis existimavi, ne rerum inexperti, et qui sola speculatione

conversiones Indicas metiuntur, a vero aberrent, dum æstu plus quam Xaveriano abrepti, innumeras regiones haud multo impendio Christianæ veritatis jugo subjiciunt. Quibus ego illud Pauli nescio an apta respondero non volentis neque currentis sed miserentis Dei.

Verum ut ea, quæ a Superioribus meis desiderantur, expeditam; aderat jam ab Nova Hispania subsidiaria navis. Vehebatur illa Pr. Franciscus Salgado redux ab romano itinere Philipinarum Procurator, qui uti habebat in mandatis reliquit nobis ex omni Missione socios auxiliares Sacerdotes duos, Pem. Basilium Le Roulx Audomarensem flandrum, et Pem. Thomam Vallejo Navarrum Tudelensem, et alterum ad domestica munia Coadjutorem. Verum hanc in commune lætitiâ temperavit auræ intemperies, qua universa Missio in ultimum discrimen, et pæne in perniciem data est. Datus erat onerariæ nauclerus D. Franciscus Lazcano, in locum D. Ludovici Lopez. Dum cursum Acapulcum versus prosequitur, in itinere defuncti, qui artis licet nauticæ apime peritus, tamen locorum inexpertus, cursum ad Septentrionem plus solito nonnihil diflexerat: itaque dum in conspectum insularum venit, afflante vehementius Euro. Onerariam mole sua non satis flexibilem [179v] applicare propius terræ non potuit. Et quidem lembus, quem cum parte subsidii ad terram destinaverat, vi undarum et æstu victus, ad navem unde venerat cum dolore retrocessit. Celox vero nostra cui sese Patres ab Europa advecti milite commiserant, cum præcipua parte annui subsidii, jam diem noctemque mari agitabatur; imo jam vi undarum abrepta, fessisque remigibus, parum aberat quin navem, unde venerat, aut Manilam respiceret: cum forte prætervectus nautarum unus, qui ex nostro præsidio navem petebat, et extremum sociorum discrimen advertens, relicta qua vehebatur patria navicula, tantum laboravit, afflante etiam occidentalis auræ fortuita procella, donec tandem remigibus velisque, celocem terræ applicuit. Indeque legens littora ad optatum portum perduxit; conversa in gaudium omnium qui domi remanserant comploratione. Verum adhuc numero deerant Patres qui navem negotiorum causa accesserant, qui quidem naviculis patriis domum reduces, in tanta maris et ventorum intemperie non minus periculi videbantur adituri: nam incommoditates reliquæ, quæ in hoc genere navigiorum supra quam credi potest exhaustuntur, quia quotidianæ, facile contemnuntur. Et vero ex illis quatuor inter quos ego etiam numerabam, in multam noctem cum ventis, et oceani luctati, tandem optato littori successere; alter autem integram noctem irrequieto mari agitato, dum exorta luce terram inquiri, abreptum se ad proximam insulam Sæ Annæ admirans agnovit, in quam cum exscendere propter incolarum barbariam tutum non esset, relegendum fuit universum iter, ac postero die labore, vigilia, fame, siti pæne exhaustus, suis tandem est restitutus. Atque ita sæva tempestas, propitiis superis, et patientia comite, desiit in serenam lucem.

*Ergo post datos necessariæ quieti pauculos dies, de Missionis profectu tractari cœptum. Et quidem, uti Superioribus meis explicavi, quieverat elapso anno hæc Sti. Jois. insula: non ita tamen, ut ad securitatem nostram satis esse videretur: nam substiterant variis in locis Patrum, aut sociorum interfectores, et turbarum incentores, qui ab amicis, aut consanguineis occultabantur, quibus fidere consultum non erat. Itaque ante navis adventum dati erant in vincula tres Indi Principales ex pago **Terragi**, quod, dum pacem nobiscum nuper paciscuntur, diversari apud sese impune permiserint præcipuam turbarum facem, Aguarin dictum: et quamquam admissa excusatio, quod nihil sibi juris competeret in illos, qui domo illum exceperant, quo minus in illos quid deterius statueretur; tamen operæ pretium judicabatur coram inspicere, quid in illo insulæ angulo ageretur: nam a quo exortis turbis Patres inde recesserant, nostrorum nemo illos inuiserat [sic=inviderat?]. Itaque delatus eo Dux noster naviculis patriis, invenit omniam spem inter et metum confuse consternata; raros incolas, domos vacuas pauperi supelectile, parvulos fæminasque imbellem turbam in montis interiora profugos: nec tamen inter hæc hostile quidquam præ se*

ferre sed ingemiscere, rogare, fidelitatem omnem et observantiam promittere. Ergo visum est hostilibus etiam abstinere: domus solum, prædicti Aguarin, profugi in proximam insulam concremata, et exhumata ossa V. P. Antonii Sn. Basilio, in Residentiam principalem asportanda: quæ quidem facile inventa sunt, præter brachiorum ossa tibiaeque quæ in hastas exacuenta in diversas insulas abstulerant.

*Inde remensi iter in proximum pagum **Inapsan** dictum, sed et eo præcursor metus antecesserat: imo desertis inferne domibus in proxima prærupta rupe supelectilem omnem, exstructis mapalibus, coacer-va[ve]rant. Itaque eluctatus eo cum parte sociorum Dux, domos omnes et hastas et quidquid in illis inventum est hostile flammis incendit, servatis omnibus quæ aut in divitiis, aut supelectile habebantur; edictaque severa lege ne suo injussu antiquas domos, et natale solum desererant. Jamque perventum erat in Pagum **Retiyan**, ubi quiete magis, et pacifice vivebatur: nam et juvenus facta est nostris obviam supplicabunda, et preces christianæ legis decantans, et reliqui sedibus suis consistentes, visi sunt antiquæ institutionis plus aliquid retinuisse. Hic e vicino mari allabi naviculam conspiciunt, et rati id quod erat e proxima insula male-[fol. 180]-factores profugos negotiorum causa portum subire, in adverso littore insidias disponunt. Vehementur illa ex pago Orote Indi tres, quorum duo non contemnendi motores infaustæ cladis V. P. Sebastiani Monroy, et alter senex hospes Patris non insedulus dum pax alta fluebat, sed postea turbis involutus, et illarum pars magna post cruentatas innocuo sanguine immites manus, in supelectilem omnem sacram et profanam involaverat. Jamque, insidiarum securi contractis velis, remis contisque terræ adnavigabant: quando qui in insidiis explorabant, nimium jam prædæ securi, in fluctuantem naviculam tubos explodunt. Fulmina hæc et tonitrua inopinantibus fuere, et ictus in ore senex pronus delapsus est in mare, ad quem accurrentes illico comites Indi, unus illum tam violenter hasta transfixit, ut admissa per occiput perforato cranio ad oculum promicaret. Verum tantillo spatio juvenes duo ab ipso periculo vires mutuati, tantum remigando sunt retrogressi, ut jam extra teli jactum, explicatis velis, nostrorum manus effugerent. Senes ad terram extractus, quamquam immasce(?) vulnus spem vitæ adimeret, morti tamen adjudicatus ad exemplum, illud divinæ providentiæ documentum singulare reliquit, quod inter acutissimos dolores non solum constans, sed etiam contriti animi signa haud contemnenda præferens per lustrales aquas, ut fas est operare melioris vitæ auspiciis fecerit: impensæ hospitalitatis præmium insigne. Atque hæc in ipso littore gesta sunt, eodem fere loco quo pauculis abhinc annis V. F[rat]rem Petrum Diaz barbari interfecerant. Inde relecto littore, et confectis ubique incolarum indicibus, domum omnes remearunt.*

*Supererant etiam ab superioribus annis pauci rebelles in pago **Hanum**, qui freti locorum asperitate imperia nostra proterve contemnebant: ferocientes vel ex eo quod cum D. Damianus Esplana, complanata reliqua insula, ad eos per nocturnas insidias tenderet, facti certiores illi, et insidias insidiis repellentes, in ipso præcipitii aditu viæ duces hasta transfixerant: quo casu correptis timore sociis, ab incæpto desistere coegerant. Itaque, **28^a Augusti**, cum frustra essent monita, et preces, ad illos properavimus, sumptaque in itinere nocturna quiete, refectisque corporibus, per lunæ silentia confecto itinere, post ortum solem ad illos pervenimus. Præsenserant jam nostrorum adventum, seu fama prævia, seu a suis prope viam commorantibus, et passim profugis edocti, et qui ex editiore loco speculatores agebant, inconditis clamoribus nostrorum adventum, et suorum periculum denuntiabant. Crederes emissas orco furias ferali ululatu imminens sibi exitium præsentire. Adessent e latebris suis infausti manes, ut opem si quam possent rebus perditis adferrent; adessent inferi, et Ducem nostrum cum sua cohorte male disperderent. Inter hæc properabant intrepide nostri, et angustias adytus saxa inter, et præparatas insidias superabant: quando e superiori specula imminentes barbari densam telorum saxorumque nubem effun-*

dunt. Damnum intulerant, nisi confusus clamor ingruentis tempestatis admoneret. Opponebant sese animose nostri, et ignivomis telis furentium impetum coercebant: verum depressi loci iniquitate, nec poterant ipsi sclopetorum ictus dirigere, et superiores barbari, protecti vallo, saxisque prominentibus, facile nostrorum tela devitabant.

*Res ancipitis periculi, ubi nec tutum progredi, nec regredi decorum. Frendebat enivero coarctata virtus; donec incensis ira animis: eia, conclamant, com[m]ilitones. Non lis hæc telis eminus, sed cominus pugnis manibusque conficienda; in hanc ecce rupem via ducit ad victoriam. His dictis, exiliunt in prærupta, primum quidem obversi clipeis fidentiores nostri, his admixti sclopetarii, imo etiam ex ipsis incolis, qui nostros comitabantur, non pauci, tanto impetu, ut desperantes barbaros, per avia et invia, inter dumeta, et abrupta saxa præcipites egerint. Tanti interest, ubi res exigit, audere. Occupatis animose faucibus, quod caput expeditionis erat, et defensoribus profligatis, supererat inferne pagus, ad quem defendendum barbari convolarant: nec temere tamen res suscipienda, ne dum pago debellando nostri occupantur, per viarum amfractus, et notas semitas diversi barbari, montium fauces rursus occuparent. Itaque, quadrifariam milites divisi. Pars ipsam speculam, arcemque barbarorum servare jussi, pars montium fauces [180v] et angustum adytum custodire, alii inferne ad viarum intervalla et meatus considerare; reliqui, vix ultra viginti, cum sociis incolis nonnullis in pagum pervexerunt. Sed hic pugna non erat, sed fuga potius, et mæsta consternatio. Ergo ubi audaciores aliqui hastas aliquot, quæ remanserant, in nostros contorserunt, terga vertentes ad mare, sacram anchoram, notumque littus, ubi jam naviculas suas mature præparaverant, anxie confugiunt. Verum et hanc extremo naufragio tabulam eripuerat industria ducis nostri. Nam ex vicino pago, **Nisihan** dicto, jusserat amicos Indos portum naviculis suis obsidere, velisque contractis, tantisper quiescere, dum nostros loci potitos dominari late conspicerent, tum demum velis remisque in terram contenderent, et viros se præberent. Res cecidit ex sententia: nam illi, dicto audientes, plus quam 20 naviculis exitum omnem obsederant, et ubi notam tesseram hispanos in littore conspiciunt, elato clamore, remos impellunt, et facto impetu in adversos feruntur. Itaque in Scyllam inciderunt, qui Charibdim fugiebant; nec aliud refugium extremis malis superfuit, quam relictis naviculis in mare sese proycere, ac deinde notis cavernis, et abstrusis montium antris, ut quisque poterat, vitam servare. Ex barbaris, ob loci asperitatem pauci cecidere, vulnerati pauci; domus omnes et quidquid usui esse non poterat, flammis consumpta, præcipuum damnum naviculorum fuit, quæ ad 50 aut prædæ cesserunt incolis sociis, aut igni contraditæ: reliqua præda iisdem, et militibus concessa, præter orizam, quam in alimentum commune naviculis paratis domum deportarunt: Atque ita nemine ex nostris saucio, nemine desiderato, superatis montium jugis, fauces ipsas ex voto tenuerunt. Hic dum reficiendis corporibus spatium tantisper datur, duo ex amicis Indis aut jam devictis hostibus periculi securi, aut prædæ aliquid deportaturi, relictis sociis viam capessebant, imo caminando fessi paulisper consederant, quando ex insidiis barbari hastas contorquent, et uni pedem, alteri latus perfodiunt. Illi inopinato casu consternati, auxilium inclamant, et accurrentes socii hostes in montium arcana profugos, facile depulerunt, periculum tamen, quod ferale specul[atoris] lateri intulerat, depellere non potuerunt. Itaque nequidquam satagentibus medicis, cum tenax aculeus educi non posset, post aliquot dies veneno succubuit, dictus Gregorius Ayirin, et primus ni fallor incolarum, qui in tam bona causa mortem oppetiit. Cæterum et vita jam inde ab adventu Patrum christiane exacta, et sacramenta quibus rite administratus, et præsertim contriti animi signa, et constantis fiduciæ pleni, sperare nos jubent, in meliorem vitam commutasse. Nostri per vicinum tractum victores domum redierunt: edicta ubique severa lege, ne quisquam rebelles apud sese reciperet donec sese duci nostro, Patribusque reconciliassent. Et valuit edictum: nam cum haud ita multo post duo*

ex illis negotiorum causa accessissent ad pagum Terragi, arreptis armis in illos ferebantur, nisi præfati fuissent, sese jam composita pace, in gratiam recepti, quod quidem haud longo temporis intervallo rite perfectum: promittentibus illis cum circumvicino hactu imperata facturos. Atque ita ultimus hujus insulæ angulus paci tandem est restitutus.

Illud vero non extremo loco commorandum occurrit, quod mutata hoc anno rerum facie, ad expurgandam malefactoribus insulam, et timorem reliquis incutiendum, plus valuit ipsa incolarum industria, et virtus, quam arma nostrorum. Principium dedere in pago Sidya ubi 1674 confecerant V. P. Franciscum Ezquerra cum sociis secularibus quinque, qui jam laborum fessi, et permolestæ fugæ, inducente præcipue mobili fæmina, quæ tractum hunc omnem patrio more, et institutis moderabatur, nostris et Christianæ fidei mirabiliter affecta, supplente nimirum sanguinis prærogativa sexus imbecillitatem, decreverant malefactores omnes inter sese conficere ut pacem sibi, dissecto hoc nudo, inconcusse firmarent. Ergo 26^a Julii 1679 obtulere Duci nostro caput unius e paricidis, dicti Si Utap. Postea nempe 13^a Septembris, circumcursantibus insulam christianæ institutionis, ergo duobus e Patribus, in pago Inarahan deprehensum ejusdem cladis præcipuum incentorem, dictum Si Pigua, alter malefactorum revinxit manibus, pedibusque, redimendæ suæ pænæ lytrum accomodatum, et ad milites haud procul excubantes in Patrum securitatem, navicula patria perduxit, qui commisere incolis comitibus fidis deportandum in præsidium, ubi post aliquot dies, premissa instructione, et sacramentorum administratione commissi [181] sceleris pœnas exolvit. Alter ejusdem facinoris particeps, dictus Si Daro, receperat sese in montis interiora, ubi clam reliquis vitam exigebat, non ita tamen, quin ab alio criminis item socio detectus, hastaque transverberatus 7^a Januarii 1680, illud fugiente vita solum effatus est, mori se frustratum sua spe, quod aggressorem ipsum ob similem finem morti destinasset. Tandem paucis post diebus attulere caput ultimi hoc tractu e paricidis V. P. Francisci Ezquerræ, dicti Si Porunao.

Atque ita novale hoc, sublato solio, spem fecit felicissimæ messis. Nec soli meruere laudem purgatæ sementis, etiam in pago Fuña sustelere alterum et unius ex sociis V. P. Sebastiani Monroy, et ipsius Patris interfectorem, dictum Si Ado, 1680 3^a Januarii, qui quidem solus in hac vicinia tanti sceleris reus remanserat: nam reliquos metus in diversas insulas longe relegarat; quippe prætereuntes illac milites nostri incomitatu Patrum insulam visitantiam 15^a septembris 1679 dum incolas piscatui intentos evocant in littus, adversunt duos ex illis remigando longuis dilabi, et suspicati, quod res erat, conscientia malefactorum reos conspectum nostrum subterfugere, paratis cymbis post illos feruntur; sed illi tantillo spatio nacti opportunitatem, relictis cymbis, in littus exiliunt, notisque latebris per montis interiora recipiuntur. Interea ab adstantibus compertum profugos esse præcipua duo capita rebellionis in Orote, auctoresque infaustæ cladis, quos in pago Hagat, nostrorum securi domo sua occiditaverant. Itaque Principales duo vinculis adstricti, et deducti in præsidium, examinata causa, de uno tanquam fautore, et receptore supplicium sumptum, altero libero dimisso, datumque reliquis exemplum, ne quid simile apud suos auderent.

Verum hoc in genere, uti et in cæteris veri Christiani officiis, reliquos facile antecelluit Ignatius Inete, Indus Principalis, etiam nuperis relationibus ab res bene gestas merito nominatus. Vagabatur per incerta insignis interfecto unius e militibus nostris, quem nuperis revolutionibus illectum a fæmina, et præsidio per illecebras extractum, in ipso conspectu, et intra teli jactum crudeliter et proditorie interfecerat, nullo malo provocatus, sed sola libidine fundendi sanguinis humani, dictus Si Gaugau: hunc e medio tollere intererat non solum exempli, sed etiam publicæ pacis, et tranquillitatis; quippe rerum suarum et vitæ desperans, aperte profitebatur se, utique supplicio destinatum, non inulte moriturum, sed quemcumque

ex nostris. Ubivis locorum incaute deprehensum tracturum in perniciem. Ergo conficiendo huic monstro operam suam obtulit nostro Duci cum suis, qui auctoritatis causa unum ex nostris adjunxit linguæ peritum, et animo non imbellum. Ergo 18 dec. 1679 pervestigato jam vestigio ubi consistere consueverat, insulæ interiora conscendunt, et nocte inter latebras exacta, inobservati adoriuntur notum receptaculum: verum illi aut conscientia stimulante, aut indicio percepto in tutiora sese receperant: unum tamen e domesticis casu observatum vinculis adstrinxere, ad iudicium faciendum, alterumque parvulum Christiane in Collegio educandum domum remisere. Interea diebus aliquot interlapsis profugos hinc, et periculum suum veritos, alii incolarum armis obseperant, et receptatorem non leviter saucium vinculis alligant; ad quos cum sua cohorte dum advolat, memoratus Ignatius, invenit ad tumultum accurrisse complures, non ejusdem omnes sententiæ:] enimvero fredebant aliqui rem inusitatam, vincula, et carceres, et supplicia coercendis sceleribus induci, et secum ambigebant, an factum armis ulciscerentur, ad quos, ubi anticipitis animi, nec satis sui compotes conspexit; eia, inquit, aut armis mecum decernite, aut hispanorum imperia volentes amplectimini. Ego ad coercendos malefactores non mea libidine, sed illorum auctoritate progredior, paratus illorum causam meo, et meorum sanguine defendere, et certus si, quod Deus avertat, sinistri aliquid acciderit, ultionem meam cum vestra pernicie conjungendam. His ille breviter, sed animo præsentis, et nota virtute magis quam verbis, peroravit. Residere scilicet spiritus arrogantes, et captivo contradito, se quoque ducis nostri partes sectari professi sunt. Quamquam ille, dum nocte concubia inter barbaros non satis caute custoditur, fessis diurno labore, nocturnaue vigilia paucis custodibus, vinculis disruptis elapsus est. Interim ille, cujus causa tantum turbabatur, de suo suorumque vita sollicitus, viam iniit adipiscendæ salutis.

Versabatur in [181v] adversa insulæ parte alter homicida unius e sociis, ob tractum temporis solis incolis notus, dictus Si Durairai: hunc si de medio tolleret. Speravit reconciliationem suam non difficilem futuram, exemplo jam usu ipso comprobato, ut qui interfectorem nostrorum occideret, suum scelus elueret. Itaque, assumpto secum germano fratre, alteroque vecino [=vicino] in pagum descendunt Guai dictum, et professi primum se jussu Ducis nostri homicidam inquirere. In illum nihil minus cogitantem armis insurgunt, et primo vulnere brachium, ubi manui jungitur; hasta transfigunt, tum fugientis latus repetito ictu transverberant, imo propius assecuti capiti grave vulnus azinace infligunt: et jam prolapsus circumstabant, caput a cervice revulsuri: quando exciti tumultu vicini, indignum rati se in suo pago a suis circumveniri, tela ingerunt, factique ducem lancea assequuntur: quo consternati socii, quippe impares numero, inceptum deserunt et panico terrore palantes dilabuntur. Jamque successum omnem fama vulgaverat et Dux noster ratus adesse occasionem vulpino adagio componendi tumultuanter, sub mediam noctem pervenit ad locum: et alterum quidem, licet profugum, datis in vincula loci principalibus, a suis comprehensum, facile est assecutus (quamquam et ille confecto jam itinere, et in conspectu præsidii, metu supplicii nostrorum manus effugit) aggressores vero per montium abdita diversos, assequi non potuit. Nec tamen ultrices manus evasere: nam metu ducis vestigia sua prementis versi in contrariam partem, speravere in angulo aliquo sui pagi posse delitescere. Vix locum intravera [intra[ve]xerat?] sontis frater, quando in excubias incidit præfati Ignatii, qui manu prompti, hasta transfixum capite truncarunt. Alter publico non se credens, in arundineto diluit [=delituit], et itineris factique comitem ad conquirendum victum, et medicinas dimisit. Ille domum ingressus rem uxori enarrat. At illa de marito sollicita ad Ignatium nostrum recta progreditur, et casum edisserit, qui severe pronuntiat ni communem inimicum stricto azinace maritus ulciscatur, et resecto capite priorem maculum eluat, omnes nocentis ruina pariter muolvendos [sic]. Itaque qui custos discesserat, lupus reversus est; et metu stimulante, conversa

in rabiem opera, ut rebatur, male collocata in clientem suum nequidquam supplicem, et patroni sui fidem implorantem, furibundus irruit, nec ante quievit, quam caput a cervice revulsum ad Ignatium nostrum deferret: qui laudata fideli opera caput obtulit Duci nostro, et clienti suo ipsius gratiam impetravit.

*Interea, repetitis excursionibus, satagebant nostri efferatos animos tractando mansuefacere, et innatam barbariem melioris doctrinæ virtute edomare, fructu semper haud pœnitendo, dum recens nacti parvuli per aquas lustrales in libertatem vindicantur et tenerior ætas, imo etiam adulta et provecta Christianis præceptis rite imbuuntur. Compertum tamen est, experientia duce, non satis adhuc securitatis acquisitum, ut sese nostri impune barbaris fiderent. Quippe 16^a februarii 1680 postquam maritimi tractus partem visitando confecerant, ex pago **Pagat**, ad montis interiora in pagum **Machaute** Indos præmittunt, qui de Patrum adventu prius admoneant: et illi quidem respondent gratos sibi futuros et expectatos hospites. Itaque postero die ad illos progrediuntur, nec tamen absque metu, quod incolarum nulli illis obviam procederent. Ergo locum ingressi, cum nusquam comparerent, Indos comites ad illos ablegant. Ne timeant, adesse Patres pacis obsides, et legis divinæ, quam olim receperint, pacificos præcones. Verum cum certi nihil ex responsis haberetur, expectando fessi decernunt interiores silvæ angulos coram inspicere, ubi dicebantur supelectilem, et radices ad victum necessarias coacervasse. Vix iter occeperant, quando primum comparent aliqui armis instructi, et in incertum discurrentes: mox paulum progressis inclamant, qui ducebant agmen, Indi fideles, sisterent gradum qui pone [=pæne] sequebantur Patres, insidias latere in declivi vallis, quo jam sociorum aliqui impune descenderant. Nec mora: ad notos clamores hastas, qui latebant, in nostros emittunt; nemine tamen ex illis saucio. Sed nostri, post illos non impune feruntur. Nam uni suram hasta transfixere, et alios duos emissa glande tubo assecuti dum uni illorum coxendicem transverberant, cursum quo fugam parabat retardant. Itaque sociorum alter ferro [182] invadit, ferocientem licet, et ferrum ferro repellentem; nec ante destitit, quam caput a cervice revulsum ad nostros deferret. Quamquam nec incruenta nostris fuit victoria: nam dum armatum noster ferro invadit, ictumque infert, alter dum inhibet et propulsat genu invadentis [invadentis?] ferro perstringit, quo factum est, ut retardati nostri, cum alter subsequi ambulando non posset, nec tutum socios dividere, relicta via domum reverterentur. Et quamquam postea Dux ipse, injuriam Patrum vindicaturus, suos educeret, et universum tractum pervestigaret, nemine tamen invento, qui aut resisteret aut meritæ perfidiæ pœnas daret, reversus est.*

*Plus aliquantum turbarum erat in adversa insulæ parte: quippe residerat in pago **Hinca** alter paricida Vis. Pis. Francisci Ezquerria dictus **Si Mutta**, qui ab amicis incolis ad necem aliquoties expetitus, defendebatur a suis, imo crescente audacia eo devenerant, ut contra circumvicinos amicos Indos expeditis armis bellum suo more intentarent. Jamque infectis armis inter sese concurrerant, uno etiam ex adversariis nostris occiso, et aliquot ipsorum domibus incensis: quando in illos movit Dux Noster 29^a Martii 1680. Et cupiens inopinatus hosti supervenire, noctem exegit in littore in pago proximiori, et postero die hostilem pagum inopinatus quidem ingressus est, sed occupatis alibi viris, solas fæminas imbellem turbam offendit. Et quidem ex illis una primo impetu a nostris occisa, vix distinguentibus sexum in quem arma expedirent; duæ ductæ captivæ, quod prolem alerent, quam educari Christiane expediret; imo etiam quod speraretur hoc illicio maritos ad pacem et commercium facile alliciendos. Tum peragrato universo tractu vicino, etiam die sequenti, domus omnes flammis incensæ, nemine qui illas defenderet prodire auso: nisi quod in Pago **Mapucum** unus ex insidiis infestam hastam contorsit in socium Indum, reliquos forte spe præde prætergressum, et femur transegit; qui ex vulnere post paucos dies, nihil proficientibus medicinis, occubuit. Jamque reversus in Præsidium Dux non multos dies substiterat, quando nuncius af-*

*fertur hostes arma resumere, et alterum ex illis ab amicis Indis partes nostras defendentibus hasta transfixum. Itaque ne tam fidis defensoribus ipse deesset, suos rursus educit. Dies erat 11^a Aprilis, jamque vix horæ spatio processerat, cum obviam habet prope littus unam ex patriis naviculis, et qui illa vehebantur inclamant, sisteret paulisper, dum ipsi quod advehebant munus non ingratum præsentant. His dictis: educunt in littus auctorem turbarum funibus probe alligatum. Persequerentur illum sui pertæsi malorum, et cladis nupera excursione a Duce nostro illatæ, et ille sibi diffidens relictis montanis, in littus sese receperat, ad pagum **Hahayan**, ubi vicinus nobis, et fidus incola incautum circumvenit, et vinculis alligavit. Itaque æstimato, ut par erat, munere oblato, vinctum bene custoditum remisit in Præsidium, merito jam supplicio destinatum, et ipse cæptum iter cum suis perfecit. Ubi devenit in locum, intelligit hostes mutiplici clade plane consternatos, ad latebras, et consulta lustra, ferarum ritu, confugisse. Nam, eodem ipso die, alias memoratus Ignatius, in vicina loca profectus, negotiorum causa, offenderat alium tumultuum incentorem, et inter suos principalem, dictum Si Dasa. Hic, anno elapso, turbas foverat in **Pucpuc**, prohibens Duci nostro obedientiam præstare, et jactans se eos ab omni externo incursu defensurum, et jam novellis his turbis sese immiscuerat, auctor motuum, et incentor. Et quamquam elapso anno, postquam debellatum in Pucpuc, non mediocris diligentia posita ad remoram hanc pacis penitus auferendam, valuerant tamen latebræ et metus, ne sese in conspectum daret. Nunc præteritorum oblitus obviam se dedit Ignatio nostro in pago Pucpuc, ad quem uterque excurrerat. Et vero ubi Ignatium conspexit duobus tantum comitibus associatum, cum incolis de eo conficiendo serio deliverabit: verum illi, docti suo malo, diserte responderunt se nequaquam permissuros, ut in suo pago Christiano nemini, sed præsertim Ignatio, Ducis inter incolas locum tenenti, damnum aliquod inferatur. Verum alter concilium in pectore secum deferens, ubi communem hostem aspexit. Unum e sociis inclamat, ut actutum hastas expediat, et ipse stricto ferro cominus invadit: et jam non leve vulnus capiti intulerat, et ille medius fugam inter, et defensionem, gladio, quem attulerat, se utcumque sustentabat: cum socius vibratam hastam lateri intorquet et turbato supervolans Ignatius, [182v] ictum intendit, brachioque disjecto in terram prosternit, ubi accurrentes socii, repetitis ictibus, indubie confecerunt, et gladius victori cessit in prædam.*

Ergo conversa in Missionem Apostolicam bellica excursione, Patres, qui ad similes functiones comites accedunt, amicos Indos quaquaversum dimittunt, ut tenellos parvulos ad baptismum conquirant, tam felici successu, ut bidui spatio plus quam quadraginta Christianorum albo per lustrales aquas adscripserint. Transactis festis Paschalibus, nam hæc sub ipsa festa gerebantur, de paricida laqueo supplicium sumptum, quod ille Christiane profecto, et fortiter pertulit, factus etiam predicator ad suos, in suo capite periculum facerent, nec simile facinus in præcones fidei imposterum auderent. Sublatis turbatoribus, pax optata e vestigio successit; quam ut magis confirmarent, submissi statim Evangelici Ministri, qui recens natos parvulos usquequaque conquirerent et efferatos animos tractando formarent.

Verum, dum hæc foris aguntur Martialia fere, et tempori acomodata, non defuit apta exercendo zelo materies inter vicinos Indos, uti jam diu pacificos, ita melioris culturæ admodum capaces. Et ne diutius in incertum labor irritus flueret, principium sumptum ab eo, quod inter Indos rei caput judicatur, ut dispersi per vicos et vicinias barbari in unum locum more nostro congregarentur. Et quamquam designati situs acomodati per universam insulam, tamen ad experimentum capiendum, et exemplum reliquorum, res cæpta per circuitum nostri Præsidii, quo convocati quotquot universo hoc tractu judicabantur pertinere ad hanc Sti. Ignatii Residentiam, relictis, imo etiam destructis, et exustis antiquis sedibus, et vicis, ne spes redeundi animos fatigaret. Hi per centurias, et ætatum discrimina divisi inter Patres, in fide primum et moribus diligenter instituti, tum Christiano more, et solemnibus Ecclesiæ ritu matrimonio juncti,

qui hactenus patrio more pro conjugatis habebantur: relegata in perpetuum barbara consuetudine, matrimonia, ut libitum cuique erat, dissolvendi, alteramque ducendi, et aliquibus, qui sub initium contravenire ausi fuerant, exemplari supplicio affectis. Ab his gradus factus ad reliqua Christiani hominis officia, et præceptorum tam divinorum quam ecclesiasticorum observatio serio inculcata. Itaque ad divina officia statis diebus, prælectis indicibus, comparere jussi, confirmata consuetudo, quantum per regionis inopiam licuit, decenter sese vestiendi, introductus usus Sacramenti Pœnitentiæ, utque tam salutaris remedii æstimatio altius radices ageret in cordibus pœnitentium, multiplici per annum praxi ipsius frequentatio repetita. Quippe inter hos barbaros ad distinguendas noxarum classes et numeros, plus valet practica institutio quam rationum et verborum momenta. Ac demum, ne quid deesset ad perfecti Christiani veram constitutionem, complures, sed magno delectu, arcani ac tremendi Convivii participes effecti. Adeo ut hoc demum anno, quod hactenus per temporum acerbicatem necdum plene licuerat, signaretur hæc Christianorum vera congregatio, non quidem numeris omnibus absoluta, sed tamen quoad substantialia sua plene formata. Et vero laborantibus in cultura hujus novalis non defuit divina misericordia, non contemnendo fructu labores bene positos compensans. Quippe mutata rerum facies, ut adultæ jam et provectæ ætatis viri et feminæ, quanto divinæ sementi pertinacius ante restilerant, tanto jam avidius reciperent, nec quidquam frequentius in ore haberent quam statutum esse apud omnes divinam legem toto corde amplecti, divinosque magistros arrectis auribus audire. Itaque docerent, erudirent, formarent, recta præciperent, et non recta prohiberent, paratos se mores et vitam ex Patrum instituto ad amussim dirigere. Itaque usu compertum, quod volentibus nihil difficile: adeo ut inter gentem hactenus indomitam, et a multis habitam vix capacem melioris culturæ, vix ullus inventus sit, qui non omnia Christianæ doctrinæ capita percelleret; imo etiam Christianas preces, et consuetam formulam ejusdem doctrinæ memoria teneret. Quid? quod capaciores nonnulli et discipulis facti magistri quod ipsi in schola Patrum probe didicerant, id omne ad suos reduces alios edocerent. Quo illud effectum est, ut per varias insulæ partes aperiantur scholæ, seu Oratoria potius, ad quæ quotidie convenirent ad Christianas preces pie decantandas, in quibus præsiderent illi, quos dixi magistri, et Christianæ doctrinæ capita fideliter, uti exciperant, explicarent. Imo inventus est nonnemo principalis inter suos, qui cum negotiorum causa accessisset ad vicum, ubi Christianum nomen vix notum antea fuerat, non ante discederet, quam universa cœlestis doctrinæ capita, et preces vicinos omnes edoceret. Ac tum demum, quasi rite confecto negotio, reversus ad Patres discipulos hos suos examinandos offerret: qui magistri sui industriam tam egregie comprobarunt, ut non unius mensis tyrones, sed veterani viderentur.

Atque hæc sunt notatu maxime digna, que hoc anno dedit Missio nostra Mariana. Et tamen vix scio an digna notatu: certe votis nostris inæqualia. Verum humanæ res vix demum votis metiuntur. Itaque quod in te fuerit, si tute naviter præstiteris, tum reliqua Divinæ Providentiæ committes, ut ut sit: R^a V^a meam hanc qualemcumque operam æqui bonique consulat; et cum amicis, si visum fuerit commu[n]icabit, quos omnes a me, et a P[atr]e Gerardo amantissima salute impertietur, excusans hujus paginæ angustias, quo minus amantissima nomina hisce adjunxerim. Ac demum, ut solet, in SSmis Sacrificiis suis, et precibus nostri sæpe recordabitur.

Agatnæ ex Residentia S.P.N. Ignatii, 6 Junii 1680.

Ræ Væ Servus in Christo

Petrus Coomans, S.J.

[P.S.] Amantissimam salutem adscribere liceat Amplissimo Domino Præsidi Amplissimæque uxori, fratribus, sororibus, cæteræque familiæ cujus quotidie in sacrificio et precibus memoriam recolo.

Loose translation

Reverend Father in Christ,
Peace be with you.

This was a unique year, since I received no letter from Y.R. nor from any friend in Europe. I believe that during the long journey, they were either intercepted by someone, or delayed in error. So, what Your Reverences so often complain about with reason, has also affected me this year. It is not that my spirit has perhaps been affected by some repugnance or become lightly suspicious. I have been frustrated for some time as a result of tasks which I have undertaken; nevertheless, they should have distributed their acquisition, and forgetting themselves, they should have justly decided [to give] the rest to their barbarians. What with such cruel times, with wars clamoring on all sides, when the care of one's life is at stake, the place of warm friendship is hardly to be disregarded. So be it. As for me, I willingly go back to the usual exchange of correspondence; for sure, as long as I am alive, and my health allows, I will pay you back with well-deserved reciprocity and complete deference for the fond paragraphs. Only this will satisfy me, if perchance my letters reach you after their extended travel, perhaps not before they have been forwarded by friendly hands, as if they were boards rescued from a shipwreck, or a reward from afar, and not something to rub unwilling eyes with.

Therefore, I am sending this report about us and our Mission. Fr. Gerard and I are in good health. We have been doing apostolic works for a long time in this Island of San Juan, one of the Marianas, not only reasonably well but also avidly, and never impatiently. Indeed, what divine providence has decided is not placed within our power. These regions are within their own corner of the world, remote from any communication [with the outside world], the people are untamed, and prompt to take up arms, unless restrained by fear. When one tries to restrain their vices, they go back to their barbarity and easily take revenge upon the unarmed preachers. Therefore, the work here is nothing but hardships. The soldiers who were sent to these parts with a stipend from the King are generally the type for whom the world is not big enough to satisfy their vices. Their officers covet riches more than the welfare of souls; given that these regions are indeed devoid of wealth, even those who had somewhat accepted the great enterprises, hardly work at the beginning, and are tired of the hardships. First they look behind at the comforts they left at Manila or Mexico, then look to satisfy their own cupidity. So, no matter what zeal is applied by the apostolic workers, the dissolute officers circumscribe it for their narrow purposes. I have thought it well to note these things here, so as not to mislead those who are inexperienced about such things and can only speculate about conversions in the Indies, so that they will not wander from the true path, while, pulled by a passion more than Xaverian, they subject to the yoke of Christian truth the numberless regions not without a few impediments. I do not know what Saint Paul would tell them, but I would aptly answer: [let not rely] on the will of God, or His ready help either, but on His mercy.

First, I will deal with what concerned me that I wanted most from my Superiors, and has already arrived aboard the [1679] galleon from New Spain. It brought Fr. Francisco Salgado, returning from his trip to Rome as Procurator for the Philippines. Out of the auxiliary companions in his mission band, he left us two priests, Fr. Basile Le Roulx, from St-Omer in Flanders, and Fr. Tomás Vallejo, from Tudela in Navarre, and one coadjutor brother for domestic duties.¹ There was indeed common joy tempered by the bad weather, as our Mission had arrived at its last extremity and was nearly in ruin. The pilot of the galleon was Don Francisco Lazcano. instead of Don Luis Lopez who died during the voyage as the galleon was proceeding towards Acapulco. He was very expert in navigation, but not in the higher northern latitudes where he deviated more than usual. Therefore, when he arrived in sight of the islands, he was blown off by a southeast wind. His own effort could not make the galleon flexible enough to come nearer the shore. As for the ship's boat that was coming ashore with part of the subsidy, unhappily it had to turn back to the ship, beaten by the force of the waves and the tide. Indeed, our [own] boat which was sailed by the soldiers and was bringing to us the Fathers from Europe, with a special part of the annual subsidy, had already been knocked about by the sea for one day and one night; in fact, it was already in the throes of the heavy seas, tired of rowing to get away from that ship whence it was coming, otherwise it had to divert to Manila, when one of the sailors from our garrison who happened to be going to the ship² noticed the extreme risk run by his companions and the great difficulty that the rest sailing in native canoes were having, although blown by fortuitous westerly blow, when finally with oars and sail, he managed to bring the boat in, and took it into the best port. The dejection of those who had remained home was converted into a general joy. In fact, the few Fathers who had gone to the ship on business, when returning home aboard native canoes, they saw that the high sea and the bad winds would present no less difficulty to make the shore, for the lack of comfort that exhausts those who travel aboard this type of craft, even daily, more than can be believed, cannot be easily disregarded. Indeed, those four among which number I was,³ until late at night fighting with the wind and the ocean, in order to reach the best shore. Another [Fr. Cardeñoso] was agitated by the sea the whole night, until at day-break he sought the land and recognized with wonder how he had been carried to the neighborhood of the Island of Santa Ana [Rota], where it was not safe to go on account of the barbarity of the inhabitants. All agreed to get away from it, and after another day of hard work, wakefulness, hunger, almost exhausted by thirst, he was finally

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- 1 Ed. note: The new personnel who arrived in 1679 consisted of Fr. Le Roulx, from St-Omer, France, in the Gallo-Belgian Province, Fr. Vallejo, from Tudela in Navarre. The Brother was Br. Dubois, from Tournai, Belgium, also from the Gallo-Belgian Province.
 - 2 Ed. note: According to Fr. Besco (Doc. 1680F), this navy officer (who was also an experienced seaman) was Lieutenant Francisco Ruiz, who was then forced to spend a second year with the Guam garrison.
 - 3 Ed. note: The others in his canoe, or group of canoes, were Fr. Superior Besco, Fr. Bustillo, and Fr. Solorzano.

restituted to his friends. In spite of the furious storm, with favors from above, and accompanied with patience, he basked in serene light.

Therefore, after a few days that were necessary to settle in, a beginning was made toward the progress of the Mission. In any case, as I have explained to my Superiors, this Island of San Juan had been quiet for the last year. Nevertheless, it was not enough to ensure our safety, because some murderers of Fathers and associates, and trouble makers were hiding at various places, either among friends or relatives, whom the Fathers could not trust. Therefore, before the arrival of the ship, three Indian chiefs from the village of **Terragi** were placed in bonds. Though this village made peace with us before, they would allow the special torch of the troubles, namely Aguarín, to be welcome with impunity among them. And although they used the excuse that there was nothing in their law that would prevent them from excluding him from their home, he could be maintained no worse by them; however, the value of the actions is to be judged by looking openly, from the point of view of the island, for the Fathers would withdraw from there at any sign of trouble, none of our people would suspect them. Therefore, our Commander went overthere in native boats, and found it all confused and fearful; very few inhabitants, the houses empty of their poor furnishings, and the children and women who do not fight having fled to the hilly interior. Nevertheless, the hostile ones among them eventually came forward and complained, begged and all promised fidelity and the observance (of the law). They had to abstain to welcome enemies. Only one house was burned; it had welcomed the said Aguarín, who had now fled to the nearby island. The bones of the Ven. Fr. Antonio San Basilio were exhumed and transported to the main residence. In any case, it was easy to find them, except for the arm and leg bones, which they take in various islands to make their spears sharp.

From there they went ahead to a nearby village called **Inapsan**, but a messenger had preceded the fear; rather, they had left their houses completely deserted, taking all their belongings to the hilly interior nearby, where they were piled up, while they were building huts. Therefore, the Commander having struggled to reach that place with a part of the allies, burned the spears found in all the houses, and saved whatever goods and belongings that could be of some use. After a severe law was proclaimed, without his order they were convinced to go back to their old homes and native soil. The village of **Retiyan** had already been forewarned. A great calm reigned there, and they lived peacefully, because the youth had come ahead to meet us, chanting prayers and the Christian law, with the rest of the people seated around them; it was clear that they had retained their old basic knowledge plus something. Here they spotted a canoe sailing along on the sea nearby, and thinking that it might be evil-doers from the nearby island seeking a port to do business with, they set an ambush on the opposite shore. That boat was being sailed by three Indians from the village of Orote, two of whom had been the

prime movers and contenders of the catastrophe of the Ven. Fr. Sebastian Monroy,¹ and the other was an old man who had hosted the Father without zeal as long as peace had prevailed, but afterwards was involved in the troubles, taking a large part in them after a violent hand had spilled the innocuous blood, by stealing all the sacred and profane belongings. The ambush being already in place, the canoe was heading for the shore with the oars and poles, the sail being folded, when those who were scouting in ambush, being already too certain of their prey, fired at the sailing canoe. These were unexpected lightning and thunder to them, and the old man who was leaning overboard was hit and fell into the sea. The Indian troop ran toward him right away, and one of them pierced him with a spear so violently that it went through the top of the head and went out through an eye. Within a short time indeed, the two young men, wanting to get away from the same danger, were rowing backward so fast; when extra spears were already thrown at them, they raised the sail, and escaped from the hand of our people. The old man was dragged ashore. Although the wound precluded any hope of his survival, still he could become an example by his death. Therein lied a special show of divine providence, as the man was not only patient throughout very acute pains, but also gave signs of a contrite mind such as to deserve being baptized in order to gain the promise of a better life, a remarkable reward for his dear hospitality. The above event took place almost along the same shore where a few years ago the Ven. Brother Pedro Diaz was killed by barbarians. After they left this shore and had taken some information as to the whereabouts of the inhabitants, they all returned home.

There were also a few rebels left over from previous years in the village of **Hanum**, who, trusting in the steepness of their surroundings, impudently despised our orders. They had become even overly arrogant since the time when Don Damian Esplana, after he had “flattened” the rest of the island, set up ambushes to catch them one night. They had been forewarned and responded with their own ambushes, where they transfixed the commander at his arrival at the same steep precipices. The allies were by chance overtaken by fear, and they were compelled to desist from the enterprise. Therefore, on **28 August** [1679], when warnings and requests had been ignored, we proceeded towards them, and spent a quiet night travelling. Once the body had been fed, the trip was carried out in silence in the moonlight, and we got there after sunrise.² They had detected the arrival of our people already, or had received previous news, or heard from people living near there. Thus advised, they fled in all directions, and acted as spectators from a higher spot, shouting gross insults at the arrival of our people, and warning their own people of the danger. The unpropitious ghosts may have come out of their hiding-places, and brought the possibility of a defeat, had they not been pushed by our Commander with his troop and been badly dispersed. Our people proceeded among

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- 1 Ed. note: Aguarín and Cheref, according to Fr. García. They must have killed Fr. Monroy's companions, because the man reputed to have killed Fr. Monroy himself was named Ado (see below).
 - 2 Ed. note: Hanum, or Janum, was a village on the northeast coast of Guam, near present-day Hanum Point.

them intrepidly, and upon arriving at the narrows between rocks, where ambushes had been prepared, they overcame them. During that time, the barbarians that overlooked them from a higher position were pelting them with a dense cloud of spears and stones. They would have inflicted some losses, had not the confused shouts warned them of the incoming storm. Our people were opposing them with spirit, and were containing the furious impact of the fire-bearing spears. The depressed site was indeed unfavorable, as they could not even direct the fire of their muskets, and it was easy for the barbarians above, protected as they were by a rampart and prominent rocks, to easily avoid the spears from our side.

This was a double bind; they could neither proceed straight ahead, nor turn back and maintain dignity. Their bravery very much indeed deplored the fact that they were being squeezed; while a spirit of anger mounted inside them, they shouted: "Let's go, comrades-in-arms! Don't fight with spears from afar, but close combat with fists and hands. Here is the way through the bush that leads to victory." This said, they bounded up the cliffs, our men being more confident with their shields turned over [i.e. on their backs], joined by the musketeers. They were also joined by other natives who were accompanying our men; there were not a few of them. They all charged so forcefully that the barbarians, despairing, fled through the track-less bush, among the thorny brush and steep rocks. When something is important enough, courage comes easily. Once this defile had been occupied with energy, what the leader of the expedition wanted was to defeat the defenders of the village that existed below, as the barbarians would have run there to defend it. There was no fear that our men could occupy the defeated village, but, by detours and trails known to them, various barbarians were occupying the mouth of the defile above. Therefore, the soldiers were divided into four parties. One party was to make for the lookout point and fort of the barbarians to wait for orders; another party to the mountain pass and narrow entrance to guard it; others to go below towards the interval in the trails and to block the passage; the last band of over 20 men, with some native allies, attacked the village. But there was no fight there, only flight, and deep consternation. So, whereas some who had waited dared to throw some spears, they were dislodged by our men. They withdrew towards the sea, to a safe refuge and a known shore, where their canoes were already being quickly prepared, and they anxiously fled in them. This true and last plank from the shipwreck was about to be whisked from them by the forethought of our commander, for he had ordered friendly Indians from the next village, called **Nisihan**, to blockade the port with their canoes. With their sails down, they had waited until they saw that our men had largely become masters of the place, before heading for the shore with sails and oars, to show their manhood. The thing was decided by consultation, for they, hearing what was said, blocked the whole exit with more than 20 canoes. When they saw that the Spanish ashore had won the day, they let go yells, pulled on their oars, and brought pressure upon the adversaries. Therefore, they who had fled Charybdis fell upon Scylla. In this extremity, there was no other refuge left to them than abandoning their canoes and throwing themselves into the sea, in order to reach known caves and hidden caverns in

the mountain, everyone trying to save his own life. From among the barbarians a few were killed on account of the steepness of the place, and a few were wounded. All the houses and whatever could not be useful was burned, the canoes were specially condemned and up to 50 of them were seized as booty by the native allies, or burned. The other booty was shared by them and the soldiers, except for the **rice**, which they transported home aboard waiting canoes to serve as common food supply. Besides, so that none of our men be wounded severely, none lost, after they jointly took over the mountain, they held the passes themselves as promised. Here, while a short pause was being taken to rest the bodies, two of the friendly Indians went scouting ahead of the other allies, either thinking themselves safe from danger from the enemy, or intent on taking some booty. When they sat down along the way to rest, the barbarians threw spears at them from ambush. One was hit in the foot, the other on the side. Consternated by this unexpected event, they called for help; the allies ran up and easily chased the enemies who fled to secret places in the mountain. However, they were unable to chase away the danger from the fatal blow that had hit the side of the scout. Therefore, it was in vain that the physician tried to help, when he could not remove the tenacious spear tip. After a few days he, called Gregorio Ayirin, succumbed to the poison.¹ If I am not mistaken, he was the first of the inhabitants who confronted death for such a good cause. He had already been taught the Christian life since the arrival of the Fathers and others. So, he was administered the [last] sacraments. We are led to hope, specially since he showed signs of having a contrite soul, and to remain fully firm in the faith, that he may have been admitted to a better life. Our victors came back home by way of the neighboring district, where a severe law was promulgated to the effect that no-one was to receive any rebels in their home, until our commander and the Fathers had made peace with them. That decree was applied, for instance in the following way: after two of them had been admitted on business in the village of **Terragi**, weapons were raised against them, until they had been warned, and peace made between them; they were not received before that. In any case, that had by no means been done for a very long time. Besides, that is why the last corner of this island was finally brought to peace.

There truly occurred something worth mentioning at this time. It is that this year the face of things has changed: the energy and efforts of the inhabitants themselves have been worth more than the weapons of our men to rid the island of evil-doers and instill fear in the rest. The movement began in the village of **Sidya** [=Sella] where in 1674 they killed the Ven. Fr. Francisco Ezquerro with five lay assistants,² where the people were already tired of hardships, and of irksome flights. Specially influenced by this reasoning, a woman, who was moderating this whole district in accordance with the local

1 Ed. note: The poison, rather infection, came from the human bone used as a spear tip.

2 Ed. note: Not really. They were killed after they left that area and before they were due to arrive in the Agat area, close to Facpi Point.

tom, became wonderfully affected by the Christian faith and our people. Undoubtedly making up for the weakness of her sex by the prerogative of her blood, [she proposed] that they could buy peace for themselves by decreasing all the malefactors among them; by dissecting this knot, they would affirm themselves strongly. Therefore, on **26 July 1679**, they brought the head of one of the patricides, named Si Utap [sic].¹ Afterwards, on **13 September** in fact, two Fathers were touring the island on Christian business when, in the village of **Inarahan**, a special disaster awaited them, a surprise in [the person of] an instigator named Si Pigua [sic], [but] another of the malefactors tied his hands and his feet, as an appropriate ransom to redeem his crime, and by local canoe he took him along to the soldiers who were watching over the safety of the Fathers sleeping not far off. Based on accepted good faith, the latter committed the naive to be transported to the garrison where, after a few days and following instruction, and the reception of the sacraments, the criminal paid for his crime. Another man, who had participated with him in the misdeed, named Si Daro [sic], had taken himself to the hills in the interior, where others secretly planned his death. However, why not this way? Having been detected by an ally [of his] on account of another crime, he was transpierced on **7 January 1680**. There on the ground, as life was leaving him, he predicted that in dying he did not lose hope that his aggressor himself was destined to a similar death. Finally, a few days after they brought the head of the last of the patricides of Ven. Fr. Francisco Ezquerria from this district, that of a man named Si Porunao [sic].

So, in this newly-plowed land, the coffin having been removed,² there was hope for a very happy harvest. The purged sowing had not deserved praise alone. Even in the village of **Fuñia** they were supporting another murderer of one of the assistants of Ven. Fr. Sebastian Monroy, as well as the killer of the Father himself, named Si Ado [sic]. On **3 January 1680**, the latter criminal, accused of so many crimes, was seen alone staying in that vicinity, for fear had long relegated him to various other islands. In fact, on 15 September 1679, our soldiers had passed by there in the company of the Fathers visiting the island. They were calling on some inhabitants fishing on the beach, when two of them rowing along just kept on going and headed for the sea. Suspicious that it might be the conscience of the malefactors that made them flee from our sight, they [i.e. the soldiers] grabbed canoes that were ready and went after them. However, they [i.e. the suspects], finding an opportunity given to them by so much space, abandoned their canoes ashore and were received in known shelters through the hills in the interior. Meanwhile, it was learned from bystanders that there were fugitives, specially the two heads of the rebellion in Orote, and authors of the infamous disaster, who were being concealed by people in the village of **Hagat** in their own homes safe from our men. Therefore, two chiefs were placed in bonds, and taken to the garrison to have their case examined. One of them was condemned to die for abetting and sheltering; the other

1 Ed. note: His name was simply Utap, since the word Si is equivalent to “Tis” in English, to differentiate a proper noun, or name of a person, from a regular noun, or name of an animal, plant, etc.

2 Ed. note: That is, the risk of death.

was dismissed, to give an example to the rest, so that they would not dare do a similar thing in their home.

Along this vein, when it comes to giving an example of good Christian conduct, none could excel **Ignatius Inete** [or Hineti], an Indian chief, who is named here on account of the merit for his good enterprises. There was on the loose a notorious killer who had killed one of our soldiers, who had seduced a woman during the above-mentioned revolutions, and attracted her to the garrison. Upon seeing this, he killed him by spearing him cruelly and treacherously, without any provocation, but only for the sake of spilling human blood. This man was named Si Gaugau [sic]. A way had to be found, not only as an example, but also for public peace and tranquility. In fact, knowing full well that his business and life were at stake, he openly boasted that, although he would have to die, his own death would be revenged by the death of some of our men, wherever he could surprise them unaware. Therefore, considering it his duty [to eliminate] the monster, he [i.e. Hineti] offered himself and his people to our Commander, who, to make it official, attached one of our soldiers to him, who was expert in the [local] language and had a warlike spirit. Therefore, on **18 December 1679**, after being informed of the place where he normally stayed, they went up into the interior of the island and, having spent the night in some secret places, unobserved they attacked the known shelter. Indeed they, either urged by their conscience, or having perceived a sign beforehand, had fled to a safer place. However, one of the servants was spotted and placed in irons, until further investigation, and another, a child whom they sent to the College to be educated in a Christian way. Meanwhile, a few days after they had fled from here, fearing the danger they were in, some of the inhabitants had blocked the way with weapons, and had tied up the receiver [i.e. host of the fugitive] after he had been seriously wounded. The above-mentioned Ignatius then ran up with his troop, but a crowd also came up, not all in agreement with his opinion. Indeed, some of them were unusually chewing at the bit, complaining among themselves against bonds, imprisonments, and death sentences imposed upon criminals. They would have taken revenge by force of arms, but he, noticing that they were hesitating, addressed them forcefully: "Look, said he, either you decide to use weapons against me, or you willingly embrace the dominion of the Spanish. I do not go after malefactors for my own fun, but I proceed with their authority. I am ready to make their cause mine, and to defend it with the blood of my people. Be certain that, God forbid, if something sinister happens, your pernicious act against me would be avenged." He then finished this brief speech, but spoken in cold blood; his courage was known more than his words. In fact, they remained arrogant in spirit. About the captive being indicted, they professed themselves willing to take the side of our commander. Although he [i.e. the captive], during a night's sleep spent among barbarians without much precaution, guarded at night by few watchmen, [who were] tired after a hard day's work, he escaped from his bonds. In the meantime, he, whose cause had caused him so much trouble, taking care of his own life as well as that of his people, began to recover his health.

Another killer of one of the [missionary] helpers, named Si Durairai [sic], had been known only to the islanders for some time. He used to visit the opposite [i.e. east] side of the island. Though he had been banned from here, he had hoped that his future reconciliation would not be difficult, if in accordance with their own custom, he were to kill another killer of our people, thus eluding his own crime. Therefore, taking his own brother and another neighbor with him, they descended upon the village called **Guai**. They professed at first to be investigating a murder upon the order of our Commander, but without thinking they took up arms against him, first wounding him on the arm, when they anointed their hands; then as they fled they were about to transpierce him on the side with repeated blows with a spear, but being nearer they inflicted a serious blow on his head with a short sword. They had already surrounded the fallen man, and would have pulled his brains out, when, the neighbors being excited by the noise, thinking it was shameful for this to happen to their people in their own village, threw lances that caught the leader. His partners were surprised by this; in fact, given the uneven numbers, they desisted and overtaken by panic they dispersed in terror. Already the news of the whole affair was circulating and our Commander thought that the opportunity had come to pounce on the trouble makers like the proverbial fox. Before midnight he arrived at the place and, for having let the other one flee, he placed the chiefs of the place in bonds, letting their people know that many of the aggressors, who had fled to the bush were indeed captured (although he had already completed his sortie, and was in sight of the garrison, when he fled from the hands of our men out of fear of death) he could not follow. However, not all of them evaded capture, for out of fear of the commander, there were signs that they were being pressed to join the adversary party, hoping that they could hide in some corner of their village. Hardly had the brother of the criminal entered the place when he fell upon the guards of the above-mentioned Ignatius who, with a quick hand, speared him and cut off his head. The other, not trusting himself in public, hid himself among the reeds and he sent away for food and medicine, after the troop had completed the sortie. Once back home he narrated the affair to his wife. She was asked by her husband to seek directly our Ignatius, and to explain the case fully. The latter severely pronounced that the husband could take revenge by drawing a sword against the common enemy, and he could wash out the previous stain with a severed head, thus causing equal harm to all those who had to be crushed. Therefore, he who had escaped custody, changed himself into a wolf and, stimulated by fear, turned his rage into action. Badly wanting to switch whatever death sentence to his client, he placed his fate in the hands of his patron saints, and furiously broke in, but not before he had slept, and took the head that he had cut off to Ignatius. The latter, after praising the faithful deeds, took it to the Commander, and obtained pardon himself for his client.

Meanwhile, with repeated excursions, our people were doing enough to tame the savage souls, and to tame the inborn barbarity entirely by virtue of the doctrine, not always happy with the fruit, while baptizing the newborn children and adults whom they made into real Christians in deed as well as in profession. Even so, experience

showed that it was not enough to make everything secure, that our men could still not trust the barbarians. For instance, on **16 February 1680**, after they had finished visiting a part of the seashore, the Fathers were outside the village of **Pagat**, from where they sent Indians to warn the inland village of **Machaute** of their impending visit.¹ They in turn answered that they were happily awaiting them and would welcome them. Therefore, the next day they were heading for this place, and had even reached the place almost, but none of them came out to meet them along the way. Then, upon entering the place, when no-one appeared from anywhere, they sent the Indian troop forward to tell them not to fear, that the Fathers came in peace to teach the divine law, which they would have received long ago, from peaceful precursors. Truly there was nothing sure in the answer they got. Tired of waiting, they decided to inspect openly the corners of the inland forests, where they intended to pile up their baggage and the roots necessary for food. They had hardly started when some people bearing arms first showed up, running in uncertain directions. Presently, the one in charge of the column called out for a small advance, but the faithful Indians who were almost following the Fathers stopped walking, [saying that] there was an ambush further down the sloping valley. Already some of the companions were going down with impunity. Not for long, as the known yells announced the coming spears thrown at our men. However, none of their men was seriously wounded. But our men went after them and they did not come out with impunity, for they wounded with a spear the calf of the leg of one man, and two others fired effective shots with their muskets, until they transpierced the hip of one of them, after which they fled without delay. And so, another of the companions attacked with iron, with as much ferocity as could be, and he repelled iron with iron, but before he desisted and returned to us, he had cut one head off. However, our victory was not bloodless, for our armed man attacked with iron, and inflicted a blow, but the other side then stopped and repelled their attacker by sideswiping him at the knee. This done, as our men were late, with one man who could not walk to follow them, and not safe for the companions to be divided, they continued their way home. And although the Commander himself later led his people to avenge the insult done to the Fathers, and reconnoitered the whole district, he found no-one who either resisted or was deserving of being punished for the perfidy, so, he returned home.

On the other [south] side of the island there was more than enough disturbance. In fact, there resided in the village of **Hinca**² another killer of the Ven. Fr. Francisco Ezquerro, named Si Mutta [sic], who had been hunted down by friendly natives a few times, but was defended by his people. His arrogance was rather increasing so much that he had tried to make war against friendly Indians in accordance with their custom. They had already clashed among themselves, and one of our adversaries had even been killed, and some of their houses had been burned, when our Commander moved against them on **29 March 1680**. Wishing to come upon the enemy unannounced, he spent the

1 Ed. note: Machaute was located at the center of the present-day Anderson Air Force Base.

2 Ed. note: Hinca was located due east of Merizo, in the direction of Inarajan.

night on the shore of the nearest village, and the following day entered the enemy village by surprise, but found that the men had fled, and left behind only women not involved in the trouble. In any case, one of them was killed by our men during the first rush, as the sex is hardly distinguishable when weapons are thrown. Two women with suckling babies were made captives and taken away, to be educated in Christian ways. Rather, it was also hoped that with this bait the husbands would be easily attracted toward making peace and contact. Then he covered the whole neighboring district, even the following day, burning all the houses, with no-one daring to oppose him, except when he reached the village of **Mapucun**.¹ One man there from ambush threw an infected spear at an Indian ally which penetrated the thigh, the rest [of the spears] luckily going clear of him. He died after a few days, as medicine could do nothing worthwhile.

The Commander had already been back in the garrison for a few days when he was told that the enemies had again taken up arms, and that another one of our friendly Indians defending our parts had been pierced by a spear. Therefore, as he did not have that much faith himself in the defenders, he led his men overthere. It was on **11 April**, and he had hardly been on the way for one hour, when he was met near the shore by one of the native canoes. The people in it were shouting for him to stop, and pause for a while, as they were bringing a worthwhile present to offer to him. So it was: they led out to the shore the author of the troubles, well tied up with cords. Fed up with his misdeeds, they had pursued him, and after the disaster suffered in the above-mentioned excursion by our Commander, he, distrustful of his own people, left the mountain and was received in the village of **Hahayan**,² where a neighbor of ours, and faithful inhabitant, caught him unaware, and tied him up. The ship was then accepted as equally well as it was offered, and the captive was remitted under a good guard to the garrison, where he was already meant for execution. He then proceeded on the journey already begun with his men. When he arrived at the place, he was told that the enemy had suffered multiple disasters and taken refuge in caves, to live like wild animals. For, that very day, the celebrated Ignatius, happened to be in neighboring places, for business reason, when he chanced upon another instigator of the trouble, a chief among them, named Si Dasa [sic]. Here, a year ago, he had fomented troubles in **Pucpuc** [Pigpug],³ refusing to swear obedience to our Commander, and boasting that he would defend himself against any external incursion from them. He had already been mixed up in the recent trouble, was the author of the movement, and its instigator. Although a year ago, after Pucpuc had been pacified, not an average diligence has been made to completely excise this obstacle to peace. They however had even searched the hiding-places and feared

1 Ed. note: This village was located inland between Agat and Ilig. It is written Mapupun in other documents, e.g. Doc. 1682E.

2 Ed. note: Also written Jajayan on later Spanish maps, this village was located on the SE corner of Guam within Ajayan Bay. It is misspelled Habadian in earlier documents.

3 Ed. note: This village was located on the south shore of Talafofo Bay, which is on the east coast of Guam.

that he would not come into sight. Now, forgetting the past he came to give himself up to our Ignatius in the village of Pucpuc, running up to meet him. Indeed, when he noticed Ignatius accompanied by as many as two troops, he seriously considered to form [an army] with the inhabitants from there. In fact, they, knowing of his misdeed, clearly answered that, though no Christian was allowed in their village, specially Ignatius, the lieutenant commander among the inhabitants, he would be doing something wrong. So, after examining his own heart, where he saw the common enemy, one of his companions called out for him to throw spears right away, and he himself attacked with a sword that was handy. He had already suffered not a light wound to the head, and he was half fleeing while defending himself with the sword that he had brought; in any case, he was maintaining his ground, when an ally speared him in the side, and Ignatius, irritated, ran up and gave him a blow cutting off one arm. The man collapsed on his knees. At that moment, more allies came up and, with repeated blows, killed him definitely, and the sword became the booty of the victor.

Therefore, after the military excursion fully became an apostolic mission, the Fathers, who were always accompanying such functions, sent friendly Indians on all sides to look for young children to baptize, with such a happy success that in the space of two days they administered the waters of baptism to more than 40 new Christians. Once they had finished with the Easter season festivities, for they too had to attend the same feast-days, the patricide was executed by choking collar.¹ He had been made a Christian, and he bore it with fortitude; he even made a speech to his people, that they should watch out for their heads, and not dare to prevent the spread of the faith as he had done. After the troubles were extinguished, the chosen peace rose from their remains. For greater confirmation, the gospel ministers went out soon after pacification, to look for newborn babies everywhere and to try and reform the wild minds.

Still, as long as this door was opened almost by force, and to accommodate the times, it was not suitable to exercise the business concerning zeal among the neighboring Indians, not until they became peaceful, so that they would be more apt to receive a better culture. So that ineffective labor would no longer result in lost hope, a beginning was made from that which is thought to be primordial in the Indies, that is, to collect all the barbarian villages and neighborhoods into one place in accordance with our custom. Although convenient sites had been designated throughout the whole island, nevertheless it was as an experiment and as an example to the others. The enterprise was begun around our garrison, where they were convoked from whatever place considered to be within the district belonging to this Residence of St. Ignatius. As for the rest, some of which had been destroyed and the people had returned to their old

1 Ed. note: It was called "garrote" in Spanish.

settlements and villages, so that it would difficult to make them return. They were divided into hundreds, by age groups, and divided among the Fathers.¹ The first priority was to diligently teach the basics to the dying, then to join those who had until then been married in accordance with the native custom, in accordance with Christian custom, and the solemn rite of the Church. The intention was to forever banish the barbarian custom of contracting marriage at will with anyone, and to replace it with another [custom]. At the beginning, an example would be made by punishing those who would dare to contravene it. Once this step had been carried out, the rest of the duties of a Christian man would be inculcated with a strict observation of the divine and ecclesiastical precepts. Therefore, daily attendance to the divine offices was made mandatory, the rolls called and presence checked, and once this custom was established, to as many regions as the shortage [of workers] permitted, they were to dress decently, be introduced to the procedure of the sacrament of penance, so that contrition would take firmer roots in their hearts by such a salutary remedy, by repeated attendance to confession throughout the year. In fact, among these barbarians, it is better to rely on practice rather than reasoning and impact of words, when it comes to distinguish between categories and numbers of faults. For instance, not to miss the true make-up of a perfect Christian, many, but with great pleasure and trembling, receive Communion in private, to such a degree that this past year exactly, what had not been fully permitted so far on account of the rough times, were accepted into this true fraternity of Christians, not too many in absolute terms, but still they were fully trained in substance. Certainly, in working hard at this new culture, God's mercy was not lacking, not refusing results for the labors spent and compensating them well. In fact, the face of things have been changed, so that now the adults and the men and women of advanced age, who might have stubbornly resisted the divine sowing before, receive it now so willingly that there is no-one who would compete in repeating, while at home, the divine law which they have embraced wholeheartedly, and which goes straight to the ears of the divine teachers. Therefore, they might teach, instruct, train, advise the right things, prohibit the wrong things, and prepare themselves to follow the basic customs and way of life which the Fathers have truly taught them. Therefore, experience has shown that such willingness is not achieved without difficulty, to such a degree that, among people untamed up to now, with hardly any capable of a better culture, there is not any, in fact, who does not know perfectly the basic chapters of the Christian doctrine. In fact, they even know the Christian prayers, and they do remember the usual formula of this doctrine. Some are even so proficient that, once made disciples of the teachers, they themselves became teachers in the schools of the Fathers; they instruct the others completely by themselves. This was done so that more schools, rather more churches, might

1 Ed. note: The original text in Latin does not make for greater clarity here. A Roman company of 100 could actually consist of 200 men. In fact, we know from later documents that the natives of Guam were divided into approximately 300 families to each new district, totally approximately 1,000 souls each, but such numbers were grossly overestimated, as the first census of October 1693 was to reveal.

be opened in various parts of the island, where the people could be gathered daily to piously recite the Christian prayers, and where the said teachers would themselves preside, as I have said, and faithfully teach the doctrine, receive the people and give explanations. As a matter of fact, we found someone who is a chief among them, who, while going around on business, would be received in a village, where the word Christian had not been known before; he would then teach the common chapters of the celestial doctrine and prayers to all the residents. This done, after he had concluded his business, he then brought some of his students back to the Fathers to be examined; they proved that they had been very well taught by the efforts of this teacher, so much so that within one month they were no longer novices but looked like veterans.

Those are the noteworthy events that happened in our Mariana Mission this year. However, I hardly know what was worth noting; certainly, they are not up to what we wished to accomplish. Indeed, human affairs hardly ever measure up to expectations. Therefore, do not hesitate to quickly pass it around, if it should meet with your approval, then leave the rest to Divine Providence. So be it! Y.R. may advise me on any part of my work here. Should you see or communicate with our friends, please give them our fondest regards, from Fr. Gerardo and me, and please excuse the narrow pages which I have attached to this report, with names no less very dear to me.¹ Finally, as usual, we beg to be remembered often in your holy sacrifices and prayers.

Agatña, at the Residence of our holy Father St. Ignatius, 6 June 1680.

Y.R.'s servant in Christ,

Pedro Coomans, S.J.

[P.S.] May I be allowed to send my warmest greetings to His Excellency in the garrison² and to Her Excellency his wife, your brothers, sisters and other members of the family, whom I remember daily in my sacrifices and prayers.

1 Ed. note: Such extra sheets, meant for forwarding to the people in question, as can be expected, are not attached to this report in the archives.

2 Ed. note: It appears that Fr. de Pape's father may have been a fort commander somewhere in Belgium.

Document 1680I

Letter from Fr. Coomans to Fr. van Coukerken, dated Agaña 6 June 1680

Source: AGR 2, fol. 196-197v.

Note: There is yet another copy of this document (or the previous one), in RAH 9/2677; it has basically the same text, except for the introductory paragraph, and sent to another, unnamed, Jesuit.

Original text in Latin

Ptri Norberto van Coukerken

Reverende in Christo Pater

Pax Ejusdem

Unas accepi a R^aV^a A^o 1679, et alteras a Pe. Liberto [de Pape] datas Bruxellis A^o 1675, illas scilicet (nam recentiores jam ante acceperam) quæ me in itinere Mexicum versus offenderant: itaque Manila Mexicum denuo remeantes pervenere tandem ad manus meas, ne ullus annus esset quo a RRis. VVis. nihil acciperem. Nam recentiores et quæ signari debuerant A^o 1677 hactenus non accepi, fortasse aut bellis obstrepentibus impeditæ, aut iisdem ad vitam tuendam curam avocantibus ad me non transmissæ. Doleo sane meas non eodem successu ad RRas. VVas. tarde aut nunquam pervenisse, non mea certe, sed itinerum culpa. Quippe singulis annis, uno excepto 1677, quo Mexicum reversus tantum a negotiis impetrare non potui, ut amicis capitibus satisfacerem, diligenter perscripsi quidquid notatu dignum occurrit, et Madritum transmi ad Generalem Indiarum Procuratorem, a quo etiam responsum accepi meas rite in Provinciam transmissas.

Itaque, quidquid sit, redeo ad consuetum officium meum, et ne actum jam agam perscripsi ad Prem. Libertum historia omnia prout fere hoc anno sese obtulerunt, quæ spero cum R^a V^a ex conducto communicabit. Rei summa versatur in eo quod toto hoc tempore laboramus in componenda hac insula, et refrenanda incolarum barbarie, qua nisi armis domita provideri non potest securitati nostra. Nec vero consentaneum judicamus ad alias insulas haud longe ad Septentrionem dissitas excurrere, nisi rebus in hac insula omnino stabilitis. Atque hic est rei difficillime nodus pene gordianus. Quippe milites, sed præsertim illorum Duces vitiis suis et cupiditatibus his in partibus tantum indulgent, ut animarum salutem in postremis habeant. Reliquerat nobis Philipinarum Gubernator A^o 1678 D. Joannem Antonium de Salas, virum strenuum, et conficiendæ rei idoneum, qui elapso anno, uti tum ad Ram Vam perscripsi, rem magno conatu, nec minore successu inchoaverat, et hoc anno satis promoverat, adeo ut si cona-

tum omnem intenderet, rem hic plane conficere, imo ad proximas insulas victricibus armis excurrere facile potuisset, sed ille jam fessus et inconstans in medio cursu rerum oneri se subducit, et Manilam discedit [=discessit], morbi prætextu animi verius quam corporis, et nobis metum relinquit, ne sublato hoc fræno, barbari jugum vix bene impositum denuo excutiant. Et quamquam divina Providentia providit, ut adesset nobis vir capessendo regimini plane idoneus D. Josephus de Quiroga, qui hoc solo fine Europam deseruit, ut omni quo posset modo Missionem nostram, sed armis præsertim quibus valet adjuvaret; tamen usus nos docuit barbaros hos plus apprehensionibus regi, quam recta ratione, et non ante obtemperare quam malo suo docti timere didicerint. Itaque dum inter milites disciplina instauratur, et barbari factis credunt, annus abit, et nos qui lucrandis animis tot maria sulcamus, inclusi intra domesticos parietes rei exitum usque expectamus. Ego superiori hoc triennio, quo reversus in insulas [196v] Marianas fere continuus adfui martialibus expeditionibus, de quibus in nupera relatione, et hac præsentis est mentio, deinde quantum angustiae temporum permissere insulam percursavi parvulis baptizandis, et adultis instruendis: reliquum tempus domi impenditur aut instruendis et formandis vicinioribus Indis, aut linguæ illorum vernaculæ in **dictionary** concinnandæ in usum Patrum linguæ minus peritorum, aut libris volvendis. Nec tamen inter hæc adversantia ex parte votis nostris animus deficit, sed spe meliorum quotidie invalescit. Etenim hoc anno litteras accepi a Provinciali meo Philippinarum, quius invitabat, imo etiam amanter excitabat ad detegendas regiones, quæ ad meridiem nostram haud, procul dissitæ, sed hactenus hispanis ignotæ, Evangelicæ lucis splendorem prorsus ignorant, quæ quidem hominibus refertæ, nec divitiarum egentes ab omnibus prædicantur. Respondi amantissimis litteris eo quo par erat affectu, et media omnia sug[ess]i, quibus negotium hoc ad optatum finem perduceretur. Itaque etiam hac spe non vana, ut spero, vota mea sustento: nam si forte in insulis his Marianis fors optata noluerit, non deerit campus in his, quas dixi, regionibus meridionalibus, pro Christo naviter aliquid faciendi, aut fortiter patiendi.

Discedit etiam hoc anno Manilam e Missione nostra Procurator Pr. Antonius Xaramillo. Negotia præcipua sunt procuratis navigii, quo recta ad nos e Philipinis Insulis navigatio instituat, futurum deinde usui ut per meridionalem tractum detegat insulas et regiones hactenus nobis incognitas: in hunc finem Diploma Regium jam dudum obtinuimus [sic], et ter mille imperiales ad expensas. Sed res cæteroqui [sic] facilis in ipsa executione patitur diff[ic]ultatem, aliis alio pro diversitate sententiarum et affectuum negotium divertentibus, et nobis quorum interest, ab hominum commercio hic longe remotis, difficile per litteras nostra[s] procurantibus. Accedunt alia rem familiarem tam nostram, quam militum nostrorum spectantia [sic = spectatio?]. Quippe assignatum a Rege stipendium trecentorum et quinquaginta imperialium in singulos Operarios Missionis nostræ, et in milites Præsidi consueti [sic = consuetu] his in partibus stips sane opulenta, si recte administrentur, sufficientia sunt, ut ex necessariis, aut etiam convenientibus nihil hic desit, sed defectu experientiae illorum qui rem procurant sæpe accidit, ut illa remittantur quæ usui non sunt, et illa quæ maxime usui desiderantur: Unde militum querimoniae, et necessitates nostrorum. Juvabit itaque experientia unius ex nostris. Nec desunt etiam domestica aliqua non minoris momenti. Quippe Pr. Bartholomeus Besco, Vice Provincialis noster, vir in Missionibus Philippinarum multum versatus, tamen minus aptus reperitur ad novas has Missiones, uti convenit, stabi-liendas, ubi ut assolet nova multa, nec viri genio accomodata. Et quamquam per litteras res illa tractari valeat, plurimi tamen interest coram adesse aliquem, qui dubia explicet, et obscura declaret.

Atque hæc sunt quæ præter illa quæ ad Prem. Libertum dedi ad notanda occurrere. R^a V^a quæ cultioribus distinetur hæc boni consulat, et mei memoriam quam ex pacto rependo in SStis Saxrificiis et precibus non omittat, et a me et Pe. Gerardo amicos omnes amantissime salutet.

Agatña, ex Residentia S.P.N. Ignatii 5^a Junii 1680.

Ræ Væ Servus in Christo

Petrus Comano S.J.

[Address:] *Rdo Patri in Xro Pri Norberto Coukerken Soctis Jesu Sacerdoti. Bruxellis.*

Loose translation

To Father Norbertus van Coukerken.
Reverend Father in Christ,
Peace be with you.

I received a letter from Y.R. dated 1679 and another from Fr. Libertus [de Pape] dated Brussels in 1675. Needless to say, I have not received any that were more recent than the latter, as I was then on a voyage toward Mexico; therefore, it was returned from Manila to Mexico and has finally reached my hands, and neither have I received any other from Your Reverences in the years in-between. For I have not yet received any letters more recent, that would have been sealed as of 1677, maybe because they were blocked by war activities, or because they were sidetracked to protect them from the hazards of life and not forwarded to me. I am sorry that my letter did not reach Your Reverences either, except late or not at all; it is surely not my fault, but the fault of the voyage.¹ In fact, after returning from Mexico, except for a single year, 1677, I was unable to obtain as much from our capital friends as I would have liked; I wrote diligently whatever news were noteworthy, and sent them to the Procurator General of the Indies in Madrid, from whom I have received an acknowledgment that they had been forwarded to the Province, in accordance with regular procedures.

So, whatever the case, I came back to my usual post, and so as not to repeat myself, I did write to Fr. Libertus almost the complete story of what came up this year, which I hope will be communicated to Y.R. secretly.² The whole thing can be summarized by saying that we worked the whole time at consolidating this island, and in restraining the barbarity of the inhabitants, which, unless it be tamed by weapons, our security cannot be enhanced. Neither did we judge the circumstances proper yet to make excursions to the distant northern islands, unless this island was completely stable. Also, this business is almost as difficult [to solve] as the Gordian knot. In fact, the soldiers, whose officers are above all catering to their vices and cupidity in these parts, place the salvation of souls in last place. In 1678, the Governor of the Philippines left us Don Juan Antonio de Salas, an active man, and ideal for accomplishing the business. Last year, as I wrote to Y.R., he might have planned it as a big project, but with the least thing

1 Ed. note: His voyage from Guam to Manila in 1674, to Mexico in 1675, and back to Guam in 1677.

2 Ed. note: Secretly, because Fr. Coukerken may already have retired from office.

undertaken, and this year he may have promoted it enough, to such a degree that, if planned, it was all intended to be accomplished here [i.e. in Guam only]. Rather, he could easily have made an excursion to the neighboring islands with victorious armies, but already tired and hesitating, he withdrew himself from the load in mid course, and went off to Manila, under the pretext of sickness, more so of spirit than of body. He left us with the fear that, once this curb was lifted, the barbarians might once again overthrow the yoke that had been imposed upon them not too well. Although divine Providence provided, by sending to us a man fully suitable for taking over command, Don José de Quiroga, sent from Europe for the sole purpose of doing what he could for our Mission, but above all to assist with weapons if required; however, experience has taught us that these barbarians fear correction more so than listening to reason, and this could lead one, not so much to conform but to fear being led away from his evil [practices]. Therefore, he instilled discipline among the soldiers, to make the barbarians believe but that took one year, and we, who were already plowing the seas so much in our dedicated minds, were confined inside the residence, waiting for the success of the enterprise.

As for myself, as superior for the three-year period¹ after my return to the Mariana Islands, there were almost continuous military expeditions, narrated in the above-mentioned report,² hence, I was visiting the island as much as my short time permitted to baptize children, and instruct adults. The rest of the time I spent at home either instructing and training nearby Indians or composing a **dictionary** of the local language for the use of the Fathers less expert at the language, or reading books.³ Still, amid adversities courage did not fail to form part of our wishes, and it regained strength daily with hope of better things to come. Also this year I received a letter from my Provincial in the Philippines, who invited us, rather he even lovingly encouraged us to discover the regions that are to the south of us, not too far away, but so far unknown to the Spanish. The people in question are completely ignorant of the splendor of the light of the Gospel, and it is thought by everyone that they are devoid of wealth. I answered the very fond letter with equal affection, and suggested all the means by which this business could be brought to a successful end. Therefore, I do hope that this plan will not be in vain, and I will continue to hope, for if perchance the chosen option were not accepted in the Mariana Islands, there would not be a field in these southern regions, as I said, to do something positive for Christ, but only to suffer patiently.

Also this year Fr. Antonio Xaramillo went to Manila as Procurator of our Mission. The special business had to do with the institution of navigation by a ship to come directly to us from the Philippine Islands, and also to be used to discover traces of islands and regions to the south, heretofore unknown by us. A royal decree for this purpose has recently been obtained by us, and 3,000 pesos for expenses. However, the business which

1 Ed. note: In other words, he was the administrator, or assistant to the Vice-Provincial, Fr. Besco (see below). However, as the latter was sickly, most of the work fell upon Fr. Coomans.

2 Ed. note: See Doc. 1680H.

3 Ed. note: The manuscript of this dictionary would have been destroyed in the big revolt of 1684.

seemed easy has suffered difficulty in its execution, some people holding different views [from us] and affection for business reasons; it is important for us here, who have been so long removed from human communication, and difficult to procure through our letters. Others were of the opinion that we pool our business with that of our soldiers. In fact, a stipend of 350,000 pesos for our individual Mission workers and for the soldiers of the garrison has been assigned by the King, which is an opulent sum when compared with what is customary in these parts. It would be enough, if it were administered correctly, but nothing is left here for optional things, once the necessities have been bought. However, it often happens that, based on the experience of those who procure the things, they either remit things that are useless, or things which they strongly wish us to use; from there come the complaints from the soldiers, and [a list of] necessities for us. Therefore, one of our people will provide the experience. There is no lack either of other domestic affairs of some importance. In fact, Fr. Bartolomé Besco, our Vice-Provincial, a man much experienced in the Philippine Missions, one less likely to be found in new Missions such as these, nevertheless convenient for their stability, wherever many new things usually happen, they are accommodated by the man's genius. Although that business could have been dealt with through letters, it is nevertheless important for someone to be present in the heart of many, to explain the doubts, and to make light of dark areas.

Those were the noteworthy events that happened, besides those I wrote to Fr. Liber-tus about. May Y.R. consult with him to share the better points, and may you not forget to remember me, in your holy sacrifices and prayers, and I will repay you with the same, as agreed. Also Fr. Gerardo and I wish you to greet all our friends very fondly.

Agatña, from the Residence of our saintly Father St. Ignatius, 5 June 1680.

Y.R.'s servant in Christ,

Pedro Comano, S.J.

[Address:] To Rev. Fr. in Christ, Fr. Superior Norbertus [van] Coukerken, priest of the Society of Jesus, Brussels.

Document 1680J

Letter from Fr. Besco to Fr. Espinar, dated Agaña 10 June 1680

Source: RAH 9/2677.

Original text in Spanish

Mi P. Procurador Pedro de Espinar.

P. C.

Aunque parece que V.R. se hà totalmente olvidado de este su siervo, pues habiendo venido el P. Francisco Salgado, y una Mission, no tuve dicha de ver quatro renglones de V.R., que no dudo havrà recibido las que escrivi de Mexico; con todo no puedo yo olvidarme del P. Pedro Espinar à quien me holgarè esta con la salud que le deseo.

*Este año la hè gozado yo, y los demas mis compañeros cumplida; no obstante los trabajos, que no faltan, y comenzaron desde que llegò la nao **S. Antonio**, que fue à 17 de Junio; fuè necesario ir à ella la mar à fuera, porque el General D. Felipe de Montemayor y Mansilla no quiso dar fundo: y como el tiempo andava no muy bueno, nos vimos cinco de la Comp^a en muy proximo peligro de propasarnos à Manila, y que esto quedole desproveido de todo: en fin sacamos fuerzas de flaqueza, y habiendo estado en la nao no un dia entero, nos arrojamos en estas cascara de nueces, que assi se pueden llamar estas embarcaciones de los naturales, y con harto peligro de ahogarnos[.] navegamos mas de ocho leguas, hasta llegar à coger tierra; y lo peor de todo fuè que no nos vino de la N^a España el socorro suficiente de bastimentos para el año, con lo qual se ayunan mas dias que no son los que manda la Santa Iglesia: regalos son estos de Marianas. Pero no es esto lo que se siente. Lo que sentimos es que no se adelanta esta Mission, como deseavamos; mis muchos pecados deven de ser la causa; y el poco favor, que tenemos en estos Cabos, que solo parece que le esmeran en darnos, en que entender, y nos quieren hazer martires à pesadumbres: Hazen cosas que salva consciencia; no se pueden callar; y obligar à amonestarlos: ya V.R. ve que son estos Cabos con una bara del Rey en la mano, y se acordarà de lo que passò en Samb^a [=Zamboanga] con D. Pedro de Viruega y el P. Xavier Riquelme. Mas lexos estamos de Manila, que no era Samboanga, y si alla hazian tanto, que serà aqui? pues por lo menos no puede venir remedio alguno si no en dos años, lo mas presto que sera. El Señor Governador D. Juan de Bargas quando passò por estas islas, pensò que nos dexava un hombre de muchas prendas, y que haria mirabilia; pero hà sido al reves: porque sin considerer quien le havia lanzado en este puesto, se entregò el cabo que tenemos al presente,*

que se llama D. Juan Antonio de Salas, natural de Madrid, à tantos vicios, que parece no piensa en otra cosa, que cumplir sus gustos, descuydando de lo principal porque lo pusieron aqui, que es el adelantamiento de esta Christiandad. Le hà avisado à Manila, quiera Dios que si quiera por lo de en adelante venga algun remedio.

En esta Mission estamos diez sacerdotes que son el P. B[artolom]e Besco, por no olvidarme, P. Gerardo Bovens, P. P[edr]o Comano, P. Tomas Cardeñoso, P. Lorenzo Bustillo, P. Antonio Mathias Xaramillo, P. Manuel Solorzano, P. Juan de Ahumada, y el P. Basilio le Roulx, y P. Tomas Vallejo que quedaron de la nao S. Antonio; tambien tres hermanos que son Pedro Pabon, Baltassar Bovies [sic], compañero del P. Basilio, y Antonio de los Reyes: y un donado Felipe Sonson que vino à esta Mission con el P. Diego Luis S. Vitores; y es Pampango.

De seglares quedan cerca de cien personas: bastante numero de sugetos todo esto, si fuessen hombres; pero como los mas sean de la Nueva España y medios Indios, que espíritus pueden tener? y mas quando el Capitan es hombre de trapo.

Quando llegue à estas Islas el año de 77, hallè à todos encerrados en esta cerca, sin ser dueños de apartarse de ella un tiro de arcabus, sin peligro, porque acabavan los naturales de retirarse de una guerra que nos hizieron: despues como vieron que con ser ellos tantos, y los españoles tan pocos, no nos havian vencido, desesperaron de poder conseguir su fin, que era echarnos; y assi procuraron assentar paces: entre las quales fraguaron el mesmo año de 77 como darnos en la cabeza: descubriose la traicion por medio de un muchacho, que lo dixo à un parienta suya casada con un soldado; y quando menos se lo pensaron, pagaron su pecado los mas culpados.

Con este castigo, pues 13 fueron los que se mataron, se sossegò algo la tierra; y ya podiamos alexarnos algo mas, este primer año, aunque no mucho; algo mas fue el segundo año; y mas este tercero; porque despues que vino S. Antonio, se visitò casi toda la Isla; si bien siempre acompañados de buena escolta: se sugetaron algunas rancherías que se mostravan mas rebeldes, confiados en sus espessuras, y montes; y porque andavan alborotada la tierra[,] algunos de los matadores de los Religiosos y españoles, y estos no se podían tan facilmente alcanzar en sus madrigueras, ofrecio el Capitan el perdon à algunos, y premio à otros que cogiessen à los tales: valiò la traza, porque unos aburridos ya de andar siempre huyendo, y otros con la esperanza del premio, comenzaron à ponerlo en obra y truxeron unas seis ò mas cavezas de los mas culpados, con lo qual se sossegò algo mas la tierra, y como los malechores se vieron perseguidos por todas partes, sin poderse fiar ya de los suyos mesmos; ò se huyeron à otras Islas, ò no parecen ya tanto.

En las correrías que se van haziendo, no se dexa de coger algun fruto, siquiera de muchos niños que se van bautizando: que para los adultos vamos mas de espacio, por el peligro que no retrocedan, no estando aun del todo sugetos. Se han comenzado à formar pueblos, reduciendo todas las rancherías que havia alrededor de este presidio dos y tres leguas, à tres barrios, en que se havian juntado poco menos de 300 familias: y se toca como con las manos el provecho: porque los que aqui se han agregado, ya casi todos quedan bautizados, y casados por la Iglesia: todos confessan, y muchos comulgan: acuden todos à una Iglesia que se levanto solo por ellos. Los domingos se les haze platica à todos: otro dia de la semana vienen los casados, otro los solteros y solteras, otros los muchachos y muchachas y à todos se les explica lo necessario à su estado, y segun su capacidad. Querà Dios que presto hagamos otras de estas reducciones: que no dudo se efetuaran si se fuere à Manila donde es que se quiere ir este, nuestro cabo D. Juan, y quedare à cuydar de este D. Joseph de Quiroga; que à todos dà admirable exemplo.

*En otras Islas, ninguna cosa se halla de valor; ni lo bastante para el sustento ordinario: lo que mas produce es un poco de arroz, que si me procuramos(?) quatro meses; lo restante del año son raizes, y una fruta que llaman **Rimay**. Las vacas que truxeron los Padres estan en los montes, y no se pueden alcanzar ni una. Algunos cebones hay tambien de los que se huyeron de cassa y han multiplicado; pero no todos los pueden coger: algunos se alcanzan, que no dexan de aprovechar. Lo de que hay mas abundantes son trabajos; como haya paciencia para llevarlos, no seran malos: V.R. nos la alcance de N.S. en sus Santos Sacrificios y oraciones.*

S. Ignacio de Agatña y Junio 10 de el 80.

Siervo de V.R.

Bartolome Besco.

[Address:] *Al P. Pedro de Espinar de la Comp^a de JESUS y su Procurador de Indias en Sevilla.*

Translation

My dear Fr. Procurator, Pedro de Espinar.

Peace of Christ.

Although it appears that Y.R. has totally forgotten this your servant—in fact, even if Fr. Francisco Salgado came by, with a mission band, I did not have the good luck of seeing even 4 lines from Y.R.—you must have received those I wrote from Mexico [in 1677]. That said, for my part I cannot forget Fr. Pedro Espinar and I will be glad if this letter finds him in good health.

I, and the rest of my companions, have personally enjoyed this past year, in spite of the hardships, that are not lacking, and that began when the galleon **San Antonio** arrived, which was on 17 June [1679]. It was necessary to go and meet her at sea, because General Don Felipe de Montemayor y Mansilla did not wish to anchor. And as the weather was not very good, five of us Fathers of the Society saw ourselves in very serious danger of drifting to Manila, and of leaving this Mission completely deprived. Finally, we summoned enough courage, after having been a full day aboard the galleon, to throw ourselves at the mercy of these nut-shells—as one can call these local canoes—and with real danger of drowning ourselves. We sailed for more than 8 leagues, until we managed to reach land, but the worst of all was that we did not get a sufficient supply of food that came for us from New Spain for the year. That is why we fast on more days that the Holy Church wants us to; such are the delights of the Marianas... However, this is not what makes us sad. What we are sad about, is that this Mission is not making as much progress as we would like—my many sins must be the cause of it—and the little influence that we have with these officers; it seems as if they vie with one another to give us trouble, and they are trying to make us martyrs from grief. They do things that revolt conscience, things that we cannot keep quiet about, and oblige us to admonish them. Y.R. will have known this type of officers who have the King's baton

in the hand, and will remember what happened in Zamboanga with Don Pedro de Vi-ruega¹ and Fr. Xavier Riquelme. We are farther from Manila than Zamboanga was, and if they were doing so much there, what would they not do here? In fact, no remedy can come for at least two years, the faster it would be. When His Lordship, Governor Don Juan de Vargas, passed by these Islands, he thought that he was leaving us a man of many talents, and that he would do wonders, but the reverse proved true. Indeed, without considering who had sponsored him in that post, the commander we have now, who is called Don Juan Antonio de Salas, a native of Madrid, abandoned himself to so many vices that it seems as if he never thinks of anything else, but satisfy his pleasure, and forgets the main reason why he has been placed here, which is the progress of this Christian community. Manila has been told about him. May God let us have a remedy in future.²

In this Mission, we are **10 priests, as follows: Fr. B. Besco (not to forget myself), Fr. Gerardo Bovens, Fr. P. Comano, Fr. Tomas Cardeñoso, Fr. Lorenzo Bustillo, Fr. Antonio Mathias Xaramillo, Fr. Manuel Solorzano, Fr. Juan de Ahumada, plus Fr. Basilio LeRoulx, and Fr. Tomas Vallejo** who were left here by the galleon **San Antonio**. There are also **3 brothers, as follows: Pedro Pabon, Baltazar Bovies [sic], Fr. Basilio's companion, and Antonio de los Reyes, plus an oblate, Felipe Sonson**, who came to this Mission with Fr. Diego Luis S. Vitores (he is a Pampango).

There are about 100 lay persons besides; that is quite a number of individuals, if only they were men. But as most of them are from New Spain and half Indian, what minds can they have? and the more so when the Captain is a man as solid as a rag.

When I arrived at these Islands in 1677, I found everyone piled inside this enclosure, unable to move freely beyond it by more than arquebus range, because the natives had just retreated from a war that they had made on us. After they realized that their large numbers, compared to the small number of Spanish, had not helped them to vanquish us, they despaired of ever being able to achieve their purpose, which was to finish us off. So, they tried to negotiate peace. During peacetime, on that same year of 1677, they plotted yet another revolt; this treachery was revealed by a boy, who told one of his relatives, married to a soldier, about it. When they thought it was least possible, the more guilty ones paid for their sin.

This punishment caused the country to become quiet again; indeed, 13 was the number of those killed. We could then already move a little farther, this first year, though not much. We went somewhat farther the following year [78-79], and much more this third year, because after the visit by the **San Antonio** almost the whole of the Island was visited, though we were always accompanied by a good escort. A few hamlets that showed themselves most rebellious, trusting in their forest and mountain fastnesses,

1 Ed. note: The events in question took place between 1658 and 1663 when Zamboanga was abandoned by the Spanish.

2 Ed. note: The author got his wish: Captain Salas left a few days later, and the top post was taken over by Captain Quiroga, the "hermit."

were subjected. Because the whole Island was in rebellion, some of the killers of the Religious and Spanish were at large, and they could not be so easily reached in their lairs. That is why the Captain offered pardon to some, and a reward to others, to capture these men. The plan worked, because some of them, then bored with a life of being continuously on the run, and others hoping for the reward, began to put it into effect. They brought in some 6 or more heads belonging to the most guilty ones; that is why the country became somewhat quiet again. Also, the evil-doers saw themselves pursued everywhere, unable to trust even their own kin; either they fled to other Islands, or they no longer appeared so openly.

In the sorties that are being made, some fruit is being gathered, if only of many children who are baptized, but as far as adults are concerned, we proceed cautiously, to prevent their falling back, as they are not yet subjected. We have begun to form some towns, reducing all the hamlets that existed around this garrison over 2 or 3 leagues to 3 *barrios* [suburbs], where about 300 families have been gathered. And the benefit is close at hand, because most of those who have been so gathered have already been baptized, and married by the Church. They all go to confession, and many take communion; all attend the church that has been built specially for them.¹ On Sundays, a sermon is delivered to all of them. The married ones come on another day during the week; the bachelor boys and girls have their own day too, and so the other boys and girls. They all receive the necessary instruction, according to their state, and capacity. May God let us make other reductions like this one. I have no doubt that it will happen if our commander, Don Juan, goes to Manila, where he wants to go, and if this Don José de Quiroga, who gives a wonderful example to everyone, takes over.

In other Islands, nothing is found of value, not even enough for the ordinary food; the most they produce is a little rice, that is available for at most 4 months; the rest of the year, we eat roots, and a fruit they call *Rimay*. The cows that the Fathers brought in are in the bush, and not one can be caught. There are also a few fattened pigs that escaped from home and they have multiplied, but they cannot all be caught; some are caught, and they are taken advantage of. What is most abundant are the hardships; if we have enough patience to bear them, things will not be too bad. Please Y.R. obtain this from our Lord by your holy sacrifices and prayers.

San Ignacio de Agaña, 10 June 1680.

Y.R.'s servant,

Bartolomé Besco.

[Address:] To Fr. Pedro de Espinar of the Society of JESUS and its Procurator of the Indies in Seville.

1 Ed. note: Outside of the enclosure, or camp.

Document 1680K

Letter from Fr. Thomas Vallejo to Fr. Tirso Gonzalez, dated Guam 14 June 1680

Sources: Present location unknown; offered for sale by the Dolphin Book Co., ref. Dolphin Cat. N° 35, doc. n° 46, p. 22 (entitled: 100 Manuscripts Relating to Latin America, Oxford, 1957); previously offered for sale by Maggs Bros. of London in 1923 (Cat. N° 442, n° 1853, p. 131). Published in facsimile in the Dolphin Catalogue and transcribed in Burrus' Kino Escribe a la Duquesa, Appendix II.

Note: Fr. Gonzalez was then professor at the university of Salamanca. He later became General of the Jesuits in 1687, until 1706.

Original text in Spanish.

Carissimo en Christo Padre Thyrso, Pax Christi, etc.

Es tanto el amor que tengo a V. R. que no parece me dexa despedir de Vuestra Reverencia con una sola carta si no le manifiesto en otra. En señal de esta afición, embío incluso en ésta unos versos que compuso en lengua mariana y traduxo en la española el venerable Padre Diego Luys de Sanvitores. Attendió este apostólico varón y fervorósissimo missionero más en las dichas coplas a excitar la devoción y ternura para con Jesús y María en los duros corazones de los isleños marianos que a deleytar el oydo con la composición y asseo de las palabras, o con la critiquez de los términos y sentencias.

En señal también del affecto que reconosco en mi voluntad para con V. R., he procurado cumplir con lo que encargó V. R. en una carta que V. R. me escribió desde Salamanca a Sevilla, en que V. R. me manda cuyde de don Joseph de Quiroga. Executé el precepto de V. R. el modo mejor que he sabido y que he alcanzado. Aunque me corro y confundo quando considero no merezco, por la enormidad de mis muchas y graves culpas de mis repetidas tibiezas y negligencias ser confessor y padre espiritual de tan santo hijo y fervoroso penitente. Guarde este noble y christiano cavallero con admirable constancia y notable tessón el mismo tenor de vida exemplar y ajustada, el mismo porte de honestas y religiosas costumbres y de exercicios devotos que ha observado siempre, assí en España, como en las dos navegaciones de norte y sur, con edificación y pasmo de los ojos que lo miran y reparan.

Entrará, sin duda, el año que viene a gobernar las armas de este campo mariano, porque el cabo que aora las maneja está ya con los pies en el estribo para marchar a Manila. Prometémonos todos los Padres muy felices sucesos en lo espiritual y temporal, luego que empuñe don Joseph el bastón de capitán y gobernador de las yslas Marianas. Assí lo esperamos de su prudentia, valor y christiandad y de la particular asistencia con que la liberal y poderosa mano del Altíssimo le favorecerá. Lo qual mereze este devoto y animoso soldado por los freqüentes obsequios y repetidos servicios que a la Magestad de nuestro Dios cada ía haze. Hase hecho don Joseph con su virtud y discreción mucho lugar en el concepto de los soldados y marianos y mucho mayor en la estimación de todos los religiosos misioneros desta nueva christiandad que le aman y estiman como lo pide la razón y la equidad.

Adiós, mi amantíssimo en Christo Padre Thyrso, hasta que nos veamos en el cielo, aunque no soy digno de tanta dicha. No se cuál será mi fin, si o violento o natural; el Señor lo sabe. No faltan esperanzas de que será a la medida del deseo.

Valeat, Vestra reverentia, vivat [sic] libeat, et oret pro me.

De la ysla de San Juan y del pueblo de San Ignacio de Agaña. Junio 14, de 680.

JHS.

Humilde siervo y discipulo de Vuestra Reverencia.

JHS.

Tomás Vallejo, S.J.

[P.S.] *El Padre Manuel de Solórzano y el Padre Antonio de Xaramillo hazen muy freqüente mención de Vuestra Reverencia y le embian a Vuestra Reverencia muy afectuosas y cordiales memorias. Persuádome, escribirá alguno de los dichos Padres a Vuestra Reverencia.*

Tenemos mucha falta de libros morales y espirituales en esta misión. Supplico a Vuestra Reverencia, si es possible, me remitta V. R. dos authores legistas, porque se offrezzen aquí muchas causas de muertes de soldados e indios o, por lo menos, embieme Vuestra Reverencia dos libros morales escogidos y algunas obras del venerable Padre Luys de la Puente. Perdóneme Vuestra Reverencia el atrevimiento y llaneza. Omnia vincit amor.¹

Translation.

Dearest Father in Christ Thyrso, Peace of Christ, etc.

So great is my love for your Reverence that I cannot express it sufficiently in one letter, but must needs write you another, enclosing some verses which have been composed in the Mariano language, and translated into Spanish by the Venerable Father Diego Luis de San Vitores.² In these verses, the apostolic man and most zealous missionary aimed more at exciting the devotion and the love of Jesus and Mary in the hard

1 De Virgilio, Égloga, X, 69: El amor todo lo vence.

2 Ed. note: This first poem in Chamorro is no longer extant.

hearts of the Mariana islanders than at pleasing the ears with the composition and neatness of the words, or with the critical meaning of the terms and phrases.

In further proof of my affection for you, I have endeavored to comply with your request contained in a letter from you addressed to me from Salamanca to Seville, in which you requested me to take care of Don Joseph de Quiroga. I carried out your instructions as well as I knew how, although I am covered with confusion whenever I consider how little I deserve—by reason of my many faults, failings and omissions—to be the confessor of so worthy a Son of the Church. This noble and Christian gentleman maintains, with admirable constancy, the tenor of his exemplary conduct, the same rectitude, honesty and religious customs as he practised in Spain, to the edification of those who observe him.

He will undoubtedly take up the reins of military Governorship here next year, as the present Commander-in-Chief is en route to Manila. We Fathers all look forward to great spiritual and temporal benefits as soon as Don Joseph acquires the baton of Captain and Governor of the Mariana Islands. We hope as much from his prudence, valor and Christian conduct, and that the Almighty will favor him. This devoted and spirited soldier deserves it, on account of the frequent attentions and services that he has already made to his Divine Majesty. His honor and wisdom have made a deep impression upon the soldiery and the natives, and still greater, upon the minds of all the missionaries here, who greatly esteem him as befits reason and justice.

Goodbye, my dearest Father in Christ Thyrso, until we meet in Heaven, although I am not worthy of such good luck. I do not know what my end will be, whether violent or natural. The Lord knows.¹ I keep hoping that it will be as good as I wish it to be.

*Valeat, Vestra reverentia, vivat [sic] libeat, et oret pro me.*²

From the island of San Juan and the town of San Ignacio de Agaña, 14 June 1680.
JHS.

Your Reverence's humble servant and disciple,
JHS.

Tomás Vallejo, S.J.

[P.S.] Father Manuel de Solorzano and Father Antonio de Xaramillo often speak of you and send you their most affectionate and cordial remembrances. I have persuaded one of the said Fathers to write to your Reverence.

We are greatly in need of books, both moral and spiritual, in this Mission, and I beg Y.R., if possible, to send me two books in [canon] law, because many deaths of soldiers and Indians occur here, or, at least Y.R. may send me two select works on moral [philosophy] and some of the works of the Venerable Father Luis de la Puente. Please Y.R. to forgive my audacity and familiarity. *Omnia vincit amor.*³

1 Ed. note: He died 3-1/2 years later, still in Guam.

2 Ed. note: Latin phrase meaning: "Good health, your Reverence, I wish you a long life, and pray for me."

3 From Virgil, *Égloga*, X, 69: "El amor todo lo vence." [= Love conquers all].

Document 1680L

**Letter from Fr. Salgado to the Duchess
of Aveiro, dated Taytay (Philippines)
20 June 1680**

*Source: Ms. sold by Maggs Bros. in 1923 (Cat. N° 442, n° 127-129) and acquired by Professor Boxer who published the Spanish text in full in *Philippine Studies* 26 (1978): 43-50.*

Jesus

Most Excellent Lady.

After [crossing] such huge oceans we finally arrived at the Philippines [in 1679], thank God. During the voyage, two individuals of the mission [band] died, one in the Northern Sea [i.e. Atlantic], as I have already advised Y.E. of from Mexico, the other upon coming down to Acapulco. Five of us Fathers were priests, with our studies completed, and not more; I had come with the definite intention of leaving there all four of them, excluding myself, because, as I told Y.E. in Madrid, I had an express order from Fr. General not to leave anyone still studying at the Marianas; however, this good intention was quenched, because one of them stayed in New Spain on account of the fever, and I do not know if he did so simply to wait out one year, or on purpose, as I also wrote to Y.E. last year, while the other turned crazy during the second part of the voyage,¹ and completely crazy too, and that left only two [priests] in the Marianas, because not more of them could remain without infringing the order of Fr. General, and even those who were available would not have been admitted by the Fr. Superior of the Marianas, as can be seen in that letter of his addressed to Fr. Provincial of this Philippine Province, and even more clearly as he told me so himself in person, because he said that under such circumstances he did not need any more. So, when I offered him one more Father who wished to leave his studies in order to stay there (given that those who abandon their studies are not mentioned in the order of Fr. General) he did not wish

¹ Ed. note: That is, during the crossing of the Pacific Ocean. The crazy missionary was Fr. Maximilian Vanderstein.

to receive him. The Fathers I left there are named Basilio Le Roulx, Flemish,¹ and Thomas Vallejo, from the Castile Province, both of them excellent subjects. I also left there the Brother [Dubois], a carpenter and a Fleming. I offered two lay Brothers to the said Superior, giving him the choice among four of them who were aboard, but he did not wish more than the one, and he picked the carpenter, leaving his companion, the painter, mortified.

There remained as well in the Marianas the good member of a third order, Don José de [Quiroga y] Losada, and he was so happy; he is a lad of much virtue, with a great health and good intention, so that I hope he will help the missionary Fathers very much in order to convert those barbarian gentiles.

We were unable to anchor at the Marianas [in 1679] because the weather did not allow it, and also everything was in chaos and confusion and I was not able to speak properly with the [local] Fathers. No-one from the galleon was able to go ashore. Not everything brought as relief was landed either, in spite of the efforts made, because the launch from our galleon that was taking much of this relief ashore could not reach there. So, the canoes of the native Marianos were taken advantage of; they had come alongside to sell a few fruits which are very small, and of poor quality. Hence, not more than 7 crates of biscuits could be unloaded. As for the subsidy in reals, which Y.E. was pleased to order sent to my care in Seville and destined for the Marianas, I brought it here [i.e. to Manila] (minus a small quantity I spent on a suit for brother Don José, hoping that Y.E. would not object) and it will now go to the Marianas² in the form of *carey*, or tortoise shell, which is the same thing, and is like gold [currency] overthere.

The Governor [Vargas] of these Philippine Islands not only write to Y.E. saying that he will send a patache immediately to the Marianas, what he has himself told Fr. Vidal and others in Mexico, and to the Fathers in the Marianas when he anchored there [in 1678], and so, they were awaiting it there within a short time. In this business, I have tried to win over the Pilot of the galleon in which I came in from Acapulco (because it is the first time that he comes to this land, and is a good pilot, courageous and from Aragon)³ and I have slowly turned our conversation around to the subject of how plentiful would our harvest be in the Marianas if only they could be relieved immediately from Manila, [if it were not] for the excuses that I have already mentioned to Y.E., and for the great ones that they were inventing in Manila, on account of the great lack of piety that exists among the Spanish of these islands; they, in their self-interest, even subvert the Governors. The said Pilot told me many times during the voyage, in front of many of our people, that he would dare make such a voyage, and even without a patache, but in a much smaller craft which they call a sloop. I asked him how much would its construction cost, and how many sailors would be needed to sail it? He answered that the construction would cost about 1,000 pesos, that from 8 to 10 men would suf-

1 Ed. note: He was not a Fleming, but a French-speaking Walloon from the Gallo-Belgian Province. The same comment applies to Brother Balthasar Dubois below.

2 Ed. note: Aboard a special sloop.

3 Ed. note: Francisco Lazcano, as stated below.

fic to sail it, and even said that the absolute minimum would be from 4 to 6 sailors. With this, I saw that opportunities were opened up, and we all applauded his courage and new scheme, because a sloop has many advantages; for instance, it can anchor everywhere and sail with little wind; also it costs very little, and requires few people to sail it. There remained only one difficulty, and it was whether said Pilot would dare repeat in front of the Governor what he had said to us. He answered that he would do so, and that he would offer to return himself to the Marianas in said sloop. I insisted very much on the necessity of his paying much attention to the great benefit he would thus bring to the Mariana Mission, which would vegetate if the above did not come to pass, and that he would do a notable service to Our Lord, and would become like the savior of that mission, and that Y.E. would indeed appreciate it.

Even though the Governor had offered here and there to send a patache to the Marianas, I still inquired of the first person who came into the galleon at the Philippines what patache had been sent to the Marianas, and I was told: none. Afterwards, I learned that the Governor had called a meeting of seamen, pilots, military officers, and other residents of the city, and that it had been decided that a patache could not be sent directly to the Marianas. A certain Pilot who had always said that the voyage was possible, did not dare make his opinion known, but even said the opposite of what he felt, either for not displeasing the residents, or because he saw that the Governor was very tepid and not at all in favor of sending the patache. Fr. Rector of Manila, who is Fr. Luis Pimentel, who was once Procurator in Rome, spoke to the Governor about the great need that existed in the Marianas and the necessity to send the relief directly from here to there, without going by the round-about route of Acapulco. The Governor excused himself, citing the meeting. He was told that the King had not ordered him to call a meeting, but to despatch a vessel. He answered that there was no use for one to go directly and only to the Marianas, and that the galleon that goes every year to Acapulco was sufficient and that it would leave the relief on the return voyage.

Finally, I arrived at Manila, paid a visit to the Governor, and gave him the letters from Y.E. and from the Count of Medellín. I waited for a few days, to give him time to read them, and then I went to talk to him about the points contained in the letters, and I found that he did not at all enjoy the conversation, and I was forewarned that he would put up the objection of the meeting when talking about the patache. So, I proposed the idea of the sloop, and as the Pilot Francisco Lazcano, who is an excellent pilot, was offering himself to take it to the Marianas, that he would give the measurements, assist with the construction, and finally I imparted to him that Y.E. and the Count would appreciate very much any attention paid to him. He angrily replied that the Pilot would not say such a thing in front of him, that he himself had sailed a lot, and knew that said vessel would be much in danger of overshooting to Acapulco, or ending up in Japan. To the first [objection], I replied that the Pilot in question had ratified his assertion in public many times, that he would dare sail the whole sea aboard a sloop, and that I thought that he would not retract himself in front of His Lordship; to the second one, I told him that in that point the Pilot had more votes than His

Lordship, since he was volunteering for the task, knowing full well about its disadvantages. I also reminded him of the great necessity for that mission to be in immediate touch. To this he replied that he did not think it necessary, and that he had already said so to the first Father. I was very much surprised by such an answer. So, I exposed in great details the desirability of it all, to which he answered with some nonsense. Finally, as I saw that he was so against the idea, I told him that he should not follow the advice of the Spanish in this country, because they are opposed to anything that smells of piety, and I took leave of him somewhat angrily.

Within a few days, I went back to the missions among the Indians, where I am at present.¹ However, I entrusted some Fathers to make every effort, when the Pilot came to Manila [from Cavite], to have him speak to the Governor and to give his opinion about the sloop, because it has always seemed to me that if there were a Pilot offering his services to go directly to the Marianas, the Governor would have to take into account that he would be blamed in Madrid if he did not send him. The Pilot finally arrived and with even more determination and truth, because he said that he had received two obvious miracles from St. Francis Xavier after we had disembarked. One of them was to have regained his health suddenly as soon as he commended himself to him, after he had lost hope of recovering. The other was to have taken the galleon out of an obvious danger of shipwreck. Hence, he spoke to the Governor with a brave resolve, and even if at first he resisted, he afterward accepted because the Pilot was demolishing all his objections, and he then proposed to him to call any meeting that he wished with the seamen, pilots, and residents, and he would see how each one would be convinced, that he would prove to all that their arguments were futile, and mere fears, or to put it another way, they were short of piety and only wished to see the Mariana Mission disappear. Seeing this, the Governor decided, either out of fear, or for a reason known only to him, to order the construction of the sloop.²

The said Pilot came to see me a few days ago, and he feels the same way I do, that is, that the Governor was boxed in, and without any excuse that he could give the King for not sending a vessel to the Marianas, and that he acted more out of fear than love. Furthermore, the Pilot says that he does not want to live in this country any longer than necessary to see those direct voyages to the Marianas established on a regular basis, and that afterwards he wished to return to Spain. What is certain is that he has been the kingpin of this affair; it was he who went out of his way to state plainly his opinion, to offer himself for the voyage, even to propose the voyage in question, and to build

1 Ed. note: Taytay is only a few kilometers to the east of Manila.

2 Ed. note: The sloop in question was built, left for the Marianas in 1681 but was forced back. It finally reached the Marianas only in 1683, under the command of another pilot, Pedro Gomez.

the craft, because he very well knows how bad most of the Manila residents are at this business, but I do not know how badly the Governor took it all.¹

Y.E. must keep all of this confidential, because if the Governor learned that I, etc., he would be extremely annoyed, and could do much harm to the Society.

That member of the Audiencia, Don Francisco de Montemayor y Mansilla, used to have a son of his in Madrid, and I had promised to ask Y.E. to do me a favor [on his behalf] (I do not like to make waves, but I must warn Y.E. to prevent the disadvantages that may result from this) and, since we must rely so much on the members of the Audiencia overhere, I was unable to refuse, either in Mexico or here. However, I learned afterwards that the Society do not owe him anything. So, as far as I am concerned, Y.E. may disregard it; neither is it necessary to pay attention to the letter from Mexico, or the one from here, that I sent to Y.E. on his behalf, concerning his promotion.

I kiss the hand of the Duke,² and of all the Ladies there. May God keep Y.E. for many years, as is my wish and my prayer to Him.

Taytay, 20 June 1680.

Most Excellent Lady,

Your most humble servant who kisses the hands of Y.E.,

Francisco Salgado

1 Ed. note: Lazcano was still in the Philippines 10 years later. He failed in his sole attempt at taking the sloop to the Marianas. In 1686, however, he was in charge of the boat that separated from the galleon Santa Rosa after she grounded on top of Santa Rosa Bank (south of Guam), and he drifted to the Philippines.

2 Ed. note: Prof. Boxer has pointed out that Fr. Salgado was at that time still unaware that the Duke and the Duchess had separated.

Document 1680M

Excerpt from the annual report for the Philippine Province for 1679-1680

Source: RAH 9/2668 Doc. N°66: Noticias desde el Junio pasado de 79 hasta el presente de 80, written by an anonymous Jesuit.

News from last June 1679 until this June 1680

...
Fr. Vallejo stayed in the Ladrones and another one, a Flemish,¹ which is to say that Fr. Besco, the superior there, did not need more subjects.

Quiroga did not join the Society; he remained in the Ladrones as an associate member² pursuing his old functions such as he had near Salamanca.

The vessel for the Ladrones is a sloop which is now being built under the direction of a pilot named Francisco Lucano [i.e. Lazcano], a man of experience, and very fond of the Ladrones; at his arrival at these [Philippine] islands, the involvement of the [other] pilots here was terminated. The said sloop will go out some time during the month of July of the present year.

The Christian community in the Mariana Islands goes increasing every day, as well as the zeal of the missionary Fathers and the valor and Christianity [sic] of the new chief, Don Juan Antonio de Salas; he has already reduced and pacified with weapons the Island of San Juan, which is the main and most populated one. Its natives are so pacified and obedient that they flock with much punctuality, not only to their obligations as Christians, but also to the sustenance [i.e. food] and assistance of the ministers, and soldiers, to the construction of churches, and the promotion of the children's college. With the vessel that they say will leave from here by next month, things will become normal for the Christian community of the other [Mariana] islands.

1 Ed. note: He refers to Fr. Le Roulx, the only other priest who arrived that year.

2 Ed. note: Captain Quiroga was a member of a third order, a Catholic lay organization for special devotions.

Document 1680N

**Letter from Fr. Palavicino to the
Duchess of Aveiro, dated Manila
24 June 1680**

Source: Present location unknown; 3-page ms. offered for sale by Maggs Bros. of London in 1923 (Cat. N° 442, n° 1847).

**Letter from Fr. Giovanni Pallavicino, Provincial of
the Philippines**

The Society of Jesus in the Province of the Philippines, being so greatly indebted to your Grace for your many benefactions, I am constrained, on behalf of the entire Province, to take upon my unworthy shoulders the obligation of rendering due thanks to you, and record with humble and religious appreciation, how deeply your name is engraved upon our hearts, and the memory of you will always remain the principal inspiration to the development of the glorious Missions and Apostolic conquests of the Mariana Islands...

The presence of the enthusiastic ministers who work in the mission there, is due to your vigilance and petitions, whom may God recognize as the principal medium for the work that has been, and is about to be, done for His greater glory, and the propagation of our Holy Faith among those barbarian nations...

In order to supply the religious and the soldiers with the means of sustenance, you obtained the concession of a boat to facilitate trade between these [Philippine] Islands and the Marianas, inducing the authorities to issue Royal Decrees for the execution of those orders. To these excellent works, you added, in 1679, urgent letters addressed to the Governor of these Islands, which ensured the construction of the boat and the same thing was done by the Count of Medellín at your instance. If each of these favors deserves eternal gratitude, how can our inadequate thanks cover the multitude of services you have rendered to God and to our Society? Etc.

Documents 16800

Three letters from Joseph de Veitia Linage, dated Madrid 1680

O1. Letter to the Viceroy, dated 25 June 1680

Source: AGI Fil. 331, libro 7, fol. 310v-311, pp. 644-645.

Note: The writer was the Secretary of the Council of the Indies (born 1620, died 1688). He writes regarding the establishment of a garrison of 100 men in the Marianas. The suggestion had come from the Duchess of Aveiro.

Original text in Spanish.

Excellentissimo Señor

[A] Exmo. Señor Conde de Paredes Marques de la Laguna. Islas Marianas.—

*Desde el año de 1668 que se empeço a plantar la fee en las yslas Marianas (por medio del Padre Diego Luis de San Vitores de la Compania de Jhs que murio martir en ellas) ha sido su Magd. servido despachar repetidas cédulas a los Señores Virreyes antesores de V.E. para que atendiesen y ayudasen de todo lo que fuese menester para el adelantamiento de la mision de dhas Islas que tiene a su cargo la referida religion y especialmente de dar la una **embarcacion** para que los operarios puedan pasar de unas Islas a otras y remitir a ellas **familias** haciendo que el general de la nao de Filipinas toque de buelta en las Marianas para dexar en ellas todo lo que se les remitiere. Haora una persona çelosa ha representado que conviene poner alli presidio de asta cien hombres con los que tiene:*

Y aviendose visto en el Consejo y considerado que segun la estrecheça del tiempo a la partenza de la flota no se podra executar despacho de su Magd y lo mucho que esta materia ymporta, ha tenido por combeniente encargar a V.R. el cumplimiento de las cédulas que acerca de ello estan despachadas las quales hallara V.E. muy presentes en la N^a España, y que para poder tomar resolucion asi en el aumento del presidio se sirva V.E. informar al Consejo an [ha?] llegado a Mexico la infanteria que el presente ay en las Mari[aj]nas y si neselitaren de acreçentamiento la que a V.E. pareciere bastara, con lo demas que se ofreçiere a V.E., cuiã vida guarde Dios muchos años como desseo.

Madrid a 25 de Junio de 1680.

*Exmo. Sr. Marques
Rendido servidor de V.E. que b.s.m.
Don Joseph de Veitia Linage*

Translation.

Most Excellent Sir:

[To] His Excellency the Count of Paredes, Marquis of La Laguna.—Re the Mariana Islands.

Since the year of 1668 when a beginning was made to plant the faith in the Mariana Islands (through Father Diego Luis de San Vitores of the Society of Jesus who died a martyr there), His Majesty has been pleased to despatch numerous decrees to their Lordships the Viceroys, the predecessors of Y.E., to have them pay attention to and assist with everything necessary for the advancement of the mission of said Islands that is in the care of the above-mentioned order, specially the need to give it a **vessel** so that the workers might pass from one island to another, and to send there some **families**, making sure that the general of the Philippine galleon stop at the Marianas on the return voyage to leave there everything that might be sent to them. Now, a zealous person has made representations to the effect that it is proper to place there a garrison of up to 100 men, that being how many there are:

And this matter having been seen in the Council, and considering that, given the shortage of time before the departure of the fleet, no decree could be issued by His Majesty, but the great importance of this matter, it has decided to entrust Y.E. with the accomplishment of the decrees that have been despatched about it, copies of which Y.E. is sure to find in New Spain, and that, in order to make a decision about the increase [in strength] of the garrison, Y.E. should inform as soon as this gets to Mexico on the infantry that exists presently in the Marianas and if it needs to be increased in Y.E.'s opinion, and if so, by how much, as well as on anything else that Y.E. may wish to report on. God save the life of Y.E. for many years, as I wish.

Madrid, 25 June 1680.

Most Excellent Marquis, Sir.

Y.E.'s humble servant, who kisses your hand,
Don José de Veitia Linage

O2. Letter to the Duke of Medinaceli, dated 15 July 1680

Source: Phil. mss. II series, Lilly Library, Indiana University.

Note: The full name of this Duke was Juan Francisco Tomás de la Cerda Enriquez Afán de Ribera y Portocarrero, 8th Duke of Medinaceli. He was President of the Council of the Indies, until 1687, although he was replaced by a Governor, while he devoted his full time to the office of Prime Minister.

Most Excellent Sir:

Sir, my Lady the Duchess of Aveiro among other things touching the Mariana Islands, informed Y.E. that Don Juan de Vargas was not fit to govern the Philippines, that the Council resolved in December 1679 to request reports (as was done afterward) from the Archbishop of Manila and from the three bishops overthere. Now Fray Alonso Sandín of the Order of St. Dominic, who resides at this court as Procurator General of the said islands for his Order, has casually given me some news that he has received by way of [Batavia and] Holland from Fray Felipe Pardo, of the same Order and Archbishop of Manila, and from his Provincial, written in that city on 14 January 1679, in which they make it known the good relations between the said Governor and the Archbishop. He agreed to provide me with a copy of the relevant chapters from the letters, which he gave me with his signature confirming them as exact copies. The letter from the Provincial says, among other things, the following:

“He is a person who from all appearances fills the post, and we give thanks to God for his providence in these islands. He has shown himself to be a very pious man and very courteous, with a great respect for the ecclesiastical condition, and he shows an impartial liking toward us. May our Lord grant that these islands prosper and preserve in him the good intentions that he arrived with.”

From the above, it seemed to me I should give an account to Y.E. so that Y.E. will rejoice that the Philippines have a good government. I have shared the same news with the Council as it corresponds to the trust that his Majesty has placed in Juan de Vargas.

May God keep Y.E. as many years as I wish and is necessary.

Madrid, 15 July 1680.

[To] His Excellency the Duke of Medinaceli.

[From] Joseph de Veytia Linage

O3. Letter to the Duke of Medinaceli, dated 2 September 1680

Source: A manuscript also among Phil. mss. II, Lilly Library, Indiana University.

Most Excellent Sir:

Sir, with the mail from Flanders I received yesterday three letters from the Philippines, two from the Governor of the Philippines, Juan de Vargas Hurtado, and the other from the Auditor Diego Antonio de Vega, dated 30 December 1678,¹ and 16 January 1679 respectively, in which he gives an account of his arrival at those islands, and the Governor, in accordance with the order given to him in the decree of 1 July 1677, regarding the assistance he should give to the development of the Mariana Island mission, says that when he passed by them he stopped at that of San Juan [Guam] and

1 Ed. note: See Doc. 1679H1.

appointed a Governor and military chief, left instructions for their administration, formed a company of 24 men that he left as a relief and that he discussed the port that would be fitting for the boat [i.e. sloop] that his Majesty has ordered to be built so that the missionaries can go from one island to another, and he discovered a cove that would serve the purpose¹ (if no better one can be found), although there would be some risk [of exposure] during the winter, and that once he had discussed the matter with various persons in the city of Manila, they came up with many doubts that the said boat could achieve a voyage to the Marianas on account of the great expense, and the risk of the rough seas; for these reasons, he has been obliged to give up [the idea of] building the boat, until he can check out these and other opinions. Meanwhile, he [says that he] would order the generals [of the galleons] that make the voyage to New Spain to come to the relief of the missionaries with as much as they might need, and with soldiers, and that he would send the necessary Pampango [soldiers] by the first [galleon].²

Because of the concern that Y.E. shows in what touches the Marianas, I give this account to Y.E. With respect to the vessel, it has also been foreseen for New Spain, so that the Viceroy will order that the members of the Society of Jesus be assisted with what is necessary in order to have it built properly. Thus, if that of the Philippines should have no effect, I consider that that of New Spain will not be left undone.

May God keep Y.E. the many years that I wish and are necessary.

Madrid, 2 September 1680.

Most Excellent Sir,

One who kisses the feet of Y.E.,

Joseph de Veitia Linage

[To] His Excellency the Duke of Medinaceli.

1 Ed. note: He means Umatac Bay.

2 Ed. note: He did so, and they arrived at Guam on the 1680 galleon.

Documents 1680P

Letters from Fr. Kino to the Duchess of Aveiro in 1680

P1. Letter from Fr. Eusebio Francisco Kino, dated Cádiz 18 August 1680

Sources: 1) Ms. now in the Huntington Library, San Marino, California, as ms. #HM9996; offered for sale at 250 pounds by Maggs Bros. of London in 1922 (Cat. N° 432, pp. 1-2), where the first page is reproduced in facsimile). 2) Published as Letter I in Fr. Burrus' book: Kino Escribe a la Duquesa (Madrid, 1964), pp. 79-84.

Notes: The original of this letter is in Italian (the only one in Italian that Fr. Kino wrote to the Duchess). Fr. Kino [his original German name was Kühn] was born at Segno, near Trento in northern Italy, in 1645. He studied in Hall, near Innsbruck, Austria, and joined the Jesuit order at Landsberg, near Augsburg in Bavaria, in 1665. He left Germany in 1678 to go to the missions. He spent two years waiting at the Jesuit College of San Hermenegildo in Seville. He later became a pioneer missionary in Lower California and Arizona.

Original text in Italian.

Eccelma. Signora mia Colma.

Pax Christi JESU

Il Padre Teofilo de Angelis arivando da Salamanca à Sevilla dopo di esser passato per Madrito, et haver parlato con V. Eccza. mi fece partecipe di quelle Sante, et Apostoliche Imprese, et celesti desiderij di V. Eccza. di procurare che si scoprisserò le Incognite Terre Australi, per poter inviare à quelle genti la luce de la Fede Evangelica. Mi disse ancora il Padre Teofilo che haveva fatto mencione di me, desiderandomi per compagno suo di questa nuova impresa e viaggio, consiliandomi che di ciò scrivessi io istesso, et V. Eccza. et al R.P. Generale nostro, con far offerta di me stesso à tal Missione. Et abenque il P. Teofilo fece di me mencione nele lettere che scrisse a V. Eccza. et nele lettere che scrisse al R.P. Generale, io però di tutto questo solamente scrissi à Roma con indifferenza che mi pareva necessaria per un P. Missionante già assegnato alle sue Missioni. Adesso che il P. Teophilo è passato alle Indie senza poter intendere la dispositione del R.P. Generale circa la sua persona, ò circa di me in quello che toca al inviarà alla Terra Australe, vengo con queste poche righe a bacciare le mani à Sua Eccza. per

vedere ancora se forse Nostro Signore nolesse che io portassi al P. Teofilo qualche buone Nuove circa la sua et mia Dispositione di Passare à scoprire Terre Incognite Australi.

*Avanti però scrivo la causa per la quale io con undeci altri Missionarij siamo restati qua nel' Europa mentre undeci altri, et tra quelli il P. Theofilo, passarono alle Indie nella Flota. Dopo che sedeci Missionarij quasi tutti d'Alemania restassimo due anni in Sevilla, quelli li quali con l'istesso P. Teofilo avanti due anni arivassimo qua à Cadice da Genua dopo la parteza della flota, si imbarcassimo alli dicei del mese passato nel Vattelo o Navio del **Nazareno**, per passare alle Indie in questa Flota. Nel uscire del Porto restò il vattelo nostro tra gli scoglij vicini al Diamante con evidentissimo pericolo di fondarsi con tutto quello che portava. Però per favore di sua Divina Ma[i]està, et intercessione di S. Francisco SAVERIO si quietò il mare, et ritornassimo sani e salvi alla città, et al Collegio nostro circa le alto della sera.*

Il nostro R.P. Procuratore delle Indie, andò dimandando per molte hore di quella note della speranza che potevamo havere di ritornare à imbarcarci, però quando intese che non ci poteva piú servire quel vattelo, se no dopo alcune settimane, retornò al Collegio, et alle due della note ci fece svegliare per andar à imbarcarsi neli altri vattelli della Flotta, alla quale arivassimo circa le sette della mattina seguente; eramo quasi tutti senza mantello, capello, et Breviario come eravano usciti del vattelo naufragante detto il Nazareno, et dipoi di moltissimi preghere et suppliche non ricevetero neli vatteli della Flotta piú che undeci Padri Missionarij; li altri dodeci, et tra questi, tre Novicij, fussimo sforzati ritornare à Cadice, et al Collegio, al qual arivassimo alle dodeci del giorno.

Al principio ci facevano speranza che presto, si haveva da ridiere il vattelo à dal segno che in pochi giorni potessimo in quello proseguire il viaggio de la Flota, però in darno furono queste speranze; et eccetuati il P. Tomaso Revell, et io che restiamo per Operarij di questo Collegio di Cadice, li altri Padri Missionarij, et il Padre Procuratore si ritornarono à Sevilla. Et abenche tre giorni sono che hano finito di reparare il Vattelo detto il Nazareno, si giudica però che fara il suo viaggio alle Indie con li Galleoni, per arivare al Nuovo Regno, et senza che ci giovi la sua partenza; mentre noi habbiamo d'andare al Porto di Vera Croce. Altre speranze di poter pssar alle Indie in pochi mesi senza haver de aspettare due altri anni di partenza di Flota, ci pongono alcuni neli vatteli di Barlovento ò Armadilla; altri, nele navi de Honduras. Il riceveremo delle mani, et dalla Celeste Dispositione di sua Divina Maiestà.

Se V. Eccza. ci puo dare qualche avito, consiglio, informatione, o raguaglio di qualche occasione d'imbarcatione per la Nuova Spagna, la supplico humilissimamente non tralasciare di darci qualche aviso, et questa consolacione. L'errore che io forse he commesso non scrivendo avanti d'adesso à V. Eccza. come la desiderava il P. Theofilo, m'afaticarò d'emendarlo quanto posso. Se V. Eccza. forse gia avesse scritto à Roma per le lettere del Padre Theofilo mi sara sempre di gran consolacione l'udire, et riverire [ricevere?] ogni qualunq parere et dispositione del R.P. Generale Nostro, per potere ancora con la prima occasione che mi venga dar parte di questo al P. Teofilo.

In tre ò quatro settimane aspettiamo quà da Sevilla la Nostra Missione del Paraguai che è di 50 è piú persone della Compagnia, et partirà di qua en los Navios de Buenos

Aires, del Porto di S. MARIA vicino qua à Cadice, che le settimane passate si ha tenuto per apesto, si dice che già ha publicato la salute è sanutà, pero non per questo hano comercio li Signori di Cadice con quelli del Porto di S. M^a.

Per fine mi recomando infinitissime molte nele Sante orazioni di V. Eccelza. et con riverirla humillissimamente, gli bromo dal Cielo ogni desiderable felicità, et prosperità, con la quale suole arichire li sui Amici la Infinita Bontà, et Maj]està di N^o Signore. Restando di Cadice, li 18 d'Agosto 1680.

Di V. Eccelza.

Devotissimo et Affectissimo Servo in Christo,

Eusebio Francesco Quino della Comp^a di Giesú Missionario delle Indie.

[Address:] *A la Exma. Señora mi Señora la Duquesa de Avero, y Arcos que N.S. G]uarde] muchos años.—M. real. Madrid.*

Translation in Maggs Catalog.

[Most Excellent Madam:]

[Peace of Christ JESUS]

Father Theófilo de los Angelis¹ on arrival at Seville from Salamanca after having passed through Madrid and spoken with your Grace, has informed me of the sacred and apostolic undertakings, and the spiritual desires of your Grace in trying to arrange for **discovery of the Unknown Land of Australia** and the handing on, to these people, of the Light of the Evangelical Faith.

He tells me now, does Father Theofilo, that mention was made of me as a desirable companion for him in this new venture and voyage, advising me to write to him and your Grace, and to the Rev. Father, our Commander [rather General], offering my services for this Mission. And since Father Theofilo has made mention of me in his letters to your Grace and in the letters he wrote to the General, I therefore merely wrote to Rome (with reference to all this) with the indifference which seems to me appropriate to a Missionary Father already assigned to his own Mission.

Now that Father Theofilo has sailed for the Indies without having ascertained the General's attitude towards him or towards me in all that concerns the Expedition for the land of Australia, I approach you to see again if perhaps Our Lord wills that I should bear Father Theofilo any good news concerning your and my inclination to undertake **the discovery of Unknown Lands in Australia.**

1 Ed. note: Fr. de Angelis, alias Piccolomini, was born in Sienna, Italy, in 1651. He arrived at Guam in 1681 and was killed in the 1684 rebellion there. Knowing that the Mariana Mission was under the protection of the Duchess, Fr. de Angelis advised Fr. Kino, aliases Chino and Kühn, to seek her protection for his future missionary endeavors. Both Jesuits had travelled together from Genoa to Cádiz. Fr. de Angelis' own intention had been to go to the discovery of the islands to the south of the Marianas. Fr. Kino ended up in California, and Fr. Cerezo replaced him.

Beforehand, therefore, I write the reason why I, with 11 other Missionaries, are remaining here in Europe while 11 others, among whom was Father Theofilo, have sailed for the Indies with the Fleet.

After 16 Missionaries had been living for 2 years in Seville, where the same (with Father Theofilo himself) had arrived 2 years previously here at Cadiz from Genoa, after the departure of the Fleet, we embarked on the 10th of last month on the vessel [named] **Nazareno** in order to proceed to the Indies with the Fleet.¹ At the entrance to the Port our vessel was caught among the rocks adjacent to "El Diamante"² in very evident peril of sinking with all on board; whereupon, by the grace of God and the intercession of St. Francis Xavier, the sea became calm and we returned safe and sound to the city and to our College towards the evening. Our Proc[ura]tor of the Indies proceeded to ask throughout that night what hope we had of returning on board; whereupon, when he learned that the vessel would not be seaworthy for some weeks, he returned to the College; and at 2 o'clock that night he roused us to go and embark on the other vessels of the Fleet, which we reached at about 7 the following morning. We were nearly all without cloaks, caps or breviaries, as we had been on leaving the shipwrecked vessel **Nazareno**; but in spite of many prayers and supplications, they would not receive on board any of the vessels more than 11 missionaries; the others, among whom were the writer and 3 novices, were obliged to return to Cadiz and to the College.

At first they held out hope that soon, if the vessel were brought up to the required standard, we might proceed in it on our voyage with the Fleet, but all these hopes proved futile, and eventually Father Thomas Revell and I remained to do the work of this College at Cadiz; the other Missionaries, and the Proc[ura]tor, returned to Seville. And as it is three days since the completion of repairs to the vessel **Nazareno** it is thought that it will make the journey to the Indies with the galleons, to reach the New Kingdom, without our benefiting by its departure, while we propose to set out for Vera Cruz.

If your Grace can give us any help, advice, or information regarding any embarkation for New Spain, I humbly petition you not to omit to notify us.

The mistakes which I have perforce committed (not having waited upon your Grace before, as Father Teofilo desired) I despair of correcting as I would wish. If perchance your Grace has already written to Rome for the letters from Father Teofilo it will be a great comfort to me to hear of it; and I will respect every opinion whatsoever of our General, so that I may at the first opportunity inform Fr. Teofilo as to this.³

[Within 3 to 4 weeks we expect from Seville our Mission to Paraguay that consists of 50 or more individuals from our Society, and it will leave aboard the ships bound for Buenos Aires from the Port of Santa MARIA next to that of Cadiz, which had been made ready these past few weeks; already they have said their goodbyes and passed the

1 Ed. note: Bound for Veracruz, New Spain.

2 Ed. note: A rock in the bay of Cádiz.

3 Ed. note: The rest was not translated in the Maggs Catalog.

health inspection, but that does not prevent the gentlemen of Cadiz from carrying on their business with that port of Santa Maria.]

[In conclusion, I once again recommend myself to your Grace's holy prayers and in turn I most humbly beg Heaven to surround you with all the happiness and prosperity that you wish. May the Divine Kindness and Majesty of our Lord impart the same to your friends.]

[From Cádiz, 18 August 1680.]

[I remain, Your Excellency's most devoted and faithful servant in Christ,]

[Eusebio Francisco Quino, S.J., missionary of the Indies.]

[Address: To the Most Excellent Lady, my Lady, the Duchess of Aveiro and Arcos, whom Our Lord may save for many years to come. Royal Household, Madrid.]

P2. Letter dated Cádiz 15 September 1680

Sources: 1) Original ms. in Huntington Library, #HM 9980; also sold by Maggs in whose catalogue, p. 3, an extract in English is given; 2) Letter II in Fr. Burrus' book, pp. 85-91.

Note: The original letter is written partly in Spanish, partly in German, and partly in Latin.

Original text.

Pax Christi JESU &c.

*Los dias passados recibí tres cartas de su Excelenza. Agradescole infinitas beces las muy grandes mercedes, que en ellas me haze, a mi a mis Padres Compañeros Misioneros de las Indias, **denen ich den ser schenen grues so isnen ir Durchlaucht haffen sagen lassen, auf das fleisigiste ausgerichtet hab. Alle befelen sich deroselben mit höchster, un demütigister danch sagung.***

Todos, gracias à Dios, nos hallamos con buena salud, el solo Padre Pablo Klein, uno de los quatro Padres Alemanos, que viven en Sevilla huvo menester de sangria los dias passados. Espero en la bondad de Dios que presto gozará de su complida salud, y podrá con nosotros alegrarse de las buenas esperanzas que nos hazen de haver todavía con el favor de Dios de proseguir nuestro viage aun este año, por Nueva España, ò en los Navios de Honduras, ò en el Navio de Aviso, que va derechamente a la Vera Cruz, ò en los Navios de Barlovento, como con particular consuelo mio destos me escribe su Excelenza.

*Hagase lo que sarà à maior gloria de su Divina Majestad, segun su Santissima voluntad, pues mejor siempre sabe aquella Eterna y Infinita Sabiduria lo que mas conviene para todos los casos que se pueden encontrar à sus criaturas, y sin aquella disposition **Capillus de Capite nostro non peribit.** No sè de mi parte podía recibir maior alivio de quanto hasta ahora muchas y diferentes veces me sucedió en España y otras partes, que la palabras de la gran madre, y Maestra del Amor Divino S. Theresa quando dice de la Esperanza, que quanto espera tanto alcanza. Assi nos animava el Espiritu Santo promitiendonos: **Omnis terra qua calcaverit pes vester (leen otros "spes vestra", scilicet speraverit,) vestra erit.***

Ni puede ser menos esperar y alcanzar, que alcanzar lo que despues no se puede esperar. Alegrome muchíssimo de las nuevas que su Excelenza ha tenido por Holanda de Marianas; ni pareceme podra ser que nuestro Señor desampare aquella Christiandad, ya sembrada con la preciosa sangre de los Martyres. Y aunque parecera à algunos non pueda mantenerse aquella Christiandad entre tantos peligros, mejor será nos acuerdemos, que todas las Iglesias, Provincias y Reinos, que se convirtieron a la Luz Evangelica y Christiana al principio tuvieron sus dificultades, Cruces y adversidades; ni se espantan desto los que saven que: oportuit Christum pati, et ita intrare in Regnum.

Confio tambien en su Divina Bondad, y en los favores, que siempre haze y hará a los suyos el Gran Cherubino S. Francisco Xavier, que no será menester por falta de Misioneros de la Compañia se busquen, y enbien otros. En Alemania tienen los nuestros grandissima estimacion de las Misiones de las Islas Marianas, con no menor deseo de ser enbiados a la Conversion de aquellas gentes; mas que doscientos pretendientes tiene la Provincia de Alemania la Alta. Nuestro Señor no dexará de oyr tan fervorosos deseos de muchos, que verdaderamente mas desean padecer y trabaxar mucho por su Redemptor y para la salud destes Indianos, que luego ahora de gozar de la bienaventuranza en el cielo con los Angeles.

*Todos los Padres misioneros que, los dos años passados vivimos en Sevilla, huvieramos tenido por dicha particular, que los Superiores nos huvieran enbiado a las Marianas, y la sola obediencia que **est melior quam victimæ**, nos podía mitigar este desconsuelo, que algunos teniamos de Roma nuestra disposition por [=para] la Nueva España; y esta disposition para mi fue y será causa que no me atreva pedir passar à otras partes, si no lo mandan ò disponen los Superiores. Aunque nunca me faltaron los deseos y animo; habiendo yò con essa intencion estudiado Mathematicas por emplearlas se [=si] Dios N.S. queria en las Indias Orientales. **Quo omnia una ad operibus Christi JESU, et meritis ipsius, ac omnium Sanctorum in Holocaustu obtuli Divina, et semper Admiranda Bonitati.***

Con esto estimo muchíssimo y agradezco infinito el particularissimo favor que Su Excelenza me haze en la segunda suya, con la promission de tan buena Assistentia suya por mi embarcacion de Lisbon para la China. Se [=si], por ventura, las cartas que el Padre Theophilo, antes de partirse de Europa escrivio à Roma alcanzaran, que io pueda ser Compañero suyo en busca del descubrimiento de la Tierra Austral cercana a las Islas Marianas, seràme esto uno de los maiores consuelos que tuve en mi vida, pero que no lo pida io sino que lo ordenen los Superiores.

*El divino Amor llene el alma y corazón de su Excelenza y la aumente con sus Celestes dones, que tanto procura la Conversion de sus Marianas y otros orbes cognitos y incognitos: **Confirmet DEUS quæ operatus est, pues teste M. Dionysio Areopagita Divinissimorum Divinissimus est. Ad DEI gloriam salutem proximi procurare.***

Los quatro dias passados han venidos dos Navios de Honduras, y traen malas Nuevas, de que los Franceses, y Ingleses, y otros piratas saquearon à Puerto Belo, y sitiaron à Panama, y que quieren passar asta à Lima, tambien traen que entre Panama y

Cartagena se descubrieron ricas minas de oro muy fino. Y otros tres dias han venido tres Navios de Bisgaia [sic], que dicen saran Navios de Barlovento ò Armadilla. Anteayer huyose de suo [sic] Convento dos meses despues de la Profession Religiosa un Fraile de S. Augustin, dudase si oy non se partiò de aqua [=aqui] en uno de los dos Navios Ingleses, que salieron desta Bahía. El Puerto de S. M^a gracias à Dios esta con muy buena salud, como refieron los deputados que le visitaron los dos dias passados.

Estamos aguardando los 60 Missioneros del Paraguay, que vienen de Sevilla por partir de Europa en los Navios de Buenos Ayres de à qui à pocos dias como parece, aunque algunos dicen, que primero [h]an da passar unas semanas.

*Supplico a su Excelenza embiar al Padre Tyrso [González] la otra carta, y me perdone de la llaneza con que embiò a su Excelenza la vitelita de aquel hombre que tanto procura **ut portetur eoram gentibus**.*

Y con ello, encomiendome [con m]uchas veras en sus muy santas oraciones, y muy piadosas obras.

Dios guarde a su Excelenza muchos años [en muchi]ssima felicidad, como le suplico y deseo.

Cádiz y setiembre 15 de 1680.

Muy siervo de su Exc.

Eus. Fr. Quino.

Translation, partly from the Maggs Catalog, partly by Fr. Burrus.

[Peace of Christ Jesus, etc.]

In the last few days I received three letters from Your Excellency and thank you infinitely for the great favors that you have shown in them to me, and to my companion missionary Fathers for the Indies [rest of this paragraph was in German:] in whom I was glad to convey most diligently the greetings Your Serene Highness had charged me with. They all commend themselves to you, saying their deepest and most humble thanks.

Thanks to God, we are all in good health, with the exception of Father Paul Klein,¹ one of the four German Fathers who lived in Seville; he had to be bled a few days ago. I await from God's goodness good hopes that we have of being able to continue our voyage this year still to New Spain, either in the ships for Honduras or in the advice boat which sails directly to Vera Cruz, or in the ships that are destined for the Leeward Islands as Your Excellency was kind enough to advise me.

...

[I was very pleased to hear that Your Excellency has received news from the Marianas by way of Holland,² and it seems to me impossible that Our Lord can abandon that

1 Ed. note: Sometimes written Clain. He was born in Eger (Cheb), Bohemia, in 1652. He arrived in the Philippines in 1682, and died there in 1717.

2 Ed. note: This letter would have been carried from Guam to Manila and then to Batavia where it was sent to Holland and forwarded to Spain via Ostend.

Christian land, now that it has been watered with the precious blood of martyrs. And, although it may appear to some that such a Christian community cannot maintain itself amid so many dangers, it would be better if we remembered that all the churches, provinces and kingdoms that were converted to the Evangelical and Christian light did have their difficulties, crosses and adversities at first; this is no surprise to those who know that *oportuit Christum pati et ita intrare in regnum.*¹

I also trust in his divine kindness and in the favors that the great cherubim St. Francis Xavier always make and will make to his own people that it will not be necessary, for lack of missionaries from our Society, to look for and send others. In Germany, our people have a very great esteem of the Mariana Island Missions, and wish no less than be sent to convert those peoples; the Province of Upper Germany has no fewer than 200 volunteers. Our Lord will not fail to hear such zealous desires from so many, who truly wish to suffer and work more for their Redeptor and for the salvation of these Indians, who will then enjoy the good afterlife with the angels in Heaven.]

All of us Missionary Fathers who have been living in Seville for the past two years would have looked upon it as a stroke of particularly good fortune had our Superiors sent us to the Marianas, and solely the obedience which *est melior quam victimæ*² could mitigate our disappointment that some of us were ordered from Rome for service in New Spain; and, for me, this dispensation was—and will be—my reason for not requesting to be sent to other parts, if it is not so ordered by the Superiors; although I have never lacked the desire and courage, having (with this object in view) studied mathematics for the purpose of turning my knowledge to account, if God so willed, in the East Indies...

If by any chance the letters, which Father Teofilo [de Angelis] wrote before leaving Europe, should reach Rome, asking that I might accompany him on his voyage of discovery to Australia (near the Mariana Islands) it would be one of the greatest comforts I have ever known in my life (but of course I would not ask it myself, if it is not so ordered by the Superiors).

May the Divine Love fill Your Excellency's heart and soul and bless you for your endeavors to procure the conversions in the Marianas and other lands, known and unknown...

During the last 4 days the ships have arrived from Honduras and they bring bad news that the French and English and other pirates have sacked Porto Bello and besieged Panama, and that they wish to proceed to Lima. They also report that between Panama and Cartagena some rich gold mines have been discovered; and within the last 3 days 3 ships have put in from Biscay, which, they say, are ships from the Leeward Islands, or the small Armada. The day before yesterday, an Augustinian Friar escaped

1 Ed. note: Quote from Luke XXIV, 26: "Christ had to suffer in order to enter the Kingdom."

2 Ed. note: Latin phrase taken from the "Letter about obedience" written by St. Ignatius of Loyola, and meaning: "[To obey willingly] is better than being led to slaughter."

from his Monastery 2 months after his admission to Holy Orders, and they wonder whether he has sailed from here aboard one of the English ships which left this Bay.

We are awaiting 60 Missionaries for Paraguay who arrive from Seville to sail from Europe in the Buenos Aires ships—in a few days, apparently, although there are some who say that a few weeks must elapse.

[I beg Your Excellency to forward the other letter to Fr. Tirso [Gonzalez in Salamanca], and please forgive the boldness with which I send to Your Excellency the small biography of that man, who tries so hard *ut portetur eoram gentibus.*]¹

[With this, commending myself with much earnestness to your most saintly prayers and very pious works.]

[May God keep Your Excellency for many years, as I pray Him to bring you the greatest of happiness, and such is my wish.]

[Cádiz, 15 September 1680.]

[Your Excellency's humble servant,]

[Eusebio Francisco Quino.]

P3. Letter dated Cádiz 16 November 1680

Sources: 1) Original ms., in Latin (except for the postscript in Spanish), in the Huntington Library, #HM 9985, sold by Maggs Bros. for 215 pounds sterling, and partially published in their 1922 catalog, p. 4; 2) a full Spanish translation appears in Fr. Burrus, op. cit., pp. 94, 105-115.

Original text in Latin.

Excellentissima Domina,

Pax Christi JESU, quæ exsuperat omnem sensum.

Jam ante octiduum accepi humanissimas, et gratissimas S. Excitæ., sed quia tunc versabar in octiduanis S.P. Nostri Exercitijs Spiritualibus, usque nunc distuli eas legere, et pro illis gratias agere, quas proinde nunc ago modo, quo possum optimo; præsertim pro illo Apostolico, Materno, et plusquam Paterno zelo salutis proximi, ac Christi JESU sanguine Redemptorum Animarum, quo me, licet imeritum, et plures alios in magnas Chinæ, et orientis messes promovere desideravit, et desiderat Sua Excitæ. Ad me quod attinet, fateor me à primis ætatis meæ annis, præsertim verò post lectam vitam et Martyrium R.P. Caroli Spinola, magnis semper desiderijs exarsisse transeundi in Indias Orientales, quem in finem mathematicis scientijs me non rarò impendebam; sed si DEO ter Optmo. Maymo. aliter visum fueris, fiat; fiat et in tempore, et in æternitate ejus sacratissima Voluntas, quæ sola est omnis sanctificatio nostra, et omnis felicitas omnis Creaturæ, et semper est optima, ac intenta in fines optimos, et sublimissimos, esto [sic] ij sint nobis grandos oculi; sed videbimus eos postea tempore præfinito.

Circa modicum fervorem zelum, et affectum erga Missiones et Marianarum Insularum, et aliarum Regionum non in jusse conqueritur Sua Excitæ. ut præsertim circa

1 Ed. note: Quote from the Bible (Acts IX, 15): "in order to bring [the good news] to all the nations."

illam Persona, quam in suis S. Excia. nominat, heu nimium verificet, ullus: justas habet ira quærelas. Verum placebit Altissimo forte brevi ferventiorum alium eidem substituere in Officio tanti in Soctem. nostram momenti: illud quoque soletur spes nostras fore ut brevi P. Theophilus de Angelis, P. Carolus Calvanesius, et nonnulli Patres Germani qui nunc in Philippinas, et Marianas pergunt, suo ardore singulari, et Divina et Spitante Gratia compensatori, et emendaturi sint, ea quæ aliquem corporem neglecta videntur Felicissimos istos Patres in Orientalem Ecclesiam Pergentes si non possumus sequi corpore, sequamur, ac comitemur mente, et continuis precibus ad DEUM fuis frequentissimè, et ferventissimè expetamus successus optimos ipsis et omnibus, qui eisdem secutum sunt, et cunctis, qui in toto Oriente et Terra Australi incognita ad salutifera Christi JESU Fide convertendi sunt.

Novis Pientissimum Numen, quam avidè jam ante decem anos Româ, et aliunde petierim, et rogaverim, ut impetrarem Grammaticam Lusitanicam, ex qua posse Linguam Lusitanica, vel saltem præcipua ejusdem principia jam in Germania addisere, quò possem suo tempore, si DEO, et Superioribus visum fuisset, ex Cham [sic] Lusitania M. mei Cherubini S. Francisci XAVERIJ, et tot aliorum ejus sequacium iter in Orientales Indias inire; Verum Fiat, Fiat, Fiat Voluntas Altissimi, quæ sola suplet et compensat omnia miris, sed veris modis; ut optimè novit, fervore maximo.

In literis, quas ante quatuordecim Româ recenter accepi confirmat Adm[odum] R.P. Generalis noster, et R.P. Assistens Germania P. Carolus de Noyelle Potestatem nobis factam pergendi vel in Paraquariam vel in Novum Regnum, sed postquam elapsa est occasio pergendi in Paraquariam, ut neque in Novum Regnum tendere possimus, aut debeamus, officit Navis de Aviso, quæ una cum Galeonibus solvet ex Europa ac nos DEO dante ad Portum Veræ Crucis deportabit; prout de hac sua mente nos mittendi tam jam nos monuit noster R.P. Procurator Indiarum, qui cupit, ut Patres, qui in Philippinas ac Marianas destinati sunt reliquos qui in Flota in Mexicum præcesserunt, assequantur, ut adhuc cum illis possint in Aquapulco Navim in Philippinas tendentem conscendere.

In his ipsis literas Româ missis accepi R.P. Antonium Maldonadum Procuratorem Novi Regni obtinuisse nunc recentissimè dicos P.P. Missionarios Patre Casparum Beiksi, et P. Christophorum Riedl; ex eadem Germaniæ Superioris Provincia ex qua ego Missus sum; utrumque Patrem Missionarium, cum aliquibus alijs Patribus, quos hic in Hispania obtinebit secum in Novum Regnum proximè in Galeonibus Deo volente deducet.

Hæc Societatis Provincia Germania Superioris habet Personas 800 et aliquot. Collegia circiter 30 comuniter Candidatos Societatis, seu Pretendentes et cupientes suscipi in Societate habet fere singulis annis [sic] 400 Studiosos seu Scholasticos sæculares, ex quibus ordinariè quot annis Novicij 15 aut 18 seligunt pro Tyroanio Societatis nostræ. Item numerat hæc Provincia nunc et ordinariè ultra ducentos Candidatos seu Prætendentes Missionum Indicarum, qui omnes avidissime desiderant, et expetunt pro occasione, qua Superioribus visum fuerit ad Indicos sudores, et messes animarum transmitti. Complectitur hæc Societatis Provincia Bavariam, Tyrolim, Hel-

vetiam, Sueviam, et Palatinatum, nihilominus plures adhuc Societatis personas numerat Provincia Austriaca, quamvis hæc duæ multis personis hoc, et præcedenti anno, privatae sint, due quamplurimi nostri. Pestiferi magna caritate inservierunt. Certius tamen est, nec utramque harum duam Provinciam simul sumptarum numerare tot Indicarum Missionum Candidatos, quot numerat nostra Provincia Germaniæ Superioris; in qua (testis est mihi ille qui novit omnia, quod non mentior) optime instruunt nostri pro Missionibus Indicis; quia in ea valde viget Sancta Disciplina Societatis, et Sanctum ejusdem Institutum. Plerique præsertim ij, qui expetunt Missiones Indicas. Sunt viri vere Amatores Crucis Christi, et laborum pro ejus gloria, et animarum salute subeundorum, qui non quærunt multas comoditates corporales, seu temporales in victu, vestibu, aut habitacione, qui norint libenter perferre frigora et calores, famem, et sitim, aliosque difficultates, quæ quandoque inter Indicas Peregrinaciones occurrere consueverunt, parere asueti, et Christum, et hunc Crucifixum non tam verbis, quam vita ipsa et moribus, ac charitate non ficta prædicare docti. Utinam me ego optimorum Magistrorum Discipulum dociliorem, et meliorem exhibuisse.

Ante duos annos missi fuimus duo ex hæc Provincia Germaniæ Superioris; Pater Antonius Cereso (alias Kerschpamer) et ego, ex Tyroli ambo Tyrolis autem spectat ad Imperatore, et mandatum erat a Regna Catholica Majestate, et a R.P. Nostro Generali ut Missionarij Germani essemus omnes vel ex Provincijs Cæsaris, vel ex partibus, seu regionibus ad Domum Austriacam pertinentibus. Litera autem P. Nostri Generalis ad R.P. Provinciam Germaniæ Superioris de nobis ad Indos mittendis in hunc sentum scriptæ erant: **R. Vostra Genuam mittat P. Antonium Kerschpamer (nunc Cereso) et P. Eusebium Chinum, unum in Mexicum, alterum in Philippinas, destinandum, prout R. Vostræ visum fueris, vel illis præplacuerit; et sibi elegerint.** Itaque R.P. Provincialis P. Antonio et mihi liberum reliquit ut nobis seligeremus Missionem Mexicanam, vel Philippinam, seu Marianam. Et quamvis ego, proter spem transeundi ex Philippinis in Chinam magnum, tunc ut et multis annis ante senterim desiderium petendi, ut ego pro Philippinis assignarer, et P. Antonius pro Mexico muderem, nihilominus dixi P. Antonio, ut sibi seligeret alterutram Missionem, ille vero petebat ut ego præligerem; et dum in pia contencione versamur; occurrit nobis Religiosam litem sortibus divinere. Scriptæ ergo sunt schedæ duæ, in una scriptum **Mexicum** in altera, **Philippinæ**; dumque sertes(?) frataremus, P. Antonio Philippinæ, Mexico mihi Relicto, obtigere. Mihi primò res ardua videbatum abrupta spes impendendi meam mathesim in Chinis; sed brævi post fusæ ad DEUM preces, et re commendata M. Meo Cherubino S. Francisco XAVERIJ, S. Patri IGNATIO, et Pientissimæ DEI parenti Matri ter Admirabili MARIÆ tranquillitatem animo atulerunt. Atque ex illo sortigelio, seu potius ex dispositione Admirandæ illius Dexteræ cujus nutu sortes nostræ temperantur, adhuc pendet, ut potius P. Antonius quam ego in Orientem mitatum. Rem DEO commendam, ac adhuc commendo, et si in navigacione, quam ex Europa usque Mexicum habegimus, P. Antonius ægretaret, et ego sanus ac firma valetudini perseverare; prout ille hactenus in itinere nostri maritimo; et navigacionibus majorem difficultatem possus est, quam ego, peterem, cum debita indiferencia tamen, à

Superioribus Mexicanis ut ego loco P. Antonij possem in Orientem navigare; dum interea P. Antonius convalesceret Mexici, et mei loco in Provincia Mexicana Missionibus remanerat. Verum tamen Fiat, Fiat, Fiat Voluntas Altissimi. Etiam si in Mexico sim permansurus non propterea desinam si DEUS vita, et gratiam dederit, et Chinam et Marianas, ad quas adeo desideravi, Pientissimo Numini per frequenter commendare, et modis omnibus, quibus potero procurare, apud DEUM et homines, ut Amantissimis et Desideratissimis illis Regionibus Sacræ Operariorum suppetiæ mittantur. Speroque futurum ut mei unius loco plures ex nostra Germania Superiore tum Mathematicis scientijs, tum ac præsertim varijs gratiæ, et naturæ dotibus, ac Ignaciano, Xaverianoque zelo instructi illuc dirigantur; idem præstare allaborabit P. Antonius Cereso qui tunc in Orientales illas Missiones pergit.

Ac R.P. Antonius Maldona[d]o gaudet quod ex Germania nostra Superiore duos Patres obtinuerit pro suo Novo Regno, et P. Antonium Cereso ac me petijt per plures literas ad Adm. R.P. Generali nostro, suppetito quod non possemus tam brævi pergere ad Provincias Mexici, vel Philippinarum. Suam quoque Excellenciam supplex demissimè precabor, et in viseribus Salvatoris nostri rogaram cupio, ut quamdocumque occasio fuerit deligendi Missionarios ex Germania, dignetur procurare ut quamplures ex Provincia Germaniæ Superioris seligantur, multorum enim ingens ardor magna agere, et coligere pro Christo JESU, et proximi bono, ac animarum emolumento, ejusmodi favores promeretur. Ex hac ipsa Provincia fuere de universi China optimè merit P. Adamus Schall et P. Martinus Martini, quorum secundus fuit mihi aliqua cognatione conjunctus, ante octenniam quoque misit eadem Provincia duos alios cum P. Intorçetta in Chinam percituros P. Beatum AmRhin, et P. Adamum Aigenler, unus fuerat Patris Antonij Cereso Magister seu Professor in Theologiæ, alter fuerat meus Instructor in Mathematicis. Ambo tam in ipso maritimo itinere antequam Goam pervenirent pijssima morte cursum mortalitatis absolvere.

Habeo Suæ Excellenciæ etiam gratias quas postum humanissimas, pro mei memoria et commendacione quam dignetur promittere in literis ad Exc[elentiss]mam Dominam Vice-Reginam Mexicanam, et proderit ut confido(?) hac Amicicia ad aliquorum quandoque misærorum solacium; de cet[era]que utraque manu, et utroque brachio sæculari, et spirituali in proximi salutem in conversionem animarum, ac in opus divinissimorum Divinissimum incumbere.

Quod à me scire petit sua Excellencia perterito id perlibenter de mea Nacione et Patria: sum enim Tridentinus Tyrolensis, dubito tamen an me potius sicam Italum, an Germanum, nam urbs Tridentina lingua et moribus, et legibus Italarum fere utitur, etsi sit in Tyrolis saltem extremitate, Tyrolis verò spectat ad Germaniam, præsertim autem Collegium nostrum Tridentinum est Collegium Provinciæ Germaniæ Superioris esto noster doceant in Scholis, et concionentur communiter Italicè. Ultimis tamen octodecim ætatis meæ annis, vixi in ipso fere meditullio Germaniæ; anno 1665 Friburgi Brisgoiæ susceptus qui in Societate. Ago nunc 37 [sic] ætatis annum.

Humanissimè ac demississime commendari cupio in primis, Sanctissimis Suæ Excellenciæ ad DEUM precibus, Deinde etiam Suæ Excellenciæ D.D. Filijs, et Dñæ Filiæ,

et toti Sacræ Familiæ. Ego ad me quod attinet, imperson(?) illas omnes quam possum benedictionem, et precor illis omnem faustissimam in Amoribus Christi JESU Felicitate, ac ut Excellentissimæ D[omi]næ Parentis Spiritus in Amantissimis prolibus fiat duplex, idque ad gloriam Altissimi, salutem propriam, et multam Animarum, et gentium emolumentum ac ad Ecclesiæ universæ Societatisque gaudium singulare: utque istorum notorum meorum quotidie menor sim, eorumdem Dominacionum suorum nomina, in charissima, quam in meo Breviario habeo Imagine, lectis statim suæ Excellenciæ literis descripsi, ut verò mei quandoque memores in sanctis oracionibus dignentur vivere, mitto tres alias imagines pro tribus Dnis. sideris, quod gaudere scire titulos, et ætatem.

Atque his iterum atque iterum me humillimè in sanctissima ad Pientissimum Numen Suspiria, et Vita commendo, ac omnem denuo Faustitatem aprecaus spondeo et effero illam Missam, quam cum DEI gracia Die Festo S[anct]i Francisci SAVERIJ sum dicturus ad intencionem Suæ Exc[ellen]ciæ ac pro incolumitate suæ Sacræ Familiæ.

Gadibus 16 Nov: 1680.

Suæ Exc[ellen]ciæ

Humillimus in Christo Servus

Eusebius Franciscus Chinus S.J. Missionarius Indicus.

[Postcript in Spanish:]

Estimare muchissimo las noticias de la China para embiarles a la Provincia de Alemania la Alta. Anteayer caiò aqui un rayo en la capitana de Galeones, que matò un hombre, y lastimò otros tres; queda però entero el vaso. Parece que van dando priesa con los Galeones, con todo esso dudase se saldran antes que por Marzo.

Translation, partly from the Maggs Catalog, partly by Fr. Burrus.

[Most Excellent Madam.]

[May the peace of Jesus Christ, which exceeds all understanding, be with Y.E.]¹

[Eight days ago, I thankfully received Your Excellency's kind letter, but because over the past 8 days I have been busy with the spiritual exercises of our Holy Father, it is only now that I read it, and give thanks for it.]

1 Ed. note: Phrase from the Epistle to the Philippians IV, 7.

...
I am sure that Your Excellency will gain the day in your contest with that person whom you have mentioned in your letters, because of your affection for the missions both of the Mariana Islands and of other regions.¹

Father Teofilo de Angelis, Father Carlos Calvanese² and some other [German] Fathers are now going to the Philippines and the Mariana Islands, [will be a remedy, with their exceptional zeal and celestial grace, to what has been overlooked by the negligence of the rest.] If we cannot follow these lucky Fathers on their journey to the Eastern Church with our bodies, we can at least follow them mentally and pray for them and their success continuously, as well as for their successes in the whole of the Orient and in **the Unknown Land of Australia**.

God knows how eagerly some 10 years ago I endeavored to obtain both of Rome and elsewhere a Portuguese grammar so that I might learn Portuguese, or at least its chief elements while I was still in Germany, in order that I might, in due course if it pleased God and my Superiors, go to the East Indies...

In the letter which I received 4 days ago from Rome, the Father General confirms, as does also the Assistant Father of the German Province, Charles de Noyelle,³ that we were to go either to Paraguay, or to the New Kingdom [of Granada, i.e. Columbia]. But since the chance is gone of going to Paraguay, we may be going to the New Kingdom as there is an advice boat which will leave Europe with the fleet, and will take us to the Port of Vera Cruz, as the Father Procurator of the Indies⁴ has warned us, who wishes that those Fathers who are destined for the Philippines or the Marianas should follow the others who are going to Mexico with the fleet, so that they may be able to take a boat in Acapulco for the Philippines...⁵ [It has been two years since Father

1 Ed. note: Fr. Burrus has translated this passage as follows: "Y.E. is right in complaining of the rare zeal and enthusiasm shown in favor of the missions of the Mariana Island Missions and other regions; unfortunately, the following proverb has never been truer, in connection with the name mentioned in your letter: "Anger has its just complaints," which means that "sometimes one has sufficient cause for being angry." Nevertheless, God, who knows everything, can very well replace him with someone else who would show enthusiasm for a task of such importance for the Society." Editor's comment: I agree with Fr. Burrus who says that the author refers to the incompetent Governor of the Marianas, Francisco de Irisarri y Vivar, during whose term of office (1676-78) took place many native uprisings.

2 Ed. note: Not to be confused with Fr. Strobach whose alias was Fr. Carlos Xavier. Fr. Strobach himself refers to him as a Sicilian (Doc. 1679P). It was Fr. Boranga's ms. that was badly transcribed (Doc. 1681D).

3 Charles de Noyelle, born at Brussels in 1615, became a novice in 1630, was named Assistant of Germany (1661-1682), and became General of the Jesuit Order on 5 July 1682. He died at Rome, on 12 September 1686.

4 Ed. note: Father Pedro de Espinar.

5 Ed. note: At this point, Fr. Kino goes on to give details of the composition and membership of the different Jesuit provinces, both of Upper Germany (which comprises Bavaria, the Tyrol, Switzerland, Suevia, and the Palatinate), Bohemia, and Austria. Suevia is Schwaben in German; it is a former duchy located in SW Bavaria today, centered on Augsburg.

Antonio Cereso (his real name is Kerschpämer) and I, both from Tyrol in the Province of Upper Germany, have been chosen as missionaries. Tyrol is one of the Emperor's domains. The Spanish King and our Reverend Father General [Oliva] have stipulated that all the German missionaries had to come from some province of Austria. The letter from our Fr. General to Fr. Provincial of the Province of Upper Germany, regarding our destination in the foreign missions, contains the following order: "*Your Reverence is to send Father Antonio Kerschpämer (now Cereso) and Father Eusebio Kino to Genoa. One of them is to be assigned to Mexico and the other to the Philippines; this I leave to your decision or to their wish.*"

[Consequently, the Rev. Fr. Provincial gave us the opportunity, to Fr. Antonio and I, to decide between ourselves who should go to Mexico and who to the Philippines or the Marianas. Due to the hope that I had been harboring (for many years) to continue the voyage from the Philippines to China, I wished to be sent to the Philippines and that for Fr. Antonio to be sent to Mexico. In spite of it all, I told Fr. Antonio to select the mission of his choice; he insisted in my saying my preference. After we had been involved for some time in this pious effort to give the other his preference, the thought occurred to us to let chance decide our fate. Consequently, we wrote "Mexico" on a piece of paper and "Philippines" on another. By random choice, Fr. Antonio drew the "Philippines", and I "Mexico".

At first, it seemed like a hard blow for me, because all the hopes that I had entertained of using my mathematical knowledge in China evaporated in this way; but, soon, calm returned to my soul through zealous prayers to Our Lord and after having placed myself in the hands of my patron saint, the angelic St. Francis Xavier, and those of St. Ignatius, and Mary, Mother of God, all kindness and comprehension. However, by this stroke of Lady Luck—or better said, through a decision of the limitless power of God to determine our fate—it happens that Fr. Antonio and not I is the one going to the Orient.

I have trusted the result to be God's will, and will continue to do so, in case Fr. Antonio should fall sick during his voyage to Mexico, and should I continue enjoying a good health (by the way, I have turned out to be a better sailor than my companion); in this case, I would pray with due submission that my Mexican superiors would allow me to occupy the place of Fr. Antonio for the voyage to the Orient, while he would recuperate in Mexico and replace me in the missions of the Mexican Province. However, the will of Our Lord will prevail; may His will always be done.]

[If I were to remain in Mexico, I would never stop commending to God China and the Marianas, places where I wish to go; and I will fight by all means at my disposal to obtain from God and from men the despatch of saintly missionaries to these missions, so dear to me. I hope that in my place will be sent many missionaries from my province of Upper Germany, trained men with mathematical knowledge, with natural and specially supernatural gifts, and with an Ignatian and Xaverian zeal. Fr. Antonio Cereso, who is now going to those oriental missions, will fight to get the same result.]

[Fr. Antonio Maldonado is enchanted with the idea of obtaining two missionary priests from the Province of Upper Germany for that of the New Kingdom [i.e. Columbia]. In various letters directed to Fr. General in person, he asked for Fr. Antonio Cereso and I, because he was convinced that we would be unable to leave so soon for Mexico and the Philippines.]

What Your Excellency wishes to know about me I will write most willingly, about my nationality and my country. I am a Tyrolese from Trento, but I don't know whether I can say whether I can call myself an Italian or a German, because the town of Trento makes use of the Italian language, laws and habits, but although it is situated in the very extremity of the Tyrol, it belongs to [the Province of] Germany as does the whole of the Tyrol, and although our College of Trento is the college of Upper Germany, it is usual to speak Italian there. In the last 18 years I have lived in the very heart of Germany; in 1665 at Freiburg in Breisgau, I was admitted into the Society of Jesus. I am now in my 37th year.¹

...
[Once more, I resort to your fervent aspirations and prayers to merciful God; and wishing you complete felicity, I promise to offer the mass that, God willing, I will offer on the day of St. Francis Xavier, to the intentions of Y.E. for the protection of your devoted family.]

[Cadiz, 16 November 1680.]

[Forever yours in Christ,

Eusebio Francisco Kino, S.J., missionary to the Indies.]

[P.S.—I will enjoy receiving news from China very much, in order to send them to the province of Upper Germany. The day before yesterday, lightning fell upon the flagship of the galleons; it killed one man and wounded three others. The ship is, however, in one piece. It seems as if the galleons are in a hurry; with all that, it is doubted that they will leave before March.]

¹ Ed. note: Fr. Burrus points out that he, in fact, was then only 35 years old, since he was born on 15 August 1645.

Document 1680Q

Instruction issued by Governor Vargas to Captain José de Quiroga, dated Manila 7 September 1680

Sources: AGI Fil. 11-1-6, page 25 et seq.; transcribed in Appendix N° 5 of Governor Luis Ibañez y García's Historia de las Islas Marianas (Granada, 1886), pp. 180-187; translation published in the Guam Recorder 15:6 (1938): 18-19, 36-37; 15:7 (1938): 14-15, 38-39.

Note: The translation that appeared in the Guam Recorder was made by Father Sylvester P. Staudt, Capuchin missionary residing in Guam in 1938; this has been revised somewhat.

Instruction

issued on 7 September 1680 by His Excellency, Don Juan de Vargas y Hurtado, Governor and Captain General of the Philippine Islands, to Don José Quiroga, Governor of the Mariana Islands.

The Master-of-camp Don Juan de Vargas Hurtado, of the Order of St. James, of His Majesty's Council, his Governor and Captain General of these Philippine Islands, and President of the Royal Audiencia, and Royal Chancellery, residing in them, etc.

Whereas, on 20 June 1678, when I was at the Mariana Islands, I issued the instruction whose tenor is as follows:

[See Doc. 1679G2]

Which Instruction he ordered Captain Don José de Quiroga, who has been appointed Governor of the Mariana Islands [in 1680], to observe, fulfil, and execute exactly and punctually, as if he were actually speaking with him; and since there have been presented some new matters for the conservation of the said Missions, he shall, likewise, observe the following instruction:

Article 21. He shall not permit the making of any kind of wine anywhere in his entire district, or in any that may be added in the course of time, making it known by

proclamation in the garrison under his command, and in the remaining parts where practicable, that he who extracts or buys it, shall be punished with one hundred lashes of the whip, for the first offense, and with three years' forced labor on the galleys of these [Philippine] Islands, for the second offense, and the said Governor shall be deprived of office if he allow it.

Article 22. He shall have a book to keep an account of the amount of *reales* and goods which may be turned over to him, and of their distribution and place of keeping, in order to report thereon in case he be asked to do so.

Article 23. In the distribution of supplies they shall take special care of the married soldiers as the foundation, medium and good example of the Christian community, specially with regard to providing sustenance for their families.

Article 24. He shall, at once, authorize the construction of a stone wall, at least two yards high, around the garrison, dividing the labor and transportation of materials equally among and without serious inconvenience to the natives; and on completion of this project, he shall have a fort constructed in the port called Umata, where the galleons from these [Philippine] Islands anchor, for their greater security and communication with them. And, in case the Captain and master of the sloop that is being sent were to discover a more suitable port with greater depth and safety than the one mentioned, he shall build the fort in the place that seem more suitable for its protection.

Article 25. He shall, in no way, permit in those Islands the use of lances made of bones, which is customary among the natives, both on account of the inhumanity entailed in the disinterment of the bodies of the dead, in order to make them, as also because of the mortality of the wounds they inflict and the harm done to the Spanish, as is known from experience, making it known by proclamation, and punishing severely those who transgress the order and use them.

Article 26. Whenever there are presented to him cases of serious crimes to which the death penalty corresponds, the provisions of the foregoing instruction shall be observed, care being taken that no injustice be committed, neither by punishing the innocent nor by neglecting to mete out punishment to the guilty, and that for both there shall be sufficient reason, information and knowledge.

Article 27. He shall be particularly solicitous about the pursuit and chastisement of murderers, rebels and traitors, who might impede the spread of the Christian religion.

Article 28. Similarly, he shall take special care that the soldiers observe military discipline in all things, in compliance with the standing orders which are sent to him for that purpose.

Article 29. He shall arrange that the Pampango soldiers have their own quarters, separate from the Spanish soldiers, and in some way subordinated to the latter, and that he of that nationality who excels in merits and service shall have his exemptions

and superior rank respected by those of his kind, without having the right to issue orders to the Spanish, just as it is done in these [Philippine] islands.¹

Article 30. He shall appoint the officers whom he deems suitable for the service of His Majesty, regarding which matter he shall make an annual report to me, forwarding the appointments so that they may be confirmed.

Article 31. Every year, after the passage of the galleon of these islands by the island of Guam, or the sloop that is being sent aboard one of them, in order to decide what is for the best interests of that Mission, there shall be a meeting of the senior officers with the Father Minister [i.e. Superior] and the other religious thereof, to deliberate on the provisions which are to be made for its conservation and advancement, and they shall likewise continue to hold these meetings at any time that may seem necessary on account of the great benefit which will accrue from them and the amity between the said Ministers and the soldiers.

Article 32. He shall take great care that each year a larger portion of land be sown, seeing to it that the Indians who cultivate it, cover a little more ground every year so that they may not suffer any want.

Article 33. He shall have days set aside for the rationing of the personnel, and all shall come together at the same time, and this should be any eight or fifteen days, whatever may be less subject to change and less troublesome.

Article 34. He shall frequently go out and inspect the Island of Guahan, investigating the mode of living of the Indians, urging them to reform their lives to reason and tranquility, and there shall not intervene more than one month, at the most, between such visits.

Article 35. He shall strive to live in peace and harmony with the Father Minister Superior of that Mission, doing everything possible on his part, because unity is for the greater benefit of that Christian community.

Article 36. At the time when the galleons of these islands pass by, or when the said sloop return, he shall of his own accord, without my orders, send no-one to this City, unless the matter be very serious on account of sickness or for other reasons which the said Minister Superior approves, when informed about it.

Article 37. Until the Island of Guahan has been completely subdued, they shall not proceed to another island, unless the number of soldiers be such as to warrant division and simultaneous action in various parts.

Article 38. He shall make the greatest efforts, leaving nothing undone, so that towns be established whenever required, and this in the most suitable locations, so that they may live together sociably, in the manner outlined in the preceding instruction.

Article 39. To make for greater security and trust between the two parties, he shall openly place the *reales* and goods forwarded in a box with two keys,² of which, keep-

1 Ed. note: The same rule was applied to the Chamorros; for example, Ayihi achieved the highest rank within the local militia, but was never in charge of Spanish troops.

2 Ed. note: Meaning one with two padlocks, on the same or different hasps.

ing one himself, he shall give the other to the said Father Minister, and in this way they shall be distributed with intervention of both parties and to the satisfaction of all, governing himself in paying the said officers and soldiers by the salary list which is sent to him and bringing the pay in agreement with the list and the amount which may be on hand for distribution on a pro-rated basis.

Article 40. He shall take special care, as he has been instructed, to arrest, bring to justice and punish those guilty of public sins, making a proclamation to that effect so that no soldier solicit or molest any woman, under penalty of one month of jail with leg irons for one who commits such a sin without any aggravating circumstances, and of three whippings with a rope and three years' forced labor on the galleys of these Islands for one who forces or violates any woman.

Article 41. He shall, in no way, hinder those in charge of the smiths, shoemakers, tailors and other tradesmen from doing whatever they may be called upon to do, at any time, by the Fathers Minister; he shall rather oblige them to do so, punishing them in case they do not.

The said Captain Don José de Quiroga, or the person who may have, or will have in future, the charge of the government of the said Mariana Islands shall observe, fulfil and carry out everything contained in this Instruction and the preceding one, just as contained in them and in each chapter thereof; otherwise he shall incur the penalties provided by law, which will be inflicted upon the transgressors, without fail.

Given in the City of Manila, on the seventh day of September of the year 1680.

Don Juan de Vargas Hurtado

By order of His Excellency,

Matheo Lopez Peréa.—

Document 1680R

Royal decree of 3 October 1680

Sources: AGI Fil. 13-1-9, fol. 2v, p. 144; AGI Fil. 331, libro 7, fol. 311v-312, pp. 646-647; also in Ultramar 562.

Note: Regarding his support of the Mariana Mission and the salvage of the cannon of the Concepción lost in 1638.

Acknowledging the receipt of his letter regarding his visit to Guam.

Original text in Spanish.

El Rey

Respuesta al Governador de Filipinas sobre lo que obro en el fomento de la mision de las Islas Marianas y en el buceo de la artilleria que se perdio el año de 1638.

Maestre de Campo Don Juan de Vargas Hurtado Cavallero del orden de Santiago mi Governador y Capitan General de las Islas Filipinas y Presidente de mi Audiencia de ellas.

*En carta que me escrivisteis en treinta de Diziembre del año passado de mill seiscientos y setenta y ocho disteis quenta de lo que haviedes obrado en el fomento de la miçion de las Islas Marianas, diçiendo que quando pasasteis por ellas entrasteis en la de San Juan y nombrasteis Governador y Cavo Superior y hiçcisteis instruçion para su regimen y formasteis una compaña de veinte y quatro hombres que dejasteis de socorro, refiriendolo que obrasteis açerca del puerto que seria aproposito para mantenerse la embarcazion que tengo mandado aya y lo demas que sobre ello se os ofreçe y la orden que dariais a los generales de las naos para que passasen por alli y dejen lo que se les entregare y juntamente diçis disteis lo neçesario para sacar las pieças de artilleria que el año de mill seiscientos y treinta y ocho se perdieron con la nao **Concepcion** de que remitisteis testimonio.*

Y havindose visto en mi Consejo de las Indias, ha parecido daros graçias (como lo hago) por lo que en lo referido obrasteis y os encargo que en lo que se ofreçiere en adelante y vos pudieredes lo continueis de suerte que se consiga el mayor adelantamiento

de esta mision y el buçeo de la dha artilleria que en ello me dare de vos por bien servido.

De Madrid a tres de octubre de mill seisçientos y ochenta.

Yo el Rey.

Por mandado del Rey nuestro Señor,

Don Joseph de Veytia Linage.

Señalada.

Translation.

The King

Answers to the Governor of the Philippines regarding what he did to favor the development of the Mariana Islands and in the salvage of the cannon that were lost in the year of 1638.

Master-of-camp Don Juan de Vargas Hurtado, Knight of the Order of St. James, my Governor and Captain General of the Philippine Islands and President of my Audiencia there.

In a letter which you wrote to me, dated 30 December of the past year 1678,¹ you gave an account of having worked toward the development of the Mariana Island Mission, saying that when you passed by there, you stopped at that of San Juan and appointed a Governor and Officer in charge, and you gave an Instruction for their administration and you formed a company of 24 men whom you left as reinforcement. You also mentioned what you did regarding the port that would be suitable for the anchorage of the vessel that I have ordered you to build and other things you said about it, and the order that you will give the generals of the galleons so that in passing there, they must leave what had been delivered to them. And in addition, you said that you gave the necessary equipment to salvage the cannon that in the year 1638 were lost with the galleon **Concepción**, about which you sent an official statement.

And this having been seen in my Council of the Indies, I have decided to give you thanks (as I do now) for what you have done in the above-mentioned matter and I entrust you to continue to do so, as much as you possibly can, in future, so that the best development of this mission may be achieved, and the salvage of said cannon, of which I will consider myself well served by you.

From Madrid, 3 October 1680.

I, the King.

By order of the King our Lord,

Don José de Veytia Linage.

Countersigned.

1 Ed. note: See Doc. 1679H1.

Documents 1680S

Royal decrees of November 1680 regarding the Marianas

S1. Decree sent to the Viceroy

Sources: AGI Fil. 331, libro 7, fol. 315v-317, pp. 654-657; AGN Californias, vol. 26, fol. 249-249v.

Notes: He tells him that the subsidy which is sent from Mexico to the Marianas is to go directly to the Governor of the Marianas and that the missionaries are not to have anything at all to do with it.

Original text in Spanish.

El Rey

Al Virrey de la N^a España que disponga que el situado que de Mexico se remitiere a las Marianas vaya dirigido al Governador para que le distribuya sin que en ello tengan ya los Misioneros parte ni mano alguna.

Conde de Paredes Marques de la Laguna Pariente de mi Consejo Camara y Junta de Guerra de Indias mi Virrey Governador y Capitan General de la Nueva España y Pre-sidente de mi Audiencia de ella ó a la persona ó personas a cuyo cargo fuere su gobierno.

Alonso Pantoja de la Compañia de Jhs Procurator General en esta corte por las Provincias de Indias me a representado que el sueldo que se les da a los soldados que asisten en las Islas Marianas à corrido su paga por medio de los Misioneros que alli residen, lo qual executavan por causa de no haver Caveza ni Governador en ellas y que siendo lo al presente Don Antonio Saravia, me suplicava fuere servido de mandar que de aqui adelante el, ó el que le sucediere en aquel cargo, reciva el situado que de essa Caja de Mexico se ymbiara para dhos soldados, ordenandole que por su mano les haga la paga en ropa, ó plata, como mejor estubiere a la Infanteria escusando a los Misioneros que tengan parte ni mano alguna en su distribucion, por los inconbenientes que de lo contrario pueden resultar, pues solo deven atender a la combersion de esa gentilidad y propagacion de la Santa fee Catholica.

Y haviendose visto en mi Consejo de las Indias, lo he tenido por bien y asi os mando dispongais, que siempre que se remetiere a las Marianas el situado para la satisfacion de los sueldos de la Infanteria que alli asiste, vaya dirigido al Governador que es o fuere de ellas para que lo reparta entre ella en la forma referida sin que los Misioneros tengan ya parte ni mano alguna en su distribucion, para que se evite qualquier ynconbeniente que de hacerlo de aqui adelante pudiera resultar que por çedula deste dia ymbio a mandar à Don Antonio de Saravia mi Governador y Capitan general de aquellas Islas reciva y destri-

buya como vaia presentado el situado que vos le hiciere de remitir y del recivo y execucion de este despacho me dareis quenta.

Fha en Madrid a trece de Noviembre de mill seyscientos y ochenta años.

Yo el Rey

Por mandado del Rey nuestro Señor, Don Joseph de Veytia Linage.

Señalada de Consejo.

Translation.

The King

To the Viceroy of New Spain, ordering him to arrange for the subsidy that is sent from Mexico to the Marianas to be addressed to the Governor, for him to distribute, with the missionaries no longer taking part or having any hand in it.

Count of Paredes, Marquis of La Laguna, Relative, member of my Council and Chamber and of the War Council of the Indies, my Viceroy, Governor and Captain General of New Spain and President of my Audiencia there, or to the the person or persons in whose charge its government may be.

Alonso Pantoja of the Society of Jesus, Procurator General at this court for the Provinces of the Indies, has made representations to me about the salary that is given to the soldiers who assist in the Mariana Islands. Their pay has been processed through the missionaries residing there, something they were doing because there was no Chief nor Governor there, but now that there is at present Don Antonio Saravia, he begged me to be pleased to order that from now on he, or whoever succeeds him in that post, be the one to receive the subsidy that is sent by that Treasury in Mexico for said soldiers, ordering him to make the payment to them directly, either in clothing or silver, in the best interests of the infantry, thus excusing the missionaries from having anything to do with its distribution, given the disadvantages that otherwise could result; indeed, they must only pay attention to the conversion of those heathen and to the propagation of the Holy Catholic Faith.

And this matter having been seen in my Council of the Indies, the proposal was accepted, and so, I order you to arrange that whenever the subsidy is sent to the Marianas to satisfy the salaries of the infantry that assist there, it should be addressed to their Governor, present or future, for him to distribute among the soldiers in the above-mentioned manner, without the missionaries taking part any longer or having a hand in its distribution, in order to avoid any disadvantage that might result in future. In another decree of same date, I am ordering Don Antonio de Saravia, my Governor and Captain General of those Islands to receive and distribute, as proposed, the subsidy that you have to send to him. You are to acknowledge receipt of this despatch and give me a report on compliance with it.

Made at Madrid, on 13 November 1680.

I, the King.

By order of the King our Lord,
Don José de Veytia Linage.

S2. Decree sent to Governor Saravia

Sources: AGI Fil. 331, libro 7, fol. 317-318, pp. 657-659. Another copy exists but its present location is unknown; it is a 2-page ms. sold by Maggs Bros. of London to a Mrs. Carroll Paul for 3 pounds (Cat. N° 442, n° 1860, p. 134).

Translation that appeared in the Maggs Catalog.

...
Alonso Pantoja of the Society of Jesus, Procurator General at this Court, for the Indies, has represented to me that the pay of the soldiers who are stationed at the Mariana Islands, has hitherto been issued by the Missionaries in the absence of an administrator ... and the government now being vested in your person, that I should order you to obtain the money for this purpose from the Royal Treasury at Mexico and to pay the Infantry with your own hand either in money or clothing as you deem advisable, excusing the Missionaries from taking any further part in this matter; for those people have to attend exclusively to the work of converting the heathen and spreading the Holy Catholic Faith.

Having discussed the matter with my Council for the Indies, I accede to the proposition and do now order you to receive the necessary sum from Mexico which I have instructed should be remitted by my Viceroy of New Spain, for the payment of the soldiers of the Infantry stationed in those Islands; and to distribute it in the aforementioned manner, not requiring the Missionaries to take any part in the administration or distribution of these funds... under a Royal Decree dated this day, my Viceroy is ordered to remit the allowance addressed to you.

Etc.

S3. Royal decree of 18 November 1680, regarding the boat for the Marianas

Sources: RAH 9/2677; AGN Californias, vol. 26, fol. 251-252.

Original text in Spanish.

El Rey

Maestre de Campo Don Juan de Vargas Hurtado Cavallero del orden de Santiago, mi Governador y Capitan general de las Yslas Filipinas y presidente de mi audiencia de ellas ó personas a cuyo cargo fuere su gobierno.

Alonso Pantoja de la Comp^a de Jhs, Procurador General de las provincias de las Yndias me a representado, que aunque tengo mandado fabricar un navio, para que aga viajes desde esas Yslas a las Marianas, y se os han entregado tres mill pesos para ello, no a tenido efecto asta aora con que los misioneros, y soldados de las Marianas estan sin recurso alguno a los continuos riesgos, miserias, y trabajos que padecen faltandoles tambien las cosas, de que necesitan para la reduccion de aquellos Barbaros, suplicandome que atendiendo a ello fuese servido de mandaros, que de los Navios mios que suele haver en el

*Puerto de Cavite de los de vela redonda que son acomodados para el intento elijais, y apliqueis uno para el intento digo efecto referido, y que no aviendolos le hagais fabricar en aquel puerto de las maderas pequeñas, que sobran de las naos grandes, ó que dispongais su compra (añadiendo poco mas a los tres mill pesos) de las naciones, que ai [=alli] ban permitidas al trato, ó en Bantta [=Banda] ó en Siam. Dice que la navegacion tampoco puede ser costosa, porque en esas Yslas Filipinas esta siempre a sueldo mio la jente de mar, nabegue, ó no nabegue, y para el bastimento le considera de poca importancia, por lo pequeño del vajel[,] ser solo trecientas leguas, y los misioneros y Indios sustentarse de las limosnas que les dan sin que la real hacienda haga gasto alguno en su transportacion, y que aunque le hizieran se podra resarcir con hacer sacar la artilleria de la Nao Encarnacion [rather **Concepcion**] que se perdio en las Marianas, el año de mill seiscientos, y treinta y ocho, y se sabe donde esta, y es en mui poco fondo. Que esto se facilitara ofreciendo vos en mi nombre dar al Capitan que fuere con el vajel una encomienda de Indios en esas Islas Filipinas y a la gente de mar a buelta de viaje Plazas de conveniencia en las naos que ban a Acapulco, con que abra muchos que se dediquen a todo y a descubrir tambien si ay, ó no en las Marianas, Yslas a la parte del sur, ó del norte por donde se pueda navegar, de una en otra con champanes, sin ninguna costa, quizas en lo venidero. Que tambien os mande concedais licencia a uno ó muchos vecinos de esa ciudad de Manila para que hagan un viaje a la de Canton, ó la de Macan con obligacion de hacer otro a las Marianas, y llevar quanto fuere necesario a ellas.*

Y aviendose visto en mi Consejo de las Indias con lo que me escrivisteis con carta de treinte de Diciembre del año de mill seiscientos y setenta y ocho acerca de lo que aviades obrado, y obrariades en el fomento desta mission porque os e dado gracias, y encargado os le continueis, y consultadoseme sobre lo referido, He tenido por vien de venir en que se ejecute lo que el dicho Procurador General de la Comp^a de Jhs propone aora para que tenga efecto el vajel, su transportacion, y comunicacion desde esas Islas a las Marianas, y asi os mando lo dispongais quanto antes fuere posible, teniendo entendido es materia que la deseo muy de veras, y que en su buen logro me areis mui agradable servicio, y sino se pudiere fabricar el vajel le comprareis, y sino se pudiere comprar le fletareis, y por si para ello no tuvieredes arto caudal, ordeno en despacho de este día a mi Virrei de la Nueva España que os socorra con mas segun lo que le avisareis haveis suplido, Vos falta y señalareis el premio de encomienda de Indios al sugeto que uviere hecho algunos viajes, los que os parecieren. Y en quanto a las licencias para hacer viajes a Canton ó Macan con obligacion de executar uno a las Marianas reconocereis si se puede hacer y no aviendo en ello conveniente contra lo catholico ni contra lo politico os mando intenteis su practica, y de lo que en uno, y otro obraredes me dareis quenta.

Fecha en Madrid a diez y ocho de Noviembre de mill seiscientos, y ochenta años.

Yo el Rey

[Endorsement:] *Nº 10. Traslado simple de la Zedula Real despachada al Governador de Philipinas en que le manda el Rey fabricar una embarcacion para ymbiar a Marianas.*

Translation.

The King

Master-of-camp Don Juan de Vargas Hurtado, Knight of the Order of St. James, my Governor and Captain General of the Philippine Islands and President of my Audiencia there, or to the persons in whose charge their government may be.

Alonso Pantoja of the Society of Jesus, Procurator General of the provinces of the Indies has made representation to me, to the effect that although I have ordered the construction of a ship to make voyages from those Islands to the Marianas, and that 3,000 pesos have been delivered to you for this, it has not been carried out so far; that is why the missionaries and soldiers in the Marianas are without any recourse for the continuous risks, miseries, and hardships that they suffer, they lacking the things that they need for the reduction of those barbarians, and he begged me to please order you to select a ship from among my ships with square sail that are usually found in the port of Cavite and are suitable for the purpose, and to assign one to the above-mentioned project, and, should there not be any available, you should have one made with the small lumber that is left over from the large galleons, or that you should arrange its purchase (by adding a little more to the 3,000 pesos) by the ship-owners that overthere go with permission to trade, either at Banda or in Siam. He says that the navigation cannot be expensive either, because in those Philippine Islands the navy men are always paid by me, whether they sail or not; as for the food supplies, he considers of little importance, on account of the small size of the vessel, the distance of only 300 leagues, and the missionaries and Indians get food from the alms given to them, without the royal treasury doing any expenses in their transportation, and even if it did, the expense could be made up by ordering the salvage of the cannon of the galleon Encarnación [rather **Concepción**] that was lost in the Marianas in the year 1638, and it is known where they are, and it is in shallow water. That this would be made easier by you offering on my behalf to the eventual Captain of the vessel a land-grant of Indians in those Philippine Islands, and to the seamen upon their return some suitable posts aboard the galleons that go to Acapulco, so that many will be found to undertake everything, and to go to the exploration of Islands, that may or may not exist, to the south, or to the north of the Marianas, through which sailing routes could perhaps be developed in future with champans, at no cost [to the royal treasury]. That I should also order you to grant a license to one or many residents of that city of Manila to make the voyage to Canton, or to Macau, with the obligation of making another to the Marianas, and to take there as much as necessary.

And this having been seen in my Council of the Indies, with what you have written to me in a letter dated December of the year 1678 regarding what you had managed to do, and would do to develop this mission, because I have given you thanks and entrusted you to continue doing so, and following a consultation, I have decided to see to it that what said Procurator General of the Society of Jesus proposes be carried out, with regard to the vessel, its transportation and communication from those Islands to the Marianas, and so, I order you to arrange for it as soon as possible, with the understanding that I very much wish that it be done, and that you will give me pleasure by succeeding in it, and that if you cannot have the vessel built, you should buy one, and if you cannot buy one, you should charter one, and should you lack the necessary funds to do so, I order in a despatch of this date to my Viceroy of New Spain to come to your succor with more [money] so that, in accordance with the amount that you are to spec-

ify to him that you are lacking, and you are to fix the reward of a land-grant of Indians to the individual who will have made a few voyages, the number that seems appropriate to you. And with regards to the licenses to make voyages to Canton or Macau with the obligation of making one to the Marianas, you will judge whether they can be made or not, if should there be nothing improper in it against the body Catholic or the body politic, I order you to give the practice a try, and you are to give me a report on everything.

Made in Madrid on 18 November 1680.

[unsigned copy]

[Endorsement:] N° 10. Simple copy of the Royal Decree despatched to the Governor of the Philippines in which the King orders him to build a vessel to send to the Marianas.

S4. Notice to the Viceroy

Source: AGN Californias, vol. 26, fol. 62.

[From] The King,

[To] the Count of Paredes, Marquis of Laguna, member of my Council, Privy Council and War Committee of the Indies, my Viceroy Governor and Captain General of New Spain and Chairman of my Audiencia there, or to the person, or persons, in whose charge its government may be.

You know very well how I wish the progress of the conversion of the natives of the Mariana Islands through the preaching of the Gospel, and one of my wishes is that of a boat for communication between those Islands and the Philippines. Don Juan de Vargas, president of that Audiencia had the building of this boat in his care, and according to what I have been told, through the Order of the Society of Jesus which is in charge of this mission, 3,000 pesos were delivered to him for that purpose from my Royal funds in that City, and since he has not carried it out, I have decided, after consulting with my Council of the Indies, to order said Don Juan de Vargas (as I do now) in a despatch of today's date, if he should be unable to build it, to buy it, or charter it, with the provision that, if there be insufficient funds for doing so, you were to come to his aid, and so I entrust you and order you to remit to said Governor of the Philippines from my Royal funds there, the sum that you will be advised of, that might have been an excess, or been lacking, for the construction, or purchase of said boat, as such is my will and is convenient for my service.

Made at Madrid on 18 November 1682.

I, the King.

By order of the King, our Lord,

Joseph de Veitia Linage.

[Endorsement:] To the Viceroy of New Spain, that he should assist the Governor of the Philippines with what he will be advised of, as an excess, or deficiency, for the construction, or purchase, of the boat destined to the Marianas. Corrected.



⌘ Doc. 1680T

Religious artifacts of the pre-conquest Chamorros of Guam. *These altar-like stones were referred to as “macanas uchan,” or “miraculous things for rain” by the Chamorros, before they were destroyed in 1680. One eyewitness report, that of Captain Quiroga (Doc. 1680D), specifically mentions the presence of a sacred stone on top of the skull (see pages 213, 307, 395). A belief was held to the effect that anyone spitting on these stones would become instantly blind. The foreigners did spit on them, without ill effect...*

Document 1680T

Jesuit annual report for 1679-1680, by Fr. Xaramillo

Sources: AGI Ultramar 562, Jesuit doc. n° 18; 3 copies in RAH 9/2677; copy in Colección Pastells, Fil. 2, pp. 292-330 and in Ortíz' translation of García's Vida, Lib. V, cap. 29. Also found in AGI Ultramar 562 is a continuation letter, dated 17 June 1681 (Doc. 1681P).

Notes: Fr. Antonio Xaramillo served in the Marianas from 1676 until June 1680, and was then Procurator of the Mariana Mission in Manila. He wrote an addendum to this report (see Doc. 1681P). In the present letter to the King, he reports on three points that had been given to him in the name of His Majesty by the Council of the Indies, which are the following: 1) on the actual fruit of the work of the Marianas; 2) on the fruit to be expected in the future; and 3) what were the needs of that Christian community? The King was so impressed with Fr. Xaramillo that he later proposed to the Pope to make him the first Bishop of the Marianas (see Doc. 1688D).

Letter from Fr. Xaramillo to the King, dated Manila 20 December 1680

From Antonio Xaramillo of the Society of Jesus, Missionary in the Marianas
Sir:

The galleon **San Antonio**, coming from the port of Acapulco bound for the Philippines, passed by the Mariana Islands on 17 June 1679. While at the Island of Guan, now San Juan, I received an order, in which the Council of the Indies in the name of Y.M. (whom may God save), ordering me to give a report to Y.M. whenever possible about these **three points**: 1) the fruit (of the word) done in the Marianas; 2) the fruit expected in the future; 3) the need of that new Christian community, so that Y.M. may provide. I am doing so now as an eyewitness, not only in the said islands, but also in Manila where I came, having been sent on mission business. I will try to place with as much detail and clarity as possible before the eyes of Y.M. the state of the mission, the contradictions with which the Devil, sometimes openly, sometimes under the guise of zeal, tries to ruin it. I will say what I think about these, so that, Y.M. having examined everything and decided on the proper remedy, God be pleased that by obeying Y.M. the royal treasury might not be wasted. The disinterested expenditure that Y.M. makes from the treasury brings to mind the sacred proclamation made by God in the old days

Doc. 1680T1

Original text in Spanish.

De Antonio Xaramillo de la Compañía de Jesus, Misionero de las Marianas.

Señor

*Viniendo la Nao **S. Antonio**, desde el Puerto de Acapulco á Filipinas, y pasando á 17 de Junio de 1679 por las Islas Marianas, recibí en la Isla de Guan, ya San Juan, una orden, en que el Consejo de Indias en nombre de V.M. (que Dios guarde) me manda dar informe á V.M. en las ocasiones que pudiere de estas **tres cosas**: 1^a del fruto que se hace en Marianas; 2^a del que se espera hacer, 3^a de lo que ha menester aquella nueva Cristiandad, para que V.M. lo provea y asi lo hace ahora como testigo de vista, no solo en dichas Islas sino tambien en Manila á donde vine embiado por negocios de la Mision, procurando poner con distincion y claridad, delante de los ojos de V.M. el estado que ella tiene, las contradicciones, con que unas veces claramente, otras con apariencia de celo procura arruinar el Demonio, y lo que se me ofrece en respuesta de ellas, para que examinandolo todo V.M. y poniendo el combeniente remedio, Dios sea servido, obedeciendo V.M. y no malograda la Real Hacienda cuyo desinteresado gasto hace propio de V.M. aquel Sagrado pregon con que Dios antiguamente por los labios de Isaias y ahora por los de V.M. entre otras Naciones de este archipiélago clama tambien y da voces, para que á costa de los tesoros de V.M. ellos sin oro y plata sean redimidos y compren de valde la salvacion de sus almas.*

[I.] Hablando pues del fruto que se hace en Marianas, digo que la Mision esta hoy en mejor estado que ha tenido hasta aqui; pues aunque la hostilidad de los Indios y adversidad de sucesos, en todas las Cristiandades siempre se experimentan, obligó á los Ministros del evangelio, para que se recogiesen en la Isla de S. Juan, y alli aguardasen mejor ocasion por que asi lo pedia no solo la razon sino tambien el exemplo de Cristo y doctrina que enseñó á sus apóstoles, pero esto mismo, hace ruido de hechar mas raizes la fé y que cada dia, sean mayores la solidez de los fundamentos sobre que se va levantando la Cristiandad, por que mientras en dha Isla de S. Juan, estaba la palabra de Dios, que estaba como atada á imitacion del mismo S. Juan, que siendo voz de Dios, padeció tambien sus prisiones, iba insensiblemente creciendo el numero de los soldados que dexaban las Naos, cuando por alli pasaban, aumentandose los pertrechos de guerra, y haciendose mas fuerte el Presidio de las Reales armas de V.M. cuyo arrimo es entre Indios y gente inculta, y gobernada por el temor el que habre camino á la predicacion, y una vez habierto hace que no se cierre tan facilmente; por que entonces es cuando los troncos de estas regiones, tambien entienden, que asi hay quien pueda humildarlos y si quieren brotar ramas y maleza que cieguen el paso; hay tambien espadas cortadoras que se lo estorven, y como por falta de ellos, lloramos hay tantas Cristiandades que en algun tiempo fueron y ya no son asi, ahora por el contrario nos alegramos de que la fé que en otro tiempo plantó y regó con su propia sangre en Marianas el V. Padre Diego Luis de Sanvitores, va propagandose á la sombra de las armas con mucha felicidad y prendas de perseverancia. Por que considerando que noventa soldados, y armas que

from the lips of Isaiah and now from those of Y.M. among other nations in this archipelago where it is heard loud and clear, so that at the cost of the treasures of Y.M., without gold or silver, be redeemed and bought for free the salvation of the souls there.

[I.] Speaking of the fruit now made in the Marianas, I say that the Mission today is in the best state it has ever been up to now; well, in spite of the hostility of the Indians and some negative results, which are always experienced in new Christian communities, and that forced the gospel ministers to retreat to the Island of San Juan, to await there a better opportunity, because not only reason demanded it to be that way, but also the example of Christ and the doctrine he taught to his apostles. However, even so, the faith appears to grow more roots, that every day may render stronger the foundations upon which the Christian community is being built; for instance, in the said Island of San Juan, the word of God, which was as tied as St. John had been when he preached the word of God and suffered imprisonment for it, the number of soldiers left by passing galleons was slowly increasing, the war supplies were increasing, and the garrison bearing the royal arms of Y.M. was getting stronger. Their impact among the Indians and uncivilized people is a government by fear, which opens up the way to preaching, and, once this way is open, it cannot be easily closed, because it is then that the “trunks” of these regions also understand that there are some who can overpower them, if they sprout “branches” or “thickets” to block the growth. There are also sharp swords to impede them; it is for lack of swords that we now weep over so many churches that used to be and are no more; now, on the contrary, we rejoiced that the faith, which was formerly planted in the Marianas and fertilized by the very blood of the Ven. Father Diego Luis de Sanvitores, is prospering in the shadow of the arms with much happiness and signs of perseverance. For instance, the 90 soldiers and the weapons existing in the Mission last year were enough to finish subjugating the Island of San Juan perfectly; they resisted all enemy attacks and punished the delinquents. The militia made various sorties throughout the Island, always in the company of some gospel ministers, to encourage those who wanted to live with our friendship, and fight with those who obstinately dared to be our enemies. Some towns were razed and some Indians who tried to take our lives with their spears lost their own. The greatest misfortune was that, by losing their life, they also lost that of their soul, because the anxieties and the rough incidents of the war did not make room for their being assisted, but such deaths, considered harsh [by us], are thought to be very deplorable by God, so that his divine Majesty compensates for others that are most precious in his presence, since they are the deaths of children who were baptized during those sorties, some of them having died afterwards, to go and live eternally in heaven, there to touch the hands of that providence of God so worthy of veneration, and fear by them, since, out of two from the same town, house, family, and site, he selects one for Himself, and the others, on account of their merit, He leaves for hell.

habia en el año pasado en la Mision, eran bastantes para acabar de sugetar perfectamente á la Isla de S. Juan, resistiendo cualquier encuentro enemigo y castigando á los delincuentes, hizo la milicia acompañada siempre de algunos Ministros del Evangelio, varias correrias por la Isla en que admitian á nuestra amistad á los que querian vivir en ella, y peleaban con los que obstinadamente porfiaban ser enemigos, arrasando algunos Pueblos y perdiendo la vida algunos Indios que procuraban quitarnosla con sus lanzas y su mayor desdicha era que con la vida de el cuerpo, perdian tambien la del alma, por que las angustias, y lanzes apretados de la guerra no daban lugar a ser socorridos pero estas muertes por ser de pesadezes, las llama Dios pesimas, las recompensaba su divina Magestad, con otras, que son muy preciosas en su presencia, por que entre los muchos niños, que en estas salidas se bautizaban, morian poco despues algunos, para vivir eternamente en el cielo, tocando aqui con las manos aquella providencia de Dios tan digna de ser venerada con temor suyo, con que dos de un mismo Pueblo, casa, familia, y puesto escoge, á uno para si, y á otros por sus méritos los dexa para el infierno.

[Dens of iniquity destroyed]

No era de la ganancia de estas Almas de aquellos niños el fruto solo de las salidas, por que tras las aguas del Bautismo, que iban de nuevo pacificando la tierra para fabricar de ella templos á Dios, se seguía muchas veces el fuego, con que por orden del Capitan se abrasaban las casas dedicadas á la sensualidad, y torpeza, en que como en templos de abominacion los solteros, y una sola consorte cómplice de sus delitos servian al Demonio con innumerables fealdades, y cuando por estar estas casas cerca de otras, no se podian quemar, sin abrasarlas otras tambien entonces se derribaba deseando que con ellas cayese el mayor idolo que en Marianas puede haber guerra á la fé, y se ponía una ley contra el que bolviese á levantar tales casas, que en todas fueron unas treinta las que se destruyeron. Quemaronse tambien muchas lanzas, que hazen de huesos humanos; y se procurará acabar con ellos de todo punto, por que sobre ser una impiedad grande, andar desenterrando los muertos, para hacer de sus huesos lanzas, con que enterrar á los vivos, es cosa terrible, para los Soldados que hallan contra ellos una arma tan venenosa, y tan cierta para matar, que si la lanza, dexa algun pedazito de hueso en el cuerpo del herido, ó ha de bolver á salir (lo que es muy dificil) para que el enfermo viva; ó si se ha de quedar dentro, ha de hacer Dios, un milagro para que no se muera, y para este veneno tan eficaz, no buscan ingrediente alguno, mas que la lanza, por que el hueso humano, por lo menos el de estos Indios, lo trahe consigo como enseña la experiencia, y en Mexico se hizo en junta de médicos, y no se puede hallar el remedio.

[The native religious superstitions]

La misma fortuna, que las Casas publicas y lanzas experimento tambien una gran cantidad de huesos, y calaveras de muertos reduciendolas el fuego en cenizas, por que algunos Indios viejos en la edad, y mas embejecidos en sus pecados, no tubiesen ocasion de engañar á otros ignorantes, asegurandoles con ellas lluvias para sus arrozés, viento para sus navegantes, y victorias en los encuentros. Hechizero hubo, que procurando comunicar su ceguedad, á otros Indios, les decía que tubiesen gran respecto a

[Dens of iniquity destroyed]

The sorties did not benefit the souls of those children only, because behind the waters of baptism, that were pacifying the country anew in order to build from it temples to God, there followed many times the fire, with which by order of the Captain were burned the houses dedicated to sensuality and turpitude, where the bachelors along with a single consort, accomplice of their sins, would serve the Devil with numberless ugly doings, as in temples of abomination. When such houses were near others, and could not be burned without burning others as well, they were then torn down, the idea being that along with them the greatest "idol" that the Faith can fight against in the Marianas would fall also. A law was passed against the re-construction of such houses. All in all, there were about 30 such houses destroyed. They also burned many spears that they make with human bones; the idea is to get rid of them entirely, because they cause a great impiety when they disinter the dead, in order to make spears out of their bones, and then use them to bury the living. It is a horrible thing for the soldiers who find it such a poisonous weapon, and so deadly that if the spear leaves any small piece of bone in the body of the wounded, either it has to come out (what is very difficult) for the sick one to survive, or, if it stays in, God has to make a miracle to preserve him alive. In order to make this poison so efficient, they do not look for any ingredient, other than the spear itself, because the human bone, at least that of these Indians, comes with it, as experience has shown; in Mexico, a consultation of physicians was held, but no remedy was found.

[The native religious superstitions]

A large quantity of bones and skulls from the dead met with the same luck as the public houses and the spears, the fire reducing them to ashes, so that some Indians, advanced in age and older still in sins, might not use them to fool other ignorant ones into believing that with them they could secure rain for their rice crops, wind for their sailors, and victories in their battles. There was one sorcerer who tried to pass on his blind beliefs to other Indians, telling them that they should have respect for a stone that was next to his house, and should not spit on it, because whoever would do so would become crazy. A religious learned about this when he was passing by that house during one of the sorties. He called over the Captain and his soldiers and many Indians, and, judging that it was a good occasion to convince them without more arguments than their own eyes told them, in order to disillusion those miserable ones, and to revenge the disgusting spit that the devil threw at the face of the Lord through some Indians, for so many reasons it was called [nothing but] a stone; now all could spit on it, since it could only be a representation of the devil. It was so done, and after a while the Indians no longer recognized the stone, but they recognize their own craziness when they saw that the Spanish and Indians would spit, without losing their mind, and they confessed that they were the ones who were crazy.

una piedra que estaba junto á su casa, y no escupiesen en ella, por que el que esto hiziese se habia de bolber loco: supo esto un religioso al tiempo que en una correria de estas, pasaba por la tal casa, llamo al Capitan y sus Soldados, y á muchos Indios, y juzgando que era buena ocasion para convencerlos sin mas argumentos que el de sus propios ojos, les dixo que para el desengaño de aquellos miserables, y desquite de las asquerosas salivas, que por boca de algunos Indios arrojó el demonio en el rostro de aquel Señor, que por tantas razones se llama piedra, agora escupiesen todos en aquella, en que queria ser reconocido el demonio: hizose asi, y en poco tiempo no conocieron los Indios la piedra, pero conozieron su locura por que viendo que Españoles, y Indios escupieron, sin perder el juicio ninguno confesaron que ellos eran los locos.

[Military justice]

En todas estas salidas despues de haber explicado los misterios del Evangelio, los misterios de la fé, y ley de Dios entraba la milicia predicando otras leyes muy saludables y entre ellas era una que habia de ser ahorcado el Indio, que en su casa admitiese á qualquiera de los matadores, y rebeldes, y que si alguno de estos fuese á sus Pueblos les daba autoridad para que lo prendiesen y llevasen al Presidio. Fué esta ley muy importante para hacer temer á los Indios, pero mas a proposito fué para confirmarlos en el temor, la execucion de la pena impuesta, por que habiendo ajusticiado á un Indio que contravino al bando escondiendo en su casa á quien no debia, cayó en los Indios un gran temor, y los delincuentes andaban ya como desterrados dentro de sus propias tierras: pero no se escondian tan del todo que no los viesen otros Indios, dando estos noticia al Capitan, fué N. S. servido del que en poco tiempo fuera de los que en peleas han muerto se ajusticiasen, seis de los matadores, y delincuentes antiguos que habian muerto á varios religiosos, y soldados, y quemado las Iglesias, pagando ahora con sus muertes, las que dieron á quienes procuraban darles la vida. Lo que en estos castigos hacia á los Indios mucha armonia, era ver hechos ministros de justicia á los mismos naturales, por que unos por congraciarse con los Españoles, otros por alcanzar perdon de sus delitos, y todos por la esperanza del premio, se ofrecian al Capitan, para prender a los malhechores, que andaban retirados y armados por los montes, inquietando á otros, y de hecho introduciendose con gran disimulo á hablar con ellos, unas veces los prendian y traian atados al Presidio; otras resistiendose los delincuentes, y siguiendo los nuevos ministros de justicia, las ordenes que llevaban del Capitan, los mataban, y cortadas las Cabezas, las fixaban en varias partes para escarmiento público.

Causaron estas cosas grandes efectos, por que ya no se fiaban, unos Indios de otros, y aun de la comunicacion con sus amigos, se recelaban temiendo si estaba alli escondida su muerte: espantavanse de ver que los naturales ya solas ya en compañía de los Españoles, se embraveciesen con los que eran de una misma Patria, y tiñesen las catanas en la sangre que antes parecia propia. Y para que esta desconfianza de unos Indios con otros se confirmase, y andubiesen como á porfia, sobre quien habia de ser mas amigo de los Españoles, se señaló con toda solemnidad, á un Indio por Capitan de una parte del monte, dandole un baston que truxese siempre por insignia de su oficio, y el gustaba tanto del nombre de Capitan, que no contentandose con oirle daba á otros indios el de Cabos de esquadra suyos, y cumple tambien con su obligacion, que á ningun enemi-

[Military justice]

During all of those sorties, after the mysteries of the Gospel had been explained, along with the mysteries of the faith and law of God, the militia would go in and teach other very healthy laws; one of them was that the Indian who would conceal any killer, or rebel, in their house would be hanged, and if any such man did go to their towns, the [Captain] gave them authority to capture him and bring him to the Garrison. This law was very important to instil fear among the Indians, but this fear was more properly confirmed by the execution of the penalty imposed; an Indian who had contravened the declaration, by hiding in his house one who he should not have, was executed. This caused a great fear among the Indians, and the delinquents then went about as exiles within their own country. However, they did not hide sufficiently not to be seen by other Indians now and then, and the latter gave notice to the Captain. Our Lord was pleased that within a short time, among those who died in battle, there were put to death six of the old killers and delinquents who had killed various religious and soldiers, and burned the churches. They now paid with their own deaths the deaths of those who had tried to give them life. The Indians themselves were in agreement with these punishments, because the natives themselves became ministers of justice, some to ingratiate themselves with the Spanish, others to achieve pardon for their crimes, and all them hoping for a reward. They would offer themselves to the Captain, for the capture of the malefactors who lived in hiding and armed throughout the hills and annoyed other. In fact, they would manage to make contact with them; sometimes, they would seize them and bring them tied to the Garrison, and at other times, if the delinquents would resist, the new ministers of justice would follow the orders they had received from the Captain and kill them, cutting their heads off and placing them at various places as a public warning.

These things had a great effect, because the Indians could no longer trust one another. They could not even make contact with their friends and were fearful that they might meet with their death there; they were surprised to see the natives, either alone or in the company of Spaniards, would dare to attack those of their own country and dip their swords in the blood which they had heretofore looked upon as their own. In order for this mutual distrust among Indians to be reinforced, so that they would compete in emulating the Spanish and try to be their friends, an Indian was chosen and appointed with much solemnity as Captain of a part of the bush country; a staff was given him that he always carried as a sign of his office. He liked the name of Captain so much that, not content with hearing it from other Indians, he made some of his own people Corporals. He complies with his duty so well that he does not allow a single enemy in the district of his government; many have been punished with his help. Other Indians have imitated him; they have also been entertained, and now the Governor of the Philippines has again sent the diploma of Master-of-camp of the Indians to one named Don Antonio Ayihi. Above the other Mariano justice officials, we must call this man a very faithful vassal of Y.M. Indeed, from the first years when he welcomed the Ven. Fr. Diego Luis de Sanvitores, upon his stepping ashore in the Marianas, he has shown

go permite en el distrito de su gobierno; y con su ayuda se han castigado muchos. Hanle imitado otros Indios, que han sido agasajados tambien, y ahora de nuevo el Gobernador de Filipinas embió el Titulo de Maestre de Campo de los Indios, á uno que se llama D. Antonio Ayihi, y á quien sobre los demas Marianos de justicia debemos llamar fidelisimo vasallo de V.M. Pues desde los primeros años que recibió al V. P. Diego Luis de Sanvitores, cuando saltó en tierra de Marianas, se ha mostrado hasta hoy con grande lealdad á las reales armas sintiendo nuestras desgracias, y alegrandose de nuestros buenos sucesos, como si fueran suyos: dando la vida á muchos Españoles, con peligros evidentes de la suya, y avisandonos de las traiciones del enemigo, en especial un dia, en que conociendo no teniamos noticia de unos quinientos Indios que vinian á dar sobre el presidio se puso en una barquilla, y navegando por la Playa, que caia sobre el presidio, hizo señas con el remo, y con el disimulo que pudo, dió á entender que como si fuera enemigo, salieran á el, apuntandole con escopetas, y haciendo ademanes de querer prenderlo para engañar asi á los enemigos, que aunque no los veiamos nosotros, le veian ellos á el; salieron pues tres soldados que disparando, hacia donde estaba el Indio, y acercandose á el, les dixo todo lo que pasaba y no importó poco, pues dentro de media hora se peleó hiriendo á muchos de los contrarios, sin lesion de nuestra parte. Este Indio vive ya casado por la iglesia dentro del Presidio, en donde no solo sirve de soldado en lo que le ocupa el Capitan, sino que como criado de la Mision en todo cuanto se ofrece y con mucho amor. Finalmente las cosas estan ya tan trocadas, que si de Marianas faltasen los Españoles, es cierto tendrian entre si los Indios muchas guerras por haberse hecho tantos de nuestra parte.

[Reductions into larger settlements]

Considerando esta mudanza de tiempos, y que con los Castigos de malhechores, incendios de casas publicas, y lo demas referido se habia cumplido en parte con aquel destruir y arruinar, que para plantar encargó Dios tanto á Jeremias, parecio tambien que ya era tiempo, sino de plantar por lo menos, de hacer que creciese lo plantado, y se aumentase en el fruto, pues ya no habia tanta zizaña, que ahogase el trigo de Dios; para esto se emprendió. una cosa, que cuanto tenia de util para arraigar la fé en estas (islas) tierras, tanto tiene de arduo, y arriesgado en la execucion sino se hace con la debida prudencia: esta fué el sacar los Indios de sus escondrijos, y reducirlos á hacer asentos en Pueblos mas grandes, adonde vivan con algun gobierno y policia proporcionado á su estado y capacidad, y sobre todo á donde con mas facilidad, y mas abundancia de doctrina puedan ser administrados con los Santos Sacramentos y facilitada la salvacion de sus almas, por que aunque estando ellos muy esparcidos por los montes se haga á costa de grandes trabajos, lo que se puede pero no se consigue todo lo que desea el celo.

Observose en toda la Isla que sitios serian mas á proposito para la formacion de estos Pueblos, labor de los Indios en sus sementeras, y para poderles acometer nuestras armas en caso que se revelasen sin padecer entonces la guerra que hasta aqui ha hecho la naturaleza, con los riscos, montes y emboscadas; que sin industria de los Indios pelean por su defensa. Y hecho esto se intimó no de un golpe á todos los Indios, para que no fuese tan grande la dificultad, sino á unas siete rancherías que se agregasen y levantasen casas,

himself until now very loyal to the royal arms, sympathizing with us in our misfortunes, and feeling happy during our successes, as if they were his. He saved the life of many Spaniards, at the risk of his own life, by advising us of enemy treasons, specially one day when, knowing that we did not know about the impending attack of about 500 Indians against the garrison, he grabbed a canoe and sailed along the beach and, coming abeam of the garrison, made signals with the oar, with as much dissembling as possible, to make us understand, as if he were an enemy, to go out to him and take aim at him with the light muskets; his manners were thus indicating that we should capture him so as to deceive the enemy, whom he could see, while we could not. Three soldiers then went out and fired in his direction. When they came near him, he told them all that was going on. This [information] was not a small thing, since within half an hour, the battle was on in which many adversaries were wounded, without any casualty on our side. This Indian now lives within the garrison, married in the church; he serves not only as a soldier in whatever assignment given to him by the Captain, but also serves the Mission in whatever occasion with much love. Finally, the situation has changed so drastically that if the Spanish should leave the Marianas, there would certainly be many wars among the Indians, because so many of them have now switched to our side.

[Reductions into larger settlements]

Considering the changing times, the punishments of malefactors, burnings of public houses, and the other actions mentioned above, much had been destroyed and ruined. Since God had chosen Jeremiah for the reconstruction, it seemed [to us] that the time had also arrived, if not to plant, at least to foster the growth of what was already planted in order to increase the fruit, since there was not as yet so many weeds to choke the wheat of God. To this effect, one thing was undertaken which, inasmuch as it was useful to implant the faith in these islands, it was also arduous and risky in carrying out, if not done with due prudence: this was to take the Indians out of their hiding places, and reduce them to settle into bigger towns, where they would live with some government and police¹ relative to their condition and ability, and above all where they would more easily receive the doctrine, be administered the holy sacraments, and make it easy to have their souls saved, because, while they remain very spread out over the hills, this missionary effort, although still possible, is done at the cost of great hardships, and zeal does not achieve as much fruit as it desires.

A study was made all over the Island to see which sites would be more appropriate for the creation of these towns, for the cultivation of their plantations, and where our arms would be able to corner them, in case of an uprising, without the war that heretofore had to be waged against nature, with its cliffs, bushes and ambush sites where the Indians can fight defensively without having to build defensive works. Once this plan was made, not all the Indians at once were given an ultimatum, so as to minimize the difficulty. At first, the residents of only 7 farms were told to assemble and to build

1 Ed. note: Literal translation for "some semblance of law and order."

en el puesto que se les señalaba, sentian naturalmente esta mudanza, por que dexando los rincones en que algunos de ellos vivian, dexaban las patrias, donde habian nacido, y al paso que el amor de estas, es dulce, les era no menos desabrida la ausencia de ellas: pero ponderandoles todas las combeniencias temporales y espirituales, que trae consigo el vivir en Pueblos, y que por dexar su habitacion antigua no se privaban del fruto que podian rendirles el suelo y arboles de ella, obedecieron, y á su imitacion, hizieron lo mismo otras doce rancherias, que todas ellas viven ya juntas en forma de Pueblo, á distancia de un cuarto de legua de nuestro Presidio, y en otras partes se va haciendo la misma diligencia.

*Experimentose luego el fruto de la nueva poblacion, por que logrando la buena comodidad, que habia, se instaba oportuna, é importuna con la Doctrina y educacion cristiana, y fuera de lo que los Domingos, por ser fiesta comun, se inculcaba á todos en general, en la iglesia, y otras veces en sus propias casas, estaban todos los días de la semana distribuidos para doctrinas particulares conforme al estado y capacidad de cada uno y asi unos días venian los que estaban casados á su modo, otros los solteros y otros la jubentud; y como el pasto de la Doctrina era tan abundante en buen tiempo se hallaron bien instruidos; y fuera de los que ya estaban casados por la iglesia, vivian con quietud, cumpliendo con las obligaciones de Cristianos, se casaron tambien, por la iglesia de los nuevamente agregados unos **150 pares**. De todos estos gremios de gente, confiesan y la comunion se da á muchos que despues de diligente examen, parece imprudencia el negarlo.*

[First hospital in Guam, ca. 1679]

Los enfermos son asistidos con los Santos Sacramentos y cuando mueren ellos mismos los traen para ser enterrados en la iglesia, particular que tienen los Indios, distinta de la de los Españoles y puesta afuera de la estacada del Presidio, y bien capaz; pues los Domingos de la gente que viene dos leguas en contorno del Presidio, acuden unos mil Indios á misa y hay lugar para muchos mas.

Para cuando emferman algunos Indios mas pobres y desvalidos se ha hecho un hospital junto á su Iglesia, y allí puestos con tiempo sobre el bien que se les hace en el cuerpo, reciben el de el alma en doctrina y administracion de Sacramentos, hasta que se mejoren ó mueren, con muchas esperanzas de su salvacion.

[The young Christians]

*Pero lo que merece especial mencion es la jubentud asi de muchachos, hasta edad de unos diez y ocho años que en todos seran unos **180** los que hay en la poblacion nueva; esperando de su habilidad y enseñanza todo lo bueno que de este punto nos dexó escrito el Apostol de las Indias San Francisco Xavier: por que para exercitarse mas en las cosas de la fé, han hecho ellos aparte en su Pueblo una Capilla que llaman de los muchachos, adonde acuden todos los días, repitiendo todos los días, toda la Doctrina Cristiana y preguntas del Catecismo, y es materia de particular consuelo ver que entre ellos y ellas hay muchos tan capaces que corrientemente saben explicar lo esencial como es; que cosa es pecado mortal, venial, original, que es necesario para saberse confesar bien,*

houses at a site shown to them; they naturally resented this move, because, by leaving the corners where some of them lived, they were leaving behind their lands and birth places; since the love of home is sweet, absence from home was no less tasteless to them. However, upon explaining to them all the material and spiritual advantages that living in towns would bring them, and that by leaving their residence they did not also abandon the fruit of the soil and the trees, they obeyed. At their imitation, 12 other farms did the same; all of these people now live together in one town, located a quarter league from our Garrison. The same process is occurring at other places.

The fruit of the new settlement [policy] was afterward experienced, because, the population becoming more accessible, it became timely, and imperative, to take advantage of the situation for Christian indoctrination and education, on Sundays, when they were all indoctrinated together inside the church, and sometimes in their own homes, Sunday being a common holiday. On other days, they were assigned a time and place according to their status and ability; so, on some days, those who were married in accordance with their custom came, on other days the bachelors, and on others the older children. As the pasture of the Doctrine was so abundant, in a short time they were all well indoctrinated. Besides those who were already married in the church and lived quietly, complying with their Christian obligations, about **150 couples** were also married in the church from among those new settlers. All these syndicated people attend confession; many even receive communion, because it was thought imprudent to deny it to them, after some ready examination.

[First hospital in Guam, circa 1679]

The sick are attended with the holy sacraments and when they die, the people themselves bring them to be buried in the church. This church is for the Indians, distinct from that of the Spanish and located outside the stockade of the garrison. It is rather large, since it can hold the people coming from two leagues around the garrison, about 1,000 Indians who come to mass on Sunday, with room to spare.

In order to take care of some poorer invalid Indians, a hospital had been made next to their church. Once there, during the time that their body is being taken care of, the well-being of their souls is looked after, through indoctrination and administration of the sacraments, until they improve, or die with much hope for their salvation.

[The young Christians]

However, what deserves to get special mention is the youth, consisting of boys up to 18 years of age, of whom there are about **180** in the new settlement. They leave nothing to be desired in their ability and learning, about which the Apostle of the Indies, St. Francis Xavier, wrote on the subject. For instance, in order to exercise themselves more in things of the Faith, they youth have built a separate chapel in their town, which they call the Young People's Chapel. Every day they met there and every day they repeat the Christian Doctrine, the questions of the Catechism, and it is something of singular consolation to see that among the boys and girls there are some so able that they

y comulgar y por que cosas es invalida la confesion, y aun preguntandoles que cosa es gracia de Dios, responden, que es lo que nos hace amigos de Dios, y lo que si se tiene al tiempo de morir nos libra del Infierno y nos lleva al Cielo: si por acercarse alguna festividad de las principales de Cristo ó Nuestra Señora les dice el Padre que será bueno prevenirse para confesar aquel dia, no parece sino que miran como precepto lo que es pura debocion por que el dia de fiesta estan muy de mañana en la iglesia pidiendo Padre que los confiese. No parece esto lo mas por que no contentandose con poseerlos el bien ellos y queriendo comunicarlo á otros toman á su cargo cada uno de estos mas capaces á quatro ó cinco adultos y viejos y lo mismo es las muchachas con otras tantas mugeres y en brebe ayudan á disponer un Pueblo de su Arte que apenas hay en el, quien no sepa lo necesario para salvarse; y si alguno de aquellos á quien enseñan no quieren oirles lo acusan al Padre y como gente que aunque de poca edad se tienen por mas crecidos que otros en el saber haciendo de los doctos se ponen á decidir quien de los adultos que estan á su cargo está capaz para casarse por la iglesia, y quien no[,] y lo bueno es que en llegando el Padre á hacer examen halla ser verdad lo que dixeron los niños.

Estos abisan con mucho cuidado de los que en el Pueblo caen enfermos y despues que han recibido los Sacramentos, ellos en ausencia de los PP. les hacen repetir actos de Feé, esperanza y caridad, que para este fin han estudiado, y vez hubo que encontró un Padre á un niño de nueve años, con un Cristo en las manos, ayudando á bien morir con actos de contriccion, á otro muchacho de doce años con la misma diligencia, dan cuenta de las paridas por que no peligre el bautismo de algun niño, y en ocasion que iba un Padre á darle á un recién nacido como la muchacha que vino que era de trece años, vió que el Padre no corria, y que el camino que se habia de andar era de un cuarto de legua le dio voces, y remedando con mucha viveza á los parasismos del que combate con las ansias de la muerte, le dixo que asi estaba el niño: hubo de obedecer el Padre á la prisa que pedia la muchacha, para llevar en alas la sanidad al que estaba enfermo: llegó[,] bautizó á la criatura, y luego murió, pasando por las aguas del bautismo á aquel torrente de deites que con su impetu riega la Ciudad de Dios.

*Estos son los frutos que llevan los que por sus tiernos años son de una nueva Cristiandad, y flores de Dios; y por que estas mismas flores son tambien frutos de honestidad y decencia, no quiere su divina Magestad, que esta juventud padezca la esterilidad de estos frutos como se veia en algunos casos de grande confusion para Cristianos antiguos. Reprendiendo un Soldado á una muchacha de estas, por que no condescendia con su torpe intento, diciendola con desprecio que era una India, ella respondió: **India sí, pero Cristiana.***

*Otra de quince años iba á confesar y á comulgar y hubo hombre de los que desde su niñez se alimentaron con la leche de la fé, tan ageno de ella, que arrastrado de su sensualidad, quiso colocar en un mismo Templo á Cristo, y á Belial, á la luz, y á las tinieblas, á Dagon, y al que no en representacion, sino en propiedad era area del Testamento pero la muchacha considerando que iba á recibir dentro de su pecho á Cristo Sacramentado, acordandose de que en ningun lugar por retirado que sea le esconde á Dios los pecados de los hombres cosa que continuamente se les explicaba con muchas conparaciones: le respondió con mucho aliento: **Anda vete de hay [=ahí]; no ves que esta***

fluently explain the basics, for example: what is mortal sin, venial sin, original sin, what is necessary to know in order to make a good confession, a good communion, and when is confession invalid, and even when one asks them to define divine grace, they answer that it is what makes us friends with God, and what delivers us from hell if we have it at the time of death and brings us to heaven. When some principal holiday of Christ or Our Lady is approaching and the Father tells them that it would be good if they prepared themselves to confess themselves that day, it seems as if they consider a precept, what is in fact pure devotion, because they are in church very early on the morning of the day in question, asking the Father to hear their confession. And that is not all; not content with possessing the knowledge well themselves, they wish to communicate it to others, each one of the more able ones taking four or five adults and old people in charge, and the same with the girls who take as many women. In a short time, their endeavor helps to make one town ready, to such an extent that there is hardly anyone left in it who does not know the basics for his salvation. If anyone among those they teach does not wish to listen, they report him to the Father. Though they may be young in age, they are older than some others in their knowledge; the more learned even go so far as to tell which one of the adults in their care is ready to get married inside the church, and who is not. The good thing about this is that when the Father gets around to make an examination, he finds that what the children had said was true.

They are the ones who are assiduous in reporting those who become sick in the town; after the sick have received the sacraments, they, in the absence of the Fathers, also make the sick repeat the acts of Faith, Hope and Charity, which they have studied for this purpose. There was a case when a Father met a 9-year-old boy with a crucifix in his hands, assisting a dying person with acts of contrition. Another Father mentioned a 12-year-old who would report births with the same diligence, so that no baby would risk dying without baptism. A Father reported that he was on the way to baptize a recently-born when he met a 13-year-old girl; when she saw that the Father was not running, and that the distance to be covered was a quarter league, she shouted to him and acting out with much liveliness the paroxysms of one in the throes of death, told him that the baby was that way. The Father had to obey quickly to the request of the girl, and fly in with the health that the sick one needed. He got there, baptized the creature, and then it died, gaining access through the waters of baptism to that torrent of Deites which irrigates the City of God with its current.

These are the fruits brought by those of a tender age in a new Christian community, and the flowers of God; because these same flowers are also fruits of honesty and decency, his divine Majesty does not wish this youth to suffer the infertility of these fruits, as it was seen in some cases of great confusion for the old Christians. One of these girls, while scolding a soldier because she did not consent to his lewd advances and he had scornfully called her an Indian, she answered: **Indian yes, but a Christian one.**

Another 15-year-old was on the way to confess and take communion. There came a man who, though raised from babyhood within the faith, was so far removed from it that, pushed by his sensuality, tried to place in the same temple both Christ and Belial

aquí Dios; otra ha habido de la misma edad en quien así la hermosura como las pagas que le ofrecían, procurando contrastar la pureza, y unas veces las desechaba, otras, se escondía: una de trece años admitió con enojo la dádiva que por medio de tercera persona le embiaba otra, y luego le tiró con ella á la cara para que viera que el interés no había dado cumplimiento á sus ruegos, no se quejase de haber rogado de valde.

*No menos graciosa que de edificación la burla con que condenaron la poca estima que algunos Cristianos viegos tienen de la ley de Dios, por que bolbiéndose á sus casas y oído su explicación en la iglesia, encontraron el escándalo que para tropiezo suyo les había puesto el Demonio junto á el camino, por las señas y persuaciones con que como con silbos, de infernal serpiente las llaman[.] otros escondidos entre los árboles, pero combiniéndose todas huyeron y corriendo y decían **Cristianas nosotras, cristianas nosotras**, y conociendo esto un soldado en ocasión que había exortado un religioso á dar buen ejemplo, y no desacer con la mala vida lo que se edificaba por otra parte, dixo: **Piensa el Padre que con hablar una palabra se conquista ¿una muchacha de estas? Pues engañase, que ni muchos días de guerra bastan para vencerla.***

Estas resistencias en estas solteras, son actos de grande pureza[.] lo son también de muy grande fidelidad para con sus esposos en otras muchas que viven casadas dentro del Presidio con mucho exemplo: una de estas al tiempo que su marido salía á alguna pelea con los enemigos tenía que vencer otra guerra mas peligrosa de quien procuraba rendirle la voluntad; pero ella resistía con valor, y para evitar el riesgo que traen estos asaltos se fué á la iglesia, llamó á un sacerdote, y díxole que procurase se pusiese el remedio á aquel desorden por que ella no conocía á otro que á su legitimo esposo, siendo así que quizás en algun tiempo podrá decir, con mas verdad que la Samaritana que no tendría razón por que no tendría uno solo, y por ventura pasarían de cinco.

A otra de las mismas intentó engañar con agasajos una persona cuya resistencia era difícil para las Indias; por ser para ellas, de suposición y temor, y haciéndola llevar á su casa, la llamó á solas, y manifestó su intención, pero ella no le dio mas respuesta, que bolverse de espaldas, y salirse huyendo de su casa, queriendo Dios, que aunque muy de lejos halla en esta gente quien imite en algo la huida, con que el otro José se libró del lazo de su Señora.

[i.e. Satan], in broad daylight, and in darkness add Dagon¹ to an area which is considered the very property of the Testament, but the girl, considering that she was about to receive inside her chest the sacramental Christ, remembering that no place is so hidden as to hide the sins of man from God's knowledge (something that was continually explained to them with many examples), answered him with the same breath: **Get away from here; dont'you see that God is here?** There was another girl of about the same age whose beauty attracted many such advances; she would try to oppose them with her chastity, sometimes would use censure, other times, she simply hid herself. Another 13-year-old showed annoyance at receiving a present from someone, through a third person, and then threw it back in her face so that she would see that selfishness did not make her accept her requests, that she should not complain of having begged her too much.

Not any less interesting than edifying is the joke played on the little esteem that some old Christians have for the law of God, on the occasion that they were returning to their homes after hearing its explanation in the church; they met with the scandal that the devil had set up for them along the way as a trap: they were the signals, the invitations, such as the whistles, from the infernal serpent, to call them. Others were hidden behind trees, but they all agreed to run away, and while running they shouted: **We are Christian, we are Christian.** One soldier who had been exhorted by a religious into giving a good example on such an occasion, and not to destroy by a bad life what was being built somewhere else, said: **Do you Father think that one of these girls can be conquered with just one word? Then, you are fooling yourself. Not even many days of war are sufficient to win her over.**

Such resistance among these unmarried girls are acts of great chastity. There are also acts of great fidelity among the married ones who live within the Garrison with much example: one of these, at the time that her husband had gone out to some battle with the enemy, had to fight another war more dangerous with one who was trying to get her will, but she resisted with valor, and to avoid the risks that she ran with such assaults she went to church, called a priest, and told him to try and find a remedy to that disorder, because she did not know any other man than her legal husband; one day, she might be able to say, very truthfully, that the Samaritan woman was wrong because she did not have only one, but perhaps had more than five.

A similar incident happened to another one of the same girls. A person whose resistance on the part of Indian girls was difficult to accept, and he used gifts and fear with them. He tried to win this girl also with gifts, and had her brought to his house, where he called her apart, and manifested his intention, but she gave him no other answer than turning around and fleeing from his house; God thus showed that, though not closely,

1 Ed. note: A reference to the Philistine god of the Bible, half man and half fish. A sexual allusion on the part of the narrator. The incident may have taken place within the church enclosure, or in the shadow of the church building.

[The first inter-marriages]

*Con muchachas de este porte esta casado gran numero de soldados Filipinos, y Españoles, por que considerando que el peligro de abrasarse en los vicios es grande y mucho mayor el que ha de arder con ellos en el infierno, juzgaron que era mejor casarse que no abrasarse, y asi atropellando con la desigualdad, de Españoles y Indias, viven con ellas en el santo estado del Matrimonio, y aqui es adonde se conoce la virtud que tiene este Sacramento para hacer que la muger infiel se santifique por el varon fiel, y Cristiano, por que sobre el contento en que viven en su estado, confirmandolo Dios con la bendicion que les da en la fecundidad de sus hijos, viven con mucho exemplo y exercicio de cosas cristianas, y frecuencia de Sacramentos, por ser mas la combenien-
cia que para esto tienen dentro del Presidio; adonde tienen un sacerdote destinado á la educacion Cristiana de estas casadas, explicandoles muchas veces cada semana las obligaciones de su estado, como han de criar sus hijos y portarse con sus maridos, aprendiendo algunos oficios en que puedan serle de alguna utilidad, y alivio, como es la costura y otras cosas semejantes en que algunas aprovechan mucho, y siendo asi que en casa de sus Padres estaban hechas á ver que la Cabeza de la casa era la muger, mandando ella y obedeciendo el marido; ahora va todo al contrario reconociendo ellos la superioridad, y sugetandose á las leyes y jugo de matrimonio.*

Estos frutos de pureza y cristiandad de vida son el censo que V.M. percibo del Colegio ó Seminario de niñas, que con magnificencia Real tiene fundado V.M. en Marianas, en contra posicion de las Casas publicas de torpeza que antes tenían, en que como Universidad de Maldad preocupandoles el Demonio la juventud les enseñaba á envejecer en los vicios, haciendo el que pretendió ser Ladron de la divinidad, que el primer uso de la razon que habia de ser aquel reconocimiento con que estas criaturas adorasen á su Criador, fuese en ellas un despedirse para siempre de tan gran felicidad, y entregarse desde luego, á la ceguedad y soltura de sus pasiones, para que ignorada la grandeza de la Divina Magestad al Demonio solo reconociesen.

¿O Señor? Y quan ricos despojos que el Demonio tenia usurpados, ha restituido V.M. á Dios! cuantos pecados, cuantas torpezas, y abominaciones, cuantas injurias contra aquel Supremo Rey, que se sirve de otros Reyes, ha evitado V.M. con sola la fundacion de este colegio de niñas, y si los tropiezos, que se ofrecen á la vista, son los que suelen matar al alma, cuantas almas son las que á V.M. deben la vida, habiendo vestido en muchas la desnudez que sin duda hubiera muerto las almas de mucho mas, por no ser almas de hombres, que hacen con sus ojos aquel concierto casto, que hizo el Santo Job con los suyos. Quantas sean estas almas deudas de la vida de V.M. lo dice aquella desnudez tan homicida, en que acaso tropezaron los ojos, del Rey David, pues ella fué la que mató el alma á este Rey, la que quitó la vida, al que no era tanto hijo suyo, quanto parte de su delito, la que con las armas de su exercito contrario dio á Urias la muerte, y la que dexo tambien desnuda la espada de Dios para terror de su Casa.

Aun es mayor el fruto, que á V.M. tributa, otro Colegio de niños que tambien tiene fundado en Marianas la piedad de V.M. por que tambien es en el mucho mayor y mas continua la esperanza no solo de virtud, sino de letras, y policia que prometen sus años y capacidad; asisten á sus funciones de comunidad, saben leer y muchos escribir, y al-

there are some to be found among these people who can imitate somewhat the flight by which the other Joseph freed himself from the embrace of his Lady.¹

[The first inter-marriages]

A large number of Filipino and Spanish soldiers are married with girls with such behavior, because considering that the risk of being burned by vices is great and greater that of burning with them in hell, they judged that it was better to get married than not to burn [sic], and so, disregarding the inequality between Spanish men and Indian women, they live with them in the holy state of matrimony, and here is the proof of the virtue of this sacrament, that turns an unfaithful woman into a saintly one for the faithful, and Christian, man of valor; indeed, she is content to live with her status, God proving it by his blessing which he gives them, through fecundity and many children; they show a good example by their life and the exercise of Christian things, the frequent partaking of the sacraments, they being more convenient of access within the Garrison, where they have one priest assigned to the Christian education of these married women, explaining to them many times a week the obligations of the married life, how they must raise their children and behave toward their husbands, learning some trades in order to be useful and helpful to him, such as sewing and other similar things which some of them take much advantage of. It is so, because **in the house of their parents, they were used to seeing that the head of the household was the woman, she ordering and the husband obeying**, but now everything is the reverse, the husbands recognizing their own superiority, but subject to the laws and yoke of matrimony.

Such fruits of chastity and Christian living are the census that Y.M. perceived from the College or Seminary for Girls, which Y.M. has funded with royal generosity in the Marianas, in opposition to the public houses of turpitude that they had before, which served as a University of Evil where the Devil preoccupied the youth and taught them to grow old with vices, as he pretended to be the thief of divinity, by having them make the first use of their reason, that should have been one of recognition with which these creatures should have worshipped their Creator; instead, he had them go to these places to forever say goodbye to such a great happiness, and to deliver themselves from then on to the blindness and dissoluteness of their passions, so that they would recognize only the Devil and ignore the greatness of the Divine Majesty.

O Sire! How many rich spoils the Devil had usurped, whom Y.M. has restituted to God! how many sins, how many lewd actions, and abominations, how many insults against that Supreme King, who uses other Kings, that Y.M. has avoided with just the foundation of this college for girls, and if the blunders that can be seen are those that usually kill the soul, how many souls there are that owe their life to Y.M. by providing the clothing to hide the nakedness of many of them, without which the souls of many more would certainly have died, as they do not belong to men who would, like Job, make that chast arrangement with their eyes. How many souls thus owe life to Y.M.?

1 Ed. note: A reference to Genesis 39, 7-20.

gunos aprenden musica para despues servir con ella á la iglesia, y los que ya son de edad mas crecida, suelen casarse, con las que han sido enseñadas en le colegio de niñas; y estos casamientos son de gran importancia para la propagacion de la fé; finalmente en la fundacion de estos colegios, como en noviciado de la cristiandad, estan fundadas las esperanzas de los aumentos mas principales de la Mision, y de ellos como de dos aljabas saca Dios tantas flechas de pequeñuelos con que llena de plagas á sus enemigos, quanto son los pequeñuelos que en ellos se crian, que en el de niños se procura lleguen á ciento; y en el colegio de niñas (que con las guerras y variedad de sucesos se interrum-pio) se pondran ahora todas cuantas se juzguen a proposito.

[Description of Agaña in 1680]

*Los Ministros del Evangelio, que hay el presente son **diez Sacerdotes, y tres Hermanos Coadjutores, con un Donado** que ayudan en cuanto pueden á la Mision; hay dentro del Presidio, unos ciento y treinta soldados, asi de la Nueva y Vieja España, como de Filipinas, y á todos se les explica los Domingos y fiestas principales del año no solo las obligaciones de Cristiano, sino las particulares de soldados, destinados por V.M. para que con las armas y buen exemplo pelean las batallas del Señor Dios de los exercitos, y ayuden á la Combersion de los Marianos; tienen iglesia aparte, y de piedra con Sacramento la cual sirve para los religiosos tambien. **Hay un hospital donde se ponen los soldados que enferman**, y en que son asistidos en cuerpo y en alma con cuantos medios se pueden. Hay vastante provision de armas, y entre estas **cuatro piezas de artilleria medianas, que entraron este año en el Presidio. Hase [=se ha] hecho un Castillo, que aunque de madera es fuerte; y la muralla que hasta aqui era estacada se procura ya hacer de piedra. Hay siete Caballos, que se iran aumentando cada dia mas.***

*Esto es lo espiritual, y temporal que vi y experimente en Marianas hasta cinco de Junio de 1680 en que por orden de los Superiores me embarqué en la Nao **Santa Rosa**, que bolbia de Acapulco y pasé á esta Corte de Manila, para tratar con el Gobernador que V.M. tiene en ella, varios puntos de la Mision de los cuales estan ya executados dos muy principales, que en si encierran otros muchos. Uno era que pues el Capitan de las Misiones nuevas de Indias, es como el primer mobile; que si se para quita tambien el movimiento á las ruedas que llevan sobre si el Trono de la Divina gloria, y si no se para la hace correr por todas partes con ligereza; se hiziese la eleccion de este puesto en quien atendiendo á sus obligaciones quitase á tan dichosa carrera los impedimentos de los caminos no menos con las armas de la milicia que con las de una vida Cristiana: y como le informase que en Marianas habia persona á quien Dios N.S. parecia haber escogido para tan alto empleo, hizose en ella la eleccion y embiose el Titulo de Capitan y Teniente Gobernador á D. José de Quiroga, natural de Galicia, de cuya nobleza, vida exemplar, y militar experiencia se esperan grandes servicios de Dios y de V.M. con estos*

That nudity, so homicidal, can answer that. It even made the eyes of King David blunder; indeed, it was nudity that killed the soul of this King, that took the life of one who was not so much his son, as an accomplice in his crime,¹ that which took the life of Uriah with the weapons of its enemy army, and that which also left naked the sword of God to bring terror upon his House.

There is an even larger fruit from the other College for Boys which is also funded by the piety of Y.M. in the Marianas. It is a tribute to Y.M., because there is also here a greater and far-reaching hope, not only for virtue but also for the letters and polish which the future promises. They [i.e. the boys] fulfil functions in the community, they know how to read and many know how to write; a few are learning music in order to serve the church with it later on. Those who are already older, usually marry the girls who have been taught in the college for girls; such marriages are very important for the propagation of the faith. Finally, in the foundation of these colleges, as if it were a novitiate in Christendon, are founded the hopes for the most important improvements of the Mission; they are like two quivers out of which God pulls out as many arrows of little ones with which he uses to pester his enemies, as they are so many little ones being raised already, perhaps as many as 100. As far as the college for girls is concerned, it had been closed during the wars and various incidents, but now as many girls will be placed there as thought appropriate.

[Description of Agaña in 1680]

The gospel ministers who live there now are **10 priests, and three coadjutor brothers, with one oblate**, who help the Mission as much as they can. Inside the garrison, there are about 130 soldiers, from New as well as Old Spain, and from the Philippines. On Sundays and main holidays throughout the year, they all receive an explanation, not only of their obligations as Christians but also their special obligations as soldiers, assigned by Y.M. to fight the battles of the Lord God of the armies with their weapons and good examples, and to help with the conversion of the Marianos. They have their own church, of stone, and with a sanctuary, which is also used by the religious. **There is a hospital where they place the soldiers who get sick** and where they are assisted in body and in soul with as many means as possible. There is a sufficient provision of arms, and among them **four artillery pieces of average size, which they brought into the garrison this year. A fort has been built, which is strong, though it is only made of wood. The enclosure which until now was a [wooden] stockade is being changed to stone already. There are seven horses that will be increasing in number every day.**

The above description of things spiritual and material comes from what I saw and lived through in the Marianas up to 5 June 1680, which was the date when by order of the Superiors I embarked aboard the galleon **Santa Rosa**, which was returning from

1 Ed. note: A possible allusion to Absalom who took control of his father's harem to assert his right to the succession.

titulos embio dho Gobernador otros ordenanzas para dho Capitan y sus sucesores, todas llenas de celo; y en que para la paz con los Ministros, gobierno de los soldados[,] sugesion de los Indios, destierros de escandalos, y propagacion de la Feé, se ordenan los medios que la experiencia ha mostrado mas convenientes.

*Otro punto era ver si una vez si quiera se podia empezar la fabrica del vagel, que tantas veces ha mandado V.M. para el Comercio de Marianas, y cuando llegué á Manila ya se estaba fabricando en la ribera del Puerto de Cavite **una Balandra de cien toneladas**, al modo de las que traganan los mares de Flandes, que se dió á la vela para Marianas á 17 de Setiembre de 1680.*

[II.] *El 2º punto de que V.M. pide informe es del fruto que se espera hacer en Marianas, y este digo que lo concibo de dos modos: uno es el fruto que se puede hacer entre las trece Islas Marianas hasta ahora descubiertas hacia el Norte, y de todas ellas se ha empezado ya á facilitar el remedio por que el nuevo Capitan, con la Valandra y soldados, con el temor á nuestras armas, y desconfianza que entre si tienen los Indios, y sin tantos delincuentes perturbadores, que ya pagaron á la justicia sus deudas; y con las poblaciones que se han empezado á hacer, estaba ya cuando esto escribo en Manila, toda la Isla de San Juan reducida á Pueblos en forma, y en total paz y quietud: y como por esta Isla la mayor de todas las trece, es tambien de quien las demas forman la consecuencia para su inmitacion, no dudo tampoco que cuando esta noticia llegue á V.M. estarán los Ministros del Evangelio muy esparcidos por todas partes, aunque se ira siempre con especial cuidado, de que todo, lo que se entrare quede muy bien conquistado, y sugeto, por que entre Indios esta sugesion junta con la predicacion es la que en cuanto humanamente se puede asegura la perseverancia de la Cristiandad, y querer sin ella predicar la fe, es lo mismo que hechar Margaritas, á quien desde luego, ó muy aprisa las pisaba. Otro fruto es el que las Marianas pueden ocasionar á las innumerables Islas que caen al Sur de la Isla de S. Juan, siendo esta la puerta por donde les entre la luz del Evangelio; y esto es lo que siempre pretendia el V. P. Diego Luis de Sanvitores, y lo que con la nueva Balandra se facilitará mucho, por que con ella se puede saber de cierto el numero de dhas Islas, su grandeza[,] distancia de Marianas, que no es mucha segun se colige de lo que se ha oido decir á sus Indios, que de 300 que navegaban en 13 embarcaciones que de derrotaron el año de 1664 desde aquella cordillera del Sur, vinieron ellos solos á parar á Galaos [=Talaos], y desde aqui á Sias [Siau], á donde contaron su derrota, y preguntados de un religioso de nuestra Compañia acerca de su tierra, policia y religion, dieron noticia de mas de cincuenta Islas, y tan pobladas de gente que explican su numero con el simil de las hormigas: reconocen Rey, pero no lo debe ser mas que en el nombre, pues toda soberania se encierra en una casa baxa y larga que le fabrican para habitacion y palacio; leyes no las pone, ni los vasallos tienen otras, que las que han puesto sus apetitos.*

Acapulco. I went on to this Court of Manila to deal with the Governor whom Y.M. has there about various points concerning the Mission. Two of the main points have already been carried out, and by themselves they embrace many other points. One was therefore the Captain of the New Missions of the Indies, who is the prime mover; if he stops, he also stops the movement of the wheels of the vehicle carrying the throne of divine glory, and if he does not stop, he makes it run everywhere speedily. The person selected for this post must carry out his obligations by removing the obstacles in the way of such a lucky vehicle, not just with the arms of the militia but also with those of a Christian life. After I informed him that there was already in the Marianas a person whom God our Lord seemed to have selected already for such a high office, he was selected and the diploma of his appointment as Captain and Lieutenant Governor was despatched to Don José de Quiroga, a native of Galicia.¹ It is hoped that God will be greatly served, given his nobility, exemplary life, and military experience. Along with these titles, the said Governor sent other ordinances to the said Captain and his successors, all full of zeal; concerning peaceful relations with the Ministers, the administration of the soldiers, the subjection of the Indians, the exile of scandalous persons, and the propagation of the Faith, he has ordered the means that experience has shown to be more appropriate.²

The other point was to see if for once he wished to begin the construction of the boat that Y.M. has ordered built so many times for communication with the Marianas. When I arrived at Manila, there had already been built on the shore of the Port of Cavite a **sloop of 100 tons**, in the style of those that trade in the seas off Flanders. It sailed for the Marianas on 17 September 1680.

[II.] The second point about which Y.M. asks to be informed is the fruit that is hoped will be done in the Marianas. An answer to this point I conceive under two aspects: one is that the fruit that can be had in the 13 Mariana Islands that have been discovered until now toward the north, and regarding this aspect, a beginning has already been made to find a remedy, with the new Captain, the sloop and soldiers, with the fear of our arms, and the mutual distrust among the Indians, and with so many delinquents and disturbers who will now pay their debts to justice; and with the settlements that are being created, by the time I write this in Manila [i.e. Dec. 1680] the whole Island of San Juan was to be reduced into proper towns, and in total peace and quiet. Since this island is the largest of all the 13, it is also the one used as a model by the others, I do not doubt that when this news gets to Y.M. the gospel ministers will be much spread out everywhere, although this will happen always with great care that what will be conquered will remain very well conquered, and subjected, because among Indians this subjection, in addition to preaching, is the most that can humanly be done to secure the future of Christianity. To try and preach the faith without it [i.e. the protection of arms] is like throwing pearls to someone who would then, as a matter of course, or instantly,

1 Ed. note: Quiroga had arrived at Guam a year earlier, in 1679.

2 Ed. note: See Doc 1680Q.

*Adoran á una deidad que llaman **Loquiling**, la cual dicen que tiene tres hijos, uno está en el Cielo, otro se embarcó y no saben que se hizo, y otro es gran artifice de labrar embarcaciones, y enseñar á otros esto mismo. Dan Padre y Madre á aquella deidad y dicen se les aparece tal vez, y luego se buelbe á subir al Cielo á comer cocos, y buscar velas para navegar. O quiza aquel Señor verdadero, y divino espiritu, que navegaba sobre las aguas, cuando el mundo estaba enbuelto en tinieblas, y que tambien embia por la mar sus legados que encuentren estos algun dia con aquella Nao, en que sino de lexos en esta ocasion, por lo menos tan de cerca como es de Marianas, lleven á aquellos miserables su pan, y la luz á los que viven en las sombras de la muerte.*

*[III.] En el 3º punto manda V.M. se propongan las cosas que necesita la Mision Mariana para conservar la fé, y estas son las siguientes: Lo primero que pues la Balandra se hizo ya, y el Comercio de Filipinas á Marianas se ha empezado á entablar, se continue y haga cada año dos veces este viage, pues todo lo permite la cercania y la facilidad que hay en bolber de Marianas á Filipinas: y en esto hay grandisimas combeniencias, por que yendo y viniendo la Balandra, viven los Indios con un perpetuo miedo, de intentar cualquiera genero de insolencia, los Capitanes temen tambien de hacer cosa con que se atrase la Cristiandad. Anticipanse mas de un año, y á veces dos las noticias que se han de embiar á Madrid. La milicia es mas socorrida en todo; y finalmente con la Balandra se procurará se saquen la artilleria de las dos Naos **Concepcion** y **Santa Margarita** que está perdida en las otras Islas.*

Pero por que esta valandra nunca padezca en la mar tempestad ni vientos tan encontrados, cuantos padece en la tierra de Manila ella y la Mision Mariana habiendo sido causa unas veces de que no se haga lo que Vuestra Magestad ha mandado, otras de que vacile el Gobernador para executar lo; es muy necesario, que con todo aprieto mande V.M. no se impida el despacho de dicha Balandra, pues cuando el celo no basta, el temor, que da alas, suele ser causa de que un Ministro haga volando lo que le manda su Rey, por temor de no enojarle, especialmente en Filipinas, donde no es tan facil la excusa de no obedecer, pues tanto puede un Gobernador quanto quiere con eficacia, y la Real Cédula de reprehension que vino al Gobernador pasado; y el colegir por ella, que de todo se ha de informar á V.M. creo que es la causa que á la Balandra le ha dado

step on them. Another fruit is the one that the Marianas can facilitate among the numberless Islands that lie south of the Island of San Juan, since the latter is the doorway through which the light of the Gospel will shine on them; that is what the Ven. Fr. Diego Luis de Sanvitores always pretended [to do], and what will be facilitated with the new sloop, because with it one can learn the accurate number of the said islands, their size, distance from the Marianas, which is not much, according to what can be gathered from what their Indian inhabitants have been heard to say. I refer to the **300** Indians who were sailing aboard **13** canoes that drifted in the year of **1664** from that range of southern islands, only [blank] of which came to stop at Galaos [Talaos = Talaud], and from here to Sias [=Siau], where they narrated their odyssey, when questioned by a religious of our Society.¹

They [i.e. the Carolinians] worship a deity which they call **Loquiling**, whom they say has three sons, one is in Heaven, one sailed away and they do not know what he did, and the other is a great canoe builder, a technique he teaches to others. They ascribe a Father and a Mother to that deity and they say that he appears to them sometimes, and then he returns to Heaven to eat coconuts and to look for sails to sail with. Oh, perhaps that was the true Lord, and divine spirit, who was sailing over the waters when the world was wrapped in darkness, and who also sends his delegates over the sea, for these peoples to encounter some day aboard that galleon, if not from afar on this occasion, at least from a place as near as the Marianas, they may bring to those miserable ones the bread, and the light to those who live in the shadows of death.

[III.] In the third point Y.M. orders that proposals be made about the need of the Mariana Mission to preserve the faith, and such are the following. First, since the sloop has already been made, and the establishment of regular contact between the Philippines and the Marianas has begun, it should be continued, with this voyage being made twice a year, since the short distance and the easiness in returning from the Marianas to the Philippines makes this possible.² There are very great advantages in doing this, because with the sloop going and coming, the Indians live in perpetual fear; when they try whatever kind of insolence, the Captains also fear to do anything that may retard the progress of Christianity, as they anticipate there will be more than one year, and at times two for the news that must be sent to Madrid; the militia is better supplied in everything; and finally with the sloop they will try to take out the artillery from the two galleons **Concepción** and **Santa Margarita** that were lost in the other Islands.

However, so that this sloop never suffer a storm at sea or meet with contrary winds, such as are suffered in the Island of Manila and in the Mariana Mission, reason for which sometimes what Your Majesty has ordered is not done, at other times the Governor procrastinates in obeying his orders, it is very necessary for Y.M. to issue very tight orders for him not to impede the despatch of the said sloop, since when the zeal is not enough, fear, which gives wings, usually is the reason that makes a Minister act

1 Ed. note: Father Miedes (see Doc. 1664D).

2 Ed. note: It was proved later that it was impossible to make two voyages per year (see 1687Q).

ahora velas para navegar. Por lo cual el Apostol de las Indias, y Doctor de estas gentes, S. Francisco Xavier, aunque tan confiado en Dios solamente insistia tanto y pedia con tantas veras á Portugal el remedio que consigo traen las ordenanzas apretadas de un Rey, por que con ellas hace Dios contrapeso á quanto hace titubear á un Ministro, para cumplir lo que debe: y en la oposicion que ha habido contra esta Balandra, se ha visto bien la practica de esta verdad, por que siendo asi que el Pretor, no cuida de cosas minimas, fué necesario que en esta ley dispensase el Gobernador consigo, cuidando de tales niñerías, que el mismo se admiraba, y no acababa de ponderarmelo.

Temese tambien que con titulo de servicio de V.M. se impida el viage de la Balandra, ó alegando que es necesaria para descubrir si hay enemigos en el mar, ó empleandola en viages de combeniencias particulares, en que otros con titulo de servir á V.M. queden aprovechados; pero ni Dios, ni Vuestra Magestad servido, y esto se evitara con una cosa que escusará mucho gasto á la Real Hacienda, y será de mucha utilidad á la República; por que si la valandra les parece baxel apropiado para explorar los mares y acudir á todas partes; materiales y oficiales hay sobrados para hacerse algunas Balandras, en lugar de tantos Champanes, pues cada dia traga el mar, con muchos hombres, y hacienda malograndose tambien en el costo con que dhos Champanes se fabricaron, y asi juzgan muchos que es conveniente, y si se executa vendrá á ser alivio de todos la valandra, contra quien tanto se ha hablado. Ni por esto se pretende escluir aquellos casos en que por la necesidad vigente es forzoso para el servicio de V.M. valerse de lo que mas a mano estubiese, por que entonces, no solo la valandra, pero aun los Misioneros que en ella habian de navegar, sabran hacer lo que han hecho otros de la Compañía en las armadas de mas riesgo y monta que ha habido en estas Islas, dividiendose por las Naos, animando, confesando, y ayudando á quanto pedia la necesidad, y se componia con su estado.

Lo 2º que cuando la Balandra buelba de Marianas á Filipinas: haga el viage, siquiera una vez, declinando al Sur para tomar noticia mas puntual de la cordillera de aquellas Islas, para que pues las cosas de Marianas estan el dia de hoy de suerte que en poco tiempo se hará mucho, se trate el modo que habrá en llenarles la fé.

Lo 3º: Que cuando la Nao del Comercio de Filipinas, haga el viage para bolver desde Acapulco á Manila, pase siempre por la Isla de S. Juan, y de fondo en el Puerto de S. Antonio, que cae al Sur, pues el puerto es capaz de eso como se ha visto por la experiencia de cuatro veces que alli lo han dado los Galeones de esta carrera y una de ellas fué cuando pasó el Gobernador que hoy es de Manila, por que no dando fondo hay

speedily when his King issues an order, for fear of not making him angry, specially in the Philippines, where an excuse for inaction is not so easy to find, given that a Governor can do whatever he wants efficiently, and the Royal Decree of reprehension that came addressed to the previous Governor, from which it can be inferred that he will have to report about it all to Y.M., I think that it was the reason why he gave sails for the sloop to sail. In this respect, the Apostle of the Indies, and Doctor of these nations, St. Francis Xavier, although he was so trusting in God, appealed so much and begged persistantly to Portugal for the remedy that the tight ordinances issued by a King bring in with them, because with them God makes a counterweight when some Minister may hesitate to accomplish his duty. In the opposition that was made against this sloop, the truth of this statement has been seen very well in practice, given that the Commanding Officer does not usually take care of minor things; in this case the Governor had to obey this law, taking care himself of such childish things, as he himself called them and did not cease to remind me of.

It can also be feared that, using the excuse of Y.M.'s service, the voyage of the sloop might be impeded, or by alleging that it is necessary to send it on patrol to see if there are enemies at sea, or to use it in voyages for private interests, as was done in other instances under the guise of Y.M.'s service, but without serving either God or Your Majesty. This will be avoided with one thing that would reduce the expenses to the Royal Treasury and be of much usefulness to the Republic: that is, if the sloop turns out to be a suitable vessel to explore the seas and reach all parts, there are plenty of materials and officials to build some sloops, instead of so many champans, that are swallowed by the sea every day, along with many men and property, not to mention the expenses made in the construction of said champans. Indeed, many think that such a proposal is advantageous; if it be carried out, the sloop might turn out to have been a relief to all, including those who spoke so much against it. This is not to say that there are not valid cases when current necessity dictates that whatever [ship] on hand should be used. At such times, not just the sloop, but even the Ministers about to sail aboard her would know what to do, what other members of the Society have done before aboard more risky fleets of greater account that were set up in these Islands, distributing themselves among the galleons, encouraging, confessing, and helping out when necessity dictated, and they composed themselves with their status.

The second proposal is that when the sloop returns from the Marianas to the Philippines, the course followed, at least once, should be southward in order to acquire more formal knowledge of the range of those islands, in order to plan the taking of the faith to those parts, given that the present condition of the Marianas is such that much progress will be made within a short time.

The third proposal is that when the Philippine commercial galleon makes the return voyage from Acapulco to Manila, it should pass by the Island of San Juan and anchor in the Port of San Antonio, which faces southward, since the port is suitable for this as has been shown on four occasions that the galleons of this run have done it—one of them was when the Governor who is now in Manila passed by them—because it they

gran peligro de propasarse el socorro que viene á la Mision, con mucho daño de la Cristiandad, como varias veces ha sucedido.

Lo 4º: Que los (Gobernadores) Generales de las Naos, vullan dexando en Marianas, soldados, hasta que se llene el numero de unos trescientos, por que por una parte este numero parece necesario para la quietud, y perfecta sugesion de estas trece Islas por lo menos estos primeros años, y por otra parte no es necesario aumentar el situado que V.M. concede á Marianas: la razon es, por que las mercancias de Filipinas, cuando se venden en Acapulco, vendense juntamente con los peligros que han pasado en la mar, y gastos que han hecho los mercaderes hasta ponerlas alli, y como estos peligros son tantos, suben á su medida los precios, de suerte que la cantidad, que bastá para comprar mucho en esta tierra, no alcanza á comprar medianamente en la Nueva España: pues como ahora hay Balandra, que haga viages particulares desde Manila á. Marianas, puedese hacer aqui casi todo el empleo comprando las mercancias, y no los gastos y los peligros, y con lo que se habia de socorrer á 80 hombres, embiar socorro á dhos 300 especialmente habiendo de ser los mas de estos Indios Filipinos, que saben pasar con menos que un Español, y asi quedandose el situado en el mismo ser, crece considerablemente el Presidio.

Lo 5º: Que el Virrey de Mexico apriete sobre que la Nao de Filipinas se de en Acapulco á la vela, por mediado de Marzo para hacer su viage á Manila, que con eso llegará mas temprano á Marianas y habiendo ganado de antemano el tiempo no se les hará mal la detencion de dia y medio, ó dos dias, que suelen gastar para dexar el socorro que traen á la Mision. Pero esta detencion ya se disminuye notablemente con la Balandra, pues lo que en ella se embarcare en los dos viages, que será lo mas, no embaraza el Galeon su carrera.

Lo 6º: Que lo que en Mexico se cobrare, y alli y en Filipinas se empleare para los Soldados, no corra de aqui en adelante, por la Compañia de Jesus, lo primero porque como hay la Mision Mariana, tiene tantos émulos, toman de aqui ocasion para decir cuanto quieren; y aunque de Ministros evangelicos es servir á Dios, aunque sea á costa de infamia como dice S. Pablo, pero el mismo que nos enseña á huir todo cuanto pudiere manchar el iñisterio de convertir almas, hasta aqui ha procurado la Compañia huir la Administracion de esta hacienda, pero no lo ha podido conseguir ni del Virrey que en Mexico respondió: que tenga la Compª paciencia, pues no es tiempo, todavia de entregar esto á un Secular ni al de Capitan de Marianas, por que no lo gaste en vicios ó sin provecho; ni del Gobernador de Filipinas; que convencido de lo que le hablé en este punto, concedió que tenia razon, y que era carga intolerable de la religion, y que nos convenia apartarnos de la Administracion; pero añadió que no se atrevia á entregarlo á los Capitanes, lo que iba para los soldados, por la misma razon del Virrey, y por que advierten que quien administre dha hacienda no lo hará de valde, y sin interes, y esto menos tendran los soldados. Lo 2º por que el socorro que viene en la Nao, unas cosas se propasan á Filipinas como ha sucedido muchas veces, que no se ha dado fondo;

do not anchor, there is a great risk that the succor coming to the Mission will bypass it, causing much damage to the Christian community, as has happened at various times.

The fourth proposal is for the General commanding the galleons to leave at the Marianas some soldiers, until their number reaches about 300, because on the one hand this number seems necessary to keep these 13 Islands in quiet and perfect submission, at least during the first few years, and on the other hand it is not necessary to increase the subsidy granted to the Marianas by Y.M., the reason being that when the goods from the Philippines are sold in Acapulco, their price includes an amount for risks taken at sea, and the expenses made by the merchants who take them there, and as these risks are so high, the prices rise in proportion as well, so that the quantity, normally sufficient to buy much in this country, does not suffice to buy half of that in New Spain. So, now that there is a sloop, that makes special voyages from Manila to the Marianas, most of the money can be expended to buy merchandise here, without the additional costs and risks, and with what was sufficient to assist 80 men, can now be sent to the said 300, especially since most of them will be Indians from the Philippines, who know how to make do with less than a Spaniard, and so, with the subsidy remaining the same, the Garrison can be considerably increased.

The fifth proposal is for the Viceroy of Mexico to dictate that the Philippine galleon is to sail from Acapulco by the middle of March to return to Manila. This way it would arrive earlier at the Marianas and will have gained some slack time so as not to limit the stopover to the day and a half, or two days, that they usually spend there to leave the succor brought for the Mission. However, this delay would now be reduced considerably with the [existence of the] sloop, since what would be carried in her two voyages, the greater part, would not embarrass the galleon in her run.

The sixth proposal has to do with the moneys collected in Mexico, to be used there and in the Philippines for the soldiers. From now on, it should not be the responsibility of the Society of Jesus, firstly, because there is a risk that the Mariana Mission, which has so many rivals, can be used as a case for calumnies; even though gospel ministers must serve God even at the cost of infamy, as St. Paul says, they are also taught to flee from whatever could disgrace the ministry of converting souls. Until now the Society has tried to let go of the administration of these finances, but has been unable to obtain it, neither from the Viceroy in Mexico (who replied that the Society should be patient, as it was not yet time to turn over same to a civilian or to the Captain of the Marianas, because he might waste it in vices or uselessly), nor from the Governor of the Philippines, who, speaking convincingly on this point, says that it [i.e. the Society] was right, and that it was an intolerable load upon the religious, that we were right in separating ourselves from the administration. However, he added that he did not dare to turn over to the Captains, what was sent for the soldiers, for the same reason used by the Viceroy, as they both think that they would not administer the said finances gratis, and without personal interest, and the soldiers would receive less that way. Secondly, with the succor that comes with the galleon, some things bypassing to the Philippines, as happened a few times, when they do not anchor; at others times, the said

otras veces con tanta gente como va azotada y desterrada a Galeras en dha Nao, faltan cosas que ni al tiempo de embarcarlas en Acapulco, ni desembarcarlas en Marianas se pueden remediar, y lo que en uno y otro caso falta redundo luego en la Compañia que gimiendo y rebentando lleva esta carga hasta que V.M. disponga otra cosa[.] lo mas que puede recabar con el Gobernador, fué que en Marianas se haga una pieza pública en que se ponga todo el socorro de los soldados debaxo de dos llaves que tengan los dos Superiores Eclesiastico y Secular, y que en libros aparte con toda claridad, cuenta y razon se ponga todo lo que se gasta y recibe para que asi ni el Capitan, con la soltura de la tierra tenga ocasion de desperdiciar lo que es del Presidio, ni tampoco se diga que se aprovecha la Compañia; si bien esto que contra ella dicen se compone, que pretendan muchos soldados de Filipinas volverse á Marianas; y de hecho concedió el Gobernador licencia á algunos que se fueron con la Valandra: y el Maestre de Campo me dixo que si la ubiera de conceder á todos los soldados que la piden, se fuera medio tercio á Marianas, y lo que es mas, sabiendo el mismo Gobernador el modo con que los religiosos de la Compañia hacen distribuir á los soldados los generos que van en el socorro, me dixo que aquello era enseñarlos á malas costumbres, y que cuando corriese un Capitan con el repartimiento, sino lo hace asi dirán que se queda con la hacienda; y que lo que se habia de hacer, era apartar del situado alguna cantidad para obras pias, como hospital y templos, pero ya hay en Marianas, hospitales y templos para soldados, y aunque no los hubiera los verdaderos templos, son los templos vivos de los soldados, y la verdadera obra pia, es que siempre por aca se dé justicia lo que V.M. por su Real magnificencia, y liberalidad á los soldados que son los que pelean y trabajan, y los que bien pagados hacen la guerra á los enemigos.

Las cosas que contra esta mision se dicen, y con que el Demonio procura extinguirla son las siguientes. Lo primero dicen que mostrando gran celo de la fé Católica, que en Marianas no hay Cristiandad, y esto hace gran fuerza á quien no ha estado en aquella tierra, como lo experimenté en el Gobernador de Manila, que me lo ponderaba con grande lastima, y aun dicen tambien que aquellos Indios no estan comfirmados, ni son capaces de recibir este Sacramento.

Respondo como testigo de vista, que en Marianas hay la Cristiandad y esperanzas de aumentarse que ya quedan referidas, y si el fruto correspondiera al deseo, trabajo, y sudor de los Ministros, y aun á la mucha sangre, con que ya algunos dichosamente han formado la fé, no dudo que siendo ella, como dice S. Leon, semilla de donde nacen Cristianos, hubieran nacido y crecido muchos mas en Marianas, pero este es aquel fruto preciso que coge el labrador, unas veces á su tiempo y otras mas tarde, y siempre con mucha paciencia, pues despues de haber plantado y regado, no es el sino Dios el que hace crecer las plantas, y este Señor, aunque no niegue el aumento lo dilata para que la esperanza, que dilatada aflige al alma, haga padecer á los Ministros, y sembrando ahora con trabajo despues cojan los manojos con alegria.

galleon carries so many people that they travel as if they were people whipped and shipped aboard galleys, and then they lack either the quantity of goods, or the time to load them at Acapulco or to unload them at the Marianas. In such cases, what is lacking must somehow be made up by the Society, complaining under the strain, since it remains its responsibility, until Y.M. decide another course of action. The most that can be expected from the Governor, when he was in the Marianas, was that a public storage place be made in which to place the whole succor of the soldiers, made safe with two padlocks, one each being held by the Ecclesiastical Superior and the Civilian one, and that some ledgers be used to record every account clearly, with what is spent and what is received, so that neither the Captain—the dissoluteness of the country might give occasion to squander what belongs to the Garrison—nor the Society might be said to take advantage. However, they say against this [method] that it is “managed”, that many soldiers in the Philippines try to return to the Marianas for that reason. Indeed, the Master-of-camp told me that if he granted permission to all the soldiers who ask for it, half a regiment would pass to the Marianas, and what is more, the same Governor, knowing full well the method used by the religious of the Society in the distribution of the goods brought in by the subsidy to the soldiers, told me that it was to teach them some bad habits, and that when the distribution will eventually fall to a Captain, if he should not do it, then they will say that he keeps the property, and that what had to be done was to set aside some sum for pious works, such as the hospital and the temples, but there are already such works in the Marianas, hospitals and temples for soldiers, and even if the real temples—the living temples are the soldiers— did not have any, the true pious work consists in always giving justly to the soldiers overhere, what Y.M. has so generously and liberally given them, as they are the ones who fight and labor, and, when paid well, make war upon the enemy.

The things which are said against this mission, and which are used by the Devil in trying to extinguish it, are the following. Firstly, they say that there is no need to show great zeal of the Catholic faith in the Marianas, as there is no Christian community there; this argument has a great impact upon those who have not visited that country, as the Governor of Manila reported to me, adding that it was a great pity. It is even said that those Indians are not confirmed, not even able to receive that Sacrament.¹

My answer, as an eyewitness, was that in the Marianas there exists a Christian community, with the above-mentioned hopes for growth, and if the fruit were equal to the desire, labor, and sweat of the Ministers, and even to the great quantity of blood that some fortunate ones have already spilled in forming the faith, I do not doubt that, it being the seed, as St. Leo says, from which Christians are born, there would have been many more Christians born and raised in the Marianas, but this is the kind of fruit that a plowman will harvest, sometimes on time, and at other times later, but always very

¹ Ed. note: This criticism of the Jesuits in general, and their Mariana Mission in particular, came mostly from the Dominicans (see Doc. 1678H & 1683C). The first bishop to pass by Guam, who agreed to confirm the new Christians there, was Bishop Durán of the Order of Mercy.

Ni es de maravillarse que la inconstancia, rebelion, y aun apostasias que en otras Cristiandades nuevas, asi de gentes politicas, como de Indios, unas veces apagó la luz del Evangelio, otras casi la extinguió del todo, haya hecho que en Marianas halla muchos de aquellos, que viendo, no ven, y teniendo abiertos los ojos tropiezan como si fueran ciegos, y andubieran en tinieblas, no estando en dhas Marianas tan estendida la fé como desean algunos y pretenden los Misioneros con sus trabajos. Pues aunque la palabra de Dios nunca buelba vacia del todo al que la embia, hay siempre muchos, que no la quieren llenar [llevar?], y por una tierra que da ciento por uno, hay otras que por las piedras y espinas no rinden fruto y no ha habido en el mundo Cristiandad, en cuyos principios no se experimente esta providencia, encontrando los Misioneros con aquellas generaciones incredulas, y de vivoras [dirisivas?] entre quien andaba Cristo y su precursor.

Fuera de que a quien dice, que en Marianas no hay tanta Cristiandad, se hace este argumento, á que es bien cierto no responderan. Para que en Marianas hubiera ahora una Cristiandad muy dilatada era necesario que en Manila se hubiera obedecido lo que V.M. ha mandado embiando los doscientos Pampangos que V.M. por su Real Cédula concedió al V. Padre Diego Luis de Sanvitores; haciendo tambien fabricar el baxel, y no dando ordenes encontrados á la Mision; pues si en los años pasados ni se han embiado los 200 Pampangos, ni se hizo el vagel, (y no dando ordenes) y ahora que se fabricó la valandra me dixo el Maestre de Campo de Manila, que si no fuera por el Gobernador, apedrearan al Piloto que se encargo de su fabrica; ni tampoco han faltado órdenes tan contrarios, que justisimamente merecieron la reprehension que V.M. embió al que los habia dado; como ha de haber esa Cristiandad; ¿como en Marianas no se ponen los medios? Mas ni en Marianas ni en otra parte de Indias puede haber fé, sino hay Capitanes que arrimen el hombro al trabajo, y sugeten á los Indios, y den buen exemplo, por lo menos, que no den escandalo. Pues digan ahora, que es lo que las armas han sugetado hasta aqui en Marianas, donde no hay Cristiandad, y entonces se quexaran con razon, y con la misma pudieran llorar ahora algunas insolencias con que quien no debiera dió cumplimiento, a aquel pronostico de el Espiritu Santo, en que quando con una mano se deshace lo que se edifica con otra, no anuncia sino dolor y trabajo.

A lo que dicen de que no estan confirmados, ni son capaces de eso. Respondo, que si eso lo dicen por los tiempos pasados, es providencia de Dios, el permitirles dichos tan fuera de razon, para que se vea el celo con que se oponen á las Marianas. Porque si no hay alli ni en otras partes Obispos que confirmen, que maravilla es, que ni alli ni en otras partes, se hallan confirmado los Indios, un Obispo que pasó este año de Mexico á Manila, no saltó en tierra de Marianas, por que sin dar fondo la Nao, solo andubo barloventeando dos dias; y ni el bullicio y confusion que estonces causan los Indios,

patiently, since, once it has been planted and watered, only God will make the plants grow, and this Lord, though He does not deny this growth, He may delay it in order for hope, which afflicts the soul when it is unfulfilled, will make the missionaries suffer, who are sowing now with labor, but later on will bring in the sheaves with joy.

It is no wonder that in other new Christian communities, there are some inconstancy, rebellion, and even apostacy on the part of civilized people and Indians alike, when the light of the Gospel is turned down from time to time, and sometimes almost completely extinguished. There are indeed many people in the Marianas who, while looking, do not see, and with open eyes trip as if they were blind, and walk about in darkness, the faith not being so spread out as some would wish and as the Missionaries would have it with their labors. Indeed, although the word of God never returns a completely empty echo to him who sent it, there are always many who do not wish to listen to it; for every piece of land that gives back one hundred to one, there are others that on account of stones and thorns do not yield any fruit. There has never been a place in the Christian world where at first such providence was not experienced, the Missionaries having to face those incredulous and derisive(?) generations, such as the ones Christ and his precursor were living among.

Besides, there are those who say that there is not such a large Christian community in the Marianas, the following argument is made, to which they will not respond, of course; that is, in order to have a large Christian community in the Marianas already, it was necessary that in Manila they obeyed what Y.M. had ordered, by sending the 200 Pampangos that Y.M. granted to the Ven. Father Diego Luis de Sanvitores by royal decree, by also sending the vessel, and not giving orders against the Mission. Indeed, if the 200 Pampangos have not been sent in past years, nor the vessel been sent, (and not even ordering same) and now that the sloop is built, the Master-of-camp of Manila told me that, if it were not for the Governor, he would stone the Pilot who had its construction in his charge. There has not been a lack of contrary orders either, so much so that they truly deserved the reprehension that Y.M. sent to the one who had given them. How should that Christian community be? Why don't they find the proper means in the Marianas? But neither in the Marianas or any other part of the Indies can there be faith, if there are no Captains to give a push to the work, subject the Indians, and give good example, at least to avoid scandals. Now then, if they were to say that there are no Christians where the arms have subjected the Marianos until now, they would then have a valid complaint; for the same reason, they would be able to deplore a few incidents of insolence on the part of one who should not have proven true that prediction of the Holy Ghost, that is, when with one hand destroys what the other hand builds, there is nothing to expect but sorrow and hardship.

Regarding what they say that they are not confirmed, nor are they able to become confirmed. My answer is that if they say this in reference to times past, God's providence allows them to say such nonsensical things, so that one may see the zeal with which they oppose the Marianas. Consider that if there were no bishop there, as anywhere else, to give confirmation, is it not then wonderful that one can find confirmed Indians there?

y Marineros, unos vendiendo y comprando, otros desembarcando el socorro, permite que en la tal Nao se administre este Sacramento, y este es la causa de no haberlo recibido hasta aqui: y no la incapacidad de los Indios que es dificultoso la conozca desde Manila, ó la Nao, quien no sabe la lengua, y quien ni los trata, ni los entiende: y los que estan capaces de sacarse por la Iglesia[,] de confesar, comulgar, y recibir la extremauncion, tambien tienen capacidad de comfirmarse si hubiera ocasion de esto.

Dicen lo 2º: que la Cristiandad, no ha de perseverar y que gasta en valde V.M. con ella su Real Hacienda. Este argumento tiene dos partes, y á la que toca á la perseverancia. Respondo lo primero que perseveren siempre en Manila obedeciendo lo que Vuestra Magestad manda, y con eso aquella Cristiandad tendrá siempre perseverancia. Respondió lo 2º que aquel no es dho de Profetas, por que quien Dios hable, y si á los Apostoles llenos de Dios no les tocaba averiguar los momentos de los tiempos que el padre de los siglos venideros puso en su potestad, muchos menos pertenecen á unos hombres llenos de cuidado de comprar y vender, el saber un Sacramento, y Misterio tan escondido como el de la perseverancia en la fé. Pero aunque esto supieramos todos debieramos llebar adelante, lo que tan declaradamente es voluntad de Dios, y de V.M. en la combersion de estos Indios, y si algun dia se acabase la fé en Marianas, adorar entonces los Secretos juicios de Dios, que tan justos seran en el fin de aquella Cristiandad, por castigo de nuestras culpas, como lo fueron en sus principios por la grandeza aunque su misericordia llamó á las Marianas á la fé, y pues no estan prometidos á Cristo, todos los hombres de cada nacion, y término de la tierra, sino solamente que de todas lenguas, y tribus ha de haber, algunos que le alaben en el Cielo, dicen estos amadores de la perseverancia, que se cumpla en el número de los que estan escritos en el libro de la vida; para que en lengua Mariana alaben eternamente á su divina Magestad, y dicen tambien (si se permite hablar asi) justificar mas la justicia de Dios en que para ordenar á algunos de aquellos Indios, quiere que primero les prediquen mas, y mas sus Ministros, para decirles despues que no han tenido escusa en sus culpas.

A lo que ponderan del gasto de la Real Hacienda que se hace en Marianas, responde el Señor Rey Felipe II que está en gloria que por que el Santisimo Sacramento se conservase en una hermita de las Islas Filipinas, y en ella se combirtiese una sola alma, daria S.M. por bien empleado el gasto de sus tesoros. Pues ya en Marianas por razon del Sacramento, que se conserva en el Templo, podemos decir con David, que adoramos a Dios en el lugar donde estubieron sus pies; y tambien es cierto, que en Marianas, no solo un alma, sino muchisimas se salvan, porque fuera de los niños que con la gracia bautismal vuelan al Cielo, mueren muchos adultos, tambien dispuestos que piadosamente se cree se salben.

A Bishop who passed this year from Mexico to Manila, did not step ashore at the Marianas, because the galleon did not anchor—it only tacked back and forth for two days.¹ How could one have administered this sacrament amid the commotion and confusion then existing among Indians and sailors, some selling, others buying, others unloading the subsidy goods? That is the reason why it has not been done until now, not on account of the incapacity of the Indians. It would indeed be difficult for one from Manila, or the galleon, who does not know their language, who does not deal with them, nor understands them. Those who are able to get themselves over to the church, to confess, receive communion, and receive extreme unction, are also able to be confirmed, if only there were an opportunity to do so.

The second thing they say, is that the Christian community there will not persist, and that Y.M. wastes much of his royal treasury there. This argument has two parts. About the continuation issue, I answer firstly that, as long as they persist in Manila in obeying what Your Majesty orders, that is enough to make sure that that Christian community will subsist. I answer the second part by saying that such a statement is not one made by Prophets, for whom God speaks, and if the Apostles, full of God as they were, did not think it was their own business to determine the moments in time that the Father would return in glory in some future century, then it is certainly not the business of some men, full of concern, to buy and sell, the knowledge of a sacrament and mystery so hidden as that of the perseverance in the faith. However, even though we would all know this, we would nevertheless have to carry on with what is so clearly the will of God, and of Y.M., with the conversion of these Indians, and if some day the faith were to disappear in the Marianas, we would have to respect the secretive judgment of God then, as they would have been so just in terminating that Christian community, in order to punish us for our sins, as they were at the beginning on account of the greatness, although His mercy called the Marianos to the faith. Indeed, not only are the men of all nations and all confines of the earth promised to Christ, but also those from all languages and tribes that exist, those who praise Him in Heaven, these lovers of perseverance wish that the number of those inscribed in the book of life should be complied with, so that his divine Majesty might be praised eternally in the Mariano language. They also wish (if one may be permitted to speak that way) to justify more God's justice in having us, in order to ordain some of those Indians, preach to them more, and preach to their Ministers, so that they may say later on that they did not have an excuse for their faults.

To what they ponder aloud about the expenses made by the royal treasury in the Marianas, his Lordship King Philip II (who is in glory) provided an answer as to why the most holy Sacrament is kept in a hermitage in the Philippine Islands: that if one single soul is converted there, H.M. would judge the expenditure of his treasures as money well spent. Indeed, already in the Marianas, on account of the fact that the Sacrament is kept in the temple, we may say with David that we are worshipping God on

¹ Ed. note: He probably means the Dominican Bishop Barrientos (B&R 42:200).

*Mas por que á los que tanto celan que la Real Hacienda no se deve de gastar con provecho, no les falte materia en que á las puertas de Manila muestren su celo, respondiendo una cosa, que juntamente la propongo á V.M. para cumplir con aquella ley de caridad con que llorando el Profeta Jeremias la cautividad y destruccion del rebaño de Dios y la gloria que perdía la Corona de Israel, nos manda acudir al Rey, y á la Magestad por remedio. **Die Regi, et dominatrici** y esta es la gentilidad, que hay el dia de hoy—dentro de la Isla de Manila, y por otras partes cercanas, en que los niños mueren sin bautismo, los adultos sin predicacion in Sacramentos necesarios para salvarse, perdiendo unos el Cielo, y ganando otros miserablemente el infierno; pues en que consiste el que por tantos años se permita en esta republica una perdida tan grande de almas, y se nieguen á la Corona de V.M. piedras tan preciosas y de tan rico esmalte, como fueran muchas de estas almas remediadas? Y si el fin con que V.M. con su Real Patronato, conserva estas Islas Filipinas, gastando cada año con ellas, mas de trescientos mil pesos, es por que estas almas se salven, como dexa perder á tantas, y malograr tanto el gasto de la Real Hacienda, el celo dé que no se gaste en valde esa misma hacienda? Como hay ojos, y boca para llorar y esclamar contra Marianas por lo que cada año gasta V.M. con ellas? Y no los hay para enternecer ni dar un hay por lo que pasa en Manila, y otras partes cercanas á esta Isla, siendo tanto mayor el gasto de la Real Hacienda que cada año se consume en ellas? No falta aqui Presidio de armas, no Capitanes y Soldados[,] no Ministros del Evangelio, especialmente ahora que con la venida del Obispo se han aumentado mucho, y de estos van algunos á China á predicar, y lo que sirve de singular ponderacion es que á 13 de Agosto del año 1680 se hizo por orden del Arzobispo una junta en S. Gabriel de esta Ciudad con los Provinciales de las religiones, y hombres mas doctos de ellas, para ver si se podrá embiar parecer de que los Sacerdotes Misioneros, que estan en la China, pudiesen por algun privilegio confirmar á los nuevos Cristianos de aquella region, y se determino que no. Pues si por un Sacramento, que aunque es tan util, para radicar en la fé mas, pero ni es medio necesario para salvarse, ni, como enseñan graves teologos hay obligacion de suyo grave para recibirlo, hay tanto celo en Manila, que ni es Metrópoli de la China, ni su ordinario tiene jurisdiccion sobre ella; por que tambien de parte de lo secular, y eclesiastico de esta Ciudad, á cuyo cuidado ha fiado Dios y V.M. el pasto espiritual de estas almas, y en quien tambien ha trasladado V.M. el cargo de su conciencia, no se hará otra junta, en que con toda madurez y deliberacion se mire como no falte á tantos que se tienen por domesticos la fé, con lo demas que totalmente es necesario para salvarse? Pues si se pueden socorrer es cierto que no solo será caridad como la que se exercita en la China, sino gravissima obligacion de justicia.*

the spot where his feet would be; it is also true that in the Marianas, not only one soul, but a very large number is saved, since besides the children who fly to heaven with the baptismal grace, many adults die, similarly ready for salvation, as we piously believe.

However, in order to provide material for those who watch over the royal treasury to make sure it is spent productively, specially for those who watch at the doors of Manila to show their zeal, I will say one thing, which I also propose to Y.M. to comply with that law of charity, which made the prophet Jeremias deplore the captivity and destruction of the flock of God and the glory lost by the Crown of Israel, and force us to have recourse to the King and Majesty for a remedy. **Die Regi, et dominatrici**¹ and this is the heathendom that exists nowadays—within the Island of Manila, and in other nearby places, where children die without baptism, the adults are without preaching, and the necessary sacraments for their salvation, some losing Heaven, and others miserably gaining hell. Well then, how come has so great a loss of souls been permitted in this republic for so many years, and stones so precious and gleaming so brightly are denied the Crown of Y.M., as they would be if these souls were salvaged? If the aim of the royal patronage of Y.M. in these Philippine Islands, where every year over 300,000 pesos are spent for their conservation, is to save these souls, how come he lets so many get lost, and the expenditure of the royal treasury be so abused? Does not [the definition of] zeal includes not spending freely money from that same treasury? How come there are eyes, and voices, to cry and exclaim over what Y.M. spends every year in the Marianas? And there are not any to be moved by pity or give a hoot about what goes on in Manila, and other places near that Island, when the yearly expenditure from the royal treasury is so much greater? There is no lack of armed Garrison here, of Captains or soldiers, of gospel ministers, specially now that with the arrival of the Bishop they have increased very much, and some of them are going to China to preach, and what may serve as a particular example is that on 13 August of the year 1680, a meeting of the Provincials of the religious Orders, and their most learned men, was held by order of the Archbishop at San Gabriel in this City, to see if a legal opinion should be sent on the subject of whether the missionary priests who are in China could by some privilege [be allowed to] confirm the new Christians of that region, and it was determined that they could not. Well then, if for one sacrament, which, though it is useful to implant the faith more, but is not a necessary means for salvation, nor, as serious theologians say, are there any grave obligation per se to receive it, there is so much zeal in Manila, why is it also that on the part of the secular and ecclesiastical arms of this city, to whom God and Y.M. have entrusted the welfare of these souls, and in whom also Y.M. has transferred the responsibility of his conscience, don't they hold another meeting, in which with all maturity and deliberation they would examine the ways to bring the faith to so many at home, with the rest that is completely necessary to save them? Well then, if they could

1 Ed. note: Latin phrase meaning: "In the day of the King, and Lord." Perhaps a reference to the Prophet Jeremias.

Proponiendo yo esto al Gobernador le hizo fuerza, y dixo que esto mismo lo tenia el reparado, y no faltan otros, que no tan esto mismo en la república, y a ninguno he oido decir que es imposible el remediar por lo menos mucho. Confieso, que si la altura y dignidad de los puestos es como dice S. Gregorio, tempestad, para los que estan sublimados en ellos, es mucho de temer que con la perdida de tantas almas, no amenaze alguna tempestad en Manila, á quienes para conseguir el fin, que V.M. tanto pretende, mirasen con eficacia desde la altura de sus puestos, cuales seran las causas de que por falta de Doctrina y Sacramentos perezcan tantos, que medios serán mas apropiado para el remedio, y como se podrán poner en ejecucion.

Dicen lo 3º contra Marianas que los dos dias que alli se detiene la Nao, para dejar el socorro, la ponen á peligro de no entrar por el embocadero con mucho daño de la republica de Manila. Respondo que antes que hubiera Mision Mariana, habia este peligro, y de hecho no embocaban muchos navios por que este riesgo no la trae Marianas, sino las corrientes furiosas, y tan temidad de todos, que en el embocadero tienen los mares, y despues que hay Mision Marianas han embocado muchas naves; y llegado á el Puerto de Cavite con toda felicidad; con que el no embocar otras, no lo han de mirar como castigo de Dios, por hacer tan buena obra á Marianas, sino como castigo de nuestras culpas, ó como voluntad de aquel Señor, que igualmente saca de sus tesoros los vientos con que navegan las naos, y las calmas con que se paran; y si el proverbio dice, que quien quiere saber orar, ha de navegar por el mar: Dios que gesta de que le rueguen los hombres, unas veces les saca las oraciones con tempestades de recios vientos, para que le pidan los temple; y otras con calmas, para que le supliquen los buelba y tengamos con esto ocasion de engrandecer su poder diciendo: "quien es este á quien los mares, y vientos obedecen." Pero cuando aquellos dos dias causaren el peligro que ponderan, se remedia con lo que se ha suplicado á V.M. de que en Mexico haga instancia el Virrey, para que en Acapulco se den á la vela á mediado de Marzo, ó por lo menos á tiempo que traigan anticipados estos dias, y con eso cesa el peligro.

Dicen lo 4º que sabiendo los enemigos, ha de pasar por Marianas la Nao de Filipinas, la pueden esperar, y hacer presa, quitando el situado, y riqueza de estas Islas. Respondese que la experiencia ha enseñado, que este peligro no está tanto en Marianas, cuando en el Cabo del Espiritu Santo, ó en el embocadero, ó en las bocanas de Maribeles, puesta en que refieren las historias han encontrado los enemigos á las Naos, que traian socorro á Manila, y en que con porfiada obstinacion, las aguardaban muchas veces los holandeses, y otros corsarios.

Dicen lo 5º, que es lástima que lo que se hace en Marianas no se emplee en la China, donde por ser tan dilatado Imperio hay Millones de almas, y que de estas perecen muchas precisamente por falta de Ministros. Respondo lo primero, que mayor lástima es que en Filipinas donde hay mas Ministros, y religiones, y mas medios que en la China,

be saved, it is true that it would be not only charity, such as that exercised in China, but also a very grave obligation of justice.

When I proposed this to the Governor, it made an impact, and he said that he himself had noticed it; there is no lack of other people who think the same in this republic, and I have heard none of them say that it is impossible to remedy the situation at least somewhat. I confess that the height and dignity of the offices is, as St. Gregory says, a storm, for those who are elevated to them, it is much to be feared that with the loss of so many souls some storm is about to hit Manila; in order to achieve the purpose that Y.M. aspires to so much, shouldn't they look effectively from the height of their offices, to find out the causes why so many perish for the lack of doctrine and sacraments, and what means would be appropriate for the remedy, and how it could be carried out.

The third thing they say against the Marianas, is that the two days that the galleon stops there, to leave the subsidy, place her at risk of not making the Entrance [of San Bernardino] with the resultant damage to the republic of Manila. I answer that, before there was a Mariana Mission, that risk existed, and in fact, many ships did not make the Entrance, because this risk is not brought about by the Marianas, but by the furious currents and the great fear that they all have of the sea within it. Also, since the existence of the Mariana Mission, many ships have made it through to the port of Cavite with complete success, proof that when the others did not make it, the explanation should not be some punishment of God, for having done such good work in the Marianas, but as a punishment for their own faults, or as the will of that Lord, who equally provides the winds to push the galleons, and the calm weather that brings them to a stop. If the proverb says that "he who wants to know how to pray, must go to sea" God, who decides what to do with the prayers of men, sometimes knows how to extract prayers from them with fierce storm winds, so that they will beg Him to calm them down; at other times, with calm weather, so that they will beg Him to send them back. Hence, we have occasion to praise Him by saying: "Who is he to whom the seas and the winds obey?" However, if those two days were to cause the risk in question, the remedy is to apply what has been requested of Y.M., that is, for the Viceroy in Mexico to give instruction, so that they would sail from Acapulco in the middle of March, or at least earlier by these [two] days; then, the risk in question would disappear.

Fourthly, they say that the enemies know about the galleon having to pass by the Marianas, and they can wait for her there, capture her, steal the subsidy and wealth of these Islands. It can be answered that experience has taught that this danger is not so much in the Marianas as at the Cape of Espiritu Santo, or at the Entrance [of San Bernardino], or in the channels of Mariveles; the histories tell us that those places are where the galleons bringing the subsidy to Manila have met with enemies, where many times the Dutch, and other corsairs, have awaited them very obstinately.

The fifth thing they say is that it is a pity that what is being done in the Marianas is not employed in China, where there are millions of souls in such a large empire, and they perish precisely for lack of ministers. I answer this, firstly, that it is a greater pity that in the Philippines, where there are more ministers, and religious, and more means

y no tanta gente, aunque sí mas obligacion, perezcan tantos sin Sacramentos. Respondo lo segundo, que Cristo dice en el Evangelio, que combiene hacer unas cosas, y no dexar otras: prosigase pues muy enhorabuena en un negocio tan glorioso como la combersion de la China, pero no por ser allí tanto el numero de la gente, se desampare la que en Marianas no es tanta, pues tampoco se desampara la que viene de Filipinas, aunque es tan poca si se compara con la que está en la China. Menos era una oveja y la buscó Cristo: y aunque los Castillos y Aldeas de Jerusalem, no tenían tantos habitantes como la Corte, no por eso dexaba el mismo Señor de predicar en ellos; y la razon es, por que los muchos, y los que no son tantos son tambien redimidos, y por todos ellos murió sin escepcion de personas. Fuera de que la Cordillera de las Marianas, por la parte que mira al Sur, y tierra Austral, tiene, y no lexos, innumerables Islas y bien pobladas.

*Dicen lo 6º: Que los Capitanes nunca harán mucho fruto en Marianas, por que los Religiosos estorban con su piedad el hacer justicia. Respondo, que **en cuatro años que estube en Marianas [1676-80], pasaron de mas de treinta los que en pena de muerte ajusticiaron los Capitanes**, y nunca ví, que religioso alguno estorvase el que la milicia hiciese su oficio, antes bien en las ocasiones que en Marianas hay de pelear y matar se les esplica, muy de propósito, y como y por que fines habian de pelear, quienes y en que casos podian quitar á otros la vida, y como de parte de los juezes, puede ser tan gran pecado, perdonar al culpado, como castigar al inocente: y los mismos capitanes, y soldados, cuando veian esto se admiraban de que á los religiosos se atribuyese el impedir la justicia.*

Dicen lo 7º que no es combeniente continuen los viages que ha empezado á hacer la nueva Balandra y esto por tres razones: la 1ª por que es aumentar gastos á V.M. 2º por que la gente de mar, que se ocupa en ella, hace mucha falta á la Nao que ha de ir á Nueva España. 3º por que con ella tiene el Gobernador de Manila, ocasion de satisfacer á sus sentimientos embiando desterrados á Marianas algunos republicanos de esta Corte, como ya se ejecutó en uno esta sentencia. Respondo á la primera que lo mismo se podia clamar en Mexico contra Filipinas, pues se gasta en ellas, cada año situado tan cuantioso y pues esto lo dan por bien gastado, por que es en beneficio de las almas, no tengan por tan mal empleado lo que se expende en el mismo empleo, y no para los demas; especialmente habiendo V.M. por medio del Adelantado Miguel Lopez de Legaspi, tomado posesion de las Marianas, primero que de las Filipinas el año de mil, quinientos y sesenta y cinco. Ni el gasto que se puede hacer con veinte hombres, casi todos (los) Indios, y un vaso tan mediano como la valandra, que no se ha de hacer cada año nueva, ni cuya madera se ha de comprar, es para hacer tantas exclamaciones y para impedir el fruto tan grande que depende de los viages de la Balandra. A la segunda respondo que es una cosa digna de toda ponderacion que cuando algunos particulares hacen y compran Pataches para ir á Macao, Canton, y otros Puertos de esta Costa, á tratar y contratar, hallan Pilotos, Marineros, y demas gente necesaria del mar sin hacer falta á la Nao, que va á Acapulco, y sin haber quien diga una palabra en contra, y que

than in China—fewer people, yes, but a greater obligation—so many perish without the sacrament. I answer, secondly, by what Christ says in the Gospel, that one must do some things, and not others; go ahead, by all means, with the glorious business of converting China, but not because there are more people living there and few living in the Marianas, since by the same token the people living in the Philippines would also be abandoned, as the population there is not as great as in China. There was one sheep missing and Christ went looking for it. Also, although the castles and villages of Jerusalem did not have as many inhabitants as the Court, that did not prevent the same Lord from preaching to them; the reason is simple, those who are many and those who are few are redeemed equally, and He died for all of them, without any person being excluded. Besides, the island chain of the Marianas has, toward the south of it, the Austral Land, not far off, with numerous Islands, well populated.

The sixth thing they say is that the Captains would never do effective work in the Marianas, because the Religious hinder their carrying out justice by their piety. I answer that **in the four years that I lived in the Marianas [1676-1680], the Captains carried out the death penalty on more than 30 individuals.** I never saw any religious prevent the militia from doing their job; rather, whenever they had occasions to fight and kill, it was explained to them, very appropriately, how come and why they had to fight, whom and under which cases they could take the life of others, and how it is that a judge would commit a great sin by pardoning a guilty person, as much as by punishing the innocent. The Captains, and the soldiers themselves, if they were to hear such complaints, would be very astonished that the religious are supposed to hinder justice.

The seventh thing they say is that it is not convenient to continue the voyages being made with the new sloop and this for three reasons: 1) because it increases Y.M.'s expenses; 2) because the sailors employed there would better serve aboard the galleon that must go to New Spain; 3) because the Governor of Manila now has a means of satisfying his feelings, by exiling some republicans from that court to the Marianas, since one man has already been sentenced to this kind of exile. I answer to the first reason by saying that the same thing can be claimed in Mexico against the Philippines, since every year such a large subsidy is being spent on them, and since they think this is money well spent, because it is to benefit the souls, why do they think that money spent for the same purpose elsewhere is badly employed? Especially when one considers that Y.M., through the Frontier Governor Miguel Lopez de Legazpi, has taken possession of the Marianas, ahead of the Philippines, in the year 1565. The costs for 20 men, most of them Indians, and for one vessel as average as a sloop, which does not need to be replaced every year, and whose timber does not have to be purchased, are not so great as to justify so many complaints and to hinder the abundant fruit upon which the voyages of the sloop depends. To the second reason, I answer that it is something worth pondering that when some private persons build and buy pataches to go to Macao, Canton, and other ports of that coast, to trade and deal, they find Pilot, seamen, and other necessary sailors, without inconveniencing the galleon that goes to Acapulco, and without anyone raising his voice against it, but when a vessel is launched that Y.M. sends

cuando se ha entablado una embarcacion que V.M. manda para establecer la fé en Marianas todo habia de ser contra el servicio de V.M. lo que la Balandra hará.] es que de los veinte hombres que cuando mas ocupará ordinariamente aprendan á ser marineros algunos que no lo son, especialmente si en estos primeros años se conservase por piloto de la valandra el Capitan D. Francisco Lezcano, que es muy entendido de todo, cuanto pertenece al arte de marear, y el fué el que con deseo de hacer un gran servicio á Dios y á V.M. dió traza para la Balandra, y arrimado á solo su parecer, atropello el Gobernador, con todas las contradicciones de esta república, para hacer lo que V.M. tantas veces ha mandado.

La 3ª y ultima razon, que se funda en los destierros, que puede hacer el Gobernador, es la que hace tan envidiosa á la Mision Marianas, esta es la que ha concitado tanto los animos contra ella, y por cuya causa se arman de tantas razones, para que no prosiga, asi, lo dicen algunos de estos apasionados en Manila, y muy bien lo sabe esto el Gobernador, y algunos piensan que esta es la razon de no desvelarse mucho por que se buelba á introducir la fé en Samboanga y Therrenate. Y asi respondo que esta razon en que tanto estriban, no tiene fuerza y solidez alguna: lo primero, por que desde Mesico, vienen muchos desterrados á Filipinas, y querer por esto alegar, que no se conserven por eso estas Islas; y solo continue el Comercio que hace la Nao á la Nueva España, por que con ellas, tiene el Virrey, y su justicia ocasion de desterrar á muchos, fuera una propuesta del todo frivola, y que la llevarán muy mal los de Filipinas, pues saben cuan gran tropel de gente viene desterrada, ó forzada, y contra su voluntad. Lo 2º podian en la misma Isla de Manila desamparar el partido de la Nueva Segobia, Calamianes, y Caraga, y destituirlos de la fé, pues alli castiga á algunos el Gobernador con destierro. Todo esto mas parece, que es temor de la justicia, y querer con la capa del celo, ocultar conveniencias y respetos particulares, que no celar el bien público de Filipinas á quien en nada se opone el conservar la fé en Marianas, y si dicen algunos, que el que ahora fué desterrado á Marianas, no lo merecia, dado caso que no lo mereciese, tampoco tendrán la culpa de este destierro, ni la valandra, ni las Marianas, que no entrán en la Sala de Gobierno, ni tienen voto para dar estas sentencias: eso mas seria abusar del poder el que lo tiene, que no ser las Marianas de inconvenientes. Arruinen la fuerza de Manila, no se permita el Castillo de el Puerto de Cavite, derribense las carceles, y á los Gobernadores quiteseles la potestas, que tienen solo por que como hombres, pueden tal vez aprisionar en ellos á otros de la misma manera, que los pueden desterrar á Marianas, y con eso cada uno, vivirá á sus anchiras, sin temor de ser castigado.

Y si tanto temen el destierro de Marianas, no por que aunque vallan á ella, hallan de travajar ni padecer en la Predicacion de la fé, y combersion de los Indios, sino por que se privan del regalo de Manila, y del trato de sus amigos y conocidos antiguos, por que no se compadecen de los que se han desterrado voluntariamente por Cristo, sin mas violencia, ni sentencia de destierro que las que dió su amor, procurando dilatar el Imperio de la fé, y de camino el de V.M. tambien? Antes si los que por miedo de estos

to establish the faith in the Marianas, somehow what the sloop does is against the service of Y.M. The thing to do with the 20 men is that some of them ordinarily are learning to be sailors, specially if in these first few years Captain Francisco Lezcano remains pilot of the sloop, as he is very knowledgeable in the art of navigation, and it was he who desired to render a great service to God and Y.M. by designing the sloop, and being convinced of his opinion, the Governor knocked down all the contradictions of this republic, in order to do what Y.M. has ordered so many times.

The third and last reason, that it may be used as a place of exile by the Governor, is one that suscitates much envy against the Mariana Mission; it is the one that has incited the minds against it so much. That is why they put up so many reasons, in order to stop it. That is what some of these passionate ones in Manila say, and the Governor knows it very well. Some think that this is the reason for not revealing much, because the faith is to be re-introduced in Zamboanga and Ternate. So, I answer to this reason upon which they rely so much, that it has no strength at all: firstly, because from Mexico, there come many exiles to the Philippines, and based on this, to try and allege that these Islands are not conserved by that, and that only the trade carried out by the galleon to New Spain should continue, because the Viceroy has there the means to do himself justice by exiling many, would be a proposition completely frivolous, one that those in the Philippines would suffer badly, simply because they know only too well the large number of exiles, or convicts, and others who come against their will. Secondly, they could just as well abandon on the Island of Manila the district of New Segovia, or Calamianes, or Caraga, and deprive them of the faith, since the Governor punishes a few by exiling them there. All of this seems [to me] to be fear of justice being done, and wanting under the guise of zeal to hide individual advantages and interests, for instance, saying that one who is not opposed to the conservation of the faith in the Marianas does not care about the public good of the Philippines. If some say that the man who was just exiled to the Marianas¹ did not deserve it, let us suppose that he did not, that is no reason to blame either the sloop or the Marianas for this exile, as they cannot go into the Hall of Government and cannot vote on such sentences. It has to do more with an abuse of power on the part of one who has it, than with the Marianas being advantageous or not. In that case, why not destroy the fort of Manila, not allow a fortress to be built in the port of Cavite, tear down the jails, and take away the power from the Governors, since they have it only in order to imprison other men the same way, and exile them to the Marianas instead; and then, every man could live as he wishes, without fear of being punished...

If so many fear being exiled to the Marianas, it is not because they would have to work and suffer while preaching the faith and converting the Indians once there, but only because they would be deprived of the comforts of Manila, and of the company of their friends and old buddies. Why do they not feel compassion for those who have voluntarily exiled themselves for Christ, with no need for force or sentence of exile being

1 Ed. not: A reference to General Rayo Doria (see Doc. 1681R).

destierros tanto claman contra Marianas, dexasen descansar un poco la lengua, y aplicasen los ojos de la consideracion á este punto, hallarian que este propio temor sera causa de que cada uno viva en Manila, con mas cuidado en el cumplimiento de sus obligaciones, no haciendo por donde sea desterrado, y hasi vendrá á ser que el miedo de las Marianas sean causa, cumplan con lo que deben, que es un beneficio grande, para la república de Manila.

Esto es Señor lo que se me ofrece para dar cumplimiento á lo que V.M. manda. La mision Mariana, aunque tan perseguida no desmaya, por que Dios que la mortifico, por medio de estas contradicciones la vivifica y consuela mucho mas con la piedad Católica de V.M. No tememos en medio de tantas adversidades, por que si la caridad perfecta, hecha fuera el temor, la caridad y abrasado celo, con que V.M. mira por la propagacion de la fé en estas Islas, no da lugar en nuestros ánimos al temor, y asi considerando esto muchas veces hace cuenta toda esta Mision que oye de la boca de V.M. lo que Cristo dixo á su Iglesia. No quieras temer rebaño pequeñuelo, por que ha complacido á vuestro Padre, daros el Reyno: la piedad y liberalidad de V.M. fué la que engendró esta Cristiandad nueva y del Padre que la dió el ser espera recibir tambien su conservacion, y asi creo que será pues de ella muy bien que V.M. previniendo los tiempos y anticipando las edades encierra en si toda la religion, por que aquella ancianidad coronada postraba sus coronas á los pies del Trono de Dios queriendo V.M. que su Real Corona, habra primero lugar en que se adoren los pies de Cristo, para que despues ciña con mas hermosura y gloria las sienas de V.M. Ojala en todas las regiones donde se oyere el nombre de Cristo crezca esta gloria, y hermosura, tanto y por numero mas crecidos que deseaban los Israelitas creciera la del Rey David, en el Pueblo de Israel. Y que pues la Fé es el escudo en que se resiste al impetu de los enemigos; la que fortaleze los Reynos, y la que como dice S. Juan, da Vitoria para ganar todo el mundo de Dios á V.M. que tan abrazado está con este escudo en todos sus exercitos y batallas, tanta resistencia contra los enemigos, tanta fortaleza en todos sus reinos, y tan dilatado poder que con el rinda V.M. uno y muchos mundos, por triunfos y coronas de la Fé Católica, Amen.

Manila y Diciembre 20 de 1680.

Antonio Xaramillo.

used other than those given by their love, to try and expand the empire of the faith, and by the same token that of Y.M. as well? Rather, if those who for fear of these exiles complain so much against the Marianas would rest their tongue a little, and give some consideration to this point instead, they would find that the fear in question will become the cause for everyone in Manila to live carefully and comply with their obligations, and not act to deserve exile, then they would get to understand that the fear of the Marianas was the cause for their eventual good conduct, and as such constitute a great benefit for the republic of Manila.

Sire, this is what I have to say to comply with the orders of Y.M. The Mariana Mission, although it is so persecuted, does not faint, because God who mortified it, by means of these contradictions, vivifies it and consoles it very much with the Catholic piety of Y.M. In the midst of so many adversities, we do not fear, because if perfect charity expulses fear, the charity and burning zeal with which Y.M. looks after the propagation of the faith in these Islands, leave no room in our heart for fear. Thus, considering this many times, this whole Mission pays attention when it hears from the mouth of Y.M. what Christ said to his Church: "Thou should not fear a very small flock, because it had been found pleasing to your Father; give it the Kingdom."¹ The piety and generosity of Y.M. were responsible for the creation of this new Christian community, those of the Father who made it happen also hopes to receive its conservation. Thus, I believe that it will be very much alright, as I can foresee the day when Y.M. will enclose the whole religion, because your crowned ancestors are used to placing their crowns at the feet of the Throne of God, Y.M. wishing that your own royal crown will take first place in adorning the feet of Christ, the better later on to gird the temples of Y.M. with beauty and glory. Let us hope that this beauty and glory may increase in all the regions where the name of Christ may be heard, as much and in much larger number that the Israelites wished for the House of their King David, in the Nation of Israel. Indeed, the Faith is the shield that resists the charge of the enemy, that which fortifies the Kingdoms, and that which, as St. John says,² gives victory to win over the whole world of God to Y.M. who possesses such a great shield in the shape of his armies and battles, so much resistance against the enemy, so much strength in all his kingdoms, and such vast power that Y.M. conquers one and many worlds, to gain triumphs and crowns for the Catholic Faith, Amen.

Manila, 20 December 1680.

Antonio Xaramillo.

1 Ed. note: Luke 12:32.

2 Ed. note: 1 John 5:4.

Documents 1680U

Remnants of mission bands that left Spain in 1680

Sources, for U1-U3: AGI ex-45-2/7/10; copy in Colección Pastells, Fil. 16, folios 56 et seq.

U1. Memorial by Fr. Espinar, undated (but before 17 June 1680)

Original text in Spanish.

1680.—Diez y ocho Religiosos de la Compañia de Jesus que van a las Islas Filipinas y Marianas los 12 estrangeros que se dejaron de embarcar el año de 678 de la Mision que fue a cargo del Padre Francisco Salgado y los seis de los que se concedieron a los Padres Luis Pimentel y Andres de Ledesma los años de 664 y 669.

1680.—A las Islas Filipinas y Marianas. N^o VIII. Mission.

El Padre Pedro de Espinar de la Compañia de Jesus y su Procurador General por las Provincias de Yndias: Digo, que Su Magestad por su Real Zedula de doze de Abril de este pressente año, y Carta de aprobacion de ocho del mismo, que pressento concede licencia para que a espensas de su Real Hazienda puedan passar a las Islas Philipinas y Marianas doze rreligiosos que dejaron de passar el año passado de mill y seiscientos y settenta y ocho, mandando se les de el despacho y libramiento ordinario.—

Y en Cartta de aprobacion de 4 de Maio de este pressente año, que assimesmo pressento concede tambien licencia para que puedan passar a dichas Islas Filipinas otros ocho rreligiosos mas, que dejaron de passar en la Mision que se concedio en 18 de Febrero de mil seisçienttos y sesaentta y quatro al Padre Luis Pimentel y en veinte y cinco de Junio de mil y seisçienttos y sesenta y nueve al Padre Andres de Ledesma, de cuias zedulas ay razon en la Conttaduria prinzipal de esta Cassa, mandando en ellas se les de el despacho que se acostumbra para que se puedan embarcar en la pressente flotta.

Por tanto a V. Señoria pido y supplico que en conformidad de dichas Reales Zedulas se ajuste prorratta el aviamiento que an de aver dichos doze rreligiosos, que dejaron de passar el año passado de mill y seiscientos y setenta y ocho, y el que an de

*haver cinco de los ocho que dejaron de passar el año passado de sesenta y quatro y sesenta y nueve que esttan pronttos para passar, y su viatico y entrettenimientto; y que a todos se les de el despacho de embarcacion en el navio nombrado **Jesus Nazareno** uno de los de la flotta de este pressente año con cuio Maestre siendo V. Señoria servido se podra hazer el conçierto del pasage, y que su reseña se cometta al Señor Juez Semanero y todo en la forma que se acostumbra, que en ello rezivire merced &a.*

Otro si, a V.S. pido y supplico se cometta al Señor Juez que esta en Cadiz, al despacho de la flota reseña los tres Religiosos, que faltan para llenar el numero de los ocho, en casso, que lleguen a aquella ciudad a tiempo de embarcarsse en la flotta; y que se les de el despacho necessario ajustando el aviamientto, viatico y el entretenimientto en la forma, que a los demas Religiosos que en ello Rezivire merced &a.

Pedro de Espinar.

Translation.

1680.—Eighteen Religious of the Society of Jesus who are going to the Philippine and Mariana Islands, 12 of them foreigners, who did not embark in the year 1678 with the mission band led by Father Francisco Salgado, and the six who were granted to Fathers Luis Pimentel and Andrés de Ledesma for the years 1664 and 1669.

1680.—To the Philippine and Mariana Islands. N° VIII. Mission.

I, Father Pedro de Espinar of the Society of Jesus and its Procurator General for the Provinces of the Indies, declare that His Majesty, by his Royal decree dated 12 April of the present year, and Letter of approval of the 8th of the same month (copies attached), grants a license for the passage, at the expense of the royal treasury, to the Philippine and Mariana Islands of 12 Religious who did not make it in the past year of 1678, ordering that they be given the ordinary despatch and release.—

And in a Letter of approval dated 4 May of the present year (copy also attached), he also grants a license for 8 other Religious to pass to said Philippine Islands, from those granted to Father Luis Pimentel on 18 February 1664, and granted to Father Andrés de Ledesma on 25 June 1669, said decrees having an account in the Accounting Department of this House [of Trade in Seville], by ordering in them the usual despatch so that they may board the present fleet.

Therefore, I beg and beseech Your Lordship, in accordance with said Royal Decrees, to please decide a pro-rated amount for the outfitting that must be given to said 12 Religious who did not make it in 1678, and that which 5 out of the 8 who remained from 1664 and 1669 and are now ready to go on, and their travelling expenses and food allowance; and that to all of them be given the despatch for their embarkation aboard the ship named **Jesus Nazareno**, one of those of the fleet of the present year, with whose Master Your Lordship may please come to an arrangement for the passage, and that their physical inspection be referred to the Duty Official for the week and everything in the usual manner, that I will consider it a favor, etc.

Also, I beg and beseech that the inspection of the 3 Religious who are yet missing from the 8, be referred to the Judge on duty at Cadiz, attending to the despatch of the

fleet, in case that they make it to that city in time to board the fleet; and that they be given the necessary despatch, with adjustments being made for their outfitting, travel expenses, including food, in the same manner as the other Religious, that I will consider it a favor, etc.

Pedro de Espinar.

U2. Physical inspection of the subjects upon boarding the fleet of 1680

Original text in Spanish.

Semanero el Sr. Theniente de Alcaide.—

Parecieron ante mi seis religiosos de los ocho que an dejado de passar a las Islas Filipinas[,] los dos Coadjutores de la Mission que se concedio al Padre Luis Pimentel el año de seiscientos y sesenta y quatro y los seis saçerdotes de la del de seiscientos y sesenta y nueve al Padre Andres de Ledesma, y los nombres, patrias, hedades y señas de los dichos seis Religiosos son las siguientes:

1. El P. Carlos de la Calba, Sacerdote theologo, natural de Valencia, de hedad de treinta años, de buen cuerpo, blanco, señal de herida en el ojo izquierdo.

2. El P. Theophilo Angel, Sacerdote, natural de San Clemente en la Mancha, Obispado de Cuenca, de treintta años, alto de cuerpo, moreno, hoioso de viruelas, pelo negro.

3. El P. Joseph de Saldibar, Sacerdote, natural de San Sebastian, Obispado de Pamplona, de veinte y un años, mediano de cuerpo, blanco, pelo rubio, ojos pardos.

4. El P. Simon de Silba, Sacerdote, natural de Sidonia, Obispado de Cadiz, de veinte y ocho años, blanco, hoyoso de viruelas, pelo rubio, una nube en el ojo derecho.

5. El Hermano Sebastian de Monrreal, Coadjutor, natural de Berdum, Obispado de Jaca en Aragon, de veinte y seis años, de buen cuerpo, blanco, pelo castaño, oios de viruelas.

6. El Hermano Juan Balero, Coadjutor, natural de Olibares, Obispado de Cuenca, de veinte y siete años, mediano de cuerpo, delgado, blanco, pelo negro.

Que son los dichos seis religiosos cuia reseña se hiço en el Colegio de San Hermenegildo de esta çudad y la de los otros dos se a de haçer en la de Cadiz como estta mandado.

Sevilla veinte y uno de Junio de mill y seiscientos y ochenta años.

Juan Anttonio de la Torre Carbonera.

Translation.

Duty officer for the week: the Deputy Mayor.—

There appeared before me six religious out of the eight who did not go on to the Philippine Islands, that is, the 2 Coadjutors from the mission band granted to Father Luis Pimentel in the year 1664, and the 6 priests who were part of the mission band of 1669

granted to Father Andrés de Ledesma, and the names, places of origin, ages, and distinguishing marks of the said 6 Religious are as follows:

1. Fr. Carlos de la Calba, priest and theology student, born in Valencia, 30 years of age, good physique, white complexion, scar from a wound in the left eye.

2. Fr. Theophilo Angel, priest, born in San Clemente in La Mancha, Diocese of Cuenca, 30 years old, tall body, dark complexion, scars from smallpox, black hair.¹

3. Fr. José de Saldibar, priest, born in San Sebastián, Diocese of Pamplona, 21 years old, average-size body, white complexion, red hair, brown eyes.

4. Fr. Simon de Silba, priest, born in Sidonia, Diocese of Cadiz, 28 years old, good physique, white complexion, marked by smallpox, red hair, left eye cloudy.

5. Brother Sebastián de Monrreal, Coadjutor, born in Berdum, Diocese of Jaca in Aragon, 26 years old, good physique, white complexion, brown hair, marked by smallpox.

6. Brother Juan Balero, Coadjutor, born in Olivares, Diocese of Cuenca, 26 years old, average-size body, slim, white complexion, black hair.

These are said 6 religious whose review was held in the College of San Hermenegildo in this city and that of the other two must be done in the city of Cadiz, as ordered. Seville, 21 June 1680.

Juan Antonio de la Torre Carbonera.²

U3. The foreigners who had been left behind in 1678, after the galleon Nazareno hit a shoal in the Bay of Cadiz

Alonso Pantoja of the Society of Jesus, Procurator General of the Provinces of the Indies, has presented the roll of the 12 foreign religious who in the last Mission band of 40 granted for the Philippines and Marianas did not embark (for it was not possible) aboard the fleet of last year of 1678, and are now said to be ready to do so this year of 1680, begging for it to be approved for those whose names are as follows:

+ Juan Bautista Copar

+ Luis Ortiz

+ Juan Bautista Gonzalez

+ Carlos Xavier [alias assigned to Fr. Augustin Strobach]³

+ Juan Bautista Perez [alias assigned to Fr. Karl Boranga]

+ Luis de San Basilio

+ Luis Turcot [alias assigned to Fr. Johann Tilpe]

+ Luis Xavier

+ Juan Escut

1 Ed. note: See Fr. Teófilo de Angelis in U3 below.

2 Ed. note: The other two in question were: Juan de Casero, and Pedro de Abaunza.

3 Ed. note: See Doc. 1681D.

- + Juan Comano
- + Gerardo de Loyola [rather Juan de Loyola, alias assigned to Fr. Teofilo de Angelis]
- + Cornelio Bander

And this having been seen in the Council, it was decided to give approval and to order Your Lordship and the other Gentlemen to give them the usual despatch, in order that they may board the fleet that is about to go to New Spain and be on their way to the said Islands.

May God save Your Lordship and the other Gentlemen for many years.

Madrid 8 April 1680

Joseph de Veitia Linage.

U4. Letter from Fr. Thomas to the Duchess of Aveiro, dated Seville 16 July 1680

Sources: Present location may be Tokyo; 2-page ms., in Spanish, originally offered for sale by the Maggs Bros. of London in 1923 (Cat. N° 442, n° 1858, p. 133); probably one of the letters bought by Marquis Maeda (ref. book published by Yushodo in Tokyo in 1975). The letter is also cited in S&D V: 907.

Notes: There is another letter (reported by S&D p. 45) said to be from a Fr. Tomás Bonvides to the Duchess, dated Cádiz 22 September 1680, saying that he is about to sail for the Marianas, but this man is never (again) mentioned in connection with the Marianas. In fact, this Fr. Thomas Bonvides is another person (see Doc. 1679P3), who ended up as a missionary to Argentina. As for Fr. Anthony Thomas, he headed for China aboard a Portuguese ship by way of India, and reached Macau.

[In July 1680, there were 23 missionaries leaving for the Philippines, Marianas, Paraguay, and Mexico, ready to sail from Cádiz. The ship carrying the 23 Jesuits came to grief on leaving port.]¹

“The Religious speedily landing again, and being dispersed among the passengers on board the other ships.”²

[The writer states that he is forwarding, through Fr. Pantoja, some books and a history of Paraguay, “which type of history should be read with the spirit and appreciation of Your Grace... accept them as a small token of my gratitude.”

1 Ed. note: This was the galleon Nazareno's second shipwreck at Cadiz, on 11 July 1680. The story of this shipwreck can be found in Doc. 27 in the Schwartz Collection in the Special Collections Division of the Georgetown University Library, Washington.

2 Ed. note: Only a few found space aboard the ships, including Fathers Tilpe, Angelis, Strobach, and Mancker. Those forced to stay behind for one more year included Fathers Kerschpaumer, Kuklein, Klein, and Gerstl (see Doc. 1681L & M).

Document 1680V

A study of the strategic importance of the Mariana Islands, circa 1680

Source: AGI Ultramar 562, Jesuit doc. n° 1; copied from unspecified Jesuit archives.

Notes: Unsigned and undated, but the author had to be someone with knowledge of the Marianas and Philippines, with some contemporaneous input from Fr. Xaramillo, whose own report (Doc. 1680T) was also addressed to the King. Perhaps it was penned by him and/or Fr. Riquelme, the Jesuit Provincial (1675-78), who had served in Zamboanga.

Original text in Spanish

Razones que pueden proponerse á S.M. y á su Real Consejo de Yndias para que se supersedea en la reducion á nuestra Santa Fé de las Yslas Marianas y no prosigan en ella los PP. de la Comp^a de Jesus como insisten en llevar adelante y juntamente las razones en contrario y conveniencias que hay en que se prosiga en ella.

De proseguir en aquella reducion se puede originar la pérdida destas Yslas [Filipinas] y de sus Cristiandades por que si alli se hallan puerto cómodo como se cree le hay ó se hiziese por arte que no es difícil noticiosas del las naciones émulas de nuestra Potencia le podrian presidar, y salir todos los años a presar el socorro que de la Nueva España viene á estas Yslas desde adonde les fuera muy facil el acerlo con que vinieran en pocos años á debilitar de suerte las fuerzas de esta republica que sin dificultad pudieran enseñorearse de ella á donde hallaran gente politica[,] no malos marinos, y aun soldados al lado de los de Europa[,] rica en generos[,] abundante en mantenimientos[,] llenos sus montes y bosques de admirables maderas para fabrica de toda clase de Bajeles, vecina al rico trato de la gran China[,] Japon y de todo este oriente que tanto apetecen los estrangeros.

Si llegasen á poseer estas Yslas teniendo puerto y escala en los Ladrones podian intentar desde alli pasar á la América que les era muy factible en dos meses y medio con sus bajeles mucho mas ligeros que los nuestros de entrar en las Californias, hacerse señores de Baldebanderas y desde alli de todos los reales de Minas de la Nueva Vizcaya y Nueva Galicia y aun estenderse á la Ciudad de Mexico camino llano sin estorbo de cordilleras ni barrancos á salirles cual un año en menos de dos meses podian volverse á reparar en Ladrones y aguardar alli nuevos socorros de Manila y bolver el año siguiente reforzados al mismo intento. En tal caso mas factible era el acometer á la América por estas partes que no por el Es-

trecho de Magallanes por donde cuando llegan á los Puertos del Sur de la América ya traen mucha gente menos, y los que llegan medio estropeados por lo largo de la navegacion y por haber de pasar dos veces la linea si quisieran llegar á Acapulco ó Baldebanderas[,] climas muy contrarios á la gente del Norte, y si un año les saliera mal la faccion en muchos no podian volver á ella por tener lejos los Puertos á donde repararse, prevenirse de viveres y gente.

Estan las Yslas Marianas situadas de Norte á Sur por que se desgajan de quarenta y mas grados de altura de la Tartaria oriental que está sobre el Japon y se estiende aora el Norte de la China, segun las pone el Padre Martin Martinez de la Comp^a de Jesus en su Atlante Sinico, y corren hacia las Yslas Tierra Incognita del Sur con que vienen á estar en la mediana de estas dos tierras incognitas en las cuales ha divulgado la fama ya inmensas riquezas ó ya originada de la imaginacion de algunos, ó ya soñadas por que en aquella parte del Sur ponen á las Yslas de Salomon, y en la otra del Norte de la America aquellas dos Yslas Rica de Oro y Rica de Plata, llamo soñadas ó imaginadas por que hasta ahora no ha habido testigo de vista que las ha visto pero no digo que no sean posibles estas riquezas en aquellas dos partes y como estas riquezas solo imaginadas movieron en tiempo del sabio Rey D. Felipe II de buena memoria á salir en busca de ella[s] á los Españoles por dos veces del Puerto del Callao una vez con un patache y despues con tres ó cuatro bajeles sin mas util que el gasto en las dos veces demas de medio millon de pesos[.] puede esta fama mover á los enemigos de la Corona á buscar estas riquezas y á poseer las Yslas Marianas en donde es tan facil la navegacion á estas partes incognitas pues puestos alli con los Nortes que en aquel paraje son nordestes pudieran escalar las partes del Sur por los meses de Octubre, Noviembre, y Diciembre que es el verano, en aquellas partes en que aquellos mares son pacíficos, y entrando los Suestes y Sures subir á la altura del Artico por los meses de Marzo y Abril, que comienza en aquella parte el verano y soplan contraestes y con los Nortes bolverse á su puerto, y recobrase p^a salir otra vez hasta dar con las tales riquezas ó desengañarse que no las hay por que desde la America es empresa dificil, y peligrosa, y mas desde Manila ó Yndia Oriental por tener muy atras mano la retirada y en Ladrones habiendo puerto la tenian muy á la mano aunque fuera con brisas que sirven áun largar á la navegacion de los dos polos á donde quieren esten estos secretos por estas dos partes hasta ahora incognitas espoleara mucho á los Estrangeros á ocupar estas Yslas sin [=si en] ellas con el tiempo, si hallase algun util de oro ó de plata de que hay algunos indicios ó de algun fruto de la tierra precioso como cacao por ser la tierra de ellas mas semejante á la de la America que no á la de estas Islas y es muy posible que de en ellas este genero si se siembra con no menos abundancia que se da en las Yslas de Barlovento de la America.

La navegacion á las Yslas Marianas no es larga ni muy dificil á los extrangeros que tienen potencia, y asiento en la Yndia por la parte del Sur por que Sacatra [i.e. Jakarta] estará como seiscientas leguas de ellas, y de las factorias de Yngleses que estan en el seno persico poco mas ó menos de 1,500 que con Sures ó vendabales facilmente las vencen sus Bageles mas veleros que los de esta Carrera de mas de que por el Estrecho de Magallanes no les fuera dificil tomar aquellas Yslas no teniendo defensa ninguna que los estorvase la entrada.

Esta reduccion se ha de conservar con las naos del socorro que pasan por alli todos los años ó con un patache que salga, de aqui desterrado solo para eso uno que otro es de grande riesgo y inconveniente para estas Yslas por que para dejar las naos de pasar el socorro á los PP. y soldados se han de detener alli por lo menos doce ó trece [sic] dias, cuya detencion es bastante para encontrar con los bendabales antes de embarcar [rather embocar], y no lo puedan hacer, y que á bien librar entren en Palapag, ó bayan á Lampon de adonde por mas de cien leguas se trae la plata y algunos de los generos con gastos consider-

ables de S.M. y de los vecinos de esta Republica, y aun se expone la nao á que la desgarrite un baxio [rather baguio] sin poder tomar tierra en algunos meses como ya acontecido y si para ob[v]iar este inconveniente se arma **un patache todos los años es carga hoy insuperable á esta republica** y los socorros de Mexico son tan cortos[,] las rentas reales de estas Yslas oy se hallan tan diminutas[,] la tierra sin gente de mar que por no la haber de Europa es fuerza hechar mano de los naturales p^a que vayan por marineros por que por lo menos ha de costar la fabrica de un bagel de trescientas, ó doscientas y cincuenta toneladas, diez mil pesos puesto á la vela segun la fabrica de esta tierra tan fuerte en sueldo de Pilotos, Cavos, y gente de mar, matalotaje para un año, y municiones otros cinco mil, cuando con dificultad puede poner á la vela un galeon que va á Acapulco por el socorro con que si este patache se entablara segun estan las cosas seran necesario acortar los sueldos de los ministros de S.M.[.] cabos militares y soldados aun mas de lo que hoy lo estan que todo es violento y muy cuesta arriba.

Hallo divididos en dos opiniones á muchos de esta Ciudad[,] unos dicen que ahora aya puerto ahora no le haya que se deje aquella reduccion por que ha de ser muy cargosa á esta republica y de grandes riesgos y otros que hallandose puerto se deje ó se presidie por que de otra suerte puede enseñorearse de aquellas Yslas, el enemigo muy á nuestra costa. Todos convienen en que si entrase alli el enemigo fuera de perjuicio no solo de esta tierra sino á la América, pregunto á todos: ¿a de entrar el enemigo por que estan alli los PP. y unos soldados si se haya puerto? Y si salen y dejan aquella reduccion los PP. no podran entrar y hacer puerto por arte aunque no le haya por naturaleza. Mucho mejor por lo menos con buen titulo ¿por que la posesion adquirida la perderiamos con la dejacion? y por otra parte con dejarlo no se obviavan [rather obviaran] los inconvenientes propuestos en el punto 1^o, 2^o y 3^o.

Protestando al Gobernador de Malayo que el haber dejado á Sidore [rather Tidore] y aquellas fuerzas haber sido por necesidad y que asi no habia perdido el derecho de ellas S.M. respondió que el día que las dejamos por esta ó aquella razon perdimos el derecho que teniamos á ellas, y podia el Rey de Sidore [sic] servir á quien quisiese. Diciendo un Español á un Holandes que no se atreverian á poner presidio en la Caldera [en Zamboanga] como se devia que lo querian hacer por ser del Rey de España toda la Ysla de Mindanao. Respondió el Holandes que hoy no habia embarazo en hacerlo si quisiera ni intervendrian a las paces por que el día que dejamos aquel puesto el dueño de el era el Rey de Mindanao que le podia dar á quien quisiese.

De las razones propuestas lo que debian juzgar los Zelosos del bien de esta republica era el instar y cooperar á que se prosiguiese en la reduccion de aquellos Indios y de que S.M. y su Real Consejo mandasen poner alli un Presidio de Españoles de doscientos hombres en particular hallandose puerto competente haciendole por arte[,] con este medio se ob[v]iaran todos los riesgos que proponen las razones y no dejando aquello por que aunque nuestros enemigos con el tiempo viesen la conveniencia de aquellas Yslas para hacernos dañof[,] presidado el Puerto de Españoles se les hacia difícil el arrojio á un mar tan tormentoso en tiempo de Bendabales cuando forzosamente habian de ir allá si venian de la Yndia por que si de una envestida no lo juzgaban la fuerza quedaban expuestos ó al retiro algun abrigo ó a pelear con las olas. No habiendo alli presidio les era facil ir á su conquista por el Estrecho de Magallanes por donde algunas veces han venido á estas partes ingleses, y olandeses sin mas efectos que perdida de gente y de bajeles.

Otra conveniencia podia tener esta republica si en Ladrones hubiese puerto y presidio de soldados que no era necesario que arrivasen las naos á Manila que invernasen en Acapulcof.] Pues venido el caso se hallase una nao imposibilitada á proseguir el viaje con retirarse á Ladrones y repararse

allí de viveres aunque fuese con poca verga enterciandola el tiempo podía salir y aunque aguardase á los Sures y Suestes de marzo se podían poner en la altura por la entrada del verano y llegar á Acapulco por todo el mes de Junio ó Mayo de adonde aunque saliese por Octubre y Noviembre á poco trecho hallara brisas ó nordestes en el golfo hasta Ladrones, y allí se podía resguardar hasta Enero y llegar con brisas á Manila á popa y á tiempo de poderse aderezar p^a bolver á salir.

Los primeros pataches que de la Natividad venían á esta tierra salían por el mes de Noviembre o Diciembre y siempre tubieron felicisimos viages[.] por que no las naos sin hacer tantas invernadas en Acapulco, y este modo de navegacion se podía hacer con un patache y resguardarse allí de los dos inviernos del de la torrida y del de la altura haciendo en verano sus navegaciones libres de riesgos y de tantas muertes de la gente de mar y de los demas[.] de este modo se aseguraba el servicio de la nao de aquel año[.] se ahorran los gastos del aderezo forzoso en una arivada, ahorranse los gastos de arivadas y invernadas de S.M. y de los vecinos y se aseguraban los logros anuales de las mercaderias. Y aun los gastos ordinarios que causa el no entrar, en Cavite las naos que hoy es lo mas ordinario y puede con el tiempo ofrecerse ocasion en que puede esta republica remitir con seguridad un patache á Mexico ó con un aviso, ó, por el socorro que fundó escala las Marianas para resguardarse de los dos inviernos de la torrida en tiempo de bendabales y de la altura en los meses de Octubre, Noviembre y Diciembre que bien puede dudar que fuera muy factible y seguro un patache.

Comenzada ya esta reduccion tantos ya bautizados, y catequizados para bautizar[.] se confirmaba por el Real Consejo de las Yndias ya casi entablada con la liberalidad piadosa de la Reyna N^a Señora y que no hay parte en la Europa á donde no hay casa ó colegio de Jesuitas que no haya noticias desta reduccion por que como estos PP. son comunmente los confesores de los mas Principes Católicos de Europa estos luego les comunican estas nuevas que son tan alegres para los Catolicos. Demas de que sus progresos, y conquistas espirituales van á Roma á donde residen personas de toda la Cristiandad, y de allí facilmente se esparcen por toda ella estas nuevas, y de toda la Europa ha sido aplaudida esta reduccion tan sin interes humano. Pues si ahora oyeran que se dejaban, que dirian? confirmarse sin duda en lo que comunmente dice que las conquistas de los Españoles no son por zelo de la promulgacion del Evangelio sino por el interes de la riqueza de las Yndias y que el dar la fê á los Indios y bárbaros es p^a que unidos en religion tenerlos mas de su parte para valerse mejor dellos y estandoles obedientes á su debocion y por este medio gozar mas seguros del oro y plata de sus regiones. Y no infirieran mal si vieran que habiendo comenzado una reduccion de barbaros por no hallar en su tierra interes ninguno la habian dejado. Tengo por cierto que si hubiera en Ladrones metales preciosos no solo no ubiera quien contradijera esta reduccion sino que todos clamaran se prosiguiese en ella y diera medios p^a que se conservase. De esta contradiccion que hoy vemos saco yo otra consecuencia, y es que el interes de los Españoles no solo infama la Nacion sino que desacredita y aun desmiente en el mundo el ardiente zelo de promulgar el Evangelio de nuestros Católicos Reyes, el cual les ha premiado Dios ó dado por añadidura el tesoro de las Yndias que no pequeña parte de ello gastan todos los años en la reduccion de los Infieles y conservacion de los ya Cristianos.

*Ahora ya respondiéndolo á cada uno de los puntos en particular **hasta ahora no se ha liquidado haya puerto seguro á todos vientos en las Yslas Marianas** y parece que si le hubieran descubierto los holandeses en siete [sic] meses que se detubieron allí bojeando aquellas Yslas con sus faluas, y mas siendo todas tan pequeñas que la mayor que es Guahan se puede boxear toda en día y medio con falua. Por esta causa estubieron surtos en una ensenada de la Zarpana, en tiempo de bendabales por ser abrigo*

aquel viento, y en tiempo de Nortes se abrigaron en Guahan por estar descubierta al bendabal aquella caleta y defendida de los Nortes y cierto que si hubiera puerto en qualquiera de estas Yslas no andubieran buscando abrigo con los tiempos.

Pero supongamos que hay puerto defendido á todos vientos y que hoy se hallan dentro de el los enemigos con fuerza y bajeles. Luego Sande [=han de] apresar la nao que viene de Mexico? No tiene treinta y cincuenta leguas de lactitud por donde pasar los Ladrones de cuatro grados hasta veinte y cuatro ó veinte y dos y bajar y subir al Embocadero en otras tantas leguas de longitud? Demas de que no es facil apresar ni arrimarse á una Nao de estas Yslas con viento en popa y galerno como el que de ordinario traen al pasar por aquellas Yslas, digo ni arrimase sino rotas velas y destrozado los arboles y hecha astillas. Por dos veces la han aguardado los holandeses en aquel mismo paraje, y no han dado con ella. Muchas veces y por muchos años dentro de los callejones de estas Yslas, ya en el Embocadero, ya en Nasbati [Masbate] y Sicao [Ticao] ya en el Baradero [in Mindoro] ya en Fortun [Island]; y en sesenta años no han dado con ella[,] y una vez que la encontraron en el Embocadero siendo su General D. Fernando de Ayala se les escapó de las manos y á su vista tomó puerto dejando burlados á los holandeses. Y ahora por que hay alli reduccion[,] luego desde alli la han de apresar? La otra razon es que desde [alli] no solo pueden apresar á la Nao sino venir á coger estas Yslas.

No tengo por tan poco sagazes y adbertidos á nuestros enemigos quien para cojer á Manila se quieren embarazar con las Yslas de Ladrones tierra en medio de un golfo diborciada de todo trato humano y hoy tan pobre de viveres aunque con el tiempo los podrá haber que apenas pueden sustentarse en ella los PP. y soldados que hay sin util ninguno de lo temporal ni de oro ni de plata ni esperanza de haberlo. Pregunto ahora á los que proponen estos recelos para coger el enemigo á estas Yslas que necesidad tiene de hacer gasto y gastar el tiempo en poner su plaza de armas en medio de un golfo tan tormentoso trescientas y cincuenta leguas distantes de aqui? Presidia la Caldera y en brebe tiempo será Señor de todas las Yslas Bisas [=Visayas] y de estar perdidas por donde le han de entrar el socorro? No queda sino Lampon y Cagaian, que en tal caso parece con forzoso desamparar á Manila y pasarse al puerto de aquella Provincia y si esto no le parece tan facil[,] dimos que entre en Calamotan puerto de Palapag, y pongase en el mismo puerto del Embocadero de la Nao a donde se levantara una fuerza aunque fuera de estacas y la presidiara que habia de hacer Manila? En el interin que llegase á esta Ciudad la nueva y se disponia gente armada para hecharlos de alli quizas vieran ya á su debocion no solo los Indios de aquella Prov^a sino y á todo Bisayas, Catanduanes y Camarines en la Ysla de Manila, sin mas armas que decirles "ya no hay tributo ni PP. ni Alcaldes mayores," y si el enemigo fuere herege "ni misa ni confesion, nosotros os defenderemos de los Españoles" esto solo sin mas armas era bastante para atraerlos a si y para que se bolbiesen contra nosotros segun estan oy ofendidos y estomagados de los Españoles[,] no dudo que presto se desengañaran y se arrepintieran de habernos dejado pero mientras durara la guerra con el Español duraran las blanduras con ellos, estan hoy muy oprimidos los Indios de su natural cortes é inconstantes, y en tal caso todo esto se podia temer de ellos.

Y si sucediese el caso? Soldados hay en Manila p^a defender las Yslas y echarlos del Puerto mas y pienso mas bien disciplinados los habia en esta Ciudad cuando se levantó la Prov^a de Palapag[,] por dos años fueron enviados y llevaron distintas veces por Cavos á dos vecinos de Manila y siempre se bolvieron con las manos en el seno sin mas logro que los gastos que se hizieron, hasta que fué de Capitan Silvestre de Rodas [en 1650], llevando por marineros á los Sataos [Lutaos] y por soldados á los coletillos de Sambongan [y de] Therrentes [Ternate] y en veinte y cuatro horas llevo del cerro á los Indios y dexo hasta

el día de hoy quieta aquella Provincia[.] hoy ni hay coletillos ni Therrentes ni de Samboangan sino por-dioseros ó galancetes por que en esta Ciudad no solo no se hacen soldado sino que los que vienen de España lo pierden por que a donde no hay Universidad no hay letra ni a donde no hay escuela de milicia no puede haber Soldados, de cuantos hay hoy en Manila hay muchos que no saben disparar un mosquete y aun de los que son Capitanes. O plegue á Dios no lllore Manila algun día el no tener soldados de Therrente y Samboanga que militarían á vista de Holandeses y Moros. Todo el arte militar de Manila se reduce á meter y sacar guardias ó hagan por tomar á Zebú ó Oton lugares y puertos fortificados con castillos, en los demas abiertos hoy no les fuera difícil el conseguir su intento dentro de las Yslas y presidiado el enemigo en ellas en uno de tantos puertos como tienen no podían salir á presar nuestra Nao con mas seguridad y certeza de cogella que no desde Ladrones?

Posible es fortificar el enemigo á la Caldera como se ha dho que lo queria hacer el holandés, y mas factible y util para ellos á Calamotan, aunque solo hizieran sin riesgo y ponerse en la boca del Embocadero á vista de la Ysla de Manila y que tiene tan a mano todas las demas Yslas de Bisayas desde donde podia lograr el trato de China, Yndia y Oriente y de los demas generos de la tierra, y con no pocas maderas p^a labrar Bageles y vituallas necesarias p^a mantenerse sin traerlas de la Yndia ni es difícil el día de hoy tomar á Zebú y á Oton.

[Cavite, the key to the Philippine Islands]

No obstante me persuado que no lo haran por que se exponia que no le salga bien[.] por lo menos no pudieran escusar el gasto de tiempo[.] dineros y gente antes de poder enseñorearse de todas las Yslas por tener lejos los socorros, y en un accidente adverso muy desviada la retirada. Y assi vimos que cuando la Compañia de Holanda quiso hacer el ultimo esfuerzo para coger á estas Yslas poco antes de las pazes generales remetiendo á estas Yslas aquella Armada de 12 naos gruesas con un patache y no la ordenaron presidar á Ladrones ni acoger á Zebú ni á Oton ni á Calomatan, puerto bien conocido de holandeses, pues son ellos quien nos[.] dieron á conocer á nosotros adonde tubieron algunos meses surtas sus naos sino á Cavite á la llave de las Yslas para cercar á Manila por mar y por tierra[.] la dicha fué que lo que no pudo dañar la audacia del General nos aprovechó su prudencia por que si al amanecer de la noche que entró á la bahia hechase gente en tierra se lleva á Cavite, pero tomando lenguas de algunos pescadores haquella noche espías del mismo holandés que tenia dentro de Manila supo estaba todo el puerto atrincherado con estacas y terraplen y á trechos fortificado con baluarte de lo mismo, con que bajó p^a detenerse y verlo por sus ojos aquella misma mañana que siendo asi se retiro á tomar consejo con sus capitanes[.] en estas detenciones estuvo su daño y nuestra dicha, pero creo aunque se hubiera señorado del castillo que no lo habian de pasar bien por que entonces habia en Manila famosa gente soldados criados en Therrenate y Samboangan pero si hoy les acometiesen no se lo que sucediera.

El año de 53 ó 54 remitió á estas Yslas por el Estrecho de Magallanes seis nabios de estado Coromuel [Cromwell] Protector de Ynglaterra no para presidar á los Ladrones ni á Calamotan sino p^a coger inmediatamente á Cavite con engaño por que aca estabamos sin noticia de la Rota de las pazes ó treguas con España Ynglaterra, el fin era entrando como marchantes en el puerto de Cavite pidiendo trato y ahora dandosele y ahora nos[.] acometer de repente al castillo, pero Dios confundió el intento de este herege hechando á pique sus naos y una de ellas vino á naufragar á la Playa Honda de donde se sacó mucha de la artillería de la nao y dos anclas que vimos todos en la playa de Cavite p^a que reconociese-

mos el beneficio y la singular proteccion que Dios tiene á estas Yslas y de sus predestinados que son los soldados que los defienden.

El Cochín [rather Cotsen] de Ysla Hermana [rather Hermosa] con ser un barbaro Pirata alcanzo esta politica amenazo conquistar estas Yslas [1662] tomando primero á Cavite llevando golpe de gente. En el Rio de Cañas no obstante que con menos riesgo podian entrar en Pangasinan y enseñorearse de aquella Provincia[,] de la [de] Ylocos, y la [de] Cagaian. Pero discurrio que desde alli no podian venir á dominar todas las Yslas sin gastar tiempo[,] gente y dineros en que arriesgaba su fortuna y asi la amenaza fue hecha á Cavite por que este tomado aseguraba con solo una faccion el dominio de todas las Filipinas ahorrando el tiempo[,] gente y bajeles por que aunque tomase á Pangasinan necesitaba de uno y de otro p^a conservar aquellas Provincias.

De aqui se colige segun la experiencia nos enseña que el intento de los enemigos ni ha sido ni será sino de coger primero el puerto de Cavite[,] llave de todas las Yslas y que ese cogido si le sabe conservar no hay duda que seran señores de todas ellas[,] no gusta nuestros enemigos de andar por las ramas sino derivar de un golpe el tronco y no gastar el tiempo[,] gente y dinero en detenciones y no obstante que es el golpe que se deve temer Cavite se esta abierto y aun mas que antes y no hay quien trate del remedio solo es necesario remediar con tiempo lo de los Ladrones.

No dudo que era posible si los enemigos de la Corona hechasen de estas Islas á los Españoles hacer escala á las Yslas Marianas y que entonces aunque no hubiese Puerto le harian pero no antes por que hallandose ser Señores de estas Yslas [Filipinas] con tanta abundancia de maderas para fabricar bageles, con tantos viveres con tan ricos generos de la tierra con todo el trato de la China, Japon, de Yndia Oriental y Oriente y con la ayuda de tantos naturales para soldados y marineros bien se podía temer que intentasen desde aqui el poner el pie en la America ó infestar sus costas del Sur con pira-terias y p^a la consecucion de esta sin riesgo de muerte ni tormentas pusiesen su escala en las Marianas desde adonde es facil abrirse y breve la ida saliendo por Marzo y Abril, y mas facil la buelta y brebe con que todos los años podian remitir bajeles con grande daño de aquellos reynos. Por si acaso con el tiempo ella otra razon se descubre algun util de oro y plata que puede espolear á ocupar á los extrangeros aquellas Yslas, cada y cuando que se descubran tales metales que hasta ahora ni indicios hay de ellos los Españoles tendran cuidado de guardallos para que no los logran el enemigo.

*Ojala que hoy dia los hubiera que no tubiera tantas contradicciones esta reduccion. Las riquezas que hay en aquellas Yslas de oro, plata, diamantes y esmeraldas son las almas de aquellos Isleños mas preciosas que las riquezas encantadas de Salomon que salieron á buscar por dos veces con tantos gastos los Españoles del Callao. De creer era que si ubiera mina de oro y plata en aquellas Yslas en tantos años como ha que son habitadas de aquellos bárbaros que las ubieran descubierto y que **los que sacaron del profundo del mar las cadenas y bejuquillos de oro que se perdieron en el naufragio de las dos naos [Santa Margarita & Concepción]** y que los que supieron guardar para trocar por yerro como lo hacen hasta el día de hoy supieran sacarlo si lo hubiera de las entrañas de la tierra pero no niego pueden hallarse estos metales en las Yslas del Sur que distan poco de Guahan ó en las del Norte mas vecinas del Japon.*

La otra razon es que la detencion alli de las Naos es muy nociba á esta tierra: Es asi que hasta ahora ha sido forzoso detenerse dos ó tres dias por no tener embarcaciones los PP. para conducir á tierra el socorro que les viene de Mexico y asi ha sido forzoso que se lo pongan en tierra la falua de la Nao. Pero y que ya tienen embarcaciones capaces y en adelante tendran mas con que viniendo de tierra embarca-

ciones competentes medio día basta p^a entregallos todo el socorro, y siempre al tiempo ordinario saldrán ellos á la Nao. Demas de que tal vez necesitaran de hacer aguada ó se hallaran en calma con que les será ó forzoso, ó util la detencion.

*Aunque esta republica pusiese á vela de algunos años aora en los principios hasta entablarse un Bajel no la podía ser de mucha carga estando ya situado en Mexico el sueldo de los soldados y estipendio de los PP. como de hecho hoy lo está. Gastos a[h]logos tubo esta república en lo temporal en tiempo de D. Diego Faxardo [1644-53], y D. Sabiniano Manrique [1653-63] declara sus gobernadores como ahora por que nunca fué mas. El socorro que es ahora y fueron menos los haberes reales por los pocos baxeles extrangeros que venian entonces al trato ni entran tantas encomiendas en la caja como ahora entran y no obstante se armaba todos los años una armada de seis y mas baxeles y muchas veces iba un patache, y tal vez una Nao de la carrera comboyandolos para el socorro de las plazas de Therrentes y Samboangan con muchos soldados[,] plata y viveres y municiones y ahora que no hay áquel desague ni se paga mejor que entonces las vandalas á los Yndios ni se dan mas sueldos á los soldados, que vienen tantos navios extrangeros al trato que entran en la Caxa tantas encomiendas de particulares y que ha seis años que no se ha dado un Real á los naturales de la Prov^a de Tondo por el arrastre de las balsas de madera y **no tiene costilla hoy esta república para poder poner alguna vez siquiera un patache á la vela para el socorro de aquella reduccion** de la cual depende la salvacion de tantas almas, y entonces habia posible p^a poner tantos baxeles á la vela? No sé por que responder sino que es castigo de Dios que al paso que por causa de lo temporal dejamos la conversion de estos Indios y nos desviamos de las reducciones ya entabladas á ese paso nos estrecha mas y acertar lo temporal como lo experimentamos y permite haya otros desagues de la hacienda Real que quizas ni son del servicio de Dios ni del Rey. Todos confesamos que no esta hoy la Monarquía segun los ahogos y empeños en que se halla para divestirse ni gastar sus tesoros y soldados en nuevas conquistas, y reducciones pero **esta de las Yslas Marianas es de tan poco costo y necesita de tan poca gente que solo doscientos Españoles bastan y sobran para reducirlos á la obediencia de las dos Magestades** y aun para que convertidos y obedientes estos Isleños ayudasen á los Españoles á reducir las Yslas^s y tierras del Sur llenas de barbaros timidos y desnudos que es adonde la fama publica haber tantas riquezas, ni para esto es necesario traer soldados de España habiendo tantos Españoles ociosos á la America no solo de los que todo [sic] años se quedan de flota y galeones sino ay de los nacidos alla que andan perdidos en los Reales de minas, Ingenios y haciendas y otros saltando los caminos. Que fuera politica util limpiar de esta gente aquellas republicas que estoy por afirmar que podían sacarse de la America mas de tres mil hombres solteros todos blancos con util de aquellos reynos y sin hacer ninguna falta á la monarquía, y como quiero que los tiempos y las monarquías se mudan con la prudencia y valor de los Reyes puede venir tiempo en que los Españoles se hallen menos ahogados y que les espuele la curiosidad de averiguar los secretos de las dos tierras incognitas de la parte del Sur, y de la parte de la America en cuya mediania yacen de Norte á Sur las Yslas Marianas y son tan comodas para hacerlo como se prueba con las razones de arriba, y **por lo menos un Presidio alli puede estorvar que nuestros enemigos no lo hagan ni pueden hacer escala en las Yslas Marianas para infestar á la America.***

Dios de luz á nuestros Catolicos Reyes para elegir lo mejor y de mas servicio á la divina Magestad y aumento de nuestra Catolica fé. No tengo duda que aunque haya mas contradicciones ha de persistir esta reduccion y se ha de dar de alli principio á otras si de ellas depende la predestinacion de tantas almas de Barbaros que ha de tomar Dios por instrumento á la nacion Española á quien solo parece tiene es-

cogida para la combercion de los miserables pobres y desnudos[.] quiera el Señor que así sea para que se logre en ellos la sangre de Cristo.

La razon que todos ponderamos y no es facil hallar la respuesta es que habiendo de ir las Naos todos los años de fuerza á dexas á los PP. allí el socorro es dar punto fíxo al enemigo á que la aguarde allí, esto digo que habiendo Puerto ó gente Española no es facil, por que allí no la pueden aguardar imponer sus naos en algun abrigo como hizo el holandés dos veces que las aguardo allí. Temeridad fuera aguardarle en un mar tan tempestuoso como es aquel á la entrada de los vendabales y en la furia de ellos que es cuando el enemigo la ha de ir á buscar abrigo de tierra, y no difícil á los Españoles si allí se ponen el azerlos que no le tomen y mejor si sugetos los Yndios les ayudan, aun que en poco por ser tan tímidos de las armas de fuego.

Esta es la razon por que han dado de aca orden á los Generales de la Naos que no pasen por Guahan á la buelta, con que no pasando por allí no queda otro remedio para la conservacion de aquello que socorrerlo desde Manila con bajel propio, &c. Pero si se halla puerto puede nuestra nao entrar en este y abrigarse de la artilleria, pues la hay tan buena allí de las naos perdidas. Habiendo Puerto y Soldados mas segura puede llegar allí que á Cavite pues para llega á Cavite hay tantas partes donde la pueden aguardar y allí de un manejo entrara inmediatamente en el Puerto y se asegura.

Translation

Reasons that may be proposed to Y.M. and to your Royal Council of the Indies for the reduction to our Holy Faith of the Mariana Islands to be cancelled and for the Fathers of the Society of Jesus not to proceed further, as they insist, and also the contrary reasons and advantages as to why it should go ahead.

The pursuance of that reduction may result in the loss of these [Philippine] Islands and of their Christian communities because, if a suitable port is found there, as it is supposed there is, or if one is constructed, it is not difficult [to imagine] that once other nations competing with our Power become aware of it, they could set up a garrison there, and come out every year to seize the succor that comes from New Spain to these Islands, which they could easily do from there, and in a few years they would weaken the forces of this republic, and they could then make themselves masters of them, and find there civilized people, not bad seamen, and even soldiers to fight at the side of European soldiers, a land rich in goods, abounding in food supplies, their mountains and forests full of wonderful lumber for the construction of every category of ships, neighboring on the rich trade with Great China, Japan and the whole of this Orient that foreigners covet so much.

If they manage to acquire these Islands, having a port and stopover in the Ladrones, they could then try and pass from there to America, something they could easily do in two and a half months with their ships, much lighter than ours, to make their entrance into the Californias, to become masters of Valdebanderas, and from there, of all the royal mines in New Viscaya and New Galicia, and even go as far as the City of Mexico, since the road is level without any mountain ranges or gorges to impede them, so much so that in fewer than two months they could repair to their base in the Ladrones, and there await new succors from [occupied] Manila, only to return the following year

with reinforcements for the same purpose. In such a case, it would be more feasible to attack America from these parts than by the Strait of Magellan, since they have lost many men when they go through there, by the time they arrive at the ports of South America, and the survivors are in bad shape, on account of the long navigation and after crossing the Equator twice, in order to reach Acapulco or Valdebanderas, whose climates are very contrary to men from the North, and if their expedition is not successful the first year, they could not return there because they are far from ports where they can recuperate and get new supplies and reinforcements.

The Mariana Islands are situated from North to South, since they begin at 40 or more degrees of latitude, [on the same longitude] as Eastern Tartary which is above Japan, according to the position given to it by Father Martin Martinez of the Society of Jesus in his **Atlante Sínico** [=Chinese Atlas], and they run southward to the Islands of Terra Incognita [=Unknown Land]. Therefore, they lie in-between these two unknown lands where fame has already placed huge treasures, either imagined by someone, or dreamed up, because in that neighborhood to the south they place the Solomon Islands, and in that to the north of America those two Islands of Rica de Oro and Rica de Plata. I call them dreamed up or imagined because until now there has been no sighting of them by any eyewitness, but I do not say that such treasures in those two parts are not possible. And given that these imagined treasures, at the time of the wise King Philip II of good memory, did move some Spaniards to seek them, twice: once with a patache from the port of Callao, and afterwards with 3 or 4 ships, without any other effect than the waste of a total of over half a million pesos. This fame can also move enemies of the Crown to seek these treasures and to take possession of the Mariana Islands, where the navigation to these unknown parts is so easy; indeed, once the northerlies have set in, which in that neighborhood are north-easterlies, they could climb the southern parts during the months of October, November and December, that is, the summer in those parts where those seas are pacific, and once the south-westerlies and southerlies have set in, to go up the northern latitudes during the months of March and April, which correspond to the beginning of summer in that part, and when winds blow eastward, and then they could return to their port with the northerlies, and recover in order to go out once again, until they have encountered such treasures or they become undeceived, if there are not any. On the other hand, such an enterprise is difficult and dangerous [to carry out] from America, and even more so from Manila or the East Indies, since the retreat is not handy, but in the Ladrones, if a port becomes available, they would have a very handy one, even though the tradewinds might make sailing more lengthy between the two poles, to places where these secrets lie, because these two heretofore-unknown parts will spur on the foreigners to occupy these Islands, if in time they should find something useful like gold or silver, of which there are some signs, or some precious local product like cacao, since the land there is very similar to that of America, but not to that of these Islands, and it is very possible that this product could be sown there, and produce as abundantly as in the Windward Islands of America.

The navigation to the Mariana Islands is not a long one nor very difficult for foreigners who have power, and settlements in the Indies, from the south, because Sacatra [=Jakarta] would be about 600 leagues from them, and from the English trading posts in the Persian Gulf there are about 1,500 leagues. With southerlies or monsoon winds they can easily do it because their ships are better sailers than those of this run; furthermore, from the Strait of Magellan it would not be difficult for them to reach those Islands, as there is no defence whatever to prevent them from entering there.

This reduction can only be preserved with the relief galleons that pass by there every year or with a patache that would go out from here, exiled only for that purpose; one way or another, it is very risky and disadvantageous for these Islands, because in order to leave the succor to the Fathers and soldiers, the galleons must be detained there for at least 12 or 13 days [sic].¹ This delay is enough for the monsoon winds to be encountered before the Embocadero, and they cannot come in, and are forced to divert to Palapag, or go on to Lampon, from where the silver and some of the merchandise is brought in [to Manila] over 100 leagues, at considerable expense to Y.M. and to the residents of this Republic, and then the galleon is even exposed to being blown off by a typhoon and be unable to reach land until months later, as happened before. And if, in order to obviate this disadvantage, a patache be outfitted every year, it is now an unbearable burden upon this republic and the succors from Mexico are so short, the royal income from these Islands today are found so diminished, the country so short of seamen from Europe that it is necessary to grab some natives to serve as sailors, because the construction of a ship of 300, or 250 tons,² must cost at least 10,000 pesos by the time it can sail, in accordance with the construction of this country, plus the money for the salaries of pilots, commanders, and seamen, supplies for one year, and other munitions, that is, another 5,000; this, when it is already difficult to outfit one galleon to make the voyage to Acapulco for the subsidy. Therefore, if this patache becomes a permanent fixture, according to the present state of affairs, it would then become necessary to shorten the salaries of the ministers of Y.M., the military officers and men, even more so than they are now, when everything is strained and very steep.

I have found many residents of this City to be divided in two camps. Some say that whether or not a port is found that reduction should be abandoned because it must be a burden on this republic and very risky. The others say that whether or not a port is found they be garrisoned, because otherwise the enemy could become master of those Islands, at our grief. Everyone agrees that if the enemy makes an entry there, it would be prejudicial not only to this country but also to America. I asked everyone: Would the enemy go in, because the Fathers and a few soldiers are there, if there is a port? And if the Fathers go away and abandon that reduction, could they not go in and make an artificial port, even if there be no natural one? Could we not say, for a much better

1 Ed. note: Obvious transcription error. The galleon never stayed more than 2 or 3 days at Guam, as is correctly repeated below. See also how this, and other, arguments below were refuted by Fr. Xaramillo (Doc. 1680T).

2 Ed. note: An exaggeration, as a ship of that capacity would no longer be called a patache.

reason, that we would then lose possession of them simply by abandonment? On the other hand, by leaving it, the disadvantages put forward in points 1, 2 and 3 would not be obviated.

When the Governor of Malayo was told that the abandonment of Sidore [rather Tidore] and those forts had been a necessary evil and that the right of Y.M. to them has not been lost, he answered that on the day that we left them, for this or that reason, we lost the right that we had there, and the King of Sidore [sic] could serve anyone he wished. When a Spaniard told a Dutchman that they should not dare place a garrison in the Caldera [in Zamboanga] as they were planning to do, because the whole Island of Mindanao belonged to the King of Spain, the Dutchman answered that there was nothing that could prevent them from doing so, and that the matter did not have to be negotiated, because on the day that we abandon that port the master of it becomes the King of Mindanao who could give it to whomever he pleased.

In view of the reasons put forward, those zealous of the good of this republic should think it proper for them to press for and cooperate toward the continuance of the reduction of those Indians and for Y.M. and your Royal Council to order that a Garrison of 200 Spanish men be placed there, specially if a suitable port is found, by making an artificial one. This way all the risks put forward in the reasons would be obviated, and that is not all, because although our enemies might in time see the advantage of those Islands to do us harm, if the port be garrisoned with Spanish soldiers, things would be difficult for them, as they would have to launch their operation in a stormy sea, as it is in the monsoon season which is the appropriate time for them to go overthere from India, because if they do not think that they have sufficient strength to attack it, they would remain exposed to either having to withdraw to some shelter or to fight with the waves. Should there be no garrison there, it would be easy for them to conquer them by the Strait of Magellan through which Englishmen and Dutchmen have already come to these parts many times before, with no other results than a loss of men and ships.

This republic would have another advantage if there were a port and garrison of soldiers in the Ladrones: it would not be necessary for the galleons that winter in Acapulco to return to Manila. Indeed, in case a galleon finds herself unable to proceed with her voyage, she could divert to the Ladrones and refresh there with food supplies, though it be with a short yard, then when the weather changes she could go out, and although she had to await the southerlies and southwesterlies of March, they could reach [a high] latitude by the beginning of summer and arrive at Acapulco at some time during the month of June or May, from where they could leave, though it be in October or November, and after a short while they would find tradewinds or northeasterlies in the ocean space as far as the Ladrones, and there they could remain until January and make it to Manila with the tradewinds from behind and on time to be able to make her ready to go out once more.

The first pataches that came from La Navidad to this country used to leave during the month of November or December and they always had successful voyages. Why do

not the galleons do the same, instead of so many winterings in Acapulco? And this type of navigation could be done with a patache and [thus] protect itself from the two winterings, that of the torrid zone and that of the [high] latitude, by doing its voyages in summer [thus] removing the risks of losing so many lives, of seamen and others. This way the service of the galleon of that year would be secured, the costs of a forced refit from a return in distress would be avoided, and Y.M. and the residents would be saved the expenses of the returns in distress and of the winterings, and the profits from the merchandise would be assured every year, and even the ordinary expenses caused by the inability of the galleons to enter Cavite, which is the usual case today, it can in time offer an opportunity in which this republic could send a patache to Mexico, either with an advice, or for the succor, once a stopover in the Marianas has been established in order to shelter it from the two winter periods, that of the torrid zone during the monsoon season, and that of the [high] latitude during the months of October, November and December [but] one can very well doubt if a patache could be feasible and safe.

Now that this reduction has already begun, with so many people already baptized, or indoctrinated and ready to be baptized, its establishment, supported by the pious liberality of the Queen our Lady, has already been confirmed by the Royal Council of the Indies, and there is no part in Europe where there is a house or college of Jesuits that has not heard of this reduction, because as these Fathers are commonly the confessors of the greatest Catholic Princes of Europe, the latter then pass on these news that are so welcome to Catholics. Furthermore, the reports on its progress, and spiritual conquests go to Rome where persons from all Christendom reside, and from there such news are spread all over the Christian world, and this reduction has been applauded by the whole of Europe for its lack of human interest. Indeed, if now they were to hear that they were being abandoned, what would they say? The effect would undoubtedly be to confirm what is commonly said about the conquests of the Spanish, that they are not for the zeal of the propagation of the Gospel but for the interest of the wealth of the Indies, and that the giving of the faith to the Indians and barbarians is in order to keep them united in religion and on their own side, the better to take advantage of them, keeping them obedient in their devotion and by this means be able to enjoy more safely the gold and silver of their regions. And the inference would not be a good one, if they saw that a reduction of barbarians was abandoned, because nothing interesting has been found in their country. I have it for certain that, if there were in the Ladrones some precious metals, not only there would not be anyone to contradict this reduction but that all would clamor for it to continue, and would give means to preserve it. From this contradiction that we see today, I deduce the following conclusion, i.e. that the interest shown by the Spanish not only defames the Nation but it discredits and even makes a lie in the world of the ardent zeal to propagate the Gospel of our Catholic Kings. God has rewarded this zeal or He has given them the aggregation of the treasure of the Indies, not a small part of which they have spent every year in the reduction of the Gentiles and the preservation of those already Christians.

Now then, it is time to respond to every one of the points, in particular **until now it has not been made clear if there exists a port in the Mariana Islands that is sheltered from all winds.** It seems that if the Dutch had discovered one during the seven [sic] months that they spent there, reconnoitering those Islands in their *faluas*,¹ the more so since they are all so small that even the largest which is Guahan can be circumnavigated in a day and a half with a launch. For this reason they were anchored in a bay of Zarpana [i.e. Rota] during the monsoon season, to be sheltered from that wind, and during the season of the northerlies they sought shelter in Guahan, on account of that inlet being open to the monsoon winds but sheltered from the northerlies, and certain that if any port whatever in any of these Islands existed, they would not have sought [different] shelter with the [changing] weather seasons.²

However, let us suppose that there exists a port sheltered from all winds and that the enemies can today be found in it with forces and ships. Would they not then seize the galleon that comes from Mexico? Is there no more than 30 to 50 leagues of latitude through which the Ladrones can be crossed, i.e. between 4° as far as 24° or 22°, and still be able to go up or down to the Embocadero within the same number of leagues of longitude? In spite of the fact that it is not easy to seize or board a galleon of these Islands with a wind astern and northeasterly, as they usually encounter as they pass by those Islands, I repeat, or board her, unless her sails be broken and her masts destroyed and turned to splinters. Twice the Dutch have awaited her in that neighborhood, and they have not met with her.³ Many times and during many years they have sought her inside the channels of these Islands, sometimes in the Embocadero, sometimes in Masbate and Ticao, even in Varadero [in Mindoro] or at Fortun Island, but in 60 years they have not met with her. Once they saw her in the Embocadero, when her General was Don Fernando de Ayala, but she escaped from their hands and in sight of them found a port, thus cheating the Dutch [of their prey].⁴ And now, because there is a reduction there, then, from there they must capture her? The other reason is that from there, not only they can capture the galleon but also come to capture these Islands.

Well, I do not think that our enemies would be sagacious and intelligent enough to capture Manila and yet want to burden themselves with the Ladrones Islands, a land in the middle of a wide ocean, divorced of any human contact and today so poor of food, although in time it could have more, but now it can hardly provide the Fathers and soldiers who live there, without anything useful material-wise, without any gold or silver, nor any hope of finding any. My question now is addressed to those who put forward

1 Ed. note: The last time the Dutch visited Guam was in 1625 and they stayed less than 3 weeks.

There is no record of "faluas" or launches having reconnoitered the Islands.

2 Ed. note: With the primary source documents that are now available, we can say that the intelligence that the Spanish had of the Dutch presence at Guam was, to say the least, faulty.

3 Ed. note: This was hearsay. As we know, the Dutch had made plans to cruise for galleons near the Ladrones, but never seem to have put these plans into action (see Doc. 1645A).

4 Ed. note: This happened in 1620.

such distrustful ideas about the capture of these Islands by the enemy: what need is there to spend money and time to establish a fort in the middle of such a stormy ocean space 300 leagues from here? If someone place a garrison at the Caldera, soon he will be Lord of all the Visaya Islands; and once they are lost, through which port can the succor come in then? Only Lampon and Cagayan would be left [open to us]. In such a case, it would seem necessary to abandon Manila and to pass to a port of that Province, and if this does not appear so probable, then let us say that he come into Calamotan, the port of Palapag,¹ and makes himself at home in the very port of the galleon at the Embocadero, where he would raise a fort, though it be but a stockade, and he garrison it, what should Manila do? While the news travelled to this City and some armed men were arranged to go and throw him out of there, perhaps he could in the meantime convert to his devotion not only the Indians of that Province but also the whole of the Visayas, Catanduanes and Camarines on the Island of Manila, without any weapon other than simply telling them: "There are no longer any tribute, Fathers or mayors," and if the enemy be heretic, "no more mass or confession. We will defend you from the Spanish." This done, without arms, would be enough to attract them to themselves and turn them against us, because nowadays they are offended and fed up with the Spanish. I do not doubt that they would then soon become undeceived and would repent for having left us, but as long as the war lasted with the Spanish some bland talks would last; the naturally-polite Indians today are very oppressed and inconstant, and in such a case that is what could be feared from them.²

What if the case were to happen? There are soldiers in Manila to defend the Islands and to throw them out of the Port, rather well disciplined I think, but there were also some in this City when the Province of Palapag revolted. During two years some were sent and at various times their officers were two residents of Manila, but always they returned empty-handed, with no other result than the expenditures they made, until Captain Silvestre de Rodas went there [in 1650], taking along the Lutaos as sailors and the "jackets" from Zamboanga and Ternate as soldiers;³ in 24 hours he made it to the hill of the [rebel] Indians and left that Province quiet until today. Today there are no more "jackets", neither from Zamboanga nor from Ternate, but only arrogant or gallant men, because in this City no-one becomes a soldier, and those who were such when they came from Spain soon lose the attribute, because where there is no university there are no letters, and where there is no training school for the militia there cannot be any soldiers. Among those who are presently in Manila some do not know how to fire a musket, and some of them are even Captains. God deign to prevent Manila from one day regretting not having any soldiers from Ternate and Zamboanga who would fight

1 Ed. note: The common name of the port of Palapag in northern Samar Island was Calomotan (see B&R 52:354).

2 Ed. note: Excellent appraisal of a hypothetical situation, given the Filipino character. Loyalty to the Spanish was similarly shallow in the Marianas.

3 Ed. note: The Lutaos were the Orang-Laut, or "Men of the Sea", living aboard their boats in the district of Zamboanga (see B&R 40: 100).

in view of Dutchmen and Moros alike. The whole military science of Manila is reduced to stationing and replacing sentinels, or to form garrisons in Cebu or Oton, places and ports already fortified, with the rest being left open, so that it would not be difficult today [for the enemy] to achieve his plan within the Islands. Once the enemy is garrisoned in them at one of their numerous ports, would they not go out and seize our galleon with more security and certainty of capturing her, if not from the Ladrones?

It is possible for the enemy to fortify the Caldera, as has already been said that the Dutch wanted to do, but it would be more feasible and useful for them to do it at Calamotan, if only they could do so without risk, and put themselves within the mouth of the Embocadero in sight of the Island of Manila, where they would have so close at hand all the other Islands of the Visayas from which they could carry on trade with China, India and the Orient, and of the other local products, and where they would have all the lumber necessary to build ships and the food necessary to survive, with no need to bring any from India. Besides, it would not be difficult today to capture Cebu and Oton.

[Cavite, the key to the Philippine Islands]

Nevertheless, I am persuaded that they will not do it, because they would expose themselves to a risky outcome. At least they would not have sufficient reasons to spend the time, moneys and men unless they could become masters of all the Islands, because their reinforcements are far away, and in case of a contrary outcome, their place of refuge is also far away. So, we see that when the Dutch Company wanted to make one last effort to capture these Islands, a little before the general peace treaty, they sent to these Islands that fleet of 12 large galleons with a patache but they did not order it to place a garrison at the Ladrones or capture Cebu or Oton, or Calamotan, a port well known by the Dutch; indeed, they were the ones who made us aware of it, when their galleons anchored in it for a few months. Rather, it was to **Cavite, the key to the Islands**, in order to surround Manila by sea and overland. Our good luck turned out to be that the audacity of the General did not harm it, but we benefitted from his prudence. In fact, if on the morning after the night that he entered the bay, he had landed men ashore he would have taken Cavite. Instead, after some Dutch spies, then living in Manila, had made contact with some fishermen that night, the enemy learned that the whole port was fortified with stockades and ramparts, and in places fortified with similar bulwarks; so, he went down to have a close look at it with his own eyes on the morning in question, and having seen it, withdrew to hold a council with his captains. These delays caused his loss and our good luck. However, even if he had made himself master of the castle, he would not have succeeded so well afterwards, because there lived then in Manila some famous men, soldiers raised in Ternate and Zamboanga, but if they were to attack today, I do not know if they would succeed.

In the year 1653 or 1654, Cromwell, the Protector of England, sent 6 government ships through the Strait of Magellan, not to set up a garrison in the Ladrones, or at Calamotan, but to immediately seize Cavite by trickery, because we were still unaware of

the news that peace no longer existed between Spain and England. The idea was for them to come into the port of Cavite as merchant ships and ask for trade, and either we would give them permission, or they would attack us in the castle by surprise, but God confounded the plan of this heretic by sinking his galleons—one of them became a shipwreck at Playa Honda, where many of the cannon of the galleon were taken off and two anchors, that we have all seen on the beach at Cavite, so that we would recognize the benefit and the particular protection that God has over these Islands and over the predestined who are the soldiers defending them.

As for Cochin [rather Cotsen] of the Island of Hermana [rather Hermosa], as he was a barbarian Pirate, he chose this policy and threatened the conquest of these Islands [in 1662], by first attacking Cavite and taking it over with an army, notwithstanding the fact that he could have gone to the Cañas River and, with less risk, gone into Pangasinan and become master of that Province, that of Ilocos, and that of Cagayan. However, he came to think that from there he could not have extended his domination over all the Islands without wasting time, men and money, thus risking his fortune. So, the threat was applied at Cavite, because once this was taken, this single battle would have made certain his dominion over all the Philippine Islands, thus saving time, men and ships, because although he had taken Pangasinan, he would still have needed both to keep those Provinces.

From here can be deduced that experience has taught us that the plan of the enemies has consisted and will consist of capturing the port of Cavite, the key to all the Philippine Islands, first. This done, if they know how to keep it, there is no doubt that they will be masters of all of them. Our enemy does not like to cut off the branches, but to cut the tree itself once and for all, and not waste time, men and money in delays. Notwithstanding the fact that the blow must come to Cavite, and Cavite is more open than ever, and no-one discusses the remedy, it is only necessary to apply a timely remedy to the question of the Ladrones.

I do not doubt that it was possible, if the enemies of the Crown had expelled the Spanish from these Islands, to make a port of call in the Mariana Islands, and that then, although there were no port, they would have made one, but not before, because, once they were Masters of these [Philippine] Islands, so abundant in lumber for ship-building, in food sources, in local products, in the whole trade with China, Japan, the East Indies and the Orient, and with the help of so many natives to become soldiers and sailors. So, it is not hard to imagine that they could then have attempted to step on the American shores or to infest the coasts of South America with their deprivations. In order to carry this out without danger of losing their lives or from storms, they could have made the Marianas a port of call. From there, it is easy to fan out and the outgoing voyage would be a short one, if they depart in March or April, and the return voyage would be easier and faster; therefore, every year they could send ships, and cause damage to those kingdoms. If perchance in time—and this is another reason—some useful bit of gold and silver were found, that could spur on foreigners to occupy those

Islands, whenever such metals are found—though no signs of any have been found so far—the Spanish ought to take care to keep them, to deprive the enemy of same.

If only there were any today, this reduction would not meet with so many contradictions. The treasures in gold, silver, diamonds, and emeralds existing in those Islands are in the form of the souls of those islanders, more precious than the famous wealth of Solomon that the Spanish went after twice from Callao at such a great cost. Could one believe that, if there were gold and silver mines in those Islands, in so many years that they have been inhabited by those barbarians they would not have already been discovered? **Those who salvaged from the deep sea the gold chains and small canes that had been lost in the shipwreck of the two galleons [Santa Margarita & Concepción] and who knew enough to barter them for iron, as they still do today**, would they not also know if there is some in the bowels of the earth? I do not deny, however, that these metals could be found in the Islands that lie a short distance to the south of Guahan or in the northern ones that are closer to Japan.

The other reason is that the delay there of the galleons is very harmful to this country. So far it has been necessary for them to tarry there for two or three days, as the Fathers have no boats to carry the relief supplies ashore when they arrive from Mexico. So, it has been necessary for the galleon's launch to ferry them ashore. But, what if they had capable boats and in future they would have more? With suitable boats coming from shore, half a day would be enough time to deliver the whole subsidy to them, and they would always come out to the galleon with the usual weather. Besides, sometimes there would be a need to take on water or they would find themselves becalmed; then the delay would be either necessary, or useful.

Although this republic could assign a vessel a few years from now, at the beginning, until the run became established, the vessel could not be a great capacity, as the salary of the soldiers and stipends of the Fathers come out of the Mexican treasury, as indeed they are today. The material funds that this republic spent during the terms of its governors Don Diego Fajardo [1644-53] were very short, and Don Sabiniano Manrique [1653-63]. As for now, the subsidy given today has never been greater. Then, the royal income was less, on account of the few foreign ships that came then to trade and there were not as many land-grants coming into the treasury, as come in at present; still, every year there was a fleet of 6 or more vessels made ready and many times there went a *patache*, and sometimes a galleon of the run was convoying them on the relief voyage to the forts of Ternate and Zamboanga, with many soldiers, silver, food supplies and ammunitions, but now that there is no longer that outflow, when the *vandalas*¹ of the Indians are not paid more than at that time, and the salaries of the soldiers are not any higher, when many more foreign ships come to trade, and when so many land-grants to individuals come into the treasury, and when for the last six years not one real has been given to the natives of the Province of Tondo to compensate them for the conveyance of the wood rafts, **how come this republic does not have a nickel to be able**

1 Ed. note: Compulsory contributions in kind.

to outfit one patache, not even once, for the relief of that reduction upon which depends the salvation of so many souls, whereas it was possible then to make so many ships available? I do not know what to answer, except that it must be a punishment from God because we sometimes abandon the conversion of these Indians for some materialistic reason and at other times turn away from reductions that have already been made; it cost us more to espouse material causes and allowing other outflows from the Royal treasury that are perhaps neither for the service of God nor that of the King. All of us confess that the Monarchy today is so short of funds that it cannot invest moneys in as many enterprises nor spend its funds and soldiers in new conquests, and reductions but **the reduction of the Mariana Islands is so little an expense and needs so few men that only 200 Spanish are sufficient to reduce them to the obedience of the two Majesties** and even sufficient that, once these Islanders have been converted and rendered obedient, they may help the Spanish to reduce the Islands and lands lying to the South, full of timorous and naked barbarians, and where, according to public rumors, there are so many riches, nor for this would it be necessary to bring soldiers from Spain, given the fact that there are so many idle Spaniards in America, not just from those who every year remain from the fleet and galleons, but from those born there who wander around the royal mines, mills and plantations, and others who are highwaymen. It would indeed be a good policy to clean those republics of such people and I am ready to affirm that one could get out of America over 3,000 men, all bachelors and white men, much to the benefit of those kingdoms and no harm to the Monarchy. I would even venture to say that, as the times and monarchies move in rhythm with the prudence and valor of their Kings, one day will come when the Spanish will find themselves less short of money and their curiosity will be aroused to go to the discovery of the secrets of the two unknown lands in the southern latitudes, and on those in the side of America, and the longitude in-between them both is occupied by the Mariana Islands. Said Islands are so suitable as a base for this exploration, as stated in the above-mentioned reasons, and **at least one garrison there can prevent our enemies from placing one there, and from making the Mariana Islands a base from which to infest America.**

May God enlighten our Catholic Kings so that they will make the best decision, one that will be of greater service to the Divine Majesty and the increase of our Catholic faith. I have no doubt that, in spite of the contradictions, this reduction must persist and a beginning must be made from there to others, if from them depends the predestination of so many souls of barbarians, as God must make use of the Spanish nation as His instrument, since it appears that He has chosen it for the conversion of the miserably poor and naked peoples. May the Lord make it happen, so that the blood of Christ may be achieved in them.

The reason that we all think about, and to which an answer is not easily found, is that, as the galleons have to go every year to deliver the relief to the Fathers there, that gives a fixed point to the enemy to go to, to await the galleon there. To this I say that, as long as there is a port or Spanish men there, it would not be easy, because they could

not simply place their galleons inside some shelter there, as was done by the Dutch twice when they waited there.¹ It would be temerity to wait there, in such a stormy sea as it is after the monsoon winds begin to blow and it would be when they are at their worst that the enemy would seek a land shelter, and it would not be difficult for the Spanish then to prevent them from doing so, and easier still once the Indians have been subjected and assist them, though it be so little, as they are much afraid of firearms.

This is the reason why orders have been given from here to the Generals of the galleons that they should not pass by Guahan on the return voyage. Therefore, by not passing there, there is no other remedy left for its preservation than to go to its relief from Manila with a vessel dedicated to that purpose alone, etc. However, if a port were to be found, our galleon could enter it and be protected by cannon; indeed, there are so many good ones overthere from the shipwrecked galleons. With a port and soldiers, the galleon can get there more safely than to Cavite; indeed, in order to reach Cavite there are so many places where they can wait for her, but overthere it would simply enter the port with a single maneuver and be in safety.

1 Ed. note: In 1616 and 1625.

Document 1680W

**Letter from Fr. Augustin Strobach to
Fr. de Boye, dated 4 June 1680**

Source: Pp. 44-49 in the biography, in Latin, of Fr. Strobach by Fr. Manuel de Boye, entitled: "Vita et Obitus Venerabilis Patris Augustini Strobach è Societate Jesu. Ex Provincia Bohemiæ pro Insulis Marianis electi Missionarii; et à Rebellibus Sanctæ Fidei in iisdem Insulis Barbaræ Trucidati Anno 1684, Mense Augusto. Conscripta à P. Emmanuele De Boye, è Societate Jesu, Anno M.DC.XCI. Olomucii, Typis Joannis Josephi Kylian."

Notes: This book was published in Olmütz (Olomouc) in Moravia, Czech Republic today, in the year 1691. There was a second edition, also printed in Olmütz, in 1703. The manuscript of this biography is kept at the University of Vienna, and was formerly kept in the Vienna State Archives, as Geistl. Angel. Nr. 419, according to Huonder. The printed book is available at the Vatican Library, under #St.: Rom, B. VE.: 14, 24 B.26.

[May be reproduced in the supplementary volume, if found, and if relevant]¹

1 Ed. note: It is not likely to be too relevant, however, as Fr. Strobach was still in Spain awaiting a ship to take him to Mexico, in June 1680.

V I D A,
Y MARTYRIO DE EL
 VENERABLE PADRE
 DIEGO LVIS DE SANVITORES,
 DE LA
COMPañIA DE IESVS,
 PRIMER APOSTOL
 DE LAS ISLAS MARIANAS,
 Y SVCESSOS DE ESTAS ISLAS,
 DESDE EL AÑO DE MIL SEISCIENTOS Y
 SESENTA Y OCHO, A STA FI DE
 MIL SEISCIENTOS Y OCHENTA
 Y VNO.

POR EL PADRE FRANCISCO GARCIA,
 de la misma Compañia de IESVS.

DEDICADO
 A LA EXCELENTISSIMA SEÑORA
 DOÑA MARIA DE GVADALVPE,
Duquesa de Aueyro y Maqueda,
Duquesa de Arcos.

CON PRIVILEGIO.

EN MADRID: POR IVAN GARCIA INFANZON.
 Año de M.DC.LXXIII.

Document 1681A

First printed biography of Fr. Sanvitores, by Fr. García, with a history of the Marianas up to 1681

Source: Fr. Francisco García, S.J. (1641-1685). "Vida, Y Martyrio De El Venerable Padre Diego Lvis De Sanvitores, De La Compañía De Iesvs, Primer Apostol De Las Islas Marianas, Y Svcessos En Estas Islas, desde el año de mil seiscientos y sesenta y ocho, hasta el de mil seiscientos y ochenta y uno..." Madrid, Ivan García Infanzón, 1683.

Notes: There already exist some translations of this book: 1) one in Italian by Fr. Ambrosio Ortiz, printed at Naples by C. Cauallo & M.L. Mutij in 1686 (actually 1687), with some additions on the 1684 martyrs; 2) one in French by Father Le Gobien (see bibliography, under 1665-1672); 3) one partial translation in German, by Fr. Josepho Kropff, published in Stöcklein-Probst's Welt-Bott IV, 27 (Vienna, 1748) n° 538, pp. 47-74; 4) in English, by Margaret M. Higgins, published in Guam Recorder, from September 1936 to July 1939, and privately printed in 1985. In RAH Madrid, there is a 75-page ms., called "A Brief History", by Fr. García, which seems to have been the basis for this book (see Doc. 1672N).

Introductory remark by the editor.

This book is based almost entirely on the Jesuit annual reports, which are the real primary documents, as published in the present series. Therefore, this book is only a secondary source, one that has introduced some minor errors, of fact and interpretation, that need to be corrected. That is why some extracts from the Higgins' translation will be reviewed below. As for the French version by Father Le Gobien, which was even more popular than the Spanish one, it is derived from Fr. García's almost entirely, and could therefore be considered a tertiary source; that is why I did not translate it, as was my original intention, preferring instead to publish the primary source documents themselves.

For those who wish to study this book further, I suggest the consultation of MARC Working Paper #22, by Sister Felicia Plaza, and MARC Special Publication n° 6. See also the other biographies of Fr. Sanvitores, that of Fr. Francisco Antonio de Castro, published in 1723, and that of Fr. Risco, published in 1935.

Extracts from the First History of Guam, with editorial comments, and some corrections

Title of the book: “Life and Martyrdom of the Venerable Father Diego Luis de Sanvitores, first missionary to the Mariana Islands, and the events at these Islands, from the year 1668 until the year 1681.”

Comment: It was Fr. García who made the spelling of Sanvitores popular, whereas the actual family name was always written in two words San Vitores, by Fr. Sanvitores himself and his father, who was a member of the treasury council at the Spanish court. However, I do not think it advisable to try and reverse this popular trend, since family names do change over time, sometimes for such irrational reasons.

Comment by the Editor of the Guam Recorder: To be sure, the period covered is a very brief one. The last letter quoted, under date of 20 December 1680, was written to the King by Fr. Antonio Xaramillo, of the Jesuits, a missionary to the Marianas [see Doc. 1680T].... The historical value of the work is enhanced by the fact that it was published and in circulation during a period when many were still living who were actual witnesses to the events described. There is no account of any objection having been registered against any statement contained therein, thus it may be assumed that the work was accepted by contemporaries as an official record of the period.

Comment: How could this U.S. Navy editor of the Guam Recorder have known this to be true? However, his last statement is probably true. In my years of archival research, I have not seen any document that criticizes this book, favorably or otherwise, but this does not mean that they agreed with everything in the book.

Idem, Guam Recorder: An examination of this remarkable volume is like penetrating a dense forest, where one must make one's own path, selecting as one goes the items of greatest importance as of interest to the general reader, while rejecting for the time being those matters which do not seem important to our purpose.

Comment: Fair enough. The same comment applies to my whole series of books on the History of Micronesia.

Idem, Guam Recorder: It seems possible that with this undertaking we may be opening the way towards the publication of the original documents themselves, documents which are undoubtedly conserved in the Archives of the Company [sic] of Jesus, or in the Academy of History in Madrid, or perhaps even in the household of the Excelentísima Señora Doña María Guadalupe, Duquesa de Aveyro y Maqueda, Duquesa de Arcos, to whom the book was dedicated by its author, Father García.

Comment: Too bad the Pacific War intervened, and his wish was not fulfilled. The three sources mentioned were indeed the most important ones for the 1668-1681 period. However, the archives of the Duchess of Aveiro had already been appropriated by private collectors, the bulk of which being sold at auction by the Maggs Brothers of

London, in the decade that preceded this note in the Guam Recorder; the location of some of these documents is the Ayer Collection in the Newberry Library in Chicago.

Extract: In 1638 he [Sanvitores] began his studies in the Imperial College of Madrid and on 25 July 1640 was received in the Company of Jesus in the Chapel of Santo Cristo of that college. Two days later he departed for Villarejo de Fuentes to begin his novitiate. He demonstrated such a gift for learning that his name afterwards appeared in the catalog of the school with the complimentary phrase, “Emperador mas que jubilado,” an appellation with which no other student was honored.

Comment: The information presented here is worth reproducing as it is not so stated in the eulogies. From now on, the words Company of Jesus will be replaced with the official expression in English, “Society of Jesus”. The town of Villarejo is situated 50 km SE of Madrid, on the road to Valencia. The phrase “Emperador mas que jubilado” was not translated by Margaret Higgins. Literally it means: “Emperor, more than graduated,” and is more or less equivalent to the better-known phrase: “magna cum laude”.

Extract: He was elected “Prefect” by his schoolmates when he was less than twelve years old, as a demonstration of their admiration and affection. In Arganda, when he was on the way to his novitiate, he saw some children playing in the street and paused to teach them prayers, while a great crowd gathered about him. He seized the opportunity to address the multitude, who were amazed at his youthful ability as an orator and dubbed him “The twelve-year-old missionary.”

The opposition to his chosen career on the part of his parents caused him no small difficulty, but when it was known that he was succeeding so well in his studies and that he could not be dissuaded, his father wrote him these words which long afterwards remained in his memory, “My son Diego, I have learned that you have joined the Society of Jesus. Be assured that if you do not progress much in virtue, and are not truly a holy man, you are no son of mine.”

He completed his novitiate before he was fourteen, but could not take his vows on account of his extreme youth. He therefore went to Alcalá [de Henares] where he continued the study of philosophy and theology and in 1650, his studies completed, he was ordained as a sub-deacon on 12 March. He had yet one year to wait before he was old enough to be ordained a priest. This was finally effected on 23 December 1651, at the age of twenty-four. In Villarejo he took a third Probation [=Vow] and later went to Oropesa where he was an instructor in grammar...

Comment: Villarejo de Fuentes is now called Villarejo de Salvanés. Alcalá is 30 km east of Madrid. Oropesa is 145 km SW of Madrid, beyond Talavera.

Extract: He passed on to Madrid, where, during a year and a half of special studies in theology, he lost no opportunity for doing good to those about him in the missionary activities and practices of Jesuits in the public streets. The young Sanvitores preached with such fervor that his own father, who was present on one occasion, wept for joy.

From Madrid he went to the College of Alcalá, where he was an instructor in the arts. At the age of 32 he wrote from Alcalá to the General of the Society of Jesus, Father

Goswino Nickel a letter begging authorization for passage to the Indies, to convert the heathen (see Doc. 1659B).

The Father General, after reading this letter, immediately gave his authorization for Fr. Sanvitores' transfer to the Philippines (see Doc. 1659D).

After obtaining the consent of his superiors, there still remained to Father Sanvitores the difficult task of consoling his father and preparing him for his departure. He realized well what the separation would mean to his elderly parent. The latter, however, agreed without complaint to his son's plans and gave his whole-hearted approval of his departure for service in the missions of the Indies. But, as a parting gift from his son the father begged for a picture of the one he was never to see again. In great haste a **portrait** painter was sent for, but the business of painting the picture was not altogether satisfactory because Fr. Sanvitores, in his embarrassment, would not raise his eyes so that the artist could get a satisfactory likeness. Finally, he was ordered by his Superior to sit properly and the portrait was finished.

Comment: The incidents involving his father must have been narrated by Don Gerónimo San Vitores himself. The portrait of Fr. Sanvitores at 32 is not extant, but it must have served as a model for the famous painting still displayed in the cathedral of Burgos (see his portrait gallery, Doc. 1672G).

Extract: He left Madrid for Cádiz about the middle of February 1660 and went to Villa de Cabra to take leave of his brother Don Joseph de San Vitores, Viscount of Cabra. This he was urged to do by his Superior.

Comment: If Sanvitores had followed the military career that his father had intended him to follow, he too would have been raised at court and probably won some noble title as well. As Fr. García himself says later on, Cabra is part of the city of Burgos, or very near it, as the original statue of the Christ of Burgos, one of Fr. Sanvitores' devotion, is located there.

Extract: The 14th of May 1660 Fr. Sanvitores embarked from Cádiz for Mexico with several other Jesuit missionaries. He wrote: "Our mission band was made up of many priests, students and novices" and all on board were glad to travel in such distinguished company. Among others were the Count of Baños and his wife, who were going to Mexico, the former as Viceroy.

They sailed on 15 May, San Isidore's Day, and meeting with favorable winds, proceeded without untoward incident to Vera Cruz where they arrived 28 July 1660. Fr. Sanvitores wrote that the voyage was a happy one and one of the most prosperous which had taken place in all the crossings of the Spanish vessels to Mexico.

Comment: There is no mention of who was his correspondent, perhaps his father, whom Fr. García, his biographer, no doubt met in Madrid. When Fr. Sanvitores came back from the Philippines, and stopped at Mexico, while on the way to the Mariana Mission, there was a new Viceroy, the Marquis of Mancera, who had replaced the Count of Baños in 1664.

Extract: Fr. Francisco Solano, who accompanied Fr. Sanvitores on the voyage to Mexico and in later years was his successor in the Marianas wrote as follows: "I am

convinced, from what I see, that the esteem in which Fr. Sanvitores is held in Mexico is no less than that of Saint Francis Xavier in Goa.”

... When the news reached him that a ship had arrived at Acapulco, Fr. Sanvitores hastened to the viceroy and, with his eloquence and powers of persuasion, was able to arrange transportation to Manila for himself and fourteen companions. The ship was small and crowded, so the others of the Society were compelled to wait in Mexico another year.

Comment: No ship had come from the Philippines for two years, when the viceroy purchased the patache **San Damián** in 1661 (see Doc. 1662B) for the 1662 voyage. All those Jesuits proceeded to Manila, of course, as the Mariana Mission did not yet exist.

Extract: They sailed from Acapulco 5 April 1662 in the San Damián, a small patache, and it was said that throughout the voyage Fr. Sanvitores exerted such a strong influence on all on board that even the sailors gave up their gambling and that the “blasphemies and curses” so usual on board ship, were seldom heard. By this means a safe and prosperous voyage was enjoyed, and not a life was lost on the entire crossing.

When the San Damián arrived at the Ladrones, the islanders, as was their custom, went out in canoes to meet the vessel and to exchange fruits and other island products for iron, knives and other articles of metal. It is impossible to express the feelings of the zealous Fr. Sanvitores when he saw the poor, naked natives, who, although living in the path of the Spanish galleons, had never enjoyed the blessings of Christianity. And realizing that their poverty and that of their forlorn aspect, he cried, with tears streaming down his face, that there were those who sought gold in the world, while here were the richest mines of all, souls purchased by the blood of Christ. And he prayed that the light might be sent in order that there be not so many souls lost which could, at a price, be redeemed by the light of the Gospel. And as the ship drew nearer the islands, there surged within him, like a celestial light, that passage from the Scriptures: ***Evangelizare pauperibus misi te***, which continuously resounded in his soul and which he himself believed to be a divine inspiration. He was more than ever convinced that it was to these people that he was called...

On 10 July 1662, the San Damián put into the port of Lampong, in the Philippines...

When the Chinese pirate Pumpuan menaced Manila with a fleet of nearly a thousand vessels and a large number of armed men, the populace was in terror. At this time, however, Fr. Sanvitores protested to the Archbishop that the first battle was, after all, against sin, and by means of his eloquent preaching was able to bring about a remarkable reform in the habits of the people. The populace then rose to a gallant defence of the city.

Comment: The city was not attacked. Only some of these ships came to Manila with Fr. Ricci as the pirate’s ambassador; the other ships remained in Taiwan. The fight that took place was with the Chinese living in the Parian, outside the walls of Manila.

Extract: Although he continued to labor tirelessly for the benefit of the people about him, the idea of establishing a mission in Guam was his obsession... He spoke repeatedly to his Superiors in the Society, soliciting their aid. They gave tacit approval but did

nothing more than grant him permission to place the matter before the ministers of His Majesty, the King of Spain.

Comment: By ministers of the Crown, the author is referring to the Governor of the Philippines and the members of the Audiencia of Manila.

Extract: The Royal Ministers praised the zeal of Fr. Sanvitores, saying that they would like to be able to cooperate with him, but they were, nevertheless, always ready to raise difficulties. There was no available ship; no money with which to pay the cost of sending a Mission to Guam; no priests who could be spared for there were not enough to take care of all the work in the Philippines.

There was no ship, for the one that made the important voyage to Mexico could not safely be permitted to put in at the Ladrones [on the way out], on account of the danger from contrary winds, while to go first to Mexico and then back to the Ladrones meant to travel 5,000 miles in order to make a few hundred, and would cost too much.

There was no money, nor could the Royal Treasury finance the equipment of a ship to serve this Mission only, still less could it be expected to support such a Mission, once established, in islands where additional funds for support could not be raised locally.

That which had appeared so easy from a distance to Fr. Sanvitores, proved, on closer investigation, to be very difficult. They admitted that such great desire as that expressed by Fr. Sanvitores made the matter appear simple enough, but experience had taught them to recognize the impossible in matters which often seemed altogether reasonable to others.

And besides, they were surprised (so said the Ministers) that such zeal needed to look for new fields outside the Philippines—fields so long neglected and forgotten—while there yet remained in the Philippines so many people to be converted. They expressed surprise that the missionaries were not content with what they already had before them, the great good they could do for the Christians about them who were their first converts.

Fr. Sanvitores met their objections with arguments of his own, but they remained firm in their decision, which, whether prompted by understanding or mere opinion was nevertheless impossible to overcome. Even some of the religious as well as many government officials disapproved heartily of Fr. Sanvitores' plans, saying that his project had been thought of before but had been given up as utterly impracticable.

The Venerable Father, however, who believed himself the chosen of God for that particular undertaking, refused to admit defeat, and constantly met opposition with the reply: "Nothing is impossible to God." He increased his own fasts, penitence and prayers, passing the long hours of the night in writing persuasive letters and requests to those who opposed him.

Realizing that he could not obtain a satisfactory hearing in Manila he sent to his Majesty Don Felipe IV, his "papel de motivos" [Doc. 1665C] accompanied by a letter

from the Archbishop of Manila, the Very Illustrious Señor Don Manuel [Miguel] Poblete, who, in his great zeal for the salvation of souls, wished to have a part in the plans of Fr. Sanvitores and who wrote in favor of the proposed Mission [Doc. 1665B].¹

I wish to include here the Memorial which Fr. Sanvitores sent to his father, Don Gerónimo, in the name of St. Francis Xavier, for the poor Marianos,² hoping that influence might be brought to bear on His Majesty to the end that he might read and consider the “papel de motivos” referred to above. It is included, not so much because some have said that in it His Majesty is warned of his approaching death (which took place within a few months) but more because it demonstrates Fr. Sanvitores’ extraordinary zeal and determination and the care with which he attended to every possible detail that might further his interests [Doc. 1663B1].

Comment: Although the letter to his father is dated 1663, it was not mailed from Manila until 1664, the date borne by the enclosed Memorial. In the intervening months, Fr. Sanvitores had been ministering on Mindoro Island.

Extract: But in order not to antagonize those Ministers of the Crown who opposed him in Manila, to whom he so clearly alluded in the Memorial, he made it appear that it was St. Francis Xavier who spoke, taking advantage of this stratagem or impersonation (*prosopopœia*) to warn the King of his early end and to inform him of certain negligence on the part of his Ministers, particularly in matters concerning the evangelization of infidels and treatment of those lately converted [Doc. 1663B2].

And in order to leave nothing undone in order to obtain favor from the pious Queen Doña María Ana de Austria, because her religious zeal and her compassion towards all her subjects were well known or perhaps because he conjectured her becoming the patroness and protectress of the Ladrones, Fr. Sanvitores wrote a letter to Fr. Everardo Nithard, confessor of the Queen and later a Cardinal of the Church in Rome, urging that the matter be taken up with the Queen, in an attempt to obtain her favor and assistance for the Mission.

Comment: There is no evidence to show that the correspondence with Fr. Nithard was begun before the mission was established. However, I have not been able to find this correspondence in either Madrid or Rome.

Extract: While the King’s reply was awaited, opposition increased in Manila and many another man would have given way to defeat under such trying circumstances, but not the valiant Fr. Sanvitores who answered every objection with the statement “Nothing is impossible to God” and thus had the last word in all discussions.

The Superiors of the Society, seeing that their relations were becoming somewhat strained with the Ministers of the Crown and realizing that a storm was brewing which might well cause them serious embarrassment, ordered the Venerable Father not to speak again of the matter to the Governor, and that if the Governor, Don Diego de

1 Ed. note: This is an example of a slight error made by Fr. García in calendaring the documents. These two were not produced until two years later, not in 1663, but in 1665.

2 Ed. note: Marianos was the name chosen by Fr. Sanvitores for the people of the Marianas; he never called them by the derogatory name of Chamorros.

Salcedo, brought up the subject, he make every effort to divert the conversation to other matters. Fr. Sanvitores agreed to carry out the wishes of his Superiors, as one obedient to authority, but affirmed with greatest assurance: "There can be no doubt that the execution draws nearer; our triumph is imminent."

Comment in the Guam Recorder: Fr. Sanvitores agreed to carry out the wishes of his Superiors realizing that this in no way prevented the continuance of his communications addressed to the King and Queen through his father, Don Gerónimo San Vitores, and through the celebrated and much discussed Fr. Nithard, a Jesuit, whose influence at Court and especially with the Queen [Mother], aroused the animosity of certain of his contemporaries. With these two entering wedges Fr. Sanvitores was able to gain his point, to the humiliation of the Governor and other officials in Manila, a situation which had its [adverse] effect in later relations with Guam.

Extract: And thus it was, for the King, Philip IV, with his incomparable zeal, which more than once caused him to say that for only one soul saved he would give his whole income from the Indies, put all human endeavor towards the salvation of those poor islanders. It was decreed by Royal Decree of 24 June 1665, that the Governor of the Philippines must provide a ship for Fr. Sanvitores' mission to the Ladrones. Moreover, the King, realizing that the venerable missionary would probably meet with further opposition in Manila, placed [a copy of] the order also in Fr. Sanvitores' hands by means of which he would be able to hasten the work [Doc. 1665D].

Comment in the Guam Recorder: The influence of the Jesuits in the Spanish Court was becoming too great for safety, for what Governor could permit a priest or missionary, however saintly he might be, to have in his possession a document signed by the King which authorized the priest to prod the Governor into activity as if possessed of greater authority than the Governor himself? Small wonder that such a tempest was raised in Manila against the Jesuits.

Extract: The Royal Decree was despatched on 24 June 1665, and at the end of June 1666, arrived at Manila in the galleon **Concepción**. Fr. Sanvitores, delighted at having happily obtained the long-sought assistance he so greatly desired and because the Decree was signed on the day of St. John the Baptist, cried out jokingly: "*A diebus Joannis Baptistæ regnum cælorum vim patitur, et violenti rapiunt illud.*"¹ By the time the Royal Decree arrived at Manila, there was an apparent change of heart, or at least

1 Ed. note: Latin phrase from the Bible meaning: "And from the days of John the Baptist until now the Kingdom of Heaven has suffered violence, and the violent take it by force." (Mark 11:12).

a change of words and behavior on the part of those who had most firmly opposed the mission, and, in obedience to the Royal Decree, the Governor, Don Diego de Salcedo, ordered that a ship be constructed in Cavite, and that the ship should be called **San Diego**, after his own name and that of Fr. Sanvitores.

[**The vision of Fray Amézquita**]

At this time God demonstrated to one of his servants of the Order of St. Augustine, Fray Luis de Amézquita,¹ Prior of the Convent of Taniguan [rather Tanauan], how great was his pleasure in the mission, for the good Father, being in “high contemplation” was given to see a vision. There appeared over the tower of the Jesuit Church in Manila, an image of gold whose beams of light extended to the farthest reaches of heaven. It appeared to have descended to favor or perhaps to despatch a phantom ship which was seen passing over the tower in full sail, its mast crowned with the name of Jesus, surrounded with splendor, and sailing happily through the air in the direction of Cavite, where it disappeared. He did not know at the time what it might mean, until he heard that the Venerable Father Sanvitores was making ready to sail to the Ladrone Islands. He hastened to his Superior and begged permission to join the company of missionaries, but to his disappointment, his request was refused.

And although matters had progressed satisfactorily thus far, there was still disappointment ahead, for interests stronger than those of the missionaries had contrived to have the ship sent to Peru with merchandise. This meant that Fr. Sanvitores had either to abandon his plans for the voyage, or spend two years in getting to Guam. The ship was not to stop at Guam on the passage eastward.

Fired as he was with religious fervor for the honor of God, and knowing well the malevolence of the Royal Ministers in Manila, he threatened the city of Manila with all manner of calamities, misfortune and ruin if the will of God, so plainly set forth, was not carried out. And as he was venerated by all, and believed by many to be a saint, and a prophet, his words were believed, and the Governor proclaimed that the ship should go first to Acapulco with Fr. Sanvitores and that from there he should be returned immediately to Guam with his companions.

The Venerable Fr. Diego Luis de Sanvitores embarked from the port of Cavite with Fr. Tomás de Cardeñoso, on 7 August 1667, and with what joy may well be imagined. At last he saw his difficulties overcome as they gave way to the realization of his great plans.

1 Ed. note: The biography of Father Fray Luis López de Amézquita, O.S.A., is given in Fray Díaz' *Conquistas*, chap. 31. He was born in 1622 at Alba de Tormes and had studied Greek under the Jesuits, but he later joined the Augustinians at San Felipe el Real in Madrid where he took his vows in 1641. He arrived at the Philippines in 1645, and labored in the Tagalog regions, being transferred twice to the village of Tanauan, where he was sent the second time in 1666; this village is south of Calamba and east of Lake Taal. He could not have joined Fr. Sanvitores' mission after all, since he died before its departure date, i.e. at Manila on 26 June 1667 (ref. B&R 37:163 and Pérez' Catálogo). This story was told by Fr. Sanvitores himself, as dictated to Fr. Casanova, in Doc. 1668J3.

His departure from Manila was the cause of much sadness among his friends and followers who had never cared so much for him as at that moment when they were about to lose him. Many sought his autograph as a memento. The person who was most touched by the departure was Archbishop Poblete, who loved him as a son and venerated him as a saint. This was demonstrated in a letter which the Archbishop wrote to Don Gerónimo de San Vitores, in which he said: "I weep for his absence with tears of blood, for the way in which he will be missed here in all the islands where he has done so much good. But it has been best to leave him to his vocation, for it will carry him to higher things, such as the conversion of all the infidels that dwell in the islands of the Ladrones."

Comment: The full text of this letter is not extant. Were the personal papers of Don Gerónimo preserved? They would contain many original letters from Fr. Sanvitores. The papers must have been inherited by Fr. Sanvitores' brother, the Viscount of Cabra. Perhaps some day they will surface in Spain, just as the archives of the Duchess of Aveiro did in the 1920s.

Extract: The passage across the Pacific was a fortunate one in that it was accomplished in five months, whereas it usually required eight months or even a year. None of those who sailed had any serious misfortune, but all arrived at Acapulco safe and well.

Comment: Fr. García does not mention his source of information; perhaps it was from his interview of Don Gerónimo again. It is an exaggerated statement to say that an eastward crossing of the Pacific could last one year.

Extract: There was not lacking, however, the usual amount of illness, nor was the passage accomplished without storms...

Captain Don Juan de Santa Cruz, who had accompanied him from Manila and was to continue with him to the Marianas, where he rendered much service, was one of the closest friends of Fr. Sanvitores. The General of the ship was Don Antonio Nieto. He later testified that Fr. Sanvitores cared for the sick with great devotion. It seemed, also, that he had the gift of tongues, for when he heard persons of foreign nations reciting prayers, he corrected their errors although he knew not their language.

Comment: **Captain Santa Cruz is the real conquistador of the Marianas.** He was a former Filipino chief, a Tagalog from Indang, who seems to have come from the ranks of the Spanish army in the Philippines. It is not known how he came to be selected by Fr. Sanvitores. However, they may have been introduced to each other by Fr. Sanabria at Silang, which is next to Indang [Doc. 1667A]. The testimony of General Antonio Nieto is contained in the proceedings of the so-called Process of Manila, under the date of 22 December 1676. The ship San Diego was really under the command of Admiral Muñoz, who died just before the ship arrived at Guam, being replaced by Pilot Nieto [Doc. 1668J5].

Extract: The ship having arrived at Acapulco at the beginning of January 1668, Fr. Sanvitores hastened ashore, barefooted, with the other passengers, to keep a vow they had made during the voyage. They carried in procession, to the Ermita de San Nico-

lás, an image of the Virgin Mary, patron saint of Fr. Sanvitores in all his undertakings. The guard of honor for the image included General Don Antonio Nieto and other officers of the ship.

Comment: The image in question was either that of Our Lady of the Conception which he had obtained in Manila [Doc. 1667D] or that of Our Lady of Buen Viage [Good Voyages] which he carried from there 3 months later (see below).

Extract: Fr. Sanvitores had not intended to go to Mexico City. He wrote to the Viceroy and other persons, informing them of his plans and asking them to assist the Mission. They replied promptly, stating that his plans presented many difficulties which could be resolved only by his presence at the capital. They also expressed a wish to see him and talk with him.

Upon receipt of these messages, Fr. Sanvitores departed for Mexico City, accomplishing in less than a week the difficult journey which usually required twice that time, traversing 80 leagues of rough and difficult roads. On the last day, having walked 11 leagues, he arrived at the capital, going first to the Church of La Vera Cruz, and to the Chapel of San Francisco Xavier, where he celebrated mass, commending to God the resolution of those matters which had brought him [back] to Mexico.

Great was the joy in the City of Mexico when his arrival was known. The mass finished, he went to the College of the Jesuits, and without stopping to eat or to rest, because his zeal for the evangelization of the Ladrones would not permit him to rest, seized an image of Our Lady of the Conception, and hastened to the palace of the Viceroy. The latter, who was at that time His Most Excellent Lordship the Marquis of Mancera was engaged and could not talk immediately with the missionary. Fr. Sanvitores sent in the image to him with the message that the Lady of the Ladrones [i.e. Thieves] was going to rob the palace, for the assistance of her children, the Ladrones; that she would speak for them, and that he would await the reply.

He went thereafter many times to talk with the Viceroy...

His credit secured, there remained one more difficulty in his path, usually the greatest one—that of obtaining the money promptly.

Comment: There is no reason to assume (as this author seems to do) that the 10,000 pesos were not immediately paid out to Fr. Sanvitores. In fact, the evidence points to the contrary; the Queen Regent was very much annoyed that the 10,000 pesos had been disbursed without prior authorization from Madrid [Doc. 1670K].

Extract: He remained three months in Mexico, busy with his affairs...

Comment: He could not have spent more than 1-1/2 months in Mexico City, as he was back at Acapulco before 20 March. He must have been a very efficient manager, indeed; he was also lucky to have been the local procurator, Brother Bello [Doc. 1668F].

Extract: The Sodality of St. Francis Xavier, not content with keeping his letters and other small personal articles as mementos, had a **portrait** of him painted, which they later hung among other portraits of distinguished men of the Sodality of St. Francis Xavier.

Having brought his affairs in Mexico City to a happy conclusion, as has been stated, Fr. Sanvitores departed for the port of Acapulco towards the middle of February 1668, accompanied by another Father [Tomás de Cardeñoso] and a student [Lorenzo Bustillo].

Comment: The word February should be changed to March. I have found no reference as to the present whereabouts of the portrait in question.

Extract: The amount of work done by Fr. Sanvitores during his short stay at Acapulco is almost unbelievable. He completed arrangements for the voyage, spending entire nights without sleep, consoling those who came to consult with him and to treat of spiritual matters. He chose, in the house of Admiral Don Bartolomé Muñoz, the poorest room of all, quarters suitable for slaves, and there he passed day and night in prayer, praying always for the conversion of his beloved Marianos.

Comment: Another exaggeration here. He was either praying day and night, or working day and night! Even a pious man needs sleep.

Extract: Brother Lorenzo Bustillos who was his companion and was also destined to the Mission in the Marianas, says that he received many favors and much consolation from Heaven.

Comment: Perhaps the exaggeration came from Bustillo's letter (not extant). By the way, it was Fr. García who first made an error in Bustillo's name, by adding the letter -s at the end. Fr. García must have had a bad eyesight; even I, with my bad eyesight, can spot the small cross symbol that always followed Bustillo's signature (for example, see the facsimile reproduction next to the image of St. Francis Xavier, Doc. 1669B).

Extract: They sailed at last from Acapulco on 23 March 1668. The ship also carried the image of the Virgin, called Our Lady of Buen Viage [Good Voyages], which had been carried in solemn procession from the Ermita de San Nicolás to the ship.

During the voyage the Admiral Don Bartolomé Muñoz became gravely ill. Fr. Sanvitores remained always at the bedside until the officer expired, with the great consolation of having been assisted in his last moments by the Venerable Father, who had repayed with long hours of prayer and sacrifice the many kindness done him by the Admiral.

[Arrival at Guam]

Extract: On arrival at Guam, however, it was necessary for others to be put ashore here, as the Captain of the ship, citing orders from Her Majesty, required that enough missionaries remain to care for the extreme necessity of the people.

Comment: There were no such orders from the Queen. How could a ship captain be involved in a decision regarding missionary assignments. In fact, Fr. Sanvitores had already decided to keep four priests and one student (Bustillo) before the ship left Acapulco (see the paragraph "The means to bring [more] workers" in HM4:427), then he had to justify his decision with the Provincial of the Philippines [Doc. 1668J4].

Extract: When they knew from the ship's [estimated] position that they were drawing near the Marianas, he made a Novena of Masses to the Holy Family, and on Fri-

day, 15 June, while Fr. Casanova was saying mass, one of the ship's crew sighted the Island of Zarpana, and cried out: "Land, land!" which, to Fr. Sanvitores, was as if he had cried: "Heaven, heaven!" Soon afterwards the Island of Guan was seen, as it was called by the Spanish, or Guahan, as the natives say.

Comment: It is true that the Spanish wrote Guan, rather than Guam, for a long time afterward. The missionaries also acknowledged that the native pronunciation was such that it could have been written Guahan; in other words, the letter "a" in Guan was so stressed as to sound like Gwaan. The information above comes from a letter by Fr. Casanova [Doc. 1668J6].

Extract: At nightfall, on 15 June, the ship arrived off the Island and was surrounded by some 50 canoes, each carrying 4 or 6 people, both men and women, shouting in their language: "Mauri, Mauri" which means "friends, friends."

Comment: The first Mariano vocabulary, made in 1565 by the Legazpi expedition (see HM 2:95) indicates that Mauri simply meant "good"; it was later transformed into Maure, or Maule, then into Maulè, Mauleg, or Maolek. The root word may have a connection with the Polynesian word Maori. Incidentally, the word for "friend" was Chamor, the name by which the local people called themselves; this word was transformed into Chamorro by the Spaniards, a term meant to be derogatory, as it meant "bald" (meaning naked). Most of the author's information from this point onward, comes from the Jesuit annual reports and other missionary letters (already commented upon in this series).

Extract: The islands formerly called *Ladrones* and *de las Velas Latinas*, and now called Marianas are innumerable...

Comment: I have said many times before that no primary source document ever called the islands by the name "Islands of Lateen Sails"; this was an invention by an early Spanish historian, unfortunately revived by Fr. García, whose book became a standard reference, and still quoted by some writers who should know better.

Extract: The number of inhabitants is large. In Guam alone there are 50,000...

Comment by the editor of the Guam Recorder: This statement has been much used by later historians who have wished to stress the cruelty of the Spanish colonizers and to bear out the statement that all the Chamorro men were killed by Spanish soldiers. Whether or not the population was diminished in that manner does not concern us at the moment. The statement that Guam once had 50,000 inhabitants is food for thought. We now know the size and the resources of the Island, It may once have supported such a large population, but to one accustomed to reading these quaint old books, and well acquainted with the over-enthusiastic statements of the zealous missionaries, this reads like a pious exaggeration, perhaps meant to stimulate more interest in the evangelization of the heathens. The distribution of villages as shown on the earliest maps, as well as Fr. García's own account of the number of families living in these settlements, does not seem to indicate a population of 50,000. Editor's comment: This was indeed a pious exaggeration, fostered by Fr. Sanvitores himself to justify keeping so many missionaries with him, etc. (see the word Population in the indexes of the volumes of this series).

Extract: There were more than 120 persons who were more than 100 years old...

Comment: No need for comments here...

Extract: It is unnecessary to ask if they know any letters, science or arts, those who are ignorant even of the elements, and did not know of the existence of fire in the world until they saw it lighted by Spaniards who survived the shipwreck in 1638.

Comment: The Jesuit informants were the survivors of that shipwreck, but in this case at least, they were mistaken, as there is archaeological evidence from pottery, etc. of fire being used in the Marianas long before 1638.

Extract: These customs exist principally in the town of Agaña, where through the goodness of the water and other conditions which in this location are better than elsewhere, the chiefs gather. All the inhabitants of the Island fear and respect the chiefs of Agaña. There are in this settlement 53 houses of chiefs...

Comment: The missionaries failed to realize that they had been conned by the men of Agaña, a town then less important than others on the Island of Guam (e.g. with a lower population than Fuaña on the west coast, or even Tarague on the north coast, see Doc. 1680D). These men had boarded the ship first, even slept aboard overnight, and managed to keep the foreigners anchored in their own bay. The result was natural enough: the other chiefs on the island had then to come to Agaña to see the show, and they remained there when the foreigners decided to stay themselves. There is no indication anywhere of the supremacy of Chief Quipuha of Agaña over the other chiefs. Anyhow, it was indeed naïve for the missionary author of the first report to think that the chiefs had gathered on that site before the arrival of the missionaries, on account of the better drinking water available there. In fact, the report contains evidence to the contrary, as follows:

Extract: When the Indians understood that the Fathers were to remain in their Islands they were glad, except the chief of one of the mountain villages, who came down complaining to Kipuha because he had admitted strangers to the land. But upon learning that they were Fathers, he said it was well they had come and that he wanted them to come to his village; and the other chiefs said the same...

Of their customs, I will not fail to say that although they were given the name Ladrones for the theft of a few pieces of iron which occurred on one of our ships, they do not merit the name, for all houses are left open and rarely is anything missing.

Comment: Magellan called them Thieves because they had stolen his important ship's boat, not because of a few pieces of iron. They continued to steal from foreigners, even at the time an innocent missionary wrote the above note. The native houses could not be made secure from theft, anyway; besides, any item stolen by one could be stolen back by another. As for the missionaries, they intended to make their own possessions secure with strong bolts on their doors and strong locks on their coffers (see their request for same, in Doc. 1668F & 1669A3).

Extract: When news arrived in Mexico of the friendly manner in which the Marianos had received Fr. Sanvitores, great were the demonstrations of happiness in the Sodality of St. Francis Xavier. A great fiesta was held, mass was said and a sermon

preached by the members of the Society. During the morning, the Archbishop was present at the mass, and in the afternoon the Viceroy and his Vicequeen attended. There was a procession with the blessed Sacrament which was exposed throughout the day. A *Te Deum* was sung with great solemnity and rejoicing was universal, in the realization of the happy beginning of the great harvest of souls that the Apostolic Father would send to Heaven...

The Servant of God had made fervent prayers and hard penitence in the Port of Cavite to the end that God might spare the lives of all the dying Marianos until he might arrive in the Islands and they could receive the water of Holy Baptism. And now he garnered the result of this supplication, for he and his companions baptized many children and many old people whose lives, it appeared, had been miraculously preserved. Upon receiving baptism, as if they expected nothing else, they expired and went to glory.

At this point a particular case. The Venerable Father being in Cavite, on 7 August 1667, saying mass and insisting with great fervor on the above-mentioned supplication, a little girl was born on the Island of Agrigan. It appeared to her father that the *Anite* or a demon threatened her and was about to kill his child. The father begged it not to do so even though it kill him instead. He told this to his wife, who, a few days later, found him dead in his bed. When Fr. Luis de Morales arrived on this island at the beginning of December [1668], on going ashore he was called to baptize this little girl, who was very ill. And on receiving the water of baptism, she died in the arms of her mother, from whom the story of the apparition of the demon was known, and the time of the birth of her daughter.

Comment: The mother also knew the story spread by the local Chinaman, Choco, that the holy water was a poison responsible for the death of those baptized. Is it any wonder that the theory was believed for so long?

Extract: The Island of Guam is the principal one of the Marianas and has 180 villages, the principal of which is Agaña, which is on the shore in the northern part.

Comment by the editor of the Guam Recorder: As the publication of this history continues, readers will observe many significant and oftentimes contradictory statements about the population, territorial extension and the poverty of the natives.

Extract: The town was named by Fr. Sanvitores, San Ignacio de Agaña, dedicating it to his Holy Father and Patriarch. The church was begun, and was built of the tree called *Palo Maria* [daog], as if it were a house for Holy Mary, to whom long since all the temples to be erected in the Island had been consecrated.

Comment: Obvious error introduced by Fr. García. It might have been Fr. Sanvitores' original intention to name parishes after the names of the Virgin, and the other members of the holy family, but, after his death (and before 1681, when Fr. García wrote), many churches had been dedicated to other saints, e.g. St. Rose, St. Dimas, St. Ignatius, St. Francis Xavier, and St. Francis Borgia. Also the name "palo maria" was a word imported from the Philippines by Fr. Sanvitores' own helpers.

Extract: He [Fr. Sanvitores] gave them [the other missionaries] an explanation of the Creed and Commandments which he had prepared in the language of the Islands, in

order that they might read it to the people [Doc. 1668I]. He was obliged to remain in Agaña and could not go to the other Islands as he wished [in 1668], but remained with Brother Bustillo, who was still a student, sending the Venerable Fr. Luis de Medina to visit all the villages on the Island of Guam. He sent Fr. Pedro de Casanova to Zarpana [Rota]; Fr. Tomás de Cardeñoso to Tinian with Fr. Luis de Morales...

Fr. Casanova, having been well received in Zarpana, the island which had first asked for missionaries, baptized more than 300 children within a few days and prepared a great number of adults for baptism. In Tinian, Fr. Tomás de Cardeñoso and Fr. Luis de Morales were also well received, being told that they had been anxiously awaited. The memory of an apparition of the Holy Virgin was still fresh in their minds, they said. Within two hours after the missionaries' arrival they had baptized 25 children, and later baptized many more and catechized both children and adults. I shall not speak here of Fr. Luis de Medina to whom was accorded such great success in Guam that within three months more than 3,000 were baptized by his hand.

It was not strange that the Religious of the Society made such a great harvest, for many of their secular companions performed work worthy of ministers, being as they were, co-workers with the Fathers in the Apostolic Ministry, with God approving their zeal and giving some of them eventually the crown of martyrdom...

The first adult to be baptized was Kipuha, the main Chief of Agaña, God thus repaying him for his kindness and hospitality to the Fathers at the time of their arrival. The ceremony of baptism was effected with great solemnity, with a view to impressing those who witnessed it. He was named Juan, in honor of St. John the Baptist, patron saint of that Island. He was also the first to be buried in the church, for he had given the ground on which the first church was built.

[Wooden idols]

Before baptizing adults, Fr. Sanvitores banished from their hearts all superstitions and idolatrous thoughts, not without great effort. He made them bury the skulls and bones of their ancestors, and he burned the images which they had made of wood and had even carved on trees. There was one man who threatened Father Sanvitores and a Spaniard, named Diego Bazan, who was with him. The native came toward them, brandishing a lance as if he would kill them, but Diego Bazan, who was engaged in destroying images under direction of Fr. Sanvitores, did not desist. They merely smiled at the threats of the native, and other Marianos who were looking on, laughed also, for not all of them venerated the skulls of their ancestors, and cared less for them when the Fathers told them that the souls of their grandparents were burning in hell.

Brother Lorenzo Bustillo met with similar trouble when he took some wooden figures and idols out of a house, the inhabitants of which confessed that they had been taught to venerate them by a Chinese named Choco. One of the figures had three heads on its shoulders, an invention of Lucifer himself, who never ceases to desire the same worship as the True God, Three in One, but Providence benefits from it, in that it is not so difficult for them to believe in the Holy Trinity.

Comment: None of these figurines, unfortunately, was preserved for posterity. The accusation against Choco was never corroborated, it seems. The wooden figures were very few in number, and only in Guam, and they were soon eliminated and the issue forgotten. In fact, they were carved and detachable canoe props. The circumstances surrounding Bazan's death were not at all as described by Fr. García.

Extract: In consideration of Christian decency, Fr. Sanvitores dressed in the materials he had brought from Mexico all those whom he clothed with Christianity in baptism.

Comment: This practice alone is sufficient to explain the large numbers of baptisms that first year, as many natives were baptized time and again, to get the gifts, which also included baubles, images, medals, etc.

[The missionaries wore clothes made of palm matting]

Extract: Seeing the lack of garments for the crowds that arrived daily for baptism, Fr. Sanvitores ordered made a quantity of skirts and shirts of palm matting. The Marianos refused to wear them, partly for the absurd appearance of the garments and also because of their own custom of going unclad. The Venerable Father, in order to remove their objection by his own example, dressed himself in one of them and walked up and down before a large group of the people, at first causing laughter at his disguise, but later bringing tears to their eyes... In this costume he went to all the Missions, and the other members of the Society did likewise.

Comment: If so, the missionaries stopped wearing these ridiculous outfits when the galleon arrived in 1669, with more clothing. All clothes were tailored by a Filipino couple who had come from Manila with Fr. Sanvitores [Doc. 1668F].

[The Bungi family]

Extract: Don Tomás Bungi, a chief of the village of Agaña, two days after his baptism, went very late one night to call Fr. Sanvitores to his house to baptize his two-month-old son, whose mother had not wished to bring her child to the church, fearing baptism as she did, on the advice of Choco, and believing that the water might harm the child who was already ill. Fr. Sanvitores found the child at the point of death, but the mother still resisted. On the insistence of her husband she gave the child to the priest, who baptized it. That same night it died. In the morning, Don Tomás sought the Venerable Father to tell him of the child's death. He was sad, but resigned to the will of God. He returned home so happy at what the Father had told him about the joy of the child in Heaven, that he brought another son, eight years old, asking the Father to keep him in the house [school] with the others who were being brought up there, in order that he might better learn the Christian doctrine and teach it to others.

Comment: Tomás was the Christian name given to Chief Bungi by the missionaries upon his baptism. Knowing the ancient native customs (as recounting by the missionaries) it is more likely that the mother took an active part in these decisions.

Fr. Sanvitores had dreamed of making future catechists, even priests, out of the native boys, even calling the school a seminary. This dream was not fulfilled for more than two centuries.

[Choco's conversion]

Extract: Fr. Sanvitores, seeing the great harm which Choco's words were causing among the Chamorros, resolved to disarm the enemy by converting Choco himself to Christianity...

Comment: Fr. Florencia, who wrote a biography of Fr. Medina, claims that it was Fr. Medina who performed this feat [Doc. 1670D], not Fr. Sanvitores. Two different conclusions, based on the same documents received in Spain. In fact, the primary source document [Doc. 1669A4] says that one Father did it, but does not mention who.

Extract: Choco was baptized, and was called Ignacio, and many followed his example, being no longer afraid of the waters of life which they had formerly believed to be waters of death.

Comment: From then on, the missionaries paid no more attention to Choco, and we do not know what happened to him after that. His heresy lived on, particularly on other islands, for many more years, however.

[Internal correspondence, late 1668]

Extract: Two other Fathers, who were travelling over the Island of Tinian, were at this time in a precarious situation. The influence exerted by Choco was still very great on the other Islands... The natives were in a state of unrest, and took up arms... The missionaries, in their plight, wrote to Fr. Sanvitores, explaining their affliction, and the danger in which they found themselves and all the Christianity of the Island, asking if he could hasten to their rescue at once with his prudence and authority, and put out the fire of rebellion which every day burned brighter.

Fr. Sanvitores ... wrote them a letter, beginning with the words of the 125th psalm: "*Euntes ibant et flebant, mittentes semina sua,*" in which he consoled and cheered them, predicting that they would suffer no harm, but would have much success. He promised that he would go and see them as soon as he returned from the journey on which he was then engaged. With this letter and the consolation of some baptisms they secured, they were so encouraged that they wrote to Fr. Sanvitores in these words from the same psalm: "*Venientes autem venient cum exultatione, portantes manipulos suos.*"

Comment: The Latin quotations come from the 126th psalm in the English Bible. The first part means: "They who go out weeping, and bearing precious seeds," the continuation of which is given in the reply, meaning "however, they shall doubtless come back with rejoicing, bringing in the sheaves."

Extract: Fr. Sanvitores embarked with Fr. Morales for the Islands of the North, on 20 October of this year of 1668...

[Fr. Sanvitores' habits]

A knowledge of this costume and mode of travel in this and other islands will surely give much pleasure to readers as well as some counsel to his imitators.

His cassock, which he invented in Agaña, was a sack woven of palm leaves, to which he added a hat or bonnet of the same material, also sandals, and, because they wore out so quickly, although the material for them was available everywhere, he often went barefoot, walking on the harsh grasses and weeds with bleeding feet... At other times it was necessary to go unshod because of the many streams and swamps through which he had to pass.

In the linings of his cassock he had two bags which served him as a valise, where he carried the *Provision de la Visita* which consisted of a Breviary, *Contemptus Mundi*, Rules, Epistles of St. Francis Xavier, the Holy Oils, a small bottle of ink, paper for baptismal certificates, his own *disciplines* [whip for self-flagellation] and instruments of penitence; a few bright stones and trifles of which the Marianos were very fond, and which he gave out as prizes to accompany his teachings.

Comment: Fr. García used his imagination to construct the above description. The items mentioned as being carried by Fr. Sanvitores come from a list of things requested from Spain in 1669 [Doc. 1669A3] and may not have become available locally before his death in 1672. The paper was not for baptismal certificates; this is a ridiculous idea, as they simply could not have brought 13,000 sheets of paper (one per baptism, for their first year of operation); it was for internal correspondance with other missionaries. In 1669, they ordered only six reams of paper (perhaps 600 sheets). However, part of the travelling kit must have included a small record book, or diary.

Extract: Around his neck he wore a Rosary of Our Lady, as if it were a chain of great price, and an Image of Christ crucified. In his hand he had a long staff with a Cross at the top, with a handkerchief or similar object, served as the banner and standard of the Doctrine.

Comment: This attire, apart from the handkerchief banner, is described in the primary documents. The so-called image of Christ crucified was, in this case, a crucifix, or cross, not a printed piece of paper.

Extract: As he was very near-sighted, and as the trails are, for the most part, rough and tortuous, in order not to get lost, but to remain on the trails used by the Fathers, he tied a cord to his belt and had one of his companions go ahead, leading him by the cord...

If he had ample time for his Visit, he performed also the Act of Contrition in the form in which it was composed by the Venerable Father Gerónimo López, who had translated it into the language of the Marianos.

Comment: Error in translation. This Fr. López never left Spain. His text had, however, been translated by Fr. Sanvitores. Another error is the mention of Agrigan, when Aguijan is meant. Leaving Fr. Morales on Tinian, Fr. Sanvitores headed back toward Rota.

Extract: They arrived late at night and were unable to go ashore because of the dangerous reefs and a high sea, and were thus compelled to pass an unpleasant and dangerous night at sea. Fr. Casanova, who was then on the Island [Rota] and who writes of it, heard a joyful ringing of bells, and hastened out from his hut to ask of the companions what it could be, for there was only one small bell there, which was used to call the people for instruction. They responded that they too had heard bells ringing, but that the sound had ceased when he came out of doors, and no-one knew what it could be. They passed the night discussing it, until, in the early morning Fr. Sanvitores came into the village. Learning the hour at which he had arrived off the Island, and knowing it was the same time at which they heard the ringing of bells, they knew that it was the rejoicing that took place in Heaven for his safe return.

Comment: Nowadays we recognize telepathy for what it is. This letter by Fr. Casanova, perhaps to his correspondent Fr. Guillén, is no longer extant.

Extract: When about the middle of January [1669] Fr. Sanvitores returned to the Island of Guam ... he began to build a school, which for a long time he had been planning, for selected native boys.

Comment by the editor of the Guam Recorder: This first school was built of coconut trees and had a roof of *nijog* leaves, such as we still see nowadays [1937] on many native houses. It is an established fact that all the earliest construction of the Spaniards in Guam was of wood and thatch. In 1676 the first *mampostería* [stone and mortar] construction was undertaken, and this was the fabrication of a large and substantial church... The first school building appears to have been abandoned when in 1674, two schools, one for boys and another for girls, were built within the enclosure of the Garrison. The latter was financed by the Queen, the primitive establishment merely a makeshift in the earliest days of the Mission.

Extract: Fr. Sanvitores hoped to establish this seminary on a permanent basis, and among other things which he proposed to Her Majesty ... was the foundation of this school, in a memorial [see HM 5:81].

Comment: Point 7 of the memorial is about this foundation. This memorial was not written in 1669, but only in 1670. Since there was no galleon that year, the memorial left Guam in 1671 and reached Spain only in 1673. The Queen approved the request of 3,000 pesos for a trust to finance two schools, in a decree addressed to the Viceroy, dated 18 April 1673.

Extract: Fr. Sanvitores hastened the construction of the church in Agaña, and it was completed within a few days after his return from his visit to the other Islands, and was dedicated on the day of the Purification, 2 February 1669, to the Most Holy Name of Mary, and the Most Holy Family.

Comment by the editor of the Guam Recorder: This primitive church, the first constructed in Guam, was built in 1669 and destroyed by a typhoon in 1671.

Extract: The following occurrence, as related by Br. Lorenzo Bustillo in a letter to Fr. Juan Guillén, cannot but be attributed to Fr. Sanvitores and deserves admiration for having been done by his signature. Fr. Luis de Morales, on the Island of Agrigan

[sic], came across a child about a year old, who, for more than a day had refused food, and was apparently giving voice to its last, weak cries. The first thing that occurred to Fr. Morales, hoping that its life could be prolonged until he could baptize it, was to apply to the suffering infant a letter, written by Fr. Sanvitores. This he did and the child was revived at once, was fed, and lived until the following day, when, after receiving Holy Baptism, he soared to Heaven.

Comment: This letter must have been forwarded by Fr. Guillén to Mr. Geronimo San Vitores, as it is no longer extant. This Jesuit lived in Spain and received letters from the Mariana Mission, at least two from Fr. Casanova [Doc. 1668J] and one from Br. Bustillo, written on behalf of Fr. Sanvitores.

Extract: Fr. Sanvitores ... set out alone from the Island of Guam, the early part of July 1669... [Doc. 1670H].

Comment: He was not alone, as Fr. Medina went along, on this his last voyage north. He arrived at Tinian at the end of July, to visit Fr. Casanova there. In Saipan, he was threatened with death many times. He then went up the island chain and re-discovered the last two, Asunción and Maug; they had already been discovered by one of Magellan's ships in 1522. Coming back, one of the lay catechist, Lorenzo, the man from the Malabar Coast of India, was cruelly killed in Anatahan. In Saipan, he found, in a native house, a small gun that had come from the **Concepción** shipwreck. He took it to Tinian, just in time to learn of an impending war between Sungharon and Marpo. Leaving Fr. Casanova and Fr. Medina, he quickly returned to Guam to get the soldiers, arriving there on 15 November 1669. **The story of the preparations of this military expedition comes from a lost letter by Br. Bustillo, as follows.**

[The Tinian War]

Extract: "When Fr. Sanvitores realized that peaceful methods would not serve to stop the war, and he had tried such means, he decided to turn to the methods of war in order to obtain peace, which was so necessary to Christianity. Thus, leaving the Fathers [Casanova and Medina] well instructed in what they were to do during his absence, to delay, if they could not stop, the riots, he returned to Guam, where he arrived on the day of St. Eugene, Archbishop of Toledo and martyr, 15 November 1669..."

"And not wishing to take any other food [than a little rice] or rest after his long, tiresome voyage, he went at once about the task of preparing for the pacification of the Island of Tinian, and had a long fervent talk with the secular members of the company, about the importance of this undertaking."

"Fr. Sanvitores published in Agaña the Jubilee [plenary indulgence] conceded to those who were about to fight the infidels. He confessed his secular assistants who were to go on this expedition, and for a week he preached to them fervently, praising the glory that entrance in such a war would bring them, a war in which they sought not captives nor spoils, neither gold nor silver, but only the glory of God and the conquest of souls, to restore them to their Redeemer, liberating them from the slavery and tyranny of the devil. He told them how great their own merit would be in pacifying those

who by means of war embarrassed the propagation of the Gospel, in opening, by their own hands, the way of those precious feet that teach only peace.”

“And he added: *“Do not be afraid because you are few and the enemy many, for the many without God are worth nothing. I assure you that the barbarians, without natural bravery, without the military arts and almost without arms, are of no real importance although they may appear formidable. And the Spaniards, with their natural spirit, with the generosity and with their military cleverness, are never weak although there may be no more than 10, for when Christ wished to give them a victory, he gives even greater victory to a few than if they were many, for if there were many they would attribute their success to themselves, but when they are few in number they recognize God in their victory. It is impossible to count the victories that God has given the few over the many, to the weak against the strong, to women over men, or to a man or woman against a great army. It is enough to remember in the Bible the story of the Macabees, of Gideon, Deborah, David, Judith: and if we pass over from divine to human histories, from the distant to those things close at hand, how many triumphs do you suppose were realized in Spain and in the Indies, when there were only a few Spanish against the great armies of the Mohammedans or the Gentiles? Fear not then, Mariana Army, taking with you God, and Mary, who is the Captain of Christian armies, the patroness of their battles, and the Mother of their victories. Fear not then, for you shall carry peace with you, for you have the favor of that Angel who with the celestial army attended the nativity of Christ, to sing ‘Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace to all men of good will.’”*”

“The seculars were so inflamed by these words of Fr. Sanvitores, their zeal and enthusiasm so stirred that, as Br. Bustillo writes, they could scarcely wait for the hour of departure, to bring peace to their enemies and to give their lives, if necessary, for this cause, believing as they did that victory was already assured, whether by winning the fight or by dying for the glory of God.”

“With everything in readiness, they left Guam about 25 November 1669, in their naval flotilla which consisted of three or four canoes and 10 young soldiers who believed themselves to be as strong as 10,000, because they had Fr. Sanvitores in their company. All of the soldiers were Filipinos, with the exception of one man named Juan de Santiago, who was from Biscay, and the captain of them all was Don Juan de Santa Cruz.”

Comment: Juan de Santiago was not from Biscay; he was a chorister from the Philippines (Doc. 1668F). Fr. García has introduced many errors of fact here, in an effort to ascribe some glory to Spaniards. However, there were a few "Spaniards" brought from Mexico, who were present at the Tinian War; for example, Diego Bazan, was already in Tinian acting as a catechist. Most of the soldiers, as well as the missionary helpers, were in fact Filipinos. From the letter that Fr. Sanvitores wrote ahead to Fr. Medina from Rota on 26 December [Doc. 1669G], we know the names of some of the other soldiers: Francisco de Mendoza and Juan de los Reyes (Filipino, see Doc. 1668F); Gregorio Martinez and José de Peralta (Mexican).

Extract: A friendly wind carried them to Tinian, and on disembarking Fr. Sanvitores learned that the two armies in the field were just ready for an attack...

Comment: This happened about the first week of January 1670. The actual events of the war are described in other documents (see Tinian War in indexes). Once the peace was achieved, on 22 January, Fr. Medina went on a mission to Saipan, but he was killed there on 29 January 1670. Because of this death, Fr. Sanvitores was not able to return to Guam until May 1670, intending to meet the yearly galleon, but none came that year.

Extract: During the month of June of this year [1670] there was a great drought, and all crops were at the point of destruction. The suffering Marianos, having not entirely forgotten their old customs, had recourse to the *Macajnas* [sorcerers] and asked them to invoke the *Anites* by means of the skulls that brought rain, for thus are called those which, dedicated to the devil, are thought to produce rain. They keep them in their houses and through them, pray for rain. They call this *Macanas uchan*, which means "a miraculous thing for rain," a name which they also apply to the skulls [see p. 302].

Fr. Sanvitores heard of this and went in haste to the place where the people had gathered, and taking in his hand the Image of Christ which he always carried, he fell to his knees and intoned a devout supplication that he had composed in verse in the language of the Marianos, a prayer for water and for all the spiritual and temporal benefits that might be desired. Soon all the natives knelt, repeating that which the Venerable Father was saying. He then made them a fervent speech...

The Marianos were remorseful and begged for mercy from God. Fr. Sanvitores promised them that on the following day it would rain (it was then six in the afternoon) if they gave their word that they would attend mass that morning to pray for rain. He told them that God is good and that he would surely cause the heavens to rain. That night the Venerable Father prayed fervently and the following morning at daybreak it began to rain heavily. The Marianos ran to the church, surprised and happy, praising God, who through the efforts of the *Gran Padre* [i.e. Padre Magas], had given them rain. And those who were at that time only catechumens, begged for baptism.

Because of the illness of the missionary Father on the Island of Rota, and because of some trouble among the chiefs of that island, it was necessary for Fr. Sanvitores to make a visit there in January 1671.

Comment: He spent two months there. In March 1671, he went back to Guam.

Extract: A serious problem awaited him on his return to Guam. Some of his secular companions, who formerly had helped in the cultivation of the vineyard of the Lord, desirous of freedom, had fled to certain apostate villages. He regretted the loss of his soldiers, most of all because, having lost some, he might lose others. And after having offered prayers and penitence, and charging the other Fathers to do likewise, he sought a messenger and wrote affectionate messages to the soldiers, persuading them to return to the camp of Jesus Christ, of whom they were soldiers, and not to cast a shadow on their honor and conscience, and that now they could erase merely by repentance that which otherwise they should have to pay for in eternal fire.... Believing in the kindness

of Fr. Sanvitores, the men returned to his side, sorry for what they had done, and he received them with open arms...

Comment: There are no further details about these desertions of 1671. After Lent, Fr. Sanvitores made a few sorties to some villages on Guam, then came back to Agaña to prepare his annual report and other correspondence in expectation of the yearly galleon [Doc. 1670B,C and 1671A,B].

Extract: The ship **Nuestra Señora del Buen Socorro** arrived on 9 June [1671] and brought to this mission the succor of which it stood in great need, that is, soldiers, who were sent by His Majesty, through the providence of the Lord, who saw how greatly they would soon be needed. It also brought spiritual consolation, because **His Holiness Clement IX sent a Brief to Fr. Sanvitores** in which he gave him and all Christianity his paternal blessing, praising his zeal and that of his companions, urging them to continue as they had begun. Besides, he sent, to augment the devotion of the neophytes, a large box of crosses, medals and *Agnus Deis*, with many blessings and indulgences. All this Fr. Sanvitores received with singular veneration and consolation, knowing that his labors were approved by the Great Pastor, hoping that his work would be advanced, and that this blessing would increase the Evangelical harvest, which the Lord had blessed with a lavish hand, for there were already more than 30,000 baptized.

Comment: This claim to have baptized more people than the Mariana Islands actually contained at the time appears in the annual report [Doc. 1671A]. This inflated estimate (caused by double counting) was like a bubble that did not burst until later suspicions by the missionaries themselves led to a proper census. There was never a brief from the Pope, but only a letter of acknowledgment and encouragement from a papal secretary. This letter was undoubtedly written in answer to Fr. Sanvitores' letter which he wrote to the Pope from Acapulco [Doc. 1668G]. Therefore, the letter was probably dated 1669, but it could not have been delivered to Guam in 1670, since there was no galleon that year.

Extract: The ship **Buen Socorro** brought 4 new Fathers to Guam. They were Fr. Francisco Ezquerra..., Fr. Francisco Solano, Fr. Alonso López and Fr. Diego de Noriega. The two former had come here from the Philippines by way of Mexico where they were joined by the others. And although four ministers came, the Mission was only increased by one, for the other three relieved Fr. Pedro de Casanova, Fr. Luis de Morales and Br. Lorenzo Bustillo, who went on the same ship to the Philippines, in accordance with an order from the Fr. Provincial of the Philippines, and with the willing consent of Fr. Sanvitores, who promised them when they came to the Marianas that they should remain only until others came to relieve them.

Comment by the editor of the Guam Recorder: Very little information is available about Fr. Alonso López. He served the Mission in the northern islands of the Marianas, and drew the first reliable map of these islands [Doc. 1671Q]. This map, together with certain writings of Fr. Luis de Morales [Doc. 1670E] served as the basis of the book [rather map] published in France in 1752, with the title "Les Isles Marianes, Sur les Cartes du P. Alonso Lopez, et le Mémoire du P. Morale, Jésuites Espagnols, Missionnaires

dans ces Isles. Pour servir à l'Histoire Générale des Voyages," par le Sieur Bellin, Ingénieur de la Marine." Ed. comment: This book was one in a collection of voyages by Prévost d'Exiles. Fr. Le Gobien also published the said map.

[The first Guamanian tourists]

Extract: With these three Fathers he also sent three Marianos [boys] to Manila, I do not know whether as three examples of the harvest in the Promised Land, to attract interest in the glory of God from those who went only in conquest of land, or as the Three Kings, to adore the Lord in an old established Christian community, where, seeing the great size of the temples, the majesty of the divine cult and the life of good Christians, they might return to Guam telling what they had seen, to those who believed their land to be the first in the world, because of their ignorance of other countries.

The three natives, baptized a short time before this by Fr. Sanvitores, were nobles [sic] who were held in great esteem, heirs to important lands, with which they live in as much content, and vanity, as do the titled ones and Grandees of Spain with their honors and riches.

Their names, after baptism, were **Don Ignacio Osi, Don Pedro Guirán, and Don Matías Yay**. And now we shall follow their progress, leaving Fr. Sanvitores in the Marianas, working and suffering for the glory of God and the welfare of souls.

Comment: The primary document(s) that Fr. García used for this information on the three Guamanian boys are no longer extant. They must have been letter(s) sent to Spain from Manila and Mexico by their mentor, Brother/Father Bustillo, between 1671 and 1675.

Extract: They sailed from Guam on 13 July [rather June] in the galleon **Nuestra Señora del Buen Socorro**, and after some delays and the ordinary accidents of navigation, arrived at Manila, on 31 July, the feast-day of our Fr. St. Ignatius. They were cared for in our College with more charity than magnificence, although to them even the simplest things seemed magnificent, because of the poverty to which they were accustomed in their country. They visited the Governor, who received them with hospitality and with the honors appropriate to what they believed themselves to be [i.e. high-class Chamorros].

The most remarkable thing about the visit was their lack of self-consciousness, for they went about with no more concern than if they were among their own people, and with a certain air of generosity and courtesy that bespoke nobility in spite of their barbarity. No less admirable was the zeal in which they affectionately petitioned the Governor to send soldiers to control their lawless people who embarrassed those who wished to receive the law of God, adding, with tears in their eyes, that for lack of this control certain natives had taken the life of one Father [Medina] and six other companions, which could not have happened if there had been anyone to fear.

The Governor [Manuel de León] treated them kindly, praised their worthy cause and assured them that his wishes in that direction were the same as their own, and he would

attempt to arrange matters in a manner that would help the Fathers and extend the Faith in all the Islands.

During the time that these men were in Manila they visited the churches, admiring their construction, decoration and riches. They were even more impressed by the ostentation and solemnity with which the divine offices were celebrated, and the devotion with which the older Christians attended the sacraments in our church. Even more did the old Christians admire the devotion of these new ones, who, only a short time before, did not even know that there is a God, now confessed and took communion with great reverence and humility, showing in their outward demeanor a great devotion to the Faith. They remained more than one hour on their knees in front of the high altar before confession, which they made with many tears, and after communion, remained another hour giving thanks, quite immobile and preoccupied in all these things, and would not turn their heads for any noise or accident that might occur.

They liked to watch the baptism of children, their minds dwelling on the beauty that those souls received by means of that sacrament, they had been told by Fr. Sanvitores. But those affairs which attracted their attention were the processions and *Pasos* [stations of the Cross] of the Passion of Christ which they witnessed during Holy Week. They burst into tears at the sight of the sad and devout mysteries, and they said with sighs that Christ must have had much charity towards all men, suffering so much for them. They said it was a great pity that there were so few Fathers in their land to teach the people these things that now they were witnessing, that they too might know and adore a God to whom they owed so much and could go to see in Heaven and not fall like blind men into hell where they would burn with devils in perpetual fire. Withal, in all their acts and words, in their exterior appearance and their inward consciouness, they showed that they had been well instructed and baptized by Fr. Sanvitores, whom they praised wherever they went, assuming that everyone knew him, and whoever said he did not, seemed to them to be exaggerating.

Don Matías was so pleased with the quiet manner of life in Manila that he determined not to return to his own land where people lived barbarously. Don Ignacio and Don Pedro would also have remained with him, had not the Fathers, in order to prevent frustration of their original plans, persuaded the two to return to the Marianas to help the Ministers in the conversion of the natives, passing on to others the light they had received, in order not to be misers of the riches and compassion of the Lord.

They sailed aboard the galleon **San Telmo**, by way of Mexico, to the Marianas in the year 1672, with Fr. Juan de Landa who was on his way to Rome, as Procurator for the Philippines. When the ship was carried by a contrary wind back to Manila in 1673, they re-embarked on the **Buen Socorro**. Twenty leagues from Manila, there being no wind, the ship anchored near an island and Don Ignacio went ashore. Meanwhile the wind began to blow and the ship put to sea, leaving Don Ignacio. He returned to Manila in a small boat, taking a month for the voyage. And it was a Providence of the Lord, who wished to save his life, for the others were lost off the coast of New Spain in in-

clement weather, while he, prevented from carrying out his plans, was rewarded for his zealous desire to carry new light to his country and show it the luster of Heaven.

The two Marianos who were in Manila, Don Ignacio and Don Matías, sailed at last from Cavite on 5 June [rather July]¹ 1674, with Fr. Lorenzo Bustillo who had brought them to Manila and now, having completed his studies, was returning to the Marianas.

Seventy leagues from Manila they met the **Buen Socorro**, then returning from Acapulco, and from it they learned of the death of Fr. Landa and Don Pedro Guirán, who was a brother of Don Matías. Father Bustillo [now ordained] was sad at receiving this news, and when the Marianos heard of it, they went to him and said these words, which Fr. Bustillo himself writes: "Father, what are we to do but have patience, even though Pedro has died? And as God has willed it thus, we shall console ourselves with his will, with which we are content, because we believe that Pedro's death has pleased God who is our Father and Lord and knows better than we what is for our good. The death of Pedro is what is best for us, and for this we should give thanks, for it is a sign that he remembers us. And we should pray that if perhaps Pedro is in Purgatory, he be relieved of suffering and taken to Heaven soon. And thus, my Father," added Don Matías, "I do not mourn that my brother has died, for it has been the will of God, and we must all die. That which worries me is, whether there was anyone present to confess him and give communion and the Holy Oil, because Fr. Landa died first."

To this, Fr. Bustillo answered that there was no doubt someone present to give the last Sacrament, for there were on board some Franciscan Fathers and some of other Orders. With the two Marianos were consoled, for in three years they had acquired the true sentiments of Christians of long standing.

They arrived at Acapulco on 13 January 1675, and at Mexico City on 31 January. Three leagues from the latter city, Fr. José Vidal came out to meet them. He was then Procurator in Mexico for the Mariana Islands. He came out in a coach which the Marianos called a "ship of the land," and praised the ingenuity of the one who had invented it. They were received in our College as the first fruits of Christianity in the Marianas, sent by Fr. Sanvitores, and for these reasons, the objects of much estimation and affection.

In Mexico the Marianos admired, and with greater reason, those things that had attracted their attention in Manila, the size and grandeur of the city, the great buildings and churches, observing also the people, and wondering how they could once have believed that there was no other land than Guam, and no other city than Agaña.

On the second day they went to visit the Archbishop-Viceroy, Don Fray Payo de Rivera. Kneeling before him, they asked him the same favor they had requested of the Governor of the Philippines, saying that as they were vassals of the King, they wished His Excellency might send to Guam a Captain or other officer, with soldiers, who would form a military government, or garrison such as they had seen in Manila, to punish the

1 Ed. note: See Doc. 1675A. Fr. Bouwens was also present.

cruel godless natives who had killed those who preached to them the Holy Law,¹ and as a guard and defence for good Christians, a source of fear to sinners or those who, not wishing to become Christians, tried to keep others from doing so.

The Archbishop was deeply touched by their pleas, and embracing them, promised in the name of the King, that he would do as they asked.

In a similar manner they were received by the members of the Audiencia, who asked them many questions about their country and about Fr. Sanvitores, to which they responded praising the holiness and charity of the *Gran Padre*.

Many times they said, looking in wonder at the Houses of the Society of Jesus in Mexico: "Truly the religious of the Society of Jesus have had pity, charity and mercy on our souls, for leaving the comforts of their own houses, they have come to our land to suffer and labor, even to give their lives into the hands of our barbarous people, to give them life eternal, to make them Christians and sending them to Heaven. We owe much to the Fathers of the Society and especially to our Holy Father Sanvitores for having been the cause of our salvation and of this mercy shown us."

The Fathers wanted to send one of the Marianos on to Madrid, to present him to the King, as the first gold of the only kind that was to be found in the Marianas. But it appeared to be of better service to God to send both of them back to the Marianas, for it was believed during their long absence that they had been killed by the Spaniards. It seemed better to send them back to preach to their own people, whom they said were "senseless" and "stupid" and condemned to eternal fire for not having believed those things about God, and Holy Mary, his Mother.

The day they departed from Mexico City they attended confession and took communion, spending more than two hours in hearing mass and giving thanks, hoping that God would grant them a safe voyage.

The Fathers gave them many garments of silk and other materials, in order that they might set out for their own country feeling that they had received kind treatment, and that they might tell better of the charity and love which the Spaniards felt towards them. And they promised to return to Mexico after having told their own people about the wonders of Christianity that they had seen. In this manner they went to Acapulco, where we shall leave them, for we have no other news about them, and we shall return to Fr. Sanvitores and to the month of June 1671, in which we left him in the Marianas, at the time that four Fathers had arrived from Mexico and three others went on from Guam to the Philippines.

Comment: The two Guamanian boys went back to Guam in 1675, in the company of Fr. Bouwens, since Fr. Bustillo stayed behind in Mexico for two more years. Later on, one of these boys (his name was not specified) turned against the Fathers and the Spanish, fighting on the native side during the last Chamorro revolt of 1684, and was eventually killed in battle. The Jesuits felt deeply this lack of gratitude; that is why they did not dwell on this story, and we have no details as to the causes of this tragedy.

1 The death of Fr. Sanvitores was known to them at that time.

Extract: Fr. Sanvitores, having prepared the recently-arrived missionaries with the exercises of our Father St. Ignatius, began to assign them to the several Islands. He sent Fr. Francisco Ezquerria to accompany Fr. Tomás Cardeñoso, and Fr. Francisco Solano went with Fr. Alonso López. He gave them interpreters because they did not know the language. And because Fr. Diego de Noriega was ill, he kept him in Agaña.

But soon it was necessary to recall everyone to the Residence [Agaña], and he sent in all haste for Fr. Ezquerria and Fr. Cardeñoso, who were already embarked, by reason of the cruel war that the common enemy started in retaliation for the battle Fr. Sanvitores had fought against him and of whose great labors he was well aware. At this time began those small uprisings, the beginning of the War of Guam, the worst that Christianity and the Fathers suffered in those Islands.

Comment: This book was published before the much more devastating war of 1684. For details of the 1671 troubles, see the documents of 1672, e.g. Doc. 1672A, E, I, L, M, and N.

[Death of José Peralta]

Extract: Fr. Sanvitores had sent a boy named José Peralta, a native of the town of [Puebla de] Los Angeles, to cut a quantity of crosses to be placed in the houses of new Christians. He went out on 23 June 1671, to cut wood from which to make them, and some natives, who were hidden in ambush, perhaps because they wanted a knife and machete that he carried, fell on him and killed him, wounding him 18 times.

He had gone out alone, contrary to the orders of Fr. Sanvitores, who had told the Spaniards never to go out singly from the house. But because his error was born of simplicity and not malice, and because he had confessed on the previous day, God who had prepared him for death, took him in the laudable employment of the service of the Cross, after much service of the Faith during the three years he had assisted the evangelical ministers in their work. This fact was a consolation to his companions even in the lamentable occurrence of his death.

Comment: Fr. García goes on to mention that Sergeant Major [sic] Juan de Santiago carried out justice. The editor of the Guam Recorder recognized that this was a misprint. The military leader in question was still [1671] the Filipino Captain Juan de Santa Cruz.

[The death of Chief Guafac and the intervention of Ayihi]

Extract: The death of a chief whose name was Guafac, in the mountains, made matters worse, for he was killed by a Spaniard while going with a group of soldiers to seize an accomplice in the murder of the young Peralta. This chief and some of his neighbors attacked the soldiers and tried to protect the culprit. One of the Spaniards, in the scuffle, killed Guafac. The result of this affair was that 2,000 natives of Agaña and other nearby settlements joined to oppose the Spaniards. Others of the Island remained neutral, but unable to help our men for fear of their own people, nor their compatriots for fear of the Spaniards, or for the love of the Fathers.

We should not fail to mention our gratefulness to a good native, called Ayihi, who, being in the town of Agaña, showed himself true to the Spaniards, with all his family. This man took the baptismal name of Antonio, out of respect for Don Antonio Nieto, who brought the Fathers to these Islands, and who favored this native in many ways, acting as godfather at the baptism of one of his children who went to Heaven before he was two years old. And his father fell little short of going with him, because one day, he was reproving a *Macana* for the diabolical impiety with which he invoked the *Anites*, when the sorcerer turned upon him and seized him by the throat, clawing him with his nails and leaving upon him the signs of that impiety, which are now signs of the Faith and Christianity of the good Antonio.

He avoided all appearance of friendship with the Spaniards, the better to help them without bringing harm to himself. From him the Spaniards learned the plan of the enemy, which was to finish off, once and for all, the Fathers and other Spaniards, and free their land of foreigners who wanted to give them laws and deprive them of their liberty.

And it would have been very easy to execute this design if the Fathers had been scattered among the missions as they had once been...

[The building of a stockade, 1671]

Extract: But now, seeing 2,000 men in campaign with arms, it was necessary for our men to make some kind of fortification, which the barbarians gave them time to do as they spent much time running errands, carrying messages and getting more adherents to their cause.

The church and [Jesuit] house were surrounded by a stockade of trees and branches. On the side towards the sea, on a point overlooking the beach, a tower was raised, which Fr. Sanvitores named *Castillo de Santa María y Santiago*, placing in it that which was to serve as *Castellana* [warden] and Guard of the castle, an Image of Our Lady of the Conception, blessed by the Archbishop, which he brought from Manila [Doc. 1667D]. He also placed there the piece of artillery that was salvaged from the **Concepción**. On the side towards the mountain another tower was built, and was called *Castillo de San Francisco Xavier*, where the gun was placed which remained from the shipwreck that had cast Choco on these shores, the man who was the origin of all these wars and persecutions.

Comment: Fr. García introduces an error of fact here. Choco did not arrive aboard the *Santa Margarita*, from whose wreck this gun came, but deserted from a champan that had sought refuge at Saipan.

Extract: The soldiers, of whom there were 31, were assigned to their posts. There were 12 Spaniards among them, and 19 Filipinos, and some with bows and arrows, others with firearms.

Comment: The story goes on to describe how Chief Hurao (do not forget that the word “papahurao” meant “paramount chief” and that, therefore, Hurao had in fact replaced Quipuha in that post) was made prisoner, to be used as a hostage, but the plan

backfired, because Fr. Sanvitores exhorted “the leader of the Spanish soldiers, Don Juan de Santa Cruz,” to distribute gifts instead. Here Fr. García corrects his earlier mistake about who was then the military leader; we must also recognize his fairness in admitting that Fr. Sanvitores’ interference (and kindness) led only to a heightened rebellion by barbarians who did not know gratitude, or generosity. Even in the height of the battle, Fr. Sanvitores intervened and had the small gun fired only to frighten, rather than to kill, the attackers.

Extract: The house of Hurao did not receive so much consideration. Our soldiers had wanted to destroy it because it constituted a danger to ours, for it was higher than our house and so located that from it much harm could be done, but this the Venerable Father would not permit, because he did not wish to irritate the natives further. But now the hurricane left of it nothing more than a heap of stone [sic] and wood.

Comment: Fr. Sanvitores’ interference is here clearly laid out, with no apology. The stone rubble came from the *latte*, or pillars, upon which the house had been constructed. In the same storm, at the end of September 1671, the small river overflowed its banks and flooded the church. We must therefore conclude that the eastern wall of the stockade had been built close to this river. Since the north wall ran close to the beach of Agaña Bay, the NE corner of the stockade had to be close to the present-day intersection of Marine Drive and the main road to Siñahana. The natives then sued for peace, the only condition being the release of Chief Hurao. Fr. Sanvitores again intervened (in military affairs) to have him released. The result was a renewal of hostilities, the native insurgents now joined by Hurao’s clan.

Extract: With this the war was brought to a close, after a duration of forty days. The pride and disdain of the barbarians had now changed to fear and reverence... Because in their frequent assaults, the barbarians always came off the losers, 2,000 men being overcome and scattered by 31 soldiers of whom not one was lost. A Filipino named Damián was the only one of our men wounded, having been struck by three lances thrown from ambush when he was going out to hunt for food. Although he was mortally wounded, he recovered in a few days through the prayers of the Servant of God, and was able again to serve in the war. Don Antonio Alexalde, who served as General of the Artillery and was in the tower of San Francisco Xavier, was struck in the chest by a stone. The violent blow left him unconscious and it was feared he would not live long enough to receive Extreme Unction. But Fr. Sanvitores invoked San Francisco Xavier and Santa Teresa, whose day it was [15 October], and within 24 hours he was fighting again with the others.

Comment: There follows the often-repeated story of Fr. Sanvitores’ last months, and the death of some of his companions. No new facts appear, except for this description of Fr. Sanvitores made years later by Fr. Bustillo, as follows.

[Physical description of Fr. Sanvitores]

Extract: And in order that his likeness may not be lost to us as we lost his body, we shall give it here. Fr. Sanvitores was of medium height. His skin was very white and his

hair was a light chestnut color. He had a wide forehead, bright blue eyes, red cheeks, a long and somewhat curved nose, bright red lips. He was handsome in a grave and majestic way, although the changes of climate, inclemencies of the weather, together with his labors and the penitences he suffered, had changed him so greatly in the Philippine and still more in the Marianas, that those who had formerly known him would scarcely have recognized him. A friend who met him in Mexico on the occasion of his second visit, failed to recognize him because of his burned and discolored complexion.

In the Marianas, says Fr. Bustillo, he looked like a living skeleton, for he was no more than skin and bones. And if those portraits that were made of him before he left Spain were compared with one that was sent [from] here after his death, showing him as he was in the Marianas, one could not reconcile the two as being the same individual.

Comment: This is hypothetical. There was no portrait of him made in Guam after his death.

Extract: The galleon **San Diego** arrived on 2 May [1672], one month after the death of Fr. Sanvitores. This was the ship that had brought him to these Islands, and was commanded by Admiral Diego [rather Leandro] Coello. Although it had anchored at San Antonio de Umatag, the Fathers were not aware of its arrival, for the natives purposely hid the news from them, fearing that because of their sins and homicides this ship had come to bring them some manner of punishment... At last Fr. Solano was informed of the arrival of the vessel by Antonio Ayihi, of whose devotion we have previously spoken. The Father set out for Umatag to visit the ship, (although he was not yet recovered from typhus), in a small boat, which fortunately had been cast up on the shore here only two days before.

Comment: The name of San Antonio was shifted from Ati to nearby Umatac on this occasion, it seems. Fr. Solano was the second Mission superior. Captain Nieto is mentioned later as the captain in command of the ship; Coello was chief pilot. It would be interesting to know where this small boat came from, that was washed ashore... However, it was the custom of the Manila galleon to cut loose the ship's boat after the galleon had made it out of the Strait of San Bernardino, on the way to Acapulco.

Extract: The ship, having taken water at the Port of San Antonio, sailed on 7 May, taking advantage of the good weather, on the way to the Philippines.

Comment: The galleon was very early that year. It brought Fathers Bouwens and Coomans to Guam. It seems that the "conquistador" of Guam, Captain de Santa Cruz, left Guam that year. He was replaced by another Filipino, Captain Santiago. The young, inexperienced, Spanish soldiers from Mexico served under them.

[The adobe fort]

Extract: Captain [sic] Juan de Santiago, who commanded the Mariana Squadron, tried to erect a [better] fort in Agadña which might resist the fire which the barbarians were able to throw so cleverly, affixed to their lances and to stones, for he foresaw the possibility of another war. They decided to build it of earth, for to construct it of stone

would require much more time, and they lacked tools. They began to haul clay to make adobes on 13 May, with an escort of arquebusiers, for it was necessary to go some distance away from the post to obtain it.

Comment: I imagined that they went out of the stockade on the eastern or river side, and up this river to the place where it was swampy, now the location of a vast shopping complex along the road to Siñahana. The project was interrupted, because armed natives soon blocked the paths.

Captain Santiago decided to attack Tumhon and to try and capture Matapang and Hirao, the murderers of Fr. Sanvitores instead. This 1672 battle of Tumon is described in Doc. 1673K, where, among other facts, Santiago is said to be a Major, not just a captain. By the way, the man whose name was reported as Martín de Uriza, was not a Basque, as the editor of the Guam Recorder speculated, but another Filipino, named Uniza (Doc. 1673K). Another error made by Fr. García is the confusion in the names of the two Filipinos killed in Rota: both were named Francisco, but the much older one, that is, the 1638 shipwreck survivor married to a woman from the Gani Islands, was the Tagalog from Indang; Francisco Maunahan was a Visayan boy.

Extract: On 22 May of this same year, 1673, the galleon **San Antonio**, which took the route between this Island and that of Santa Ana [Rota], arrived with the assistance of fair weather, at the Port of Agaña... Fr. Francisco Ezquerria, Superior of the Mission in the Marianas after the death of Fr. Solano, sent Fr. Gerardo Bouvens to Manila on the **San Antonio**, the same ship that had brought [copies of] the Royal Decrees [of 1671]. He was to solicit the construction of the ship and ask for passage to Guam for the [200] Pampangos.

This governor [de León] was the avowed enemy of the Mission in the Marianas, and in spite of all the pleas that Fr. Gerardo made, telling him what a great service it would be for God and for the King to execute this order, he neither wished to send the Pampangos nor construct a vessel. But as it was necessary to comply in appearance with the orders of Her Majesty, he ordered the Chief Master who builds ships in the Philippines to build a boat, giving him the proportions of length and width. To this the Master replied three times that he could not construct a vessel in the form prescribed for it would drown anyone who tried to sail in it. But the order was repeated so many times that at last, without argument, he built it to these measurements.

He built it thus against his will, and when the hulk was constructed, while it was yet without masts or cordage and with its decks flimsily nailed in place, the Governor ordered it to be placed, unfinished, on board the **San Telmo**. Fathers Bustillo and Gerardo [Bouvens] sailed on the **San Telmo** for Mexico [in 1674], planning, on the return voyage, to put the smaller craft ashore in the Marianas. The Governor was also to write a letter to the King [rather Queen Regent] and to the Viceroy of Mexico, informing them that His [rather Her] Majesty's order had been carried out.

The two Fathers who well knew what had happened, informed the Archbishop, who was also the Viceroy, on their arrival at Acapulco. His Excellency ordered that the boat be put ashore. He also ordered the pilots, sailors and all those on board who knew any-

thing about the circumstances to take an oath as to what they believed to be the facts of the case. They swore that it was impossible to sail the tiny vessel and that those who embarked in her would surely be drowned, because of the disproportion and other important defects.

The Captain of the galleon [i.e. Endaya], because he was in agreement with the Governor of the Philippines, refused to permit examination of the craft, having been ordered to leave it in the Marianas, near any of the Islands they might pass. Some years before, all Generals, Admirals or Masters of ships had received orders from that Governor not to anchor in the Marianas nor to visit the port of San Antonio, or the Island of San Juan [Guam]...

I shall not speak of the harm done by the Governor who, besides failing to send the Pampangos, also refused permission to several [Filipino] families who wished to come to Guam, families who would have been of great assistance to this Christianity. It is not wrong that history, which should do justice to all, has recorded this public scandal of the Governor as a warning to others, although a better warning was the sudden death he suffered later [1677]. It is to be hoped that he paid with his death for all the harm he had done to Christianity in the Marianas, that all may know that above the powerful there is another more powerful tribunal of God, where the judges are judged as prisoners, and where the powerful cannot resist the Supreme Judge.

Comment: Fr. García gets carried away here. Governor De León's fight with churchmen had not been so much with Jesuits as with the Dominican Archbishop of Manila. Fr. García's information may have come from the letters of Fr. Bustillo, no longer extant. As for the boat, it was not placed on the deck of the San Telmo, but in sections, below deck. It was finally ordered taken back to Manila, as is, by the Archbishop-Viceroy (see ed. comment, Doc. 1674F). The events of 1673-74 are taken from the annual report (see Doc. 1674I & J). Similarly, the events of 1675 are from Doc. 1675E.

Extract: The galleon **San Telmo** arrived on 4 June 1675, and anchored in a bay of this Island of San Juan which was formerly called Umatag, and is now called San Antonio. General Tomás de Andaya [sic], who was in command of the ship, gave the Fathers a horse, knowing how useful it would be in these Islands. He gave them also a quantity of nails which had been intended for use in that vessel which was built for these Islands, but which was in Acapulco declared useless and contrary to ship-building rules...

Father Bustillo and Father Gerardo Bouwens arrived on this galleon.

Comment: Fr. García commits another error of fact here. Only Fr. Bouwens returned in 1675. Fr. Bustillo remained behind in Mexico until the following year, 1676. The events from 1675 to 1677 are taken from two annual reports, Doc. 1676B & 1677D.

[Matapang, and his would-be killer]

Matapañg, the murderer of Fr. Sanvitores, was also to blame in part for, returning to Guam from the Island of Zarpana [Rota] whence [rather whither] he had fled, he was met by a Spaniard called Lorenzo Hernández de Puga, who with more spirit than

prudence, tried to seize him but was unable to do so, for the Indian was very robust, although of advanced age, and Lorenzo was alone. Matapañg escaped badly injured and returned again for Zarpana. There some of our soldiers hunted for him but could neither find him nor learn where he was hiding.

In order that their journey might not be fruitless, they employed their time removing two pieces of artillery from that Island to Guam [but] their work was interrupted by the receipt of the information that some Indians of the villages of **Targua** and **Guegu** had tried to kill a Father who had journeyed with them to that Island to look for children to baptize. He would have been killed, had not a Chief of the village of **Tito** prevented it.

The soldiers set out to administer punishment. The enemy took the offensive, making a shelter of their boats which they filled with sand, and throwing many lances at our men. But the soldiers, scorning them, and throwing themselves on the improvised trenches, put the enemy to flight, entered their villages, burned them and returned victorious to the Island of Guam, bringing one piece of artillery which they had laboriously salvaged from the 24 feet of water in which it was sunk, leaving the companion piece for another time.

Comment: The site of the 1601 shipwreck of the galleon **Santa Margarita** is located in the vicinity of these three former villages in Rota. Fr. Pobre had called them by the names of Tasgua, Guaco, and Atetito respectively. The story of the death of Brother Díaz is taken from the above-mentioned reports, except for the following:

[Anonymous letter to Fr. García, dated Marianas 25 May 1676]

Extract: I conclude with the words of a fellow-novice and companion of Brother Pedro [Díaz] in Madrid and on the long voyage to the Marianas, who wrote to me in a letter of 25 May 1676:¹ “I cannot restrain my tears for the loss of a brother and companion who was in every way so apt for this Mission, for his zeal in the salvation of souls, for his prudence, discretion, religious virtues and dexterity in this Mariano language, and whose ability in that line seemed miraculous, for in little more than a year that he lived in this Mission, having come here on the ship *Nuestra Señora del Buen Socorro* on 16 June 1674, he out-distanced others among us who had been here a longer time. He was killed for the defence of chastity, his beloved Jesus paying him with this fortunate death for the heroic vow he made at an early age and guarded all the days of his life. And his great love of virtue rested not only in himself but he was able to communicate it to others, avoiding failure with all his strength, never sparing labor or fatigue in order that the Divine Majesty might not be offended, especially in the matter which is so difficult to deal with in the Marianas.”

1 Ed. note: This has to be any one of the Jesuit brothers who were with him in the novitiate at Madrid in 1673 and arrived at Guam in 1674: Br. Agustín García (the prime "suspect", who may have been a relative of the author), Br. Pavón, or Br. Salazar. The original copy of this letter is probably lost.

Comment: A letter from Fr. San Basilio is quoted (see Doc. 1673H) as part of his eulogy; he was killed at Upi, northern part of Guam, on 17 January 1676. Another error of fact made by Fr. García is when he says that 4 new priests and 1 brother coadjutor arrived in 1676; only 2 new priests are on record. Fr. García quotes from the obituary of Fr. Monroy by Fr. Bouwens (Doc. 1676C2) when he mentions the marriages between foreigners (Spanish and Filipino) and local women, and the other events of 1676. An interesting note has to do with **the reconstruction of the garrison; the new enclosure was square and measured 150 paces to the side, and the church within the compound was rebuilt with adobe, the job being finished by mid-April 1677**. The church had a flat roof (azotea) and could be used as a rampart for defence. Many other buildings were immediately built of fireproof adobe.

[The inter-marriages]

Extract: And what shall I say about the native girls who were married to Spaniards and Filipinos, who lived contentedly in the garrison and were as fond of the Christian ways as if they had been accustomed to them all their lives? They attended mass every day, and afterwards returned to their family obligations, spending their days sewing, washing clothes and doing other household tasks. Outside their devotions they suffered the same risks, hardships, and lack of necessities that those of the garrison experienced, nor did they complain nor try to return to their people, which would have been an easy matter for them. Their constancy and affection for their husbands was due in a large part to the grace of the Sacrament of Matrimony, which is much to be esteemed and admired in a land where marriage lasts only so long as the wife wishes it; and where by their own free will, without cause or occasion whatever, wives leave their husbands and marry others.

Comment: When Fr. García wrote his book, he was missing the 1677-78 annual report; so, the events of that year are omitted by him.

Extract: The letters and documents that were despatched from the Marianas in 1678 never reached Spain, because of the loss of the ship that carried them. Thus it is that we lack first-hand information of the progress of Christianity in those Islands from June 1677 until June 1678, although we may infer from later letters that the wars continued, but with less force, while the fruits of Christianity were gathered with increasing success.

Comment: He goes on to describe the events from June 1678 to June 1679 (see Doc. 1679F), which is from the arrival of the galleon **San Telmo** at Umatac on 18 June 1678, with Governor Vargas Hurtado and the pilot Leandro Coello, until the galleon **San Antonio** arrived on 17 June 1679.

Comment: The events of 1679-80 in Fr. García's book are based on a letter from Fr. Besco (see Doc. 1680F), a long report by Fr. Coomans (Doc. 1680H), and another long report by Fr. Xaramillo (Doc. 1680T).

Extract: The same ship [1679] carried to the Philippines Fr. Francisco Salgado, coming from Europe where he was the Procurator in Rome for the said Province of the Philippines, and very fond of the Mission in the Marianas.

Comment: He writes that he was unable to step ashore or speak with any of the missionaries (see Doc. 1680L).

[The female chief of Sella Bay]

Extract: During this year the astuteness and courage of the Islanders themselves served quite as well as the Spanish arms to rid the Island of malefactors. This was started by a woman who governed, insofar as the Marianos will suffer government, the district called **Sydia**, in the southern part of Guam. This noble matron who was devoted to Christianity, counselled her people, who were already tired of constant unrest, to buy peace and friendship from the Spaniards by means of the punishment of delinquents.

Thus it was done. They delivered over to the Governor some of the men who were guilty of the murder of Fr. Ezquerra. Some were taken alive; of the others they delivered only the heads. This served to quiet the country, and those Indians were no longer fearful.

In **Fuufia** some Spanish soldiers found two of the principal instigators of the war of Orote and the death of Fr. Monroy and his associates. They were taken as prisoners to Agaña, where the worst offender of the two paid for his crime with his own life, while the other was set free, in order to give an example of justice and clemency.

I add here a tragi-comic occurrence which shows the zeal of the natives in this hunt for wrong-doers. They caught an Indian who bore the same name as one of the men they sought. The criminal, a parricide, had fled the Island but the man they caught was innocent. The Indians threw a rope around his neck and almost strangled him, meaning to take his head to the Governor. They left him a moment to go for a knife with which to decapitate the victim, when he, loosening the rope somewhat, was able to free himself. Fear of death gave him wings with which to flee from his pursuers. He presented himself before the Governor and by the aid of witnesses, established his innocence and the fact that he bore the name of that other man, but not the crime.

Comment: Between 1680 and the rebellion of 1684, Agaña had grown remarkably, as follows:

Extract: As a general rule, throughout all the battles and uprisings that were quelled during this year, Christ has won many souls...

But the greatest success was made in Agaña and its environs, where three *barrios* or large settlements have sprung up, and to which many Indians who lived in distant parts have lately moved, leaving their villages abandoned and even destroyed, the more firmly to establish themselves in their new location, from which they can more easily attend mass and doctrine, which they do in the manner we have previously described.

Comment: The last chapter of Fr. Garcia's book is taken from a personal letter written to him by Fr. Solorzano (Doc. 1681G), and from the 1680-81 annual report (Doc. 1681I), the last report that made it to Spain before the publication of this book in 1683.

Some notable events are worth quoting here:

[The story of Macazár]

Extract: There were others who knew that the gravity of their offenses excluded them from all hope of pardon, and were also aware that they would never be able to escape the diligent search of the Governor. There people tried to ingratiate themselves by seeking out the principal authors of the tumults and delivering them over to the Governor. One of those whom they seized in this manner was a Christian Indian named **Macazár**, who had been in these Islands since the wreck of the **Concepción** in 1638.

He had lived as a man without religion, and the Fathers had been unable, even from the beginning, to influence him with their counsel or with their advice that he come to live among the Christians. In recent years, he had become involved in the uprisings of the barbarians, until now, when he was a prisoner facing death, God opened his eyes. He came to himself and realized that divine justice more than human justice had made him prisoner; and weeping for his sins, begging to become reconciled with the Church, he at last merited the life eternal...

[The death of Matapang]

Extract: The news of what had been done on the Island of San Juan alone, alarmed the other islands. Thus it was that the cadaver of **Matapañg**, murderer of the Venerable Father Sanvitores, was brought from Rota to Guam. They had placed him alive in the boat, but he died on the way from the wounds he had suffered from the lances of the men who seized him.

This example was followed by the people of Tarragui who brought in the two killers of the Venerable Father Antonio María de San Basilio, one alive, the other dead. The former was soon executed, after having prepared himself for death in a Christian manner.

But the Governor ... paid a visit to Rota when the islanders least expected it ... seized **Aguarín**, a prime mover in the past wars,¹ as well as three other murderers of Fathers or soldiers, all of whom paid for their transgression with their lives.

[Construction of a network of improved trails in Guam]

Extract: Now that the Island of Guam was cleared of all disturbing elements and was pacified by punishment and fear, road building was begun. The dangerous passes and trails over steep cliffs were improved and made safer by the use of suitable iron tools. Not only were the Indians employed in this labor, but also the soldiers, on the example of their Captain who worked ceaselessly until roads were opened over which one could safely pass on foot or horseback.

1 Ed. note: Not mentioned here is the fact that Chief Aguarín had first been an ally of the Spanish (see Doc. 1675E) before he became alienated for some unstated reason.

Comment: Reductions were established at Inapsan, Pago, and Umatac. The church that was then built at Umatac was dedicated to San Dionisio Areopagite. A typhoon hit Guam on 11 November 1680 and destroyed all the native houses on the island, while the Spanish buildings in Agaña received only slight damage. The unfinished church of Pago, however, was just blown off.

Extract: This storm served a useful purpose in destroying the houses of the Indians, thus facilitating the matter of gathering them into the larger villages. The Fathers at this time persuaded them that rather than repair their old homes they should build new ones in the location assigned to them. And thus they did, hastening to complete their houses, for they were otherwise without shelter.

And with even greater haste the churches were completed, and on 8 December 1680, the church at Pago was dedicated with great rejoicing and general happiness.

On 11 December 1680, the church at Agat was begun, to which village many of the people from the north and west were assigned. The church was dedicated to Santa Rosa.

Also there was begun a church at Narajan [=Inarajan] in which village many were congregated from the southern part of the island, as well as people from the settlements in the hills and on the beaches. This church was dedicated to the Patriarch San José, the spouse of the Virgin Mary...

Thus the affairs of Christianity ran smooth until the beginning of February 1681. When the church of San Miguel in Inapsan was completed, a solemn dedication was planned in honor of that great Patron of the Islands, from whom, since the beginning, singular favors have been received. On the third of the said month, at midnight, someone set fire to the church in two places, but the guilty person was not known; and because the wood was dry, it burned quickly, together with the adjoining house of the Fathers. They were not able even to save the images, ornaments nor any articles, because when the Fathers arrived on the scene, having been called by the Indians at the first sight of fire, the entire structure was enveloped in flames.

[The boat voyage from Guam to the Philippines in 1681]

Extract: But this misfortune was soon followed by another distressing occurrence which was caused, not by the Indians, but by the Spanish soldiers of the garrison, and by which they did cause great harm to the whole Christian community.

Two Spaniards and three Filipinos, one morning, took the boat in which the Fathers usually went out to meet the galleons and receive their supplies, and in which they made other short journeys. And with no other supplies than a little water and three or four small baskets of vegetables, set out for Manila without stopping to consider the danger of the sea, nor the punishment that would await them if they ever arrived at that port. Perhaps they thought they would find protection among some of the enemies of the Mariana Mission. When their escape was known they were still within sight of Guam, but they could not be overtaken by the Indians who followed in their small boats.

But God, who knows how to obtain good from evil, gained from this flight a great benefit, for the boat arrived at Manila after only five or six days [sic], convincing by its

actual accomplishment those persons who believed it is impossible to sail that stretch of ocean which lies between the Philippines and the Marianas.

Comment: Six days from Guam to Manila is impossible. His informant says that they sighted the Philippines after 10 days.

[Concluding paragraph]

Fr. Sanvitores had firm hopes that the Faith might pass from these Mariana Islands to Japan, a mighty accomplishment at the cost of much labor and expense if this desire of all Christianity were ever obtained.

In order to promote these hopes, which are also the wishes of God, who desires the salvation of all souls, and of His Majesty whose interest is in the service of God, Fr. Antonio Xaramillo, of our Society and a missionary in the Marianas, wrote to the King [from Manila], setting forth the means necessary to the conservation and extension of Christianity. In this letter of 20 December 1680 [Doc. 1680T], he also replies to various objections which have been brought forward by persons who, in their animosity towards the Mariana Mission, are moved more by temporal interests than religious zeal, for the persecution which this Mission suffered in Manila, when Fr. Sanvitores first attempted its establishment, has not yet ceased. Winds and tempests are constantly raised against it, and will be until the Lord of the Elements commands the storm to cease and the winds to obey him. Or perhaps his piety may convert the tempest into good fortune, the contradiction into zeal, in order that the fruits of Heaven may be harvested in abundance on the earth already showered by the blood of the First Apostle, and many Apostolic Companions. May he send new laborers to this region where the harvest is heavy and the workers few, inspiring them all with the spirit of his great servant, Fr. Diego Luis de Sanvitores. And we who cannot assist in any other way in the salvation of these souls, can help the Missionaries with prayers, penitence, and tears, in order that in those who live in the shadow of death, may be born the light of the Faith, so that all men may know, praise and glorify Jesus Christ our Savior and Redeemer, who lives and reigns with the Father and the Holy Spirit, forever and ever. Amen.

A closing note by the Editor.

In 1769, in Manila, at the time of the expulsion of the Jesuits, among the papers seized by Judge Commissioner Galvan, there was seized, among documents that had been stored in the Office of the Fr. Provincial, inside a filing cupboard-type cabinet, a packet of letters described as having belonged to Fr. Diego Luis San Vitores. They included some letters from him, bearing his own signatures, as well as letters from the Ven. Fr. Luis de la Puente, relics of St. Ignatius, relics of St. Francis Borgia, and the signature of the saintly Archbishop of Mexico, Francisco de Sayjas [sic]. There was evidence that the letters from Fr. Puente had been removed officially; it apparently had been concerning a relic of St. Ignatius, as acknowledged by a letter dated Madrid 1668.

I suspect that this packet was the source of the letters from Fr. Sanvitores dated before 1668, some of which were acquired by the Nagasaki Martyrs' Shrine in modern times, and most of which have since been transferred to ARSI, in Rome.

Document 1681B

Population of the Mariana Islands in early times, by Fr. Pastor

Source: Guam Recorder, February 1939, pp. 24, 41-42.

Note: The author's name, Fr. Pastor, appears to be a pseudonym for a Catholic priest serving in Guam; perhaps it was the American Fr. Sylvester Staudt.

Question.

In the Question Box, Guam Recorder, August 1938, appeared the following:

In **Vida y Martirio de el Venerable Padre Diego Luis de Sanvitores**, or 'First History of Guam', we find a statement, on page 197 of the original Spanish text which, translated into English says: "The number of inhabitants of the Marianas is great. On the Island of Guam it reaches 50,000; on some other islands, 40,000; and on others less."

5. Is this statement of the author, Father García, correct?

6. What other evidence is available which indicated that the above numbers were highly exaggerated?

Answer.

Before disputing Father García's statements, we are going to make to the best of our ability an estimate of the total number of inhabitants of the Marianas.

García states that in Guam there were 50,000 inhabitants; on the other islands 40,000, that is 40,000 each. And we ask: On how many islands were there 40,000? We might say that there were at least two other islands in the Marianas having 40,000 inhabitants. Together they would have contained 80,000, and adding these to the 50,000 of Guam, we have 130,000 inhabitants!

Father García continues: "And on others less." It is recorded in the history of Sanvitores that the number of islands discovered in the Marianas group by the Jesuit missionaries was 13 (Sanvitores, p. 193). Not counting the island of Guam, nor the two others, there remain 10 islands of which we do not know the population in those ancient times. Estimating an average of a thousand inhabitants per island, we have, counting

all the Marianas Islands, no less than 140,000 inhabitants at the coming of “the conquerors”.

We who know inch by inch the Island of Guam, the largest of the Mariana group, and we who know, moreover, the territorial extent of the other islands and their topography and conditions—wonderfully described in his **History of the Marianas Islands** by the finest ruler of the Marianas, Don Felipe de la Corte (1855-1866)—believe with all sincerity that García is not exact on this point because he, himself, in other parts of his book contradicts his own statements.

It was in the time of Father Sanvitores, **when the Chamorros had not as yet been exterminated by the conquerors,**¹ that, in the year 1672, “Sanvitores decided to erect four churches which the people might more conveniently attend, and assigned forty towns (pueblos) to each church” (Sanvitores, p. 287). Then what could have been the population of those ancient “towns” if to each church forty of them were assigned?

There are other statements of García wherein these groups of population are called “ranches, very small towns, or hamlets (*rancherías, ó pueblecitos pequeños*)” (Sanvitores, p. 584).

When in 1680 the Spanish decided to establish regular towns in Guam, “they sought locations more fitting for the development of large towns, where the Indians, who had been divided up into ranches and **small towns**, could be gathered together” (Sanvitores, p. 584). And, therefore, the following towns were formed: **Inapsan**, situated on the northern coast of the island, “which was in the center of many little towns or ranches” (Sanvitores, p. 584); **Pago**, into which were united the neighboring towns (Sanvitores, p. 584); **Agat**, the village in which were included **many** of the bands [sic] from the north and west (Sanvitores, p. 586); and **Naraian** (Inarajan), where some bands of the south united with the other towns of the mountains and sea coast (Sanvitores, p. 586).

Don Felipe de la Corte states: “They invited to these towns all the adjoining ranches or small groups of ranches” (page 46 of my particular copy). And he states in another place: “And congregated in them (the new towns) the **many small villages or ranches**”. Also, Redondo, in his **Brief Historical Review**, p. 73, speaks of Agaña, the principal town of **180 small towns (*villas or rancherías*) that were in Guahan**”. Sanvitores, p. 212 calls them **lugares**, very small towns.

There is a statement in **Life of Sanvitores**, page 245, (Guam Recorder, September 1937) that in the first 8 months more than 30,000 were baptized in these islands. The

1 Most publications concerning Guam refer to the “extermination” of the male Chamorros by the Spaniards. The author of this article evidently does not find in the “First History of Guam” any justification for the charge that the Spaniards exterminated the male Chamorros.

writer has in his possession a photostatic print of a page from an old book¹ showing an original report of Father Sanvitores in which this statement is made. The report gave the figure as 13,289, with real signs of addition of the last figure, “9”. This number “9” is in a different hand than the context. We might suppose, then, that the correct figure was 1,328, which would not appear too small.²

Another indication of the population of Guam is the number of warriors who were in the field besieging the Spaniards in the year 1671. Father García’s original text states there were more than 2,000 native fighters opposed to the Spanish soldiers. If the population of Guam was 50,000, why was the rebel army only about 2,000 in number when the whole island was in rebellion?

Considering these facts, I believe we can say with all justification that the figures given by García in his eulogy of Sanvitores were inconsistent with other assertions of the same history; but we have more than enough reason to assert that the number of inhabitants as set down by him is greatly exaggerated.

As much as we have studied the original sources of primitive times, we sincerely believe that there were in Guam at the coming of Sanvitores no less than 6,000 inhabitants, nor more than 10,000.³

Furthermore, there is no record that Sanvitores himself ever stated how many inhabitants there were in the Marianas (Ladrones) Islands. Father García spoke extravagantly of the great number, but he **never did make an actual estimate of the population**. We also know that there is no record of a census of the Marianas Islands until 1710 when the population of Guam and Rota was found to be 3,678 (Felipe de la Corte, p. 49 of my copy).⁴

In about 1700 there had been a plague which had greatly reduced the population.
/s/ Father Pastor

1 Description of the book was given in the Guam Recorder, June 1938, in the article “Historic Documents”. The book is in the General Archives of the Jesuits in Rome, Italy.

2 Ed. note: Maybe so, but if anyone falsified the numbers, it was the Mariana missionaries themselves, not Fr. García. For a proof, see the number 13,289 written out fully using Spanish words on the left-hand side of the illustration that accompanies Doc. 1669B4.

3 Ed. note: Father Pastor may have exaggerated in the other direction. It is possible that there were over 13,000 baptized before Fr. Sanvitores’ death in 1672, and therefore a total population in the whole of the Marianas of as much as 20,000 inhabitants in 1668, but certainly no more than that.

4 Ed. note: The author was not then fully informed. In fact, the Guam Recorder itself published the first church census of Guam, made in 1693, in its March 1940 issue (see Doc. 1693C). It is also true that Fr. Sanvitores signed the reports written by Br. Bustillo, obviously without having read them.

Documents 1681C

News from Manila in 1681

C1. Letter from Fr. Francisco de Rayo y Torres to Fr. Superior of the Mariana Mission, dated Manila 28 January 1681

Source: Present location unknown; 6-page ms. offered for sale by Maggs Bros. of London in 1923 for 25 pounds sterling (Cat. N° 442, n° 1865, p. 140).

Extracts from this letter

...
Calculating that you would not have proceeded to Spain for lack of ships, I sent a letter to Mexico by the ship **San Telmo** which I think must have reached you there...

With the arrival of the vessel and the General... I heard of your voyage and the trouble to which you were put on my account and that of the Society, whose gratitude goes out to you.

[The writer sets forth in detail certain financial losses which he has sustained, but philosophically remarks that it will be balanced in some other way,]

... for, in the end, to the Lord belongs that which he giveth and taketh away...

In addition to my own troubles, I have had to bear with the unexpected accident which has befallen my brother, General Sebastian Rayo... On 26 August [1680] the Governor sent to his house a Decree [appointing him to the post of] Governor and Deputy Captain-General of the Mariana Islands, which he was unable to accept in view of the fact that he was engaged upon Government work, from which he could only be released by permission from the King... He begged to be excused... but notwithstanding this, the Governor ordered that 8 soldiers should take him prisoner and put him in Fort Santiago, forbidding anybody to speak to him; not allowing any written message to be delivered; denying him his very rights as a human being... until he was made to embark in a sloop which had been built in the port of Cavite, for the purpose of carrying supplies to the Mariana Islands, without first giving him the opportunity to prepare for this voyage along a newly-discovered route.

On 24 or 25 November of last year, a **comet** was seen to the east, with two small stars, one at each end, and in the middle was a feathery mass of colored vapor, whose crest, they said, traversed the Sign of Leo, and is in bad aspect to Hydra, which represents heresy, and as there has been much contention in England, they say it denotes the downfall of heresy, others ascribing to the arms of Holland (which is represented by a lion) complete ruin. Others again say that, as the lion represents our King, it signifies the destruction of heresy.

[In fact, the interpretation of these grave portents was left to the choice of his astrological friends.]

On 18 December, another comet was seen at noon, although they say it may have been the same one, whose resplendant light was clearly visible between the sun's rays. On the 24th of that month, they began to perceive a comet in the western sky, with a small head and a tail so long as to cause one to wonder, and reflect that there is no-one in these parts who ever saw or heard of such a marvel, of indescribable grandeur, the length of it well-nigh embracing one-third of this hemisphere.

[He describes an incident from a letter he received from Fr. Balthasar de Santa Cruz, dated at the time of the comet was seen, in which he says:]

In the province of Cagayan they heard, between 10 and 11 one night, two detonations as of artillery which aroused the inhabitants... and they felt compelled to sally forth and discover the cause of the noise. The garrison took up arms and made their way to the shore, thinking to encounter enemy ships, when—there was nothing upon the waters to be seen, which terrified them more than ever. On asking some Indians whom they came upon, fishing in the sea, they were told that these natives had seen two balls of fire which, colliding in mid-air, fell into the sea, with the resounding crash which the others had heard...

Etc.

C2. Report written by an anonymous Jesuit in the Philippines

Source: RAH 9/2677. Note: The probable author was the interim Provincial, Fr. Estrada.

Original extract in Spanish.

Gaceta desde el Junio pasado de 80 hasta el presente de 681.

De vuelta de Nao vajo el Padre Antonio Xaramillo, embiado de la Mission Mariana, para solicitar la embarcacion tan necessaria, al aumento y conservacion de aquellas Nuevas Christiandades; y con su llegada a esta Ciudad, resucitaron las esperanças, que con tantos impossibles, y contradicciones, se lloraban con difuntas. Afervorizaronse los animos del Gobierno, y mas aviendose ofrezido a hazer el viage un Piloto que acababa de llegar de Nueva España llamado D. Francisco Lezcano. Pusose luego en hastillero la embarcacion, que fue una Balandra vaso a satisfacion fuerte, ligero, y poco menor que un Patache mediano. Concluido la fabrica por Agosto del mismo año se señalo de la Comp^a por Capellan al Padre Francisco Xavier de Orellana, de la Mission del Padre Pedro de Espinar; y por parte de Gobier-

no fue nombrado el General Rayo, para yr por cavo a dichas Islas. Escusose por sus muchos achaques, cargo de Secretario de la Ciudad, y carga de hijos; pusieronle en la fuerza con grandes aprietos, y orden de que nadie le hablase; registrabasele la comida, ropa, y hasta el pan se le daba partido. El motivo de tanto golpe, dicen unos fue el haver escrito en nombre de la Ciudad contra el Governador otros que eran resultas de los alborotes de D. Juan Manuel, en cuyo tiempo se hallava alcalde de la Ciudad dicho General.— La causa primera parece irracional pues fuera mal caso rezarse la justicia con delito de lesa Magestad estorbando el recurso de los vasallos. Hubo grandes empeños de Obispo[,] Religiones, Audiencia y estado secular pero, en vano, pues aprestada la Balandra le embarcaron con dos pares de grillos.

Despachase el Titulo de Cavo de Marianas a D. Joseph de Quiroga, y Lossada soldado veterano, y Alférez reformado en Flandes; mozo de escogidas prendas aprovada virtud, valor, prudencia, y zelo; a quien con singular providencia parece saco Dios del retiro del desierto en que se hallaba cerca de Salamanca para dar forma y adelantar aquellas misiones.

Llevo orden la Balandra para volverse por Isla Hermosa y Cavo de Engaño, para averiguar una nueva, que avia corrido del Sipuan, que expulso totalmente de la China, vendria a dar sobre estas Islas; y quando esperabamos se hubiere ya acabado de encontrar cavo y fin del Engaño, entablado el viage a los pobres Marianos; a siete de fevrero volvio de arribada la Balandra, despues de cinco meses de viage, y repetidos Baugios [=baguios]. Hallabanse ya cerca de la Isla por nombre Rota segunda de las Marianas, quando a onze de Noviembre, vispera del dia, en que esperaban llegar a tierra, cuias señas avian ya descubierto, les sobrevino un recio temporal, que les arrojó hazia la Batachina y quebrado el timon, arrebatadas jarcias, y velas, andubieron batallando entre las olas quarenta oras, y sin poder a tener a la furia de los mares, se vieron obligados a volver al puerto; pero aqui encontraron la borrasca mayor [del] vulgo, que sobre la experiencia de un solo viage en lo mas riguroso de los confirmaba del todo por imposible el camino y comercio con dichas Islas.

Hizo su Señoría no pocas demostraciones de sentimiento. Mando poner en la fuerza con grillos embargados sus vienes al Cavo D. Francisco Lezcano, pero informado poco despues de haver hecho las diligencias posibles, se le fueron al[fi]jado las penas, a diligencias del General Andaya, y Garzia, que dicen hizo empeño por ser cossa tocante a la Comp^a. Al General Rayo volvieron a la fuerza de Manila donde esta al presente con mejor tratamiento y asistencia.

Con ocasion de la arribada, vajo de Antipolo (donde se hallaba aprendiendo lengua) el Padre Antonio Xaramillo, (sugeto verdaderamente de prima cha[ritad?]) y que con sus prendas fervor, y apacible trato se ha hecho singular cavida, no so[lo] en Palacio, sino en los animos de toda la Republica) fue a vissitar al Governador observose explicaba con condiciones, de que si volviere a navegar la Balandra si se ofreciese volver a intentar el camino &a. Que dize V. Señoría replico el Padre esso es desauziarnos [=deasociarnos?] del viage. Concedio de plano que no podia navegar la embarcacion. Replicosele con apretadas razones, que podia pues apenas se dio a la vela quando ya todos decian que ninguno avia dado por imposible el viage; sino es que solo reparaban en el tiempo de la salida, que no avia sido aproposito, y V.S^a (añadio el Padre) me acaba de dezir esto mismo, haviendose lenguas de la embarcacion, y que ha aguantado tanto, quanto quiza no aguantara un Galeon luego la dificultad, ya no esta en el Golfo, ni en la Balandra, sino es en el tiempo; pues ay mas que enmendar para otra vez, lo que se erro en esta; y como ahora se despacho por Septiembre que es lo mas furioso del año, despacharla otra vez, por Abril y Mayo tiempos bonanciles. Ademas Señor que no bolviendo a hazerse el viage, como se cumplira con las Zedulas? Y V.S^a me esta diciendo que su Magd. encarga con todo aprieto, se haga embarcacion para

*el Comercio de Marianas con Philipinas; pues comercio no se haze con un solo viage, ni se puede afirmar con verdad se han hecho todas las diligencias si esta embarcacion hubiera llegado a Marianas, claro esto que avia de proseguir con sus viages; pues es posible que con sola una vez se ha de desistir de la empresa. Quando una Nao arriba, o se pierde, no solo no se desiste, sino es que con mayor empeño se procura recompensar la perdida en el despacho de la siguiente Nao; pues porque no se hara lo mesmo en una embarcacion, cuyos viages se ordenan a la propagacion de la fee; y hablemos claro Señor; el viage no quieren los de Manila que se haga, porque no este abierta la puerta a un desterradero, como el antiguo de Terrenate, y Samboangan; y por arrancarle a V.S^a la Balandra daran los vezinos mas de lo que vale, pues tiran no tanto a pagar el casco, quanto a asegurar la conveniencia de no ser desterrados en ella. Hizole gran fuerza la raçon, y concluyo diciendo que eran unos ttraydores solapados &c**

*Por fines de Março del corriente se vinieron huidos de Marianas cinco soldados en una Barca de la Mission, aportaron a Tayabas donde la dejaron y se vinieron a Manila, donde andan escondidos por temor del castigo. Trageron por nuevas como murio el Padre Bartholome Besco, de su muerte natural, por Julio de 80[.] Sucedióle en el officio el Padre Manuel de Solorzano. El Cavo de las Marianas es D. Joseph de Quiroga y Lossada que proçede como un Angel y quemo a dos soldados Españoles, por no se que zenisas de sodoma: quito la vida al traydor **Matapan**, matador del Padre S. Vitores, ahorco a otros 15 malhechores. Dio una embestida a la segunda Isla, y sus rebeldes con diversos castigos; que la Isla primera llamada Goan, esta ya sugeta pacífica del todo, y reduzida a seis Ministerios y Parroquias mui numerosas. En la cavezera principal del pueblo de **Agatña** asiste el Padre Superior Manuel de Solorzano. El Padre Thomas Cardenoso en el partido de **Fuuña**. Padre Lorenzo Bustillo en el de **Umatag**. Padre Vallejo en **Sasayan**. Padre Pedro Comano en **Pàgo**. Padre Gerardo Bobens en **Inapsan**, a donde se han reduzido los pueblos de **Tarragui**, **Ritidyan**, **Opi**, **Taopi**, y **Naigao**.*

Hizose Mission en el Puerto de Cavite...

...

*Hizose nuevo Barco para Marianas, y el General Andaya ha prometido hazer otro a su costa para dejarle en Marianas, y que el del Rey le armara 200 leguas antes de llegar a las Islas para que mas en brebe, y sin riesgo se desembarquen de una vez las cosas de aquella Mission. La Balandra se despacho a Sian y en ella el Capitan Bentura. La causa del viage dizen fue traer arroz, que aunque por aca no falta, pero los generos del grano de alli son muy regalados. Si dicha Balandra vuelve a tiempo, hara tambien viage a Marianas, que dize su Señoria quiere como catholico tener parte en aquella Mission, y que en el Rey le reprehende en algun tiempo, ni la Comp^a le punze. O Divino amor? O temor humano!! **vel utrumque**.*

...

En Taytay hizo el Padre Francisco Salgado un organo mui lindo... Al Padre Salgado suçedio en Taytay el Padre Melendez que ha hecho una campana famosa...

[Abrupt ending. Left unsigned]

Translation.

Gazette from last June 1680 until June of this year 1681.

When the galleon returned, Father Antonio Xaramillo disembarked from her. He was sent by the Mariana Mission to solicit the vessel that is so necessary for the increase and preservation of those new Christian communities. His arrival at this City marked

a renewal of hopes that had previously died as a result of so many contradictions and blockages. The spirits of those in government were revived, the more so because a pilot recently arrived from New Spain, named Don Francisco Lezcano [sic], volunteered to make the voyage. The keel of a vessel¹ was then laid out in the shipyard; it was a sloop, a vessel of satisfactory size, strong yet light, and a little smaller than an average-size patache. Once the construction was over in August of the same year, the Society assigned as its chaplain Father Francisco Xavier de Orellana, from the mission band of Father Pedro de Espinar.² On the part of the Government, General Rayo was appointed to go as commander of said Islands. He begged to be excused on account of his many ills, his charge of Secretary of the Municipal Council, and family responsibilities. He was placed in the fort [of Cavite] with great care, and an order was issued preventing anyone from speaking to him; his food and clothing were searched, and even his bread was given to him only after it had been cut open. Some say that the reason for such a coup is that he had written against the Governor on behalf of the City; others say that it was the result of the revolts of Don Juan Manuel, at the time that said General was Mayor of the City.—The first reason appears irrational; indeed, one cannot extol justice in a case of lèse majesté by preventing the vassals from having recourse. There were great efforts made by the Bishop, the religious Orders, the Audiencia and the secular state, but in vain; indeed, as soon as the sloop was ready they placed him on board with two pairs of fetters.

A paper appointing Don Joseph de Quiroga y Losada as Commander of the Marianas was despatched. He is a veteran soldier and had been promoted to Lieutenant while in Flanders. He is a lad of select qualities, of recognized virtue, valor, prudence, and zeal. It appears that it was by special providence of God that he was taken out of retirement in the desert where he was found near Salamanca in order to give shape and develop those missions.

The sloop carried an order to return via Hermosa Island and the Cape of Engaño, in order to ascertain the news that was making the rounds to the effect that Sipuan, who had been totally expelled from China, would come to attack these Islands. But when we were hoping that it would have already found the cape and point of Engaño, and undertaken the voyage toward the poor Marianos, on 7 February, the sloop returned in distress, after a voyage of 5 months, and repeated storms. They had been already close to the Island named Rota, the second one of the Marianas, when on 11 November, on the eve of the day they hoped to make the land, whose signs of nearness they had already discovered, a great storm arose, that threw them back toward Batachina [i.e. Halmahera], broke the rudder and brought down the rigging and sails. They floated about, battling the waves, for 40 hours, without being able to resist the fury of the seas, and were forced to return to port. However, here they met with the greatest

1 Ed. note: The name of this sloop was San Francisco Xavier (see Doc. 1683B).

2 Ed. note: Fr. Orellana, born 1654 in Casas de Reina in Extremadura, was of dark complexion, of average height but stocky, and had small eyes, according to the official inspection before leaving Spain (ref. Col. Pastells, Fil. 16, fol. 46).

tempest of all on the part of the vulgar crowd, that is, for most of them the experience gained by only one voyage confirmed that the [direct] route and connection with said Islands was totally impossible.

His Lordship made not a few demonstrations of regret. He ordered that the captain, Don Francisco Lezcano, be placed in the fort with fetters and his property seized, but an inquiry that took place a little afterward found that he had made all possible efforts, and the charges were reduced, upon the intervention of General Andaya y García; some say that he intervened because the affair is one that concerns the Society. As for General Rayo, they returned him to prison, but in Manila, where he is presently being treated and assisted better.

On the occasion of the return in distress, Father Antonio Xaramillo came down from Antipolo (where he had been studying the language; this man is truly one of prime charity, and his qualities, fervor, and peaceful countenance have given him a special influence, not only in the Palace, but in the minds of the whole Government). He went to see the Governor [who] explained the conditions under which the sloop might undertake the voyage again, should it attempt the route once more, etc. What is your Lordship saying, replied the Father, is that we are to give up the voyage. He then affirmed that the vessel could not sail. He was answered in turn with as many careful reasons as he could, e.g. indeed, it had hardly sailed when already all said that no-one had thought the voyage impossible; rather, they only commented upon the time of the departure, which had not been suitable. Your Lordship (added the Father) has just finished telling me the same thing, having received news of the vessel, and that it had withstood so much that perhaps a galleon would not have withstood so much trouble, and it was not yet in the wide ocean. The fault lies not in the sloop but in the timing; indeed, there is much to improve the next time around, over the errors made this time, given that it was despatched this time in September, which is the most furious month of the year. It should be despatched once more, but in April and May, when the weather is favorable. In addition, Sir, if the voyage is not tried again, how will you comply with the decrees? And if Your Lordship is telling me that His Majesty has ordered that a vessel be built with all care, to maintain contact between the Marianas and the Philippines, well then, contact cannot be maintained with just one voyage, nor is it possible to state truthfully that all efforts have been made, if this vessel had [not] reached the Marianas. It is clear that it has to pursue with its voyages; indeed, it is possible that after just one voyage it has to desist from the enterprise. When a galleon turns back, or is lost, not only does she not desist, but an even greater effort is made to try and compensate for the loss in the despatch of the next galleon. Indeed, why is not the same thing done in the case of a vessel whose voyages have been ordered to propagate the faith? Let us speak frankly, Sir. The residents of Manila do not want the voyage to be made, to prevent the opening of a doorway to a land of exile, like the former Ternate, and Zamboanga; and to grab the sloop away from Your Lordship, the residents are willing to buy it for more than it is worth; in fact, their intention is not to pay so much for that hull, but to make

sure that it will not be used to take them into exile. This reason made a great impression on him, and he concluded by saying that they were some sneaky traitors, etc.

At the end of March of the present year, there came five soldiers who had fled from the Marianas aboard a boat belonging to the Mission. They made port in Tayabas where they left it and came to Manila, where they go around secretly, for fear of punishment. They brought the news of the death of Father Bartolomé Besco, of natural causes, in July 1680. Father Manuel de Solorzano succeeded him in the post. The Commander of the Marianas is Don Joseph de Quiroga y Losada, who behaves like an angel and executed two Spanish soldiers by firing squad, for I do not know what latent sodomy. He took the life of the traitor **Matapan**, the killer of Father San Vitores, and gave the choking collar to 15 other evil-doers. He attacked the second Island, and inflicted various punishments to the rebels there. As for the first Island, named Goan, it is already subjected, peaceful in every way, and reduced to six ministries or parishes, well populated. Father Superior Manuel de Solorzano resides in the capital or main town of **Agaña**. Father Thomas Cardeñoso is in the district of **Fuñña**. Father Lorenzo Bustillo is in that of **Umatag**. Father Vallejo in **Sasayan** [rather Inarajan?]. Father Pedro Comano is in **Pago**. Father Gerardo Bobens [sic] is in **Inapsan**, to which place have been reduced the towns of **Tarragui**, **Ritidyan**, **Opi**, **Taopi**, and **Naigao**.¹

A mission was held in the port of Cavite...

...

A new boat was built for the Marianas, and General Andaya has promised to built another one at his expense to leave in the Marianas. He says that he will assemble the official boat 200 leagues before getting to the Islands so that the things of that Mission will be unloaded at once, faster and without any risk. As for the sloop, it was despatched to Sian under Captain Ventura. They say that the reason for this voyage was to get rice, although there is no shortage of it here, but the kind of grain available overthere is much appreciated. If said sloop returns on time, it will also make the voyage to the Marianas. His Lordship says that, as a Catholic, he wishes to take part in that Mission, so that the King will not be able to reprehend him later on, nor the Society sting him. Is this Divine love? Is it human fear, or both?

...

In Taytay, Father Francisco Salgado built a very beautiful organ... Father Melendez, who succeeded Father Salgado in Taytay, has made a famous bell...

[Abrupt ending. Left unsigned.]

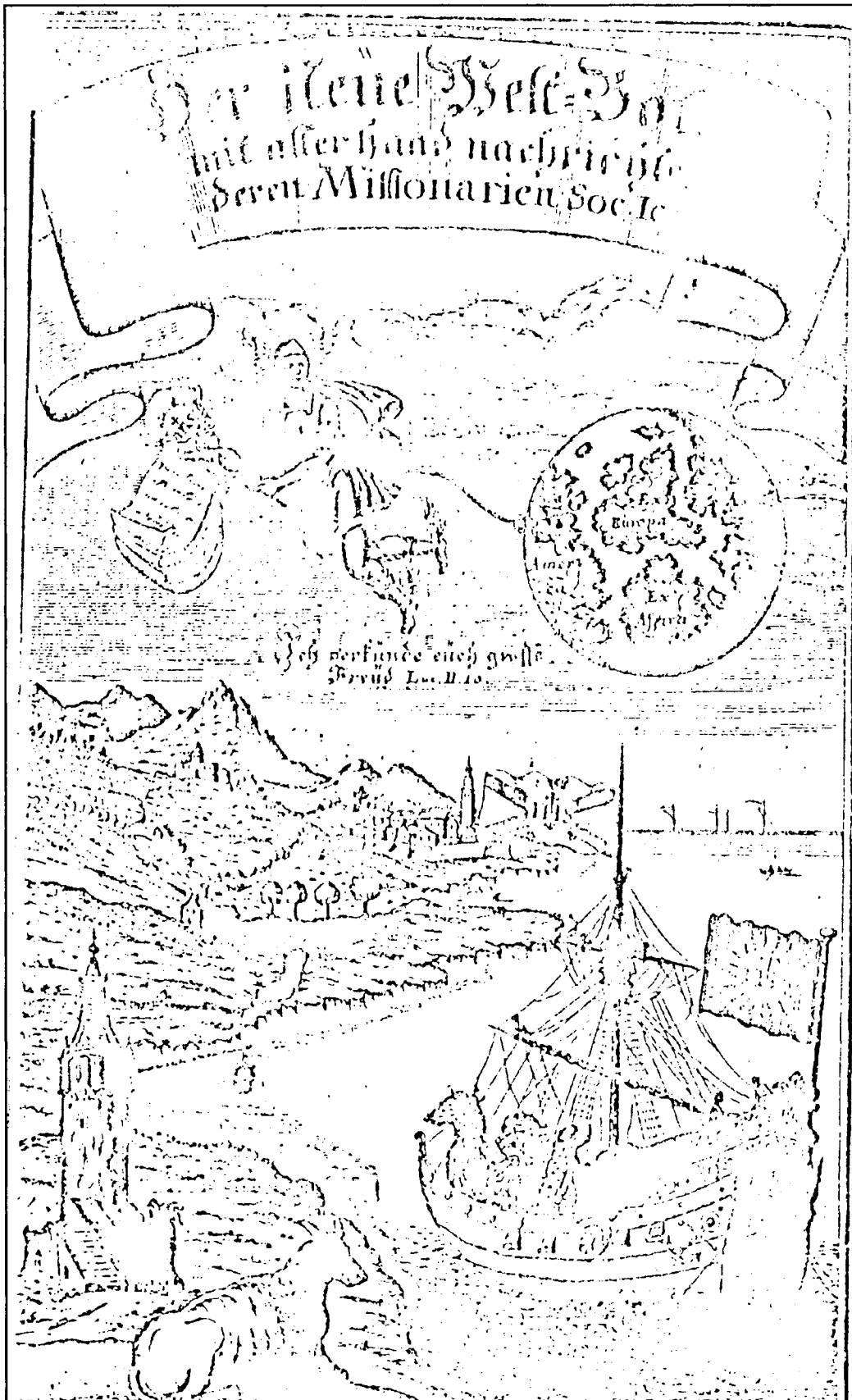
1 Ed. note: This is the only reference I have ever seen to two place names in the northern part of Guam, Taopi and Naigao. The author's informants were the soldiers who fled Guam with the mission boat. My educated guess is that Taopi is a misprint for Pati, situated at the NE tip of the Island of Guam. As for Naigao, it is probably the same as Nihigo, another name for Fasonan, which was next to Urunao on the NW coast, according to map engraved at Madrid in 1852 under the supervision of Lieut.-Colonel Francisco Coello.

Allerhand
 So Lehr- als Geist-reiche
 Brief/ Schrifften
 und
 Reis-Beschreibungen/
 Welche von denen
MISSIONARIIS
 der Gesellschaft Jesu
 Aus
 Beyden Indien/
 und andern
 Über Meer gelegenen Ländern/
 Seit An. 1642. bis auf das Jahr 1726.
 in EUROPA angelangt seynd.
 Jetzt zum erstemal
 Theils aus Handschriftlichen Urkunden/
 theils aus denen Französischen Lettres Edifiantes
 verteutschet und zusammen getragen
 Von
 Joseph Stöcklein/ gedächster Societät Jesu Priester.

Erster Band oder die 8. Erste Theil.
*Cum Privilegio Caesareo & Superiorum Facultate ac Indice
 locupletissimo.*

Mugsburg und Grätz/

Im Verlag Philipp/ Moritz/ und Joh. Neithsel. Erben/ Buchhändlern/ 1726.



Der Neue Welt-Bott

The New-World Messenger

Source: The German-language series of volumes entitled: Der Neue Welt-Bott mit aller hand nachrichten deren Missionarien Soc. Jesu (see illustrations on previous pages).

Missionary letters from and about the Mariana Mission

Introduction.

The frontispiece of Volume 1 of this series of volumes, reproduced on page 424, shows the short title chosen for the series, which can be translated as follows: “The New-World Messenger with various manuscripts by Jesuit missionaries.” The message below the angel figure reads: “[The angel said to them...] I bring you news of a great rejoicing.” (Luke 2:10).

The title page of Volume 1 (on page 423) can be translated as follows: “Various instructive as well as ingenious letters, reports and travel diaries written by missionaries of the Society of Jesus from the Indies, including countries beyond the seas, between 1642 and 1726, and sent to Europe where they were eagerly awaited. Now appearing for the first time are original documents and also extracts from the French *Lettres édifiantes*,¹ translated into German and compiled by Joseph Stöcklein, S.J. Volume 1, or first of 8 parts, with copyright from the Imperial Government and the full permission of the Superiors. Published in Augsburg and Gratz, by Messieurs Philips, Martins, and the heirs of Johann Beith, booksellers, 1726.”

By way of historical background, it is known that many German-speaking Jesuits served in the Mariana Islands. The Jesuit Assistance for Germany was then the largest and included geographic areas now known as Germany, the Czech Republic (Bohemia and Moravia), Austria, Hungary, Croatia, Switzerland and northern Italy. These

1 Ed. note: The *Lettre édifiantes*, or Edifying Letters, were published in Paris by Fr. Charles Le Gobien, *et al.*, beginning in 1703.

Jesuits had a publication similar to the better-known *Lettres édifiantes*, where letters from Jesuit missionaries all over the world were published, in French.

The German publication—commonly referred to as *Welt-Bott*, for short—was first edited by Father Joseph Stöcklein in Augsburg but was continued by other editors and at other places until the 1760s, when the Jesuit Order was abolished by the Pope. At that time, a total of 36 volumes had been published, with many letters originating in the Marianas.¹

Many of the German documents that were published were written by Jesuit missionaries in Guam, Rota and Saipan between 1677 and 1744; there are at least 24, and at most 27 documents issued from, or about, the Marianas and the Carolines. At least 15 of them were written after 1700, and we know that the first half of the 18th century is not a well-known period in Micronesian history. So far, few historians of Micronesia have known of, or consulted, said German documents, because all volumes of *Welt-Bott* are rare books, and a complete set is extremely hard to find.²

There is plenty of "new" information to be garnered, but I have excluded from the present series those documents for which I have found the Latin, or Spanish, original copies elsewhere. For instance, I will exclude the letters concerning Father Cantova's exploration of the Carolines, and other letters already published, in French, by Fr. Le Gobien, some of which were subsequently translated into English by Lockman (1743), and re-translated back to Spanish by Fr. Davin (1753-57). Therefore, that leaves at least 24 documents whose original manuscripts, in Latin or Spanish, have been lost, and the only versions we have are the German ones in *Welt-Bott*.

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- 1 Ed. note: Fr. Henri Bernard (in his book *Monumenta Nipponica*, Tokyo, 1943) says that 4 more volumes were ready to print, and they are preserved in the manuscript collection of University of Vienna Library.
 - 2 Ed. note: However, I have discovered a complete set in Brussels, in the private collection of the Bollandists. It is not permitted to make copies of any kind, but I was given an informal permission to transcribe them, from Gothic German. Alternatively, I believe that the Library of Congress has some volumes (or only microfilms).

Document 1681D

Letter from Fr. Boranga to Fr. David Loys, dated Acapulco 27 March 1681

Source: Stöcklein's Welt-Bott I, n° 2.

Note: According to Fr. de la Costa's book "The Jesuits in the Philippines," the manuscript of this letter is kept in the archives of the old Province of Aragon of the Jesuits, in Barcelona, under #E-I-a-18.

Original text in German.

Brief des gottseeligen Manns P. Caroli Boranga

der Gesellschaft Jesu, Missionarii aus der Oesterreichischen Provintz/ welcher von den Spaniern P. Joannes Baptista Perez de Caladajul genannt wird/ und auf denen Marianischen Insuln um des Glaubens willen den Todt ausgestanden hat. An P. David Loys gedachter Societät Priestern. Geschrieben in dem Meerhafen Acapulco den 27. Mertzen 1681.

Innhalt: *Seine Begierde nach denen Marianischen Insuln. Anschlag deren Spaniern auf die Eilande Palaos. Seine Demuth. Die Spanier geben denen Teutschen Missionariis andere Nahmen.*

Ehrwürdiger Pater in Christo!

P.C.

Bevor ich in diesem Meerhafen das Schiff/ so den Augenblick wird unter Segel gehen/ besteige/ nimm ich durch disz kurtze Brieflein von Euer Ehrwürden noch einmahl Urlaub/ mit hefftiger Bitt/ dieselbe wollen meines hohen/ zugleich aber sehr schwehren und gefährlichen Beruffs in ihren Andachten inngedenck seyn; wie nicht weniger so wohl meiner Mutter als Schwester in ihren Angelegenheiten vätterlich an die Hand gehen. Hergegen werde ich nicht unterlassen E.E. aus Asien eines und das andere zu berichten; dann ich gehe graden Weegs in die Marianische Insuln mit dererselben neuen Gubernatore, der sich mit mir auf einem Schiff befindet/ mit Vorhaben/ wie er sagt/ zu Folg Königlichen Befehls mehrere gegen Mittag gelegene Insuln selbiger Gegend dem Spanischen/ und zugleich dem Christlichen Joch des Evangelii zu unterwerffen/ von dannen aber in Terram Australem incognitam, das ist/ in die unbekante äusserste Mittag-Länder zu übersetzen.

Ob aber ich das Glück haben werde in bemeldeten Marianischen Eilanden zu verbleiben/ oder aber solche Ehr vielmehr andere meinige Mit-Gefährten betreffen werde/ stehet noch zu erwarten. Wenigsten hab ich dessen vor anderen grosse Hoffnung/ und austrucklichen Befehl von dieser Missionen Procuratore, mit dem Marianischen Provinciali zu überlegen/ wie viel Arbeiter allda nöthig seyen? Annebst aber fleiszige Acht zu geben/ dasz keiner/ der sich zu einem dergestalt müheseligen Leben nicht freywillig anbietet/ dafelbst zuruck gelassen werde. Der erste wird folgens ein Spanier seyn/ der sich hierzu durch ein Gelübd verbunden hat. Die andere Stelle wird mir niemand strittig machen/ theils/ weil ich als Oberer solche zu erwählen befugt bin: theils auch darum/ weil ich von dem neuen Gubernatore darzu vor andern eingeladen bin.

Nichts kame mich auf diser Reisz härter an/ als denen andern wider meinen Willen/ welches ich doch hefftig abgebetten/ als Oberer vorzustehen. Ich konte es aber nicht ablehnen/ angesehen der Brief/ durch welchen ich hierzu ernannt wurde/ mir zu spath ist behändiget worden/ da keine Gelegenheit mehr war zu repliciren. Doch will ich diesen verdrüszlichen Last um GOTTes willen gedultig ertragen/ wann er nur mir an meinem Vorhaben nicht hinderlich ist; aber ich werde nicht unterlassen alle Hindernussen/ so viel möglich ist/ aus dem Weeg zu raumen. Dieses in aller Eil/ weil ich den Augenblick in das segelfertige Schiff beruffen werde; Jedannoch musz/ bevor ich dasselbige besteige/ Euer Ehrwürden unsere neue Spanische Nahmen/ mit welchen wir in das Königlische Protocoll eingetragen seynd/ ansagen: P. Andreas Mancker heiszt nunmehr P. Alphonsus de Castro de Viennas; Ich aber Juan Bautista Perez natural de Caladajul [sic], das ist/ naturalisirt auf Bilbili in Arragonien; P. Joannes Tilpe wird genannt P. Luis Turcoti natural de Nissa de Austria: P. Augustinus Strobach hingegen P. Carolus Xavier... [,Carolus] Calvanese de Calva natural de Milan. P. Theophilus de Angelis führt den Nahmen P. Juan de Loyola natural de Azpeithia de Biscaya. Die übrige seynd Spanier/ als P. Didacus de Zarzosa, & P. Franciscus de Borgia. Verschiedene Ordens-Männer/ nachdem die viertzig Jahr des Elends verflossen/ suchen in Japonien einzutringen/ welche auch alle sich entgegen setzende Beschweren werden überwinden/ wann Euer Ehrwürden und andere Bekannte durch ihr gesamtes Gebett uns beystehen/ und unsere Kräfte durch die Stärke ihres Geists vermehren. Gleichwie ich hiemit bitte/ alle nochmahl umfahe [sic]/ und mich in beharrliches Andencken empfehle.

Euer Ehrwürden

Datum aus dem Hafen Acapulco in America den 27. Mertzen 1681.

Diener in Christo

Carolus Boranga der Gesellschaft JESu Missionarius für die Marianischen Insuln.

Translation.

Letter by the late Fr. Carlos Boranga

of the Society of Jesus, missionary from the Austrian Province, who is called by the Spanish Fr. Juan Bautista Perez de Caladajul [sic=Calatayud], and who came to death for the sake of his faith in the Mariana Islands. Addressed to Fr. David Loys, priest of the aforesaid Society. Written at the port of Acapulco on 27 March 1681.

Contents: His longing for the Mariana Islands. The Spanish are striking out for the Palaos Islands. His humility. The Spanish give other names to German missionaries.

Reverend Father in Christ:

Peace of Christ!

Before I board the ship which will sail at any moment from this port, I will once again take leave of Your Reverence with this short letter, to plead with you, in consideration of my high but also very difficult and dangerous calling, to include me in your prayers as well as to provide my mother and my sister with fatherly support in their affairs. In return, I shall spare no effort to report this and that to Y.R. from Asia; then I will go straight away to the Mariana Islands with the new governor of same who is aboard the same ship as I,¹ with the intention, as he says, to carry out a royal order and to subjugate several islands in that area, to the south, to Spanish rule as well as to the Christian rule of the Gospel, but from there to sail toward terra australis incognita, that is toward unknown lands to the extreme south.

Whether I will have the good fortune to remain in said Mariana Islands, or whether such honor will be bestowed upon some of my companions, still remains to be seen. At least I have great expectations about it for the time being, and I have the express order from the Procurator of these Missions to consider, together with the [Vice] Provincial of the Marianas, how many workers will be necessary there. But I am also to make every effort that no-one will be left there who has not voluntarily offered himself for such a toilsome life. The first, therefore, will be a Spaniard who has made such a pledge.² No-one will argue with me about the other position, partly because as a superior I am entitled to choose, and partly because I before others have been invited to do so by the new governor.³

Nothing on this journey has been more difficult for me than to act as a superior to the others, although this was against my will, and I had strongly pleaded against it. But I was unable to refuse, since the letter by which I was appointed was handed to me so late that I had no opportunity to reply. However, I will patiently carry this unpleasant load as long as it does not hinder me in my endeavors, but I will spare no effort to remove as many obstacles as possible.

I write this in all haste, because at this moment I am called to the vessel, which is ready to sail. Yet before I board the ship, I wish to tell Your Reverence our new Spanish names by which we have been entered in the Royal protocol:

1 Ed. note: Governor Antonio de Saravia was also aboard the galleon San Telmo.

2 Ed. note: He was probably referring to Fr. de Angelis, or Fr. Borja, but the latter went on to Manila. Both had promised the Duchess of Aveiro to work in the Marianas.

3 Ed. note: In the end, a total of 5 missionaries remained in the Marianas in 1681. Fr. Boranga was then superior of the mission band.

Fr. Andreas Mancker is now called Fr. Alfonso de Castro, from Vienna; I am called Juan Bautista Perez, from Caladajul [sic], that is, naturalized at Bilbili in Aragon; Fr. Johann Tilpe is called Fr. Luís Turcotti, from Neiss in Austria; Fr. Augustin Strobach is called Fr. Carlos Xavier... [,Carlos] Calvanese, from Calva, i.e. from Milan. Fr. Teofilo de Angelis bears the name of Fr. Juan de Loyola, from Azpeitia in Vizcaya. The others are Spaniards, namely: Fr. Diego de Zarzosa, and Fr. Francisco de Borja.¹ Several men of the Order, after the forty years of misery have passed, are trying to enter Japan, which they will be able to accomplish in spite of all the hardships they encounter, if Your Reverence and other acquaintances will stand by us in all your prayers and increase our strength through the strength of your spirit. At the same time I ask you to embrace us all again and to remember me always.

Your Reverence

At present in the port of Acapulco in America, 27 March 1681.

Your servant in Christ,

Carolus Boranga of the Society of Jesus, missionary for the Mariana Islands.

¹ Ed. note: Fr. Zarzosa served in the Marianas, but Fr. Borja went on to the Philippines, and from there he held a steady correspondence with the Duchess of Aveiro (see Doc. 1682D).

Document 1681E

Letter from Fr. Bouwens to Fr. Salgado in Manila, dated Guam 20 May 1681

Source: Present location unknown; 3-page ms. offered for sale by Maggs Bros. of London for 1923 for 27 pounds, i.e. \$135 (Cat. N° 442, n° 1864, p. 139) and again in 1927 (Cat. N° 491, n° 45).

Summary.

Fr. Xaramillo left for Manila last year [1680] and was to have made the annual report for 1679-80. Death of Fr. Besco, who had replaced him after his 3 years as Superior of the Mission (1677-80). There are 12 missionaries in the Marianas: 9 priests and 3 brothers, in 5 Residences, excluding Br. Felipe [Sonson], the lay brother. There are from 1,200 converts. Fr. Le Roulx is in charge of the Residence of Umatac. He complains about Governor José de Quiroga being too autocratic an administrator.¹

Extracts from Fr. Gerardo Bouwens' letter

...

Fr. Xaramillo will have given you news of the events that have occurred here these past few years, and of the happenings since he left for Manila. Other missionaries will also give news... perhaps Fr. Alonso Arroyo's will be by word of mouth, because as far as I am given to understand, the reverses that he has met with compelled our Superior and Vice-Provincial (who is Fr. Manuel Solorzano) to go to the Philippines.

Fr. Bartolomé Besco has died, after completing his three-year term as Superior; the remaining missionaries, of whom we are 12, and Brother Phelipe, are enjoying perfect health. Three are lay brothers, and the remaining are priests, distributed over the five Residences, whilst the sixth Residence has been burned down, to the great regret of those who established it; and there is another in course of construction... so that the Islands will be well established spiritually, with many more districts initiated into the Faith than there are today... there are already 1,200 souls among them.

¹ Ed. note: Quiroga served a first term as governor from 1680 to 1681. Perhaps the Jesuits thought he would have been more pliable, and amenable to their "suggestions" for good government...

I hear that our Superiors and Fr. Riquelme have written from New Spain to say that it is convenient to re-establish the college for girls, which our Superior intends to build as soon as possible... We have already cut 100 beams of *palo maria* to erect a new church, in a place somewhat distant from the sea, albeit in the district of Agaña.¹

The boys' college has been in the hands of Fr. Bustillo these three years and more.

Fr. Basilio Le Roulx had to interrupt the course of the little ones' instruction, to carry on the administration of the Residence in the port of Umatac, for which he left on the 19th February.

[He announces the nomination, by General Nieto, of Don Joseph de Quiroga, as Governor and Commander-in-Chief of the Marianas, adding:]

As regards his demeanor, he is much more severe than any had anticipated... although I do not think this is prompted by personal vanity... Many also accuse him of meanness, and some soldiers have complained of the paucity of rations, but this may be due to the lack of food in the Islands and the small supply received to feed so many mouths... For one reason or another, therefore, they curse the Marianas in desperation, and move heaven and earth to get sent away from here.

[He proceeds to criticize the aggressive attitude of Quiroga as Governor, complaining:]

He wants everything done precisely as he wishes—even our buildings must be constructed as he thinks fit; and he has interfered in ecclesiastical matters without consulting our Superior... were I asked to confess my feelings before God, I would say that he is in many ways offensive... although he has not given us a shadow of the trouble that others caused us, they having lacked the many good qualities which Don Joseph possesses...² He is so disinterested in the matter of gold and silver, and so correct in his behavior with women, that in the two years during which he has been in these Islands, he has never been known to philander with any of the married women in the camp... and he is always foremost in any charitable work which requires any help. In courage and military qualifications, if he is not superior to his predecessors, [but] at least he is not inferior to any.

Etc.

1 Ed. note: This, I believe, refers to a new church being built inland, at Siñahana, by Fr. Coomans.

2 Ed. note: It appeared that Don José and Fr. Solorzano (then Superior) never got along, whereas he and the writer (Fr. Bouwens) became good friends in time.

Document 1681F

Eulogy of Fr. Bartolomé Besco

Source: ARSI Phil. 13, fol. 246-247v.

Letter from Fr. Solorzano to Fr. Provincial, dated Guam 20 May 1681

Original text in Spanish.

Mi Padre Provincial Juan Andres Palavicino

Carta 4^a

Pax Xpti etc^a

*Viernes 26 de Julio de 1680 a las 8 de la mañana fue nuestro Señor servido de llevar para si (como de su misericordia esperamos) al Padre Bartolome Besco a los 66 años de su edad, 47 de Religion, y 26 de Professo de quatro votos, aviendo cumplido su trienio en el Gobierno de esta Mission Mariana.—Ocasionele su muerte del mucho trabajo y zelo, con que assistio a recibir el socorro, que venia en la Nao **Santa Rosa**: porque luego, que llegò la noticia de como venia la Nao, se embarco en una vanquilla de las de estos naturales p^a salirle al encuentro, padeciendo en el viage mucho sol, incommodidad, y cansancio, que se aumento en la misma Nao con la solicitud de los negocios de la Mission y con no dormir aquellos dos dias, que estubo en ella. Con las mismas incomodidades volvió a tierra, en donde fue mui crecido su trabajo p^a poner en orden las cosas del socorro, y desembaraçarse p^a negocios de mayor importancia.*

Todo lo qual le encendio mucho la sangre, y le fue estragando el gusto de maneras que perdió las ganas de comer: A que sobrevino una relaxacion de vientre tan molesta y continua de cursos de sangre, que no le dexavan sosegar de dia, ni de noche. Mas como era tan suffredor, y paciente, no hacia cama, venciendo el animo y el suffrimiento la fuerza de el achaque. Este no se quiso dar por vencido: antes cada dia cobrava mayores fuerzas, al paso que se las quitava al enfermo: hasta que le postrò en la cama, donde continuandose los cursos con mayor inapetencia, y desgana, no le dexaban comer un bocado, ni aun beber una onza de sustancia, sin que la lancasse luego, dexandole

tan cansado y molido el esfuerzo, que hacia p^a comer, como si huviera acometido una empresa de mucho trabajo.

Durò diez dias esta batalla tan penosa; en los quales se fue disponiendo p^a morir con singular diligencia, y cuidado. Confessose generalmente y reçebio el viatico, y extremauncion muy a tiempo y en todo su acuerdo, repitiendo muchos actos de amor de Dios, de resignazion, y conformidad con su SSma. voluntad, sin apeteer mas la vida, que la muerte sino en quanto fuera de mayor gloria de Dios qualquiera de las dos cosas. Y con esta disposicion entrego el alma a su Criador asistiendo la Comunidad con las preces y oraciones que p^a este tiempo señala la Yglesia.

Nacio el Padre Bartolomé Besco en Turin del Piamonte. Criaronle sus Padres en toda piedad; y le enseñaron con las buenas costumbres [,] la[s] letras, que aprendió en nuestro Collegio de la Comp^a: donde con la comunicazion de los nuestros, se fue aficionando mas a la virtud, y despegando el affecto de las cosas del syglo. Y assi pretendió la Comp^a de Jhs, y fue resebido en ella a 17 de Julio de 1633 en la Prov^a de Milan, de la qual le truxo su fervor, y deseo de la conversion de las almas a esta Prov^a de Philipinas el año de 1643, donde es bien constante los muchos exemplos, que en todos estados ha dado de su mucha virtud, y Religioso zelo. Los quales le merecieron el mas alto grado de nuestra Comp^a y las ocupaziones de mayor con- [fol. 246v] -fiança. Pues aviendo sido 18 años operario de Indios, fue Rector de Palapag seis años: Rector del [sic] Residencia de Dagami y Vice Provincial de Bisayas tres años: Rector del Collegio de Arevalo dos años: cinco años Procurador General de Provincia un año Compañero del Padre Provincial y quando ya la edad y los trabajos passados le conbidaban al descanso, le occupo la obediencia en el Gobierno de esta Mission Mariana con Titulo de Vice Provincial y Rector de la Residencia de S. Ygnacio de Agaña, donde padecio muchos trabajos, y muy continuados como lo lleva de suyo la formazion de una Xpandad nueva; y en especial la que estan remota y sin recurso como esta.

*Pero viniendo al particular, resplandeciò en el Padre Bartolomé Besco la virtud de la **humildad**, con que sin atender a respectos humanos, se occupava ordinariamente en officios humildes, no contentandose con la suerte de Maria sino ayudaba mucho a Marta. De tal suerte, que quien no le conociesse, no pensaria ser Superior, ni aun Sacerdote; sino el mas humilde y abatido Hermano Coadjutor quando le viesse ocupado en remendar tinajas aderezar trastos viejos, y arastrarse por el suelo a cosas muy menudas, y que otros despreciaran por inutiles. A todo lo qual le ayudava tambien el amor de la Santa **pobreza**, procurando con su trabajo evitar los gastos posibles. Esta virtud de la humildad le obligaba a no dexarse servir de nadie; aunque fuesse no mas que para echar azeite al candil, diciendo, que mientras su R. V^a tuviesse pies, e manos, no avia menester que otro le serviesse en nada; ni permitia que lo hiciesse, aunque fuesse criado de cassa. Nunca dixo palabra, que pudiesse redundar en alabanza propria: muchas si de desprecio de si mismo, haciendo poca estimazion de tenerla entre los hombres.*

Fue muy zeloso de la disciplina Religiosa, y observancia regular: y aborrecia singularidades y esempciones. Por lo qual seguia la comunidad en todo aunque le costasse mucho trabajo. Y a esta causa padecio aqui mucho los ultimos años de su vida. Porque

como el sustento de esta tierra es tan devill[,] extraordinario, y de poca sustancia, se supliesse la falta con otra cosa, por seguir la comunidad. Y assi Dios le premiò esta virtud dandole despues gusto, en lo que al principio no le hallava, y yendo delante de todos en lo incommodo y trabajoso.

*Era muy **obediente**, y hacia grande aprecio desta virtud, que decia ser la piedra del toque de los de la Comp^a. Y en ella nos dexo gran exemplo en aver passado a estas Islas en los ultimos años de su vida, quando parece no avia de apetezer sino el descanso, a sola una insinuasion, o condescendencia de el superior: sin reparar en los grandes peligros de la vida, a que se exponia por mar y por tierra; cegandole el amor de la Santa obediencia para considerar los riesgo[s], que pudieran menoscabar la pronta execucion de un perfecto obediente. Y assi solia decirnos: **Padres si yo me huviera acordado, o hecho reflexa, que venia a Marianas a ser Superior, tengo por cierto que no huviera venido; porque huviera propuesto para que me aliviassen de esta carga.***

*Mas todo lo sazónaba con la virtud de la **paciencia**, en que se esmerò mucho. Y traia mui de ordinario en la boca en las tribulaciones, y trabajos que se ofrecian, estas palabras **Piedra sufre, piedra sufre**, diciendo que en Marianas todo se avia de curar con esta piedra, en la qual entendia la paciencia Xpana. y Religiosa sin la qual no se puede vivir en esta tierra. Padezia el el primero año que llegó aqui grandes necessidades por la devilidad del sustento: y solia dezir a las dos o tres de la tarde: **Padres tengo una hambre que me muero!** Lo qual como nos moviesse a compassion lo rogabamos permitiesse le traxessen algo [fol. 247] de comer mas no lo permitia contentandose de coco, si hallava a mano el qual comia como si fuesse un de a zitrón, dexandonos a un mismo tiempo edificados, y compasivos: edificados por ver la humildad y paciencia que se descubria en esta accion: y compasivos de que un hombre anciano, y tan benemerito, Superior y Vice Provincial en una necessidad tan conocida, no tuviesse mas alivio que un pedaço de coco.*

En sus achaques fue sufridissimo: y especialmente en la ultima enfermedad, por ser ella tan molesta, y asquerosa, y aver de dexarse servir contra sus dictámenes: que juzgo que fue esta una de las maiores mortificaciones que tuvo en toda su vida: pues estando ya tan falto de fuerças, que no podia salir de la cama para satisfacer a la naturaleza; era menester tratarle como niño, y limpiarle, y envolverle entre sabanas por instantes. Todo lo qual ofrecia a nuestro Santo con grande paciència y conformidad con la divina voluntad. Y pedia a todos quantos le visitavan le encomendassen a Dios; no para que le alargasse la vida; sino para que se cumpliesse en el su SSma. voluntad, que ni queria, ni deseava otra cosa. Por ultimo pidió perdon a la comunidad mostrandose muy agradecido a la puntualidad, y caridad con que los Padres y Hermanos le asistian: y todos le diximos la recomendacion del alma; consolandonos en la perdida de su persona y compañía con saber la mejorava en la bien abenturança.—

Dispussese el entierro en la mayor solemnidad que aqui es possible: asistiendo el Gobernador con toda la milicia, al entierro y vigilia y el día siguiente a la missa cantada de cuerpo presente. Y todos los Padres le dixeron las Missas, y los Hermanos las oraciones acostumbradas. Todo lo qual nos assegura mucho esta gozando de Dios su

alma, como lo esperamos a V.R^a mande en toda la Provincia se le hagan los sufragios, que en ella se acostumbra, segun el uso de nuestra compañia: no olvidandome a mi en sus Santos Sacrificios y oraciones para con Dios, que guarde a V.R^a como se lo suplico, etc^a

Agadña y Mayo 20 de 1681.

Siervo de V.R^a

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Manuel de Solorzano

Translation.

My dear Father Provincial Juan Andrés Palavicino¹

Letter n^o 4.

Peace of Christ, etc.

At 8 a.m. on Friday 26 July 1680, our Lord was pleased to take to Himself (as we hope from His mercy) the soul of Father Bartolomé Besco, who was 66 years of age, with 47 years in religion, 20 years as a professed member of 4 vows, and having completed his three-year term in the administration of this Mariana Mission.—His death was occasioned by his working and caring too much, when he attended to the reception of the subsidy that came aboard the galleon **Santa Rosa**. Indeed, as soon as he heard that the galleon was coming, he boarded a canoe, such as these natives use, in order to go out to meet her.² During the trip he suffered much from the sun, the lack of comfort and fatigue, to which were added aboard the galleon herself the application in carrying out the mission business and his lack of sleep during those two days that he remained on board her. Then he returned ashore with the same lack of comfort. Once there, his labor increased, as he arranged the things of the subsidy, wishing to get this over with, in order to return to more important business.

All of this increased his blood pressure, and his appetite was spoiled, in such a way that he lost the desire to eat. The result was a diarrhea, so bothersome and continuous that he began to pass blood in his stools, which did not let him rest either day or night. However, as he was very stoical, and patient, he did not take to his bed, choosing instead to apply his mind to resist the strength of the attack, but it did not wish to let go of him; rather, every day it gained strength in equal measure that it was taking it away from the patient, until it forced him to his bed, where the course of the malady continued unabated, with greater loss of appetite, and indifference to food; it did not let him eat a mouthful, or even drink one ounce of liquid, without him losing it all afterward, leaving him so tired, and exhausted from the effort he made to eat, as if he had performed a heavy physical task.

1 Ed. note: Unbeknown to Fr. Solorzano, Fr. Giovanni Pallavicino has just resigned as Provincial (see Doc. 1681O).

2 Ed. note: The mission boat has not yet been stolen by 5 soldiers who fled to the Philippines with it, a few months later. Thus, it is not explained why the Superior had to use a local canoe.

This botherome battle lasted 10 days, during which he prepared himself to die with particular attention, and care. He made a general confession and received communion and extreme unction, not at the last minute, but with all his conciousness, repeating many acts of love of God, of resignation, and acceptance of His most sacred will, without a preference for life over death, but either option, only if it were for the greater glory of God. And with this disposition, he delivered his soul to his Creator, in the presence of the Congregation, with the suffrages and prayers assigned by the Church for such an occasion.

Father Bartolomé Besco was born in Turin in Piedmont [Italy].¹ His parents raised him in complete piety, and they taught him the good customs. He got his education in our College of the Society where, in contact with our people, he made more progress in virtue, and detached himself from the affairs of this world. Thus, he applied to join the Society of Jesus, and was admitted on 17 July 1633, in the Province of Milan. His zeal and desire for the conversion of souls took him from there to this Province of the Philippines in the year 1643, and there it is patent how he gave many examples, in all situations, of his great virtue, and religious zeal. They in fact won him the highest degree in our Society and the greatest positions of trust. Indeed, after 18 years as a worker in the Indies, he became Rector of Palapag for 6 years; then he was Rector of the Residence of Dagami and Vice-Provincial of the Visayas for 3 years; Rector of the College of Arevalo for 2 years; 5 years as Procurator General of the Province; 1 year as Assistant to the Father Provincial, and when his age and past labors would already have invited him to some rest, obedience occupied him in the administration of this Mariana Mission with the title of Vice-Provincial and Rector of the Residence of San Ignacio of Agaña, where he suffered the numerous and continuous hardships that go with the creation of a new Christian community, specially one that is remote and without resources like this one is.

However, to give some details, the virtue of **humility** shone in Father Bartolomé Besco. Without paying attention to human considerations, he usually was busy with humble tasks, not content with the lot of Mary [Magdalene] but giving a hand to Martha as well,² to such an extent that anyone who did not know him, would not have thought him to be Superior, not even a priest, but the humblest and lowliest Brother Coadjutor when he would see him busy mending jars, repair old clothes, and dragging himself around the floor [busy] at very small things, that others would think useless. In doing so, he was helped along also by the love of holy **poverty**, trying in his work to avoid possible expenses. This virtue of humility obliged him not to let anyone serve him, even if it were only to add oil to the lamp; he kept saying that as long as His Reverence had feet, and hands, there was no need for anyone else to serve him in anything. He did not let him do it, even if it were but the house servant. He was never heard to

1 Ed. note: The official records say that the exact place where he was born is named Sabandia.

2 Ed. note: A reference to a story from the Gospel. In Canada, we engineers call ourselves the “sons of Martha” for a similar reason.

say one word of praise about himself; to the contrary, he said many in ridicule of himself, as he held little esteem for praise among men.

He was very zealous of religious discipline, and the observance of the rules, and he abhorred exceptions and exemptions. In fact, he followed the community in everything, though it cost him much work. In this wise, he suffered much during the last few years of his life, because, as the foods of this country are so weak, extraordinary, and of little substance, he supplied what they lacked with something else, to follow the community. Thus, God rewarded him for this virtue by giving him a taste afterward, for something that he did not like at the beginning, and he led everyone in doing uncomfortable and laborious things.

He was very **obedient**, and he held this virtue in high regard, saying that it was the touch-stone of those of the Society. He gave a great example of this by having come to these Islands in the last years of his life, when it seems that he should have desired only rest, and this he did with just one insinuation, or inkling on the part of the superior, without paying attention to the great dangers to his life, to which he would expose himself at sea and ashore. The love of holy obedience was blinding him enough to enable him to overlook the risks that might otherwise have prevented him from promptly carrying out the duty of a perfectly obedient [inferior]. So, he used to tell us: **“Fathers, if I had just remembered to think about it, that I was coming to the Marianas as Superior, I assure you that I would not have come, because I would have suggested that I should be relieved of this responsibility.”**

However, he moderated everything with the virtue of **patience**, in which he stood out very much. And he used to have in the mouth during the tribulations and hardships that came up, these words: **“Suffer you stone, suffer you stone,”** saying that in the Marianas everything should be cured with this stone, by which he meant Christian and religious patience, without which one cannot live on this earth. He suffered great needs during his first year here on account of the weakness of the [local] food, and he used to say by 2 or 3 in the afternoon: **“Fathers, I have a hunger that is killing me!”** As we were moved to compassion by it, we would beg him to let us bring him something to eat, but he did not let us do it, contenting himself with some coconut, if there were any at hand, which he would eat as if it were a lemon, leaving us even more edified, and compassionate: edified because of his humility and patience that could be seen in this act, and compassionate at seeing that an old man, one so deserving, a Superior and Vice-Provincial in such a well-known need, could not get more relief than a piece of coconut.

In his ailments he was very stoical, and specially in his last sickness, as it was one so bothersome, and disgusting, and he had to let himself be served against his convictions; I think that it was one the greatest mortifications that he had in all his life, because as he was too weak to get out of bed and satisfy the call of nature, it was necessary to treat him as a child, and to clean him, and to wrap him with bed-sheets interruptedly. Every such thing he offered to our patron saint with great patience and acceptance of the divine will. And he begged all of us visiting him to commend him to God, not to give him

a longer life, but to see His most holy will be done, that he did not wish, nor hoped, for anything else. Finally, he begged pardon from the community, and showed himself very thankful for the dedication and charity shown by the Fathers and Brothers caring for him. And we all said the commendation of the soul for him, consoling ourselves in the loss of his person and company with the knowledge that he was gaining an everlasting one in glory.—

The burial was prepared with the greatest solemnity that is possible here. The Governor attended the funeral as well as the wake with the whole militia, and the next day mass was said with the body present. All the Fathers said masses for him, and the Brothers the customary prayers. All of which makes us certain that his soul is enjoying God, as we hope that Y.R. will order the whole Province to do the suffrages that is usual in such cases, in accordance with the custom of our Society, not forgetting me in your holy sacrifices and prayers, by way of saying good-bye.

May God keep Y.R. as I beg Him to, etc.

Agaña, 20 May 1681.

Y.R.'s servant,

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Manuel de Solorzano

Document 1681G

Letter from Fr. Solorzano to Fr. Francisco García, dated Guam 20 May 1681

Source: Ayer ms. 1436, Newberry Library, Chicago; cited in B&R 53: 122 and in Lietz' Calendar of Philippine Documents.

Synthesis by Lietz.

Fr. Solorzano is a member of the Jesuit Order which is bound together by common charity. He pleads for the mission of which Father García is a patron and of which Solorzano is superior and vice-provincial. He came to the Marianas with [Fr.] Antonio Matías Xaramillo, his countryman, and Fr. Miguel Gerónimo Rubio. He became superior of the mission in June 1680. He has written for help to the Council of the Indies and to the Duchess of Aveiro, and believes that he could find no better patron than García. The writer asks that García read the letters and correct them since the missionary is used to dealing with barbarians.

Fr. Xaramillo left for the Philippines last year, 1680, to treat of the mission with the government there and his superiors. The former is always contrary and always without justification. Help is badly needed in furthering the work of the mission founded by Fr. San Vitores. These last years the mission has been very backward. It was almost abandoned in 1676, the year Solorzano came. The missionaries narrowly escaped death at the hands of the savages who resisted the priests from the beginning in 1670 [sic]. Lacking soldiers for protection, the missionaries were in constant danger of ambush and violent death. Fr. San Vitores appealed for soldiers and received a grant of 40, a very small number in a land full of Indians. Moreover, they were Spaniards in name only—cowardly, spoiled, and good for very little. From passing ships, others were recruited to the number of 115, but all were paid for from the allotment for 40. The remedy was worse than the disease. The soldiers gave bad example and their crimes are too long to recount. They were mostly criminals from New Spain. They robbed the mission and violated the Indian women. In spite of it all, the mission has prospered during the last

year; there are many new Christians. But the soldiers are unspeakable and work against the christianizing of the natives. The Marianas are poor and have nothing to satisfy the soldiers' cupidity. The situation would have been different if pataches and ships had come.

Juan de Vargas, a pious man and a good Catholic, passed this way [in 1678] en route to be governor of the Philippines. Lack of supplies leaves the missionaries at the mercy of the natives. Ships fail to stop at the islands despite orders of the governor. It would be sensible for them to revictual and get water at the islands. The port has been sounded and is safe. José de Quiroga was sent by the Duchess of Aveiro to help in 1679 after the chief of the militia fell vacant and Quiroga took over. For a year things were fine.

A ship came in 1680 and the militia wanted to leave in a body. Quiroga was then made head. The governor has sometimes interfered in the spiritual matters of the mission. He is of mediocre talent, has had no experience with Indians and does not consult the missionaries. He makes many mistakes in spite of warnings. Indians obey him rather than the missionaries. If he (Quiroga) took advice, he would be the best person possible. He keeps the soldiers in line.

Solorzano asks that a petition be made to the Duchess and through her to the King: (1) to build a patache for the island service; (2) to order all ships to stop at the islands (Isla de San Juan) under penalty; (3) to get two good boats to carry supplies so missionaries will not be in danger of starvation; (4) to order the governor and heads of militia to give good example and respect the cloth, not to mix in spiritual matters, to consult the missionaries in pertinent matters, and not to make unlawful assessments, etc. Matters of the salary of the soldiers should be straightened out. The chief should get 600 to 1,000 pesos from Mexico for himself. This should not impoverish the King.

Full translation of the letter

My Father Francisco García,
Peace in Christ & Mary.

Although the handwriting and the signature on this letter may be strange to Your Reverence, its author is not a stranger, because beyond common charity, there is one that expands and embraces all the children of the Society of Jesus with a perfect union; there are also other bonds that oblige me to recognize Y.R., as I think of you as a benefactor and protector of this Mariana Mission, whose name is so esteemed and applauded everywhere and specially in this holy province. This is due to its founder the Venerable Fr. Diego Luis de S. Vitores. Thus it appears that that holy province looks with special affection upon our things as its own, and his sons take it upon themselves to promote what such a saint and apostolic Brother of ours in Christ has started. This duty falls specially on those who find themselves like bright torches upon the candlestick filling the more lustrous posts and occupations of the Court in order to enlighten and move the princes and lords on whose power or authority depends, as human medium, the increase in God's glory through the conversion of souls.

Well then, since I am conscious that various occurrences, tasks and calamities which have afflicted this Mission, there has been some lapse in writing to Madrid, I thought that I was not complying with my duty unless I remedied this situation. Having already written to the Council of the Indies and to the Duchess of Aveiro, I could not find a better patron and corrector of my mistakes than Y.R. who always loves warmly those of us who are occupied in this apostolic employment. This is the reason why all those letters are being remitted to Y.R. open, so that Y.R. may read them first and if it is fitting to improve something, or remove it (which would not be much for someone not used to dealing only with barbarians), please correct, improve and remove as you see fit to meet the intended purpose.

Father Antonio Xaramillo departed from these islands for the Philippines in June of last year 1680 to look after many necessary things for the improvement of the Christian community with the Superiors and with the Governor of that Republic of Manila, always against us, although without any reason, nor justice. I have no doubt that the said Father would have made a very appropriate report about everything, but in spite of that, it is imperative that I also write something, specially about the events of this year which could not have been done from Manila, given that they have not yet received any news about them. To this effect, in order not to exceed the limits of a letter, I am sending **a separate report**, one that can be sent to everyone.¹ Here I will be more specific and say why we need the favor and backing of Y.R. and of that holy Province to advance the glory of God and to perfect this work to open the door, as the Ven. Fr. S. Vitores wished to do, and out of which will come the salvation of numerous souls now lost, and much luster and glory for our Society.

I tell you then, very loving Father, that this Mission has been falling much behind these past few years, and almost failed in 1676, the year I arrived at these islands; it came close for all of us to perish at the hands of the barbarians. These people began to resist God's ministers and the Gospel's message starting in 1670, according to Ven. Fr. S. Vitores in this apostolic employment, and as there were no weapons nor militia to subject them, they always ended up by encircling our people and trying to take away their lives with barbarous and beastly treacheries. Afterward, they became successful in their design to cruelly take the lives of a few, about which sufficient news has reached you overthere.

These things obliged the Fathers of the Mission, and before the Ven. Fr. S. Vitores to solicit a sufficient escort of soldiers for the protection of the Gospel workers and subjection of the natives. Sufficient [money for] salaries were advanced by his Majesty and the escort, as authorized and paid, consists of 40 men. These men, in these lands of the Indies can do very little, because they are Spanish in name only and their customs are effeminate, soft and ineffective; thus from the galleons passing by these islands, it has been possible to increase their number which now has reached 115 militia men, but they are all paid out of the salary for 40.

¹ Ed. note: See Doc. 1681I.

This escort, so necessary that without it we cannot ourselves subsist nor exercise our ministry, and that should be the remedy of our problems, has brought us many more that are almost intolerable, because the soldiers and the officers they have had are those who help us the least and those who have done damage by their bad examples. I would risk never to finish, if I begin telling Y.R. about the insolent acts of those rogues who are made up of exiles from New Spain to the Philippines because in that very large Kingdom they did not fit nor could be tolerated anywhere. Well, Y.R. may consider then, what troubles such scoundrels may bring upon poor abandoned Fathers who are without assistance except every two years, and even with the government of this Republic, as an adversary? What jokes, ridicule, impudence, lewdness, excesses against divine and human laws, sins and scandals for the new Christians, such as we have suffered and tolerated. Such people find themselves unchecked, without punishment; on the contrary, provoked by the bad example of those who lead and govern them. One Captain¹ of these soldiers would send them to steal the poor precious things of the Fathers as if they would gain an indulgence by doing so, and thus they have continually taken things from our house until there was nothing left to take. Another was publicly cohabitating and causing a scandal throughout all these islands (the Indians take good notice of such things). Not content with this, he did not forgive any woman who refused his bestial appetite nor the girls who came to hear catechism; those he raped. The thefts that the soldiers have carried out among the Indians, and other extortions, have been endless.

With such monsters and infernal beasts, how can this Mission prosper? I for one am surprised that it has continued to exist. However, God finally took pity on these souls, and on us. The times have improved, as well as the administration, so that this year there has been a very great increase in this Christian community, and I hope that in the future it will continue to increase. But the opposition, that has caused us much harm and kept us back, is still before us, that is, the opposition to us of the few residents of Manila who could do something there. They are bearded old men, uneducated, without any capability, except in their own interest; elsewhere, no-one would pay attention to them nor take notice of them. Those are the men who make up that republic and who oppose God's plans, without any reason, nor justice, with a frigid appearance of zeal and the common good; thus they themselves have been opposed to us and irregular in their duties. The case is, dear Father, that they know that the Marianas are poor islands, bare of what their cupidity seeks, like clothing to the natives; you can be sure that if there were something of interest in them, they would already have had pataches and ships, and even more than that.

1 Ed. note: He does not refer to Captain Quiroga, but to Captain Salas (1678-80), as he will clarify further below.

[The patache, and the mission boat]

Don Juan de Vargas Hurtado, the new Governor of the Philippines passed by these islands [in 1678] and no-one can doubt that he is a pious and Catholic gentleman who, with what the Duchess of Aveiro (God save her) had entrusted him with, and with what he tried to do here, took pity on us and went on with the intention of sending us the following year the patache claimed by the Ven. Fr. S. Vitores, and which we need, and which his Majesty has not yet granted to us nor delivered money from his Royal assets for its construction. This being at his Majesty's expense, at no detriment to the Republic, and for the greater glory of God, we have not been able to get it even though the said Governor is taking care of it. Since he has arrived at Manila and tried to build the patache, the residents of Manila have opposed him; the good gentleman was forced to convene a general board meeting on the matter, in which, as he says in a letter which he has written to us, the majority of the board members were opposed to our patache and he had to write to the Council [of the Indies] a report about this, whose contents I do not know, but what is sure is that our people at the Manila House also wrote to the Council in favor of the Mission, and with the intervention of Fr. Xaramillo perhaps the reports have had an effect. Thus Y.R. may have good news about the matter, and I am awaiting some more details by the galleon that I am expecting.

As the supply of a patache has not taken effect, the Governor of the Philippines ordered the General of the galleon to supply us with the necessary people and 25 Filipinos in order to comply partially with the decree about the 200 Pampangos requested by the Ven. Fr. S. Vitores and which had not yet begun to be executed until now. He had also ordered to have a good boat built, one that he says himself, was supposed to have been delivered to us complete by the General of the galleon, who was Antonio Nieto, formerly a friend and well disposed but no longer aware, little concerned and even harmful. The galleon arrived last June [1680] with the boat in pieces, without anyone having touched it. The General himself told me that the ship did not bring any boards, although to do us a favor he added: *But you will get your boards, even if I have to take my bunks apart.* However, he saw fit to get out of his commitment because he made sure that the galleon did not anchor, and for that reason, even though not all the assistance had been unloaded, he made sail bound for the Philippines, taking the boat with him. We miss this boat terribly, given that it came in addition to the loss of the only one that the Mission had until now. This year, 5 soldiers plotted together and committed a great treason by stealing the boat and fleeing with it toward Manila. Thus they have left us at God's mercy, relying upon the short craft of the natives and risking to lose the assistance if the galleon does not anchor.

As it is very necessary for the remedy and assistance of these islands that the galleons anchor in our port, this was requested, and obtained, from his Majesty, and every year the Viceroy of New Spain orders that this be executed, and the Governor of the Philippines orders the same thing; but the Generals of the galleons do as they please and do not obey them, because upon arriving at Manila successfully, they excuse themselves with whatever pretext and this is accepted in the name of the common good, thus (as

they say, in the interest of the Philippines before that of the Marianas) they frustrate the intent of his Majesty and they harm us much, because they usually carry off a good part of the assistance which they have no way of unloading when they do not anchor. In fact, it is not correct what they say about the common good of the Republic of Manila; rather, it would be in its favor, if passion did not interfere, to anchor at this port. In it the galleon is assisted with water, rice, pigs, chicken, water-melons, melons and other fruits that are already there in these islands and are of great relief for the passengers. All of this Governor Juan de Vargas Hurtado saw for himself when he passed through here, and I affirm seriously that, even though his Majesty had not ordered the galleon to anchor here for just and holy motives, it should still have been done for the good and advantage of commerce, and for the relief of those aboard the galleon who are so tired and fatigued by the cruise, and usually out of everything when they arrive here. Thus, Don Juan de Vargas himself anchored and he jumped into the ship's boat with the pilot and they took soundings all over the port which was found alright for the patache, and then he landed and he was left very pleased and happy. Nevertheless, it would be due to God's justice that we have not yet obtained remedy! Perhaps, as I hope, this is so in order that it may become more self-assured and permanent; the sighs and pleas of God's servants who clamor for the advancement of this Christian community may well inspire his Majesty to expedite his mercy.

[The present condition of the Mission]

I now go on to say something about the present condition of the Mission. It is the best it has ever been, as efforts are being made to make it permanent and with roots; it is quite a commitment, and an endeavor, to work in a way that will ensure that we do not go on as before weaving and unweaving continuously, because this would mean starting and never stopping something that is important. This obliges me to pull these barbarians from their corners, farms and hiding places and to reduce them to a political way of life into large population centers, where they would have their secular chiefs and my officials for the spiritual side of their souls, and all of this has been executed this year in this island, as Y.R. will see in the attached report.

[Captain Quiroga]

The good gentleman José de Quiroga y Losada has helped us much in this. He came to these islands with the vocation to help us, though it be simply to carry the missal or the breviary of a missionary; they say that this youth was sent here by the Duchess of Aveiro, with the intervention of Fr. Tirso Gonzalez; but here we are without any letter from her Excellency, such as she would send to us as to her own sons, and servants, or at least one from Fr. Tirso, which would tell us something about this gentleman. He arrived in 1679, when we found him the new head of the militia that the Governor of the Philippines had left us in 1678. But as we learned that he was a person recommended by the Duchess to whom the Society owes so much, and specially this Mission, we took it upon ourselves to help Mr. José de Quiroga, by placing him in the best house of the

town very near our own, and supplying him with all the necessities as if to a noble and honored man. Thus, he had been here one full year, giving a very good example by his way of life and customs, something very necessary here, when the galleon arrived in June 1680, and the [then] head of the militia who was in the Mission,¹ willingly give up his post, something which we were thankful to God for, because as he had destroyed and disorganized by his scandalous and brutal way of life, it was not possible to do anything profitable here. At that time, we proposed to the General of the galleon to make Mr. José de Quiroga the new head of the militia, as there was no-one else here who could do it with more skill, given his virtue, as well as the military experience that he acquired while serving in Flanders. The General did everything he was asked to do, and he must have informed the Governor of the Philippines in order to have his choice confirmed. At the same time, I received the warrant of Vice-Provincial of these Islands, and all began to work with fervor, and the good results obtained, as I say in that Report, are continuing.

Mr. José de Quiroga is a man with very good habits and known virtue. However, all that (I am addressing Y.R. with complete clarity, in case you see fit to communicate this to the Duchess and see the reason I have in pretending what I will say later) he has given us very well to understand, and I think, he has given us much more besides. The reason is because the good man is hard of judgment and very self-conceited about himself and his things; he is always full of praises for himself and his nobility. The head of this militia holds the honorary title of Governor and this title has gotten to his head in such a way that he thinks he is Governor of either the Philippines or Flanders, and he wants to behave as such by making a show, having a retinue and command. Thus he has come to meddling in spiritual things, although I resisted, and warned him about the mistake of giving himself so much power. All of this comes from the fact that the man realizes that his life is righteous and he does not want to disobey God's commands; he therefore thinks that whatever he does, discusses and thinks, and is proposed as good to him, he must execute, because he cannot make a mistake by doing it, given that he has good intentions as he says, and the wish to do right.

However, as he is a man of only average skill and without any experience with Indians, nor schooling, and having this presumption besides, he does not consult with anybody, not with me nor any other Father of the Mission; he does not have any spiritual Father either to direct him, nor does he ask advice from his own officers. He makes many material mistakes, some of them of some consequence in prejudice toward the Christian community and damaging to us. All of this he has been told on various occasions, telling him to consult about things with those who know more, not to rely upon himself so much, specially in dealings that could result in either much good or much evil to the Christian community; but, as he is judgmental, and prone to being his own counsel, he does not pay attention to any of it and runs over everything. He thus runs counter to the instructions given to the Governor of the Philippines to the heads and

1 Ed. note: Captain Juan de Salas whom Governor Vargas had left behind, with a boat, etc. in 1678.

governors of the militia, which state that he cannot resolve nor determine by himself alone the said business that can have good or bad consequences for the Mission, without seeking the opinion of its Superior. The latter, with the agreement of his advisors, and experience of things, schooling, and conscience could assert to him what is the best course of action. He could then take this opinion into consideration. This is something reasonable but we have been unable to convince Mr. José de Quiroga of it; hence, it has created a greater dissonance among us, the more so because the virtue which he professes should make it a greater duty. He is of the opinion that he owes it to himself as Governor not to become dependent upon Fathers who cannot suffer the vanity that comes with the post; that has never entered our minds.

Thus all his efforts go toward persuading the Indians that he can do everything here, that he is more than just a camp commandant and that they must first obey his commands before those of the Fathers; from this seemingly opposed view, the result is that the barbarians pay little attention to us and consequently to what we preached; because, when they do what the Captain tells them to do, they think they comply, and nothing else matters.

He asks the Indians to provide tribute, as this is necessary for the upkeep of the soldiers. He says that this tribute is in the name of the King and must come first, and so it has been decided. If they want to starve us to death, it is easy for them to increase the exaction of the tribute, because nobody can buy what is necessary until the Captain has received the contribution, meanwhile the harvest is over and the rice that there is left has been dispersed among the Indians themselves of this and other islands, and they may leave us disappointed. Such a thing is a great violence for the Gospel workers, given that in the case where the Indians must give tribute, his Majesty does not insist that his vassals have on hand anything other than he asks at any one time and he does not get involved with these priorities nor does he interfere with others who buy and sell what is necessary for human subsistence and commerce, and much less with Gospel workers, who are his main servants in these islands. To the contrary, firstly, he wants that they be supplied with what they need, as principal agents, and executors, of his Royal will. This happening has never occurred here before, no matter how bad the Captains were, until this blessed Don José came into this port.

It would take me a long time to cover the other specific cases that have occurred this year, however, it seems to me that I have said enough about the principle that this man makes mistakes. God looks upon us with merciful eyes while he has changed the type of wood used in our cross, by giving us one that we had not yet experienced, and we feel it very much. It is certain that if this young man would moderate himself in this, and recognize that he needs a guide and counsellor, [her] Excellency could not find a more fitting subject to govern the civilian side of these islands and to establish this Christian community. The Devil, who found him skinny on one side, has given him so much battering that he has spoiled him a little for us. It grieves me very much to consider that, on the one hand, this gentleman has shown such good signs of virtue, zeal to avoid sins by the people, to chastise with rectitude the excesses and scandals by the soldiers and

being untiring in the work necessary for this conquest, he would, on the other hand, have this stain, this shadow among his good works, that removes the polish and makes them look ugly, because he is so spirited, so scrupulous, such gentleman-like that I am at a loss to understand how he can reconcile this with having left the habit of a poor member of a mendicant order who steps and treads upon the vanity of the world.

I have spoken with clarity to Y.R. so that he may see as always that here we suffer a drought, not to complain about the young man, nor to have him reprimanded for what I have said here, but in order to get some future remedy for the means that I will propose in this letter. I leave such remedies to the discretion of Y.R., but as for me I think that if we are to get anything from his Majesty it should be through the favor of the Duchess of Aveiro, she having decided to consider the Mission as her business. Because this Mission has already been incorporated into the Philippine Province by our Father General, it could be something to be regretted for me to deal with Madrid and not through the ordinary channel of the Procurator of the Indies who is a member of this Province, Fr. Pedro de Espinar, through whom, if I were to use him on this occasion, I am certain that our wishes would not have as much success as they will undoubtedly have if her Excellency the Duchess were to put her authority and greatness behind it. By becoming the personal business of her Excellency, it takes on the necessary reserve and prevents the bad feelings that such a course of action might [otherwise] cause to the Province. However, it is true that, strictly speaking, this is not a matter for regret but rather, if we do not derive for us the benefit of some great names, and intercessors, we will not be able to pursue God's work in the midst of so many adversaries persecuting us.

Therefore, I say that it is necessary for the betterment of this Christian mission, its firm establishment, and the discovery of the islands to the south and Austral land, to send a petition to his Majesty, in which to ask the following things in a form and style Y.R. think better and more appropriate.

Firstly, his Majesty should order the Governor and Republic of Manila to comply without retort to the construction of the patache, the necessary money for which his Majesty has granted to us years ago from his royal coffers toward the said construction, and that, once it is ready to sail with the necessary provisions, some one or more members of the Society leave Manila for the Marianas by way of the southern islands until reaching this island of San Juan. Because this command will not result in any harm to that Republic but rather in a great service to both Majesties, the expansion of God's glory and the Catholic faith with great and well-founded hopes for great increases for the Royal treasury and for the Crown of his Majesty.

Secondly, his Majesty should order the same government of Manila to comply with the decree of his Majesty about the galleons anchoring in the port of this island of San Juan, not leaving any room for excuses, misinterpretations, with a few serious punishments for the transgressors of this law, when it is proven that it was violated with cause. Such punishments should be carried out without pardon.

Thirdly, his Majesty should order the same government to provide us with two good boats to unload the subsidy and to go from one island to another, because without them one lives under constant and obvious risks to lose one's life, and the best part of the subsidy always ends up in Manila.

Fourthly, we should be granted some Royal instruction for the would-be military heads and governors of these Mariana Islands, in order to moderate and/or put a stop to the disadvantages that I have mentioned in this letter, ordering them to give a good example, to respect and have others respect the Gospel workers; that they should not interfere by trying to manage spiritual things, that they should not make decisions alone, without prior agreement of the eventual Superior of the Society here, about enterprises that would bring much good or evil to the Mission, that they not prevent the said missionaries to obtain their necessary support for ourselves and our servants, their families and for those attending the "college" and being raised under our supervision at the expense of his Majesty. Also that they ought not to have this subsistence appropriated by the soldiers and officers, as they are to accept the premise that we get it by proper and honest means, without any violence nor harm to anyone, that they do not impose tasks nor taxes to children who are under 16 years of age and attend catechism school; [the present practice is that] after school, they send for them and occupy them for personal services, and still they have them contribute a certain basketful of coconuts, which they bring twice a week, and this [practice] is very harsh and severe for such a tender age, and they refuse to attend catechism to avoid these obligations. That, once the contribution has been assured, they ask for the share of the King which is for the support of the soldiers, that they are not to interfere with anyone, and much less with Gospel workers, trying to buy the necessary food for themselves, and for their boarders at the college and their relatives, because any Captain can starve us to death, if he chooses to ask for the contribution too late, that it should be done first, and once this contribution has been distributed, then the part for those serving the King here should come in, the Fathers ought to share in this part on a pro-rated basis, given that they are the main ministers and servants of his Majesty in these islands. That such a contribution not be tyrannical, but reasonable, and based on charitable principles, e.g. they should not ask for rice from those who are not farmers nor root [vegetables] from those who do not plant them, nor fish from those who are not fishermen, and so on with other goods; in this the heads of this militia create a great disorder by asking everything from everyone, and thus the poor Indians see themselves forced to go looking, for themselves and the King, for the kinds [of goods] they do not have, with hard work and complaints.

It must be pointed out here that such a contribution has been introduced by these men! without an order from his Majesty nor from the Viceroy, not even from the Governor of the Philippines and this [practice] is less just since his Majesty pays a salary to these soldiers; if it is no longer justified [on that score], this way the natives learn to be thankful vassals to his Majesty.¹ Also, they should be ordered to provide the Fathers with the necessary officers to teach the trades to the college boarders² who are being raised in accordance with instructions from his Majesty, given that these children are those who will form the new Republic, and it is a hard and irrational thing not to have here another recourse; when I arrived, I renewed the request made by another superior of ours, and asked the commander for one carpenter, one shoemaker or any other tradesman to teach the trades to the children but they did not want to give one nor did they show any interest nor taste in doing anything, not even let us go ahead with our plans in the interest of the common good. In this, Mr. José de Quiroga, with whom I used much liberality, kindness and good manners, has failed grossly and disrespectfully. Also, that in the creation of new settlements, they should not determine the sites themselves without the consent of the Superior who will have to administer them, as they have been ordered to do by the Governor of the Philippines, because in this they do what they want their own way with harm and at the detriment of the missionaries thus, out of a bad arrangement, accumulating almost intolerable tasks upon their shoulders, and causing their premature death.

In case of obtaining the said Royal intervention (which must include under serious penalties that a *residencia*³ be taken for the said officers, and punishment for its transgressors) it would be of much importance for the Superior of the Mission to be sent an authentic copy so that he could at any time remonstrate and insist that the commanders do their duty toward his Majesty and that the Superior of the Mission be charged with giving a report to his Majesty about the proceedings of the Commander with respect to the orders of his Majesty. Believe me, Y.R. and my dear Father, this is so necessary than without it we cannot live except as in hell with these people; finding themselves without any superior, nor appeal, not even the impact of a punishment they could fear, they abuse the religious modesty and patience, torturing us with wooden knives. This has been the greatest hardship and cross of this Mission at all times. Thus for the blood of Jesus Christ and for the love that Y.R. owes to the Ven. Fr. S. Vitores and for the sake of the Society, we all beg Y.R. and the important Fathers of the Province to make it their business committing themselves with the Duchess of Aveiro in order to get what

1 Ed. note: Confused statement, as in the original. Fr. Solorzano does not propose an alternative solution for the sustenance of so many (unauthorized) soldiers whom the missionaries had requested, for their own protection.

2 Ed. note: If Fr. Solorzano asked the Spanish soldiers to volunteer their services to teach trades, no wonder they refused. Even Fr. Bustillo disagreed with him, in his own letter to Fr. García (see Doc. 1681J).

3 Ed. note: An administrative and judicial inquiry at the end of someone's term appointment.

I ask in this letter for the glory of God and the good of so many souls, and in order for us to open the door to larger areas.

I would like to propose one thing to Y.R. so that when dealing with the Duchess you may see what is more convenient to touch upon or let it be. It is that his Majesty, who now pays 40 soldiers, whose salary now serves to pay 115 of them, and the wives of 10 or 12 of those who have married native women, and out of this is taken the salary of the head of the militia [as well] because his Majesty has not earmarked a salary [for him]. What I propose then is, would it not be proper to request that a competent salary for this commander be budgeted separately from that of the 40 soldiers in order that a few good men be attracted to the post, seeing some enticement in it, and so that the salary of the 40 not be so reduced? This is a point that we have not dared talk about in these times when the Royal Treasury is falling behind, what with the continuous wars and events in Europe, in order not to appear bothersome, meddlesome and risk to lose it all. Thus I say that I do not find a more appropriate way than to let the Duchess herself say what is proper about this. I myself think that 600 or 1,000 pesos more delivered for this purpose in the Royal account of Mexico would not impoverish his Majesty and would get us a commander of some value here, with whom everything could be improved.

At present I find myself short of subjects for the other islands, and if those whom I am awaiting by this galleon do not arrive, and be admitted in Spain, the course of our Christian community will fall back by two or three years.¹ May God have them admitted for His glory, and the good of these poor souls. Y.R. should believe that this business of the Marianas will be concluded quickly, if they show up, and the chief and militia work as they must. If the patache is obtained, we will soon have to write about more consoling and happier things to Europe. The Marianas affair is a small thing, and thus it is to the discredit of this militia and its chiefs that this is not yet established, a first step to greater things, as our Ven. and Apostolic Fr. Diego de S. Vitores wanted it. However, would we not already have finished and established it, if we had had a craft to go ahead to the southern islands and to the island of Torres [=Truk?], which is very close to here and has agreeable and orderly people according to the news we have had about them? Thus all is done if we succeed in getting what I request here and which we need for such a glorious purpose.

Forgive me for having bothered Y.R. whose charity has encouraged me to lengthen this letter which I hope will not fail to be agreeable to you. I again beg Y.R. for the love of God to favor us and take this business upon yourself through the Duchess whom God has selected as our patroness and refuge, and I do not doubt her generosity, piety and apostolic zeal, which ought to be much in our favor. Y.R., dearest Father of mine, simply must choose to send me an answer to this letter whenever he wishes to console

¹ Ed. note: Five new missionaries arrived two weeks later. There was one Italian (Fr. Teófilo de Angelis, whose real name was Piccolomini), two Austrians (Fr. Carlos Boranga, and Fr. Juan Tilpe), one Czech (Fr. Strobach), one Spaniard (Fr. Zarzosa), and one Mexican (Br. Reyes).

this Mission. Meanwhile, Y.R., do not forget to pray God for this Christian community and for me, his useless servant, as I also have Y.R. in mind during my sacrifices [i.e. masses] and prayers, begging Our Lord to keep Y.R. and fill you with His divine gifts for the good of our Society. In all this business, it seems to me proper for Y.R. to contact Fr. Diego de Valdés so that he could help with the favor and talent of his brother, Don Bernardino, in order to make everything right, and I give Y.R. power to make the petition in my name if he wishes, in case it does not bring much luck through the Duchess of Aveiro.

We find ourselves much in need of sacred ornaments in this Mission on account of the various events of the past years and the fixes we have been in, and the burnings of churches and of our residences. Having heard that Y.R. is in charge of the Sodality of the Ladies of that Court, I wished to show you this need so that, God willing, such a circumstance might move a few of those ladies to assist us, in order for the divine cult not to decline among these people and be carried on solemnly and with due decency.

From the island of San Juan, town of San Ignacio of Agaña, 20 May 1681.

Y.R.'s servant in Christ,
Manuel de Solorzano.

[Postscript:] Although the date of this letter is 20 May, I had started it a few days before. I have since had Don José at our house going through the exercises of our Holy Father [i.e. St. Ignatius] with me, much to my satisfaction; I did not wish to keep this to myself, so that Y.R. may know that this good gentleman got much out of it and that he is obeying the opinions and recommendations very well to the letter. Out of this, I have no doubt that much good will result for the Christian community and we will live in consolation. Thus I beg Y.R., when you will deal with the Duchess of Aveiro about these things, to ask her in my name, or as Y.R. see more appropriate, to have her Excellency deign to write to the said Don José to thank him for the good work he has done this year, and the favor he has shown toward the Fathers, and exhorting him, at the same time, to make him understand that to assist as much as possible the Gospel workers in these islands is to do God's work, and the best way to honor Him. Y.R. could give him the same message, in case of writing him some letter.

I pray God to save Y.R. as much as I wish.

Agaña, 28 May 1681.

Y.R.'s humble servant,

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Manuel de Solorzano.

[To] Fr. Francisco García.

Document 1681H

**Letter from Fr. Solorzano to the
Duchess of Aveiro, dated Agadña
24 May 1681**

Source: NLA ms. 1436; 6-page ms. originally offered for sale by Maggs Bros. of London in 1923 for 42 pounds (Cat. N° 442, n° 1863, p. 138) and again in 1927 (Cat. N° 491, n° 44).

Extracts from this letter

...

It is a great stroke of good fortune to have succeeded the Rev. Fr. B. Besco in this Mission, inasmuch as it gives me the opportunity to offer your Grace my homage on behalf of this community, and render grateful thanks for your many benefactions... I do not doubt that, as Fr. Antonio Xaramillo has been to Manila, you will have received a full report from him of his mission; but withal, I will add some news which will not have been sent thence, as this year's news both to Spain and Manila is being conveyed by one and the same ship.

The devout knight, Don Joseph de Quiroga, arrived in these Islands in the year '79, sent by you and by his own desire to help us, and as we then had a Military Commander appointed by the Governor, Don Juan de Vargas Hurtado, although many wished that he [Quiroga] could fill the post, it was not possible, as we could not overrule the decision of the Philippine Government. However, the following year, Don Juan de Salas, having left the post before his term of office had expired—when the ship, which calls at these Islands, passed, we proposed to the General that the post of Commander of the Mariana Garrison should be given to Quiroga, whose proven military qualifications promised much success. The proposition was agreed to, and the ship departed, leaving us the usual supplies.

At about the same time, I received my Patent as Fr. Superior of these Islands, and I thereupon began to discuss with Don Joseph de Quiroga the best means of furthering the interests of this Christian community; because it was still very backward on account

of the calamities that had occurred, not only those originated by the savages themselves, but also by those people here who are supposed to be helping us.

In this respect the principal offenders have been the Military Commanders, who, possessing little intellect and ability, on finding themselves in a position of authority, have abandoned themselves to the vanity of styling themselves Governor (a title allowed them *ad honorem*) imagining themselves kings. They thus ride roughshod over everybody... without respecting the Ministers of the Church, and encouraging the savages to follow their example. As these people solely study their own interests, if they merely attain their own selfish ends, it is all they require, and they are quite indifferent as to the existence or non-existence of Christianity—or to the spiritual welfare of the Indians—but brazenly seek their own welfare and indulgence in *vita bona*.

[The writer declares that Quiroga's predecessor was divinely inspired to leave his post when he did, so that the Mission might benefit by the subsequent election of Quiroga to the post. He was precisely the type of personality needed in the Garrison at the moment, and responded to the call nobly. The writer laments the low standard of morality manifested throughout the Island, adding that:]

With this cross, we also have to bear with that of the studied contradiction from Manila—verily the devil inspires the minds of some individuals in that Government, to make war upon this Godly work.

Etc.

Document 1681I

Jesuit annual report for 1680-1681, by Fr. Solorzano

Sources: AGI Ultramar 562, Jesuit doc. n° 11 (in Latin); copy in Colección Pastells, Fil. 2, pp. 212-225; also in ARSI Phil. 13, fol. 248-254 (2 copies, one in Spanish, the other is yet another, different, version in Latin); 2 copies of a Spanish version exist in RAH 9/2677; another Spanish version (10-page ms.) was offered for sale by Maggs Bros. of London in 1923 for 75 pounds sterling (Cat. N° 442, n° 135-136), an extract of which is reproduced below.

*Notes: The addressee was Fr. Provincial Palavicino in Manila. The writer narrates the events since the arrival of the galleon **Santa Rosa** on 9 June 1680.*

Narrative of the most noteworthy events that have occurred in the Mariana Mission between June 1680 and June of this year 1681

Original text in Latin.

Relatio rerum, ac sucessium memorabiliorum misionis Insularum Marianarum á Junio anni 1680 usque ad eundem mensem anni 1681, scripta á R.P. Emanuele de Solorzano, S.P. Superiore, ac Vice Provinciale ejusdem misionis ad R.P. Joannem Palacicinum Provinciæ Filipinæ Prepositum Provinciale.

Apulit ad has Insulas navis á S. Rosa dicta, 5 Junii Anni 1680 ad quam statim ac ejus nobis adventus innotuit, egressi commeatum nobi submisum majori ex parte recapimus, licet quadam ob consuetam navis festinationem pretermittere cauti sumus, intenteque maxime dolemus abiisse quoque faselum quem inde Manila usus D. Governator nobis submisus est. Reliquit in his Insulis Arcitalasus D. Antonius de Nieto ex mandato D. Governatoris Insularum Filipinarum 20 Filipina Presidarios preter alia ex nova Hispania submisos: quo modo his Insulis satis promissum est de militari presidio quod ad earum debevationem sufficeret. Sed quia Presidii Capitaneus D. Joanes Antonius de Salas Officiosus coserat, caput quod eidem preeret, deficiebat, quod ad nostrano instantiam idem D. Arcitalasus Dominum Josefum de Quiroga eidem prefecit. His in navi paratis ad nostras Insulas reversi, nostra in illis S. fidei progagationem tota nos dedi-

*mus. Et primum quod factu necessarium bidebatur, erat totam Insulam accurate ac multoties prelustrare, atque obire paga pacifica ad baptisanda renatos, et lugungandos proditores, ac rebelles, id quod fecit suma deligentia, ac puntualitate novus Governator, castigatis pagis nonnullis pertinacioribus, qui solitudine aua, montiumque aviorum recepibus, ac asperitate freti, salutaribus moritis nostris, quin et oblata pacis consilii au-es proterne negabant; quare ubi ratione actum agi depreliensum est, in, atque suplificio tot eorum culpis pridem debito res est atentata. Itaque D. Governator cum necessaria ad id militum cohorte castra in ipso montium meditullio fixit, unde in barias turmas distracti milites, biis diu expiis in montis intima penetrantes, barbarorum nonnullos ocurrentes ceperunt, reliquos vero tanto metu percultos reliquerunt, ut desperato omni efugio nostris sese sumisserint, pace que promisa, in fidelitate ac obedientia poposierint. Ceteri vero per Insulam dispersi barbari, ubi rem serio agi, nec jano longa quiete interpolandar excursiones á presidariis fieri, sed irriquieti eos motu toti Insulæ pacificandæ intentos esse viderunt, timuerunt videlicet; janque spoonte criminosos illos seditionum autore extradere caperunt, satisfacturi videlicet ira militari, quam pridem tumultibus suis irritaverant. Et primum quidem quem tradiderunt fuit indus quidam cristianus Macasar, e reliquiis naufragii, quod navis á **Concepcione B. V.** dicta, istic Papa fuit: qui Ateista in morem viveevat, nulis unquam nostri, ut ad vevendum inter Cristianos, accederet, hostatibus obsequen. Sed enim rexatio, et captivitas dedid intellectum, quo preterito sua delicta recoquoscens, ecclesia reconciliari petit, ac cum eidem et vivere, & mori, id quod ita obtinuit, ut etiam nuestra Cristianis moribus conformem vitam agere pergant. Sed & aliarum Insularum Incola rerum in has gestarum fama potius quam armis debellato videri posunt quando habitatores Insulæ Rotæ, quo delinquentium plurimi sese receperent, Cadaver sacrilegii illiushomicidæ, qui venerabilem P. Jacobum de S. Victores é medio sustulerat, in amicitia signum atulerunt, ninum non lacturi, (ut ita in scafam imposuerat) nisi sua ei a tot lanceis inflicta vuluera pertinacem sua in malitia animi prius extinbarent: quorum exempptum senti sunt et illi qui in portu Tarragui vivunt, duobus illis P. Antonii de S. Basilio disoribus mortuo uno, altero vivo, extraditis qui et ipse paulo post Capitis damnatus mortem, cristiano more dispositus, exceptit.*

Verum quia D. Governator inteligebat Insulam hano desiderato pace frui non posse, nisi ipse ad Insulam Rotæ, quo tumultuase sese recipere solebant, se conferret ejusque incolis mandaret, ne quem ex Insulas S. Joanis eo trasfugiendum admiterent, alioquin pro hostibus habendi atque ut tales meritas penas daturi; Comitantibus duobus Patribus (qui Parvulos septenis hujus tumultuosi decursu natos baptisarent, totamque Insulam accurate perlustrarent) eo confestim accidere decrevit. Quare conscensis, quæ necessariae erant, scafis, sub auroram aplicuit, factaque excepciones, Indos tam ex improviso obruit, ut impossibilem isti adventum nostrorum crediderint: vento enim contrario quo flante ne domibus quidem suis Indi egrediuntur, apullerant. Ibi castigatis nonnullis, incensisque qui malefactorum receptaculum ope solebant, pagis plurimos secum captivos aduxit ex reis, interque eos precedentium tumultuum, Antesiguanum, Aguarin, alios que ternos, tum P. nostrorum, tum militum. Hic asistensium occisores,

occiso etiam in ipso insultu autore cædis P. Sebastiani de Monrroy, quem Cautivi Ceteri, facto denum eorum in Agadnia procesu, & iminati, secuti sunt. Reduxit insuper ad hanc Insulam plusquam 150 fugitivos, ubi tota illa Insula et ad obedientiam reducta die 10^a ab egressu victiorum, Agadniam reversus est, ac debitas Dei parenti pro felici rerum sucesu gratias, solemniter celebritate retulit. Repurgata hunc in enodum omni Insula, viis in ea. Commodioribus aperiendis insudatum est, diverticulisque ac asperis itineribus & in viis tollendis amotisque ferrearum porticarum, vectiumque in obstaculis, quo in opere militia nostra ad exemplum D. Capitanei sui egregie laboravit, nec cesavit quoad eam undique permeabilem relinqueret. Observatis quoque locis Insulæ commodioribus & ad formandas reducciones oportunioribus, nisum est, Indos ex angulis de mapalitus suis ad paucos pagos maiores reducendos esse; ubi debite ab evangelicis ministris instrui, gubernarique queant. Itaque D. Gubernator re bene perpensa, ad orientalem Insulæ plagam egressus, inde Boream versus procesis ad omnes illius status Indos unum, eumque optimum in locum Congregarent, quem Inapsam voceant, amenum Capacem, ac Liguosun insuper in medio pagellorum unde Indi Congregandi erant, situm, ut ita minus, singuli, a terris unde beniebant, distarent. Et quia loco huic unice alveum, scafanum ad mare altum egressui opportunus deerat, ne hac difficultate a piscatis suo, et per consequens a communi consuetu impedirentur, alveum suorumque opere militum satis Capacem aperire decrevit, fecitque non sine maximo labore, enulsis ex imo scopulis, alisque omnibus impedimentis, quæ indiis superatu impossibilia visa sunt. Sed vicit nimirum optimi D. Constancia ac Zelus Divina gloriæ indefessus, adeo ut Congregatis, sub id ipsum tempus omnibus eo comunicatis familiis, pagus satis amplus, in duasque uno lance quadrante a se distinctas regiones divisas, ad omnes Indorum commoditatem, a comodis formatus sit.

Sua idem tempus, (erat Septembris initium) in oppido Pago dicto, duarum Agadnia leucarum distantia. Sito, Australemque Insulo partem respiciente, incolæ pagellorum ejusdem regionis congregati sunt pagumque egregium, amplo, ac insigni fluvio irriguum constituerunt, omnibus ad vitam sibi necessariis instructum, puta campis seminanda oriza, ac fragmento sarraceno accomodum, cum insigni pro scafanum ad mare egressu alveo, et sufficientissima lignorum in fabricas, ac ceteros usus suos necessariorum abundantia. Statim ac in ordine pagi isti redacti erant, suos illis ministros, qui sacramenta administrarent, ac infide instruerent, dedi Indique magno cum fervore fabricandaaarum ecclesiarum ac dumun, in quibus Patres viverent, onus in se susceperunt: atque ita ecclesiæ duæ omnino capaces, ac navibus ternis insignes compositæ sunt; altera in Pago, honore Purissimæ Conceptioni Virginis: altera in Inapsam, honori S. Rafaelis ceterorumque S.S. Angelorum. Inde ad occidentalem Insulæ plagam transgressi vicinos pagellos, ei in quo portus est ubi naves ancoras jacere devent, agregare tentavimus, & cooperante D. Gubernatoris, militumque ejus celo brevis temporis intervallo ecclesiam (Dico Dionisio Areopagista consecratam) et domum Patribus excitabimus, et quia locus portus tot incolis sufficiens non erat in duas pagium regiones, imo leucæ quadrante disitas distinximus, adductis in eas undique e montibus ac campis colonii, et attributo eis misionario qui eorum curam in spiritualibus haberet. Die 8^a Decembris in

oppido Pago dedicata est ecclesia ejus loci honori Immaculatæ Conceptionis B. V. et 11 ejus invocata est alia ecclesia in Hagat, pago in quem plures alii a parte voreali convenerunt, et honori S. Rosa dedicata est. Similiter et in Narajan, alius ex parte Boreali sua cum ecclesia honori S. Josefi dedicata, pagus fundatus est: adeo ut sub unum, idemque templus Insula tota in fabricandis ecclesiis, domibusque ministrorum, ac suis occupata fuerit, non sine insigni nostra admiratione, videntium homines tanto pere alioquin otio dediti, tanto concumine insudape his operibus ad Dei cultum suarumque animarum salutem necessariis, ea in labore perseverantia, ut plus europeis non possent. Onino suam illis divina Bonitas benedictionem liberalissime impartitas fuisse videtur. Dum et mesem oriza abundantem & lucem veritati cognoscendæ necessarii videtur, adeoque eorum corda immutavit, ut clare appareat, hanc esse in his mutationem dexteræ excelsi. Sed & de forma politica inter eos inducenda, actum est, quo etiam hac via sua illis salvatio faciliteretur, quare in pagis noviter reductis a D. Governatore singuli, in singulis capitanei qui pago preepent nominati; & necessaria ad id potestate; autoritateque instructi sunt(?) ex nostra autem parte in imoquoque pago fiscalis unus, aut plures qui Indos ad misam audiendam, doctrinamque cataceticam convocent, deque infirmos misionarios admoneant, ac de puerperiis, et demum de peccatis publicis, reliquiisque administeria, et profectum ipsorum met in spiritualibus atientia, nec modo laudem sed et premium egregium meretur insignis ut totumque promptitudo, qua muneri suo satisfaciunt, egrosque justa hujus provinciæ marem ad ecclesiam deferunt, etiam nocte intempesta, ut SSmis. inibi sacramentis reficiantur: Diebus porro Dominicis, festisque cum pulcherrimo ordine suo cum labore ad ecclesiam prodecunt, doctrinam cateceptican decantantes, ac mox ut ecclesiam ingresi sunt, de genibus actum contriccionis concimunt, ut ita reliqua exercicia cum frutu peragant.

Baptisati sunt hoc anno ex parvulis, adultisque utriusque sexus plusquam mille, qui magno fervore doctrinam cateceticam memoriæ mandant, immo sub nocto in ante decubitus eadem alta voce suis in casis concinunt, ad exemplum Idarum quæ Hispanis presidariis nupserunt. Adhuc diebus mercuriis, ac sabbatis omnibus, universi a minimo ad maximum in ecclesias suas conveniunt, ac inibi eadem, quæ supra, decantant. Id ipsum quotidie faciunt parvuli qui insuper misam similiter audiunt quin etiam hic ter in septimana cateceris habetur. Jamque etiam reliqui paulatim disudent ministris fidei subesse, quos proinde dum iter aliquopiam suscipiunt, de absentia sua admonent, ut misionarius videat, iter nec illuc eis(?) conveniat, anc secus, neque eorum absentiam in ecclesiam miretur, quando catalogus universorum ex more legitur. Quæ omnia ac singulos spem prebent, non modicam incultam hanc barbariem in hortum Domini florentissimum brebi esse transformandum. Post spirituale Cristianitatis augmentum, silentio pretermittendum non est eorundem in temporalibus profectus ut pote a quo illud omnino dependeat. Quare omni conatu in id incumbitur, ut barbaros suos mores depellant Indigenæ, seque politico, ac rationabili vivendi modo accomodent. Et quia tan extrema miserorum Indirum nuditas primas adisse deligentia industries vocat, magno conatu seminando gosupio insudatum est, uti et utipsi filiis ducendis, nendo, ac texendo sese apuefaciant, quo ita nuditatis sese remedium afferant: quæ omnia naviter exe-

qui incipiunt, adeo ut confidamus paucis ab hic annis Insulæ de vestitu aequaliter provisum erit: alioquin ergo quamplurimum e Filipinis, ac aliunde vestium aferetur, quin et nostræ quantum fieri potest, super vestici non modo substrahatur, impossibile foret tantæ Indorum necessitate hoc in genere subcurrere. Sed et parvuli, qui nostra sub cura, suis in dominus educantur egregie hæc, ac similia condiscit, puta nere, texere, ac fila ducer, quin et etiam alias jam callerent mechanicas artes, si quis magistrum se eis preberet, addesset legere, serivere, ac musicam egregie jam nosse accipiunt, adeo ut eorum non nulli perbene misæ solemnibus assistere soleant, tres que etiam psalterium, seu harpam, pulsare insignitus condidiserint, ad quæ etiam discendas deficientes plane non sunt. Ceterum urgemus omnes, (ad otium tan generatim Indis omnibus familiare vitandum), ut orizæ, ac radium suarum sementi incumbant, ut ita alimentæ quæ hactenus parca semper erant, abundant: jamque anno presenti quod necessarium est militiæ suppetet, et annis sequentibus etiam, ut speramus, abundabit. Frugmentum sarracenicum magnas jam abundantias provenit, quo Indi libenter vescuntur, etiam crudo, crescetque hoc abundantia deinceps etiam. Occupationes hujus anni tot, tantæque non plura permiserunt. Interin puri sensim multiplicantur, & gallinas Indi majori copia alunt, quæ quidem quotidie exescet cum bono Indorum vivendi ordine, et adeo ut abunde his Insulis prospectum iri speremus. Hæc inter jam Februarii initia advenerant sub quæ cum jam ad coronidem ecclesiæ S. Michaelis de Inapsan perducta esset, solemnem ejus dedicationem, universali omnium letitia, et Indorum presentim ob bene impensos labores suos solatio, parcibamus; cum ecce die ejus mensis tertia sub medium montis, nescio quis, (latet enim autor) sive inimicus oculus, sive dæmon tanti servi invidus, ignem ei, duabus ex partibus supposuit, qui eam, atque adjunctam illi residentiam brebissimo tempore esto ex lignis prope viventibus constaret, ita inculuit, ut neque imagines & paramenta altaris cum reliqua suppellectide salvari potuerit. Adfuerunt ex templo Patri suo opem saturi, sed frustra; quando ignis nihil omnino salvari permitebat. Nec dicere valeam, major ne Patris, an Indorum hoc in casu dolor fuerit quando isti eo eventu adeo consternatisunt, ut quid agendum, omitendum ne esset, nescirent: timebant enim ne Governator, omnes tanquam proditores perderet. Unde enim, atque enim Patris instabant ne eos deserere, aut ad presidium abiret, quando quidem eorum innotenciam non nescirent; adeo ut eorum precibus acquiescendum Pater duxerit & solo comites suo P. Coadjutore huc transmisso rei me successum edocuerint. Sed enim ablegatus ad me nuntius majorem Indis metum iniecit, putantibus Governatorem statim ab accepto nuntio cum presidio super venturum, magna que in eos cade giasaturum atque adeo ad escafas suas ex templo convolarunt, quamvis multæ earum navigationi ineptæ essent; unde non pauci cum se aquæ credidissent, naufragi perierunt: Ceteri omnes ad Insulam Rotæ evaserunt, Patri solo cum domesticis suis relicto. Governator, accepto nuntio, statim Inapsanum se contulit, rei sucesum, et si fieri posset inquisiturus. Sed vero solum illic Patrem, & precipitis Indorum fugæ vestigia, spardas que naufragorum tabullas reperit, adeoque cum Patres, ac socciis ejus Agadnam reversus est, sperans Indos interim ad pristinam suam sedem versuros, quando quidem culpæ omnis expertos eos fuisse; tum poltiplices eorum ad Patrem, ne abiret preces, tum quod si conjurati fuissent, vitæ Patris non peperissent,

satis superque monstrabant, & ne sinister hic eventus reliquorum animis, cogitationes ingereret, statim maganque cum sollemnitate ecclesiam D. Dionisii in Umatag dedicavimus, id quod 15 Februarii factum est, magna omnium letitia: nam reliqui totius insulæ Indi magna cum pace vivunt, & audita hujus incendii fama, magna pro ecclesiis suis deligentia vigilare cæperunt, adeo ut incolæ oppidi Pago multis noctibus alternatim pro sua egerint, eamque ac residentiam Patris assidue abirent, quo cum ab inimicis periculisque omnibus tutum redere; quæ industria ob animum bonum Indorum, quo id fecerunt, estimatione plane dignissima est. Parata ecclesia Umatagensis dedicatione, placuit divina majestati, alia nos adversitate provare, non jam Indicis, sed Hispanis militibus infortunii autoribus. Res in hunc modum accidit. Celorem, seu faselum quo comeatum e nova Hispanios aductum excipere solemus Umatagma ad lignos in fabricam ecclesiæ convehenda miseramus, perductaque ad calcem opere, milites cum omni supellectile suæ, fabrilibusque instrumentis eam conscenderant ad repetendum Agradiense [i.e. Agadniense] presidium: sed vento contrario oborto portum petere coati sunt, ibique duos dies morati. Cum ecce Hispani duo cum mixtigenio, seu meolopio, uno manilensi, et duobus filipinis in suam ac hujus Cristianitatis perniciem conjuraverunt sumisiisque rubentibus, quibus faselus aligatus erat, una ante diem hora e portu disseperunt, vela que Filipinas versus verterunt, nullo alio comeatu instructi, quam una, alterave aquæ urna & totidem 3 vel 4 radicum sportis, parco omnino respectu ejus, quod suscipiebant itineris: in quo etsi vento prospero usi sunt, ob faselitamem parvitatem & navigantium penuriam, marisque illo tractu ferociam, moraliter impossibile videtur, quin pereant, seu maris fluctibus absorpti, seu fami compsumti, seu mutua cede in se grasati ubi se perditos, et neque finem intentum consequendi, neque retro unde venerant abeundi potentes viderint.

Ubi illuxit prodictio & temerarium paucorum factum istorum, militibus ceteris innotuit, quod adhuc tantillum faselus conspui posset, statimque conscensis Indorum scafis eos insecuti sunt, sed frustra: atque adeo jam cymbanos omni destitutos videmus, cum etiam ea quam D. Governator Pilippinarum submittebat cum hac navi pretergressa sit: adeo ut jam manifesto periculo expositi simus perdendi quotaniis, si non totum, saltem plurimum de comeatu, qui nobis submititur, omnique auxilio majus aliquid agrediendi destituti. Interin de restauranda Inapsani ruina revocandis que fugitivis ejus incolis actum est, submisique qui ad suam eos terram revocarent: quos illi sic audierunt, ut redituros se ad sua reponerent. Sed cum nihil hominus cuntarentur, iterato ad id requisiti sunt, jamque clarius tergiversati, ac anfibologicæ respondere auditi sunt, quin et percusso cum Insulæ ejus habitatoribus fædere, arma ad resistendum, si forte Governator cum suis eos vi coactus advenerit, parare visi: Itaque D. Governator cum suis 24 Aprilis eo se contulit, quem isti armati exceperunt: sed mox inito conflictu fusi fugatius sunt, et ad montes delapssi, occisis nonnullis Indorum, lapsis pluribus. Incenso ergo ubi habitabant, pago, scafisque compluribus, cum jam eos adeo conflictos videret, ut non possint numquam primum ad sua redire, pacem, ac necessitatis suæ remedium in veteri situ quæsitum, prima navi Agadniam Gubernatur reversus est. Ex his itaque tum gentis hujus instabilitas, tum multus pro divina gloria isthis propaganda

labor in sumtus satis, superque patent: in quo etsi dulcibus mixta, semper amara sint. Hæc est adversa prosperis; adeo intertexta nilominus inter hæc, ac illa non parum divina gloria augetur.

De reliquo maxima sumo operariorum pro tot gentium conversione penurias laboramus, quæ quidem pluribus remoræ conatibus nostris injiciet, qui quidem eo tendunt, ut omnes Insularum harum habitatores ad 4 majores reducamus, ubi minoribus cum impedimentis sacramenta eis administrari & melius eorum saluti invigilari possit. Ceterum earum conversionem, si modo operari non desint brevi condudenda speramus; atque adeo jam navim majorem e Pilipinis huc destinanda avidè expectamus, quos quidem Australem rumbum, et Insula de Sardis, et ceterarum subsequenter, & ipsius terre Australis montana tentare animus est, de quibus omnibus optimæ tum noticiæ, tum spes habentur, quod earum habitatores & politici magis et mocigeri esse didantem, vestituque & politica uti, tregique suo parere, quin & rebus quæ commercio cum Insulis Filipinis viam aperiant abundare, quo mediante, tum eo, tum Australes Insulæ, que multæ, amplæque que sunt in fide esudixi, conservarique possint. Divina Bonitas, Corda eorum, qui remedium his necessitatibus afferre possunt, moveat, ut quantoties navis illa nobis submitatur, faliatque est & cetera prospere deinceps succedant: ut post annorum 12 pruina totque tum aforis, tum intus adversarios missionibus, dico misianis istius, desiderata serenitas, & amenum felicius eventum ver subintret, ut qui hactenus ei sese contrarios prebuerunt, in partem laboris veniant, juventque santissimam nostram fidem inter has, alias que multas, quæ nos spectant gentes, amplius atque amplius propagare.

Agatña 25 Maij 1681.

R. V.

Servus in Cristo,

Emanuele de Solorzano.

Extract from Maggs Catalog.

...
The ship **Santa Rosa** reached this Island of San Juan on 9 June 1680, and on receiving news of its arrival, we went out to meet it and get the supplies, which were very complete that year; although, as they did not cast anchor, we lost some boxes of materials and supplies which we shall mention in the letters... but withal, what the Mission needs most urgently is the barque which the Governor of the Philippines, Don Juan de Vargas, ought to send from Manila; and we regret that the big ships have ignored the order that they should anchor at these Islands.

General Antonio Nieto, who was in command of the ship [Santa Rosa], acting on instructions from the Governor, left 20 Filipinos and some soldiers from New Spain in these Islands, so that there will be plenty of help for the subjection of the rebels. We had been left in an embarrassing position by the resignation of Don Juan Antonio de Salas, having no civil governor, and we had made representations to the General with regard to Don Joseph de Quiroga, a gentleman from Galicia, well-versed in military matters of which he had had much experience in Flanders, honorable and exemplary

in his conduct, and as zealous for the glory of God as for His Majesty's service. We persuaded him [Nieto] that he could not do better than appoint this gentleman in the interim, and that the Governor of the Philippines should send a formal acknowledgment of his nomination as Governor of these Islands, all of which was done, and we thus bade farewell to the ship and returned ashore to begin the work connected with this Christian community.

[The author then describes how the outlying districts were visited and the babies were baptized, whilst the rebels in some districts had to be suppressed by force of arms, under the capable leadership of the new Governor Quiroga. He deals at great length with the ever-present question of the faction between blacks and whites, and gives some interesting examples of the power of Quiroga's mental gifts over the brute force of the savages.]

[Expedition to Rota]

Don José de Quiroga, recognizing that the only way to pacify this Island was to proceed to Rota, where the rebels were harbored, decided to go with plenty of troops to deprive them of this loophole of escape, and forbade the inhabitants of that Island to receive any fugitive from here, under penalty of being classed with the enemy; and as such would be duly punished for disobeying his orders.

Two priests accompanied the troops in order to visit the Island and baptize the children who had been born during the previous six or seven years. They arrived at the Island at daybreak, and sprang ashore, catching the inhabitants so unexpectedly that they could scarcely credit the evidence of their senses, as our people had had to contend with contrary winds, in which weather the natives themselves never leave their homes.

Some of the villages which had harbored the miscreants were burned, and the natives were punished; many of these were taken prisoners, such as the War Chief, whose name is Aguarin, and three other murderers of Fathers; and some soldiers killed *in flagranti* [red-handed] the instigator of the murder of Fr. Sebastian de Monroy. The prisoners were afterwards sent for trial to Agadña. He [Quiroga] made more than 190 fugitives return to this Island; and, having surrounded the Island of Rota and left it in a state of submission, they returned victorious, to Agadña, 10 days later, and they subsequently held a feast dedicated to the Virgin as a thanksgiving for their success.

The Island now being clear of rebels and murderers, new roads were opened up, many of the precipitous crags and dangerous paths being levelled with iron tools, in which work the soldiers, following the enthusiastic example of their leader, finally succeeded in rendering the roads suitable for horse-traffic without the risk of accident.

[New settlement at Inapsan]

The Island having been carefully surveyed, the most suitable districts were chosen for the foundation of townships. It was decided to bring the natives from their isolated huts and villages to the larger towns, where they might be well taught and assisted by the evangelical ministers; for which purpose, having considered the question thorough-

ly, the Governor set out for the East coast of this Island, to gather the inhabitants of the villages together in the best part of that side of the Island, which is called Inapsan, which is well-wooded and spacious, and is situated near the villages from which the inhabitants were to be drawn, so that they should be near their old neighborhood. But as this place did not possess a good [sand] bank for the outward passage of the barques in deep water, although it was otherwise so suitable, to assist the natives in overcoming any difficulty on that score, the Governor decided that his soldiers should make them an adequate bar for the purpose.

...

[The comets of 1680-81 seen in Guam]

The one was not very big and appeared as the day was dawning, between the eastern and southern horizon, and did not last long; whereas the other was prodigious and of unusual grandeur. It first appeared on 22 December, and lasted until February, and it was noticed that this great comet was traversed by others of lesser magnitude, which disappeared suddenly, leaving the other resplendent with even greater light than before... If these comets denote, as they are said to do, unhappy events, troubles and other punishments from the Divine Dispenser of Justice, they may well be feared. What I can say is, that overhere we have experienced some adversity in the midst of the successes to which I have referred.

...

[He then discourses upon the religious culture of the natives, and gives an entertaining description of their eventful life out there. The relation is closely written, and consists of 10 pages of romantic history, in the Vice-Provincial's customary, picturesque style. The "atmosphere" of that distant rugged setting, the scene of the earliest efforts of the spiritual pioneers, is vividly brought before the reader. The daily life, with its petty trials; its childish, often foolish squabbles and exaggerations, and then the grand, intrepid moments which raised human clay to the ranks of Martyrdom, whilst the grim tragedy of Revolution was being enacted.]

...

Agadña 25 May 1681.

Document 1681J

Letter from Fr. Lorenzo Bustillo to Fr. Francisco García, dated Agaña 27 May 1681

Source: Present location unknown; 7-page ms. offered for sale by Maggs Bros. of London in 1923 for 52 pounds, i.e. \$260 (Cat. N° 1866, pp. 141-142).

Extracts from a letter by Fr. Bustillo and from an earlier petition addressed to the Queen Regent on behalf of Chamorro students

...

Being in charge of the boys of this College, I am compelled to tire you with a request from Fr. Manuel de Solorzano, Mission Superior, that, among other things, a decree should be obtained from His Majesty, through the intermediary of the Duchess of Aveiro, ordering the Governor to send out a carpenter and a boot-maker, for the purpose of instructing the collegiates in these trades. This is quite contrary to the aim and purpose for which this college was founded, as you must well know from the Paper which you yourself, perchance, had printed on 28 April 1670, entitled: "Report of the Progress of our Holy Faith in the Mariana Islands," which document contains some petitions addressed to the King by the Venerable Fr. Diego Luis San Vitores.¹

The seventh clause is as follows, quote: "We petition His Majesty to found a seminary in the Island of Guam, for the instruction of the boys of this land, who are orphans or otherwise deprived of the means of obtaining an education... founding this seminary in opposition to that founded by the Devil..."

"Until others be founded in these Islands, the children chosen for the seminary will be those showing the greatest ability, the best nature, and the ones most amenable to

¹ Ed. note: The report was, in fact, covering a period ending on that date, but was not printed until perhaps 1672 (see Doc. 1670H2). It was edited by Fr. Andrés de Ledesma, not García.

the Christian doctrine, who will in due course serve as teachers to the rest. Approved students could in time be ordained as priests, for these natives of the Marianas are sober, whereas the drunkenness encountered in other parts was one of the principal obstacles in our path...”

“The Apostle of the Indies, Saint Francis Xavier, vested his hopes ever in the little ones, whose training and education he advocated above all else, for he believed that the seeds of righteousness sown in childhood, grow with the man’s development, and that good men who have reached a great age have been good since the tenderest years of their childhood.”

And further on, still referring to the seminary, Fr. San Vitores’ petition continues: “If the means were at hand, it would be of great value to found a seminary for the little girls of the Marianas, where they might be rescued before the Devil claims them for his own, for these maids are encouraged to lead shameful lives, with the stupid and infamous consent of their parents, who only seek material gain.” End of quotation.

I will now quote some words from the Memorial sent by the Secretary of the Council of the Indies to the Ven. Fr. San Vitores, in which he mentions all that the King concedes for the development and conversion of these Islands. He says in clause 23 of that paper, quote:

“On 18 April 1673, the Viceroy of New Spain was instructed to communicate with Fr. San Vitores with a view to founding the required College in the Island of Guam for orphan boys, remitting 3,000 pesos per annum for this purpose. And he should also assist in providing a Home for the Mariana girls...” and in the same document it says that Fr. San Vitores was notified that same day¹ and was thanked (in a letter from the King) for his zeal in regard to the work of conversion.

One gathers from this paper that no provision was made for the training of shoe-makers and blacksmiths, etc., or other trade, as Fr. Manuel de Solorzano pretends, for such are not the functions of our Institution, which aims at the teaching of higher things; nor is it characteristic of Fr. San Vitores as I know—for it was I who wrote out his petition to the King about the foundation of the College—and not once did I hear him express a desire to use it for the purpose of training cobblers; he had merely applied for leave to choose the ablest boys of the community and teach them to read and write, etc., so that they might in turn teach the others, and later appoint some of the best for ordination, and to all this His Majesty agreed, with no mention, on the one part or on the other, of any mechanical work. Indeed, the teaching of these trades is no more difficult of accomplishment in the Marianas than in any other Republic....

And thus Fr. San Vitores petitioned the King in the second paper: “They ask that a goodly number of lay brothers of various professions, qualified to teach the Mariana people, should be sent out and by their example as good Christians, should also teach them Christian customs, etc.... and incidentally to introduce some form of government and justice which is completely lacking in these lands. It would be necessary for these

1 Ed. note: See Document 1673B4.

to bring, besides the materials required in following their professions, some firearms, etc.”

Father Solorzano, against the will of his Provincial, now wishes to establish in the Marianas a Cathedral of Menial Work.

It is a fact that since the year '76, when I returned to this Mission, the successive fathers Superior had compelled the college boys to wait on us all as though they were slaves. This was reported to the Fr. Provincial of this Province, who thereupon issued peremptory orders, and wrote to me, in reference to the matter as follows: “I am glad to learn that you are enjoying good health, and particularly do I rejoice in the knowledge that you are zealously caring for the education of the boys, upon which, as you rightly say, the development of these missions so greatly depends; for, having been trained in the ways of virtue from the earliest years, they will become good men, and set examples for others to emulate... I have read over all the points carefully... and specially do I concur in condemning the practice of treating them as slaves... they are taught to read and write, to pray and to follow the doctrines of Christianity; the money granted for the purpose by the King, is to be spent on their education and maintenance, and I can understand how pained is your heart by these trials, for you know full well how these poor little boys should be treated.... In conclusion, I beg you to continue to do what you can to assist these children, for that is a highly acceptable service to our Lord.”

So you see that Fr. Solorzano, finding this door closed, has tried to acquire the services of the collegiates in diverse menial capacities, for his own comfort.

...

[The writer proceeds to upbraid his callous colleague, reiterating the full catalog of Fr. Solorzano's misdeeds with a zeal, patience and eloquence worthy of a better cause. He asks for news of the friends of his student days, and reminds Fr. García that they two were fellow-students at Alcalá [de Henares] before they entered Holy Orders. He wishes to be remembered:]

... to my well-beloved Father Juan de Almazan and Father Diego Jacinto de Faber, who were my masters during the period of my novitiate at Villarejo and Madrid, and to Father Diego de Valdés, who was instrumental in obtaining my entry into the Brotherhood, and was my priest [i.e. confessor] in the seminary at Villarejo.

...

S. Ignacio de Agadña, 27 May 1681.

Document 1681K

Letter from Captain Quiroga[?] to the Duke of Arcos, dated 30 May 1681

Source: Unsigned manuscript in the Lilly Library, Indiana University, among Phil. mss.

Note: The handwriting is definitely not that of Fr. Solorzano, but it appears to have been a bad draft, submitted by someone else whose knowledge of Spanish was primitive and flowery; for this reason, I attribute it to Quiroga. This letter was forwarded by Fr Solorzano. Unbeknown to the writer, the Duke had been divorced from the Duchess of Aveiro two years before.

Original text in Spanish.

El Espiritu Ssantto sea para siempre en el alma de V.E. para que anssi [=asi] ssea Ciudad puesta sobre el monte Rus sobre el yestemin pues berdaderamente que es un gran Sseñor birtuosso ssino un gran çiudad ssobre muy alto monte[,] antorcha ssobre el candelero[,] pues la piedra falssa en el poder del gran Sseñor pasa por fina y de mucha balor y estima[,] pues Exçelentissimo Sseñor a quien yo mucho amo en christo que sera virtudes en poder de V.E. ssino piedra presiosa de ynfinitto balor y ssuresplano -- ssu-biera al trono del alttissimo y onipottente Dios[,] ya puede sser que sse diga por mi aquel adagio comun que alu que lla no dan le el pie y toman la mano mas yo les respondere con el que dize no sse me da que lo digan[,] digan que el que a mano sse le da de lo que diran y an ssi [=asi] me olvido de la grandeza de V.E. que me acuerdo de la mucha limosna que me han echo V.E. con mi Señora de quien paresse que habla eçequiel la gracia de la muger diligente deleytara su marido y de quien tanto alaba san pablo[,] yo Çierto quisiera tener palabras para saber alabar ssu ssantidad y virtudes[,] ssu alta y a mi parecer ssin segunda en ssu gran capacidad[,] su gran prudencia y fortaleza, mas bale callar que hablar poco en materia que ay tanto que d[ecir,] pues de mi Señora Dona y ssabe el y demas sseñores a quien amo en extremo en nuestro Señor Jesu christo y todas las que me acuerdo de las muchas prendas con que el Señor adorno, no me arto de alabar al Señor y amar los n[iños(?)] esto no es lisonga que no permita su divina Magd que [tal] cossa se alle en mis cartas mas edicto estas cossas para que ayiendo V.E. reflega del gran conforte y fruto de tanta [ben-] dicion retrato muy alovib(?) del arbol de que produce d[ando?] ynfinitas gracias al Señor de cuya liberal mano viene todo y digo a V.E. una berdad para consuelo de V.E. y de [to]da essa ssantta y bien concerta-

da familia[.] que [he] estado en casas de Religion algunos dias de passo y en hermitad asunto y en ninguna parte tambien se allava mi al[ma] como en essa cassa por que las religiones no es mucho que guarden clausura pues es su astatuta [sic], mas una cassa de gran Señor en medio de la Corte adonde pareçe que -- banidad y tan esto avia de estar en su punto a que se alla lo contrario[.] Esto es lo que ay que alabar y admirar[.] sea el Señor alabado en todos estados y a V.E. y a toda esa [ca]ssa eche su bendición muy copiosa y de mucha salud para el amparo [de] tantos pobres y buena crianssa de esos mis Señores cuyas vidas guarde nuestro Señor muchos años[.]

Marianas 30 de mayo de 1681[.]

Umilde criado de V.E.

que S.M.B.S.

[Al] Exm^o Sr. duque de arcos marchena y maqueda[.]

Translation.

May the Holy Spirit be always with the soul of Y.E. so that it may become a city placed upon Mount Rus above the Yestemin, given that you are not only a great Lord but a great city above the highest mountain, a torch upon the chandelier, given that a false stone in the hands of a great Lord passes for a fine one, esteemed for its great value, since, Most Excellent Sir, whom I much love in Christ, the virtues of Y.E. would be like a precious stone of infinite value and sublime that would rise to the throne of the most high and almighty God.

One could say on my behalf the old proverb "to the one they do not give the foot, they take the hand" but I would rather repeat the proverb that says "Don't be fooled by what is said when they [face you and] shake your hand, and then talk behind your back."¹ So, I am forgetting the high station of Y.E., but I remember the large alms given to me by Y.E., and my Lady, about whom, it seems, Ezechiel meant by "the grace of the diligent woman will delight her husband", and whom Saint Paul praised so much. I would surely like to have the words to be able to praise her holiness and her high virtues, and in my opinion without equal in her great ability, her great prudence and strength. It is better to shut up than to say little regarding a subject about which there is so much to say, given that it is about my Lady and you and other gentlemen whom I love very much in our Lord Jesus Christ and about all the many qualifications that I remember the Lord adorned her with, I do not tire to praise the Lord and to love the [children]. This is not flattery, the Lord forbid that such be found in my letters, but a statement of these things to help Y.E. reflect on the great comfort and fruit of so much blessing(?), a very faithful(?) portrait of the tree from which are produced the infinite favors of the Lord from whose liberal hands everything comes.

I [will] say one truth to Y.E. for the consolation of Y.E. and of that whole saintly and well-adjusted family: I have been a guest in houses of the religious orders for a few days while on the road and in hermitages, and my soul(?) was never as well anywhere

1 Ed. note: Approximate, and perhaps erroneous, translation of an old-style proverb.

as in that house [of yours], because there are not too many religious orders who keep cloistral seclusion, in accordance with their statutes, but in the house of a great Lord in the middle of the Court where it seems that vanity and such exist, one would not expect to find the opposite. This is what should be praised and admired. May the Lord be praised in all the nations and may He bless Y.E. and that whole house very abundantly, with much health for the protection of so many poor people.

[From] a good servant of my Lord and Lady, whose lives may our Lord preserve for many years.

Marianas, 30 May 1681.

The humble servant of Y.E. who kisses your hands.

[To] His Excellency the Duke of Arcos, Marchena and Maqueda.

Document 1681L

Letter from Fr. Tilpe to Fr. Tanner, dated Mexico 8 January 1681

Source: Schwartz Collection 1-1, Special Collections Division, Georgetown University Library, Washington, D.C.

Original text in Latin.

Reverendo Patri in Christo P. Mathiæ Tanner, Domus Professæ Societatis Jesu, Præposito Pragæ ad S. Nicolæum.

Reverende in Christo Pater.

Sexagintæ-sex dierum navigatione prospera admodum et felici, uti Rti^a Vr^a ex adjuncta relatione particularius intelliget, veram Crucem Americæ Septentrionalis portum attigimus, eademque cum felicitate, et bona omnium valetudine, septima octubris Mexicum ingressi sumus, ubi nunc in dies huc venientem ex Philippinis navim præstolamur eodem cum reduce transportandi. Mitto dictam relationum et alias de Marianis, et China, vetustiora equidem, sed illic nova: si cum ista navi recentiora venerint, mittam cum reduce flota; et con gesta nonnulla de uno, alterove viro Illustri hujus Mexicanæ Provinciæ recentius defuncto: idem præstiturus, ut primum Philippinas attigero, nisi tam cito ad missiones destiner, ut Ræ Væ desiderijs obsequendi tempus et facultas non suppetat; verum utut fuerit, sedulam Rtiæ Væ me gratum exhibendi operam non intermittam.

Has inclusas dignetur, rogo, R^a V^a quantoc[un]djus ad R.P. Sarcander promovere, dictasque relationes, si fuerit, qui eas describat, eidem communicare; in dictis ad P. Sarcander literis inclusæ etiam sunt aliæ ad meam Matrem, quæ si forte adhuc superstes est, et ope aliqua indiget, dignetur eidem, rogo, succurrere, aut succurri facere, Rti^a Vr^a cum eo, quod mihi præscriptum, aut submissum vellet; ego gratias DEO, re nulla temporali egeo, etsi enim spoliatus omnibus ijs, quæ pro missionibus, mihi comparaveram, huc appulerim, submisit mihi nihilominus DEUS tam liberate benefactore hic Mexici, qui se mihi daturu promisit, quidquid pro ulteriori itinere opus mihi fuerit; ita providentissimus DEUS sollicitus est pro nobis cæterum in bona terra cum bona gente, et vescor, et volente Deo vescabor. Hic quidem, et hujus Provinciæ Patres in Mission-

arijs Germanis valde sibi complaverunt, optantque unice quam plures inde ex nostris Provincijs sibi submitti, et vere messis multa est, operarij vero pauci.

In Philippinis vero magna, magna dictum esse Societatis charitas, et quamvis pro missionibus hic et hinc apertis videatum sufficientibus infructa sit subjectis, plures nihilominus desiderat, propter magnas Chinæ sibi aperiendæ, et forte etiam Japoniæ spes.

Nuper certe Dominus quidam redux e Japonia mihi asseruit, passos dura multa pauperes desertæ illius Ecclesiæ Christianos sub Imperio Senis Imperatoris magni Christianæ Fidei inimici; verum hoc defuncto, meliora quæque sibi promittere a juvene successore Principe admodum blando, et Christianis benevolo. Faxit pium nomen, ut tandem aliquando oppressis hisce pauperibus succurri possit.

Hic interim mitto Relationem de B[ea]tissima V[ir]gine de Guadalupe, cujus miraculosa imago, uno ab urbe Mexicana lapide visitur; relationem item rerum Marianorum et Chinensium, quantum habere pro nunc potuimus. Easdem a me descriptas mittit P. Augustinus Strobach Telcarium [=from Iglau?].

Monstruosus Cometa, qui altero jam mense hic videtur Aquarium inter et Pisces, caudamque hasta Cassiopæam projicit, metum incutit nonnullum, quem augent nonnullæ Indorum in differentibus locis commotæ seditiones, vagantesque Comitibus de Estreper Oceanum naves, et frequentes Anglorum, Gallorum, et aliorum Corsariorum incursiones. DEUS provideat, cum humanæ provisiones sint valde exiguæ: Reverentiamque Vram. cum tota dilecta mea Provincia salvam et incolumen velit.

Dignetur rogo etiam Rdo. Pi. Provinciali, et R.P. Bock inclusas communicare relationes.

Ræ Væ

Servus in Christo,

Joannes Tilpe

P.S. Ista philyra alba est Charta Chinensis, ex seda confecta, quali utuntur Sinæ. Literas P. Euchario inscriptas, dignetur rogo R. Vra. ad eundem transmittere, ubi ubi fuerit, nisi jam sit in Cælo.

[Enclosure:]

Relatio Navigationis nostræ ad Indias Occidentalis Anno 1680.

[See summary below]

Translation.

[To] Reverend Father in Christ Fr. Matthew Tanner, in charge of the Professors' House of the Society of Jesus, in St. Nicholas, Prague.

Reverend Father in Christ.

After 66 days of very prosperous and favorable sailing, as Your Reverence will learn in greater details from the enclosed narrative, we arrived at the port of Veracruz in North America. And, also very luckily with all of us in good health, on 7 October we entered Mexico City, where any day now we are expecting the ship coming from the

Philippines to be made ready to carry us on her return journey. I am sending you the said narrative and other relations from the Marianas, and some older ones from China, but new here. If more recent ones should come with this ship, I will send them aboard the returning [Atlantic] Fleet, along with some doings by one and another Illustrious man of this Mexican Province who died recently. I also intend, as soon as I reach the Philippines to fulfil the desires of Y.R., unless I am sent right away to the missions, and then might have neither the time nor the possibility. Whatever the case, I would be grateful if Your Reverence will continue to write to me.

I beg Y.R. to forward the enclosed letter to Rev. Fr. Sarcander as soon as possible, and to pass on the said relations to whomever they are addressed. In my letter to Fr. Sarcander, there is one for my mother, who, if perchance she is still there, might require some help; in which case, I beg Y.R. to help her out, or make sure she is helped, with whatever is assigned or sent to me, because, thank GOD, I have no need of material things, although I might be deprived of everything in the missions. However, I will procure what I need before I sail from here; GOD has sent me a generous benefactor here in Mexico, who has promised to send me whatever I might need for the rest of the voyage. So, the most providential GOD is ever solicitous of the rest of us in this good land with good people, and, GOD willing, I have food and will continue to be fed. This man, and the Fathers of this Province have been exceedingly pleased with the missionaries from Germany, and they will at once choose as many as may be sent from our Province, and in fact the harvest is abundant but the workers are few.

Indeed, in the Philippines many charitable things are being said about the Society, and however unfruitful the missions may be seen here or the possibility of having sufficient subjects from here, nevertheless, many are wanted, because great China is being opened to them, and perhaps there is even hope that Japan will be.

Recently, a certain gentleman who has returned from Japan has given me certain news about it. The poor Christians of that abandoned Church have suffered much under the rule of the old Emperor, who was an enemy of the Christian faith, but he is now dead, and things will be better under the young prince who succeeded him; the latter is very gentle and benevolent toward the Christians. May he be pious, so that he might finally help those poor people wherever they are oppressed.

In the meantime, I am enclosing a Relation of the Most Blessed Virgin of Guadalupe, whose miraculous statue, made of stone, can be visited outside of Mexico City. Also Fr. Augustin Strobach Telcarium [=from Iglaiü?] tells me that he is sending the reports of the events in the Marianas and China, as many as we could find up to now.

A huge **comet**, that was first seen here last month between Aquarius and Pisces, with its tail extending as far as Cassiopeia, causes some fear that there will be an increase in the rebellions among Indians of various localities, in the ships of the [Dutch] Count of Estrec [sic] that are wandering the Ocean, and more frequent incursions of English, French, and other pirates. May GOD make provisions to overcome the very narrow human possibilities, and may He keep Your Reverence and the whole of my beloved Province safe and sound.

I beg you to please forward the enclosed reports to the Rev. Fr. Provincial and to Rev. Fr. Bock.

Your Reverence's servant in Christ,
Juan Tilpe

P.S. That white papyrus is a map of China, made out of silk, which was drawn in China. It is addressed to Fr. Eucharius. Will Y.R. please forward it to him, wherever he might be, unless he is already in Heaven.

[Enclosure:]

Narrative of our voyage to the West Indies in the year 1680.

[Summary: After the shipwreck suffered off Cadiz on 11 July 1680, some missionaries were able to pursue their voyage aboard other ships on 12 July: Fr. Francisco Borja and Fr. Carlos Calvanese boarded the old flagship; the author (Tilpe) with Fr. Andreas Mancker and Fr. Diego Zarzosa went on board the ship **San Ignacio**,¹ **alias Pinge**; Fr. Joseph Neüman, Fr. Augustin Strobach went on board the **Pistricum**,¹ **alias Blessed Virgin(?)**; Fr. Carlos Boranga boarded the ship **La Portuguesa**; Fr. John Ratkay and Fr. Teofilo de Angelis went on board the **Santiago de Artilleria**. In Mexico, they were distributed among various Jesuit establishments while they remained there.]

1 Rather Pistrinum? This Latin word means a grinding mill, grinding stone, or bakery. Perhaps its nickname in Spanish was the Ingenio, or Mortero.

Document 1681M

Journal of Fr. Klein's voyage from Cadiz to Mexico in 1681

Source: Ms. n° 28 in Schwartz Collection, mss. 1-1, in Georgetown University, Washington, D.C.

Note: The original is now lost; this is a 39-page transcript. The title is: "Relatio Navigationis Patrum Missionariorum Societatis JESU, 28 Januarij Anni 1681 Gadibus in Novam Hispanian solventium."

Synopsis

Account of the voyage of the missionary Fathers of the Society of Jesus, [begun on] January 28th of the year 1681 at Cadiz, bound to New Spain.

[Fr. Klein and companions boarded the fleet headed for New Granada, or the mainland of South America; had they waited for the Mexican fleet, they would not have departed until July. They boarded their own ship (which appears to have been chartered as an advice ship sent to Veracruz, named **Virgin of the Kings**) on the 27th. This ship had an interesting history. It had been built in Holland and launched on 4 May 1680. While it was transporting wheat to Spain, it was captured by Moors and sold out to Englishmen in Tangiers, where the English [sic] had a fort. It was then bought by its present Master, Don Juan Bermudo. Its size was only 40 feet in length, 10 feet in width. Yet, 10 Jesuits and 10 Dominicans, plus some 48 civilians were taken on board. The Jesuits on board were:

- 1) Fr. Mathias Cuculinus [=Kuklein], superior of the mission band, from the Bohemian Province;
- 2) Fr. Anthony Kerschpaumer [alias Cerezo], from the Province of Upper Germany;
- 3) Fr. Eusebius Chinus [alias Kino], from the Province of Upper Germany;
- 4) Fr. Adam Gerstl, from the Austrian Province;
- 5) Fr. Thomas Revel, from the Austrian Province;
- 6) Fr. Paul Klein [the author], from the Bohemian Province;
- 7) Br. Antonio [or José] Gregorio, in first-year Theology;
- 8) Br. Antonio Pernia [=Peña?], Scholastic;

- 9) Br. Juan Villalpando, Scholastic;
10) Br. coadjutor Juan Valero.]

28 January 1681.

[In the morning of the 28th, the flagship fired three guns to announce departure. It was 8 a.m. when the ships filed past the city of Cadiz, with everything and everyone in commotion. The ships were pursued by the usual last-minute launches. The King's warship went out first (and was to escort the fleet as far as the Canary Islands), ahead of the flagship, the Admiral ship, and the Governor's ship (which was a third-class ship). The others were classed as merchantmen. Their ship was the last one, and its Captain came from the town only at 3 p.m. By that time, the northerly wind had abated. They were becalmed in front of the city, and the Jesuits said their regulatory prayers. Then a rain storm arose, and the men became seasick, etc.]

29 January.

[An overcast sky and low visibility made the situation dangerous. Tragedy struck the ship: the pilot sent a young sailor up the foremast, but he was carried off by a wave and died. The ship then made an effort to join the Spanish fleet, which contained a total of 28 ships, 8 of which were warships, 3 fast pataches, and the rest merchantmen.]

30 January.

[The wind became so favorable, and so strong that they had to furl all the sails.]

31 January.

[The wind shifted to the east, as they headed south, etc. Routine set in.]

[1 February: More prayers and litanies.]

[2 February: More of the same, on the feast of the Purification of the B.V.M. An accident happened to a gunner, as powder caught fire during a firing exercise, and blew up the man's right hand. He could not stand the pain, so he wanted to throw himself overboard. Fr. Gerstl is said to have been the Jesuit with the strongest character; he assisted with the amputation of the man's hand.]

[3 February and until noon on the 4th: brighter day. Latitude at noon: 35 degrees 11 minutes.]

[5 February until 13th: mostly weather conditions reported.]

[14 February: a certain unnamed passenger, who was a "melancholic hypochondriac who suffered from epilepsy" acted up, and only quieted down when ordered to by his confessor.]

[By the 17th, they were off Cape Cantil, which is said to have been the equivalent of Cape San Vicente for Europe. The sea became very agitated, etc. In the afternoon, their ship began to list to starboard. On the 18th, it is noted that one the ship carried the new Viceroy of Peru. The 19th was Ash Wednesday that year. On the 20th, 23 ships were able to resume the voyage to the Indies [sic], with a northerly wind blowing, which became an easterly in the afternoon...]

[On the 23rd, the ships headed for New Spain were given permission by the Chief Pilot to separate from the rest of the fleet. The next day, they sighted Lanzarote, one of the Canary Islands. They passed Tenerife on the 28th, Gomera on March 1st.]

[On 2 March, the Jesuits switched to the ship bound for Cuba, as it was one of those willing to separate from the fleet. On the 5th, they saw many flying fishes. On the 6th, the Jesuits feigned an indisposition, so as not to preach to the sailors, as they were not fluent in Spanish. On the 10th, they saw the first birds from America, some boobies. On this day, they effectively became separated from the King's fleet, as their small ship had been falling behind, even under full sails. On the 11th, none of the ships of the fleet could be seen. On the 22nd, it was said that the ship was abreast of the Island of San Martin, then a headland was seen. Some muskets and cannon were fired. On the 24th, they were in danger of running aground over some shoals south of the Virgin Islands, but at noon when the sun's position was observed, it was revealed that the ship was not between San Martin and St. Bartholomew, as originally thought. A "new" island, not shown on their chart, was to blame for the confusion. They sighted a headland of Puerto Rico, called Farallon. The wind conditions made them pass north of this Island. In fact, they passed between the Virgin Islands (to starboard) and the Island of Santa Cruz (to port), with the Island of Breque [sic = Boreque?] almost dead ahead. Those are so diverse that the author had taken them to be San Martin and St. Barts.]

[On 25 March, the Island of Puerto Rico was clearly recognized as such by all. The whole day the ship coasted its northern shore, until they entered its port. A description of Puerto Rico follows. They were saluted by guns from the city's fort as they came in, etc. The Fathers saw and tasted their first tropical bananas and coconuts on that day, among other tropical fruits. Many are described. The animals are described, as well as shell-fish. On the night of the 26th, the Fathers landed to visit the Governor, etc. The only products from Spain that were unloaded were wine, oil, raisins, "amygdala",¹ liquors, and such. The short entries for the following days mention the inhabitants and personalities of the city. The Bishop was a Dominican. On the 30th, the Captain of the ship finally obtained permission from the Town Governor to leave, and they sailed. They first went to a watering spot in the mouth of a nearby river. By nightfall, they had left the port.]

[31 March: coasting the Island of Puerto Rico, passing Aguada Island at noon.]

[1 April: passing the Islands of Besecho, Mona, Monica, and in the afternoon, Soqua, also called Pirate Island. They came into sight of the Island of Hispaniola, also known as the Island of Santo Domingo. The ship coasted its southern shore. The Captain feared that the Dutch lines of his ship might cause it to be taken for an enemy ship. On the 3rd, they saw the islets of Beata Frayle, and Altobelo. During the night, while the Pilot was sleeping, the ship drifted southward. Dangerous shoals were spotted by moonlight, and averted. On the 6th, Easter Sunday, they saw the last of Hispaniola, the Cape of Tiburon, after leaving the Island of Navassa behind.]

1 Ed. note: Literally, "tonsils." Perhaps they were dried prunes.

[At 8 a.m. on 7 April, Cuba was sighted. There followed many maritime incidents, on account of varying winds, etc., until the 12th, when Cape Santa Cruz of the Island of Cuba was sighted. On the 13th, the lesser Island of Cayman, or Crocodile Island, was seen. On the 14th, the major Cayman Island. On account of a storm, the Captain feared on the 15th to be in the neighborhood of the Island of Pines off Cuba. That night, they sighted Cape Corrientes. It was rounded on the 16th. On the 17th, they were near a headland called Cape Cato, near the islets called Alacranes. On the 18th, they sighted 3 flat islets about 1 league apart from one another, and no-one was sure of their being the Alacran [i.e. Scorpion] Islands. On the 19th, soundings revealed bottom at between 18 and 22 fathoms. By late afternoon, the leaway was only 4 fathoms. By 9 p.m., bottom was only at 7-1/2 fathoms... On the 20th in the afternoon, the ship was sailing through a sea colored red. The Island of Arenas was reached. By the next morning, bottom was found to be in 24 or more fathoms. Another storm hit, which occupied the ship over the next few days.]

[On the 25th of April, the mountains of New Spain were spotted; they are called the wilds of San Martin, supposedly located at over 20 leagues from the port of Veracruz. On the 26th, as the ship neared the fort, the Jesuits counted the alms that they had collected during the voyage: a total of 25 pesos. On the 28th, between 6 and 7 a.m., some shoal islets off the headland called Point of Antonio Isardi were passed. The latitude of the port is properly 19-2/3 degrees. The ship was indeed taken for an enemy ship as they neared Veracruz, as the shore launch turned back. The Captain of the ship had to go ashore himself. Everyone ashore had feared pirate ships. At noon, the latitude observed was 21°15' North. They were near the Thuspa Shoals. About 52,000 Spanish were said to live in Veracruz at the time.]

[On the 29 April, they prayed for a favorable wind. On 30 April, the wilds of San Martin were seen, plus Mount Bernal. At night, the sails were lowered. The next morning, danger was imminent as the ship was drifting toward the shore in light wind. Prayers were said to many saints, including St. Theresa. On the 1st May, the Pilot recognized that he had made a mistake in navigation. Some shark fishing took place on the 2nd. In the afternoon, the Island of Los Sacrificios was sighted, but unfortunately not the port itself. The anchor was let go. On the 3rd, the ship made port. By 7 a.m., the flagship was in, and the city in commotion. So, the port of the True Cross was made on the feast-day to celebrate the Finding of the True Cross. The first launch to reach the ships was greeted by a firing of muskets and cannon. There was no return salute. In the afternoon, a medical team boarded their ship for an inspection. Three Jesuits from ashore came aboard to welcome the missionaries. Each of the latter were offered their own cell in various schools of the Fathers. The Father Rector has spent 23 years in the missions. The newcomers were introduced to hot chocolate.]

[On 8 May 1681, two candidates were admitted in the Society. On the 9th, shortly after noon they left Veracruz on top of old mules, and had reached the river by nightfall. On the 10th, a pleasant scenery similar to that of Bohemia was to be admired: luxuriant forests, etc. On the 11th, they covered 11 leagues as far as Jallapan. On the 12th,

they reached a place whose name means scythe, and it was in the mountains and it was much colder than anything that the missionaries had experienced in Germany. On the 13th, they came to a ranch belonging to the college of Puebla de Angeles, in time for supper. The next morning, they left and reached the inn called Pinal by nightfall. On the 15th, they came to Amosoqui, where we left our Coadjutor Brother (whom Fr. Francisco de Florencia, the former Procurator General of the Indies in Seville had entrusted upon us)...¹ On the 19th, they reached the town of Puebla. Those who stayed there were Fathers Cuculino, Kerschpaumer, and Gerstel. On the 21st, the rest passed by Istapalappa, a village of Indians distant 2 leagues from Mexico City, where they were met by two coadjutor brothers. Soon came the Fr. Provincial, the one in charge of the College, and the Procurators of the Mexican and Philippine provinces. As of this date, they were waiting for a ship to take them to their mission fields.]

Mexico, 31 May 1681.

Your complete servant in Christ,
Paul Klein.

1 Obscure meaning; he may have been the man suffering from epilepsy, etc.

Document 1681N

Letter from Fr. Bustillo to Fr. Andrés de Alava, dated Marianas 15 June 1681

Source: RAH 9/2677. Note: See Appendix A of Vol. 5, Process of Toledo, for a document authored by Fr. Alava.

Original text in Spanish

Mi Padre Andres de Alava

Padre mio amantissimo en Christo, y Rector meritissimo del Colegio de Toledo.

Pax Christi.

La de V.R. de Cuenca y Noviembre 25 de 79 acabo de recibir con sumo gozo de mi alma por saber de la salud de V.R., a quien escribo como a mi amado Padre S. Vitores y asi tengo ya a V.R. por mi Padre ya que me faltó el que tenía de mi alma en estas Islas últimos terminos del orbe. El año de 79 respondí en dos pliegos a la que V.R. me escribió el año de 77, no pude antes, porque como estas Islas estan tan apartadas de todo lo demas del orbe, se pasa un año antes que se pueda responder, luego tarda en llegar a la Nueva España la respuesta otro año, y de allí a Europa, otro año, otras veces se hace mas breve segun los tiempos y mares dan lugar a las Naos para ir y venir. El tiempo que tengo es limitadissimo las ocupaciones del ministerio muchissimas de suerte que de lo necessario al sueño es fuerza quitar para poder responder a V.R. estos breves renglones. La Nao en que ha de ir esta cerca que trujo la que V.R. me escrib[e.] esta a la vela esperandome, por gran favor del General que es amigo, à que responda, y por no hacerle mala obra, y que los vientos no la arrojen a la mar afuera, y se quede esta carta sin ir en ella esperando para otro año la escribo con tal prisa que mal apenas puedo formar las letras.

Notable consuelo me ha causado el caso que en una y otra carta se sirve V.R. de referirme de aver asistido nuestro amado Padre y Apostol Mariano a su Santo Padre y Señor D. Geronimo en su gloriosa muerte, cosa que al leerlo y al acordarme del aora me enternece notablemente[.] dichoso Padre dichoso hijo Padre mio amantissimo. Los trabajos de V.R. empleados a escribir su Apostolica y Santa vida aguardemos cada año al venir Nao por estas Islas, que sino es de año a año no tenemos noticia de ninguna

parte del mundo, y entonces la Nao que trae las cartas es como un rayo que pasa sin dar lugar, sino con mucho favor a que podamos responder hasta otro año y eso lo hacemos quando por el tiempo se congetura la cercania del tiempo en que suele venir Navio; porque si llega sin tener escrito de antemano hasta otro año no ay apelacion, sino es que el General se detenga por sus conveniencias a hacer aguada, u a otra cosa etc^a

Clemente 9 no escribió al Venerable Padre en forma de breve; sino una carta en español por un Secretario o Capellan de Secreto de su Santidad firmada de dicho capellan, la qual fue la que embie con la Informacion que del Ven. Padre se hizo en Marianas por mi mano, la qual vio el Padre Provincial de Philipinas que para informacion allo muchos yerros en ella porque este arbol de mi capacidad no alcanza a dar mas fruta ni huebo en esta Mission quien supiese dirigirme mejor. Esta Ynformacion fue el mejor que la carta que V.R. dice recivio de mi; pero quiza no avra llegado a ella; porque los curiosos y deseosos de tener noticias del Ven. Padre la avran detenido en el camino. Unos antojos del Ven. Padre iban dentro de la carta que V.R. recivio; pero no se si como abrieron el pliego donde iba la Ynformacion avran abierto la carta y quedadose con ellos, mucho me lo temo pues V.R. no de dice nada dellos.

[1 line at the bottom of this sheet is half missing]

*... las noticias que V.R. me da de las cosas de España, y de que Dios aya buuelto por la inocencia de Nuestra Santa Reyna Madre y Cardenal Everardo [i.e. Nithard] quien aseguro a V.R., pues conoci a su Eminencia siendo yo novicio en Madrid, que sino fuera tan escogido de Dios y tan siervo suyo fuera imposible aver podido padecer, sin menos cabo de la vida, tan furiosos golpes. Novicio era yo quando le hicieron Inquisitor y del Consejo de estado y uno de los que estaban presentes quando su Eminencia con lagrimas etc^a se despidio de nosotros en el Noviciado quando le dieron la dignidad. Agradezco a V.R. la noticia e individuacion de los Padres desterrados, y bueltos a Madrid por la muerte de su Alteza, que Dios tenga en su gloria. Gran ternura nos ha causado de lo que el Rey ha obrado por su Santa Madre, y de las solemnissimas fiestas que al entrar en Madrid **tanquam victrix portans victoriam etc^a** se le hicieron de todo lo qual y de la que V.R. me da noticia en su carta agradezco a V.R. con todo mi afecto possible.*

Del estado de Marianas no tengo lugar mas que para decir que nunca se vieron tan felices, y mas con el Governador que Su Magestad el Rey N.S. nos ha enbiado, ayer se desembarco, parece muy Christiano y piadoso y que viene con gran deseo de adelantar por su parte esto. Han se formado este año 5 Residencias con casas e Yglesias, y asi en solo esta Isla de Guan ay 6 Residencias e Iglesias y en todas arden lamparas, y esta el mismo Señor que (como decia el Ven. Padre S. Vitores) esta en Roma. Si V.R. viera los Domingos y dias festivos las vandadas de gentes Christianas que en procesion cada pueblo con su guion vienen a las Yglesias cantando con voces sonoras la doctrina christiana se enterneciera. Han se puesto en cada pueblo Justicias seculares que llaman Capitanes, y ministros en lo espiritual que llaman Fiscales de los mismos Marianos, que lo hacen bien. Conocese su gran fe en el fuero interior en que pueden enseñar a muchos Europeos. De las Niñas Colegiales se han casado con españoles mas de 30. Pocos

*faltan en esta Isla para casarse in facie Ecclesiæ. El año que viene se haran Yglesias y Residencias por las Islas que faltan. En viniendo la embarcacion, o Navio que de Manila han de embiar por orden de Su Magestad, para la conquista de la Tierra Austral que esta de aqui cerca se abra gran campo a Nuestra Comp^a para la propagacion de N^a St^a Fe, en que no dudo costara sangre para que se riegue, y produzca buenos frutos aquella tierra **sanguis Martyrum semen est Christianorum.***

No han llegado las Relaciones impressas que V.R. me promete de embiar de lo sucedido en Europa, pero siempre que vengan seran bien recibidas como de mano de V.R., a quien dentro de poco espero por Provincial de esa nuestra amada Prov^a de Toledo, pues V.R. ocupando los Rectorados de las mas populosas ciudades que son Cuenca y Toledo donde es V.R. dignissimo Rector. En Cuenca estube siendo secular, y en Toledo Novicio Peregrino desde Villarejo, de donde fui de 15 meses novicio a Madrid quando se juntaron los Noviciados en la quiebra del Colegio de Murcia. Notable alegria me ha dado V.R. con la Mission que en tiempo de su Rectorado se hizo en Cuenca con los logros espirituales que V.R. refiere y en los frutos de tantas almas contritas por la predicacion Apostolica de V.R. y otros etc^a. O mi Padre y que de buena gana oyeran esos Señores Condes y Marqueses, y tantos Cavalleros lucidos que cantaban en Cuenca la Santa doctrina con los niños (enternezio al leer esto en la de V.R.) que de buena, digo, oyeran a Nuestros Marianos cantarla en su lengua por todos estos pueblos al anoche[ce]r en sus casas, que assi esta establecido. Es bendicion de Dios oir al [a]noche[ce]r en casa de los Marianos cantarla cada familia.

Ya el General de la Nao no da mas lugar; porque se ba alexando, y puede ser no alcance este al Navio y asi acabo s-[in po]-der acabar con V.R. de hab-[lar c]-on afecto de mi corazon. No se lo que me [pasa?] porque boy de prisa. Concluyo con dar gracias a V.R. por lo mucho que nos [ayu]-da en sus Santos Sacrificios y fervorosas oraciones, que es la mejor y mas [-]cendrada limosna que V.R. nos puede dar a todos los Marianos tan destituidos deste socorro espiritual, que de nuestro Provincial no podemos tener respuesta de cartas sino de dos a dos años, mire V.R. en muriendo uno de nosotros, que tarde tendra el socorro en la otra vida de oraciones y sacrificios etc^a

A Dios, A Dios, A Dios Padre mio in visceribus Christi amantissimi. No ay lugar para registrar los yerros desta pero V.R. es mi Padre y me los ha de perdonar, y no cessar de rogar a Dios por este indigno hijo, hasta que nos veamos en el cielo en comp^a de un amado Padre Diego.

*S. Ignacio de Agadña de S. Juan de Guan una de las Marianas, y Junio 15 de 1681.
De V.R. indigno hijo Mariano felicissimo aunque el mas inutil,*

+

+ Lorenzo Bustillo +

[Address:] *Al Padre Andres de Alava Rector del Colegio de la Comp^a de Jhs, Toledo.*

Translation

My dear Father Andrés de Alava

My very loving Father in Christ, and most meritorious Rector of the College of Toledo.

Peace of Christ.

I have just received the letter from Y.R. dated Cuenca 25 November 1679 with extreme pleasure of my soul as I learned of the health of Y.R., to whom I write as I would to my beloved Father San Vitores, as I consider Y.R. to be my Father, now that I miss the father of my soul that I had in these Islands [located] at the furthest ends of the planet. In 1679, I answered with two letters that which Y.R. wrote to me in 1677; I could not do so before that, because these Islands are so far away from any other place on the planet that one year elapses before one can answer, then the answer takes another year to get to New Spain, and from there to Europe takes another year, though at other times it takes less time, depending on the weather and the seas affecting the galleons that come and go. The time I have is very short, the occupations of the ministry very many, so that I must take what is necessary from my sleep in order to be able to respond to Y.R. with these brief lines. The galleon that brought me the letter of Y.R. is standing by. She is tacking back and forth awaiting me, as a result of the great favor from her General¹ who is a good friend of mine. I am answering it, and so that she will not be placed at risk, and taken to the high sea by the winds, without delaying this letter until next year, I write it with so much haste that I can hardly form the letters.

A notable consolation has been caused me by the fact that Y.R. has been pleased to tell me in this and one other letter of you having assisted Don Geronimo [San Vitores] the holy father of our beloved Father and Apostle of the Marianas in his glorious death, something that, upon reading it and remembering him now, moves me noticeably. Lucky father, lucky son, dearest Father of mine. Every year we in these Islands await the results of the labors employed by Y.R. in writing his apostolic and holy biography,² but from one year to the next we remain without any news from any part of the world, and then the galleon that brings us letters is like a ray that passes through, without giving us the time, except if we are lucky, to be able to answer until another year, and that we do at about the time that we figure as the time of arrival that the galleon usually comes, because if it arrives and we have nothing written beforehand, there is no recourse until another year has passed, unless the General is held up for his own advantages, such as to take on water, or for something else, etc.

1 Ed. note: This was Francisco Enriquez de Losada, in the galleon San Telmo.

2 Ed. note: Fr. Alava did not write a biography of Fr. Sanvitores, perhaps because he heard that Fr. García was doing it, or used Alava's draft as his own, without giving him the credit.

[Pope] Clement IX did not write to the Venerable Father in the form of a brief; rather, a letter in Spanish was written by a Secretary or private Chaplain of His Holiness, signed by said chaplain. This letter was the one that I sent along with the report of the Inquiry made in the Marianas about the Venerable Father, which I wrote myself.¹ Such report was seen by the Father Provincial of the Philippines, and to serve as an inquiry, he found many errors in it, because this tree of my capacity does not succeed in giving more fruit or egg in this Mission without anyone who could direct me better. This Inquiry report was much better than the letter that Y.R. says he has received from me, but perhaps it has not reached overthere, because the curious and those wishing news of the Venerable Father could have detained it along the way.² The spectacles of the Ven. Father were enclosed inside the letter that Y.R. received, but I do not know if or how they opened the package containing the report of the Inquiry. They would have opened the letter and kept the spectacles for themselves. I fear very much that this happened, because Y.R. say nothing about them.

[1 line at the bottom of the sheet is half missing]

... the news that Y.R. gives me about affairs in Spain, and that God has permitted on account of the innocence of Our Holy Queen Mother and Cardinal Everard [i.e. Nithard], about whom I assure Y.R., because I knew His Eminence when I was a novice in Madrid and, if he had not been so chosen by God and such a servant of His, he would not have been able to suffer such furious blows without prejudice to his life.³ I was a novice when they made him Inquisitor and member of the Council of State and one of those who was present when His Eminence said good-bye to us in the Novitiate, with tears, etc. when they gave him the dignity. I thank Y.R. for the news and details about the exiled Fathers, who have returned to Madrid after the death of His Highness. May he rest in peace. We were much moved by the news that what the King has done for his Holy Mother, and about the very solemn feasts that were celebrated in her honor when she came back to Madrid *tanquam victrix portans victoriam etc.*⁴ About this and every other news that Y.R. gives me in your letter, I thank Y.R. from the bottom of my heart.

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- 1 Ed. note: Since Fr. Bustillo was not present in Guam when the first official investigation was made in 1673 (Doc. 1673A), this was likely another investigation made by Fr. Bustillo later on, after his return to Guam in 1676.
 - 2 Ed. note: Fr. Bustillo's suspicion was correct, as he knew of the practices of his fellow Jesuits. This report has been completely lost, along with the enclosed original copy of the letter that Fr. Sanvitores had received from Rome. In any case, had it remained in Guam, it would not have survived the utter destruction of the mission archives during the revolt of 1684.
 - 3 Ed. note: The Queen Mother's hand was forced by the Government, and she eventually disowned him, her long-time confessor. The Pope was persuaded to give him a cardinalship and he was effectively removed to Rome, where he remained for the rest of his life. The manuscript of his defence was not published and can be found today in BN Madrid.
 - 4 Ed. note: Latin phrase meaning: "as a victor bearing the fruit of victory, etc."

Regarding the state of the Marianas, I have no time to say more than they have never been so happy, the more so with the Governor that His Majesty the King our Lord sent to us.¹ He disembarked yesterday. He appears to be very Christian and pious and to come with a great desire on his part to develop this [place]. Five residences with houses and churches have been created this year. So, only in this Island of Guan there are 6 residences and churches and in all of them lamps are burning, and, as the Ven. Father San Vitores used to say, therein resides the same Lord that resides in Rome. If Y.R. could see on Sundays and holidays the bands of Christian people forming a procession, each town with its banner, making their way to the churches singing with clear voices the Christian doctrine, you would be touched. In every town have been placed secular Justices who are called Captains, and ministers in things spiritual who are called Fiscals [i.e. Controllers] who are Marianos themselves, who are doing a good job. The great faith they have in their conscience is known, and in this they can teach many Europeans. Over 30 of the college girls have been married to the Spanish.² Few remain in this Island who have not yet been married inside a church. This coming year churches and residences will be built in the other Islands. When the vessel, or ship, that must be sent from Manila by order of His Majesty, for the conquest of the Austral Land that is near here, a great field will be opened to our Society for the propagation of our Holy Faith, where I have no doubt some blood will be spilled, and that land will produce some good fruits, as *sanguis Martyrum semen est Christianorum*.³

The printed Relations that Y.R. promises to send me of the events in Europe have not arrived, but whenever they come they will be well received, as coming from the hand of Y.R., whom I expect will shortly become Provincial of that, our beloved Province of Toledo;⁴ indeed, Y.R. has already occupied the Rectorates of the most populated cities, which are Cuenca and Toledo, where Y.R. is the most worthy Rector. I visited Cuenca when still a secular, and was in Toledo as a novice in a pilgrimage out of Villarejo, which I left after 15 months as a novice to go to Madrid when the novitiates were consolidated, after the breakup of the College of Murcia. Y.R. has given me a notable joy with the mission which was done in Cuenca at the time of your Rectorate with the spiritual benefits that Y.R. mentions and in the fruits of so many contrite souls through the apostolic preaching of Y.R. and of others, etc. O dear Father, how willingly would they hear of it those Gentlemen Counts and Marquises, and so many other distinguished gentlemen, who were singing the Holy doctrine with the children (this passage in Y.R.'s letter is moving). What willingly, I say, they would also listen to our Marianos singing it in their language throughout all the towns at sundown inside their houses, a custom that has been established. It is a blessing from God to hear every Mariano family sing it at home at dusk.

1 Ed. note: He refers to Saravia.

2 Ed. note: That included not just Spaniards, but soldiers of other nationalities as well.

3 Ed. note: Latin phrase meaning: "The blood of martyrs is the seed of Christians."

4 Ed. note: This province had its seat in Alcalá de Henares east of Madrid, not at Toledo south of Madrid.

The General of the galleon gives us no more time, because he is getting farther away, and it could be that this letter will not make it to the galleon. So, I close it without being able to finish my conversation with Y.R. as much I my heart dictates. I do not know what is happening to me, because I am writing so fast. I conclude by thanking Y.R. for helping us so much with your holy sacrifices and zealous prayers, and this is the best and greatest alm that Y.R. can give all of us Marianos, so destitute of this spiritual succor, for instance from our Provincial we cannot get an answer to our letters except after two years. Can Y.R. imagine if anyone of us dies, how long he will have to wait in the other life for the succor of prayers and sacrifices, etc.

Good-bye, God bless, good-bye dear Father *in visceribus Christi amantissimi*.¹ There is no time to revise this letter for errors, but Y.R. is my Father and has to forgive them, and not cease to pray God for this unworthy son, until we see each other in heaven in the company of our beloved Father Diego.

San Ignacio de Agaña in San Juan de Guan, one of the Marianas, on 15 June 1681.
From Y.R.'s unworthy but very happy Mariano son, though a most useless one,
+ Lorenzo Bustillo +

[Address:] To Father Andrés de Alava, Rector of the College of the Society of Jesus, Toledo.

1 Ed. note: Latin phrase meaning: "most beloved in Christ from the bottom of my heart."

Document 16810

Letter from Fr. Francisco Messina to Fr. Pedro de Espinar, dated Manila 15 June 1681

Source: RAH ms. 9/2668, doc. n° 74.

Note: Fr. Messina (not Mesera) had just been elected Provincial of the Philippines.

Original extract in Spanish.

[A] *P. Procurador General de Indias Pedro de Espinar*

Pax Christi etc.

Con el galeon q. llegó con felicidad de la Nueva España à estas islas el año pasado de 680 no llegaron cartas de España, de Europa y Roma, q. nos ha causado algun desconsuelo...

...

El año pasado fué con un patache a las islas de Larron el General Antonio Nieto, sabemos que llegó con bien, le estamos aguardando cada dia. Si viniese con tiempo escribiré a V.R. las nuevas de China...

... Vamos a lo domestico, el P. Palavicino a los 2 años y cinco meses dexó el Provincialado, por su achaque de tísico; entro abriendo las vias el P. Thomas de Andrade. Murió en las Marianas el P. Bartolome Besco.

Se declaró por loco (aunque quando le despidieron de la Compañia se juzgó otra cosa) el P. Maximo a Lapide esta en su aposanto en Manila con habito de clerigo...

Translation.

[To] Fr. Procurator of the Indies, Pedro de Espinar.

Peace of Christ, etc.

With the galleon¹ that successfully arrived from New Spain at these islands last year of 1680, no letters came from Spain, Europe or Rome, which has caused us some disconsolateness...

...
Last year, General Antonio Nieto went to the Islands of Ladrones² with a patache. We know that he made it there, and we are expecting him to return any day. If he should arrive in time, I will write to Y.R. the news from China...

... Let us go on with domestic affairs. Fr. Palavicino gave up the post of Provincial, after 2 years and 5 months, on account of his attack of phthysy. I come in, the way having been opened by Fr. Thomas de Andrade.³ **Fr. Bartolomé Besco died in the Mariana Islands.**

Fr. Maxim[ilian] Vanderstein was declared crazy (although, when he was expelled from the Society, it was for something else) and remains in his cell in Manila wearing the clothes of a secular priest...⁴

1 Ed. note: The **Santa Rosa**, Captain Nieto.

2 Ed. note: These are the other Ladrones, off the coast of China.

3 Ed. note: Fr. Palavicino served from 1678 to 1681. Then Fr. Andrade stood in for 6 weeks, until new elections could be held.

4 Ed. note: The first cause for this dismissal from the Jesuit Order may have been insubordination, but the man was indeed crazy. There is a document in RAH that relates his antics. He would, for instance, show up in the refectory and give orders, pretending that he was the Jesuit General. Had he been normal, he would have served in the Marianas, as he was a companion of Fathers Bouwens and Coomans (see Doc. 1671S).

Document 1681P

Letter from Fr. Xaramillo to the King, dated Manila 17 June 1681

Sources: AGI Ultramar 562, Jesuit doc. n° 17; copy in Colección Pastells, Fil. 2, pp. 285-292.

Note: The King will later refer to this letter in Doc. 1684M & N.

Original text in Spanish.

Señor

*Despues de hecho el informe de la Mision Mariana su fha 20 de Diciembre, de mil seiscientos y ochenta, que remiti á V.M. por via de Batavia, y Holanda; y ahora por la Carrera Ordinaria, de estas Naos de Acapulco, en cumplimiento de lo que de Consejo de Indias en nombre de V.M. que Dios guarde me manda[.] han sucedido dos desgracias á las Marianas, en **dos embarcaciones** que servian mucho para su aumento, y de que es forroso dar cuenta á V.M.*

La una embarcacion fue la lancha con que la Mision ayuda á desembarcar el socorro que trae la Nao, y en que con gente de pelea se acudia donde habia algun riesgo ó lo pedia la necesidad con temor de los Indios, por ver que por mar y tierra se les podia hacer guerra. Esta embarcacion tan util, quitaron á la Mision cinco soldados, que con temeraria resolucion se dieron con ella á la vela el Miercoles de Ceniza, de seiscientos ochenta y uno, y en diez dias pasado todo el golfo, se pusieron en Filipinas, como me lo afirmaron dos de los dichos cinco soldados, con quienes estube en esta Ciudad de Manila, haciendoles varias preguntas de todo lo sucedido en Marianas, desde que yo habia salido de ellas, que hasta entonces se contaban unos nueve meses, á que respondieron con las noticias siguientes, y que confirman las esperanzas que en el otro informe propongo á V.M. sobre los progressos de la Cristiandad de Marianas.

Dicen pues que toda la Isla de S. Juan esta reducida y en paz, y reducida á Pueblos en que se hizieron cinco iglesias de nuevo cada una de las cuales tiene un Ministro del Evangelio, y añaden que se han aumentado mucho los Casamientos por la iglesia, así de los mismos naturales, como de los Soldados Españoles, con las muchachas que se habian criado en el Colegio. Los Indios acuden á la enseñanza Cristiana con grandes muestras de estimacion de la fé, y cuando los dias de fiesta van á misa, mucho antes de

llegar al Real donde está el Presidio, se ponen en forma de procesion, y así entran en la Iglesia cantando las Oraciones.

*Hanse ajusticiado con pena de muerte otros diez Indios delincuentes, y en ellos entran dos que sobre todo se tenían merecida esta pena. El uno fué el que mató al V. Padre Diego Luis de Sanvitores, que aunque á imitacion de Cristo y S. Esteban, clamó á Dios en su muerte, por el perdon de quien le quitaba la vida, pero prevalecieron contra estos clamores de la Divina justicia, por que apretados de el Capitan los Indios de la Isla de Santa Ana, sobre que no admitiesen en su tierra aquel matador, lo mataron ellos, y muerto sin Sacramentos, truxeron el Cadaver al Presidio, donde estaba el Capitan. Mejor fortuna tubo otro alborotador, por cuya causa el año de 1676 nos hizieron guerra mas de mil Indios, por que **habiendole preso su propio hijo**, y entregadole al Capitan se dispuso cristianamente, y se ajustició con pena de muerte: por donde se conoce la mudanza grande que hay en los Indios, pues aunque los PP. no hallan seguridad en los hijos, encontrando la muerte en los que por naturaleza, miran como deudores de la vida. Esto es lo que averigüe con los Soldados, que se vinieron huidos en dicho barco, templandose la desgracia de su pérdida, con las buenas nuevas que traen, ó con otro barco ó lancha que por orden del Gobernador de Manila se hizo, y que dexara en Marianas la Nao **S. Antonio**, cuando buelba de Acapulco.*

Mas sensible fué la desgracia que sucedió á la balandra que para Marianas se dió en este Puerto de Cavite á la vela á 17 de Setiembre de 1680, por que despues de cinco meses en que pasó muchas calmas, seis temporales recios y entre ellos un huracan furioso que arrancó los arboles en Manila, como yo oí, persistiendo en soplar aquellos vientos, quebrada la caña del timon que era de hierro, y rotas las velas hubieron de ceder Piloto y Marineros al viento, y bolverse á Manila, cuando estaban ya tan cerca de Marianas que cogian los cocos frescos, y hojas de los mismos que traian las corrientes y el viento habia derribado, de las mismas Marianas conviniendo todos así los de la Balandra, como otros practicos del mar de Manila que á no haber habido tanta adversidad en los vientos hubieran llegado con felicidad á Marianas; con ser esto así claman muchos contra el viage, diciendo que es imposible sin dar mas razon que su propio dicho, procurando teñir al Gobernador de este dictamen, y así me dixo dho Gobernador que ya el habia hecho lo que debia para obedecer á V.M. y que parece no gustaba á Dios, de que se entablase este viage pues habia arribado la Balandra. Todo esto no tiene fuerza, y se arguia con evidencia lo contrario.

Por que lo primero: en caso que el Gobernador se contentase con este primer viage y no se consiguió no ha hecho lo que debe por obedecer á V.M. por que como el mismo Gobernador me ha dicho y sabemos todos tiene cédula en que V.M. le manda se entable el viage de Manila á Marianas con esta nueva embarcacion, yendo y bolviendo para que así se asegure este nuevo comercio en aumento de la fé. Pues si el ir y bolver comerciar pide la continuacion de muchos viages, como ha cumplido con estos viages quien se contenta con uno que se intentó y no se logró.

¿Lo segundo si la Balandra sale de este Puerto de Cavite por el mes de Septiembre que es el horror de los tiempos en esta tierra y en que no faltan ordinariamente algun

huracan ó temporal desecha, que mucho es, que con ella harrivase la Balandra á Manila, pues con semejantes tiempos han arrivado los Galeones, que para el viage de esta carrera salen siempre por el mes de Junio? Y si la arrivada de los Galeones que han sido muchos los que despues de cinco y seis meses de navegacion han retrocedido al Puerto de Cavite de donde salieron, no es argumento ni de que el viage de Acapulco es imposible, ni de que Dios guste el que no se haga, y asi se procurará al año siguiente recompensar con mas diligencia el despacho de la Nao[.] por que la arrivada de la Balandra ha de ser argumento de ser imposible el y de no querer Dios este viage. Antes de salir la Balandra para Marianas, daba por asentado esta república que á unos ocho dias de navegacion se perderia en la mar, pues si esta opinion fuese verdadera, en que ocasion se podia descubrir mejor su verdad, que la práctica de este viage hecho en los mas riguroso de los tiempos, y con una tempestad que en la tierra se arrancaban los arboles y que quebró la caña del timon con ser toda de hierro y hizo pedazos las velas y no obstante esto ni estuvieron lexos de Marianas, ni se anegaron, no dexó de bolber la Balandra tan fuerte que luego se puso en camino, decian trescientas leguas de Manila habiendo muchos de esta Ciudad, que querian comprarla segun me dixo el Gobernador. Pues por que no se desengañan en creer tantas imposibilidades y riesgos tan sin remedio en este viage como ha desmentido la Balandra peleando con tantas adversidades, é infurias de los tiempos sin haber perecido en ellos.

Mas todos cuantos bolbieron en la Balandra, han dicho en presencia del Gobernador y de esta Ciudad, y en el Colegio de nuestra Compañia, y el mismo Gobernador me lo dixo varias veces que como no fuese por Cabo Superior de la Balandra D. Francisco Lazcano, a quien dicen tener mucho por su condicion terrible, que irian con la tal Balandra á Marianas y á cualquier parte que los embiasen, y aun á los Pilotos mas entendidos y practicos de la Carrera oí decir, que saliendo la embarcacion á su tiempo, que es por el mes de Mayo ó Junio se haria dho viage sin dificultad grande, pues el yerro ha estado en salir por Setiembre, que no era tiempo, remediese saliendo por Mayo, cuando la Monzon es favorable. Para este viage no falta voluntad de V.M. espresada en tantas cedula con celo de propagar la fé, no embarcacion, pues hay balandra tan fuerte y tan codiciada de todos, no gente que vaya en ella por los mismos que en ella fueron, y otros muchos se ofrecen por Marineros, y por piloto el mismo Juan Bautista, que fué en ella para Marianas con este oficio.

[Chamorro canoes tied together to make a catamaran, circa 1639]

*No falta tampoco utilidad á aquella Cristiandad nueva pues tanto se aumentara con ella, y saliendo á su tiempo está la mar con la Monzon de entonces tan quieta á la ida como lo está con su Monzon propia á la buelta, y es lo tanto que el gobierno de D. Sebastian de Corcuera en estas Islas, pudo **Esteban Ramos venirse de Marianas á Manila en dos barcas atadas de Marianos** tan debiles para un golfo de trescientas leguas, que es liberalidad darles el nombre el que Isaias, da á noas [sic] dandolas ó llamandolas vasos de papel. El año de 76 vino desde Marianas á Manila, otro barco como una lancha de Nao con diez y nueve personas, y este año de 681 vino otro de la misma*

manera en diez días y con cinco personas: todo lo cual ha querido Dios, para darnos á entender con los propios ojos que en saliendo á su tiempo es muy facil este viage; pues si esto es asi, que viene á faltar sino voluntad y querer, de parte del Gobernador en caso que no se entable este viage de tanta gloria de Dios, y del celo Católico de V.M.

Todas estas razones ponderé al Gobernador, y convencido con ellas me dixo que la Balandra bolberia á Marianas pero que ahora habia de ir primero á Siau por arroz, de que habia falta en las Islas. Replique á esto dos cosas, la 1^a: Que aunque la Balandra bolviese llena de arroz, como ella es un vaso tan pequeño no se conseguiria con ella, sola el alivio de esta tierra como ni tampoco se conseguiria en España si estando necesitada de pan, llegase á Cadiz un patachuelo no mas lleno de trigo por ser el socorro tan corto entonces y grande el num^o de gentes.

Respondió el Gobernador que era esto verdad, pero que de Siam, habia de venir otro Navio cargado de arroz, para lo cual enviaria dinero, y dexando lo que contra esto discurren en Manila, no habiendo quien no tenga por quimera lo de la Nao de arroz, especialmente cuando en esta Ciudad no se ven aprietos, ni se oyen clamores de república á quien falte pan: le repliqué 2^o vez diciendo que si iba á Siam la Balandra se estorbaria el viage, que habia concedido para Marianas, pues no bolberia la Balandra á tiempo de salir de aqui, por el mes de Junio. Respondió el Gobernador que la Balandra estaria á fines de Mayo, y sino no se le hubiera prometido asi el que se la arrendó para Siam; no la dexaria ir, pero ya estamos á fines de Junio y la Balandra no ha buuelto, y muchos atendiendo al genio del que la llevó dudan gravemente de que buelva mas; y lo cierto es que por este año, se ha estorvado ya la seguridad del viage; y que si la balandra buelbe tarde, yo seré el primero que pida no se haga viage, asta otro año por que saliendo sin tiempo, no tengamos otra arribada.

Pues Señor, juzgue V.M. si es conforme al Real servicio y obediencia de V.M. el que se distraiga á otros fines la embarcacion que V.M. aplicó por su Real Cedula y Hazienda, para propagar mas la fẽ, y que se ponga en tantos riesgos y dilaciones el aumento de ella en Marianas.

Estremose la Balandra, con el destierro de uno de esta republica á Marianas, y hay persuasion de que si se buelbe á hacer el viage iran otros dos, ó tres desterrados: ¿pues como no se han de oponer en Manila á aquella Mision? Y si muchos de los que se oponen acertasen á ser personas de que los Gobernadores dependen, en sus conveniencias, en sus tratos y contratos, y en los aumentos de su hacienda, claro está que á los Gobernadores, les hará fuerza esta contradiccion, y que por una parte, ni querran desobedecer á V.M. en cosa tan importante á la salvacion de las almas, ni atropellar tan poco por otra con la república, en cosa que siente tanto, y todo se compusiera si los destierros (que juzgare el Gobernador debe hacer en conciencia, no los hiciere estos años á Marianas, pues en Filipinas no faltan tierras donde el que tubiere culpa pague la pena de su pecado.

Pero ni aun estos destierros pueden impedir el nuevo comercio de Manila á Marianas en la balandra si el Gobernador quiere, porque tanto podra conseguir quanto el quisiera; y no hay quien claramente no conozca que el Poder de un Gobernador en

Filipinas, se ha de regular con su voluntad, pues el dominio que tiene quien gobierna estas Provincias es grande, no reconoce aqui otro Superior inmediato, y Madrid está muy lexos.

Y así, Señor, despues de Dios acude por medio de esta suplica toda la Mision Mariana, cuyos aumentos procuro en esta Ciudad al amparo de V.M. y postrada á sus Reales plantas, ruega humildemente á V.M. se sirva de que lo apretado de las cédulas reales, en orden á continuarse los viages de la balandra, y faborecer la mision, supla lo que muchas veces se dexa de conseguir precisamente, por ser tan dilatado el recurso á España, á la piedad Cristiana Católica de V.M. a quien guarde el Cielo, felices años para enriquezer á la tierra con la fé Católica, Amen.

Manila y Junio 17 de 1681.

Antonio Xaramillo

Translation.

Sire:

After I had finished the report on the Mariana Mission dated 20 December 1680,¹ which I send to Y.M. by way of Batavia, and Holland, I now send by the ordinary run of these Acapulco galleons the answer asked of me by the Council of the Indies, on behalf of Y.M. (whom may God save). Two misfortunes have since hit the Marianas, with regard to **two boats** that served much for their progress, and it is necessary to report the matter to Y.M.

One of the boats was the launch that assists the Mission to unload the subsidy brought in by the galleon, and with soldiers on board could be used whenever there was some risk, or when it was necessary much to the terror of the Indians, at seeing that war could be waged on them by sea as well as on land. This boat, so useful to the Mission, was stolen by five soldiers who, with reckless resolve, sailed off in it on Ash Wednesday, in 1681, and in 10 days crossed the whole gulf, and reached the Philippines, according to the story told by two of the said five soldiers, whom I met with at this City of Manila. I asked them various questions about all the events in the Marianas, since my departure from them, that is, a period of some 9 months, to which they answered with the following news, which confirm the hope that I have expressed in the other report to Y.M. regarding the progress made by the Christian community of the Marianas.

In fact, they say that the whole Island of San Juan has been reduced and is at peace, and reduced to Towns where five churches have been built anew, each of which has one Gospel Minister, and they add that the number of marriages made in the church has increased, not only for the natives themselves but also of Spanish soldiers with the girls who have been raised in the College. The Indians attend the Christian teaching with great shows of esteem for the faith, and when they go to mass on holidays, much be-

¹ Ed. note: See Doc. 1680T.

fore they reach the royal camp where the garrison is, they form a procession, and thus they come into the church, singing the Prayers.

The death sentence has been imposed on 10 other Indian criminals, and among them, there would have been two deserving overall of the death penalty. One of these was the man who killed the Ven. Father Diego Luis de Sanvitores, who, although at the imitation of Christ and St. Stephen he begged God while dying to forgive those who were killing him, however, the clamors of Divine justice prevailed. In fact, the Captain had warned the Indians of the Island of Santa Ana [i.e. Rota] not to admit that killer in their island. So, they killed him, and he died without the sacraments. They brought his body to the garrison, where the Captain was. Another evil-doer was more lucky, in reference with the year of 1676 when over 1,000 Indians made war upon us, because **he was captured by his own son**, and delivered to the Captain; he prepared himself [to die] in a Christian manner, and was given the death penalty. One can see the great change that has come over the Indians; indeed, although the fathers cannot find safety with the sons, they meet death at the hands of those whom they expected to be grateful for their own lives. This is what I found out from the soldiers who have escaped with said boat. The misfortune of its loss is thus tempered by the good news they brought in, or with another boat or launch that was built by order of the Governor, and that will be left in the Marianas by the galleon **San Antonio**, when she returns from Acapulco [in 1682].

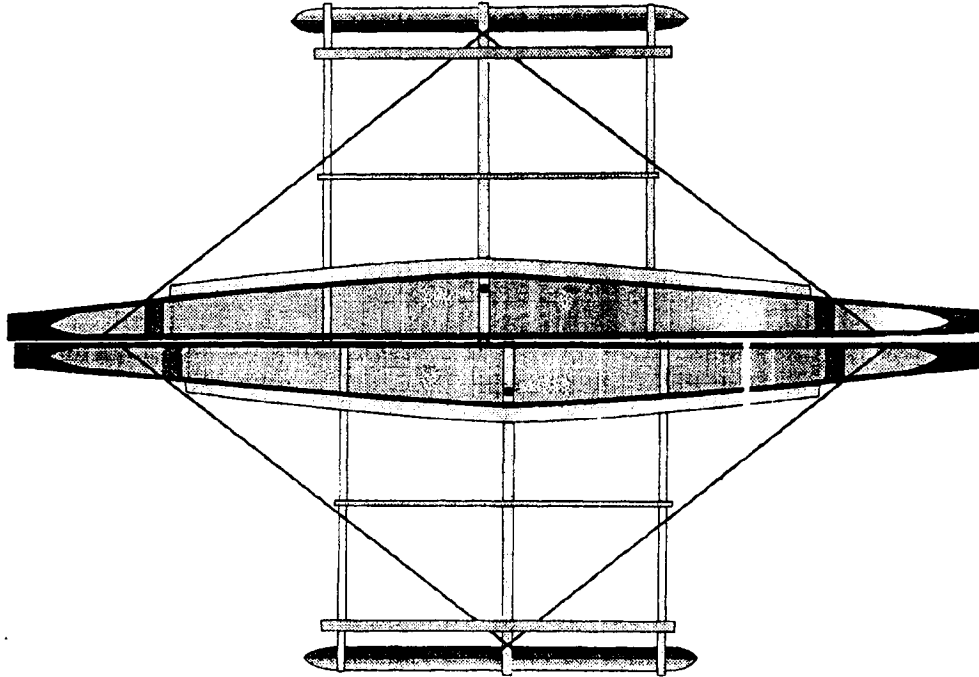
Much more deplorable was the mishap that happened to the sloop that had sailed from this Port of Cavite for the Marianas on 17 September 1680, because after 5 months during which it encountered many calm periods, 6 stiff storms and among them one furious typhoon that uprooted trees in Manila, as I heard. Those winds persisted in blowing even after the bar of the rudder—which was made of iron—broke, and the sails were broken. The Pilot and seamen had to yield to the wind, and return to Manila, at the time they were already so close to the Marianas themselves, since they were picking up green coconuts and branches from such trees, that the wind had uprooted and the currents carried off from there. All those aboard the sloop agreed to turn back, along with other local pilots in Manila, and they would have made it happily to the Marianas, had not the winds been so contrary. Now, with things being as they are, many are those who speak against the voyage, saying that it is impossible, giving no reason other than their own uttering, with which they try and convince the Governor of this opinion, and so, said Governor told me that he had already done enough to obey Y.M. and that it seems that God was not pleased to see this route established, since the sloop had turned back. All of this does not stand up, and one can argue for the opposite point of view.

For example, the first argument is: in case the Governor be content with this first voyage and it does not succeed, he has not obeyed Y.M., because, as the Governor has told me himself, and that we all know, there is a decree by which Y.M. orders the route from Manila to the Marianas to be established with this new vessel going back and forth, and thus make this new trading route a permanent one in the interest of the faith. Indeed, if the establishment of a commercial route requires the continuation of many

voyages, how could he have complied with these voyages by contenting himself with the one he has attempted, and not completed successfully?

The second point is: if the sloop leaves this Port of Cavite during September, which is the worst of times for this country and during which it is usual to have some typhoon or unabated storm, which is excessive, why should not the sloop be forced to turn back to Manila—indeed galleons have turned back on account of similar weather, even though they undertake the voyage of this run always during the month of June? And if galleons can turn back many times after a navigation of 5 to 6 months, and return to the Port of Cavite, the point of their departure, this is not an argument in favor of the voyage from Acapulco being impossible, nor to say that God is not in favor of the voyage being made. That is why the following year an effort will be made to compensate even more carefully with the despatch of the galleon. So, why should the return in distress of the sloop be taken as an argument to say that such a voyage is impossible and that God does not want it to succeed? Before the sloop left for the Marianas, this government was of the firm opinion that it would not sail longer than 8 days before being lost at sea; in fact, if this opinion be true, under what other conditions could it be proven true more easily, if not under the roughest weather conditions, and with a storm that uproots trees ashore? One that broke the bar of the rudder, made entirely of iron, and one that tore the sails to pieces? In spite of all this, they came very close to the Marianas and they did not sink, and the sloop managed to return, still so strong that it was then sent on a voyage of 300 leagues from Manila, and, as the Governor has told me, many were those in the City willing to purchase it. Indeed, why do they insist in considering as impossible and risky this voyage when the sloop has made a mockery of the argument, by enduring so many adversities, and furious weather, without having perished in them.

To the contrary, all of those who returned aboard the sloop have said so in the presence of the Governor and before this City, and in the College of our Society, and the Governor himself has told me many times that the reason why Don Francisco Lazcano would not go as Commander in charge of the sloop, which they say has much to do with its terrible condition, that they would go with said sloop to the Marianas and to any place they would send him aboard it, and I have heard pilots even more familiar and knowledgeable about the run say it too, that if the vessel were to leave at the appropriate time, that is, during the month of May or June, said voyage would succeed without great difficulty; indeed, the error was to have left in September, which is not the right time, and it could be remedied by going out in May, when the monsoon wind is favorable. In favor of this voyage, there are no lack of decrees on the part of Y.M. in the interest of the propagation of the faith, but no [lack of] vessel, because the sloop, so strong and so coveted by all, is available, and no [lack of] men to go aboard it, as those who have sailed aboard it, and many other sailors are volunteering, and the same pilot, Juan Bautista, is volunteering to go again to the Marianas in this capacity.



Two Chamorro canoes tied together for deep-sea voyaging. This is the likely setup used by Esteban Ramos in 1639 to go from Guam to the Philippines, after the wreck of the galleon *Concepción* in Saipan. The result looks like a Filipino "barangay".

[Chamorro canoes tied together, circa 1639]

There is no lack of usefulness either to that new Christian community, as it will indeed make progress as a result, and by leaving in its correct time of the monsoon, the sea is then as pacific on the way over, as it is on the return trip, and proof of this can be given by the incident that occurred during the term of Don Sebastian de Corcuera in these Islands, when **Esteban Ramos was able to come from the Marianas to Manila with two canoes of the Marianas tied together**, such weak ones for a stretch of 300 leagues that one could apply to them the name that Isaias gave to Noah, by giving them [the name] or calling them paper vessels.

In the year 1676 there came from the Marianas to Manila another boat, like the launch of a galleon, with 19 persons, and this year 1681 there came another, similar, one in 10 days and with 5 persons; all of this God has willed, to make us realize with our own eyes that this voyage is very easy, if one goes out at the right time; indeed, if such is the case, the only thing that is missing, in case this voyage, which is so much to

the glory of God and evidence of the Catholic zeal of Y.M., is not established permanently, is will power, on the part of the Governor.

All these reasons I exposed to the Governor, and convinced with them, he told me that the sloop would return to the Marianas, but that it had to go first to Siau [sic]¹ for rice, a shortage of which there was in the Islands. To this I answered two things: firstly, that although the sloop might return full of rice, as it is such a small vessel, not much would be accomplished by it, by way of relieving this country, the same way that would be accomplished in Spain, if there were a need of bread, and a small vessel arrived at Cadiz with a similar quantity of wheat, because the relief would then be so little and the number of people so large. The Governor answered that this was true, but that another ship was to come from Siam loaded with rice, and he would send money for this. Leaving asides for now what has been said about town in Manila, to the effect that the galleon loaded with rice was pure fancy, specially in view of the fact that no demands are made, or complaints heard in this government about a shortage of bread. The second thing I answered was to say that if the sloop went to Siam, the voyage that he had granted for the Marianas would be in jeopardy, since the sloop would not return in time to leave from here during the month of June. The Governor answered that the sloop would be here at the end of May, and otherwise, he would not have promised it to the man who rented it for Siam; he would not let it go. However, here we are at the end of June and the sloop has not returned, and many say that, given the character of the man who chartered it, they seriously doubt that he will ever return, but, as far as this year is concerned, the certainty of the voyage has been placed in jeopardy, and if the sloop returns late, I will be the first to beg that the voyage not take place, until next year, for fear that if it leaves at the wrong time, we might have another return in distress.

Well, Sire, let Y.M. judge if it is in accordance with the Royal service and obedience to Y.M. to have the vessel that Y.M. has applied by his Royal decree and Treasury to the propagation of the faith be diverted to another purpose, and to expose its progress in the Marianas to so many risks and delays.

The sloop was used as the means of exiling one member of this government to the Marianas, and there is a belief that if the voyage takes place once more, two or three others will be exiled. How then can the people of Manila not be opposed to that Mission? And if many of those opposed turn out to be persons upon whom the Governor depends, for his own comforts, in his dealings and contracts, and to increase his wealth, it becomes clear that their opposition will have an effect on the Governors. On the one hand, they may not wish to disobey Y.M. in something as important as the salvation of souls, but on the other hand they do not want to harm the government either, in a matter so close to heart. Now then, should the Governor deeply feels that he must in conscience carry on with the exiles, he should not send them to the Marianas over the next few years; in fact, there is no shortage of places in the Philippines where a guilty person could pay the penalty for his sin.

1 Ed. note: The destination is given correctly below as Siam, not Siau.

However, not even these exiles could prevent the new communication between Manila and the Marianas aboard the sloop, if the Governor wants it, because he will be able to get what he wants. There is no-one who does not know that the power of a Governor in the Philippines can only be regulated by his own will; indeed, the authority held by whoever governs these Provinces is great, as he recognizes no other immediate Superior here, and Madrid is so far away.

So, Sire, through this request, after God, the whole Mariana Mission resorts to the protection of Y.M. I look after its progress in this City and prostrated at your Royal feet, I humbly beg Y.M. to please have the arrangements made in the royal decrees respected, with regards to the continuation of the voyages of the sloop, given that many times they are not precisely complied with, in view of a recourse to Spain taking so long, and to please favor the mission with the Christian Catholic piety of Y.M.

May Heaven save you for happy years in order to enrich the earth with the Catholic faith. Amen.

Manila, 17 June 1681.

Antonio Xaramillo.

Document 1681Q

Letter from Fr. Francisco de Borja y Aragon to the Duchess of Aveiro, dated aboard the San Telmo, 8 July 1681

*Sources: RAH 9/2677; also a 4-page ms. offered for sale by Maggs Bros. in 1923 (Cat. N° 442, n° 1870, p. 146); sold, only in 1958, to Professor C. R. Boxer, who transcribed the original, published in *Philippine Studies*, 10:3 (1962): 436-438.*

Notes: Prof. Boxer had mis-transcribed the author's name as Bon, instead of Borja. Fr. Borja belonged to a family closely related to the Dukes of Gandia, whence came the Jesuit saint, St. Francisco de Borja, or Borgia (see Doc. 1699C). This Fr. Francisco de Borja died in 1715.

Original text in Spanish

Exm^a Sr^a

En cumplimiento de mi obligation no puedo omitir el dar noticia a V.Ex^a de mi segundo viage desde el puerto de Acapulco en la Nueva España hasta la tierra de Philipinas el qual assido con mucha felicidad asi de tiempos como de salud sea Nuestro Señor por todo alabado, y lo que a hecho mi viage mas gustosso y para mi de mayor estimacion fue auer merecido seruir en algo a la florecida y fructuossa mission de mis amadas Marianas porque e sido a cuyo cargo a venido el quantiosso socorro que el Padre Baltazar de Mansilla remitio este año, que se componia de ducientos y diez y siete fardos de varios generos para el socorro de aquella Christiandad.

Auiendo pues nauegado setenta y ocho dias de golfo dimos vista al amenezer dia del gloriosso Santo Antonio de Padua, a la isla de Çarpana, que los Natturales llaman Rotta, dista esta ysla de la de Guan siete leguas al norte, este dia lo gastamos en ponernos en franquia sobre la dicha ysla, que es donde residen los Padres y soldados para la mañana del dia siguiente empezar a descargar el socorro que se hizo con arta comodidad, y no fue poco porque no todos los Pilotos se fian en dar fondo en estos parajes, y el que llevamos aunque mui perito en el Arte, nunca acostumbra a darle, y assi barloventeando la Isla, se descargo todo para cuiá conducion vinieron al pie quinientos Indios en cien bancas, o embarcaciones suias que fue para mi una prueba grande de estar ya muy dosiles.

Yo salte en tierra de que receui gran consuelo de ver quan en orden esta todo. Y solo dire las cosas que ocularmente vi, o me contaron los mismos Padres que alla residen, remitiendome en lo demas a la relacion que remite a V.E. el Padre Vice Prouincial; esta todo en tan buena disposission que quando el Señor Maestro de Campo Don Antonio de Saravia lo bio cotejando las noticias antecedentes con lo que actualmente beya se le saltavan las lagrimas de consuelo.

[Description of Agaña in 1681]

Esta situado el lugar de Agaña que es la cauecera de la ysla una legua de la falda de una cordillera que corre de Norte a Sur, a la rivera de un riachuelo muy ameno que baña la estacada del Pueblo por la banda del Norte, y por la del [ojeste que bañan las aguas del mar que es como un puertecillo adonde dan fondo las embarcaciones de los Yndios. A la banda del Sur esta una dilatada plaza toda llena de casas [cosas?] adonde tienen los Yndios sus Camarines, o cabañas para guardar sus embarcaciones. Tiene este Pueblo hasta 200 casas adonde viven los soldados y algunos de los Yndios de los mas amigos, todo esta cercado con estacada, con dos puertas, una a la banda de la mar, y otra a la banda de la cordillera, esta en forma de quadro.] las cassas son por lo mas de madera a la forma que lo son en las Philippinas con sus pilares de madera muy fuerte y gruessos de madera que llaman en estas islas Palo Maria que hasta la madera de Marianas esta ilustrada con el nombre de Maria. Nuestra cassa es competentemente acomodada, las paredes principales son de piedra y cal, los demas repartimientos ynteriores son de madera.

*El Governador tiene su cassa muy buena que sirue de castillo, medianamente per-trechado, y sus almacenes reales en que se guardan los socorros que vienen de la Nueva España.] tienen su casamata para la polvora, sus dispensas y graneros para guardar los bastimientos de arroz, maiz, pescado que son los bastimientos de arroz, mayz, pescado, que son los bastimientos que da la tierra con arta abundancia. Dase ya mucho puerco en las islas que es el que sirve en todas estas partes, de ganado bacuno empieza agora, abra hasta unas 30 cauezas; gallinas hay en bastante abundancia, la demas volateria solo es de palomas, gansos y patos, ay ya cria de carneros y **cabras que se an llevado este año**, ay tambien cria de caballos porque ay oy cinco yeguas, tres caballos grandes, y dos potros.*

Esta ya toda la isla en paz, y en gran rendimiento a los Padres, y Cauo, ay ya formadas seis Residencias en la isla que cada una tendra una con otra a mil y quinientos tributos, esperase muy enbreue la propagacion de la fee en la isla de Rota, por auerlos castigado de un insulto que auian cometido, y biendose sujetos an pedido paces con muchas ynstancias, y atento a esso se quedo el Padre Vice Provincial con cinco Padres para establecer otras tantas residencias en dichas islas, esto es en orden a lo presente.

Lo que yo alcanzo ser necessario, atenttas las circunstancias para el adelantamiento destas Islas es que con todo cuidado atienda V.E. a que vengan zedulas muy apretadas, y cartas de V.E. para el Virrey de Nueva España y para el Governador de Philippinas en que se encargue apretadamente socorran al Governador de estas yslas con lo que pi-

diere, conduzente a la propagacion y adelantamiento de aquellas Islas. En segundo lugar que se vea si ay forma para que se les haga el salario ordinario a un Capitan, a un Sargento mayor que se a de nombrar, aora, para que de essa suerte aya alli perssonas de alguna suposission a quien se les pueda fiar las facciones de importancia. En tercer lugar que su Magestad mande que el socorro que se conduce desde Acapulco a dichas yslas no pague los exorbitantes flettes que al dia de oy pagan, porque en esto se consume la mas por parte del situado. En quarto lugar que para que aya personas de importancia que gouiernen esto, que procure V.E. el adelantamiento de Don Antonio para que viendo a este premiado se aliente a admitir este gouerno quando fuere señalado.

La priesa no me da lugar para mas[.]dejo para otra ocasion el escriuir a V.E. las cosas que ocurrieren conuenientemente al aumento destas Yslas, entretanto quedo suplicando a Nuestro Señor guarde a V.E. en compañía del Señor Duque y de esos tres Angeles.

*Desde Galeon **San Telmo** y Jullio, a 8 de 1681 años.*

*De V.Ex^a humilde siervo y Capellan que S[u] M[ano] B[esa]
Franc^o de Borja*

Translation

Most Excellent Lady:

To comply with my obligation I cannot omit giving news to Y.E. of my second voyage, this time from the port of Acapulco in New Spain to the land of the Philippines, which took place with much happiness, with good weather as well as with good health—for which the Lord be praised—so that my voyage was made very enjoyable. For me, however, it was much more important to have deserved the honor to do something useful for the flourishing and fruitful mission of my beloved Marianas, since I was the one in charge of bringing the plentiful subsidy that Fr. Baltazar de Mansilla [in Mexico] remitted this year and which consisted of 217 bundles of various kinds for the relief of that Christian community.

Indeed, having sailed the wide seas for 78 days, at daybreak on the day of the glorious St. Anthony of Padua, we sighted the island of Çarpana, which the natives call Rota. This island is located 7 leagues north of Guan. This day was spent in getting close to the latter island, which is where the Fathers and soldiers reside, in order to begin unloading the relief by the morning of the next day. This took place with full ease, not a little thing, because not all pilots dare to anchor in these seas. The one we had with us, although very expert in the art in question, is not used to anchor [here]. So, after tacking [to] the Island, everything was unloaded. For this purpose, there came alongside 500 Indians in 100 canoes or native craft, which was for me a great proof of their being very docile already.

I myself stepped ashore, and I was very much delighted to see that everything was in order. I will narrate only the things that I saw with my own eyes, or was expressly told by the Fathers who reside there, leaving the rest for the Relation that the Fr. Vice

Provincial remits to Y.E.¹ Everything is in such good disposition that, when the Master-of-Camp Antonio de Saravia had finished comparing the previous news with what he saw presently, he shed a few happy tears.

[Description of Agaña in 1681]

The site of Agaña, which is the capital of the island, is situated one league from the skirt of a mountain chain that runs north—south, on the shore of a very agreeable stream that bathes the north [rather east] wall of the town's stockade. The western [rather northern] wall is bathed by the waters of the seashore which looks like a small port where the craft of the Indians are beached. On the south [rather west] side there is a flat plaza all full of houses where the Indians have their sheds, or shacks, where they keep their canoes. This town has as many as 200 houses in which live the soldiers and some of the Indians from among the friendly ones. The whole is enclosed by a stockade, with two gates, one on the sea side, and the other on the mountain side.² The layout and shapes of the houses are like those in the Philippines, the houses being made of wood, with their very strong and thick piles of wood which they call *Palo Maria* in these Islands. Yes, even the wood of the Marianas bear the name of Mary.³ Our [Jesuit] house is competently arranged; the outer walls are made with stone and mortar, but the other internal partitions are of wood. The Governor has a very good house that serves as a fort, indifferently furnished, and its royal warehouses in which are kept the relief supplies that come from New Spain, including a casemate for the powder, its storage vaults and granaries to keep the food supplies, such as rice, corn, and fish, that are the supplies produced locally in abundance. Many pigs are raised in the islands already. As far as cattle are concerned, which can be considered like cattle all over these parts, it is beginning; right now, there would be up to about 30 heads. As far as chickens are concerned, there is a sufficient number. The rest of the feathered animals consists of pigeons, geese, and ducks. They are already raising sheep, and they will do so with the **goats that have been brought this year**. They also raise horses, since there are today five mares, three big horses and two colts.

The whole island is already at peace and of great benefit to the Fathers and to the Commander; already six Residences have been established in the island, and each one would have about 1,500 tributes with one another.⁴ It is hoped to spread the faith soon to the island of Rota, since they were punished recently for an insult they had committed, and, having been subjected, they have repeatedly sued for peace. In this respect, the Fr. Vice Provincial was left with five [more] Fathers with whom to establish as many more residences in these islands. This is how matters stand at present.

1 Ed. note: See Doc. 1681I.

2 Ed. note: See reconstruction sketch in HM6: 650.

3 Ed. note: Palo Maria is also what they call the *Calophyllum inophyllum* (Linn.) in the Philippines.

4 Ed. note: Similarly-confused statement in the original. Perhaps, all in all, there were only 1,500 adult males paying tribute on Guam at that time.

What I understand to be necessary, under the present circumstances, for the advancement of these Islands is that Y.E. should very carefully attend to the issue of very specific decrees and letters from Y.E. to the Viceroy of Mexico and to the Governor of the Philippines, in which they would be expressly charged with supporting the governor of these islands with his requests toward the propagation [of the faith] and the advancement of those Islands. Secondly, that a way be found to apply as ordinary salary of the captain, that belonging to a sergeant-major—the appropriate rank for the times—so that there may be found here persons with some distinction, able to deal with the important military sorties that are required. Thirdly, that His Majesty may order that the relief supplies that are brought from Acapulco to these islands are not to pay the exorbitant cargo rates that are charged today, because a large part of the subsidy is spent to pay those. Fourthly, in order that there may be important persons to govern, something which Y.E. tried to do in promoting Don Antonio, so that he would come here rewarded, to encourage [him] to accept this government when he was chosen [for it].¹

Haste does not give me time to write more. I postpone until another occasion when I will write to Y.E. the mention of the things that might be convenient for the development of these islands. Meanwhile, I will continue to pray Our Lord to keep Y.E. in the company of the Duke [of Arcos] and of those three little angels.

From the galleon **San Telmo**, 8 July 1681.

From Y.E.'s humble servant and Chaplain, who kisses your hands,

Francisco de

Borja

1 Ed. note: Another confused and poorly-worded sentence in the original.

Documents 1681R

The General who was jailed for refusing to go to the Marianas

R1. Letter from the Fiscal de Vega, dated Manila 14 March 1681

Source: AGI Fil. 101-10.

Note: See a synthesis of this story in Doc. 1681C2.

Letter from the Fiscal of the Audiencia, Licentiate Diego Antonio de Vega.

[Summary: He says that, in spite of the contrary opinions issued by the Audiencia, Governor Vargas has placed General Sebastián Rayo aboard a ship bound for the Marianas. The result was discontent and uncertainty among the government employees at all levels, specially the notaries and tax collectors who all feel so intimidated that they no longer dare give testimonies about anything touching on the Governor, his family and friends. Also, the ship having been forced back, he once again placed the said general in the Fort Santiago jail.]

R2. Letter from Governor Vargas, dated Manila 11 June 1681

Source: AGI Fil. 101-10.

[Summary: He says that he holds prisoner in Fort Santiago General Sebastián Rayo Doria, because he refused to accept the government of the Mariana Islands where he ordered him to go in order to get him away from Manila on account of his seditious character.]

R3. Letter from the Audiencia(?) to the King, dated Manila 6 July 1681

[Summary: Report about the incidents surrounding the appointment of General Sebastián Rayo Doria to the government of the Marianas, his refusal, and his imprisonment in Fort Santiago. Three months later, he was forcibly placed aboard the sloop that the Jesuits were despatching to the relief of the Marianas, but the sloop was forced to turn back. The General was once more thrown into jail.]¹

R4. Letter from the King to the Audiencia, dated Madrid 21 June 1682

Source: AGI Fil. 331, libro 7, fol. 396-398, pp. 815-820.

Original text in Spanish.

Commission de la Audiencia de Manila, para que privadamente y sin que concurra el Governador averigue los prozedimientos de Sebastian Rayo Doria, y execute lo demas que se le ordena en la forma ariva contenida.

Presidente y oidores de mi Audiencia Real de la Ciudad de Manila, en las Islas Filipinas.

En zedula mia de quatro de marzo del año pasado de mill y seisientos y ochenta os digo que en mi Consejo se havia tenido noticia de que contra lo dispuesto en cédulas reales havian acostumbrado los Governadores de esas Islas conservar à los Alcaldes mayores en sus Jurisdiziones mas tiempo del que les señalan en el Título resultando de ello gran detrimento a mi Real haver, y à los Indios y que asi se havian mantenido algunos, y en espezial el General Sevastian Rayo Doria a quien Don Manuel de Leon conservó todo el tiempo de su Gobierno en la Jurisdiccion de Tondo, que es la mayor de esas Islas, cuyo sugeto es muy nocivo en esa Republica. Que el Governador Don Saviano Manrique de nada [sic]² lo hizo General por casarle con una muger de su devozion, y luego le pagó persiguiendole en su Residencia. Que siendo Alcalde ordinario de esa Ciudad fué el que prendió al Governador Don Diego Salzedo, y en su casa se hicieron las Juntas siendo el que las fomentó hasta que lo consiguió por medio del Comisario del Santo Ofizio, y que teniendo comission el dho Governador Don Manuel de Leon para la averiguazion de los excesos cometidos en esta prission, libró al dho Sevastian Rayo Doria, por los servicios mas indignos que se pueden ponderar y este le correspondió, con ponerle en los terminos de su perdizion con un informe infame, y falso que quiso hazer me junto con el Cavildo, y regimiento de esta Ciudad, el qual no

1 Ed. note: Rayo was then senior clerk of the municipal council. He had previously shown disrespect for Governor Salcedo and been jailed for it. He in turn had taken part in the arrest of Governor Salcedo at the end of the latter's term of office in 1668.

2 Ed. note: No doubt a Freudian slip, instead of Lara.

surtió efecto por haver muerto inmediatamente el dho Don Manuel de Leon. Que es de Arte Diabolico, y de palabra blanda, y trato doble, y como Secretario Real servia de certificar infamias. Y por ser lo de Cavildo con voz, y voto, reduce à los demas capitulares à quantas malignidades se le ofrezan, y de no conseguirlo ay perpetuas discordias. Que todos se quejaban, y ninguno se le atrebia, y que por si, del tiempo de ocho años, que truió la Alcaldia mayor de Tondo, y como fiador de otros estava debiendo diferentes cantidades a mi Real Hazienda que no pagava, aunque se havian hecho con el varias diligencias.

Para cuyo remedio os ordené dispusiesedes que se guardase y cumplien, precisa, y puntualmente, lo contenido en las zedulas despachadas para que los Alcaldes mayores de esas Islas no exerzan sus ofizios mas tiempo del señalado en ellas, y que luego se quitasen à los que hubiesen cumplido, haziendo diesen quenta con pago de lo que hubiese estado a su cargo, y que hiziesedes prozeder à la averiguazion y castigo de los excessos cometidos por el General Sevastian Rayo Doria, y que siendo persona de las calidades que quedan referidas, procuraseis se le quitase el ofizio que tubiese obrando en ello conforme a derecho y que en todo acontezimiento no le permitieseis usar el de Alcalde mayor mas tiempo del que está dispuesto por Reales Cedulas, y haviendo primero satisfecho lo que constase dever a mi Real Hazienda y que para que pagase lo que debia le hiziesedes apremiar con todo rigor, hasta que con efecto lo enterase en mi Caxa Real de esa Ciudad. Y por otra zedula, del propio dia ordené lo mismo al Maestre de Campo Don Juan de Vargas mi Governador de esas Islas.

Aora por parte del dho Sevastian Rayo Doria se me ha representado la molestia que el dho Governador Don Juan de Vargas le havia hecho desterrandole de esas Islas à las Marianas, por que se escusó de azeptar el puesto de su Theniente General en aquellas Islas, refiriendo por menor los lanzes que pasaron de hazerle prender en la fuerza de Santiago de esa Ciudad sin dejarle comunicar ni aun a sus hijos, y que aunque por su parte se recurrió a esa Audiencia y hizisteis al governador de consulta, sobre que devia ser oido, determinó tenia ordenes secretas mias para ello, como mas individualmente todo lo que pasó, constava del testimonio autentico, que se presentó supplicandome fuese servido mandar restituirle a su casa, y al uso de su ofizio y los bienes que se le hubiesen embarrgado y vendido.

Y haviendose visto en el dho mi Consejo con noticia de los despachos citados lo que los motivó, y lo que sobre todo pidió mi fiscal de el: He tenido por combeniente dar la presente, por la que os doy commission para que privadamente y sin que concurra el dho mi Governador Don Juan de Vargas paseis à hazer todos los actos juridicos que tubiereis por nezesarios en orden a poner en claro los prozedimientos del dho Sevastian Rayo Doria formandole causa, y obrando en ella y sentenziandola, conforme a derecho, disponiendo se execute luego, qualquier pena, que contra el determinareis; y en caso de haver actuado el dho General algunos autos en virtud de el referido despacho, es mi voluntad, cese en la continuazion de ellos, y que se abstenga de su conozimiento y se acomulen à los que de nuevo hizieredes, sin embargo de qualquier orden y hinibicion, que aya en contrario, y porque en los oydores Don Francisco de Monte-

mayor y Mansilla, y Don Diego Calderón Serrano concurren causas legítimas para no ser juezes en este negocio les prohivo que interbengan en el, si todabia se hallaren en esas Islas, y si el oydor Don Diego Antonio de Viga no hubiere sido fiscal en la causa à que se juzga se habrá dado prinzipio en conformidad de las referidas cédulas del año de mill y seisientos y ochenta, tengo por bien sea Juez en lo que se hubiere actuado, y actuare nuevamente en virtud de esta.

Y por que he entendido que el dho Sevastian Rayo Doria es hombre mañoso, y de autoridad, y que la puede tener para que juridicamente no se pruve nada contra el, ni conforme a derecho, se le pueda condenar en este caso. Y asegurando os, que combendrá a mi servicio desbiarle de esa Ciudad de Manila, lo hagais: que para todo lo referido os doy y conzedo el poder y facultad que de derecho se requiere y en tal caso es nezesario theniendo como inhivo de lo que a esto toca al dho mi Governador Don Juan de Vargas. Y de lo que executaredes me dareis quenta con testimonio de los autos.

Fha en Madrid a veinte y uno de Junio de mill y seisientos y ochenta y dos años.

Yo el Rey.

Por mandado del Rey nuestro Señor,

Don Francisco de Altamira Angulo.

Señalada del Consejo.

Translation.

Commission given to the Audiencia of Manila, so that privately and without the participation of the Governor it ascertain the proceedings of Sebastian Rayo Doria, and carry out the orders that appear in the previous document.

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

In my decree of 4 March of the past year 1680, I said that my Council had received notice that, contrary to arrangements made in royal decrees, the Governors of those Islands were in the habit of keeping the Senior Mayors in their jurisdictions longer than the terms stated in their Letters of appointment, resulting in much detriment to my Royal treasury, and to the Indians. Apparently, some were maintained thus, and specially General Sebastian Rayo Doria whom Don Manuel de León kept in the jurisdiction of Tondo during his whole term of office; Tondo is the largest such jurisdiction in those Islands. Said individual is very harmful to that Government. It is said that Governor Don Sabiniano Manrique de nada [sic]¹ had made him General in order to marry him to a woman of his devotion, and later on he repaid him by pursuing him in his *residencia*. Also, when he was ordinary mayor of that City, it was he who seized Governor Don Diego Salcedo, and it was in his house that the Meetings were held, after he had pushed for them until he succeeded in having them held through the [intervention of the] Commissioner of the Holy Office, and when said Governor Don Manuel de León held a commission to ascertain the excesses committed in this imprisonment, he

1 Ed. note: Literally “of nothing”, a Freudian slip for “de Lara.”

assigned said Sebastian Rayo Doria to the most unworthy services that one can imagine and the latter repaid him by placing him in dire straits with an infamous, and false, report which he intended to send to me, jointly with the Municipal Council and government of that City; however, the report in question had no effect, because said Don Manuel de León died immediately. It is said that the man is diabolical, that his word is deceitful and treacherous, that when he was Royal Secretary he certified infamies. And as he is a voting member of the Municipal Council, he forces the hands of the other chapter members to as many bad dealings as come to his mind, and when he does not get them to do what he wants, there are perpetual disputes. That everyone complained about him, but no-one dared to challenge him. As for him personally, during the 8 years that he was in charge of the municipality of Tondo, and as guarantor of others, he was owing different sums to my Royal Treasury, which he did not pay, although he had been summoned to do so on various occasions.

To put a remedy to this situation, I ordered you to make arrangements for the faithful, precise and timely execution of the contents of the decrees despatched to prevent the Senior Mayors of those Islands from exercising their functions longer than stipulated therein, and then to remove those who have exceeded their term, making them give a financial report of affairs in their care, and to have you proceed with the inquiry into and punishment of the excesses committed by General Sebastian Rayo Doria. Since he is a person with the character mentioned above, you are to make sure that he is removed from the office that he holds, using the proper legal procedures, but that under no circumstances he be allowed to hold the post of Senior Mayor longer than the term stipulated in Royal Decrees, and after having first satisfied what is recorded as his debt to my Royal Treasury and pursued him to repay the sums to my Royal treasury of that City, dunning his salary in all rigor. And by another decree of same date, I have ordered the same thing to Master-of-camp Don Juan de Vargas, my Governor of those Islands.¹

Now then, on behalf of said Sebastian Rayo Doria, I have been informed about the bother caused to him by said Governor Don Juan de Vargas by having exiled him from those Islands to the Marianas, because he refused to accept the post of his Lieutenant General in those Islands, with a detailed reference to the incidents that took place when he had him seized and placed in Fort Santiago in that City, incommunicado, without contact even with his own children, and that although an appeal was filed on his behalf in that Audiencia and that you have counselled the Governor about what should have been heard, he decided that he had secret orders from me for doing so, and so on, as described in greater detail in the authenticated record of the inquiry that was attached, and they begged me to please have him restituted to his family, and to the use of his office and of the property that might have been seized or sold.

And this matter having been seen in my Council, along with the news in the above-mentioned despatches that motivated them, and what my Fiscal has said about the

1 Ed. note: Not reproduced here. A similar long message was also sent to the Viceroy.

whole matter, I have decided it was appropriate to give the present, by which I give you a commission for you to hold private audiences, without the participation of the said my Governor, Don Juan de Vargas, and carry out all the legal proceedings that you consider necessary in order to clarify the proceedings of said Sebastian Rayo Doria, by opening a case against him, by pursuing it, and passing sentence, according to law, then arranging for the execution of whatever penalty that you might determine against him. Should said General have already intended some claims in the matter at hand, it is my will that you cease to proceed with them, and against his knowledge add same to the list of new charges that you are to come up with, notwithstanding any order or injunction to the contrary. And because the Audiencia members Don Francisco de Montemayor y Mansilla and Don Diego Calderón Serrano have presented legitimate claims to withhold their services as judges in this case, I forbid them to intervene in it, if they are still in those Islands. And if the member Don Diego Antonio de Viga had not been Fiscal in the case referred to above, he would have brought the matter to trial in accordance with the above-mentioned decrees of the year 1680; I want him to act as Judge in whatever trial may have been intended, or to be intended anew by virtue of the present.

And because I understand that said Sebastian Rayo Doria is a cunning man, and an authoritative figure, and that he may do anything legally-speaking to ensure that nothing is proven against him, or may not act according to law, he may then be condemned in this case. And should you consider that it would be convenient for my service to send him away from that City of Manila, you are to do so, and to this effect I give and grant you the power and authority that is legally required in such a case, but considering the said my Governor Don Juan de Vargas as inhibited in this matter. And you are to report to me about your resulting proceedings, with a full copy of the case file.

Made at Madrid on 21 June 1682.

I, the King.

By order of the King our Lord,
Don Francisco de Altamira Angulo.
Countersigned by the Council.

Documents 1681S

Two letters from the King to Governor Vargas, dated 28 July 1681

S1. Letter of thanks

Sources: AGI Fil. 331, libro 7, fol. 344-344v, pp. 711-712; also in AGI Fil. 13-1-9, pp. 143-144; copy in Colección Pastells, Fil. 14.

Original text in Spanish.

El Rey

Al Governador de Filipinas dandole gracias por el fomento que a dado a la Mision de las Islas Marianas y que lo continue.

Maestro de Campo D. Juan de Bargas Hurtado Cavallero de Santiago mi Governador y Capitan General de las Islas Filipinas y Presidente de mi Audiencia de ellas.

Con carta de 27 de mayo de 1680 me remitisteis una relacion hecha por el Superior de la Mision de los Religiosos jesuitas, de las cosas mas notables suzedidas en las Islas Marianas desde Junio del año de 1678 asta mayo del de 679, y del estado prospero en que alli quedava la christiandad. Con cuyo motibo, decis que la embarcazion que os tengo mandada fabricar para poder pasar dhos religiosos de unas Islas à otras, quedava ya armada la quilla, y que saldria para las Marianas por Jullio de 680 y esperavais se consiguiese el viage (teniendo antes por dificultoso) mediante el ofrecimiento que os havia hecho un Piloto que proximamente havia llegado a Manila y con el, muy buenos efectos porque con la travesia de 400 leguas tendran socorro los misioneros, y se haria el reconocimiento de todo lo que comprehenden las Islas Marianas.

Y havindose visto en mi Consejo de las Indias y participadome con consulta estas noticias, ha parecido daros gracias (como lo hago) por lo que haveis obrado en el adelantamiento de la mision de las Marianas y os encargo lo continuais con el celo y esfuerzo que lo haveis hecho asta aqui, disponiendo quanto conduzca al fomento de la propagazion de nuestra Santa feé Catholica en aquellas Islas, y de lo que obraredes, y exsito que tomare me dareis quenta en las ocasiones que se ofrecieren.

De Madrid a 28 de Jullio de 1681 años.

Yo el Rey.

Por mandado del Rey nuestro Señor, Don Joseph de Veitia Linage.

Translation.

The King.

To the Governor of the Philippines to thank him for the development that he has given to the Mariana Island Mission and encouraging him to continue.

Master-of-camp Don Juan de Vargas Hurtado, Knight of St. James, my Governor and Captain General of the Philippine Islands and President of my Audiencia there.

In a letter dated 27 May 1680 you sent me a report written by the Superior of the Mission of the Jesuit religious about the more noteworthy events that happened in the Mariana Islands between June 1678 and May 1679,¹ and of the prosperous condition of Christianity there. This made you say that the keel of the vessel that I have ordered you to build to enable said religious to travel among the Islands had already been laid down, and that it would leave for the Marianas in June 1680 and you were hoping that it would make a successful voyage (previously thought to be a difficult one) thanks to a Pilot recently-arrived at Manila who had volunteered his services² and with him to good effect, because after traversing 400 leagues, he would deliver the relief to the missionaries and would undertake a survey of the whole archipelago included in the Mariana Islands.

And after this was seen in my Council of the Indies and I was advised of these news, I have decided to thank you (as I do now) for what you have done for the progress of the Mariana Mission and I entrust you to continue doing so with the zeal and effort that you have shown up to now, by making any arrangement that will lead to the development of the propagation of our Holy Catholic faith in those Islands, and you are to report to me on your actions and their result at every opportunity that may offer itself.

From Madrid, 29 July 1681.

I, the King.

By order of the King our Lord, Don José de Veitia Linage.

S2. Letter regarding the necessary galleon stop at Guam

Source: AGI Fil 331, libro 7, fol. 346v-347, pp. 716-717.

Original text in Spanish.

El Rey

-
- 1 Ed. note: This was indeed the Spanish version of Doc. 1679F2, by Fr. Besco. The report is presently located in RAH 9/2677.
 - 2 Ed. note: He refers to Francisco Lazcano.

Al Gobernador de Filipinas que cuide de que las Naos de aquella carrera executen el orden de tocar en las Islas Marianas.

Maestro de Campo Don Juan de Bargas Hurtado Cavallero del orden de Santiago, mi Gobernador y Capitan General de las Islas Filipinas y Presidente de mi Audiencia de ellas.

En carta que me escrivisteis en 15 de Junio del año passado de 1680, disteis quenta de que en cumplimiento de lo que os mande por cedula de 17 de Junio del de 678 haviades dado orden a los Generales de las Naos de esa carrera para que toquen en las Islas Marianas.

Y haviendose visto en mi Consejo de las Indias, ha parecido deciros (como lo hago) que esta bien el orden que acerca de esto disteis a los dhos Generales, y para que en lo venidero lo observen, os mando cuideis de que lo executen por el consuelo que de ello recibiran los misioneros y soldados que residen en aquellas Islas.

De Madrid, a 28 de Jullio de 1681 años.

Yo el Rey.

Por mandado del Rey nuestro Señor, Don Joseph de Veitia Linage.

Translation.

The King.

To the Governor of the Philippines, to make sure that the galleons of that run carry out the order to stop at the Mariana Islands.

Master-of-camp Don Juan de Vargas Hurtado, Knight of the Order of St. James, my Governor and Captain General of the Philippine Islands and President of my Audiencia there.

In a letter that you wrote to me on 15 June of the past year 1680, you reported that in compliance with what I ordered you in a decree dated 17 June 1678, you had given an order to the Generals of the galleons of that run to stop at the Mariana Islands.

And this having been seen in my Council of the Indies, I have decided to tell you (as I do now) that the order that you gave to said Generals regarding this matter is a good one, and to make sure that they observe it in future, I order you to take care that they carry it out, since the missionaries and soldiers who live in those Islands will receive much consolation from it.

From Madrid, 28 July 1681.

I, the King.

By order of the King our Lord, Don José de Veitia Linage.

Documents 1681T

Reports on the Mariana Islands, ca. 1681

T1. List of the islands in the Mariana Island chain, by Fr. Coomans

Source: Both T1 and T2 are from among Phil. mss. II in the Lilly Library, Bloomington, Indiana.

Note: The title in margin of the second folio page (added by another hand) reads as follows: "Letter to the Queen our Lady Doña Mariana de Austria in which she is given news about the discovery of the Mariana Islands, and the fruit gotten there." The letter in question may refer to Document T2 below.

[A.] Northern Islands which the Religious of the Society of Jesus have reached aboard the frail native craft and where they have planted our Holy Faith:

	Latitude	Longitude
Guan, or San Juan.....	13°4' [N]	164°45'[E] ¹
Rota, or Zarpana, now Santa Ana.....	14°32'	169°
Aguiguan or Sant Angel.....	15°0'	
Tinian, Buenavista Mariana.....	15°14'	
Saypan, San Joseph.....	15°45'	
Mañagajan, uninhabited		
Oos, uninhabited ²		
Anatajan, San Joaquín.....	16°20'	
Sarigan, San Carlos.....	16°45'	
Guan, ³ San Phelipe.....	17°9'	

1 Ed. note: As mentioned below, the longitude if East of Palma in the Canary Islands.

2 Ed. note: A probable reference to Farallon de Medinilla, unless it refers to a second reef islet (like Mañagaha) that would have since disappeared.

3 Ed. note: Transcription error for Guguan.

Alamagan, Concepción.....	17°40'
Pagon, San Ignacio.....	18°20'
Agrigan, San Francisco Xavier.....	19°
Assonson, Assumpción.....	21°
Maug, San Lorenzo.....	22°

[B.] Southern Islands not visited by the said religious for lack of transport:¹

	Latitude	Longitude
Guan, or San Juan.....	13°4'	164°45'
Guatianumi.....	12°15'	164°47'
Pagan.....	11°45'	165°35'
Magani.....	11°22'	164°45'
Artomagan.....	11°8'	165°40'
Chinao.....	10°40'	164°54'
Cherego.....	9°35'	165°0'
Sapan.....	8°50'	164°15'
Sapan Shoals.....		163°30'
Matan.....	8°40'	165°25'
Batabo.....	7°40'	164°4'
Bassía.....	7°12'	164°0'

Near these islands, at latitude 12°30' [N] and longitude 164°10' the needle [of the compass] shows a variation of 3°30'. The longitude has been taken with reference to the island of **Palma** in the Canary Islands [by] General Don Juan de Zelaeta, of the Order of St. James, who wished to take the islands under his charge, since he is a subject with all the necessary qualifications for the post [of Governor] and has also a high degree of expertise in all these islands.²

Pedro Comano

1 Ed. note: These are islands probably shown on some early maps; some are real and badly located (e.g. Pagan, Saipan), others are fictitious. Matan probably refers to Mactan near Cebu, where Magellan died. Some early cartographers confused the Ladrões (Marianas) with the Archipelago of San Lázaro (Philippines).

2 Ed. note: Zelaeta, or Zalaeta, was then fort warden at Acapulco and the Jesuits wanted to recommend him for the post of Governor of the Marianas. He was sent to the Philippines by the Viceroy as judge to take the residencia of Governor Vargas (1684), was accused of taking a bribe from the Governor, arrested by the Audiencia (see Doc. 1687M) and exiled. He went to Spain and died there suddenly (B&R 42: 282).

T2. Description of the Mariana Islands, by Fr. Coomans

The Marianas, formerly called the Islands of Sails, on account of the quantity of craft and canoes, are [part of] a chain of islands that begin almost next to Japan, with the islands of St. Tecla close to it,¹ and end with New Guinea and the land of Sory² next to Austral [sic]. Out of this numerous archipelago, 13 have been conquered, and the faith has been planted in them by Father Sanvitores; and it was [done] in spite of the persecutions of the governors of the Philippines and their residents, and of the barbarians of the Marianas themselves. Not having forces with which to subject them, they were reduced by the soldiers and the ministers of the Gospel [sent] to the Island of Guam, and where four main settlements have been formed in which have been baptized over 1,000 persons in 1680.

The other islands are populated with a large number of very poor barbarians who did not even know the use of fire;³ but easy to convert if the Spaniards themselves had not bothered them until [sic] and although the intention of the Fathers is to reduce to 4 or 6 islands the residents of all of them, for lack of a ship to navigate them, it has not been possible to get one until now, nor to pass to the Austral land that we have our eyes on. This necessity has been the reason of so many requests and petitions for his Majesty's orders to be executed bringing the Philippines in contact with the Marianas, and the latter in contact with one another; because, although in them only Christian piety can bring the fruit of salvation of these souls, but **the islands, and neighboring lands are very dispersed, the people live with more neatness; the light of the Gospel has never shone there; they are docile, and have various materials [of commerce] such as clove and others, which was made known by the natives themselves who drifted in a canoe and arrived at our ports,** and it appears very believable on account of such places being at the same latitude as the Moluccas rich in everything.⁴

In the northern hemisphere, access to Japan could be attempted as it is distant one day from St. Tecla Island (it is well known in Europe how great the advantages derived by Holland in trade with them). However, all this has been lost until now, only because in the Philippines they do not want to execute what is ordered in Spain, and their not

1 Ed. note: The Izu Islands discovered by the galleon **San José** in 1664.

2 Ed. note: A possible reference to Apia Island near Geelvink Bay, the **Scri** of Saavedra and Grijalva (see HM 1: 562).

3 Ed. note: An uncharitable fable invented by early visitors but proven wrong by modern archaeologists (like Alfred Marche in 1887-89) who have found evidence of fire inside ancient clay pots.

4 Ed. note: Fr. Coomans had seen and transcribed Fr. Miedes' report on the Carolines (see Doc. 1664D).

having had a zealous governor, one who fears God, who would apply himself to the service of our Lady and the King as he should. This is the briefest and most accurate notices that can be given about the Mariana Islands.

In them, six Fathers have died for preaching the Gospel and a few of their lay companions.¹ The harvest is great and the workers have increased since 1680 so that they will be able to gather a large quantity of fruits;² but none will be obtained without first establishing material foundations (as Your Reverence will see fit to propose) and ensuring that the orders are executed without putting up excuses and much opposition, given that every day they rise anew in order to destroy this persecuted Christian community.

T3. Establishment of the Mariana Island Mission, anonymous, dated Marianas [1681]

Source: Present location unknown; 3-page ms. offered for sale by Maggs Bros. of London in 1923 for 16 pounds (Cat. N° 442, n° 1869, p. 145) and again in 1927 (n° 46); partly translated in the Maggs catalog, as follows.

Manuscript report (in Spanish) of the Foundation of the Mariana Mission by the Ven. Fr. San Vitores; stating the importance of its geographical position in relation to the Far East; and the need for regular sailings between the Marianas and the Philippines.

The Mariana Mission was founded, with the help of the Spaniards, by the Venerable Father San Vitores, to the glory of God and the welfare of His creatures; and having shed his blood together with other Brother-Religious, it would be a dolorous sacrifice in vain, were all these Islands to be ultimately lost for lack of the effort to develop this enterprise, not only on account of the work already done, but of the hope of converting the many islands to which these lead, reaching as far as Japan; and to avoid this loss, it should be noted that:—

This Mission entirely depends upon the service of a vessel between the Mariana Islands and Manila, which is 300 leagues away, to bring people, supplies, workers, and everything necessary. Otherwise it is impossible for it to persist, cut off from all the rest of the world.

Until today, the Islands have had relief from the Philippine vessels returning from New Spain, but as these ships are not of the required tonnage they are not suitable, and in the ordinary way, are liable to run great risks from heavy seas... **The vessel needed**

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- 1 Ed. note: By 1680, a total of 5 priests (Sanvitores, Medina, Ezquerria, San Basilio, Monroy), one brother (Diaz), and many catechists had already been killed. They others had died of natural causes.
 - 2 Ed. note: Between 1679 and 1681, 11 new missionaries had joined the Mariana Mission.

by the Marianas should be about 100 tons and should be built in a Philippine port, and, sailing from there in due course, should supply the Mission with its needs; take heed of the course by sea; the monsoon; the voyage; and finally, whether there are, in between, any other islands which could be navigated by smaller vessels for the purpose of intercommunication and an easy voyage to the Philippines by gradual stages from one island to another; a matter which would not be possible to the larger vessels sailing between there and New Spain, for besides being too large for the purpose, they could not spare the time to search for new courses among the small islands, which might expose them to the dangers of shipwreck.

[The writer explains that much depends upon the disposition of the Governor of the Philippines, who has the authority to order the construction of such a vessel. He sets forth the practical means by which the building of the ship and the sailings could be financed, and remarks that the officers are paid by the King whether they work or rest. Some of the outlay could be refunded, also, by the salvaging of the brass artillery which had been sunk off the Mariana Islands in 1638, when the ship **Concepción** was lost.]

The Governor should despatch the 200 Pampangos who were ordered (under a Royal Decree dated 16 November 1672) to be sent out, in default of which, Pangasinians or Visayans—it would be easy to obtain people of these nations—and in Manila there is always a superfluity of vagabonds...¹ These could be employed on board and subsequently teach the islanders any trade they might be proficient in... but the galleons cannot take them, by reason of the expense.

Failing the construction of the required vessel, the Governor should issue orders for the galleons to call regularly at the Marianas on their return from New Spain, and leave the passengers and necessary supplies... as laid down in different Royal Decrees, particularly that dated 30 April 1676.

Etc.

1 Ed. note: This was witnessed by Fathers Bustillo, Bouwens and Coomans when they visited Manila; so, one or all of them could have written this report from the Marianas.

Document 1682A

Letter from Fr. Paul Klein to a Bohemian Jesuit, dated Mexico 16 February 1682

Source: Ms. in Latin, #HM 9971, recorded in Bibliotheca Americana (Maggs Bros. Catalog), p. 13; published, in Spanish, in Fr. Burrus' Kino Escribe a la Duquesa (Madrid, 1964), pp. 166-172.

Note: The addressee was either the Fr. Provincial or Fr. Superior in Ingolstadt (Germany). Fr. Klein had travelled from Spain to Mexico in 1681. Fr. Klein was born in Steiermark, Austria, in 1646 and died in the Philippines.

Spanish version of the letter.

Reverendo Padre en Cristo, P. C.

Por la presente carta quiero informar a V. R. de mi próxima marcha de Nueva España para las Filipinas y darle, al mismo tiempo, un breve resumen de nuestra estancia aquí.

Tan pronto como obtuvimos de la Cancillería local las licencias para confesar, el Padre Tomás Revell y yo nos mudamos a la Casa Profesa de la ciudad de México (desde donde escribo esta carta) y nos dedicamos al apostolado.

...

Mientras tanto, hemos estado viviendo desde nuestra llegada en algunas de nuestras casas de aquí, como ya escribí, y nos hemos estado dedicado en la medida de nuestras fuerzas a trabajar por la salvación de las almas. Los Padres Cuculinus y Kerschpämer están en Puebla, donde la Compañía de Jesús, con la ayuda del Obispo del lugar, dirige una misión, con unos resultados y asistencia de fieles que raramente se ve en Europa; especialmente, en cuanto a la admistración de sacramentos se refiere, y al número de confesiones generales y demás medios por los que Dios quiere despertar y atraer a los pecadores a El...

Al cerrarse la misión, los Padres fueron llamados a la ciudad de México por el Procurador de Filipinas; pero como el Rector de Puebla les requería insistentemente, volvieron a toda prisa, y permanecieron allí hasta el 6 de febrero. Llamados una vez más a la ciudad de México, estuvieron aquí el día 8 para salir unos días antes que nosotros

hacia Acapulco en compañía del obispo de Sinópolis, quien a su vez partirá con nosotros para las Filipinas con el fin de ocupar la primera sede vacante que haya allí. A finales de mes, los demás pensamos seguir la misma ruta. El barco que ha de llevarnos, salió de las Filipinas a primeros de julio, y después de un próspero y rápido viaje, entró en el puerto el 21 de diciembre de 1681.¹ Se dice que efectuará el viaje de vuelta el 18 de marzo.

Se cruzó en ruta con el barco que había salido de México el año anterior; sabemos por las cartas escritas por varios de nuestros Padres que nuestros compañeros habían tenido un buen viaje hasta ese momento; que cinco de nuestros hombres se habían quedado en las Marianas:² los Padres Agustín Strobach, Juan Tilpe, Carlos Boranga, Diego Zarzosa y Teófilo de Angelis, y que las Islas van aceptando gradualmente la fe y dando mayores frutos de los esperados, de tal manera que las Islas podrían prestar generosa ayuda a cualquier barco que pase por allí, proveyéndole de cerdos, volatería y frutas.

El informe que adjunto completará las noticias referentes a las Marianas. V. R. tendrá la amabilidad de hacer extensiva esta información a los Padres Juan y Matías Tanner,³ Guillermo Froulich, Jorge Weiss y Jaime Gratz, y a todos los demás Padres; por el momento me es imposible escribirles a todos.

El barco no trajo noticias de China. Hay noticias—no confirmadas—de que el Japón es de nuevo accesible. Lo que sí es seguro es que los prefectos del puerto se muestran menos severos en la investigación de los que entran en el país. De aquí que existan esperanzas de que el país se nos abra.

La inmediata partida del cartero no me permite añadir nada más. Por consiguiente, termino aquí, encomendándome a los santos sacrificios de la misa oficiada por V. R.

Ciudad de México, 16 de febrero 1682.

Devotamente vuestro en Cristo,

Paul Klein, S.J.

Translation

Reverend Father in Christ,

Peace of Christ.

By the present I wish to inform Y.R. of my close departure from New Spain for the Philippines and to give you, at the same time, a brief summary of our stay here.

-
- 1 Las cartas las habían sacado del barco cuando éste llegó al puerto mexicano de Navidad, y llegaron a la ciudad de México el miércoles 24 de diciembre de 1681; el 28 de diciembre se supo en la Capital que el galeón había fundado en Acapulco (ref. Robles, Diario, I, p. 307).
 - 2 Los cinco habían navegado desde Cádiz en la flota que partió el mes de julio de 1680. Ed. comment: Not all, the first three were delayed until January 1681 (see Doc. 1681M).
 - 3 Rector del Colegio y universidad de Praga, superior de la Casa Profesa y Provincial.

As soon as we got the permits to confess from the local Chancellery, Father Tomás Revell and I transferred to the Professors' House of the City of Mexico (where I am writing this letter from) and dedicated ourselves to apostolic work.

...

In the meantime, since our arrival we have been living in some of our houses here, as I have already written, and we have been dedicating ourselves to the extent possible to good works for the salvation of souls. Fathers Cuculino and Kerschpämer are in Puebla¹ where the Society of Jesus was placed in charge of a [travelling] mission, with the help of the Bishop of the place,² with some results and an attendance on the part of the faithful that is rarely seen in Europe; specially with regards to the administration of the sacraments, and to the number of general confessions and other means used by God to awaken and attract sinners to Himself...

When the mission was over, said Fathers were called to the city of Mexico by the Procurator of the Philippines,³ but as the Rector of Puebla⁴ called for them to come urgently, they went quickly and remained there until 6 February. They were called back to the city of Mexico. They came in on the 8th and are to leave for Acapulco a few days before us in the company of the Bishop of Sinopolis, who will in time leave with us for the Philippines for the purpose of occupying the first vacant see to occur there.⁵ Toward the end of the month, the rest of us think that we will hit the same road. The ship that must take us left the Philippines at the beginning of July [1681] and, after a prosperous and quick voyage, came into the port [of Acapulco] on 21 December 1681.⁶ It is said that it will begin the return voyage on 18 March.

On the way over, it met with the ship that had left Mexico the previous year. We learned from the letters written by various Fathers of ours that our companions had had a good voyage until that moment; that five of our men had remained in the Marianas [in 1681]: Fathers Augustin Strobach, Juan Tilpe, Carlos Boranga, Diego Zorzosa and Teófilo de Angelis,⁷ and that the Islands are gradually accepting the faith and giving better fruit than expected, to such an extent that the Islands will be able to

1 Ed. note: Therefore, they could not have travelled to the Marianas until this year of 1682.

2 Ed. note: He was Manuel Fernández de Sahagún y Santa Cruz (1676-1699).

3 Padre Balthasar de Mansilla.

4 Padre Francisco de Florencia.

5 Bishop Juan Durán, of the Order of Mercy, titular Bishop of Sinópolis, was later appointed auxiliary Bishop of Cebú.

6 The mail had been taken out of the ship when it arrived at the Mexican port of Navidad, and it arrived at the city of Mexico on Wednesday 24 December 1681. On the 28th, it was learned in the capital that the galleon had anchored at Acapulco (ref. Robles, Diario, I, p. 307).

7 Ed. note: The first three had left Cadiz in January 1681, but the last two had departed with the regular fleet in July 1680.

provide a generous help to whatever ship that may pass by there, by provisioning it with pigs, fowls and fruits.

The report (enclosed) will complete the news related to the Marianas.¹ Y.R. will please pass on this information to Fathers John and Matthew Tanner,² William Froulich, George Weiss and James Gratz, and to all the other Fathers; for the moment, it is not possible for me to write to them all.

The ship did not bring any news from China. There are news, unconfirmed, about Japan being accessible once again. What is known for sure is that the prefects of the port show themselves less severe in their investigation of those entering the country. This leads one to hope that the country will be opened to us.

The immediate departure of the mailman gives me no time to add anything more. Consequently, I stop here, by commending myself to the holy sacrifices of the mass offered by Y.R.

Mexico City, 16 February 1682.

Paul Klein, S.J.

1 Ed. note: This was certainly a copy of the 1680-81 report by Fr. Solorzano (Doc. 1681I).

2 Fr. Matthew Tanner was Rector of the College and University of Prague, as well as Superior of the Professors' House and Provincial.

Documents 1682B

Letters from Fr. Zarzosa to Fr. Provincial of Andalusia, dated Guam 1 May 1682

Source: RAH 9/2668 doc. n° 83.

Note: The Provincial of Andalusia was probably Fr. Juan de la Fuente (see Doc. 1683C).

B1. Covering letter, in Spanish

*Mi Padre Provincial de Andalucia,
Pax Christi, etc.*

Con singular consuelo de mi espiritu tomo la pluma para escribir esta carta, y con ella enviar a V. R^a todos los afectos de mi corazon, deseando que halla a V. R^a con la salud que deseo, y esa Sta. Prov^a. a menester, yo la gozo, gracias a Dios, para servir a V. R^a en estas islas Marianas, donde al presente me hallo con el gozo, y alegria disposicion, qual no sabre significar a V. R^a dever cumplidos mi deseos, recibiendo cada dia de la piedad de un Dios tan grande[s] mercedes, que no merecen mis cortos, o ningunos meritos: de solas sin duda a las oraciones con que V. R^a me favorece, y suplico a V. R^a se sirva de continuarlas, para que you sepa corresponder a tantos beneficios del Señor. Estimare sobre mis ojos quanto antes noticias de la salud de V. R^a, cuya vida y Dios Dios [sic] con la felicidad que deseo, y esa Sta. Prov^a necesita.

Destas islas Marianas, y Residencia de Nuestro Padre San Ignacio de la isla de San Joan [sic] a 1 de mayo de 1682.

*Siervo de V. R^a en Christo,
Diego de Zarzosa.*

[P.S.] Remito a V. R^a esa relacion donde a la larga vera V. R^a el estado destas islas, y mission, y estimo mucho se sirva V. R^a de comunicarla al Padre Luis Bernaldo.

Translation of the covering letter

My Fr. Provincial of Andalusia,

Peace of Christ, etc.

It is with special consolation that I take pen in hand to write this letter, with which to send to Y.R. all the affections in my heart, hoping that it will find Y.R. in the [good] health that I wish, and that holy Province requires. I am in good health, thank God, and serving Y.R. in these Mariana Islands, where I find myself at present enjoying such a happy disposition that I cannot [but] express it to Y.R., to comply with my desires; I do receive every day from God's mercy so many favors that my very short, or non-existent merits do not deserve. They are due, no doubt, to the prayers that Y.R. favors me with, and I beg Y.R. to please continue them so that I will be able to respond to so many benefits from the Lord. I would appreciate seeing with my own eyes as soon as possible news of the good health of Y.R., whose life may it please God [to keep] with the happiness that I wish, and that holy Province requires.

From the Mariana Islands, and Residence of Our Father St. Ignatius of the island of San Juan, on 1 May 1682.

Y.R.'s servant in Christ,
Diego de Zarzosa.

[P.S.] I enclose for Y.R. that relation¹ where Y.R. will see at length the state of these islands, and mission, and I would be pleased if Y.R. would pass it on to Fr. Luis Bernaldo.

B2. Religious testament of Fr. Zarzosa

JHS. Copia de otra carta del mismo Padre Diego de Zarzosa, que vino con esta, en que habla de su renuncia, y es como se sigue:

Es me forzoso significar en esta a V. R.^a como no hice mi renuncia el tiempo que estuve en esa Santa Provincia.

El año pasado de 71, escribí al Padre Provincial Joan de Cardenas sobre esta materia, y me respondió su R.^a que no corría por entonces priessa la renuncia; pues no poseía viviendo mi Padre y Señor. Despues de su muerte aguardava, a que los superiores determinassen esta materia y no aviendomela intimado, se llegó el tiempo de mi venida a estas islas, donde me es fuerza, para desenvarazarme deste cuidado, concluirlo quanto antes. Y assi doy poder a V. R.^a para que en esto execute mi ultima voluntad, segun declaro en el parrafo siguiente.

“En primer lugar renuncio en mi Er[man]^a y Sr.^a D.^a Catalina Firesa de Zarzosa y Salido un corto vinculo, que poseía mi Padre y Sr.— En segundo lugar renuncio los bienes libres, que me tocan, en mi M[adr]e y Sr.^a D.^a Francisca Salido y Alarcon, a quien doy parte de esta mi ultima voluntad.”—

Suplico a V. R.^a que luego que este papel llegue a manos de V. R.^a quede autenticado en el libro de las renunciaciones.—

¹ Ed. note: No relation is filed with this letter in the archives.

“Juntamente renuncio la colacion de unas capellanias, que el año passado de 78, me coló el Sr. Obispo de Málaga (aviendo precedida antes licencia de justicia del Padre Alonso Rodriguez, Provincial entonces de la Prov^a de Andalucia) para que mi Er^a y Sr^a D^a Catalina de Zarzosa, como patrona de ellas, nombre la persona que gustara, para que se le cuelen dichas capellanias. Y por ser esta mi ultima voluntad, lo firme de mi nombre, juntamente con el de mi superior, y otros testigos de nuestra Comp^a en estas Islas Marianas, y Residencia de N. Pe. S. Ignacio de la Isla de S. Juan a 1 de Mayo de 1682.—

Manuel de Solorzano V. Provl. de Marianas.—

Joan Tilpe, Item.—

Thomas Vallejo, item.—

Diego de Zarzosa.”

El original de donde se copió este traslado llevo a mis manos Jueves 2 de Julio de 1685 y con el correo del sabado 4 del mismo mes y año, desde el Collegio de Cordova, donde me cogio, lo remití à Sevilla a manos del Padre Jacome Squarçafigo(?), Padre Provincial de esta Prov. de Andalucia, para que le mande dar cumplimiento en la forma que mas convenga, de manera que sea bastante a cumplir o suplir los defectos que en tal modo de renuncia se an cometido por la legalidad y clausulas que saben por su valor en lo juridico.

Translation of Fr. Zarzosa’s testament

JHS. Copy of another letter from the same Fr. Diego de Zarzosa, which came with this one, in which he talks about his renunciation,¹ and it is as follows:

I am obliged to let Y.R. know that I had not done my renunciation at the time that I was in that holy Province [of Andalusia].

In the past year of 1671, I wrote to Fr. Provincial Juan de Cárdenas about this matter, and his Reverence answered me that there was then no hurry for the renunciation, since my father was still alive. After his death, I was waiting for the superiors to decide this matter, but they had not yet contacted me by the time of my departure for these islands, where I must, in order to discharge myself of this worry, conclude it as soon as possible. So, I give Y.R. the power to execute this my last will and testament, as declared in the following paragraph:

“Firstly, I renounce in favor of my sister, Mrs. Catalina Firesa de Zarzosa y Salido, a short entail that my father had.— Secondly, I renounce the freehold properties, which are meant for me, in favor of my mother, Mrs. Francisca Salido y Alarcón, to whom I give notice of this my last will and testament.”—

¹ Ed. note: It is clear from the context that this is a renunciation of his worldly possessions and inheritances.

I beg Y.R. that, after this paper reaches the hands of Y.R., it be authenticated in the book of renunciations.—

“Jointly, I renounce the collation of some chaplaincy stipends, that in the year of 1678 the Lord Bishop of Málaga granted me (having previously been the just purview of Fr. Alonso Rodriguez, then-Provincial of the Province of Andalusia) so that my sister, Mrs. Catalina de Zarzosa, as the patroness of same, would name the person she wishes, so that he may be granted the said chaplaincy stipends. And, this being my last will and testament, I hereby affix my name, jointly with that of my superior, and other witnesses of our Society in these Mariana Islands, and Residence of Our Fr. St. Ignatius of the Island of San Juan, on 1 May 1682.—

Manuel de Solorzano, Vice Provincial of the Marianas.—

Joan Tilpe, Idem.—

Thomas Vallejo, idem.—

Diego de Zarzosa.”

The original from which this copy was made reached my hands on Thursday 2 July 1685, and with the mail of Saturday 4 of the same month and year, from this College of Córdoba, where it reached me, I have remitted it to Seville to the attention of Fr. Jacome Squarçafigo(?), Fr. Provincial of this Province of Andalusia, so that he may comply with the required formalities, in such a way that it would be sufficient to be complied with, or to allay the defects that have been committed in this form of renunciation and might affect its legality and the juridical value of its clauses.¹

1 Ed. note: There is no signature, but the original note must have been written by the former Provincial, Fr. Pedro de Espinar.

Document 1682C

Letter from Fr. Tilpe to Fr. Espinar, dated Agaña 15 May 1682

Source: RAH 9/2677.

Original text in Spanish

Mi Padre Procurador General.

Pax Christi etc.

Con el ayuda y favor de Dios con muy buena y entera salud apportè à las yslas Marianas y hallandolas en muy buena disposicion, y mucha paz, pero muy faltos de obremos, nos quedamos en ellas cinco Sacerdotes, es à saber el Padre Diego de Zarçosa, el Padre Carlos de Boranga, el Padre Agustin Estrobac, el Padre Teofilo de Angelis, y yo. Y luego al cabo de un mes y medio se me encargo el Collegio de los niños naturales, que se crian en el al pie sesenta: al de las niñas bolviò à levantar el Señor Governador porque apportò con nosotros, con invocacion de S. Gertrudis por su mucha devocion, que tiene con esta Santa bendita.

Estan como ha dicho estas yslas en mucha paz con nosotros, fuera de la de Saypan, cuyos ysleños se conjuraron à matar al Padre Vice-Provincial con su escolta, quando vino à visitarlos y bautizar los niños, como lo hizo en Rota, Tinian y Agiguan, pero descubri esta con tiempo la conjuracion por medios de Indios amigos, que llevaba en su seguïto el Padre Vice-Provincial, dexò lugar para ponerse en salvo. Este atrevimiento y traicion, sino se reduxieron à mejor consejo, pagaran en acabandose el barco luengo, que se previene para este fin, y otros, quando ay tan poca esperança de alcançar la tan deseada, quan necessaria embarcacion de Manila; y rendida esta ysla darà franco passo para socorrer a la cordillera de Gani, y entablada la Christiandad del norte, podremos tomar la buelta del zur, como no nos falten obreros para trabajos tan grandes. Oy dia no somos mas que treze sacerdotes y uno de estos, que es el Padre Thomas Vallejo ya esta destinado para Manila, por su poca salud, y tres Hermanos Legos.

*Acà en Guaxan ay Residencias siete, todas muy bien entabladas; bautizados ya todos, y los casados, casados todos *in facie Ecclesiæ*. Avisan luego quando ay criatura que bautizar, ò enfermo de peligro, y aun los traen à la yglesia para recibir los ulti-*

mos Sacramentos, como se estila en las Misiones de Bisayas; tomaron muy bien la doctrina cristiana de suerte, que este año ya muchos han podido ser admitidos a la Sagrada comunión.

En Rota asisten ya el Padre Pedro Comano y el Padre Carlos Boranga con un Hermano Lego. Dos Residencias se han de levantar en dicha ysla. Todavía ay en ella tres de los Parricidas; à los quales, por lo mucho que lo han procurado los de Rota, no los han podido tener a la mano, por lo agrio de aquella ysla; uno de estos le atrevio de noche à tirar una lança hazia la puerta de los Padres pero siendo sentido y aun perseguido de un criado, se le escapò en el monte. Por la mañanita avisados los Indios acudieron luego, y desmontaron alrededor de la casa, y aora todas las noches la guarnecen con sus centinelas.

En Pago Residencia de Guaxan, se quemò por descuido la casa del soldado, que assiste al Padre. Acudieron luego los pocos Indios, que à la sazón avia en el pueblo, porque los mas estavan trabajando aqui en el castillo, y su primer cuydado de ellos era guardar al Padre y su casa, para que no se quemasse, tal es el cariño que nos tienen.

Dios los conserve, y me guarde à V.R. muchos y felizes años como lo desseo y he menester, y le recompense à V.R. los muchos favores, y beneficios que me ha hecho, de que tengo muy fresca memoria, y la tendrè mientras viviere; mis finos recaudos al Padre Fernando Musquis, y al Hermano Simon.

Agadña y Mayo 15 de 1682.

Muy siervo de V.R.

Juan Tilpe

[Address:] Al Padre Pedro de Espinar de la Compañia de Jesus y Procurador General de las Yndias, Sevilla.

Translation

My dear Father Procurator General.

Peace of Christ, etc.

With the help and favor of God I have made port at the Mariana Islands in very good and full health. I found them to be in very good disposition, and entirely at peace, but very much lacking in workers. Five of us priests have remained there, to wit: Father Diego de Zarzosa, Father Carlos de Boranga, Father Augustin Strobach, Father Teófilo de Angelis, and I. And then, at the end of a month and a half, I was put in charge of the College for native children, who are being raised in it, a total of 60. The College for girls has been rebuilt by the new Governor who has arrived with us, and he dedicated it to St. Gertrude, on account of the devotion he has for this blessed Saint.

As I have said, these Islands are fully at peace with us, with the exception of the Island of Saypan, whose islanders plotted to kill the Fr. Vice-Provincial with his escort, when he went to visit them to baptize the children, as he did in Rota, Tinian and Agiguan, but the plot was discovered in time, by means of friendly Indians whom the Fr. Vice-Provincial took along as a retinue, and he had time to place himself in safety. Unless they are reduced to better counsel, they will pay for this bold and treacherous act,

as soon as the construction of the long boat is finished, that is being made ready for this, and other, purposes, as long as there remains little hope of getting the much desired and necessary vessel from Manila. Once this Island [i.e. Saipan] has been subjected, the way will be opened for the succor of the Gani Islands, and once Christianity has been firmly established in the north, we will be able to head south, as we do not lack workers for such great works. Nowadays we are more than 13 priests but one of these, that is Father Thomas Vallejo, is already bound for Manila, on account of his ill health, plus three lay Brothers.¹

Here in Guaxan, there are 7 Residencies, all very well established. Everyone has now been baptized, and those married have all been officially married in the church. They now advise us when there is a baby to baptize, or a sick person in danger, and they even bring them to the church to receive the last rites, as is the custom in the Missions of the Visayas. They have accepted the Christian doctrine very well, so much so that many have asked to be admitted to holy communion this year.

Father Pedro Comano and Father Carlos Boranga already work in Rota, with a lay Brother. Two residencies have been built in the said Island.² There are still three patricides living there; in spite of the efforts made by the people of Rota to capture them, they have not been able to, on account of the roughness of that island. One of them had the audacity of throwing a spear toward the door of the Fathers one night, but he was detected and even pursued by a servant, but he escaped to the bush. Early the next morning the Indians were advised; they soon came to clear the bushes surrounding the house, and now, every night, they place guards to watch over it.

In Pago, a residency of Guaxan, the house of the soldier, who is assisting the Father, was burned down, out of carelessness. The few Indians who were then in the town ran up to help (the majority of them were then working here in the fort). Their first care was to guard the Father and his house, to prevent it from catching fire; such is the affection they have for us.

May God preserve them, and Y.R. for me for many happy years, as I wish and is necessary, and may He reward you for the many favors and benefits that you have given me, which I still have fresh in my mind, and will have for as long as I live. Give my fine regards to Father Fernando Musquis, and to Brother Simon.

Agaña, 15 May 1682.

Y.R.'s humble servant,

Juan Tilpe

[Address:] To Father Pedro de Espinar of the Society of Jesus and Procurator General of the Indies, Seville.

1 Ed. note: However, Fr. Vallejo did not leave until February 1684, aboard the Mariana patache returning to Manila with the Visitor, Fr. Xaramillo.

2 Ed. note: They were assisted by Br. Dubois. The sites of the two churches and houses were at Sosa (now Rota Town) and at Agusan on the north coast.

[Doc. 1682D1]

Original texts in Latin & Spanish

D1. *Reverendissime Patri in Christo Pater Noster Generalij Joanes Paulus Oliva.*

*Pax Christi etc**

Superiori anno 1681 perscripsi ad Rm. Paternitatem vestram super sucepto à me Missionis hujus Marianæ regimene, atque eo, in quo tunc versabatur, statu; superest nunc rationem ut reddam eorum, quæ hoc gesta sunt anno, inde à Junio præteriti, usque ad Junium currentis anni 1682 integram hoc facto missionis istius notitiam Rmæ Paternitatis vestræ oculis exhibiturus. Et quia in relatione annua, quæ epistolam hanc comes sequitur, notabilia anni hujus acta recensentur, hic ea perstringam solum modo, quæ magis videntur necessaria ad enucleatius proponendum Rmæ Paternitatis Væ Missionis, Christianitatisque istius statum.

*Missio esta aucta est hoc anno accessione quinque sacerdotum, omnibus qua virtutum, qua talentorum vestibus consummatorum, aptorumque é paucis addictæ missionis munia et labores. Advexit eos eadem, quæ P. Xaverium Riquelme inde à Nova Hispania, et alios tres sacerdotes socios suos Manilam devehebat, navis S. **Telmo** dicta, ad quam cum insularum illarum in conspectum delatam advolassem, atque operariorum missionis istius penuriam, et grave damni, quod Christianitati huic immineret, nisi, quibus egebam, potiri mihi liceret suppetijs, exposuissem. Lubentes, libentesque ad unum omnes, qui sua quidem absolverant studia, comperi patres, esto(?) in oppositum nonnihil obluctaretur Pater Riquelme, quamquam meis demum convictus rationibus ultra obniti non est ausus, contentus Manilam secum devehere P. Andræam Man[c]ker, P. Franciscum Borgiam, P. Carolum Calvanes.*

Manserunt in Marianis P. Carolus Boranga, P. Augustinus Strobach, P. Joannes Tilpe, P. Didacus Zarzosa, et P. Theophilus de Angelis; cupientesque unicé conversioni hujus gentis barbaræ sese impendere, in animarum ministerijs à me occupari magno cum fervore flagitarunt. Ego, qui involis(?) aliud habebam nihil, eos per Residentias repartitos, patribus earum satagentibus socios ad-junxi, quò solius, unius Marianæ linguæ studio intenti, quanto ocius ad obeunda missionis ministerio apti redderentur et habiles: id quod tanta sui cum contentione sunt executi, ut evoluto necdum semestri spatio, administrationem seminarij parbulorum naturalium P. Joanni Tilpe, eosdem bonis artibus et moribus imbuturo, atque res temporales y quæ ac spirituales dicti seminarij procuraturo committeri potuerim: obitque hoc munus cum omni qua mea, qua patrum cæterorum satisfactione. Est P. Joannes Tilpe operarius infatigabilis, magna charitate animarumque zelo præditus, nec promptiore minus obedientia, et regularum observantia, modestus, humilis, patiens, verbo operarius, qualis in missionibus istis expetatur.

[fol. 259v]

P. Augustinum Strobach collacavi in Residentia Inaráhan dicta, ubi brevi idoneum sese reddidit trahendi naturalibus Cathechesim, et Sacramenta administrandi. Et Pater Augustinus Strobach orationi, et familiari cum Deo communicationi deditus, magnæ Charitatis, et zeli salvationis animarum, humilis, legumque religiosorum observans, patiens laborum, et promptæ ad omnia obedientis, natus denique factusque hanc ad missionem.

Documents 1682D

Jesuit annual reports for 1681-1682, by Fr. Solorzano

Sources: ARSI Phil. 13, fol. 259-265 (confidential and official reports, both in Latin); Spanish version in AGI Fil. 3- 3-., fol. 263-265; copy in Colección Pastells, Fil. 2, pp. 382-392, and also in Fil. 18, fol. 107-114. Also an 8-page ms. dated Agadña 30 May 1682, offered for sale by Maggs Bros. of London in 1923 for 75 pounds, i.e. \$375 (Cat. N° 442, n° 1875) and again in 1927 (Cat. N° 491, n° 49); another copy, also dated 25 May, is among Phil. mss. II in the Lilly Library in Bloomington, Indiana.

Notes: Fr. W. C. Repetti has translated and published the official report in (1) Guam Recorder 17: 229-231; and (2) Catholic Historical Review 31 (1946): 431-437, but this translation is not literal enough to be used in this book. The Spanish transcript reproduced below is from the copy in the Lilly Library. Finally, all the 1681-82 reports have been summarized and published at Madrid by Fr. Morales, along with the reports for the 1682-84 period (see Doc. 1684A).

D1. Confidential report to Fr. Gen. Oliva, dated 25 May 1682

Most Reverend Father in Christ, our Father General Juan Pablo Oliva.
Peace of Christ, etc.

Last year, 1681, I wrote to your most reverend Paternity that I took over the administration of his Mariana Mission, besides what had happened then to its condition. There remains now for me to report on the events that have occurred during this past year, from last June until June of the current year **1682**, and place before the eyes of your most reverend Paternity all the news of this mission. And because the most noteworthy events of this year have been recorded in the annual report which accompanies this letter, in it I will limit myself only to proposing to your most reverend Paternity in a more concise manner the things that appear more necessary to the condition of this Mission and Christian community.

This mission made the acquisition this year of 5 priests, all dressed with consummate virtues and talents, and skilled in the few functions and tasks assigned to this mission. Fr. Javier Riquelme¹ brought them from New Spain, as he was sailing to Manila with

¹ Ed. note: Fr. Riquelme has previously served as Provincial of the Philippines, from 1676 to 1678.

P. Carolum Borangam in idiomate Mariano sufficienter iam versatum, ad Insulam Rotam misi cum Patre Petro Comano, insulanos illos rebus fidei exculturos; usque dicti PP. expeditius spiritualia tractare possent, socium illis addidi Fratrem Balthasarem Dubois coadjutorem temporalem, temporalia curaturum; et quia fabricandi artem callet, non exiguo adminiculo in erigenda Dei domo, suaque futurus. Magnopere P. Carolus idiomati sese applicuit Mariano, insigniterque brevi profecet. Est vir admodum religiosus et observans, paupertatis amans, suumque recollectus in cubiculum; magnæ Charitatis, zeliq̄ue animarum, promptus in obediendo, multaue pro Christo cupidus exantlandi.

P. Didacum Zarzosa, quantumvis certa valetudinis indispositione, eaque per molesta nonnihil fatigatus huc appulexit; nihilo minus ut primum hic escendit, Hispanorum administrationi ob insignem facilitatem, dicendiq̄ue talentum, quo à Deo præditus est, præfeci: statimque ipse cupidus emolumenti Naturalium in addifundam eorundem incubuit linguam. Est domus istius, residentiaeq̄ue primoris Minister; inthesaurizandis sibi virtutibus Midas; magnus societatis æstimatore æqui ac suæ in eadem, Marianasque vocationis amator; vir charitij eximis, nec inferioris animarum zeli, puntualis observantis, et promptæ in omnibus obedientis.—

P. Theophilo de Angelis nuper P. Petri Comani in nova S. Antonij Residentia pagi Mapupum socio, nunc ejusdem Rotam transmissio, successori dictam commissi Ecclesiam administrandam: unde quantum hiæ in idiomate promoverit, facile est conjectu; adjuncto nihilo minus ipsi securitatis majoris gratia, et ad quem in difficilioribus recurrat, interprete. Est P. Theophilus fervens admodum, et manus animarum zelador, devotionis, rerumque spiritualium cumprimis amans, religiosus observans, prompteq̄ue obediens, appositusque è paucis ad hanc missionem.—Sunt omnes quinque dicti PPes. ad exercenda nostra cum Hispanis ministeria apti.

Hoc novo cum subsidio, et insigni favore, quo Majestas Catholica Carolus Secundus Rex noster nos est prosecutus, dignatus insulis istis Gubernatorem et Capitaneum Generalem à regimine et Mexicano, et Philippino independentem decernere: perillustem equitem, et Hispana in militia legionis unius Magistrum D.D. Antonium Saravia Heroem et animi valore, et militari experientia strenuum, Christianum cumprimis, humanum, et politicum, qui unà cum dictis quinque PP. ad istas feliciter appulit insulas, plurimum negotio, sanctoque nostra promovit intenta. Qua novi subsidij accessione erecti ad majora animos, operam nostram ad inducendam novellæ huic Christianitati in Insula S. Joannis perfectionem admodum; et restaurata primum Residentia Inapsanensi, quam anno superiori vorax absumpserat flamma, alia in ipso Insulæ meditullio erecta est, quo perfecti demum [fol. 260] manet et ex integro administrata.—

Occupatis itaque Patribus in imponendo Baptismis, et Matrimonijs secundum Ecclesiæ ritus fine, ego spatio fiorem(?) fervori suo Campum aperturus, D. Gubernatori extremam aliarum Insularum necessitatem exposui, quantumque emolumenti et boni ex illarum aditu et visitatione collegindum foret, insulanes illis integro iam decennio animarum suarum remedio, quamvis refractaria sua ipsorum rebellione, nostrique persecutione destitutis. Addidi hanc expeditionem non nisi à me sustipi [=stipati], et obiri posse, militarique ignarum, quem in modum bonum, malumve recipiendum, egere præsidio: annuit D. Gubernador auditis perlibenter: quare adhibitis naviculis patrijs, et triginta stipatus præsidiarijs vela feci, feliciterque usque ad insulam Saypan excurri, cursu ulteriori hinc ventorum obluctantia, inde navicularum exilitate interdictus: quare hic, id quod potui, exequi decrevi.—

Interim incertam [=inceptum] omnium nostrum eadem barbari conspiciant Saypanenses, id quod fide dignus ad aures meas rumor in tempore pertulit, pridie scilicet ejus diei, qui cædendis nobis erat

three other priests in his company, aboard the ship named **San Telmo**. When it finally came in sight of these Islands, I flew over to it, and exposed to him the lack of workers in this mission, and the grave damage that might happen to Christianity here, unless he would let me have the supplies I was asking. I learned that every one of the Fathers who had completed their studies would gladly volunteer, although Father Riquelme did fight against this not a little, as it was not so easy for him to be convinced of the reasons I put forward, he was content to sail to Manila with [only] Fr. Andrés Mancker, Fr. Francisco Borja, and Fr. Carlos Calvanese.¹

There remained in the Marianas Fr. Carlos Boranga, Fr. Augustin Strobach, Fr. Juan Tilpe, Fr. Diego Zarzosa, and Fr. Teofilo de Angelis. They are all exceptionally desirous of dedicating themselves to the conversion of these barbarian people, and begged me earnestly to be employed with great fervor in ministering to souls. I, who had nothing else in mind(?), distributed them among the residences, as companions to the Fathers in exercise there, for only one purpose, that of studying the Mariano language as fast as possible, in order to become able to be sent to the ministry and in charge of their own missions. This they have done with such good effect that the space of six months had hardly elapsed when I was able to place **Fr. Juan Tilpe** in charge of the administration of the seminary for native children, to impart to them the good arts and morals, besides looking after the temporal and spiritual affairs of the said seminary. He had carried out his function with the total satisfaction of the other Fathers, and mine. Fr. Juan Tilpe is a tireless worker, with a great charity and blessed with a zeal for souls, no less prompt to obey, and observe the rules, modest, humble, patient, a worker in word, as much as is expected in these missions.

Fr. Augustin Strobach: I placed him at the residence called Inarahan, where he soon made himself apt at attracting the natives to Catechism, and at the administration of the Sacraments. Father Augustin Strobach is given to prayers, and familiar contacts with God, great charity, and zeal for souls, humble, and observant of religious law, patient under hardships, and promptly obedient in everything. Hence, he was born and made for this mission.

Fr. Carlos Boranga: he is already sufficiently conversant in the Mariano language. I sent him to the Island of Rota with **Father Pedro Coomans**. Those islanders are to be cultivated in the matters of the faith. Until the said Fathers become more at ease in dealing with spiritual matters, I have sent **Brother Balthasar Dubois**, temporal coadjutor, to take care of temporal matters, and because he is skilled in the art of building, he will be of great help in building the house of God, and their own future house. Fr. Carlos is applying himself strongly with the language, and soon will be excellent. He is an extremely religious man and observant, he loves poverty, and to meditate in his cell;

¹ Ed. note: We here have the final proof that Fr. Strobach and Fr. Calvanese were two different persons (see also Doc. 1679P & 1681D). In Doc. 1679P, Fr. Strobach himself refers to Calvanese as a Sicilian. As for the real Fr. Calvanese, he seems to have been sent on to China, along with Fr. Mancker (see B&R 42:199).

destinatus, quare ea ipse nocte congregiendi aleam præsidio meo ex tyronibus potissimum conflato, et in armis perparum versato, fidere non ausus, periculum prudenter declinaturus naviculas expedi-ri, aditumque maturare jussi: hac industria illo barbarorum defunctus discrimine, aliud longe formidolosius intraxi perdensam noctis obscuritate incurri divina solum remediabile spe, quod demum etiam favente hac nobis, salvus incolumisque cum omni meo comitatu evasi.

In insulis Tinian, Agiguan, et Rota salutaribus undis trecentum ablus[travi] infantes, moribun-disque nonnullis SS. Sacramentorum spe æternitatis iter facilitavi; bene, lubenterque in dictis tribus insulis ad sementem Evangelicam ex animi voto dispositij, exceptus. Obivi illas per circuitum, situs-que meliores iungendis Colonijs, et erigendis Deo templis opportunos perspexi et designavi: relictis demum benevolis lubentibusque indigenis isthuc renavigavi, suscepti è templo cura mittendorum ad Rotam patrum Petri Comani, et Caroli Borangæ cum fratre Baithasare Dubois, nè, ad quod recipien-dum tam dispositi erant, diutius carerent Evangelico animarum suarum remedio.—

D. Gubernator accepta successus totius fidelis e narratione, è vestigio cymbam capacissimam fab-ricari jussit, ea se oceano commissurus, et insulæ Saypanensi in reliquarum medio sitæ, et cervicosis inhumanisque ejusdem incolis jugum impositurus, unicum, in quo reliquæ omnes refrenentur me-dium. Expeditio hac ipso mense Junio, ut primum præsiaria Philippinarum navis cum solito et com-meatus annui, et novorum Patrum Insularum Tinian, et Agiguan reductioni applicandorum subsidio, nos recrearit, effectum sortiti debet: quod uti et complura alia, quæ non poterunt non occurrere per-tractanda, effectui dure haud licebit propter operariorum penuriam, hoc potissimum anni quo unum e veteranis stationis huius operarijs Manilam obligare compellar obvivium, valetudinisque imbecilli-tatem. Est is Pater Thomas Vallejo, qui urgente spiritus fervore robur ab infirmitate mutuatus pluri-mum hic [fol. 260v] laboravit, eoque debilitatis sensim est devolutus, ut absque prævia febris, aut indispositione alia vix ossibus hæreat, et aliquando neque pedes solo attollere posse videatur: quam ob rem valetudinarij eum loco habere inposterum. Manilamque mittere decrevi, ubi meliori refocil-landus et mensa, et cura, esse potest, robur, vigoremque recuperet pristinum: quamquam per acerba nobis P. Thomæ jactura est, eo quod sit consummatus Indarum operarius, magnæ virtutis religiosus, et intimæ cum Deo familiaritatis: exemplaris cum primis, humilis admodum, singularis regularum ob-servantis, amabilis juxta et affavilis, et necdum trigessimum ætatis annum egressus, virtute, perfec-tionisque studio est perquam longævus.

Omnes huius Missionis PPes, fratresque hoc anno se sacra Sancti Parentis nostri ascessi exercue-runt non minori tam spiritus sui profectu, quam nostrorum, externorumque ædificatione: suntque, nullo excepto, veri, genuinique societatis nostræ filij, fideles, infatigabilesque in Domini Vineæ oper-arij, et qui exemplo potius prædicent, quam verbis, Hispanis y quæ ac barbaris Indis; cujus rei exem-pla non pauca, nisi prolixitatem subterfugerem, in promptu haberem afferenda. Floret, vigetque Pater Rme, Dei faventis spe et gratia, hæc Missio Mariana et observantia religiosa et proprio Societatis nostræ spiritu, digna sanè quam Rma Paternitas vestra suis id virtutibus, suis id gloriosis laboribus, suisque Apostolicis ministerijs egregie commerentibus, in visceribus Christi complectatur.

Et hoc ipsum me, uti et officij mei ratio, nempe missionis hujus superiorem minimum enimvero Rmæ Paternitatis vestræ subditum, acrius urget, et impellit, eidem Patri nostro amatissimo acer-bum illum præoculis objicere dolorem, qui nobis in ultimo mundi exilio constitutis, et ab omni hu-mano commercio, et favore exclusis inde nascitur longe acerrimus, quod ne unica quidem communis Patris nostri litterula ad nos sit perlata, quando interim paupercula, et deserta undique missio suo ad Rmam. Paternitatem vestram crebrius perscribendi officio minime defuit. Si libera dicendi facultas

of great charity, zeal for souls, prompt to obey, and desirous of achieving great deeds for Christ.

Fr. Diego Zarzosa: inasmuch as he is recovering from a certain indisposition, which had made him somewhat tired by the time he arrived at this place, nevertheless, as soon as he came in, I entrusted him with the administration of the Spanish, on account of his extreme ease and talent for speaking, which he dedicates to God. He immediately endeavored to take advantage of his inborn skill to learn the language. He is house minister for this principal Residence. He is a Midas when it comes to accumulating virtues for himself. He is a big fan of the Society and a lover of his vocation in it, and in the Marianas. He is a man of exemplary charity, and not inferior in zeal for souls, a punctilious observant, and promptly obedient in everything.—

Fr. Teofilo de Angelis: he was until recently Fr. Pedro Coomans' companion at the new Residency of San Antonio in the village of Mapupun. I am now sending him to Rota, to administer the above-said Church. How long it will take before he makes the grade in the language, it is easy to conjecture; nevertheless, he has an interpreter with him for the sake of greater security, in whatever difficulties may occur. Fr. Teofilo is extremely zealous, and good at caring for souls, devotion, and a first-rate lover of spiritual matters, an observant religious, obeying quickly, and matched by few in this mission.—The above-said five Fathers are all able to minister to the Spanish.

With this new subsidy and extreme favor, which His Catholic Majesty Charles II, our king, supplied us with a worthy Governor and Captain General of these Islands, deigning to make him independent of the Mexican and Philippine government. This illustrious gentleman is an officer in the Spanish Army. Don **Antonio Saravia** is a hero and a man of action, with a courageous spirit and military experience, a first-rate Christian, humane, and political. The said five Fathers are unanimously happy that he came to these islands, the better to develop business and our holy enterprise. With the arrival of the new subsidy, the minds have been raised to think about extending this new Christian community within the Island of San Juan. Firstly, the residence of Inapsan, which had been the prey of the flames last year, was restored. Another was built in the very center of the same Island,¹ which has just been finished and administered with the new funds.—

The Fathers have therefore been busy administering baptisms and marriages in accordance with Church rites. I, trusting upon his zeal for opening a [mission] field, exposed the extreme need of the other islands to the Governor, [telling him] how much profitable and good it would be to go and visit them; it had been 10 full years already that those islanders were left destitute, without remedy for their souls, on account of their own quarrelsome rebellion and our persecution. I added that this expedition, which was to be escorted only by me, ignorant of the military garrison, could be withdrawn, depending on the reception being good, or bad. Having heard me willingly, the Governor gave his agreement. That is why I used local canoes and made sail, escorted

1 Ed. note: This was the short-lasting mission at Mapupun.

foret, præsumerem sinistras aliquas hoc in casu intercessisse informationes, ab eo profectas, cui cum nulla sit rerum Marianarum notitia, nec missionum eiusdem experientia, præter ancipitem rumorem sufragetur. Nihil ad me quod attinet, in summo reponerum lucra nancisci occasionem asserendæ veritatis causa abolendi, etiam sanguinis mei impendio labeculam quamlibet aspersam uni huic missioni tam sanctæ et prudenti [sic], quæ pro amplificanda Dei gloria, salvandis animabus, dilatando nomini Christiano usque ad sanguinis professionem, invictamque laborum excessiorum, maximorumque tolerantiam in summa rerum necessariorum penuria, et paupertate, quotidianisque vitæ periculis tam indefessa depugnat, ut prudens dubitem citrum alia toto in orbe gloriosior sit, magisque propria Societati. Verum hic ipse offensionis æmulis nostris, nobis vero, nostræque commendationi ludius est lapis.

At tot retro annis modicos, dicent, fecit progressus: id enimvero missionariorum neque defectu, neque culpa est factum; sed quod novis proprium est Christianitatibus, huic etiam accidit inter gentes præsertim barbaras, ubi nondum ne vidimus omni humana destituti spe; sed adhuc ab iis, quis aut succurrere nobis, aut saltem compati oportebat, in nostri(?) persecutionem conspirari insolvimus. Quis ignorat per consimiles laborum persecutorumque Syrtes et Carybdes a Deo conductam vela fecisse primitivam Ecclesiam? Et ausit quispiam in viros illos sanctissimos, qui suo cum doctrina eam gubernabant, [fol. 261] et profuso sanguine propugnabant, culpam congerere? Et hoc ipsum est, quo Deus nos exercuit in Marianis: Cumque jam favore ejusdem et gratia post exantlatas tam diuturnas persecutionem procellas, incipiamus attollere caput, et respirare, fore [fere?] spero, ut fractus videamus, que ex temporis, et operariorum tam paucorum excedant vires. Quam ob rem, qua possum cum dimissione Rmæ Paternitati vestræ supplico, ut si quidpiam pœnitentia dignum repertum est in nobis, quæcumque videbitur, et expedierit, eam omnino decernat: ex adverso autem, si tale in nobis est nihil, ut revera nihil est, dignetur obsecro iterum, iterumque Rma Paternitas vestra id nobis præstare gratiæ, et mandare, ut ad nostras litteras respondeatur, ne hoc saltem solatio destituamur tot alios inter labores et conflictus: in quibus, aliisque nostris ministerijs unicum nobis, ab hominibus quippe iam destitutis, asylum et solatium est Deus.

Exitque ista, nisi Deus aliter ordinarit, maximarum, quibus missio nostra subjacet calamitatum una, eam scilicet audiri non posse, ob tantum re cursus communis intervallum, quando neque ab ipso Patri Provinciali, rebus utcumque integris, nisi lapso biennio; adversis vera et navim Philippinam retardantibus, nisi lapso quadriennio, responsum haberi non potest. Ab Rma. vero Paternitate vestra quanta annorum intercapedine obtingere nobis possit, adhuc nescimus. Unde consequitur, quidquid contra nos iustum illud sit, sive injustum, decretum, aut delatum fuerit, necessario a nobis esse perferendum, cum hinc nemo sit, qui loquatur pro nobis, inde vero quævis judicij æquitas postulet, etiam alteram audiri partem. Unde punctum illud subjicitur dignissimum, quod Ram. Paternitas V. consideret, ac determinet, conveniat necne, ut unus aliquis Marianorum missionariorum Procuratorem Philippinum ad Urbem destinatum comitetur, cumque eo Europam, Romamque potat, ut aliquando tandem fidedignis imbuatur informationibus à teste oculari, et de certa scientia, et diuturna rerum missionis istius, ac mediorum, quibus ad sui gubernationem opus habet, experientia; tam in spiritualibus, quam temporalibus, ac pecunis tantæ administratione, qua tam liberaliter Catholicus Monarcha nostram sublevat egestatem, totaque currit per manus Procuratorum Provinciæ, a quibus nobis certa quantitas in rebus, generibusque pretio comparatis remittitur; pecuniæ quippe nequaquam parcitur; ac quibus demum modis incrementum, ac progressus, cum Christianitatis istius, tum ad alias complures gentes et nationes transferendæ sit procurandus?

by 30 men from the garrison, and happily made it as far as the Island of **Saypan**. In the latter part, the winds blew contrary, then they became too weak for the canoes to proceed. That is why I am back here, [though] I did everything I could to proceed further.

Meanwhile, a believable story reached my ears, to the effect that the barbarian Saypanese had conspired against our whole project. In fact, the day before, they had chosen to kill us. That is why that same night, I did not dare assume the very great risk with the young recruits of my garrison, extremely unskilled with weapons, and I prudently declined to send the canoes, and I ordered the landing to be postponed. This effort, defeated by that critical position taken by the barbarians, another thing far more frightening was the upcoming deep darkness of the night; I placed myself in the hands of divine providence, which, even though it was favoring us and kept us safe and sound, I took evasive action with my whole escort.

In the Islands of **Tinian, Agiguan, and Rota** I baptized 300 infants, and I eased the eternal way with the hope of the holy Sacraments for not a few dying people. In the above-said three islands, I found the people well disposed to willingly receive the Gospel seeds. I visited all around them, looking for, and assigning, better sites to establish colonies and to erect churches to God. That done, I sailed back here with the other native volunteers. To take care of the church, I took it upon myself to send to Rota Fathers Pedro Coomans and Carlos Boranga with Brother Balthasar Dubois, so that such well disposed people would no longer lack the evangelical remedy for their souls.—

The Governor, having received a faithful account of the whole event, immediately ordered the construction of a larger boat, one that could sail the ocean, in order to impose control over the stubborn and inhumane inhabitants of the Island of Saypan and the others in between, the only way by which all the others would be refrained. This expedition took place that same month of June, as soon as the Philippine galleon had resupplied us with the usual and customary annual subsidy, and some of the new Fathers had to be selected at random to go to the effective reduction of the Islands of Tinian, and Agiguan. However, for many reasons, not the least of which was the lack of workers, they could not have carried it out or have foreseen what was to happen. The most important reason was that one of those veteran workers, who had been on the way to Manila, but was forced to stay over because of illness, is still sickly. I refer to **Fr. Tomás Vallejo**, who can hardly stand on his feet. Although the loss of Fr. Thomas will be felt by us, given that he is a consummate worker in the Indies, a religious of great virtue, and one with an intimate familiarity with God. He is a first-rate example, extremely humble, very observant of the rules, kind as well as affectionate; though he is not even passed 30 years of age, he is more than a veteran when it comes to virtue and the study of perfection.

All of the Fathers and Brothers of this Mission have this year endeavored to make themselves like our holy founders, and succeeded not just in their minds, but also in edifying our people and the outsiders as well. They are all, without exception, true and genuine sons of our Society, faithful, and untiring workers in the vineyard of the Lord, and they preach more by example than words, to the Spanish and also to the Indian

Pater N.Rme per Jesucristi sanguinem Rmam. Paternitatem vestram obsecro, et obtestor, non sinat opprimi parvulos istos, qui tanta cum Dei gloria, animarum bono, nostræque Societatis commendatione occupantur in præcipuis, heroicisque quam maximè ejusdem ministerijs, in quibus haud minus primitivis desudant Patribus: persuasus sum certò fore [fere?], ut si vel benè intelligeretur, noscereturque, quid sit missio Mariana; ubique gentium mejoris omnino fieret, ejusdemque missionarij alijs Societatis operarijs exempli in modum proponerantur. Estque dolendum unicè, cum hæc ita omnino se habeant, non posse per epistolam vivam respondere aptam, et loqui valenter plus aliquanto, quam ab epistola nostra exaratum refertur, Rmæ Paternitati vestræ Coram exhiberi.

Modo novam in primaria hac Residentia, in qua statutis temporibus [fol. 261v] missio congregari solet universa, extruo habitationem in situ commodo et capaci, capacem et illam, et licet majori expte. ligneam, firmam nihilo minus, et in annos duraturam. Reædificavi etiam seminarium puellarum, hactenus sinistrarum informatiorum causa Patrum Provincialium jussu suspensum: verum ijdem nobis pronunc authores sunt ejusdem et restituendi, et promovendi. Estque hoc, rem clarius inspicient; opus justitiæ debitum; postquam Provinciæ Procuratores non dubitarunt ex ærario Regio assignatos a Rege dicto Seminario annuos redditus tria imperialium, (vel pieza de ocho) millia percipere. Quare hoc etiam acrius impulsus stimulat]o, non expectata ulteriori resolutione, opus hoc agressus sum et executus, datis ad P. Provinciale litteris, quibus demonstro, nulla conscientiæ satisfactione percipi à nobis posse peculium ad sustentandum Seminarium, quod in rerum natura non extat; ac proinde aut reddituum istorum perceptionem, dictique seminarij fundationem renuntiandam, aut si porro perciperentur, toti mundo satisfaciendum esse, seminarij ejusdem erectione, et conservatione, nisi infamem impostorum, et peculij Regij usurpatorum notam incurrere velimus. Quare ut primum Vice-Provincialis munus suffregi, dictum Seminarium restituere statui; et licet annos Superiori propter Sex Residentiarum uno tempore erigendarum concursum efficere id non potui; hoc nihilo minus anno paribus licet, quin et majoribus nec quisquæ obstantibus laboribus, illud exequi sum conatus, convenientemque puellarum numerum decrevi, anno sequenti agendum, secundum subsidij à me pro illis expetiti, ac in navi, quam sub Junium currentis anni 1682 præstolamur rationem.—

In puerorum Seminario pronunc censentur quinquaginta novem capita, qui in sui institutione, morumque probitate haud quidquam deferunt Europæis: frequentant Sacramenta, multi eorum sciunt, alij disceunt legere et scribere, atque alia officia mechanica: utuntur bona admodum distributione; de qua ætatijs inventuli huic proprijs, quia alias perscriptum autumo, adjungo nihil.

Quantum ad nostros, sequimur eundem stylum agendi, et procedendi modum, quem Missiones Philippinæ Provinciæ nostræ inter Bysayas, seu Pictos, prout inde à principio cæptum est introduci, ac in nullo discrepamus, nisi in contributionibus, quæ a Naturalibus dependent ibidem, et penduntur ministris, et officialibus Ecclesiarum; isthic vero à Marianis nostris exigi non possunt, ob summam paupertatem, nuditatem, ac extremam Insularum istarum necessitatem, ubi neque argentæ, neque cera, neque adhuc ad conficiendas vestes genera habentur ulla.

Quo potissimum nunc Missio eget cum ad sui augmentum, tum Christianitatis propagationem, est Phaselus, (Myoparonem, seu Patache vocant) equidem diplomate Regio fabricari jussus; verum durant assiduo Reipublicæ Manilanæ, contradictione, hujusque à Regijs sancitum toties, ut scilicet naves Philippinæ inde à Nova Hispania reduces iactis in Portu hiæ anchoris subsistant, et commoditatem nobis faciant transmissi in illis subsidij integre percipiendi: quod quamdiu non fit, necesse est Christianitatem hanc plurimis expositam videre periculis; vel enim commeatu illo integro frui nunquam licet, quippe qui oberrantibus huc illucque navibus eximitotus nunquam potest, vel Patres, qui

barbarians, of which they are so many examples that, if I did not have the excuse of prolixity, it would be easy for me to mention them. Most Reverend Father, with God's favor and grace, let this Mariana Mission flourish and grow strong, in religious observance and spirit proper to our Society, truly worthy of your most reverend Paternity in their virtues, their glorious labors, and by their apostolic ministries, perfectly deserving of being embraced in the bosom of Christ.

As for myself, well, by virtue of my office as the least superior of this mission, it is true that this subject of your most reverend Paternity is urged to be more lively, and is impelled to be even tougher by the very loving spectacle of our Father whose suffering he has before his eyes, he who is living in exile at the end of our world, and away from any human contact and favor, something which makes one miserable after a while, unless one small letter is received by us from our common Father, when, in the meantime, his minuscule mission, deserted on all sides, is at least not denied the duty of writing frequently to your most reverend Paternity. If I may be permitted to say this, I will presume that in this case some sinister persons may intercept the information—I avoid the word progress—someone who may know nothing about the Marianas, and has no experience in such missions, but he may favor an ambiguous rumor. I am not interested in anything but in taking every opportunity to assert the truth, in removing even at the cost of my blood any small stain against the mission here, so holy and prudent, in expanding the glory of God, saving souls, propagating the Christian name as far as martyrdom, and at the cost of excessive and untold hardships, amid a great lack of necessities, and poverty, and daily danger to one's life, fighting so untiringly that I doubt if there be any other, more glorious, [mission] in the whole world, and more fitting for the Society. It is truth that the pen that writes our commendation may of itself offend some of our competitors.¹

However, for a few years in the past, they say that progress was made; it is a fact that is neither due to the defects nor to the fault of the missionaries, but one proper to new Christian communities. Even here it happens among people who are specially barbarian, where we are not yet all despairing of any human hope, but so far there are those who would help us or at least sympathize with us, we do not usually see them join in persecutions against us. Who ignores that the early Church, led by God, had to sail through similar hardships and persecutions like Syrtis and Charybdis?² And who dares to ascribe blame to those very holy men who governed her with their doctrine and defended her by shedding their own blood? And this mission, in which God is exercising us, is not different. With His favor and grace, after enduring long-lasting storms of persecution, let us begin to hold our head up, and breathe; I do hope that we will not see the strengths of so few workers be exceeded and be ruptured with time. This is what

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- 1 Ed. note: This confidential report was not suppressed by anyone on the way to Rome, because it has been preserved there to this day. Some Jesuit provincials residing in Manila did show some envy at times.
 - 2 Ed. note: A reference to the shallows off the coast of Lybia and a dangerous rock in the strait between Sicily and the rest of Italy.

*illum exponendi causa navim [fol. 262] petunt, in continuo summoque versantur periculo, ut una cum Navi ingruente fortiori ventorum impetur, Manilam obripiantur(?), gravissimo, et missionis, et Christianitatis ipsius dispendio. Opus denique nobis est operariorum suppetijs, hoc præsertim anno, quo unus ut supra insinuavi, Manilam abiit, et alter, qui est **Pater Antonius Xaramillo** vir in Missionæ versatissimus ejusdemque peritissimus, et qui propter talentorum suorum excellentiam quatuor alijs æquipolleat, ibidem a Patre Provinciali detinetur.*

*Ablegatus eodem fuit Pater iste anno 1680 missionis nomine a **Padre Bartholomæo Besco** ad maturanda cum Superioribus ibidem; ac Republicæ Manilanæ Gubernatore summi negotia momenti in Missionis istius bonum. Et iam prius, atque eò appulerat, eum hinc ad se evocare decreverat Pater Provincialis, datis ad me litteris, quibus eum ad se transmitti imperabat: sic scilicet expediri, missionem interim visitanti jacturam complorantem litteris ut ut [sic] potuit consolatur. Cum que dicta sui ipsius Manilam evocatio illic cuderetur, eò appulit P. Xaramillo, summisque sui desiderijs in Superioribus excitatis egregiè quidem respondit; nos vero sui admissionis istius regimen et augmentum unice facti, natiq̄ue a missione tristes reliquit.*

Hic optarem Rma. Paternitas vestra tantisper subsisteret, atque incommoda, quæ ex resolutionibus eismodi nosci possunt, perpenderet. Namque si Pater Provincialis excellentiores quosque viros, quos hac in missione versari contigerit, hinc evocare pergat, consultius foret, eam pro semper missam facere, deficientibus enim nervis columinibusque, à quibus et sustentanda est, et proferenda, eam haud subsistere posse iam liquet. Neque enim se habet ista, uti aliæ Provinciæ istius missiones, in quibus uno aliquo suorum deficiente; facile fit aliorum, qui in promptu sunt, substitutione remedium; at vero hic, ubi res tam longi possitæ sunt, adeo difficile fit, ut annorum aliquot decursu refaciri haud possit damnum ejusmodi ex resolutionibus subortum, Christianitati huic, ejusdemque conservationi, ut potet, quam perniciosum. Fuit vulnus illud longè acerbissimum missioni, neque ignorare Pater Provincialis poterat, quantam a missione talis, tantique viri, siquidem ad nos sediturus non erat, jacturam eram subituri; neque Epistola ipsius dolorem nostrum, aliquopiam, quam hac, illave ratione consolatorio, et à, nescio quo, convenientia expetitè, lenire contendebat; fuissetque longe melius facturus, si evocato hinc viro tam per necessario nobis, ut, quem admodum asservi, quatuor alijs præstet, si saltem unum ejus loco submississet, atque ita inflictum vulnus velut affuso tantillo oleo lenire procurasset. Quippe cum missio ista pars, membrumque sit Provinciæ Philippinæ, consequenter et Patris Provincialis erit, illam in oculis circumferre, ejusdemque augmenta atque aliarum Philippinarum missionum providè, paternèque accurare.

*Accedit hic et damnum illud unicè considerabile, quod etiam in temporalibus nobis insertur: et est, quod Pater Procurator, qui res Provinciæ in Mexico procurat, pro quolibet sociorum, qui ad Marianas destinatur, mille imperiales, (vel **pieza de ocho**) supputet, pro expensis, in eum, inde quo ex Hispania solvit, atque in has demum appelleret insulas, factis; cum certum sit socios, qui ad Marianas mittuntur, toto illo, quo in Nova Hispania commorantur, ac reliquo navigationis inde huc usque, tempore Regijs sustentari eleemosynis: subsidium certe longe maximum in hac proluxa Oceani Australis navigatione [fol. 262v] quæ omnia fideliter hic annotata ambiguum nobis reddiderunt justificationem quantitatis tam considerabilis, quæ a nostro nobis commeatu defalcatur. Verum justam eam concedamus, prius tamen ejus jacturam subimus, quam sociorum tam carò emptorum potiamur fructu, si maturè adeo Manilam eos advocant, gaudensque et peculio, et operarijs Marianis missiones aliæ, aut Collegium Manilanum. Cumque deinde tota quantitates, quæ ex ærario nobis penditur Mexicano sex mille sexcentis imperialibus haud sit amplius, proximo, qui intrat anno, absque commeatus subsidio*

I solicit, with your most reverend Paternity's permission, that if anything is found in us to be deserving punishment, please see to it that it be dispatched and resolved completely; the contrary applies: if no such thing is found in us, then in effect there is nothing; please, most reverend Paternity, I beseech you again and again to give us your favors, and to order that our letter be answered, so that at least we will not be left without consolation amid so many hardships and conflict; in fact, God is our only refuge and consolation in these, and our other ministries.

Now that this is in the open, unless God may decide otherwise, one of the calamities under which our mission was subjected to, in fact, is not being able to be heard, on account of the very great interval of time between common correspondence, when not even an answer is received from the Father Provincial himself, at the best of times, within a two-year delay. When things go wrong and the Philippine ship is delayed, an answer cannot be received until at least 4 years have elapsed. Indeed, so far we do not know how many years would elapse before we would take to get one from your most reverend Paternity. Therefore, it follows that whatever just thing has been said about us, or unjust thing against us, perhaps a decision or report, that might necessarily be carried out by us, when there is no-one here who can speak for us, then indeed how can any judgment be equitable, even the other party heard? Hence that point is to be referred to the most worthy judgment of your most reverend Paternity for consideration, and determination, to agree or not, about the despatch by the Philippine Procurator of one of the Mariana missionaries to Rome to represent our interests, both overthere in Europe, and in Rome, so that finally, whenever some trustworthy information is required, he may impart it as an eyewitness, and based on certain knowledge of the long-lasting affairs of this mission, and of the means that may be applied, based on his experience, not only in spiritual matters, but also in temporal affairs, in whose administration are spent so much money so liberally given by our Catholic Majesty to relieve our needs; the whole of it runs through the hands of the procurators of the Province, by whom a certain quantity of which is given to us in kind, at relative prices. In fact, the money is not in any way saved; and by which means is it precisely increased, given the progress made by this Christian community, when so many other peoples and nations in transformation have also got to be procured for?

Dearest Father, in the name of the blood of Jesus Christ, I beg your most reverend Paternity, and I beseech you, not to let these oppressed children, who, so much to the glory of God, are busy for the good of souls and the honor of our Society, amid special and heroic as well as great ministries, which are by no means less than those in which the early Fathers sweated. I am most certainly persuaded that, if it were to become well understood, and made known, that the Mariana Mission is where people were becoming completely better, its missionaries would be cited as examples to the other workers in the Society. It is most specially deplorable, when such things happen, not to be able to give a proper response, with a personal despatch, or speak energetically, inasmuch as our letters may be suppressed, and be able to show them openly to your most reverend Paternity.

maneamus est necesse: Provinciæ enim Procurator P. Balthasar de Mansilla pro quinque Patribus, quos hoc anno hic retinuimus, quinque imperialium millia defalcabit: rursum mille alios pro Patre Ildefonso de Arroyo anno superiori ob valetudines defectum Manilam deportato persolutos, amissuri sumus; alia denique duo millia pro Padre Antonio Xaramillo, et Padre Thoma Vallejo in super solvimus: quo fiet ut tandem ad incitas redacti neque habeamus quo vitam transigere, aut corpora tegere possimus, nisi palmarum forte folia, et radices ab Indis eleemosynæ, Deique amare nobis suppeditatos.

Ista, aliaque complura, quæ fussiiori egerent calamo sunt puncta momenti non parvi, et digna, quæ à Rmo. Paternitate Manilâ Romam destinato Rma. Paternitas vestra de his ritè informetur; et vero nunquam informanda fixum, certumque est: at nostrum interim erit pati insigniter, et exerceri. Qua de causa iterum, iterumque Rmam. Paternitatem vestram obtestor per Jesu Christi sanguinem mandare dignetur, unus aliquis Missionariorum hiatium evocetur, qui Philippinum Procuratorem ad urbem comitatus integram status, et rerum Missionis istius tum spiritualium, tum temporalium, totius Missionis nomine, reddere possit; sui scilicet regiminis commoditatum, laborum, spei imposteorum amplius proferendæ, ac omnium denique eorum, quæ mortuis litteris, uti fas foret, manifestari non possunt. Quod nisi fiat, viribus humanis haud supportandæ res evadent Marianæ.

Interim vero oro, atque rogo Rmam. Paternitatem vestram, ignoscere dignetur meæ inscribendo prolixitati; officij quippe mei obligatio, et desiderium contentandæ nonnihil meæ conscientiæ solitos styli mei terminos excedere me coegit: relicto quoad reliqua toto hoc negotio, ejusdemque dispositione ac resolutione in manibus Rmæ Paternitatis Vestræ, non secum atque in manibus ipsius Dei, quem instantes, assiduique precamur Rmam. Paternitatem vestram nobis, ac communi universæ Societatis bono diu salvam, incolumem, superstitemque velit.

Ex insula Sancti Joannis et Residentia S. Ignatij oppidi Agadnæ dicta 25 Maij, anni 1682.—

Rmæ. Paternitatis v[est]ræ] inutilis, et addictissimus servus,

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Emmanuel de Solorzano

By way of some news from this principal Residence, in which it is customary for the whole mission to come together at certain times, I am building a house in a suitable and spacious site, itself being spacious, and solid, even if only made of wood, and to last for years to come. I have also rebuilt the seminary for girls, which had been suspended so far by an order of the Father Provincial on the basis of sinister reports;¹ it is true that we are for now the authors of this restoration; the matter cannot be clearer, as we see it; it must in justice be done; after all, the procurators of the Province would undoubtedly have received the 3,000 pesos (or pieces of eight) assigned by the King and received annually from the royal treasury for the said seminary. That is why this stimulated me even more and, not awaiting a future resolution, I undertook and completed this work, and sent a letter to Fr. Provincial, in which I demonstrate that we must satisfy our conscience when we collect the donations toward the maintenance of the Seminary; that is made certain by the nature of the business. Therefore, either we give back what we have collected and renounce the foundation of the said seminary, or if they are collected further, we should before the whole world be seen to satisfy our obligation to build this seminary, and maintain it, if we do not want to be accused of infamy by appropriating the royal donations. That is why, as soon as I assumed the position of Vice-Provincial, I decided to restore said Seminary, and I could not comply with the wish of the Superiors for building six residences at one time; this would require no fewer than a couple of years, and I undertook to do so next year, no matter how many hardships along the way, whenever the number of girls warrants it, in accordance with the subsidies that will be sent to me for that purpose, possibly aboard the ship which we can reasonably expect by June of the current year of 1682.

In the Seminary for boys there have been counted 59 heads so far, who are by no means second to those in Europe in their behavior, and probity of morals; they attend the Sacraments, many of them know (and the others are learning) how to read and write, besides other manual trades, which have been found to be useful here, and assigned according to their own ages; because I have mentioned this in other letters, I say no more here.

With respect to our people, we follow the same methods and proceedings that is used in our missions of the Philippine Province among the Visayas, or Pintados; hence, I have introduced them from the beginning of the enterprise, and we diverge in nothing, except in the contributions made by the natives that the ministers and officials of the Church depend upon; here, this cannot be made compulsory for our Mariano people, on account of their very great poverty, nudity, and the extreme need of these Islands, where there is neither silver or wax, not even any material from which to make any kind of clothes.

1 Ed. note: It is clear from the Belgian letters that some boarding schools had been built adjacent to the Fathers' lodgings, in most cases, the better to protect the girls from the soldiers, but they, in turn, had accused the Fathers of indulging. It appears that such rumors were carried to Manila by passengers aboard the passing galleons.

It is now more urgent than ever for the development of this Mission, as well as the propagation of Christianity, to have access to the ship (the type called *Patache*) that was ordered built by royal decree. It is true that, as long as the Manila government continues to oppose what the King has so often prescribed, that is to have the Philippine ships coming from New Spain to make a stopover and anchor for a while in port, in order to be able to transfer those subsidies to us in full and more conveniently, as long as this is not done, this Christian community will continue to be exposed to many risks, either because those supplies are not received in full—in fact, they can never be if they are being carried all over the place aboard wandering ships—or the Fathers, who look to the ship to offset that, are exposed to continuous and great risk that the coming of the ship will be impelled by strong winds, and sneak off to Manila, at the very serious expense of this Mission, and Christian community. In short, the main thing for us, specially this year, is a supply of workers; one, as I have insinuated above, is gone to Manila, and another, that is **Father Antonio Xaramillo**, a man who is very experienced with missions and knowledgeable of them, and who is equivalent to four others on account of the excellence of his talents, he too is being retained by the Father Provincial.¹

This Father was sent away on mission business that year of 1680 by **Father Bartolomé Besco** to expedite this business, so important to the good of this Mission, with the Superiors and with the Governor of the Manila government. And he had no sooner arrived there, that Father Provincial decided to have him recalled, as he told me in a letter, in which he has ordered him transferred back to him. So, in fact, to console him for his deplorable loss, he was sent meanwhile to visit missions. Thus, as soon as Fr. Xaramillo arrived there, he was hit with this recall to Manila, and he responded very well to the expressed wishes of the Superiors; indeed, by his very own admission to us, this has made us all sad, as we are born uniquely for the establishment and increase of this mission.

I wish that your most Reverend Paternity would in the meantime oppose this, and moreover weigh carefully the disadvantages which have been known [to result] from similar decisions. Because, if the Father Provincial is allowed to transfer any of the better men from this mission, and to persist in recalling [men] from here, he should be made aware that this is to deprive this mission forever of its vital columns, without which it cannot by any means subsist and progress. Also, because this mission is not like the other missions of this Province, where someone may be lacking; it is easy for them to get a substitute quickly enough, whereas here, where things take so long to be arranged, that it is difficult, and takes some years to undo the damage that may result from decisions pernicious to his Christian community, and its preservation. This has been for a long time a very sore wound for this mission, and Father Provincial cannot ignore how such a thing can so strongly damage this mission, if indeed he is not working against us, and that his letter, which anywhere else but here might be consoling, caused us pain,

1 Ed. note: A year later, he was sent back to the Mariana Mission, but only for a few months, as a Visitor.

which he pretended to alleviate by sending it, I think. It would have been better if he had, by the same occasion, replaced the above-mentioned man, so necessary to us and worth more than four other excellent men, besides simply trying to put a little bit of oil upon the inflicted wound. In fact, as this mission is part and parcel of the Philippine Province, its Father Provincial should consequently bear that in mind, and endeavor to provide for its progress the same as for the other missions of the Philippines, carefully and in a fatherly manner.¹

This happened and that single damage is considerable, even when considering the times we live in, and that is: our Father Procurator, who is taking care of business for the Province in Mexico, supplied 1,000 pesos (of 8 reals each) to the companions he sent to the Marianas, for their expenses, computed as of their departure from Spain to there, and until they would arrive at these Islands. When it became certain that they were to be sent to the Marianas, the whole of that amount had been spent while they were living in New Spain, and for the rest of the voyage as far as here, they were sustained by alms from the Kings during that time; in this really-long voyage across the South Sea most of the subsidy, which had been ascribed to us was expended, and their expenses were faithfully charged to it. This is a considerable sum for us, and we have been deprived of it. Although we concede that it was fair, nevertheless we suffer from this bad turn, when products could have been bought more cheaply and happily by our companion buyers, if they had been ordered in sufficient time in Manila, from other missions, or the College of Manila, with money by Mariana workers. Therefore, with the whole quantity given to us by the Mexican treasury, which by no means exceed 6,600 pesos, in the coming year, besides the supplies, it is necessary that we remain with the subsidy, for the Procurator of the Province, **Fr. Balthasar de Mansilla**, for 5 Fathers—this is how many of us there are here this year—has retained 5,000 pesos. He has also taken another thousand for **Father Ildfonso de Arroyo**, who was deported to Manila last year on account of bad health; we were debited this amount. In short, there was another 2,000 pesos paid for **Father Antonio Xaramillo** and the above-named **Father Tomás Vallejo**. No wonder I was incited to write, as we do not have enough to maintain ourselves alive, or to cover the bodies, except perhaps with palm leaves, and with roots given to us as alms by the Indians, for the love of God and of us.

This letter, and the many others which would not be lacking and written by better, more worthy, pens than mine, directed to your most reverend Paternity from Manila to Rome, would have informed your most reverend Paternity as usual about this; indeed, it is never restricted to informing, and it is certain that in the meantime our people will continue to suffer extraordinarily, and go through a trial. For this reason, once again I beg your most Reverend Paternity, through the blood of Jesus Christ, to please order that someone check the words of the Missionaries, to make the Philippine Pro-

1 Ed. note: The Provincial at that time was Fr. Francisco de Messina, who served for 3 years, 1681-83. By the way, his term of office is not listed by Fr. de la Costa in his modern history of the Jesuits in the Philippines.

curator give back the full amount, and to look after the affairs of this Mission, spiritual as well as temporal, in the name of the whole Mission; in fact, the whole administration, labors, the hope for future expansion, in short, all of those things that cannot be expressed, as they should be, through dead letters. Failing that, the Marianas would lack the human strengths by no means necessary to their support.

In the meantime, I truly beg, and I do pray your most Reverend Paternity to please ignore my prolixity in writing; in fact, it is [due to] an obligation of my office, and the desire to somehow relieve my conscience, though I may have exceeded the usual terms of my style. That is why I leave the rest of this whole affair, and its disposition and resolution in the hands of your Most Reverend Paternity, as if they were in the hands of God himself. We earnestly and persistently beg your Most Reverend Paternity to please keep us safe and sound, as well as the universal Society, for a very long time.

From the Island of San Juan and the Residence of San Ignacio, in the town called Agaña, 25 May 1682.

The most useless, but fondest servant of your Most Reverend Paternity,

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Manuel de Solorzano

D2. Official report: Relation of the most noteworthy events in the Mariana Islands from June 1681 to June 1682

Translation by Fr. Repetti, edited by R.L.

[1.] On 15 June 1681, the galleon **San Telmo**, under the command of Don Francisco Henriquez de Losada, was off our north shore, and although he did not anchor in the port, our Lord was pleased to grant us a calm sea and favorable winds, which allowed the galleon to approach the land whenever possible, thereby enabling them to unload the regular supplies—somewhat stingy and short changed, on account of the part that was to come [directly] from Manila. The reason for this deficiency was that the supplies had been divided, and part of them had been left at Manila at the time the galleon San Telmo set sail for New Spain, on the understanding that the remainder would follow in a sloop which, they say, was being built in Manila by order of the Governor, Don Juan de Vargas Hurtado, for the commerce of these Islands with the Philippines, and to comply with His Majesty's orders and commands regarding the construction of a patache—a favor that the Mariana Mission has already received. However, the said sloop has not yet reached the Marianas nor do we know up to now whether it has left Manila; but we feel the need of the things which should have come in the sloop.

2. This delay or loss was compensated by the new favor and mercy that His Majesty the King, His Lordship Charles II has been pleased to make to this Mission, and new Mariana Christian community, by sending from Madrid the Master-of-Camp Don Antonio Sarabia, as Governor and Captain General of all these islands, independently

of the Viceroy of New Spain and the Governor of the Philippines,¹ and with power to make the conquest, to discover, and to govern all the other islands, the neighboring [northern] islands and the austral lands. Although the said gentleman arrived at these islands in a very sickly condition, and has suffered from many attacks from the fever here, he has nevertheless not failed in the obligations of his post. To the contrary, with the customary valor that he used in defeating the enemies of the Spanish Crown in Catalonia, Sicily and other places, and with the experience and rectitude of command, he has so well arranged things that, the Barbarians having been defeated and frightened, this Christian community has been promoted, and has put down very firm roots, as will be seen in the course of this brief Relation.

3. In the same galleon there also came a new supply of Gospel Ministers, five in all.² We will make much use of them for the increase of the Christian community; the lack of workers had stunted this growth, in spite of the zeal, industry and efforts of those who were still in the Mission to comply with our wishes to propagate the Faith, and the Christian name to other islands that are disposed and ready to receive the seed of the holy Gospel, with hopes of plentiful fruits. Since the wish of the most pious and Catholic Governor, Don Antonio Sarabia, was to cooperate with the Religious in their intentions to establish and expand this Christian community, he consulted about everything that had to be done in this respect with their overall Superior. Then he ordered that they be given the necessary escort of soldiers and other preparations made for the subjection of the Indians, and their complete reduction into villages, where they would once again be concentrated.

4. So, the first thing that was done was to restore the Residence and district of **Inapsan**³ which, as we have related last year, had been lost, the Indians having absented themselves and passed to other Islands. Although they had begun to return to their land, before the galleon arrived, the operation was not yet complete by any means, they having scattered and gone back to their old settlements and farm houses. But, to remedy this situation, the new Governor ordered them to return to [re-]create the villages of **Inapsan** and **Ritidian**, where, the year before, they had been collected, within a deadline of so many days and under the penalty of being severely punished. They obeyed promptly. At the same time, that district was provided with Religious to indoctrinate

1 Ed. note: Not so. A military officer always remains responsible to his immediate superiors.

2 Ed. note: The priests who arrived in 1681 were Fathers Boranga, Angelis, Strobach, Tilpe, and Zarzosa.

3 Ed. note: Fr. Repetti's translation says, wrongly, Pago, instead of Inapsan.

D2. *Relacion de los sucessos mas notables de las Islas Marianas desde Junio de 1681 hasta Junio de 1682.*

A 13 de Junio de 1681 llego a estas Islas Marianas por la vanda de el Norte la Nao S. Telmo a cargo de D. Francisco Henriquez de Losada y aunque no dio fondo en el Puerto, quiso Nuestro Señor favorecernos con bonanza de mar y vientos templados, con que arrimandose a tierra quanto pudo la Nao, desembarco el socorro ordinario, si bien menguado, y corto por la parte que avia de venir de Manila. La causa fue, el averse dividido el socorro, dexando buena parte en Manila al tiempo que se dio a la vela para la nueva España la Nao S. Telmo: con designio de remittir poco despues lo restante en una Balandra que dicen se fabricava en Manila por orden del Governador D. Juan de Vargas Hurtado para el comercio de estas Islas con las Filipinas: y para dar cumplimiento a los repetidos ordenes, y mandatos de su Magestad de la fabrica de un Patache, que tiene hecha merced a la Mission Mariana. Pero la dicha Balandra no ha llegado a Marianas ni sabemos hasta aora que aya salido de Manila; y solo experimentamos la falta, que nos ha hecho el socorro que avia de venir en la Balandra.

2. Este atrasado o perdida se recompensó con el nuevo favor y merced, que su Magestad del Rey Nuestro Señor Carlos segundo se ha servido de hacer a esta Mission, y nueva Christiandad Mariana, enviando desde Madrid al Maese de Campo D. Antonio Sarabia por Governador y Capitan General de todas estas Islas independiente del Virrey de la Nueva España, y del Governador de Filippinas, y con potestad para conquistar, descubrir, y gobernar todas las demas Islas, y tierras adyacentes y Australes[.] Y aunque este Cavallero llego mui falto de salud a estas Islas, y en ellas ha padecido muchos achaques, con todo esso no ha faltado a las obligaciones de su puesto, antes si con su valor acostumbrado a vencer enemigos de la Corona de España en Cataluña, Sicilia [sic], y otras partes y con la experiencia y rectitud de el mandar ha dispuesto tambien las cosas, que vencidos y atemorizados los Barbaros se ha adelantado mucho esta Christiandad, y echado mui firmes rayzes como se vera en el discurso desta breve Relacion.

3. Vino juntamente en la misma Nao un nuevo socorro de Ministros Evangelicos cinco por todos, de que se necesitara muchos para el aumento de la Christiandad, y por falta de Operarios no se podia dilatar, no bastando el zelo, industrias, y fuerzas de los que aca nos hallavamos para dar cumplido a los deseos de dilatar la Fe, y nombre Christiano por las otras Islas, que estan dispuestas y sazoadas para recibir la semilla del santo Evangelio con esperanzas de colmados frutos. Y como el deseo del Governador D. Antonio Sarabia, como tan piadoso y Catholico, era de cooperar a los buenos intentos de los Religiosos en el establecimiento y dilatacion de esta Christiandad, aviendo comunicado con el Superior de ellos todo lo conveniente a este punto dio orden para que fuessen assistidos de todo lo necesario de escolta de soldados y otras prevenciones para la sugesion de los Indios, y perfecta reduccion a los pueblos, a que de nuevo se agregaron.

them. Soon the construction of the church of San Miguel was begun, although its site was moved to a better place, less exposed to the mishap of last year.¹

5. Because another church and residence were necessary in the center of the island of San Juan—where the majority of the best lands for growing **rice** and root crops are located, which were settled helter-skelter in the old days—in order to administer it properly, they were guided to a chosen site where they were all to congregate.² Hence, they would no longer have to come down to the beaches to hear mass, to learn the doctrine and to receive the sacraments. So, a very large church and a house were built for the Religious who would administer that district. The church was dedicated to San Antonio de Padua.³ The natives were encouraged to develop a devotion for this saint, and for the other sacred things, by locating the sacred place very closed to their houses, and making them recognize how sweet and light is the yoke of the Lord, who seeks them, for no other purpose than to save their souls, to become known and be worshipped by his Creatures, for their own perfection and everlasting salvation.

6. Now that all the islanders had been reduced into settlements, the Gospel workers spared no efforts to extirpate and uproot the weeds of vices, which were abundant among these heathens. Firstly, after some preparations, holy baptism was given to those who had not yet received it, either through negligence or on account of the little esteem they had for those who had listened to our holy laws, or simply because they had been scattered, or hiding from the light of grace, which had not yet reached them, they being possessed by the dense darkness of their sins. There was an unequalled [degree of] freedom prevalent among these barbarians in the pursuit of their depraved appetites. This was the root cause of their **marriage customs**, which were as follows. Although they were not permitted many wives at one time, unions were broken, and invalid for lack of indissolubility; as easily as they became involved in a relationship, they would just as easily repudiate their spouse for slight reasons, and choose another one. This applied just as easily for the wife as for the husband, even when they had no greater reason to change spouse than their being tired or fed up with his or her conversation and company. Against this monster, the Ministers fought valiantly with an untiring zeal, love of souls, and energy, such that, by continuous preaching, or with gifts and tender attentions, they explained their error to the natives, and got them to recognize the Catholic Truth, to the triumph of the barbarian and heathen custom. Once they were instructed, and informed of the Truth, those who were already married according to their fashion had their unions blessed in accordance with the custom of Our Holy

1 Ed. note: It appears that the church and house of Inapsan were rebuilt at Ritidian, which became the new center for the district. This is confirmed by several documents of 1683.

2 Ed. note: Fr. Repetti's translation is wrong in mentioning that 7 localities were reduced into one new center (at Mapupun). The original document does not say that.

3 Ed. note: This new parish of San Antonio was also known as the Mapupun Mission. The new parish was meant to serve the scattered farming communities then existing in the upper Talafofo River basin and north of it. However, the mission was closed after 2 years had elapsed. (see Map of Guam in 1670, Doc. 1671Q).

4. *Y assi lo primero que se hizo, fue restaurar la Residencia, y partido de **Inapsan**, que como el año pasado se dijo se avia perdido, ausentandose, y pasandose a otras Islas los Indios, los quales si bien avian empezado a poblar su tierra, antes que llegasse la Nao, aun no estaban del todo seguros, aviendo se repartido, y dividido en sus antiguas poblaciones y rancherias. Pero cuyo remedio los mando el nuevo Governador que dentro de tantos días se bolviessen a formar los pueblos de Inapsan, y **Ritidian**, donde el año antes se avian juntado, so pena de ser gravamente castigados. Obedicieron con puntualidad. Y con la misma fue proveido aquel partido de Religiosos que le do[sc]trinassen, poniendo luego por obra la execucion de la yglesia de S. Miguel, aunque en otro sitio mejor, y menos expuesto a la desgracia de el año pasado.*

5. *Y porque para la perfeta administracion de esta Isla de S. Juan, era necesaria otra Yglesia, y Residencia en el zentro de ella, donde por la mayor parte se hallan las tierras mejoras para las sementeras de arroz, y rayzes, y antiguamente eran habitadas sin forma ni orden de los labradores, se les señalo sitio competente donde se juntassen todos, quitandoles el recurso y trabajo de bajar a las playas para oyr missa, aprender la do[sc]trina, y recibir los sacramentos. Y assi se fabrico una Yglesia muy capaz y casa para los Religiosos, que administran aquel partido. Dedicose la Yglesia a S. Antonio de Padua, cuya devocion, y a las demas cosas sagradas se aumento en los Naturales, teniendo el recurso el lugar sagrado tan cerca de sus casas, y reconociendo quan suave y ligero es el yugo del Señor, que les busca, sin mas interes, que el de sus almas, y el de ser conocido y adorado de sus Criaturas, para perfeccion, y buena aventuranza de ellos mismos.*

6. *Ya reducidos a poblaciones y todos los de esta Isla, pusieron todo empeño y solicitud los Obreros Evangelicos en extirpar, y desarraygar la zizania de los vicios de que abundava esta gentilidad. Primeramente se dispusieron para recibir el Santo bautismo todos los que no lo avian recibido, ora fuesse por negligencia, y poca estimacion que avian hecho de lo que avian oydo de Nuestra Ley Santa ora por retirados, y escondidos, huyendo de la luz de la gracia, que aun no les avia amanecido por estar poseidos de las densas tiniebras de sus pecados. Reynava entre estos barbaros una libertad sin igual para seguir sus depravados apetitos, de donde nacio lo que tenían en la contraccion de sus matrimonios los quales aunque no les permitian muchas mugeres a un mismo tiempo; se hacian nullos, e invalidos por la falta de indisolubilidad, que tacitamente se envolvia en sus contractos, y assi con la misma facilidad, que elegian a una por esposa la repudiaban por leves causas, y elegian otra. Y esto mismo era licito a la muger respecto del marido, aunque no tuviesse mas razon para mudar consorte, que el averse cansado, o enfadado de su conversacion y compania. Contra este monstruo pelearon valerosamente el zelo incansable de los Ministros, el amor de las almas, y la industria con que ya con la predicacion continua, ya con halagos, y carizias manifestaron a los naturales su yerro, y les llevaron al conocimiento de la Verdad Catholica, triunfando de la costumbre barbara y gentilica. Pues instruidos, e informados de la Verdad, se dispusieron todos los que a su modo eran casados, para renovar sus matrimonios segun la costumbre de Nuestra*

Mother the Church. The Decree of the Sacred Council of Trent, 24th Session regarding marriage reform, Chapter 1, was published and established in the whole Island; in accordance with this decree, they were all married in the eyes of the Church. As far as the bachelors were concerned, those who wished to become married were to advise their Ministers, in order to have their marriage recognized, in accordance with Christian laws. It is amazing that not one couple has broken up since, nor deviated from their holy resolution; rather, they think it would be a very serious crime to return to their old custom. Thus, this whole island of San Juan lives, and flourishes, grows and prospers within God's laws, and the Christian doctrine.

[The creation of local districts]

7. The Governor and Captain-General, Don Antonio Sarabia, observing the satisfactory state [of the country] and the disposition of the natives, and that the Island was Christian, did not hesitate to guarantee this situation by making another kind of laws, in the political arena. Consequently, he selected some men from among the most deserving and faithful leaders, those who, in times of wars and persecutions, had taken our side and offered protection to the Gospel Ministers. He honored them with various job appointments, as governors, captains, and justices [of the peace] in the Districts, and Towns of this Island, and with the Ministers necessary to administer it, and keep it peaceful and orderly.

On his own, he granted a special favor, the title of Lieutenant General, to the famous Don Antonio de Ayihi,¹ the old supporter and friend of the Gospel Ministers and of the militia in this Garrison. Considering it necessary that the natives should recognize a superior Power, and an overlord to whom we all owe allegiance, it was proposed to them to recognize and swear [allegiance] to their King our Lord, Charles II, to whose clemency, liberality, and Catholic zeal they owed their participation in the benefits of the Gospel and Christian peace. This they received very favorably, unanimously offering to do everything on their part in the discharge of their obligation. A day was fixed for the ceremony, at which all the island Chiefs were present, as well as many people. The said Governor, Don Antonio de Saravia, designated the Superior of the Mission to receive the oath of fidelity, and allegiance, that the Island was swearing to the King, our Lord, Charles II, on behalf of His Majesty. The declaration was as follows:

8. *"We, the governors, captains, and leading men of all the districts and towns of this Island of San Juan, or Guahan, the capital of the Marianas, gathered in this church of the Society of Jesus, of the Most Holy Name of MARY, in the hands of the Reverend Father Manuel de Solorzano, Superior and Vice-Provincial of this Mission, do spontaneously and of our own free will, before the Most Holy Trinity, before the Most Blessed Virgin Mary, swear with all due solemnity upon the four gospels to remain very*

1 Ed. note: Master-of-Camp, i.e. Colonel, Saravia would not, and could not, have appointed Ayihi to a rank superior to his own. This unofficial title was, in effect, equivalent to that of an honorary Lieutenant Governorship.

Santa madre Yglesia y se publico y establecio en toda esta Isla el Decreto del Sagrado Concilio de Trento, Session vigesima quarta "de reformatione matrimonij", capitulo 1º segun el qual se casaron todos "in facie Ecclesia", y los Solteros, que de nuevo quieren tomar estado avisan con mucha diligencia a sus Ministros, para que su matrimonio sea segun las leyes Christianas. Y es cosa maravillosa, que entre tantos no se aya hallado desorden, ni inconstancia en su resolucion santa; antes tienen por gravissimo crimen el bolverse a su costumbre antigua. Y assi vive, y florece toda esta Isla de S. Juan, creze, y se augmenta en las Leyes de Dios, y doctrina Christiana.

7. *Viendo el Governador y Capitan General Don Antonio Sarabia el buen estado, y disposicion de los Naturales, y que toda la Isla era Christiana, no dudo de afianzar este bien con otras leyes politicas. Para lo qual eligiendo los mas benemeritos, y fieles Principales, y que en tiempos de guerras, y persecucion favorecieron nuestras armas, y ampararon a los Ministros Evangelicos, les honro con varios officios de Governadores, Capitanes, y Justicias de los Partidos, y Pueblos de esta Isla, y los Ministros necesarios para administrarla, y conservarse en paz, y buena policia, y en especial favorecio con el titulo de Teniente General, de su misma persona a aquel famoso Principal Don Antonio de Ayihi, antiguo fautor, y amparo de los Ministros Evangelicos, y de la milicia de este Presidio. Y considerando ser necesario el que estos Naturales reconociesen potestad superior, y un Señor a quien todos rendimos vasalaje: se les propuso la obligacion, que tenían de reconocer, y jurar por su Rey, y Señor a Nuestro Rey Don Carlos Segundo, a cuya clemencia, liberalidad, y Catholico zelo debian el bien tan grande que ya gozaban, professando la Ley Evangelica, y Christiana. Lo qual ellos oyeron muy bien, y se ofrecieron uniformemente a hacer quanto debian de su parte para cumplir con su obligacion. Señalose les dia para esta funcion, a que acudieron todos los Principales de la isla, y mucho pueblo. El dicho Governador Don Antonio Sarabia quiso que el Superior de la Mission en nombre de su Magestad recibiesse el juramento de fidelidad, y vasallaje, que la Isla hasia al Rey Nuestro Señor Carlos segundo, el qual es del tenor siguiente:*

8. *"Nosotros los Governadores, Capitanes, y hombres Principales de todos los Partidos, y Pueblos de esta Isla de S. Juan, o Guahan, cabezera de las Marianas, aviendo nos juntado en esta Yglesia del Santissimo Nombre de MARIA de los PP. de la Compañia de Jhs, en manos del mui Reverendo Padre Manuel de Solorzano, Superior, y Vize Provincial de esta Mission, libre y espontaneamente prometemos delante de la Santissima Trinidad, y de la Virgen Santissima, y juramos con toda lo solemnidad posible [sic], sobre los quatro Evangelios, de ser mui fieles Vasallos de Nuestro Rey Señor Don Carlos Segundo, y de obedecer sus reales ordenes, assi como lo hazen en todos los Reynos de su dilatada Monarchia sus mas fieles Vasallos, y observar y guardar todas las leyes que su Magestad fuere servido de mandar nos imponer. Y para que conste de dicho juramento donde convenga lo firmamos de nuestros nombres en dicha Yglesia a ocho de Setiembre dia de el dichosissimo nacim[ien]to de Nuestra Señora la Virgen MARIA Madre de Dios, año de mil seiscientos, y ochenta y uno." Firmaron aunque toscamente el Juramento, aviendo lo repetido en su natural ydioma. Y despues saliendo de la Yglesia se disparo la artil-*

faithful subjects of our King and Lord, Charles II, to obey his royal orders, as well as his most faithful vassals in all the Kingdoms of his vast Empire, to observe and preserve all the laws to which his Majesty decides to obligate us.

In witness whereof we sign our names, in the said church, on the 8th of September, the feast-day of the most happy Nativity of the Virgin MARY, Mother of God, in the year 1681.”

They signed, albeit crudely, this Oath of Allegiance after having repeated it in their native tongue. When they left the church, salutes were fired with cannon and muskets, the [musical] instruments were sounded, and all the hats flung into the air as a show of happiness, while they shouted with loud voices: “Long live the King. Long live King Charles the Second.”

[The typhoon of December 1681, and the new church of 1682]

9. Shortly after this a storm, or hurricane, arose here. They are called *baguio* in these countries, and they occur regularly every year; they are very fierce. This one did much damage to the weak buildings in this garrison town. In particular, it overturned the church where the natives were taught and administered spiritually. The residence of the Religious was also damaged. However, shortly before the hurricane it had needed some necessary repairs, and a new, more spacious and comfortable, house was being built on a better site. The Catholic zeal of the Master-of-Camp and Governor, Don Antonio de Saravia, manifested itself, for he ordered the preparation of the materials to build another, bigger, church. He employed the soldiers as well as the natives in this work, not paying attention to [the cost of] the supplies and other necessary things, although the shortage and lack of them in such remote islands make them more precious and appreciated. The sincere devotion of the local people was evident, for during the construction they attended mass and listened motionless to sermons on Sundays and official feast days under a miserable shelter regardless of all inclemencies of the weather. Sometimes, they suffered from too much sun, and at other times from too much rain. They willingly brought in everything they were asked to bring for the new church, and on time. Our Lord rewarded the devotion of these new Christians with a better church structure, and sparing them the [other] labor and contributions that its construction would [otherwise] have cost them.¹

10. The Master-of-Camp, Don Antonio Saravia, also ordered that the Seminary for Girls be rebuilt at his own expense, and he provided it with a female teacher, to teach them, and to act as a Governess and Mother, who would raise them and direct all their

¹ Ed. note: The following important paragraph is not found in the Lilly Library manuscript: “Adjoining the church there is a new triangular house for the Fathers, capacious and of very solid material. It was necessary to have a suitable habitation for those who come to spread the faith on the north shores and in the adjacent islands, and for those who are learning the language.” This stone residence was L-shaped and it lasted well into the end of 19th century.

leria, y mosqueteria, y sonaron los instrumentos, echando todos por alto los sombreros en demonstracion de alegria, y appellidando con grandes voces: **Viva el Rey, viva el Rey Nuestro Señor Don Carlos Segundo.**

9. Por este tiempo se levanto una tormenta o juracan, que en estas tierras lleman Baguio (y son mui fieros, y regulares cada ñño) el qual hizo mucho daño en los pobres edificios deste Real, y en particular derrivo la Yglesia donde los Naturales eran doctrinados y administrados en todo lo espiritual: maltrato la vivienda de los Religiosos, que aunque antes del juracan necessitava de reparos forçosos, y assi se avia empezado a fabricar otra casa mas capaz y en mejor sitio, mas comodo y dilatado. Con esta ocasion se manifesto el zelo piadoso, y Catholico del Maese de Campo y Governador D. Antonio de Sarabia acudiendo al remedio de todo con grande empeño; y assi mando al punto prevenir materiales para otra nueva y mayor Yglesia y hizo trabajar en su fabrica a los mismos soldados, y pagar, y sustentar los Naturales que trabajavan en ella, sin reparar en gastos de bastimentos y otras cosas necessarias, que la penuria y falta de ellas en Islas tan remotas las hace de mucho precio y estimacion. Movia los animos de todos la devocion y puntualidad con que los Naturales acudian los Domingos, y fiestas de precepto, a oyr missa y sermon, como si tuvieran mui commoda Yglesia, siendo assi que no la avian para que cupiessen todos a los officios Divinos. Y assi era forzoso decirles missa en una plaza, donde estando solamente el altar debajo de cubierta, ellos quedaban expuestos a todos los accidentes del tiempo. Y assi unas vezes padecian mucho sol, otras mucha agua, y a todo estaban imof[bil]les hasta averse concluido la missa y sermon, o platica, que se les hacia. Todo lo qual obligava a llevar, como se llevo, a perfeccion la Yglesia nueva en buen tiempo, pagando Nuestro Señor a los nuevos Christianos su devocion, con mejorarles de Yglesia, abonandoles del trabajo, y gastos que hizieran si huviera de correr por su quenta la fabrica.

10. Mando tambien el Maese de Campo Don Antonio Sarabia reedificar a su costa el Seminario de Niñas, y le proveyo de Maestra, que las enseñasse, y fuesse como Aya y Madre, que las criasse, y dirigiesse en todas sus cosas, obra por cierto piadosissima, por lo que en ella se interesa de el bien de estas almas en la buena crianza de la juventud, que en ambos Seminarios de Niños y Niñas resplandeze en todas las obras Christianas, que mas parece ser hijos de Europeos, que de gentes barbaras, lograndose en ellos con ventajas los trabajos de los Ministros Evangelicos, que como en blandadura imprimen en estos Niños y Niñas las costumbres Christianas y politicas, y ven los efectos de sus desvelos y fatigas, ya sazonados frutos de buenas obras.

11. Las persecuciones de los años pasados, la oposicion y resistencia, que instigados del comun enemigo hicieron a la Fe los Naturales de estas Islas, despues de averla recebido pacificamente y hozpedado por espacio de dos años a los Ministros Evangelicos, fue caüsa para que muerto el Ve[nerable] P[adr]e y Apostolico varon P[adr]e Diego Luis de S. Victores no se pudiessen visitar las demas Islas, que estan a la parte del Norte; y aun fue tan cruda la persecucion, que llegamos a un tiempo, a estar enzerrados en el presidio cercados de enemigos por todas partes, aguardando cada dia una dichosa muerte, la qual nos huvieran dado, si Dios con su paternal

activities, so that she would look after the good of these souls and the good education of the young people. Both the Seminary for Boys and the Seminary for Girls so excel in all the Christian works that they look more like European children than barbarian children. The time of the Gospel Ministers is well spent there; they have managed to impress upon these boys and girls some Christian and social customs, and can already see that the effect of their labors and fatigues will, in time, produce good fruits.¹

11. The persecutions of the previous years, the opposition and resistance shown by the natives of these Islands to the Faith, instigated as they were by the common enemy [i.e. the Devil], after they had received it peacefully and sheltered the Gospel Ministers for a period of two years, after the death of the Venerable and Apostolic Father Luis San Vitores, not only prevented the evangelical workers from going to the other, northern, islands but the persecution was even so severe as to compel them at one point to remain within the garrison walls, surrounded by enemies on all sides, expecting to receive a lucky death any day; such a death was imminent, but God in his paternal providence and power watched over us and defended us from such cruel enemies, for their own good and that of these other people. But now that the persecution has abated, and that the things of this Christian community have advanced so happily, the zeal of the Fathers could no longer be restrained from faring forth to the neighboring islands, in spite of the shortage of subjects.² Master-of-Camp Don Antonio Saravia, was informed of the importance of this business, and how it was necessary to make a visit, and a run through those Islands whose spiritual needs had been neglected for so many years, specially the small children who had not received holy baptism. This good gentleman, being sympathetic to the needs of those poor ones, readily agreed with this enterprise, and provided soldiers for the security and protection of the Religious. He ordered that 30 arquebusiers be selected, and that they were to escort, guard, and defend them, in whatever circumstance.

[New missions in the Northern Marianas]

12. Some native canoes were then made ready. They are of the narrow type, so uncomfortable that it seems as if they have been made more to cause hardships and dangers, than otherwise. The escort and one Religious³ boarded them, and they all made sail for the Island of **Rota**. After they passed to **Agiguan**, or Santo Angel, and from there to **Tinian** or Buena Vista Mariana, and from there to **Saypan**, or San José, which marked the end of the voyage, because the northerlies had made their appearance, and on account of the impossibility of crossing the straits in these boats. So, they desisted from proceeding any further and they tried to do as much good as possible to the inhabitants of the above-mentioned Islands. The small children who had been born over

1 Ed. note: There is no mention of the “mental training, music, and mechanical trades” that Fr. Repetti wrote about.

2 Ed. note: The Lilly manuscript makes no mention of Fr. Repetti’s “hardship of sailing in native boats, in which exposure to the sun and sky, day and night, frequently exceeds human endurance.”

3 Ed. note: He himself went to Rota (see report of Fr. Angelis, Doc. 1682I).

providencia, y poder no nos huviere guardado, y defendido de tan crueles enemigos para bien de ellos mismos y de todas estas gentes. Sosegada ya la cruel persecucion, y corriendo con tanta felicidad las cosas de la Christianidad, el fervor Apostolico de los Missioneros, se hallava violento en esta Isla ansioso de nuevos empleos en las demas, aunque los trabajos sobrepasan y exceden a los humanos fuerzas por el corto numero de los sugetos. Representose al Maese de Campo Don Antonio Sarabia la importancia deste negocio, y como era necessario hacer una visita, y correria por aquestas Islas, que despues de tantos años se hallavan destituidas del remedio espiritual de sus almas, en especial tantos parvulos, que no avian recebido el Santo Bautismo. Y compadecido el buen Cavallero de la necesidad de aquellos pobres, ofrecio de su parte quanto fuera necessario para la impressa y para mayor seguridad, y resguardo de los Religiosos que fueran, mando señalar treinta arcabuzeros, que les hiciessen escolta, guardassen, y defendiessen, en qualquier acaecimiento.

*12. Apuestaron se luego las embarcaciones necessarias, de que usan estos Naturales, tan estrechas, e incommodas, que mas parece que se labraron para padecer trabajos, y peligros, que para lo contrario, y en ellas con la dicha escolta se embarco un Religioso, y todos se dieron a la vela para la Isla de **Rota**, despues pasaron a la de **Agiguan** or S. Angel, de alli a la de **Tinian**, o buena vista Mariana; y de esta a la de **Saypan** o S. Josep, que fue el termino de el viaje: porque aviendo entrado vientos Nortes, y siendo las atravesias o Golfos, que quedaban mas largos era imposible navegarlos en estas embarcaciones. Y assi desistiendo de passar adelante, se procuro hacer todo el fruto, y bien possible a los moradores de dichas Islas. Bautizaronse los parvulos, que en espacio de nueve años avian nacido, y algunos tan enfermos que parece no aguardavan mas que el Santo Bautismo para volar al cielo. Muchos ancianos moribundos fueron socorridos tambien con el Santo Bautismo, y otros Sacramentos. Rodearonse las Islas, y vieronse de espacio los sitios mas a proposito para asiento de las Yglesias, y casas de los Religiosos, las barras y puertos para las embarcaciones, y reconociose, como puesto un moderado presidio en la Isla de Saypan, que esta en medio de todas las demas, estan conquistadas, y rendidas todas las Islas, y reducidas al Santo Evangelio y mucho mas si los moradores de las mas distantes se traen a esta, y a las quatro arriba dichas, paraque hagan su asiento en ellas. Finalmente concluidos los ministerios dichos, y agasajados los Naturales, dando les esperanzas de bolver presto a assistirlos mas de espacio, dieron la buelta para esta Isla de S. Juan, donde entraron todos con mui buen successo.*

*13. Hizose relacion de todo el Governador y Capitan General, y se alegro mucho de aver oydo la buena disposicion en que se hallavan los Naturales, y como solo los de Saypan se avian mostrado aniscos [sic], y mas enteros en su libertad, y encendido en un deseo santo de allanarlo todo, y que no quede parte donde no se establezca la Fe, y resuene, y sea alabado el nombre de Dios, mando luego prevenir materiales para hacer **un barco de 25 codos de largo**, con designio de visitar por si mismo las Islas, y dexar presidiada la de Saypan, y Religiosos para que exerciten libremente los divinos officios, y prediquen el Santo Evangelio. Y aunque la militia se ocupava con muchos de los Naturales en la **fabrica de una fortaleza**, que se esta haciendo en*

the last nine years were baptized; some were so sick that it seemed as if they had been awaiting holy baptism to fly to Heaven. Many adults at the point of death were also assisted with holy baptism, and other sacraments. Roundabout visits of the islands took place, and suitable sites for churches and residences were selected in each island. Suitable bars and ports for boats were also examined. It was recognized that, by placing a post with a moderately-sized garrison on the island of Saypan, which is in the center of all the other islands, they could all be conquered [from there], and reduced to the holy Gospel, and much more easily if the inhabitants of the more distant islands were to be brought to this one, and to the four above-mentioned islands, to be settled there. Finally, the said ministries having been concluded, and the natives given gifts, and told to expect another visit soon and a longer stay, they came back to this island of San Juan, where they arrived very happy with their success.

13. The Governor and Captain General was greatly pleased at the report of the expedition and the good disposition of the natives, except those of Saypan who had shown themselves to be inimical(?), and more fond of their freedom. Burning with a holy desire to overcome this difficulty, so that there be no place where the Faith would not be established and the name of God praised, he then ordered that materials be collected to make **a boat of 25 cubits in length**, in which he would make a personal visit of the Islands, and establish a garrison on that of Saypan, where the Religious could freely exercise the divine tasks, and preach the holy Gospel. Although the greater portion of the soldiers and many of the natives were engaged in the **construction of a fortress**, which is taking place within the walls of this garrison town, enough men were taken out to be employed in the construction of the boat. The building of this boat is proceeded apace, and no doubt it will be ready in time to receive the relief supplies from the galleon that is now expected.

[Mission established at Rota]

14. Meanwhile, in order to open the way to the other islands, and in order that the nearest ones would not be lacking the remedy of their souls, that was already called for, it was decided to send to the Island of **Rota** a few Fathers to establish themselves there, and organize catechism classes. The natives of this island are very good natives. They have kept good communications with the Spaniards. Over the last two years, they have performed some noteworthy services in the interest of peace; for instance, they have delivered many malefactors and assassins, some last year and some this year. Such criminals had been fleeing from justice and gathered at that Island. So, because they did not condone their crimes, they agreed to capture them, and bring them to the Captain General. He in turn ordered that just punishment be meted out to them. On many occasions and within their means, the people of Rota also came to the relief of the garrison of our soldiers with supplies. Some of the villages there also suffered to maintain friendship with us; they had some of their people killed in battles, when attacked by strong enemies who despised Spaniards. However, right now the whole island is united in our favor and recognize us as their brothers and friends. Following the example set

este Real de Agaña, se sacó la gente bastante, para la fabrica de la embarcacion, la qual se hace mui a prisa, y sin duda estara acabada, para recibir en ella el socorro de la Nao que se espera.

*14. Entre tanto para abrir paso a las demas Islas, y porque no faltasse a los mas cercanos el remedio de sus almas, que ya deseavan y pedian, se acordo de enbiar a la Isla de **Rota** algunos Padres para que estableciessen, y formassen sus doctrinas en ella. Son los Indios de esta isla de mui buenos Naturales, y han guardado mui buena correspondencia los Españoles, y en estos dos años con deseo de la paz hicieron algunos servicios mui señalados, como han sido el entregar muchos malhechores, y homicidas, parte de ellos el año antecedente, y otros en este mismo año, los quales huyendo de la justicia se avian agregado a aquella Isla y por no marcharse con sus delictos, acordaron de traerlos presos, y presentarlos al Capitan General: el qual les mando dar la mericida pena a sus delictos. Socorrieron assi mismo los de Rota en varias ocasiones segun su posibilidad, con bastimentos al Presidio de nuestros Soldados, y padecieron por conservar la amistad algunos pueblos, trabajos de guerra, y muertes de los suyos, que mayores enemigos les dieron por odio que tenían a los Españoles. Mas ya considerada y unida toda la Isla se reconocen por hermanos, y amigos nuestros; y a exemplo de esta Isla de S. Juan estan dispuestos, para todo lo que el Governador Don Antonio Sarabia les quisiere mandar. Por lo qual no fuera justo dilatarles mas el bien de la doctrina, y enseñanza de los mysterios de nuestra santa Fe, poniendoles en el camino real, y seguro de la salvacion eterna.*

15. A tres Religiosos se les encargo esta Isla para su empleo, y exercicio. Los quales se aviaron luego, y partieron para Rota, donde hicieron su asiento, primeramente en el pueblo de Sosa, y su Comarca, que por su lealtad, y buena correspondencia se merecio este beneficio. Levantaron Iglesia y casa competentes, donde acuden con fervor los Isleños, obligando con su asistencia, y puntualidad, para que mas a prisa se les fabriquen otros templos, y se dividan los Operarios dando a todos satisfaccion, y cumplida asistencia, la qual assi porque la razon y buena polizia lo piden, como porque a ello obliga la falta de Religiosos, la tendian del todo perfecta, reduciendose a grandes poblaciones, y dejando las rancherias y retiros antiguos; como desde luego ofrecieron, y ya han empezado a executar. Y assi en breve tiempo dexadas las asperezas, y montes (que los ay inaccesibles en esta Isla) estaran todos en lo llano de suerte, que con pocos Religiosos puedan ser socorridos, y administrados perfetamente.

*16. Estos son los progressos espirituales, que ha tenido este año la Christiandad Mariana con esperanzas de otros mayores el siguiente. Y no se refieren otros casos particulares, aunque de edificacion, y exemplo por no alargar esta Relacion mas de lo justo. Una sola cosa no se puede dejar en silencio, digna de toda alabanza, y porque se deben dar a Dios infinitas gracias, que es ver resonar por toda esta Isla el nombre de Dios, y que ya no se cante otra cosa sino la doctrina Christiana. Y lo que es, mui muchos se han hecho capaces de recibir el Cuerpo de Nuestro Señor JESU Christo sacramentado, examinando les con todo rigor. Y no obstante esso en este partido de Agaña solamente comulgaron este año de **1682** casi quatrocientos personas. Numero que aunque parece corto comparado con la gente culta y politica de Euro-*

by this island of San Juan, they are ready to do whatever the Governor, Don Antonio Saravia, orders them to do. Therefore, it would not be just to refuse to give them the benefit of the catechism and teaching of the mysteries of our holy Faith, thus placing them on the royal road that safely leads to eternal salvation.

15. Three Religious were selected to be in charge of this Island and exercise their talents there.¹ They then prepared themselves, and left for Rota, where they made their settlement, first in the town of **Sosa**, and its vicinity.² This place deserved this favor because of its special loyalty and attachment to us. Reasonable buildings for a church and a residence were erected, the islanders flocking with fervor to lend a hand, the more eagerly because they wished to have their own temples built soon, so that the workers could split and give satisfaction to all of them. The idea was to make them leave their country places and former haunts and reduce them into large settlements where they could be ministered more perfectly, because, for one thing, reason and good politics required it, and for another, the lack of Religious made it compulsory. They have willingly accepted it and begun to carry it out. So, in a short time, the rough places, and bushes (that are inaccessible in this Island) will be all empty so that with few Religious the people will be attended to, and administered perfectly well.

16. These are the spiritual advances which have taken place this year in our Mariana Mission, and there is hope that greater things will follow next year. For the sake of brevity, other specific cases, albeit edifying, have been omitted from this Relation.

There is one thing which I may not omit as it is worth praising, and giving infinite thanks to God for it, to see the name of God resonate all over this Island and have nothing other than the Christian catechism sung aloud. And this thing is, that, after rigid examination, almost 400 persons in this principal Residence have been found capable and worthy of receiving the sacramental body of Our Lord JESUS Christ during this year of 1682. This may be a small number by European standards but it is remarkable here among barbarians.³ May the Lord and Creator of all be praised and glorified.

17. In temporal matters, the Island has also made some progress, because the Governor and Captain General attends to everything. Under his guidance, not only were the ordinary crops increased and the sloth of the people in caring for the fields eliminated, but, by virtue of a royal decree, newly-converted people are exempt from taxes for 20 years following their conversion. He has also removed the various impositions, and work brigades, that others had inconsiderably placed upon them. However, a condition was imposed that they should cultivate their plantations more assiduously in

1 Ed. note: Of the missionaries in question, Fr. Boranga became the permanent curate, and he was assisted by Fr. Coomans, and Br. Dubois.

2 Ed. note: The main settlement on Rota, now called Songsong or Rota Town. The bays on either side are still referred to as Sosanhaya and Sosanlago Bays, i.e. South [-east] Sosa Bay and North [-west] Sosa Bay respectively. By 1690, Sosanlago was renamed Port San Pedro by local Spanish sailors.

3 Ed. note: We are very far from the so-called thousands mentioned only a decade earlier. A proper census was not done until 11 years later (see Doc. 1693C).

pa, mirado entre gentes barbaras como estas es excessivo en estos principios, cuya alabanza y gloria debe al Señor y Criador de todos.

17. En lo temporal ha tenido aumento tambien la Isla. Porque a todo atiende el Governador y Capitan General procurando se benefician las tierras, y que los Naturales, sacados de su ingenita ociosidad se acostumbren al trabajo. Por lo qual atendiendo a cierta cedula de su Magestad en que manda que los nuevamente convertidos no sean obligados a tributar hasta los veinte años de su conversion: les relevo de varias imposiciones, y cargas, que otros inconsideramente les ponian. Pero les obligo a labrar y beneficiar las tierras sembrando mucho mais, arroz, y las rayzes, que por aca sirven de pan para que aya abundancia de comida en todas partes, y el presidio le tenga sobrada. Demas de essa repartio tierras a los Naturales, y benemeritos imponiendoles obligacion de cultivarlas, y a los Religiosos tambien en sus partidos, para que las mandassen beneficiar para su sustento, y recreacion.

18. Demas de esto considerando la falta de ropa, que ay en esta Isla, para el remedio de tanta desnudez en los Naturales, mando que se sembrasse algodón, y embio por los pueblos quien enseñasse a hilar, y texer a los Naturales, al modo que texen los Indios de la Nueva España, cosa que aprenden mui facilmente las mugeres, que son bastantemente habiles para todo. Vanse multiplicando las Vacas, y algunas Cabras, y ovejas, que mando traer el mismo Governador, quando entro en estas Islas. Y el ganado de zerdo es ya tanto, que obliga aguardar y defender los sembrados, porque no los destruyan. Son de grande utilidad para todos por la facilidad con que se socorre de carne la gente, y con poco trabajo cada vez, que se ba a cazar con los perros, se cogen diez, y doze, y mas puercos. Algunas semillas, y arboles, que se han tenido de la Nueva España se han logrado, y en adelante se lograran mas, porque ay mas sitios, y diversos temples de tierras donde probar. Solamente el trigo no ha dado, aunque se atribuya a aver venido dañado, y pasado con el calor de la Nao en tan prolixa, y larga navegacion.

19. Solo resta para el buen logro, establecimiento y dilatacion de esta Christianidad, la execucion de lo que tantas vezes se ha clamado, y pedido que es el Patache, que su Magestad del Rey Nuestro Señor ha concedido a la Mission y Republica Mariana tantos años ha y aun no se ha podido conseguir, cuyas causas no son para aqui. Y assi el Maesse de Campo Don Antonio Sarabia, aunque desea mucho el hacer algunas impressas de nombre por el servicio de ambas Magestades, hallandose falto de los medios necesarios y tan sin recurso en estas Islas, le tienen suspenso, y admirado estas cosas, con deseo de dar parte a su Magestad de todo como ya lo haze, solicitando el remedio que se desea. Quiera Dios se logran nuestros intentos, pues no se enderezan a otros fines, que al de su mayor honra y gloria, en la conversion de las almas, y dilatacion de su Santissimo nombre hasta los ultimos y mas remotos terminos, y fines de la tierra.

Agadña y Mayo 29 de 1682.

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Manuel de Solorzano [rubric]

[Endorsement:] *Agadña y Maio 29 de 82, P. Solorsano. Relacion annua.*

order to obtain a large crop of Indian corn, rice, and root crops, which are eaten here instead of bread and which are no small help to the soldiers. Deserving natives were given additional fields with the obligation of cultivating them. He also gave land to the Religious in the districts, so that they could have them as food sources, or use them for recreation.

18. Besides this, there was a special effort made to introduce linen to cover the shameless nakedness of all these islanders. Cotton seeds were planted in good soil and they give a good crop. [Mexican and Filipino] soldiers who knew the art of weaving taught men in the way it was done in the provinces of New Spain. In a short time the women learned the art easily, because they are skilful at everything. There was also a satisfactory increase in the [Mexican] cattle, goats, and sheep brought here from New Spain by the Governor. Most prolific of all were the pigs, which increased so rapidly that crops had to be protected from their depredations, and our soldiers hunted them skilfully with dogs and brought home from 10 to 12 of them each time they went out to hunt. More delicate plants and trees brought from New Spain flourish and our hopes increase every day, because there are many more sites and various soils to experiment with. Only wheat has been a disappointment up to the present; possibly the long voyage and the intense heat spoiled the seed.

19. Only one thing is lacking for the successful development of this Christian community, namely, that the communication link by patache be established which has been so often commanded by royal decrees, but has not yet happened. The causes of all this will not be discussed here. So, Master-of-Camp Antonio Saravia is handicapped in carrying out his desires for making some enterprises in the name of both Majesties by this lack of the necessary means of transport in these resource-poor islands. There is no doubt that he will report fully on his plans to his Majesty and solicit what he thinks is the solution.¹ May God support our projects, since they aim at nothing but His greater honor and glory, in the conversion of the souls and propagation of His most holy name as far as the ends of the remotest corners of the earth.

Agadña, 29 May 1682.

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Manuel de Solorzano [rubric]

[Endorsement:] Agadña, 29 May 1682. Fr. Solorzano. Annual report.²

1 Ed. note: Governor Saravia did in fact write from Ritidian on 10 June 1682 (see Doc. 1682N).

2 Ed. note: This report was later edited by Fr. Luis de Morales (see Doc. 1684A).

Document 1682E

Composite report for 1680-1682, by Fr. Coomans

Source: ARSI Phil. 13, fol. 255-258v.

Letter from Fr. Coomans to Fr. de Noyelle, dated Sosa [in Rota] 25 May 1682

Original text in Latin.

[Note in margin:] *Patri Carolo Noyelle Germaniæ Assistenti.*

Reverende in Christo Pater

Pax Xri

Accepi litteras Ræ Væ datas Roma 11^a Maii 1680 ex quibus hausi incredibilem animi voluptatem ob insignem et vere paternam in me immærentem benevolentiam, inter majores curas dignatur meminisse hujus sui minimi clientis et consolari exulem pro Christo hos inter barbaros qualescumque labores suos hoc maxime solatio tenientem. Solus, quod sciam, efluxit annus 1681, quo quod ad Ram. Vam. nihil ego litterarum dederim, non meo vitio aut oblivionis, sed quod Apostolicis laboribus reliquo tempore distractus, quando scribendi tempus jam proxime instabat, adeunda fuerit vecina insula Stæ. Annæ. Itaque malui officio meo quam divino deesse, et Ram Vam unice obtestor dignetur hanc qualemcumque moram æqui bonique consulere, utpote divino cultui impensam.

Itaque, quod reliquum est, res in Missione hac nostra biennio gestas paucis complectar. Quieverat jam devicta protervia universa hac insula Sti. Jois., prout superioribus meis rescripsi Ræ Væ, nec quidquam deerat, nisi ut conjunctis viribus dispersi nostri bellum inferis indicerent. Commodum etiam regimen Missionis detulerant Superiores nostri in Patrem Emanuelem de Solorzano, virum et experientia annorum in Missione exactorum, et reliquis partibus rebus nostris plane idoneum, evocato ad præmia laborum Pe. Bartolomæo Besco; armorumque cursum susceperat D[ominu]s Josephus de Quiroga, ambo ferventes zelo, ambo dilatandæ fidei et ordinandæ Missionis jam diu impatientes. Ergo illud primum

1 Ed. note: From this point forward, this report is almost identical to that included in his letter to Fr. de Pape in Belgium (see next Doc. 1682F).

*quæsitum fuit an securitati nostrorum satis consultum videretur, si procul ab armorum strepitu, eo ipso modo quem in Insulis Philippinis usus aprobavit, suam quisque spartam solus agrederetur. Et postquam in unam sententiam omnes convenere, res bene cœptas a militibus sociis plerumque inturbati, nec videri periclitari nostros si vigil Dux cum sua cohorte quaquaversum discurreret, universa hac insula Sti. Jois. distributa, demum est in sex Residentias: quibus deinde A° 1682 addita est septima, illisque singuli e nostris destinati, uno ad Collegiorum curam relicto, et Superiore omnibus invigilante. Prima, quæ et reliquarum caput sub invocatione Nominis Mariæ, dicta **Agatña**; altera titulo Purissimæ Conceptionis nominata **Pago**; tertia sub tutela Sti. Josephi in [pago] **Inarahan**; quarta protectore Sto. Dionisio Areopagita in **Umatag**; quinta sub auspiciis Stæ Rosæ in **Hagat**; sexta tutelari Archangelo Michaeli in **Inapsan**; septima denique Patrono Sto. Antonio de Padua in **Mapupun**. Omnes in circuitu insulæ ad oram maritimam, et piscatu insignes, præter ultimam, quæ in centro insulæ posita, fertiliores valles oryza reliquisque frugibus abundantes tenuit. Ad has quasi colonias evocati ex antiquis sedibus aut vicis undequaque barbari, ea fere proportionem, ut mille animas unaquæque fere exæquaret, aliquæ etiam excederent, exustis etiam et funditus dissipatis patriis laribus, ne temporariæ commoditates redeundi cupiditatem facile accenderent. Primus adeuntibus labor sese obtulit [concinnandi tecta], sub quibus et Christianis institutis commode imbuerentur, et divina officia frequentarent, et qui in illam curam incumberent Patres habitationem fixam constituerent. Et quia experientia [docuerat, si] ex facili et primo obvia materia raptim construerentur, rem esse mutationibus continuis [obnoxiam.] placuit in structura solidiorem diligere, ad quam unanimi consensu summaque alacritate accurere incolæ, ita ut paucos intra menses starent absolute suis numeris domus divino cultui, et habitationi Patrum satis apte compositæ.*

Inter hæc recurrebat identidem principalis cura imbuendi commissum gregem salutaribus disciplinis, in quo propitium plane numen et faventes superos habuimus: adeo ut qui in tradendis [255v] scitu necessariis oleum et operam nos perdere tot annis arbitrabamur, jam mutata rerum facie universa Christianæ doctrinæ carmina non solum ab adultis, sed etiam ab senibus decrepitisque ad amussim exigeremus. Ergo personare littora salutaribus institutis, dum cubitum vesperi, dum mane laborem repetunt perceptas preces iterare, divinis officiis decenter omnes assistere, divinam legem meritis laudibus extollere, factisque comprobare. Nec vero precario solum, aut amore tenuis res gesta, sed ab delinquentibus pœnæ, licet mites et paternæ exactæ: Ut scilicet ex una parte ad officium amor invitaret, ex altera metus compelleret. Itaque delecti ex primoribus Ecclesiarum Ministri, Fiscales hic vocant, qui vitis et peccatis invigilarent, ab rudibus Christianas preces et instituta exigerent, ægrotos et parturientes observarent, omnia denique ad receptum in Indiis Christianorum morem exigerent.

*Hæc dum geruntur una nos haud leviter cura mordebat non posse Christianum officium debite in hac insula a barbaris extorqueri dum paratum peccantibus azylum proxima nobis impune pateret, in qua et superiorum motuum auctores, et multi ex paricidis libere consisterent, et si quid forte severius animadverteretur, paratis naviculis conatus omnes operamque nostram fugiendo eluderent. Ergo assumptis e nostris sociis removendo huic obstaculo Dux sese accinxit, fretumque trajecit octo circiter leucarum quo proxima Stæ Annæ, **Rota** incolis dicta, ab hac nostra dirimitur; stipatus valida cohorte militum quinquaginta. Et vero inopinatus accidit nil tale suspicantibus ingressus noster. Tamen, ut sese collegere, metumque posuere incolæ, edocti a nobis nihil contra se, sed contra malefactores alienigenas a nostris intentari, pacificos sese et liberales præbuere. Itaque lustrandæ insulæ dies indicta, et dimissi e fidelioribus nonnulli, qui noxia capita sagaciter indagarent, aut etiam vinculis constringerent. Res cecidit ex sententia. Vix dies effluerat, cum adduxere vinctum præcipuum motuum auctorem **Aguarin** dictum, ac*

*subinde alios aut notorios Patrum et sociorum interfectores, aut rebellionum Duces; unum etiam quod vim vi repelleret lanceis confixum, cum vivum non possent, mortuum advexere. Sub hæc convocati undique {et conquæsiti} parvuli salutaribus aquis rite lustrati: tum lex promulgata, ut quotquot ex Sti. Jois. insula oriundi quacumque de causa hanc vecinam incolerent, ad præstitutam diem cum suis familiis adessent; nec quisquam deinceps alienam insulam adiret, aut in illa habitationis causa reciperetur. Aduere variis e partibus familiæ plus quam sexaginta, qui omnes naviculis in Sti. Jois. deportati; ubi de malefactoribus supplicium sumptum, et reliquis frænum injectum ne facile quovis prætextu fretum trajicerent. Nec destitere a bene cæptis incolæ Stæ Annæ. Verum post nostrum discessum reliquos apud se Patrum aut sociorum paricidio infames victos ad nos transvexere: inter quos tandem aliquando cecidit famosus ille paricida V. P. Didaci Aloysii de Sn. Victores, **Matapan** dictus, quem vinciri nescium, strictoque ferro aggressores repellentem lanceis confecere, et confecti cadaver ad nos transvexere.*

*Inter hæc rumpebatur invidia tartareus inimicus, faustumque Missionis, et fidei cursum turbine aliquo inturbare moliebatur. Stabat jam numeris suis absoluta domus Deo sacra, Patrumque habitatio in pago **Inapsan** ad aquilonem insulæ, sparta P[at]ris Gerardi Bouwens, nec adhuc manum ab opere removerat: quando diabolico instinctu malevoli quidam, auctor hactenus ignoratur, {concupia nocte} faces admovent recenti ædificio, vix Patre inter flammam incolumi elapso. Res erat mæstæ plena solitudinis: nec videbantur in Patrem pie affecti, qui domum ipsius tali tempore tam hostiliter agredere. Constitit tamen inter adversa fortis, et ratus, id quod erat, paucorum invidia pacem publicam turbari, conatus est reliquos in officio continere. Sed frustra fuit: nam metu in desperationem verso, ut fit inter barbaros, nihil antiquius habere quam fuga omnes sibi consulere. Itaque [fol. 256] desertus a incolis¹ coactus est ad Principalem Residentiam sese recipere. Nec leviter hic casus turbavit reliquos per insulam dispersos Patres, ratos communi conspiratione factum, quod paucorum malitia acciderat. Nec tamen diu licuit esse sollicitis: tanta enim repente cura, et sollicitudo inter reliquos invasit {inter reliquos} [eluxit] ut facile aparetur stimulus ad bene agendum ab alieno infortunio sumpsisse. Itaque, de remedio agitari cæptum; nec aliud inventum, quam fugitivos in proximam insulam iterato persequi: facile enim aperebat surdis preces futuras, si vis et arma deessent. Itaque secundo armati fretum trajecimus, admissi pacifice ab iis, qui memores promulgatæ legis noluerant profugos apud sese recipere. Reliqui armis prompti armatos operiebantur, nostrosque terra marique jam proximos, solitis clamoribus cum terrore contendunt, ad certam victoriam animabant. Vix enim intra teli jactum constiterant, cum nostri facto impetu in adversos prorumpunt, tanto ardore, ut cominus aggressi, primo obvium stricto azynace capite humerisque truncharint: quo viso, cecidere scilicet feroces animi, summamque rei in pedibus non in armis posuere, ad solitas rupes et præcipitia dilapsi: nec alius relictus est veciscendi [=viviscendi] locus, quam in desertas domus, inopemque supelectilem vindictam expromere. Præcipuum damnum navicularum fuit, quæ aut flammis exustæ, aut nobiscum in proximam insulam a vectæ. Verum levis hæc fuit curando malo medicina: vix enim regressi domum paulisper consideramus, quando intumescere denuo animi feroces, et quam in nostris iram expromere minime audebant, in vecinos suos amicos nobis converterunt: aggressi miseros flammis ferroque, e quibus cum primores ad nos negotiorum causa excurrissent, contra imbellem sexum, decrepitosque senes evomere bilem. Delata ad nos rei fama ad sumendas pœnas in communi causa festinantes incitavit.*

¹ Ed. note: The word "suis" is used instead of "incolis" in the Belgian version.

Itaque transmisso freto tertium [sic] insulam ingredimur, animo obfirmati non inde recedere, donec sumpta vindicta insolitum fastum ferociamque domareinus. Pagus erat Titito dictus, ad quem sese profugi receperant, et in illo ab incolis favebantur: et quamquam a nostris exustus, tamen per silvarum anfractus et asperiora montium passim exstructis mapalibus delitescabant. Hunc si palam adoriremur, frustra sudabamus, quod ipsi conatus omnes in scopulos et syrtes emersi eluderent. Ergo visum est a tergo inopinatos adoriri, et ex adverso insulae in ipsas rupes, montiumque simas evasimus: ubi reficiendis corporibus dato spatio, post mediam noctem in locum descendimus, hoc solum infelices, quod nacti viae ductores latebrarum ignaros, quamquam in animadversi pervenimus, domus habitatoribus vacuas offendimus. Unus incaute oppressus cecidit victima militum furori. Itaque ad viae ductores cura conversa: et forte inventus es unus qui invios tramites et angustos calles se ostensurum polliceretur; quo duce, per abrupta et avia demum eluctati ad ipsas fauces, et latebrarum angustias pervenimus.

Hic vero, ubi qui speculatores excubabant edito signo nostrorum adventum significarunt, solitis clamoribus respondere fœderati, tum hastis lapidibusque frequentes accurrere: e contra nostri arma eminent, et cominus expedire et sane iniquo loco res gerebatur, cum hostes ex abrupto hastas lapidesque impune dejicerent, nostri anhelantes præruptas cautes præliando subirent. Conabantur quidem libratis ictibus loco movere adversos; verum in rabiem versa desperatio videbatur non prius stationem quam vitam desertura. Et jam immisto sanguine fervebant iræ, nonnullis e nostris saxorum crepitantium ictibus sauciatis. Excanduerunt scilicet viso sanguine leones Hispani; et facta impressione tanto ardore impetum provexere, dum primos ductores in loco prosternerent, et per calcatos hostes iter [fol. 256v] ad victoriam pararent {aperirent}. Nec tenuit usitatus gentis mos ut cæsis primoribus reliqui dissiparentur: verum instabant ardentiores {ferociosiores} quasi sociorum sortem per nostram perniciem ulturi; donec et illi ictibus nostrorum et ferro disjecti, reliquis nil [ultra] tentare ausis, in sola fuga spem reliquum posuere. Ardebant quidem nostri fugientium tergis insistere, sed præruptorum scopulorum ascensu, et vergente jam in occasum sole moderandus fuit justus militum furor, ne inter cæcas ambages per noctis tenebras deprehenderemur. Illud profecto mirum, quod inter ardorem pugnae abruptas cautes non difficulter ascenderent, in ipso descensu inventus sit nemo, qui potis esset arma manibus tenere, dum præcipites rupes incerto vestigio premerent. Illud etiam fortunæ dicam an superis tribuendum, quod ex illa parte pugnam inivimus, ubi propter viarum asperitatem tutos sese barbari opinabantur; nam ex alia parte tantas arborum fallaci structura insidiantium moles, et lapidum congestorum munimina offendimus, ut non unius diei cura tot simul remoras pervincere posse videretur. Cæterum tantus invasit omnes terror, ut hac sola pugna debellatum plane sit.

Itaque postero die misere sequestratos pacis amicos Indos, de nulla alia conditione quam de vita solliciti. Et quamquam initio repulsi; institere tamen miserabili suorum clade commoti: narrabant enim pavore correptas matres, dum in præruptos scopulos fugiendo evadunt, pietatem exutas infantes abjecisse, et decrepitos senes fallente vestigio in præcipitia delapsos, omnes denique per avia et invia palantes nullam conditionem recusare, si solius vitæ beneficium fiat. Itaque admissi illa conditione, ut quotquot in insula turbis sese immiscuissent sisterent sese nostris, e quibus primores aliqui pacis obsides in proximam insulam aucti, reliquis vita concessa, paucis exceptis, qui barbarum auctores habebantur.

Interea adfuit nobis ab nova Hispania præsidiaria navis, qua vehebatur Perillustris D[ominus] D. Antonius Saravia primus ab Rege cum amplissima potestate ad gubernandas has Insulas Marianas, eiusque districtum designatus; vir per omnes militiæ gradus in Hispana palestra eruditus, nec minus Christiana pietate cæterisque virtutibus insignis. Cum illo venere quinque Societatis nostræ sacerdotes

*singulare Dei Providentia in ipso tempore oblata, quo ob illorum penuriam contrahenda vela necessario fuissent, nec licuisset faventibus superis obsecundare. Ergo nova rebus facies illuxit. Dumque formandæ militiæ rebusque politicis novus Prætor incumbit, nos pro virili procurandæ Christianæ rei non sine profectu operam adhibuimus. Et 1° quidem restaurata Residentia, quæ in pago **Inapsan** nupero infortunio conflagraverat: designato etiam commodiori loco, quo ob vicinorum frequentiam tutior esset ab insidiis malevolorum. Offerebat sese deinde ingens rerum confusio. Lustraverant anteactis tot annis Patres sacris Ecclesiæ Sacramentis tam parvulos quam adultos, prout sese dabant tempora et occasio: verum monumenta omnia, uno libro excepto, elapsis revolutionibus plane perierant. Nec vero ob nimiam gentis imbecillitatem ipsorum dictis fides poterat adhiberi. Ergo distinguenda certa ab incertis, dubia ut talia æstimanda, omnia denique ad salubres Ecclesiæ Ritus, et præcepta moralia exigenda. Maius certamen habuimus in stabilienda sacra connubii lege, quæ ab indissolubilitate derivatur. Cum enim patria consuetudine Matrimonii, nomine abuterentur, quoad alterutri partium libuisset, nec quidquam [fol. 257] ut inter infideles assolet, valorem contractus adstrueret, ligandi erant Christiano more, ne in[s]olita libido tam bene cæpta dissiparet. Itaque promulgatæ leges, quæ Matrimonii jura illicita stabilirent, et ab transgressoribus pænæ exactæ, ac demum juxta tridentini placita, legitimo {connubio} [Matrimonio omnes] copulati, qui antea pro conjugatis habebantur, relegata in perpetuum barbara consuetudine ut ubi libitum fuisset, ipsi inter sese Matrimonii nomine coirent, idemque dissolverent: quibus deinde, præmissis rite admonitionibus, multi additi ex illis qui, solutorum nomine apertam peccandi libertatem profitebantur. Inter hæc repetendus sæpe usus et inculcanda vis Sacramenti Pœnitentiæ, ut qui jam ante lustrati baptismate, aut etiam dubio interveniente sub conditione abluti, ad reliqua sacramenta digne accederent: donec recurrente anno præcepti Ecclesiastici usus inter omnes stabilitus, ac reliqua omnia ad sacros Ecclesiæ ritus ad amussim exacta, confectis indicibus, compactisque libris, quibus futuræ posteritati dilucide consuleretur. Immo ne quæ vis aut casus {in terra non sancta} monumenta posteris necessaria interverteret, authographorum omnium exemplar in principali Residentia transcriptum, et studiose conservatum.*

*Dum hæc per universam insulam strenue procurantur, ad proxime adjacentes excurrit etiam Apostolicus labor. Adita ergo proxima Stæ Annæ vulgo **Rota**, ubi præter baptizatos parvulos, locus etiam designatus habitationi Patrum ad spartam hanc excolendam jam tum designatorum: qui deinde submissi domicilium fixere in Pago **Soza**, ex quo reliquam insulam circumcursando lustrarent. Residentiæ patronus designatus Sfanctus Franciscus de Borgia. Adita etiam **Agiguan** nobis ab Angelo Custode; et quarta **Tenian** seu Bona Vista Mariana, in quibus præter paucos morti proximos Sacramentis munitos, Christianorum albo adscripta parvulorum ingens multitudo. Reliquas adire cupiendis obstetit indomitus furor barbarorum in insula **Zaipan**, nobis a Sto. Josepho nuncupata, qui ad famam adventantium nostrorum correptis armis aditum omnem prohibuerunt. Itaque remeanda fuit tantisper via, dum qui Catholicis armis vigil intendebat Prætor, consideratis circumstantiis rem omnem disponeret.*

Instabat ille ardentem rei politicæ ordinandæ, primum renovata militari disciplina, creatis Ducibus, reliquisque militiæ ministris, qui honores benemeritis et veteranis cesserunt. Deinde formatis jam incolarum coloniis [op]pidisve sui etiam Rectores Præfecti, et cæteri justitiæ administris, quæ etiam in reliquos tumultibus nuperis et cædibus infames, supplicio exacta. Introductus quoque unis linificii, immixtis artificibus qui vicatim viros et fæminas exercendi fusi, texendique gossipi[n]i artem docerent: magno non solum incolarum, sed etiam nostro solatio, quod spes tandem certa affulgeret eliminandæ aliquando inverecondæ nuditatis. Quamquam et huic malo remedium aliunde {petitum} [quæsitum], promulgata lege

ut e depexis ramorum corticibus fæminæ sibi tegumen concinnarent, eoque uterentur dum in templum, aut alioqui in publicum convenirent.

Descripta etiam e regulis militaris architecturæ quadrangularis arx, suis rite propugnaculis et cortinis dimensa, qua Reale Præsidium contra omnes tam incolarum quam exterorum insultus defenderetur. Præterea capaci structura exædificatum navigium, quo ad debellandos barbaros in borealibus insulis, et ad deportandum subsidium annuum e præsiaria navi uteremur: imo [fol. 257v] etiam faventibus superis post stabilitam his in locis Christianam fidem meridionales insulas, Australemque incognitam tentaremus: experientia docti regia Diplomata in his partibus nimis difficulter executioni mandari ab iis, qui longe positi aut de propriis utilitatibus nimium laborant, aut pietatem Catholicam Regis nostri, propagandæque fidei zelum non satis æqua lance ap[er]pendunt.

Interea qui in principali Residentia rebus intendebant Patres Christianum negotium sedulo promovebant, tum erudiendis ad omnem pietatem militibus nostris, quam indigenis, utpote majori cultura propter viciniam exercitis, e quibus plus quam quadringenti salutaris convivii participes effecti; numero si Europam spectes exiguo quidem, si innatam gentis barbariem plane ingenti. Tum in duplici Collegio, utriusque sexus juvenus non minus Christianis, quam liberalibus disciplinis exercita, florentibus institutis, quibus, legere, scribere, ad numeros musicos decantare, et instrumenta pulsare eleganter didicere. Ad hæc succrescunt læta progenie artifices, qui tractare fabrilia, tornatilia, textrina, sartoria et alia hujusmodi affabre noverunt: adeo ut jam non barbari nudipelles, sed Europæi culti videantur. Nec minus laborandum in ædificiis de novo fabricandis: nam ventorum injuria collapso veteri templo, quod indigenæ frequentabant, exædificatum est novum e solidiori materia, et priori capacius, quod utrisque usibus hispanis, simul et indigenis inserviret. Huic adjuncta triangulati serie domus satis ampla, et religiosa habitatio, commodiori loco: nam {propter} [ob] temporum angustias {prior} militari vallo circumdata, dum necessariam securitatem requirit, multis incommodis exponebatur.

Atque hæc sunt {e multis} præcipua quæ elapso hoc biennio scribendo obtulit Missio nostra Mariana quæ precor R^a V^a suo more benigne excipiat, Deumque bonorum omnium largitorem unice depreceatur ut spartam hanc nostram post tot revolutiones iterato reviviscentem sinat crescere in mille millia et me licet meritis et virtutibus imparem, dum vita suppetet, dignum gloriæ suæ instrumentum efficiat: tum amicos omnes, nominatim Patres Manderscheyt et Gopenies, et si qui sunt alii e Provincia Romæ præsentibus, a me et Pr. Gerardo Bouwens salutare amantissime non gravetur. Salutant Ram Vam omnes ex Germanica Assistentia: Pr. Carolus Boranga, meus in hac insula socius, Pr. Basilius Le Roulx, Pr. Joannes Tilpe, Pr. Augustinus Strobag [sic], et Fr. Balthazar du Bois alter socius coadjutor.

Ex insula Stæ Annæ, vulgo Rota, una ex Marianis, Residentia Sti. Francisci de Borgia in pago Sosa, die 25 maii 1682.

*Ræ Væ Minimus in X^o Servus,
Petrus Comano S.J.*

Loose translation.

[To] Fr. Charles de Noyelle, Assistant for Germany.
Reverend Father in Christ,
Peace of Christ.

I received Y.R.'s letter dated Rome 11 May 1680 from which I got an incredible pleasure of the spirit, on account of the extraordinary and truly paternal benevolence

toward my unworthy person and least vassal, whom you deigned to remember amid your major cares and to console this exile for Christ among these barbarians; whatever hardships there are in sowing, this letter was a great consolation. I know only too well that the year 1681 went by without my sending Y.R. any letter; this was no vice or forgetfulness on my part, but due to distraction with apostolic work when the time to write had already come up, and I was about to go to the neighboring island of Santa Ana. Therefore, I preferred to do my duty to God, and I wish that this time Y.R. will deign to consider whatever delay to be acceptable, given that it was in the interest of the divine cult.

Therefore, what follows comprises the few events in this our Mission over the last two years. This Island of San Juan was already quiet after it was completely cleared of the general uprising, inasmuch as I reported to Y.R. about my superiors, so as not to miss anything, unless they might declare war upon our dispersed people by pooling their forces. Our superiors have appointed Fr. Manuel de Solorzano, a man with demanding years of experience in the Mission and in other parts, entirely ideal for our business, to replace Fr. Bartolomé Besco, who has been called to receive his prize.¹ Don José de Quiroga was to take over military command. Both have burning zeal, both of them are already impatient of propagating the faith and governing the Mission. Therefore, their first question was whether it would be advisable enough for our security to be far from the noise of the weapons, in the same manner that their use of which has been approved in the Philippines, or have everyone develop his own spartan idea.² The consensus arrived at was that it would be a good thing for the enterprises to bother most of the time with military associates, so that our people would not be seen to be at risk, should the officer on guard duty with his squad wander off on all sides. This Island of San Juan has been completely divided into six Residencies, to which a seventh one was added in 1682,³ and one of us assigned, with the remaining one assigned to the care of the Colleges, and all supervised by the Superior. The first one, which is the capital of the others goes by the name of the Virgin Mary, is called **Agatña**. Another one, named **Pago**, is under the protection of the Immaculate Conception. The third, under the protection of St. Joseph, is in [the village of] **Inarahan**. The fourth, under the protection of St. Dionisius the Areopagite, is in **Umatag**. The fifth, under the auspices of

1 Ed. note: Fr. Besco, was Vice-Provincial from the time of his arrival in 1676 until his death on 26 July 1680.

2 Ed. note: That is, look after his own defence.

3 Ed. note: The version sent to Belgium (part of Doc. 1682F) says 1681 instead; it was in 1681 that Fr. Coomans opened up a seventh mission at Mapupun (see below).

St. Rose, is in **Hagat**. The sixth, whose patron saint is the Archangel Michael, is in **In-apsan**. The seventh, whose patron is St. Anthony of Padua, is in **Mapupun**. They are all located on the seashore around the island, noteworthy for fishing, except for the last one, which is located in the center of the island, and has more fertile valleys of **rice**¹ and abundant with other fruits. The barbarians were called to these quasi-colonies from their old settlements or villages in all directions, each having about the same proportion, to an almost equal number of 1,000 souls,² some even [exceeding this number].³ [The former settlements] were also burned down and the skulls of their ancestors scattered,⁴ so that they would not easily excite their desire to go back to temporary facilities. First the transients offered themselves to work [at making the roofs], under which they could comfortably be imbued with the basics of Christianity, and attend the divine offices, and in which the Fathers assigned to it would have a fixed habitation. And because experience [had taught that, if] at first they could be built rapidly from handy materials, [subject to] continuous changes would be required, either to make the structure stronger, to which the islanders would quickly flock by unanimous consensus, so that within a few months the house for the divine cult could contain their number, and the habitation for the Father be rather well put together.

At the same time as this was going on, the main care was to inculcate the discipline of salvation to the new flock, in which we had the assistance of divine will and favors from above. Until then, we believed we had lost our time and effort for so many years in transmitting the necessary (knowledge) by rote. Already the whole face of things have changed, as not only the adults can sing the songs, but we even have to exclude the old and decrepit people, according to a rule. Hence, the sound of the catechism lessons resonate on the shore until the afternoon rest, until the morning they repeat the labor of reciting the compulsory prayers, they all attend the divine offices dressed decently, to praise the merits of divine law, and check some facts. Truly not only by entreaty or for the sake of accomplishing something, but with punishments for the delinquents, one may use gentle and fatherly requests. Naturally, on the one hand love invites one to do his duty, but on the other hand fear compels one to do it. Therefore, from among the first administrators of the churches (they call them “fiscales” [=controllers] here), some were chosen to watch for vices and sins, to request Christian prayers and fundamentals from the rough people, to watch for sick people and (women) about to give birth, and finally to insist on the acceptance of Christian customs on the part of the Indians.⁵

1 Ed. note: Valleys with rice, or depressions for rice (fields).

2 Ed. note: Some had up to 300 families (see other documents of 1682). The count was not derived from an accurate census; it was only an estimate.

3 Ed. note; These words appear in the other version (Doc. 1682F).

4 Ed. note: This is my interpretation of the classical Latin expression: “dissipatis patriis laribus” which literally means “with the households gods (or domestic deities) of their ancestors dispersed”. See the word “lares” in an English dictionary.

5 Ed. note: The Latin word used for these missionary helpers was “ministri” but they were obviously not the priests themselves.

While these events were happening, one of our worries, by no means a light one, was not to be able to do the proper job of preventing the barbarians and the sinners of this island from seeking an asylum in the neighboring island with impunity. That is where the authors of the previous revolts and many of those who killed the Fathers would freely gather, and if something perhaps severe were to be avoided, they would flee from all enterprises and from our good work with their handy canoes. Therefore, having decided to remove this obstacle for our workers, the Commander took it upon himself, and travelled across the strait of about eight leagues to the next Island of Santa Ana, called **Rota** by the inhabitants, and is to be taken over by our people, escorted by a squad of 50 strong soldiers. Indeed, against expectations nothing prevented our invasion; rather, the inhabitants came together by themselves, and once advised of the purpose (of the expedition) and told that we had nothing against them, but that it was directed against the evil-doers alienated from us, they showed themselves to be peaceful and liberal toward us. Therefore, on the said day the island was inspected and many of the more trustworthy people sent in all directions to find out with sagacity the whereabouts of the harmful heads, or even to arrest and tie them. The sentence was carried out as planned. Hardly a day had passed when the main author of the revolt was brought in tied up, **Aguarin** by name, and then other notorious killers of Fathers and companions, or leaders of the rebellion. One of them who resisted force with force of spears, could not be brought alive; they brought him dead. Afterwards, they were convocated from all sides and the children were saved for salvation by the water of baptism. Then a law was promulgated: that anyone originally from the Island of San Juan who had come to this neighboring island for whatever reason, was to be present with their families on the appointed day; in turn, no-one was to go to any island not his own, or to be invited to settle there. More than 60 families from various districts came up, and were all (ordered) deported back to San Juan by canoes, where, once the evil-doers had paid for their crimes, a curb would (thus) be placed on the rest, as there would no longer be an easy pretext whatever to cross the strait. Neither were the inhabitants of the Island of Santa Ana left out of this good enterprise. Indeed, after our departure they brought to us tied up the rest of the infamous killers of Fathers and associates. Among them they even cut down that notorious assassin of the Ven. Fr. Diego Luis de San Vitores, called **Matapan**; ignoring defeat, and strictly repelling his aggressors with the iron [sic] of spears. So, they killed him, and once dead, brought his corpse over to us.

Meanwhile, the hellish enemy was breaking hostilities, and plotting to disturb the successful course of the Mission and the faith by some trouble. He had already stirred his numbers against the sacred house of God, and the habitation of the Fathers in the village of **Inapsan** in the north of the island, the Sparta [or stronghold] of Fr. Gerardus Bouwens, and had not yet removed his hand from the work when, with diabolical instinct even more malevolent, the author(s) being still unknown, a torch was applied to the relatively-new building, and the Father hardly escaped unscathed from the flames. This was a sad business indeed; when they saw that the Father was affected, they piously offered their own house during such a hostile period. He even turned ad-

versity into strength, and having decided that public peace was being disturbed by the hate of a few (as it was, in fact), he made an effort to maintain the rest in their faith. However, it was in vain, for fear followed desperation, as it does among barbarians, and they found nothing better to do than flee and deliberate among themselves. Therefore, as the place had been deserted by the inhabitants, he was forced to reintegrate the main Residence. Nor did this case lightly disturb the other Fathers dispersed throughout the island, when they were informed of the fact of the conspiracy, because it had occurred out of the malice of a few. Neither were they bothered by it; so much sudden caring and solicitude even appeared among the rest that they [i.e. the Fathers] appeared easily stimulated to turn this foreign disaster into an occasion to do some good. Therefore, they began to plan a remedy; but it was not yet designed when many fugitives again fled to the neighboring island. Without recourse to force and weapons, it would have been easy for them to ignore requests in future. Therefore, we crossed the strait a second time with a fleet, and being received peacefully by those who remembered the law that had been promulgated, that they were not to welcome fugitives among them. The rest got busy to make their weapons ready and, as our people were already near by land and sea, they intended to frighten us with their usual yelling, exciting themselves for a certain victory. But they hardly had come to a halt within a spear's throw, when our men attacked and broke through the enemies, with such an ardor that they fought hand to hand, strictly with short sword at first, cutting heads and shoulders. Of course, they meant to kill; upon seeing this ferocious spirit [of the attackers] they placed their faith in their feet rather than in their arms, and dispersed to the usual bushes and cliffs. The rest had no place to begin to live other than in deserted houses, and to try and regain their destroyed property. Firstly, their canoes were condemned, and either became the prey of the flames, or were taken with us to the neighboring island. Truly, this was light medicine to cure an evil; we had hardly considered returning home little by little, when once again their ferocious spirits became inflated and, though they dared to express little anger against us, they converted it against their neighbors, friendly to us. They attacked with fire and iron those who had first approached us to discuss business, vomiting their bile against the fair sex and the decrepit old people. The news of this was brought down to us; in common cause, we were forced not to delay the deserved punishments.

Therefore, we crossed the strait to the **third island**,¹ our minds made up not to return from there until we had subjugated their unusual arrogance and ferocity by taking revenge. The [rebellious] village was called **Titito**, where the fugitives had been welcomed by them, and favored by the inhabitants there, and although it was burned

¹ Ed. note: Although this third island is Agingan, and the description of the following battle would beautifully fit its rugged physical locale, Fr. Coomans does not confirm this fact; rather, he seems to describe Rota from now on. Perhaps, he meant to say the "third visit" to Rota.

down by our men,¹ nevertheless, they went into hiding, building huts all over the cave-dotted woods and steeper hills.

If we were to attack openly there, we would sweat for nothing,² because they would all elude [us] by hiding among the reefs and submerged sand banks. Therefore, it is better to attack unexpectedly from behind, and to avoid the difficulty presented by the rough interior of the island itself and the mountain peaks. So there, after a rest to refresh the body, after midnight we descended upon the place, but we unhappily found out that the guides ignored the way to the hiding places, although we arrived unexpectedly upon the empty houses of the inhabitants. One unwary man was surprised and became victim to the soldiers' fury. Therefore, the guides turned back, and by chance one of them, who knew the hidden and narrow trails well, offered himself to show the way. With this guide, we managed to overcome the steep and trail-less places, and through the defiles themselves finally arrived at the ravines leading to the hiding places.

Indeed, when their lookouts spotted signs of our advance they signalled their confederates who let out their usual yells, and ran up with their spears and stones. They remained out of range of our weapons and were preparing for a close fight at a truly difficult spot, where they threw down spears and stones from a cliff with impunity; our men were struggling to climb steep rocks while fighting. In any case, they were intent on dislodging the adversaries from that vantage point. Desperation turned to rage upon seeing that they became immobilized before they could risk their life. Already their pure blood was boiling with anger, as many of our men were wounded by the stones pelting down upon them. Naturally, the blood of the Spanish lions boiled over. They made up their mind, and forced their way forward with so much vigor that they left their guides cowering behind them and they made their way up to victory through the downtrodden enemy. The usual custom of these people did not hold, which is that they would disperse when their leaders were gone. Some bravely made a stand, as if they would imitate the luck of the companions to effect our destruction, while they faced the blows and iron of our men here and there, but the rest made no further attempt to resist. Rather, after the steep rock faces had been climbed, with sunset approaching, the just fury of the soldiers moderated, so as not to be caught by darkness among roundabout ways. Although the advance had been made by climbing steep rock faces without difficulty through the heat of the battle, nobody figured that the descent would be the same, that it could be done while holding weapons in hands, since the steep rock faces were unsafe footing. Trusting in luck or providence, we began the fight from that part, where on account of the steepness of the trails the barbarians thought themselves in safety, since the other part was blocked with trees forming so many artificial and insidious barriers. We met with a barrage of stones, so that we could see that the whole of

1 Ed. note: This would explain why Fr. Coomans did not found a church in Titito a year later, but went further up the coast to Agusan to establish a second colony in Rota.

2 Ed. note: Better said: A frontal attack directly upon the shore would not succeed.

one day would be necessary to overcome so many delays. Terror overcame all of the others, so that this one battle was indeed enough to finish the war.

Therefore, the next day friendly Indians were sent as peace mediators, and they were to admit no condition other than the sparing of life. They refused at first, but they were told that it would be a miserable disaster for their people, for the mothers, seized with emotion narrated how in fleeing they had escaped steep rocks, that abandoned infants would have to be thrown down out of sympathy, and the decrepit old people would lose footing on the cliffs and fall down, and all would have to make their way by unknown and unmarked trails; therefore, they should [not] refuse any condition, if only life would be guaranteed. Therefore, once this condition had been accepted, [other conditions were imposed] that in whatever trouble in the island that they would involve themselves in, they would side with us; that they would be the first to pledge peace, and that they would be transported to the next island [i.e. Guam]. The lives of the rest were conceded, excepting those of a few who had been the authors of the troubles.

Meanwhile there came to us a galleon from new Spain, which brought the famous Don Antonio Saravia, the first appointed to this district by the King with very large powers to govern these Mariana Islands. He is a man knowledgeable in all aspects of the Spanish army and expert in body exercises [i.e. drill], and not less in Christian piety and other remarkable virtues. With him came five priests of our Society who, by singular providence of God, volunteered at the same time, and would fill the gap in the number of missionaries, thanks to favors from above. Therefore, the general aspect of business brightened. While the new political Governor took it upon himself to reform military matters, we resolutely attended to propagating the Christian affairs not without progress. Firstly, the Residency in the village of **Inapsan** which had been burned in the above-mentioned disaster was restored; a more suitable site was even chosen, so that the residents would be in greater safety from the ambushes of evil-doers. Afterwards, affairs became greatly confused. For so many years the Fathers had been performing the sacraments of the Church upon so many children, and adults, whenever they had the time and opportunity; indeed, enough of them to fill one book, but it was destroyed during the last uprisings. It was also true that, on account of the extreme weakness of character of the people, their own word could not be trusted. Therefore, to separate the certain from the uncertain, estimates were so doubtful that henceforth all rites of salvation of the Church and moral precepts had to be confirmed. We had a great controversy regarding the stability of the sacred law of marriage, which is based upon indissolubility. Should the name of Matrimony be used for the local marriage custom, as long as it might please both parties, not even to one that might have the value of a contract in accordance with heathen custom, to be tied by Christian custom, so that unusual passion would not dissipate such good beginnings? Therefore, laws were promulgated to the effect that might consolidate the illicit laws of Matrimony, with clear fines for transgressors, and only in accordance with the Council of Trent, as lawful Matrimony all couples who, to be joined, had previously relegated the barbarian custom forever, [i.e.] whenever there was a desire, they would join themselves among

themselves by the name of Matrimony, and similarly divorce themselves. Therefore, by announcing admonitions for the rite, many of them were added who profitted from the freedom of sinning openly in the name of dissipation. Among this was the use of repeating often and inculcating the force of the sacrament of penance, so that those who had already been baptized, or, when doubt intervened, even baptized *sub conditione*, would worthily come near the other sacraments, as long as they would remain firm among them all for one whole year in the use of the Church precepts, and be rigorously faithful in the observance of all the other sacred rites of the Church, with clear indications, recorded in books that could be consulted in the future for guidance. Rather, no matter what may happen, for instance, if an accident should despoil [on land that is not sacred] the necessary records of the descendants, a transcript copy of all autograph [record] is to be carefully preserved at the main Residence [of Agaña].¹

While this was being strictly taken care of throughout the whole island, the apostolic work was even taken to the adjacent islands. For example, upon reaching the next one of Santa Ana, commonly called **Rota** where, besides the baptism of children, there was even a site chosen for the habitation of the Fathers who had already been assigned to work in these spartan surroundings. After they had decided to fix their domicile in the village of **Sosa**,² and to cover the rest of the island from there. Saint Francis Borgia was chosen as the patron saint of the Residence. Also, upon reaching **Agiguan**, given the name of the Guardian Angel by us, and the fourth Island of **Tenian** or Buena Vista Mariana, where, besides providing the sacraments to the few dying persons, a huge crowd of children were written into the record as Christians. The untamed fury of the barbarians in the island of **Zaipan**, called San José by us, blocked the desire to go to the rest [of the islands]; upon hearing of our advance the people took up arms to prevent it. Therefore, it was decided to turn back and to leave the matter in the hands of the Commander of the Catholic arms who would consider the circumstances and arrange the whole thing.³

He was ardently administering the government, by first renewing military discipline, creating officers, and other assistants in the militia, deserving and veterans who had been slow in getting honors. Afterwards, as the colonies of islanders had already been formed, and even reinforced with their own Rector, prefects, and other administrators of justice, who had, even during the above troubles and infamous murders, exacted punishment. Some weavers were brought in, and made the rounds initiating men and women to the spindle and teaching the skill of weaving **cotton from the cotton-tree**.⁴

1 Ed. note: During the revolt of 1684, all such records were burned by the natives.

2 Ed. note: Sosa is now called Rota Town, but the bays on either side of it are still called North Sosa and South Sosa.

3 Ed. note: This happened in 1682. In 1684, the expedition was to go as far as Saipan, and beyond.

4 Ed. note: This is an important remark by Fr. Coomans. The Latin word for cotton-tree was "gossypinus" or "gossypinus", but the scientific name is now gossypium. This tree is called kapok in Southeast Asia. However, what he meant to say was simply "cotton from the cottom-plant" (see p. 559).

This was a great consolation not only for the inhabitants but also for us, since there finally arose a certain hope of eliminating some of the shameful nudity. Even if a remedy to this problem was not far off, a law was promulgated to the effect that the women were to prepare coverings for themselves with barks stripped from trees, which were to be used in the church, and that would also be convenient in public.

A rectangular **fortress** was also designed in accordance with regular military architecture, styled with the appropriate ramparts and curtain walls, by way of a royal garrison that would defend against all attacks, either from the inhabitants or from outside. Moreover, the frame of a large ship was laid out; the ship was intended for the pacification of the barbarians in the northern islands, and to unload the annual subsidy from the galleon. Also, should we be favored with the above, after some stability is established in these parts, we were to explore the southern islands, and the unknown Austral lands. The experience with the royally-appointed officials in these parts is that it is too difficult to get executionary orders from them, as they have been in their post for a long time or work too much in their own interests, or else they weighed with a rather uneven balance the piety of our Catholic king, and his zeal for the propagation of the faith.

Meanwhile, at the main residence the Fathers were conscientiously trying and promoting the Christian affairs, by instructing our soldiers in complete piety, as well as the natives, given their proximity to an army from a greater culture; out of them, we had 400 participants in communions, a rather small number by European standard, indeed huge considering the inborn barbarity of the people. Then in the twin College, the youth of either sex were learning exercises no less Christian than proper behavior, such basic garlands as reading, writing, singing various types of music, and elegantly playing instruments. By the way, this happy race succeeds in the manual arts, learning such things as the making of handicrafts, working lathes, looms, tailoring, and other artistic works of this kind. Moreover, they already look like, not naked barbarians, but like cultivated Europeans. Work proceeded apace on reconstruction, for the winds had done damage by collapsing the old church which the natives attended; a new one was built of stronger materials, and with greater capacity, which would serve for both the Spanish and the natives. Attached to it was built a rather large triangular house¹ and lodging for the religious, at a more appropriate spot; on account of the current worries of military surveillance, as long as it required proper security, many disadvantages had been disregarded [before].

Those are the special things worth writing that affected our Mariana Mission over the last two years. I beg Y.R. to please ask God as usual for larger favors, so that our stronghold here will be strengthened after enduring so many revolutions, allowed to grow to one thousand thousands, and I allowed to grow in singular merit and virtues, as long as I live, to become a worthy instrument of His glory. Then to all friends, namely Fathers Manderscheyt and Gotinies, and those from the Province who are present

1 Ed. note: The house was not really triangular in shape, but made an L-shape with the church.

in Rome, Fr. Gerardo Bouwens and I willingly send warm greetings. All of those [here] from the Assistance for Germany greet Y.R.: Fr. Carlos Boranga, my companion in this island, Fr. Basile Le Roulx, Fr. Juan Tilpe, Fr. Augustin Strobach, and Br. Balthasar Dubois, my other companion and coadjutor.

From the Island of Santa Ana, commonly Rota, one of the Marianas, at the Residence of St. Francis Borgia in the village of Sosa, 25 May 1682.

Y.R.'s least servant in Christ,

Pedro Comano, S.J.

Document 1682F

Letter from Fr. Coomans to Fr. de Pape, dated Rota 25 May 1682

Source: AGR 2, fol. 183-186.

Note: The core of this letter is the same text as the previous letter to Fr. General, of same place and date. Only the material that is different is presented below.

Original text in Latin

Ptri Liberto de Pape

Reverende in Xro Pater

P. E.

Accepi litteras Ræ Væ datas Bruxellis 1680 mense Mayo, si recte memini (nam illarum autographum cum respondendi tempus instaret reperire non potui) in insulis Marianis 13^a Junii 1681: ex quibus singularem hausii animi voluptatem; tum quod daretur per consueta commercia frui caris amplexibus quibus integro triennio carueram, tum quod illa me docerent quæ maxime optabam expetitam pacem afflictæ bellis patriæ: quibus hisce responsurus excusanda venit mora, quam omnes acusamus, qua meæ ad vos vix aut tarde perferuntur, non meo vitio, qui singulis annis officium meum non prætermisi, excepto elapso 1681 quo distentus Apostolicis itineribus, licet maxime cuperem, otium nancisci non potui, quo satisfacerem votis non minus meis quam vestris. Ergo, quod solum restat, hisce quidquid id fuit culpæ compenso. Et primo quidem ego et Pr. Gerardus in Missione hac nostra Mariana valemus hactenus viribus corporis satis integris, si illis animi vigor responderet, occupati ambo Apostolicis laboribus qui in stabilienda his in partibus fide Christiana necessario exhauriuntur.

Ego etiam perfectis jam utcumque duabus coloniis quas elapso et hoc anno excitavi in Insula Sti. Jofannjs, una sub invocatione Purissimæ Conceptionis, altero patrono Sto. Antonio de Padua, transivi cum socio sacerdote Pre. Carolo Boranga Germano Provinciæ Austriacæ, et Fratre Balthazar Du Bois, Coadjutore temporali Provinciæ Gallo-Belgicæ in proximam insulam Stæ Annæ vulgo Rota, ubi adjuvantibus superis rem Christianam pro modulo procuro.

[Core of letter same as in Doc. 1682E]

*Atque hæc sunt e multis præcipua quæ elapso hoc biennio scribenda obtulit Missio nostra Mariana: inter quæ si nosse desiderat quæ mihi portio laborum obtigerit, paucis sic habe: Præter itinera et expeditiones de quibus in superioribus est mentio, excitavi primam coloniam in **Sinahaña** pars est Residentiæ principalis illorum qui a piscatu remoti, seminandæ oryzae et reliquis fructibus occupantur, in qua congregatæ circiter sexaginta familiæ, quas omnes post tradita rite Christianæ doctrinæ capita sacramentis omnibus administravi, illique impendi spatium trium mensium: his peractis transivi ad partem insulæ orientalem dictam **Pago**, ubi in coloniam redeggi plus quam trecentas familias ibique sub patrocínio Purissimæ Conceptionis excitavi e materia templum et illi domum adjunxi satis amplam et commodam, instruxi commissum gregem non modico profectu et sacramentis munivi, in quo profui anni reliquum, octo fere menses; donec adveniente navi successit hic alius e Patribus et ego interiora terræ petii in **Mapupun**, ubi convocavi familias etiam fere trecentas excitata Deo domo et Patribus donec incolas salutaribus institutis imbui et sacramentis expiavi usque ad Februarium hujus anni 1682: quando, succedente hic etiam alio e Patribus, trajeci in proximam insulam **Rota** seu **Stæ Annæ** cum duobus sociis, uno sacerdote et altero laïco Coadjutore ubi etiamnum occupor paribus exercitiis excitando Deo templo, et Patribus habitatione, imbuendoque plus quam ducentas familias salutaribus institutis.*

Hæc precor R^a V^a benigne suo more excipiat, Deumque bonorum omnium largitorem unice deprecetur, ut spartam hanc nostram post tot revolutiones iterato reviviscentem sinat crescere in mille millia, et me licet meritis et virtutibus imparem, dum vita suppetet, dignum suæ gloriæ instrumentum efficiat. Adscribo amantissimam salutem omnibus in Provincia quos nominatim singulos et in solidum complector; ac præcipue Amplissimam Familiam DDos. parentes Ræ Væ fratres et sorores quos omnes ex animo obtestor ut mei apud Deum non obliviscantur, illorum vicissim in hac barbarie ac præsertim Ræ Væ in Sacrificio ex pacto memor. Salutatur Ram Vam et supra memoratos Pater Gerardus.

Ex insula Stæ Annæ vulgo Rota, una ex Marianis, Residentia Sti. Francisci de Borgia, in pago Sosa. 25^a Maii 1682.

Ræ Væ Servus in Christo

Petrus Comano [sic] S.J.

Translation

To Father Libertus de Pape.

Reverend Father in Christ,

Peace be with you.

I received a letter from Y.R., dated Brussels in the month of May 1680, if I remember correctly (for I was not able to find those autographs with enough time to answer them) in the Mariana Islands on 13 June 1681. I derived a special pleasure of the spirit from it. For once I enjoyed what is normally given through dear correspondence, the long letters that I had missed for a full three years, but then I was to learn by them that

I should wish a quick end to the war afflicting the motherland. We all acknowledge a delay in our answers here. My letters to you hardly arrive or get there late, not by any fault on my part, because every year I did send one, except for 1681, when I was away on apostolic rounds; I wanted to, but could not spare the time to satisfy the wish that I have as much as yours. Therefore, what it left for me to do, is to compensate my fault somewhat by the present letter. First of all, I and Fr. Gerardo in this our Mariana [Mission] are for now healthy with enough body strength, if only the vigor of the spirit would be as good. We are both busy with apostolic works that are considered necessary to consolidate these parts in the Christian faith.

In any case I have already finished with two colonies [i.e. district centers] that last year and this year I animated on the Island of San Juan, one dedicated to the Immaculate Conception, the other to St. Anthony of Padua. I transferred to the next Island of Santa Ana, commonly called Rota, with a fellow priest, Fr. Carlos Boranga, a German from the Austrian Province, and Brother Balthasar Du Bois, a lay coadjutor from the Gallo-Belgian Province; there I look after the Christian business supervising the helpers for [good] measure.

[Core of letter is the annual report, same text as Doc. 1682E]

So, there you have some of the many events that occurred in our Mariana Mission in the last two-year period, among which if one wishes to know, that portion of the work that befell me was the following small tasks. Besides the rounds and expeditions that are mentioned above, I animated the first colony of **Sinahaña**, in whose part is the residence of a native chief of those who are occupied with fishing in remote places, growing rice and other products; there are about 60 families gathered there, and after they had all received the Christian doctrine, I have administered the main sacraments to them all, over a period of three months. This done, I transferred to an eastern part of the island called **Pago**, where I erected a colony of over 300 families, and where under the patronage of the Immaculate Conception I supervised the building of a church and an adjoining house, big and comfortable enough. I instructed the flock thus gathered with no little success and fortified the sacraments, in which I was busy for the rest of the year, almost eight months, until the ship arrived and I was succeeded by another priest. I headed inland to **Mapupun**, where I also collected families, almost 300 of them, supervised the erection of a house for God and for the Fathers, while I inculcated the basics of salvation to the inhabitants and expiated them with the sacraments, until February of this year 1682, when, another Father having succeeded me there, I travelled to the next Island of **Rota**, or Santa Ana, with two associates, one a priest and the other a lay coadjutor, where even now I am busy with the same exercises, building a church for God, and a lodge for the Fathers, and inculcating more than 200 families with the rudiments of salvation.

I beg Y.R. to receive the above with a benevolent will, to intercede with God for exceptionally large gifts for all, so that our Spartan mission after so many revolts will be

revived a second time and allowed to grow to one thousand thousands, and I be allowed undeserved merits and virtues, as long as I live, to become worthy of being an instrument of His glory. I send a very loving greeting to all in the Province whom I embrace individually by name and as a group. And above all the very large family of the parents, brothers and sisters of Y.R., whom I remind from the heart not to forget me before God. In turn I will remember them in this barbarian land and notably Y.R. in my sacrifice. Father Gerardo greets Y.R. and repeats the above.

From the Island of Santa Ana, commonly called Rota, one of the Marianas, Residence of St. Francis Borgia, in the village of Sosa, 25 May 1682.

Y.R.'s servant in Christ,
Petrus Comano [sic] S.J.

Document 1682G

Letter from Fr. Coomans to Fr. van Coukerken, dated Rota 25 May 1682

Source: AGR 2, fol. 198-199v.

Note: Fr. Coomans mentions, among other things, that the population of Guam was then about 7,000 and that of Rota almost 2,000.

Original text in Latin

Pri Norberto van Coukerken

Reverende in Xro Pater

P. E.

Accepi amantissimas Ræ Væ datas Ruremundæ 1680 in Insulis Marianis 13^a Junii 1681, ex quibus hausit incredibilem animo voluptatem tum quod me docerent illa quæ maxime desiderabam de amantissima Provincia mea, tum quod redintegratum denuo viderem exoptatum commercium litterarum, quod jam integro triennio requirebam. Verum illa sunt locorum intervalla et iniquitas temporum ut facile patiar intercidere aliquas, cum videam idem meis contingere que vix aut ne vix quidem ad RRas VVas adrepunt. Ego occasionem nullam prætermisi scribendi Ræ Væ præter elapsam superioris Anni 1681 quo distentus Apostolicis itineribus in hanc insulam ex qua scribo otium nancisci non potui quo officio meo satisfacerem. Itaque hisce suppleo hanc qualemcumque culpam, et quidem ad Patrem Libertum satis fuse, perscribendo illa quæ integro biennio in Missione hac nostra sese obtulerunt: et quia mihi persuadeo illas ad Ram Vam etiam perferendas, hic recoctam crambem, non repetam ne fastidio sin, et paucis alia perstringam spero non ingrata Ræ Væ.

[Guam-style building design, circa 1682]

*Quiéverat elapso biennio universa hac insula, ut ex superioribus meis habet R^a V^a, et solum deerat ut subditis jam suave jugum Domini imponeremus. Quod contigit in hunc fere modum. **Estimatis hujus insulæ incolis inventi sunt septies mille plus minus** qui omnes distributi sunt in septem Residentias (atque illa sunt horum locorum oppida de quibus cupiebat nuperis suis edoceri) quibus singulis destinati singuli e Pa-*

tribus hi locum ingressi commodiorem eligunt excitando templo et suis habitationibus, tum itur in antiquam silvam et in illa succiduntur arbores proceræ numero sexaginta aut septuaginta succissis superne ramis, et cortice depexo, ex illis quatuor series numero plerumque quadraginta duabus ulnis terræ infiguntur, ac superne tignis ac transversis circumquaque lignis connectuntur, his tectum imponitur primum e materia tum foliis aut e palma aut aliis arboribus tegitur: parietes etiam e lignis sursum elevatis ac transversim connexis qui deinde storeis introrsum decenter teguntur. Atque hæc est templorum omnium his in locis structura, si bene inspicias horrea apud nos servando tritico dixeris, quæ tamen his in locis admirationi sunt et palatia vocantur. Illis triangulari serie adjungitur Patrum habitatio eodem plane modo, nisi quod duplici tantum serie arborum, aut etiam triplici construitur cui trium aut quatuor venarum altitudine instruitur tabulatum quod supe[r]ne tabulis aut lignis in tria aut quatuor cubicula divisum habitationem præstat, inferiori parte penui reliquisque officinis subserviente. Humiditas que his locis dominatur occasionem præbuit in alto habitationem constituendi, more in Philipinis, imo etiam in toto oriente usitato. Huic structuræ undequaque septum circumdatur e lignis virentibus ad securitatem, aut etiam decentiam Religiosam. In hanc domum inducit tres aut quatuor ex incolis plerumque desumptis e Collegio indigenarum, quorum aliqui culinæ inserviunt reliqui sacristiam reliquasque domesticas occupationes administrant. Atque hæc sunt materialia necessaria imprimis, et stabilitis jam rebus satis accomoda.

Administratio Indorum in hunc fere modum perficitur. Quotidie ad Scholam Catecheticam conveniunt utriusque sexus parvuli et parvulæ juvenes et adolescentes, qui dum sacrum missæ perficitur solita carmina Christianæ doctrinæ decantant, subsequitur insti[tu]tio in misteriis fidei nostræ ad quæ interrogati [198v] respondent, qui bene laudatur aut etiam præmio afficitur, qui male parato supplicio luit: omnibus præsumt qui doctrina et moribus præstant virgis instructi. Hæc schola sub vesperam repetitur, quando etiam Coronam Bmæ Vis. alternantibus coris persolvunt: uno die infra hebdomadam conveniunt conjugati omnes, qui post decanta[ta] Christianæ doctrinæ carmina edocentur ea quæ sunt huic statui propria, altero soluti et solutæ, cum quibus habetur eadem ratio, quæ cum conjugatis. Solemne semper est prælectis indicibus absentes requirere, qui quidem si negligentia convicti fuerint, pœnam persolvunt flagris pro delicti gravitate excepti: illa enim est indoles Indorum his in partibus experientia comprobata, ut nisi pœna exhibeatur, officio suo non pareat. In hunc finem designantur per singulas colonias e primoribus tres aut quatuor, fiscales hic vocant, qui virtute et moribus præstantes Christianum officium, ab omnibus exigunt. Dominicis et festis diebus conveniunt mane omnes, et ordine per suas series dispositi, eo modo quo apud nos studiosi solent, templum ingrediuntur separatim, viri et fæmine decantantes aliquid e doctrina Christiana precedentibus labaris, ingressi solemnem formulam quam actum Contritionis vocamus unanimiter concinnunt. Tum locis suis ordine consistunt. Ubi omnes convenere procedunt in medium duo vel tres qui Christianæ doctrinæ carmina ordiantur, quos sequitur universorum chorus, primoribus quos fiscales dixi circumquaque deambulantibus, et debitam modestiam exigentibus; inter hæc Sacrificium per-

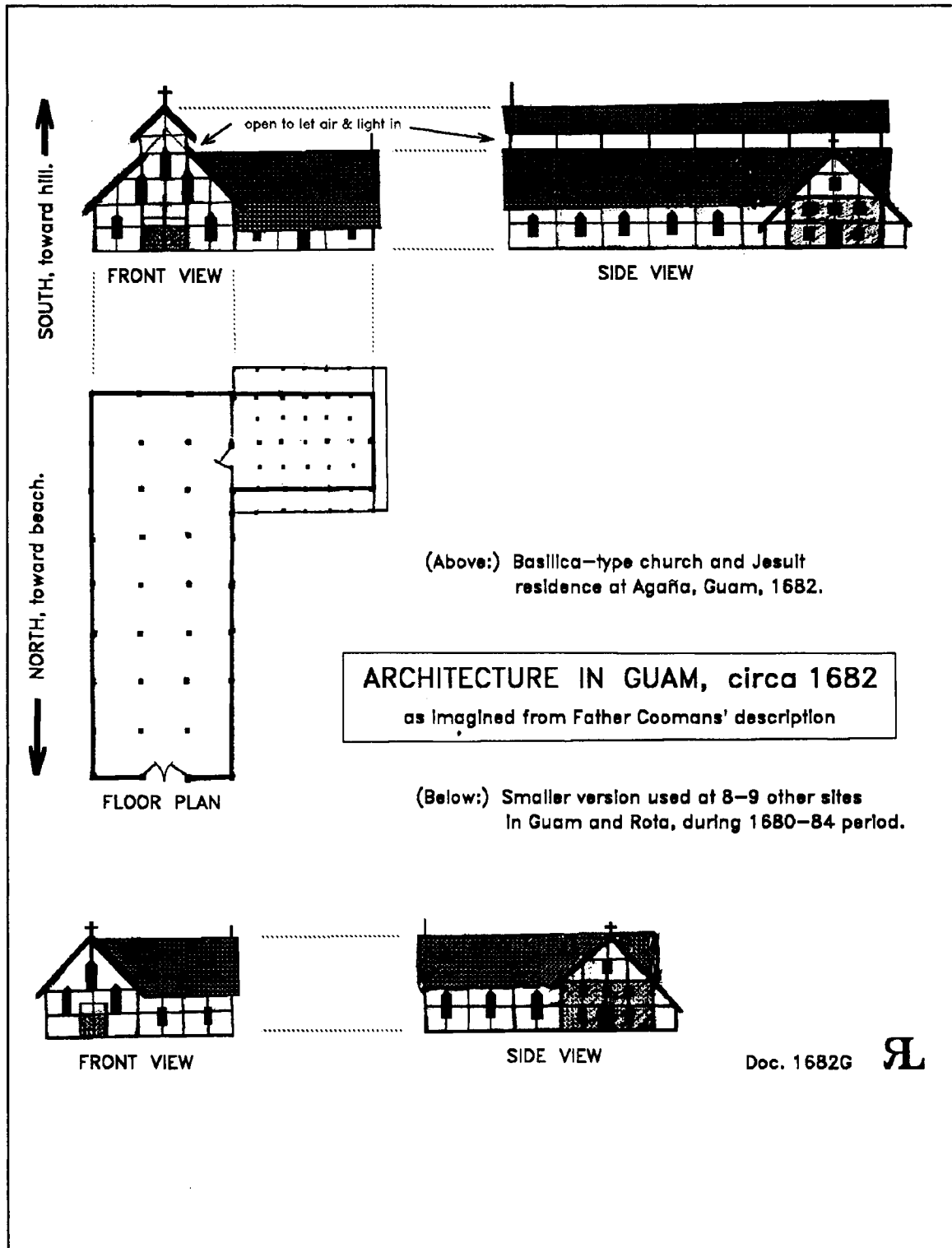
ficitur, quo absoluto habetur concio aut e pulpito, aut sacerdote in subsellio ante altare subsidente: sub quam denunciantur si qui Matrimonio jungendi, denuntiantur festa si quæ occurrunt, et alia pro loci et temporum oportunitate.

Atque hæc plerumque post perfectam administrationem: dum durat administratio convocantur quotidie quinque aut sex paria; aut etiam si gens est instructor, alii mane, et a meridie alii, a quibus congressis in templum exiguntur primo mysteria omnia quæ de necessitate medii, et præcepti vocamus, solemnes precandi formulas et cætera hujus modi, si recte persolverint ad administrationem admittuntur, sin minus paratos magistros adire jubentur et ab illis discere donec perdiscant. Hoc examine prævio primum inquirimus utrum retroactis tot annis baptismum receperint; negantibus ex ecclesiastica formula baptismus confertur, dubitantibus, aut non satis coherentia respondentibus item sub conditione, qui deinde Sacramento Penitentiae etiam sub conditione expiantur. Tum si patrio more conjugati habebantur præmissa aliquoties explicatione status et inculcata indissolubilitate solemnem Ceremoniam et coram testibus ex placitis Tridentini Matrimonio copulantur adhibitis ejusdem benedictionibus et sacro velo sub Missæ Sacrificium. Præter hæc ex officio visitandi, et sacris omnibus muniendi infirmi. Atque hæc fere est operarii Apostolici in his locis occupatio.

*Ego ex quo ultimas meas dedi ad Ram Vam tres ex memoratis colonias administravi, ex una in aliam continuo transiens succedentibus aliis qui a vernaculo idiomate hujus insulæ plus difficultatis habebant: donec sub initium Martii hujus Anni 1682 trajeci in proximam insulam Stæ Annæ vulgo **Rota**, ad illam prædicta formula debite administrandam. Insula universa non plus quam octo aut decem leucas circuitu complectitur; **incolas fere ad duo millia**. Terra omnis, qua occidentem et boream spectat amœna plane licet non ad modum fertilis, qua meridiem et occidentem aspera plane et prærupta adeo ut illa lustrando circumcursans abruptas cautes vix manibus pedibus adrepens ascenderem. Causa administratio parvulorum ne sine baptismo discerent. Ceterum transegi cum incolis ut relictis antiquis sedebibus quibus ob piscatus commoditatem quasi cavernis delitescunt in planiora se conferant, ubi nec minor piscandi commoditas, et major seminandi, et futura commoda in rebus fidei instructio et Sacramentorum administratio. Itaque, eodem modo quo in Insula S. Jois. factum memoravi, universos redigam in duas Residentias aut Colonias, quibus perfectis, si superis videbitur ultra progrediar usque ad quintam Insulam **Zaipan** seu a Sto Josepho dictam, ad quam et ad reliquas adjacentes [199] statutum est evocare reliquos magis ad Boream distantes incolas. Verum hæc erit annorum sequentium occupatio, et ego, si vita suppetet Ram Vam de omnibus faciam certiore, quam hisce unice obtestor ut mei in SSmis suis Sacrificiis et precibus memor esse non gravetur, Deumque deprecari, ut me immærentem dignum instrumentum suæ gloriæ efficere dignetur. Salutem amantissimam adscribit Ræ Væ Pr. Gerardus Bouwens et ambo amicos omnes in Provincia in solidum et nominatim salutamus.*

Ex Insula Stæ Annæ vulgo Rota una ex Marianis, Residentia Sti. Francisci de Borgia in pago Sosa 25^a Maij 1682.

Ræ Væ Servus in Xro.



Architecture in Guam, circa 1682. *The principal architect and builder was the Belgian Jesuit Brother Balthasar Dubois. All of these buildings were destroyed by fire during the native revolt of 1684.*

Petrus Comano S.J.

[199v, Address:] *Reverendo in Christo Patri Patri Norberto van Coukerken, Soctis Jesu Sacerdoti, Bruxellis.*

Translation

To Fr. Norbertus van Coukerken.

Reverend Father in Christ,

Peace be with you.

I received the very affectionate letter of Y.R., dated Ruremond [Holland] 1680, at the Mariana Islands on 13 June 1681, from which I got unbelievable pleasure to my spirit, not only because it let me know what I most desired to know from my dearest Province, but once again I could see that the exchange of letters was re-established, after a lapse of three full years. Truly that distance between us and our troubled times make it easy for a letter to suffer an interception, since I realize that the same thing might have happened to some of mine as they crept willy-nilly toward Your Reverences. I did not miss a single opportunity to write to Y.R. except for this past year of 1681, when I was away doing apostolic work on this island from which I write, I was unable to catch a rest with which to satisfy my duty. Therefore, I am making up for my mistake, and in any case I satisfied Father Libertus [de Pape], by writing the events that occurred in the last two years in our Mission here.¹ And since I am fully convinced that they will yet reach Y.R., I will not serve re-heated cabbage, so as not to bore you; rather, I will touch lightly upon a few things, hoping that Y.R. will welcome them.

[Guam-style building designs, circa 1682]

This island [of Guam] was quiet during the last two years; so, the superiors chose to establish the foundation upon which we could impose upon its subjects the already-sweet yoke of the Lord. In some way, this was almost achieved here. **The inhabitants of this island are estimated at 7,000 more or less** and are distributed among 7 Residences (and also colonies² from which to control those beyond, it is hoped) to which have been assigned one Father to each place, where they chose the most comfortable

1 Ed. note: He refers to the 1680-82 report (Doc. 1682E).

2 Ed. note: The word colonies could also be translated as district centers.

site to erect a church and their house. Then they went into the old forest and there cut down from 60 to 70 tall trees. Once the top branches were cut off and the bark removed, out of them four rows [of posts], generally 40, were sunk two yards into the earth. The top beams and crossbeams were connected by wood all around, the first roof being then made of branches, either of palm or of other trees. The walls are also made of wood standing upright and connected cross-wise¹ which then is covered with mats on the inside.² Also, this is the structure of all the churches in this country, although one may horrify the eyes of bread-eaters like us, so to speak, but in this country they are looked upon with admiration and called palaces. In a row triangular with these is an annex of the exact same style for the habitation of the Father,³ except that twice as many rows of trees, or even three times as many to build one, whose height is three or four stories,⁴ [each] covered by a floor upon which partitions of boards or woods divide the habitation into three or four cells, the lower part being used for [storing] food supplies and the rest for workshops.⁵ The humidity which predominates in this country offered an opportunity for the living quarters to be made above, Filipino-style, rather in the style used all over the Orient. The buildings here have a fence made of strong wood placed all around for security, and also for the privacy of the Religious. Most of the time, three or four of the islanders live in this house as servants, some taking care of a school for natives, for whom they cook, others looking after the sacristy and the other domestic duties. Also this is a convenient place where most of the materialistic matters are conducted.

The administration of the Indians is accomplished almost [always] in the following manner. Every day the children of either sex, young ones and teenage boys and girls, convene for catechism school. While the sacred [office] of the mass is being performed they sing the usual songs of the Christian doctrine, to be followed by an instruction into the mysteries of our faith, about which they respond when questioned. Those who answer well are praised, and even rewarded. Those who answer badly suffer the ready

1 Ed. note: In other words, forming a lattice.

2 Ed. note: There is no doubt that the text says that the mats were tied to the lattice **on the inside** (the Latin word is "introrsum"), not on the outside as might have been expected. Therefore, a picture of a 1680 Jesuit church or house would show the latticed structure of the walls on the outside. Unless Fr. Coomans made a mistake, naturally.

3 Ed. note: "Triangular" in the language of the Jesuits of that period, either in Latin or Spanish, meant "at right angle". In other words, the church and annex together formed an L-shape in plan view (see illustration).

4 Ed. note: The modern Latin word is "venarum", which literally can mean "rows of trees" in classical Latin.

5 Ed. note: The Latin word is "officinas", which still means "workshops" in modern Portuguese; the original Latin does not preclude a translation as "offices, school-rooms," a multiple use that existed in fact. The cooking facilities would have been in a separate shed, native-style.

punishment: all those who are advanced in the doctrine and in [Christian] customs are caned. These schools are repeated towards evening, when even the Rosary of the Blessed Virgin is recited by alternating groups. Once a week they all come together and, after they have been taught thoroughly how to sing the Christian doctrine, in the local manner, first one part at a time, and when that is done reasonably well, then altogether. A roll is always solemnly called, looking for any absent ones, who would be convicted of negligence in this case. They purge their sentence by receiving the whip in accordance with the gravity of the crime, for that is the nature of the Indians in these parts according to proven experience, that is, unless a punishment is applied, they would not do their duty. For this purpose are designated people, called “controllers” here, one in each colony and three or four controllers in the main ones, who stand out from everyone by their virtue and conduct in their Christian duty.¹ On Sundays and holidays they all gather in the morning, and line up by themselves as we have shown them to do, filing into the church, men and women separately, while signing something from the Christian doctrine, and preceded by banners. Once inside, we intone the solemn formula of the act of Contrition, and they repeat in unison. Then they sit down in their regular places. When they have all gathered, two or three proceed to the center to regulate the songs of the Christian doctrine, followed by the universal chorus. I forgot to say that the controllers would first go around to check on the exigencies for modesty. While the sacrifice [i.e. the mass] is being performed, the compulsory sermon is pronounced by the priest, either from the pulpit, or from a chair placed in front of the altar. He announces whatever marriage is to take place, the feasts that are to occur, and anything else according to time and place.

Most of the time the following things lead to a perfect administration [of the sacraments]:² the administration is maintained by calling every day five or six couples, although they may be more advanced people, some in the morning, and others at noon; when they have gathered in the church, they are asked first for all the mysteries of average necessity, and those we call compulsory, the solemn formulas for praying and others of this kind. If they perform correctly, they are admitted to the administration, otherwise they are ordered to go and be made ready by the teachers, to learn from them until they know it well. During this examination, we first try and find out how long ago they have been baptized, if at all. If they say no, the church formula for baptism is applied; if in doubt, or they do not respond coherently enough, it is also applied *sub conditione* [conditionally], and then the sacrament of penance is also applied *sub conditione*. Then if they live together in accordance with the native custom, sometimes with previous explanation and understanding of its status and indissolubility, they are joined by the

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- 1 Ed. note: The word used for the controllers was the Spanish word “fiscales,” and they had little to do with money (tax collection, etc.) and more to do with carrying new rules for native behavior. At the beginning, they were more likely to have been Filipino or Mexican Indians, missionary helpers whom the missionaries had brought to the Marianas with them.
 - 2 Ed. note: It should be pointed out that this routine was to be sharply broken by the 1684 revolution.

solemn ceremony of marriage, in accordance with the dictates [of the Council] of Trent, with witnesses convened to be present at their blessing and under the sacred veil of the sacrifice of the mass. Except that these things are to be reviewed *ex officio*, and the weak ones to be strengthened in everything sacred, such are most of the things that keep the apostolic workers busy.

As for me, since the last letter I wrote to Y.R., I have administered three of the said colonies. From one of them I was continuously travelling to help others, my replacements, who had more difficulty with the native language, until at the beginning of March of this year of 1682, [when] I travelled to the next Island of Santa Ana, commonly called **Rota**, which I will administer properly in accordance to the above formula. The whole island in not more than 8 or 10 leagues in circumference. **There are almost 2,000 islanders.** As for the whole land, on the side facing northwest it is entirely pleasant but not too fertile; that in the southwest is entirely abrupt, with cliffs, such that when making my rounds steep cliffs must be climbed almost creeping on hands and feet. The reason is the administration of the children, whenever we are told that there are some without baptism. Besides, I negotiated with the islanders, so that the remainder of the old settlements that are hidden in cave-like locations, better suited to fishing, be transferred to the plains, where there would be no less access to fishing and a greater access to farming, and be handy in the future for the teaching of the things of the faith and the administration of the sacraments. Therefore, the same way that I have described for the Island of San Juan, I will have them all come to two Residencies, or Colonies, and, once this is done, we will see whether to go beyond as far as the fifth Island, **Zaipan**, or San José as we say, and the neighboring ones, to which it is planned to call the many islanders living further north. These things will occupy the next few years. As for me, if life is given me I will give Y.R. a more detailed sketch before anyone else. I confirm my special request to be remembered in your most holy sacrifices and prayers. It is not possible for me to forget to ask God to make me, an undeserving but judged worthy, instrument to accomplish His glory. Fr. Gerardo Bouwens had written a very affectionate greeting to Y.R., and we say hello to both our friends in the Province, as a whole group and individually.

From the Island of Santa Ana, commonly called Rota, one of the Marianas, at the Residence of San Francisco de Borja in the village of Sosa, 25 May 1682.

Y.R.'s servant in Christ,

Pedro Coomans, S.J.

[Address:] To the Reverend Father Superior in Christ Fr. Norbertus van Coukerken, priest of the Society of Jesus, Brussels.

Document 1682H

Report on the Mariana Island Mission, by Fr. Strobach

Source: Stöcklein's Welt-Bott I, n° 5.

Note: The 13 Mariana Islands are given a short geographical description. One thing of interest is that Asunción Island is given an alternative native name besides Songson, i.e. Belean; this name does not appear anywhere else and may be a misprint. Also the Maug Islands are given an alternative native name, Tinās; this may be a misprint for Tunas (see Fr. Lopez' map of 1671 in HM5:382).

Summary of an extensive report by Fr. Strobach on the condition of the Mariana Islands in 1682

Original text in German.

Kurtzer Auszug Des weitläufftigen Berichts V.P. Augustinus Strobach der Gesellschaft Jesu Missionarii, von dem Zustand der Marianischen Insuln. Auf das Jahr Christi 1682.

Deren Marianischen Insuln werden dreyzehen gezehlt. Sie liegen zwischen dem dreyzehenden und dem ein und zwanzigsten Grad der Norder-Breite. Ihr erster Apostel war V.P. Didacus Ludovicus von San-Vitores, welcher allda den 16 Junii 1668 die Marter-Palm empfangen hat. Wie eyferig er das Wort GOTTes disen Heyden müsse geprediget haben/ erhellet aus dem/ daß er gleich Anfangs in disen dreyzehen Insuln biß dreyßig tausend Tauffen/ so er selbst ertheilt/ gezehlt/ aber mit der Zeit befunden hat/ daß er von vielen Barbaren seye betrogen worden/ welche sich zwey biß dreymahl (weil er in einer so grossen Menge sie von einander nicht unterscheiden könnte) aus unterschiedlichen Ursachen haben tauffen lassen; weil sie nemlich überaus fürwitzig seynd/ und ein Sach/ so ihnen wohl gefallen hatte/ öfters versuchen wolten. Zu dem/ gleichwie sie des vielfältigen Waschens grosse Liebhaber seynd/ also waren sie auch zu dises Sacraments Wiederholung sehr geneigt. Doch hat sie noch mehr zu solchem Mißbrauch der Eigennutz bewogen; inmassen er allen und jeden gleich bey der Tauff ein neues Kleyd nebst einem Rosenkrantz aus Glaß/ welches sie anfangs über alles geschätzt/ zu schencken pflegte. Dessen unerachtet glaubt man dannauch/ daß um selbe Zeit biß fünff-

zig tausend Seelen sich auf disen gesamten Eilanden befunden haben/ da hingegen heutiges Tags über zwölf tausend nicht übrig seynd/ nachdem ihre Anzahl theils durch Seuchen/ Kranckheiten und Hunger: theils durch innerliche Unruhen und blutige Krieg: theils durch immerwährende Flucht oder Hin- und Herziehen/ so erbärmlich ist verringert worden.

1. Auf der einzigen und zwar grösten Insul des Heil. Joannis, sonst **Guahan** oder **Iguan**, seynd deren Innsassen so viel/ als auf denen zwölf übrigen insgesamt/ welche ich jetzt nacheinander mit Nahmen nennen und kürztlich beschreiben will.

2. Die andere nächst obiger gelegene Insul heisz **Rota**, **Sarpana**, oder auch **Sanct-Anna**, sieben Meil von dem Eiland Guahan entfernt/ und dem vierzehenden Grad Nord-Breite untergeben.

3. Die dritte führet den Nahmen **Aguiguan**, sonst auch des Heil. Schutz-Engels/ unter dem vierzehenden Grad/ und dreyßig Minuten Nord-Breite.

4. Die vierdte ist Tenian oder **Tinian**, mit einem andern Nahmen **der gute Basten Mariä** benahmet/ unter dem fünfzehenden Grad und zehen Minuten/ etwan 14. Meil von Rota und drey von Saipan entlegen.

5. Die fünffte ist jetzt-gedachte Insul **Saipan** oder **Sanct-Joseph**, unter dem fünfzehenden Grad/ zwanzig Minuten: dreyßig Meil von **Anataham**, welches

6. Die sechste Insul ist unter dem sibenzehenden Grad zwanzig Minuten der Nord-Breite/ welcher die Spanier den Nahmen **Sanct-Joachim** beygelegt haben.

7. Die siebende heiszt **Sarigan** oder **Sanct-Carl**, liegt acht Meil von der vorigen unter dem 17. grad, 35. Minuten.

8. Die achte ist **Guguan** oder **Sanct-Philipp**, sechs Meil von Sarigan, unter dem 17. Grad/ 45. Minuten Nord-Breite.

9. Die neunte wird von denen Marianern **Atamagan** [sic], von denen Spaniern aber **die Empfängnuß Mariä** genannt/ zwölf Meil von Guguan, unter dem 18. Grad/ zehen Minuten Nord-Breite.

10. Die zehende heiszt **Pagon** oder **Sancti Ignatii**, sechzehn Meil von Atamagan, unter dem 19. Grad Nord-Breite.

11. Die eilffte nennt sich **Agrigan** oder **Sancti Xaverii**, zwölf Meil von Pagon, unter dem 19. Grad/ 40. Minuten.

12. Die zwölfte ist **Belean** oder **Songeon** [rather Songson], auch **Mariä Himmelfahrt** genannt/ zwölf Meil von Agrigan, unter dem 20. Grad/ 15. Minuten.

13. Die dreyzehende und letzte seynd drey kleine nahe beysammen und nur fünf Meil von Belean gelegene Insuln/ welche mit einem Namen **Tinas** oder **Maug**, auch **Sancti Laurentii** Eiländer heissen/ unter dem 20. Grad/ 35. Minuten Nordlicher Breite.

Gleichwie aber so mancherley Nahmen/ wann sie nicht genau von einander unterschieden werden/ so wohl in der Geographie und Land-Carten/ als auch in denen Geschicht-Schrifften ein verdrüßliche ja dünstere Verwirrung machen/ also hab ich dieselbe allhier nicht allein durch diese Beschreibung/ sondern auch durch eine eigends von neuem hierüber gezeichnete Land-Carten fleiszigt unterscheiden wollen/ und zwar alles

nach dem Fuß V. Patris Augustini Strobach, dessen mit diesen paar Zeilen unterbrochene Wort feiner also lauten:

Die Luft/ spricht er/ in denen drey kleinen Insuln Tinas ist zwischen Hitz und Frost sehr gemäßiget/ mithin auch gesund. Man verspührt allda keine Erbidem/ von welchen die übrige 12 Marianische Eiland öfters erschüttelt/ und von Sturmwinden alle Jahr so wohl an Früchten und Bäumen/ als an Häusern beschädiget werden; gleichwie wir letzt-verwichene zwey Jahr (verstehe 1681 und 1682) in der Residenz zu Sanct-Joseph mit unserm Schaden/ leyder! erfahren haben/ als das Ungewitter das erstemal zwar unsere Kirch und Hauß entsetzlich erwogen/ das anderemal aber völlig zu Boden geworffen hat/ daß ich noch heutiges Tags nicht begreiffe/ wie ich samt meinen Haußgenossen/ über welche der Bau zusammen gefallen ist/ mit dem Leben davon gekommen/ und ohne Verletzung errettet worden seye: ich gedencke dann/ daß der gütigste GOtt/ so mir dißmal verschont hat/ mich zu einem bessern Todt habe aufbehalten wollen.

Auf denen Marianischen Insuln insgemein gibt es die Menge gesunder Wässern; die einzige Sant-Joannis-Insul/ obschon sie sich über 40 Meil der Länge nach nicht erstreckt/ zehlet über 30. Bäch oder Flüb/ derer etliche zimlich groß und mit Fischen wohl versehen seynd/ welche aber niemand als nur die verächtlichste Leuth zu essen pflegen.

Man findet auf allen disen Eilanden weder Schlangen/ noch einiges vergiftetes Thier oder Ungeziefer; so gar die Spinnen seynd so gift-lob/ daß die Innwohner dieselben ohne Schad gleich andern Speisen verzehren. Gleicher gestalten siehet man/ mit Ehren zu melden/ selten eine Lauß oder Floh/ und jene zwar nur in denen dicken Strobelhaaren deren Weibern; dise aber seynd so klein und seltsam/ daß es die Mühe nicht belohnt solcher zu gedencken. Ich siehe auch nicht/ wie oder wo sich dergleichen Thierlein auf diesen fast nackenden Leibern könten aufhalten; doch ist zu bewunderen/ daß sie so gar in denen Kleidern nicht wachsen wollen. Nichts desto weniger ersetzt dereselden Stell eine unzehliche Menge bißiger Mucken und Schnacken/ welche auf disen blossen Leuthen ein offenes Feld und reiche Weyd antreffen/ nicht zwar bey Tag/ da sie sich wenig blicken lassen/ sondern bey der Nacht/ dasz man sich ihrer kaum wehren kan. Etliche Indianer vertreiben sie mit Rauch/ andere aber schlaffen ihrer wegen unter Zelten. Gleichwie hier zu Land an der Sonnen herum zu gehen sehr gesund ist/ also kan sich einer nicht ehender verderben/ als wann er bey dem Mondschein spatzieret.

*So haben unsere Insul auch einen reichen Überfluß an mancherley Früchten/ als da seynd Coccus-Nüß/ Sandien, Melaunen, Plantanen, Papayen, Türkischer Waitz und Reiß/ welcher allhier bey uns Missionariis den gänzlichen Abgang des Brods/ gleichwie in gantz Asien/ ersetzen musz; obschon er nicht in allen Insuln/ noch so häufig und gut/ als in denen Philippinischen Eilanden wächst: derenwegen die Innwohner denselben nur an Feyer-Tägen kochen: übrigens aber von gewissen Wurtzen leben/ so sie **Dago** oder **Piga** nennen/ mit welchen ich selbst samt meinem Gesind mich die meiste Zeit behilffe.*

Wir haben nicht eine/ sondern mancherley Ernden/ da alle Monath des Jahrs bald diser bald jener Acker geschnitten wird; inmassen etliche Felder drey biß viermal inner

zwölff Monathen Frucht tragen. Der heutige Kriegs- und Lands-Obrist Herr Antonius von Sarabia hat zwar aus America Waitzen-Saamen mitgebracht/ welcher aber unter Weegs von der Hitz und andern Umständen also erstickt und verdorben ist/ daß er in etlichen Orten nicht einmahl aufgangen/ in andern aber/ wiewohl er aufgewachsen/ dan noch keine Frucht getragen hat. Andere weichere Früchten und Bäum hingegen/ so mit ihm aus Neu-Spanien hieher gekommen seynd/ lassen sich zimlich gut an/ und wird es sich bald äussern/ ob sie tragen werden oder nicht. Von der Baumwoll/ welche über die massen wohl gerathet/ haben wir bereits die so freudige Erfahrnuß/ daß wir hoffen/ unsere Marianer Männlichen Geschlechts/ welche bißher gantz Mutter-nackend aufgezogen seynd/ werden ihre Blöse/ derer sie sich nunmehr selbst schamen/ damit bedecken können; dann sie vorhin/ gleichwie sie wohl gestaltet seynd/ also auch ihre Glieder gleichsam zu ihrem Ruhm öffentlich haben sehen lassen; indem doch andere Völcker ihre ungestalte Leiber unter dem Gewand verbergen. Jetzt seynd sie eines andern Sinns/ weil sie ihre beste Sachen um der Kleyder willen verkauffen. Die Weiber aber/ welche solches nicht vermögen/ wann sie einem Europäer begegnen/ lauffen auf die Seiten/ damit sie ihre schändliche Blöse unsern Augen entziehen. Ach! was grossen Verdienst wurde das Europäische Frauenzimmer bey GOtt nicht erwerben/ wann sie ihren überflüßigen Kleyder-Pracht disen armen Indianerinnen liessen zukommen/ welche zwar schon vorher in dem Heydenthum behöriger Orten sich mit Muscheln oder Laub bedeckt hatten/ jetzt aber sich mit Schürtzlein/ so sie aus dem Haar gewisser Bäumen zusammen knüpfen/ und ihnen von der Weiche biß an die Knie herab hängen/ ihre Leiber umhencken. Um diser Ursach wegen muß unser Heil. Stifter Ignatius uns hierinnfalls gnädig nachgeben/ wann wir jene seine Zucht-Regul/ Krafft welcher er befiehlt/ die Augen/ so oft man mit Weibsbildern umgehet/ untersich zu schlagen/ nicht beobachten/ sondern vielmehr in die Höhe über ihre Köpff hinaus schauen/ damit nicht etwan/ wann wir das Angesicht abwärts richteten/ uns was ärgerliches zum Nachtheil der Englischen Reinigkeit in die Augen falle.

Ehedessen ward auf disen Insuln kein einziges vierfüßiges Thier anzutreffen; das erste/ so die Spanier hieher gebracht haben/ war ein Hund. Nun gibt es auch Pferd/ Kühe/ Ziegen und Schaaf/ und dise letzere zwar schon in grosser Menge. Doch gehet zu unserm grösten Trost eines ab/ nemlich Silber/ Gold und Edelgestein/ folgsam auch der unersättliche Geitz/ von welchem allem unsere Marianer nichts wissen. Allein dieses will denen Grandibus oder grossen Herrn an dem Madritischen Hof nicht in den Sinn gehen; dann/ sprechen sie/ wann auf denen Marianischen Eilanden kein Reichthum wäre/ wurden ja die Jesuiter sich daselbst nicht aufhalten. Sie messen uns nach ihrem Schuhe/ und beschuldigen unsere Unschuld ihrer eigenen Lastern; wir hingegen trösten uns deren Worten Christi/ da er spricht: **Seelig werdet ihr seyn/ wann euch die Leuth verläunden und verfolgen/ auch meinet-wegen über euch lügen werden; Freuet euch dessen/ und frolocket; dann euer Lohn ist groß in den Himmlen. Diß/ diß ist unser Schatz und Reichthum/ nemlich diejenige unsterbliche Cron der zukünftigen Herrlichkeit/ mit welcher der GOtt alles Trosts zu seiner Zeit unsere Gedult/ Armuth/ Angst/ Noth/ und schier gänzlichen Abgang aller Dingen/ ja unser Schweiß und**

*Blut/ welches einige aus unserer Gesellschaft in disem Eiland um seines Nahmens willen vergossen haben/ belohnen wird. Weil nichts desto weniger unserm neuen Kriegs- und Lands-Obristen ein vornehmer Herr zu Cadix weiß-gemacht/ zu Labite [rather Cavite] auf denen Philippinischen Eilanden 12. Kistlein/ so von denen Marianischen Missionariis voll des Golds nach Manilam wären geschickt worden/ als man sie an das Land gebracht/ gesehen zu haben/ mithin gedachten Obristen/ dessen Geitz ihm bekannt ware/ zweiffels-ohne aus dem Absehen ihn durchzulassen/ hefftig gereitzt hatte/ denen Adern und Flüssen/ aus welchen die Missionarii dergleichen Reichthum gezogen hätten/ fleissig nachzuforschen; als hat der Geld-gierige Herr sich lange Zeit fast zu Todt bemühet/ solche Schätz zu entdecken; nachdem er aber nichts als ledige Nothdurfft und äusserste Armuth/ so wohl bey denen Innwohnern als Missionariis gefunden/ hat er endlich bekennen müssen/ daß unsere Glaubens-Lehrer allhier recht Apostolische Männer seyen/ **welche dem Gold nicht nachstreben/ noch auf Geld-Schätz hoffen/** sondern in einem freywilligen Elend/ von aller menschlichen Gesellschaft gänzlich abgesondert/ nichts anders als die grössere Ehr Gottes und des Nächsten Heyl suchen; einen wahrhafftig-grossen Schatz/ für welchen der Sohn Gottes selbst sein Leben dargegeben und sein kostbares Blut vergossen hat. Darum haben wir schon zum zweytenmahl uns bemühet/ auf denen übrigen eilff Insuln uns ebenfalls vest zu setzen/ und einige Missionarios auf denselben stets zu unterhalten/ damit wir alle dise Eilanden von allem noch übrigen Heydnischem Aberglauben gänzlich reinigen/ gleichwie wir unlängst die zwey vornehmste Insuln/ nemlich Guahan oder Sancti Joannis und Rota von allem solchem Unrath befreyet/ und die Innwohner insgesamt der Kirch Gottes einverleibt haben. Allein der hefftige Gegenwind und das tobende Meer haben unser Vorhaben auf die übrige Eiland bißher verhindert/ doch uns den Muth dise Sach öffters zu versuchen nicht benommen. Je mehr Euer Ehrwürden samt unserer Provintz solches Werck Gott befehlen wird/ desto ehender wird es uns gelingen.*

[Native customs]

Die Sitten deren Marianischen Innwohnern betreffend/ so stimmen sie zwar in ihrer Sprach mit keinem Volck mehrers übereins/ als mit denen von Tagala einem an denen Philippinischen Insuln gelegenen Land; in der Ungleichheit deren Ständen und Geschlechtern aber arten sie entweders denen Sinesern oder vielmehr denen Indianern von Madura nach/ doch mit disem Unterschied/ daß gleichwie dise sich in vier Geschlechter/ also unsere Marianer sich nur in drey Land-Ständ abtheilen/ nemlich in den hohen Adel/ Mittel-Stand und gemeinen Pövel/ mit so strenger Beobachtung des Vorzugs eines Geschlechts vor dem andern/ daß der obere mit dem mittleren/ und diser mit dem untern sich weder durch die Ehe noch Wohnung/ noch einige andere Weiß vermischen: Ja nicht einmal essen/ was der geringere berührt hat/ noch Wasser trincken aus einem Brunn aus welchem derselbe geschöpfft hat. Er darf so gar nicht nahe zu ihrem Hauß treten - sondern/ muß er unter freyem Himmel von fern denenselben gantz kurtz vortragen/ was er mit ihnen zu reden hat: Wann auch der vornehmere ein armer Bettler/ und der geringere ein reicher Mann wäre/ so wird jener dennoch von seiner Vor-Ehr

nicht das Geringste vergeben. Wie schwer solcher Ehrgeitz deren Vornehmeren Bekehrung mache/ ist leicht zu erachten/ indem der Edelmann anfangs mit dem gemeinen Mann weder in einem GOTTs-Hauß sich zugleich einfinden/ noch mit einerley Wasser tauffen lassen/ noch mit einem Priester/ der sich mit schlechteren Leuthen in Gemeinschaft eingelassen hätten/ reden wolte. Nun aber geben sie es wohlfeiler/ und erkennen in geistlichen Sachen die Unedlen für ihre Mit-Brüder/ weil sie nehmlich sehen/ daß auch die Missionarii ohne Abscheuen oder Unterschied mit allen Leuthen umgehen.

Ihren vorigen Glauben belangend ist gewiß/ daß sie ehedessen zwar den wahren GOTT nicht erkannt/ aber auch keinen Abgott/ noch Götzen/ noch Teuffel angebetten/ sondern blosz allein die Todten-Bein/ doch absonderlich die Todten-Köpff verehrt haben/ als welche sie in ihren Häusern mit grossen Ehren bewahren/ und niemahls essen/ ohne ihnen den besten Bissen aufzusetzen. Aus solchem Wahn hüten sie sich fleißigst über ein Grab zu gehen/ damit sie keine Leich mit Füßen treten: Darum wolten sie vor disem auch niemand lassen in die Kirchen begraben. Mit einem Wort/ so grausam als dise Barbaren durch Mord und Todtschlag mit denen Lebendigen verfahren/ so ehrerbietig seynd sie gegen die Todten (welche sie derenwegen so andächtig verehren/ weil der böse Feind ihnen in der Gestalt ihrer Abgestorbenen öfters erschienen ist/ und sie geschröckt hat/) nicht zwar aus Hoffnung einer Hülf oder Gutthat; inmassen sie nichts dergleichen weder von dem Teuffel noch von denen Todten begehren; sondern aus Forcht/ damit sie ihnen nicht schaden. Weil sie aber denen Leichen nicht also gänzlich verschonen können/ daß sie nicht dero Gebein/ aus welchen sie ihre Lantzen oder Speer machen/ vonnöthen hätten/ als pflegen sie den todten Leib zu beitzen/ und wann er halb verfault ist/ das Fleisch von denen Beinen abzuschneiden/ aus welchen sie gemeiniglich 12 Speer schnitzen/ und deroselben Spitz oder Schneide auf beyden Seiten gleich einer doppelten Säge mit Zähnen versehen/ die dann dermassen schädlich seynd/ daß wer mit diesem Gewehr gestochen wird/ unfehlbar an seiner Wunden sterben muß/ wann nur der geringste Splitter/ wie fast allzeit geschiehet/ in dem Fleisch stecken bleibt. Je grösser nun der Mann ist/ desto stärcker seynd auch die aus seinen Beinen verfertigte Lantzen/ um welcher willen sie langen Männern gern nach dem Leben streben. Ich möchte zwar solcher Ursach halben/ damit ich nehmlich zu 12 Speeren werde/ nicht gern sterben/ wiewohl ich um Christi willen mein Leben aufzuopfern nicht allein bereit/ sondern auch begierig bin.

Gleichwie sie vor diesem ausser ihren Insuln niemahls was anders gesehen hatten/ also glaubten sie gänzlich/ es seye ausserhalb derenselben weder Land noch Mensch anzutreffen/ mithin die gantze Welt allda beysammen. Nachdem aber wegen unterschiedlichen aus andern Oertern dahin angelangten Schiffen die Erfahruß sie überzeugt hat/ daß viel grosse Reich und Landschafften/ wie auch unendlich viel Leuth anderwertig zu finden seyen/ wolten die hoffärtige Marianer dannauch behaupten/ alle Völker des gantzen Erdkreyß kämen von einem hohen in dero Eilanden befindlichen Felsen her/ dessen Gipffel oben sichtbarlich hervor raget/ welcher vor uralten Zeiten ebenfalls ein Mensch gewesen wäre/ allein nachdem er eine Zahl Kinder gebohren hätte/ zu diesem grossen Stamm-Stein worden seye/ mit dem fernerem Beysatz/ daß die von

ihm ersprossene unzählige Geschlechter/ nachdem sie in die gantze Welt seynd zerstreuet worden/ von denen reinen Sitten und der schönen Sprach ihres Vatterlands thörrichter Weisz abgewichen/ jedoch ihrer etliche obschon gantz verderbt und verkehrt auf diesen ausländischen Fahrzeugen wieder heimkommen seyen: Wie schlecht es aber in andern Ländern stehen müsse/ könnte man aus denen Ratzen/ Mäusen/ und andern dergleichen Ungeziefer/ so sie in die Marianische Insul gebracht hätten/ leichtlich abnehmen: Wie nicht weniger aus dem/ daß so oft sie auf ein Spanisches Schiff steigen/ sie mit einem heissern Haupt-Fluß zuruck kommen.

Von unsern ersten Eltern Adam und Eva hatten sie bereits in dem Heydenthum eine dunckle Wissenschaft; dann sie glaubten/ daß von einem gewissen allerersten Mann Nahmens Puntan und dessen Weib (welche beyde ohne Vatter und Mutter wären erschaffen worden) das gantze menschliche Geschlecht seye gezeugt worden. Allein sie irreten gröblich in gewissen Stücken/ so sie diesen zwey ersten Ehe-Leuthen wider die Wahrheit angedichtet/ hierdurch aber sie zu Göttern und Schöpffern aller Dingen gemacht haben; indem sie sagten/ alle übrige Geschöpf wären aus ihren Leibern/ nemlich aus ihrer Brust Himmel und Erden/ aus denen Augen Sonn und Mond/ aus denen Augenbrauen der Regenbogen/ und also andere Creaturen aus andern ihren Gliedern erschaffen worden.

Sie erkannten auch vorhin unter sich keinen andern König/ Fürsten oder Herrn/ als das Haupt eines jeglichen Stammens/ welcher über alle übrige von seinem Geschlecht zu befehlen hatte; nach wessen Todt solcher Gewalt nicht auf seine Kinder/ sondern auf seinen ältesten Bruder fiel/ welcher auch dessen Nahmen ererbte und annehmen muste/ damit nemlich der uralte Nahmen eines jeglichen Stammens bey dem Geschlecht erhalten wurde. So wurden auch die Söhn nicht nach ihrem Vatter/ sondern von der nächst-besten Sach benahmt/ so denen Eltern bey ihrer Geburth begegnete: Woran sich aber dieselbe nicht binden liessen/ sondern ihren Nahmen nach Belieben öfters veränderten/ hiemit aber verursachten/ dasz viel aus ihnen zwey biß dreymal seynd getaufft worden; weil nemlich sie mit einem vorigen Nahmen/ den sie jetzt nicht mehr führten/ in das Tauff-Buch waren eingeschrieben worden. Sie hatten ebenfalls ihren Majorat, da der erst-gebohrne Sohn den Vatter völlig erbte/ und seine Geschwister abfertigte.

Keine Haußhaltung ward von dem Mann/ der sich im geringsten der Wirthschafft nicht annehmen dörfte/ sondern von dem Weib allein mit solcher Eigenmacht regiert/ daß wann der arme Mann bey seiner eifersüchtigen Ehe-Frau/ als liebte er eine andere mehr als sie/ in Verdacht ist kömmen/ das Weib ihre Freund und Verwandte zusammen geruffen/ diese aber das Hauß gestürmt/ den vermeinten Ehebrecher ins Elend verstossen/ dessen Fahrnussen als eine Beut unter einander getheilt/ dem Weib nicht allein das Hauß samt allen liegenden Gütern/ sondern auch die Kinder des verjagten Manns ohne Widerrede ihr zugeeignet/ und sie mit einem andern Mann vermählt haben/ welchen die Kinder des vorigen Manns für ihren rechtmäßigen Vatter erkennen musten. Allein wir haben bißhero diesen weibischen Hochmuth schon zimlich gestutzt/ und werden auch fürhin denselben völlig abzubringen nicht unterlassen. Jeglicher Mann hatte

zwar nur ein Weib/ aber die Ehescheidung stunde beyden Theilen frey. Die Weiber hatten gar kein Bedencken die Leibs-Frucht zu vertreiben/ noch weniger aber die ledige Mägdlein/ wann sie etwan schwanger wurden; weil nemlich die Jüngling sie nach der Geburth nicht mehr so lieb als vorhin haben/ und dergleichen Weibs-Bilder nicht so leicht einen Bräutigam finden. In einer gewissen Pflantz-Stadt war der Mißbrauch eingeschlichen/ daß die Weiber sich so gar mit dem Teuffel vermischt/ und/ wie man für wahr ausgibt/ aus solchem Beyschlaff würcklich seynd geschwängert worden/ doch gabe der böse Geist nach geschעהer Schandthat sich ihnen zu erkennen/ als er gleich einem durstigen Hund seine Zungen biß auf die Erden herab streckte.

Nichts desto weniger haben sie/ wie die Affen ihre Kinder dermassen verderblich lieb/ daß sie ihnen ohne einige Straff nicht allein allen Muthwillen zulassen/ sondern auch dieselbe um mehrerer Freyheit willen ihren Anverwandten/ um solche zu erziehen/ gemeiniglich übergeben/ bey welchen sie gleich dem jungen Vieh nach ihrem Lust leben. Um dieser Ursach willen kommt die Eltern schwer an/ wann sie ihre Kinder uns in unsere Pflantz-Schul überlassen sollen/ damit sie allda nach Christlicher Zucht umsonst erzogen/ und so wohl in der Kost als Kleydung weit ehrlicher als zu Hauß verpflogen werden. Die Kinder selbst seynd unerachtet aller Nothdurfft/ so sie zu Hauß ausstehen müssen/ lieber bey ihren Eltern und Bluts-Freunden als bey uns/ nur damit sie der lieben Freyheit ohne einigen Zaum geniessen mögen.

Die Marianer salben ihre Leiber mit Oel/ von welchem sie vielmehr als von der Sonne schwarz gefärbt werden. Wann an hohen Fest-Tägen ein Weib das andere heimsucht/ so schmiert ebenfalls die Haußfrau ihre Gästin zum Zeichen der Freundschaft mit Oel. Man finder unter diesen Barbaren viel/ die nicht fünff/ sondern sechs Zähnen an einem Fuß haben. In dem Dorff Pagon hab ich mit disen meinen Augen öfters einen Knaben sehen ohne Gefährten und ohne Stecken in die Kirch und wieder heim gehen/ welcher weder Augen noch Nasen/ sondern nur das blosses Maul in seinem gantz platten und sinn-losen Gesicht hatte.

Die Männer rühmen sich ihrer grossen Bärten/ welche sie wachsen lassen/ hingegen scheeren sie das Haupt völlig/ den Wirbel allein ausgenommen/ allwo sie eines Thalers breit die Haar stehen lassen/ und solche gleich einem kleinen Zucker-hütlein aufrecht zuspitzen. Nun aber/ seit sie Christen seynd/ pflegen die meisten nach Spanischer Art Haar und Bart zu tragen. Ihre Scheermesser seynd nicht von Eisen/ sondern aus Stein. Die Weiber ziehen bald mit gekraußten und fliegenden/ bald mit gebundenen oder auch gezopfften Haaren auf/ welche sie alle Nachmittag/ da sie sich drey Stund baden/ an denen äussersten Enden mit Kalch schmieren/ wovon sie/ so weit derselbe einfrißt/ zeitlich weiß oder grau werden. Ihre Kinder kommen gleicher gestalt weiß oder braunlicht auf die Welt/ und werden erst von dem Oel allgemach schwarz-braun.

Ihre Häuser halten sie über die massen sauber und rein/ absonderlich dasjenige/ in dem sie selbst wohnen; dann ein jeglicher Marianer hat gemeiniglich drey von einander abgesonderte Gebäu/ in derer einem das Hauß-Geräth/ in einem andern sein Lebens-Vorrath bewahrt wird/ in dem besten aber er selbst samt seiner Haußhaltung ißt/schlafft und wohnet. Ihr Bett-Gewand besteht in zwey aus Bast gewobenen Decken; auf derer

einer sie liegen/ mit der andern aber sich decken: die Stelle des Kopff-Küssens vertritt ein höltzerner Block. Nicht allein ihre Better/ sondern aller Tisch-Zeug/ Hauß-Geschirr und andere Gefäß seynd aus dergleichen Decken-Arbeit gewürckt/ nahmentlich ihre Küsten/ Schüssel/ Teller/ und was dergleichen mehr ist/ welche allerhand Brühe/ Suppen und Getränck so gut halten/ daß sie nicht das geringste durchlassen. Alle solche Decken und Zeug machen die Weiber. Ich hab schon oben gesagt/ daß sie das Jahr hindurch von Wurtzen/ an Feyertägen aber von Reiß leben; die Fisch essen sie roh/ wie solche aus dem Wasser kommen/ welche ich/ wann sie nur klein seynd/ auf eben solche Weiß genieße.

Es seynd übrigens die Marianer nicht so wild/ daß/ wer all ihr Thun und Lassen genau beobachtet/ keine Höflichkeit bey ihnen finden solte. Sie geben ihre Leuthseeligkeit genug an den Tag/ da sie jährlich dem Schiff/ so von denen Philippinischen Insuln nach Sina zuruck kehrt/ Ehrerbietigkeit halben viel Täg auf dem Meer aufpassen/ und dasselbe eine zeitlang begleiten. Wie gutthätig sie seyen/ haben sie an vielen fremden Personen/ so nächst ihrer Insuln Schiffbruch gelitten und ihre Zuflucht zu ihnen genommen hatten/ erwiesen; dann sie haben dieselben mit aller möglichen Liebe aufgenommen/ getröstet/ beherbergt/ und mit aller Nothdurfft nach ihrer Lands-Art versehen. Sie seynd so freundlich/ daß sie uns nicht allein täglich sondern fast stündlich heimsuchen/ mit hin uns an anderen Geschäften mit Ungelegenheit verhindern: wir können uns aber ihrer bald loß machen/ wann wir ihnen Taback geben welchem sie ungemein hold seynd/ da sie doch vor Ankunfft deren Europäern von disem Unkraut nichts gewußt/ sondern als sie die Spanier mit rauchenden Pfeiffen in dem Mund das erstemal betrachteten/ gegen einander gesprochen haben: Was seynd dieses für seltsame Leuther welche Feuer fressen/ und durch den Athem Rauch ausblasen? Allein solches Abscheuen nahme bald ein End/ als sie selbst den Taback zu schnupffen und zu rauchen angegangen/ und sich dessen Gebrauch also unmäßig ergeben haben/ daß nunmehr Mann und Weib/ Büblein und Mädlein mit der Pfeiffen herum gehen/ ja/ wann es ihnen an Taback gebricht/ allerhand andere Blätter oder Laub einfüllen und anstecken/ daß bey ihnen des Rauchens und Schnupffens weder End noch Maaß ist: wobey wir den Vortheil haben/ daß dise Leuth/ welche das Geld gar nichts achten/ um des einzigen Tabacks willen uns Europäern alles/ was wir zu unserer Nothdurfft nöthig haben/ feyl bieten/ uns Missionariis aber/ wann wir sie unterrichten oder vermahnen/ aus dessen Hoffnung gedultiges Gehör verleihen. Vor disem haben sie an statt des Gelds nichts als Eisen angenommen/ nachdem sie aber mit dergleichen Waar/ welche nicht verzehrt wird/ überflüssig versehen seynd/ gilt der einzige Taback über alles/ und ist eigentlich an statt einer gangbaren Mümtz/ mit welcher man alles kauffen und erzwingen kan; wir zahlen eine Hänne mit zwey Taback-Blättern/ um ein Blat aber wird mir ein Marianer den gantzen Tag mit Freuden arbeiten. Auf daß ich dann bey diesen Barbarn bestehen möge/ führe ich aller Orten/ wo ich stehe und gehe/ eine mit Schnupff-Taback angefüllte Büchsen mit mir/ damit ich eines jeden/ der mir begegnet/ Gemüth zu grösserer Ehr GOTTes an mich ziehe/ obschon ich für meine Person des Tabacks kein Liebhaber bin. Ehemahls haben die gläserne Corallen/ wie auch die kleine Schölln [Schellen?] allhier so viel gegolten/ daß

die Innwohner für ein Kügelein von Glaß ein Hühnlein/ für ein Schölln [sic] aber 15. Hühner/ und nach diesem Fuß andere Lebens-Mittel denen Fremden verkaufft haben. Allein von etlichen Jahren her sehnen sie sich nach nichts als nach Taback/ daß ich wohl sagen kan/ der Christliche Glaub müsse diesen Indianern nicht allein durch das Gehör und den Mund/ sondern auch durch die Nasen-löcher eingegossen werden. Was ihnen nun zum liebsten ist/ das tragen sie am Halß/ einer dieses/ der andere was anders/ als Schölln [sic]/ Glaß-Kügelein/ Nadel/ Messer und so weiters: sie lassen aber dergleichen Tand nicht vornen über die Brust/ sondern hinten über den Rucken von dem Halß herab hangen. Nebst dem Taback lieben sie auch die Kleydung/ wovon schon oben Meldung geschehen ist.

Ihre Höflichkeit noch besser zu beschreiben darf ich nicht umgehen zu erzehlen/ daß wiewohl/ da einer dem andern begegnet/ sie nicht im Brauch haben einander einen guten Morgen/ Tag/ Abend oder Nacht anzuwünschen/ sie nichts desto weniger an dessen statt die Füß zu waschen sich anbieteten/ zu unseren Missionariis aber/ wann sie nicht weit mehr von ihnen auf der Strassen entfernt seynd/ sagen: **Gelobt seye das allerheiligste Altar-Sacrament.** Welche Wort/ da ihrer mehr miteinander gehen/ alle zugleich aussprechen. Wann sie hiernächst zu dem Priester hinzu kommen/ so küssen ihm die Männer und Knaben seine rechte Hand und sagen Madios, an statt A dios: **Gott behüte dich.**

Kein Marianer wird jemahls weder essen noch trincken/ er habe dann allen und jeden/ die bey ihm seynd/ solches vorher guthertzig anerbotten/ oder die Speiß in so viel Theil/ als deren Personen gegenwärtig seynd/ getheilt/ und einem jeden seinen Bissen gereicht/ den letzten aber und insgemein den schlechtesten für sich behalten. Wann sie trincken/ so setzen sie das Geschirr nicht an die Leffzen/ sondern giessen von fern das Getränck in den Schlund; dann sie halten es für eine Grobheit/ ein Geschirr/ aus welchem der andere auch trincken soll/ mit dem Maul zu berühren. In ihren Häusern leyden sie keinen Unrath: ja es darf keiner in dem Zimmer ausspeyen/ sondern gehet mit seinem vollen Mund auf die Gassen/ die (salva venia) Nothdurfft aber zu verrichten biß an das Meer-Ufer. Darum hatten sie angangs ein Abscheuen ab unsern Tauff-Ceremonien; weil bey solchen der Priester mit seinem Speichel Nasen und Ohren berührt.

Sie seynd dermassen neugierig und fürwitzig/ daß/ so oft ein Schiff aus America anlangt/ sie sich besleissen alles zu besichtiger welches dasselbe mitbringt; sehen sie nun etwas seltames/ so ihnen vorhin niemahls unter die Augen gekommen war/ so pflegen sie zu sagen: **Jetzt will ich gern sterben/ nachdem ich diese schöne Sachen erlebt und beschaut hab.**

Nichts ist mehrers zu bewundern als ihre Liebe; indem kein Marianer dem andern/ er begehre was er immer wolle/ etwas pflegt abzuschlagen/ und dieses zwar ungebetten: dann siehet er was/ so ihm gefällt/ sagt er zu dessen Besitzer ohne Umschweiff: **Dieses oder jenes will ich haben;** so bald er ausgeredt/ stellt es ihm der andere zu ohne einige Entschuldigung: welches nicht allein unter erwachsenen Leuthen/ sondern auch unter kleinen Kindern üblich ist; dann/ wann ein Kind von dem andern einen Bissen/ so dasselbe würcklich ins Maul steckt/ begehren solte/ wurde das andere ihm solchen

hingeben/ und lieber Hunger leyden/ als seinem Mitgespielen etwas versagen. Ein Marianer wird so gar ein Taback-Blat/ um welches er den gantzen Tag hart gearbeitet/ mit dem Nachbarn/ den er antrifft/ theilen. Gleichwie nun diese freygebige Leuth anfangs vermeint hatten/ alle Menschen wären so ehrlich als sie; haben sie sich an denen Christen/ als ihnen diese dasjenige/ was sie begehrten/ abgeschlagen/ sehr geärgert/ mit hin solche für grobe Barbarn/ bey welchen die Liebe keinen Platz finde/ angesehen.

Wird ein Marianer krank/ so lauffen alle dessen Freund/ auch aus andern weit-entlegenen Dörffern zusammen/ trösten/ laben/ ergötzen und trösten denselben auf alle mögliche Weiß und stehen ihm so lang bey/ biß er entweder wieder gesund wird oder das Zeitliche seegnet. Gleichwie sie aber/ wann dem Siechen das Essen und Trincken nicht schmeckt/ ihm niemahls werden zusprechen/ er solle über macht oder wider seinen Lust etwas einnehmen; also werden sie ihm hingegen nichts abschlagen/ es mag so kostbar/ ja auch so schädlich seyn als es immer will; dann es muß einmal des Krancken Willen geschehen/ obschon er etwas zu seinem Verderben verlangen sollte.

Ihres Nächsten Schwachheiten/ Gestanck/ Kranckheiten/ und dergleichen graußliche Sachen übertragen sie/ ohne ihn zu betrüben oder zu meiden/ mit unüberwindlicher Gedult; dann etliche aus ihnen seynd gleichsam an dem gantzen Leib krätzig und aussätzig/ mit Eyter und Geschwären gantz angefüllt/ mit einem Wort lebendige Aaß/ daß fast unmöglich scheint ihren bösen Geruch und abscheuliche Gestalt zu erdulden/ welches aber die Marianer nichts achten/ sondern mit unbegreiflicher Langmüthigkeit/ ja mit fröhlicher Gleichgültigkeit ihrem Gebrauch nach übertragen/ Krafft wessen sie allzeit aufgeraunt und lustig aussehen. Kein Laster findet bey ihnen weniger Eingang als die Füllerey/ indem sie sich alles Geträncks/ so da rauschig macht und die Vernunft schwächt/ mit gröster Behutsamkeit enthalten/ wiewohl sie an den Palmen-Bäumen/ von welchem andere Indianer einen starcken Wein heraus ziehen/ keinen Mangel haben.

Translation, by P. H.

Abridgment of an extensive report by Father Strobach, Missionary of the Society of Jesus, with regard to conditions in the Mariana Islands in 1682.

The Mariana Islands consist of thirteen islands. They lie between 13° and 21° latitude North. Their first apostle was the Venerable Father Diego Luis de San-Vitores, who received the palm of martyrdom there on 16 June 1668 [sic].¹ How eagerly he must have preached the word of God to those heathens is illustrated by the fact that in the very beginning, on these thirteen islands, he administered up to 30,000 [sic] baptisms himself, although in time he found that he had been cheated by many barbarians who for various reasons had allowed themselves to be baptized two or three times (because he was unable to tell them apart in such a large crowd). They are extremely curious, and when a thing has pleased them, they want to try it again. Just as they love washing themselves frequently, they were also very fond of repeating this sacrament. But it was

1 Ed. note: Erroneous date, as a result of careless abridgment by the editor of the Welt-Bott. It is the date of his arrival at Guam; the date of his death was 2 April 1672.

their greed that prompted them even more to such misuse, because during the baptism he gave everyone a new gown and a rosary of glass, which in the beginning they regarded very highly. Even allowing for that, it is estimated that at the time, these islands were populated by 50,000 [sic] souls, while today not even 12,000 remain, since their numbers have been so terribly reduced by sickness, disease and hunger, but also by internal unrest and bloody warfare as well as constant flight and disrupting moves.¹

1. On the island of San Juan, also called **Guahan** or Iguan, the population is as numerous as on all the other 12 islands together, which I will now call by name and describe briefly.

2. The next island in line is called **Rota**, Sarpana or Santa Ana; it is 7 miles from the Island of Guahan, and lies at 14° lat. N.

3. The third is known as **Aguiguan**, also called the Island of the Guardian Angel [i.e. Santo Angel]. It lies at 14°30' lat. N.

4. The fourth is Tenian or **Tinian**, also called Buena Vista Mariana; it lies at 15°10' [lat. N.], about 14 miles from Rota and 3 from Saipan.

5. The fifth island is called **Saipan**, or San José, at 15°20' and 30 miles from the next island:

6. The sixth island is called **Anatahan**; it lies at 17°20' lat. N., and the Spaniards have given it the name of San Joaquin.

7. The seventh is called **Sarigan**, or San Carlos; it lies 8 miles from the previous island, at 17°35' [lat. N.]

8. The eighth is **Guguan**, or San Felipe, 6 miles from Sarigan, at 17°45' lat. N.

9. The ninth is called **Alamagan** by the Mariana Islanders, but Concepción by the Spaniards; it lies 12 miles from Guguan, at 18°10' lat. N.

10. The tenth is called **Pagon**, or San Ignacio; it lies 16 miles from Alamagan, at 19° lat. N.

11. The eleventh is called **Agrigan**, or San Xavier; it is 12 miles from Pagon, at 19°40' lat. N.

12. The twelfth is Belean, or **Songson**, also called Ascension Island [i.e. Asunción]; it is 12 miles from Agrigan and lies at 20°15' lat. N.

13. Thirteenth and last are three small islands close together and only 5 miles from Belean, which together are called Tinas,² or **Maug**, also San Lorenzo. They lie at 20°35' lat. N.

So many different names, if they are not exactly differentiated, can cause annoying and perplexing confusion in geography and on maps, as well as in historical writing. For that reason, I wanted to differentiate them properly, not only by means of this de-

1 Ed. note: He gives the real reason for the exaggerated statistics on baptisms, but fails to realize that the population at contact was never more than 20,000 to begin with.

2 Ed. note: Written Tunas in HM5:208 & 382.

scription, but also by means of a specially drawn new map, namely all based on Father Augustin Strobach, whose writing, interrupted by these few lines, continues as follows:

He says that the air in the three small islands of Tinian is very moderate and thus also healthy. There are no earthquakes there, which often shake the other 12 Mariana Islands,¹ where every year storms damage crops and trees as well as houses, as we unfortunately learned in the last two years (that is 1681 and 1682), when the residence of San José [in Rota] was initially badly shaken and the next time completely flattened, so that even today I cannot understand how my fellow residents and I could have survived without injuries, although the structure collapsed over our heads. I believe that our merciful God has protected me this time, because He wants to save me for a better death.

In general, the Mariana Islands have plenty of healthy water. On San Juan Island alone, although its length is no more than 40 miles, there are more than 30 creeks and rivers, some quite large and well stocked with fish, although no-one but the most wretched people eat them.

On these islands are neither snakes nor other poisonous animals or vermin, and even the spiders [sic] are so non-poisonous that the natives eat them without suffering any harm, just as any other food.² I am also pleased to report that one seldom sees a louse or a flea, and those are only found in the thick kinky hair of the women, but they are so small and rare that it is not even worth thinking about them. I also cannot imagine where such insects could live on these almost naked bodies, but it is surprising that they will not even grow in their clothes. Nevertheless, their place is taken by countless biting flies and mosquitoes which regard the naked bodies of these people as an open field and fair game, not in the daytime, when they are seldom seen, but at night, when one can hardly defend oneself against them. Many Indians drive them away with smoke, but others sleep in tents because of them. As healthy as it is to walk around in the sunshine here, the more miserably one can perish by taking a stroll in the moonlight.

Our island also has a rich supply of many fruits, such as coconuts, watermelons, [ordinary] melons, plantains, papayas, Indian corn (maize), and rice, which for us missionaries here must substitute for the complete lack of bread, as everywhere in Asia. **Rice** is not grown as often and is not as good on all islands as it is in the Philippines, and for that reason the islanders cook it only on holidays, while at other times they live on certain roots which they call *dago*, or *piga*, with which my servants and I must make do most of the time.

We do not have one, but many harvests, since every month of the year this or that field is harvested. Some fields even bear crops three or four times a year. The present Governor, Master-of-camp Antonio de Saravia, has brought some wheat from America to use as seed, but on the way here it was exposed to too much heat and other

1 Ed. note: What a presumption! The Maug Islands are the remains of a sunken volcano, with the islets being parts of the rim of the former crater.

2 Ed. note: The German text does say "spinnen," i.e. spiders, but it was probably a wrong choice of word to describe small land crabs. They would have looked like large spiders to a European unfamiliar with the tropics.

conditions, so that in many places it did not even germinate, while in others it did, but then failed to grow spikes. Other softer fruits and trees, on the other hand, which he has brought with him from New Spain, are doing quite well, and we will soon find out whether they will bear fruit or not. As far as cotton is concerned, which grows extremely well, we have already had some happy experience, and we hope that our Mariana Islanders of the male gender, who until now have been walking around stark naked, will use cotton to cover their nakedness of which they are now ashamed themselves. In the past, they have also publicly exposed their limbs in all their glory, no matter how they were shaped, while people of other nations are hiding their misshapen bodies under clothes. Now they have changed their mind, and they will trade their possessions for clothes. However, the women, who are unable to do this, step to the side when they encounter a European, to hide their shameful nakedness from our eyes. Oh, what great favor European women could acquire with God if they were to send their surplus in splendid clothes to these poor Indian women, who even before, when they were still heathens, had covered themselves in certain places with shells or leaves, and who are now wearing little aprons which they knit together from the fiber of certain trees, and with which they cover their bodies from the waist to the knee. For that reason, our holy founder, St. Ignatius, must graciously forgive us if we disregard his rule of discipline by which he ordered us to lower our eyes whenever we are in the presence of women. Instead we look up, above their heads, for if we lowered our faces, our eyes might fall upon something that would be to the detriment of angelic purity.

In the past, no four-footed animals lived on these islands. The first was a dog brought here by the Spaniards. Now there are also horses, cows, goats and sheep, and the latter already in great numbers. We are most happy about some things that are lacking, namely silver, gold and precious stones, which means that our Mariana Islanders know nothing about greed. However, the grandees or nobles at the court in Madrid refuse to understand this. They say that if there were no riches in the Mariana Islands, the Jesuits would not stay there. They measure us by their own standards and compare our innocence with their own vices. We, however, take comfort in the words of Christ who said: **“Blessed are ye who are slandered and persecuted and who must suffer lies on my account; be glad and rejoice, for your wages will be great in Heaven.”**¹ This is our treasure and wealth, namely **the immortal crown of future glory** with which God will reward us in His time for our patience, poverty, fear, misery and for the lack of all worldly goods, also for our toil, and for the blood which some members of our Society have shed on these islands in His name. Nevertheless, a nobleman in Cadiz told our Governor that he had seen 12 boxes of gold being unloaded at Labite [rather Cavite] in the Philippines, and sent to Manila by the missionaries in the Marianas. He had greatly annoyed the said Governor, who knew of his greed, no doubt with the intention of gaining passage so that he could diligently explore the veins and rivers from which he thought the missionaries had extracted such riches. Thus the greedy

1 Ed. note: A quote from the Gospel: Matthew 5:10-11.

gentleman almost killed himself trying to discover such treasures, and when he found nothing but misery and extreme poverty among the Indians as well as among the missionaries, he finally had to admit that our teachers of the faith here are good apostolic men **who do not strive for gold and do not hope for money**, but who live in voluntary poverty, completely cut off from human society, seeking nothing but the greater glory of God and the salvation of their fellow-man: a truly great treasure for which the Son of God himself gave His life and His precious blood. That is why we have tried for the second time to become established on the other 11 islands and to station some missionaries there permanently, so that we can completely cleanse all these islands of what remains of heathen superstition, just as we have recently cleansed the two main islands, namely Guahan, or San Juan, and Rota, of all such rubbish, incorporating all the inhabitants in the church of God. Only the strong headwind and the raging seas have so far prevented us from carrying out our plans for the other islands, but this did not discourage us from trying more often. The more Your Reverence and our Province will order such God's work, the sooner we will succeed.

[Native customs]

As far as the customs of the Mariana Islanders are concerned, their language has nothing in common with that of any people other than those of the Tagalogs, a nation situated in the Philippine Islands. But in the inequality of their ranks and castes they are more like the Chinese, or rather like the Indians of Madura,¹ but with the difference that while those are divided into four castes, our Mariana Islanders are only divided into three ranks, namely the nobility, the middle class, and the common people. So strictly do they observe the privileges of one caste over another that the upper class will not mix with the middle class, and the middle class will not mix with the lower caste through marriage or residence or in any other way. They will not even eat what someone from the lower caste has touched, nor drink water from a well from which such a person has drawn water. He must not even come close to their house, but he must remain in the open to tell the other person very briefly what he has to say. Even though the nobler person might be as poor as a beggar and the low-caste person might be a rich man, the former will not relinquish any of his privileged position. One can easily imagine how such pride makes it difficult for us to convert high-ranking persons. A noble man will not be seen in a church together with a commoner, or allow himself to be baptized with the same water, nor talk with a priest who has been seen in the company of lower-ranking persons. But it is becoming easier now, and in spiritual matters they are beginning to recognize that commoners are their fellow human beings because they see that the missionaries deal with all people equally and without loathing anyone.

As far as their former faith is concerned, it is certain that while they did not recognize the true GOD, they did not worship any idols, or devils either, [but] only the bones of their dead, in particular their skulls, which they keep and honor in their houses. They

1 Ed. note: An island of Indonesia, off the north coast of Java, facing the town of Surabaya.

never eat without first offering them the choicest morsels of food. Because of such delusions, they take great care not to walk over a grave, so as not to step on a body with their feet. In other words, although these barbarians kill and murder those alive, they show great respect for the dead, whom they worship with such great devotion because the Devil has often appeared to them and frightened them in the shape of their dead. They show respect, not hoping for any help or good deeds, since they want nothing, neither from the Devil nor from the dead, but because they are in fear of being harmed. They cannot completely leave the dead bodies alone, since they need them for making lances or spears. They let the bodies decompose, and when they are half rotten, they peel the flesh from the leg bones, from which they usually carve 12 spear [tips].¹ They fashion the tip or blade on both sides with jagged edges in the shape of a double-edged saw. These are so lethal that whomever is hit with this weapon will surely die of his wounds, even if only the slightest splinter remains in the flesh, as is almost always the case. The taller the man, the stronger the lances made from his legs, which is why they love to kill tall men. I would not wish to die for this purpose, to be made into 12 spears, although I am not only prepared, but eager to sacrifice my life for Christ.²

Just as they had never seen any places other than their islands, they believed completely that neither land nor man existed outside these islands, and that they were the whole world. However, when various ships arrived from other places, experience convinced them that great realms and countries as well as many people had to exist elsewhere. Yet these arrogant Mariana Islanders still claimed that all nations all over the globe originated from a high rock situated in these islands, whose summit is clearly visible, and which ages ago had been a man who, after he gave birth to a number of children, turned into this great source rock, with the adjunct that the countless peoples grown from it have scattered around the world and foolishly abandoned the pure customs and language of their fatherland, although some, albeit quite spoiled and corrupted, have now returned home aboard these foreign vessels. How bad things must be in those foreign countries, they say, can be easily seen from the rats and mice and other vermin which these people had brought with them to the Mariana Islands, and as easily from the fact that as often as they board a Spanish vessel, they return with a throat-ache and a cold.

Even in heathen times, they had some vague knowledge of our first parents, Adam and Eve, for they believed that the whole human race had been begotten by a certain primal man called **Puntan** and his wife (both of whom had been created without father or mother). But they had some of it wrong, since contrary to the truth they had made this first married couple into gods and creators of all things, saying that all other creatures had come from their bodies, namely heaven and earth from their breast, the sun

1 Ed. note: Although all 3 bones of each limb could be used, as he says, usually only the 8 bigger bones were used for that purpose.

2 Ed. note: Poor Fr. Strobach! He was to suffer this fate, and as usual in the case of missionaries, no more than their skulls were usually recovered by the Spanish later on.

and the moon from their eyes, the rainbow from their eyebrows, and other creatures from their limbs.

In the past, they also did not recognize among themselves any kings, princes or masters other than the head of each tribe who ruled over all others of his people. After his death, his power did not pass to his children, but to his oldest brother, who also inherited and had to adopt his name, so that the ancient name of each tribe was preserved for the people. His sons were not named after their father, but after anything which the parents happened to encounter during his birth. This, however, was not mandatory for them, and they could often change their name at will. This meant that many of them have been baptized two or three times, since they were also entered in the baptismal record by a previous name which they no longer used. They also knew the right of the first-born, since the first-born son inherited everything from the father and then had to deal with his siblings.¹

The household was not ruled by the man, who was not allowed to have anything to do with it, but by the woman, who had so much authority that if the poor man was suspected by his jealous wife of loving another woman more than her, the wife would call her friends and relatives together who would enter the house and send the alleged adulterer packing, dividing his property among themselves as booty. Without allowing any argument, they not only gave the wife the house with everything in it, but also the children of the expelled husband, and then married her to another man whom the children of the previous husband had to recognize as their legal father. We have already stopped this female arrogance to some degree, and we will try everything to bring it to a complete halt. Every man had only one wife, but both spouses were free to divorce each other. The women had no qualms at all about aborting their fetuses; the single girls who happened to become pregnant were even worse in this respect, since young men would not love girls as much once they had given birth, and it would not be easy for such women to find a husband. At a certain plantation [or ranch], a deplorable situation has occurred; women even copulated with the Devil. It was claimed that they really became pregnant during such intercourse, although the evil spirit revealed himself to them after the foul deed had been done, when he stuck his tongue out like a thirsty dog, reaching down to the ground with it.

Nevertheless they love their children like monkeys do, to such detriment that they allow them all mischief without any punishment. To let them have more freedom, they often have their children brought up by relatives, with whom they live like young cattle, doing as they please. For that reason, the parents do not like it when they must send their children to our formal school, although here they are given far better clothes and better food than at home. The children themselves, regardless of the poverty they must endure at home, prefer to be with their parents and relatives rather than with us, just so they can have their freedom without any discipline.

1 Ed. note: To recapitulate, this author says that among the ancient Chamorros, the title or position of a man, if any, passed to his brother, but his property was inherited by his son.

The Mariana Islanders rub their bodies with oil, and it is this oil rather than the sun that colors them black. When one woman visits another on high holidays, the hostess also rubs her guest with oil as a sign of friendship. Many of these barbarians have six rather than five toes on their feet. In the village of Pago, I often saw with my own eyes a boy who walked to church and back home without a companion and without a stick, although he had neither eyes nor a nose. There was nothing but a mouth in his very flat and expressionless face.

The men are proud of the long beards which they grow, although they completely shave their heads, except for the crown where they leave an area the size of a peso on which they let the hair grow into a tip [or tuft?] in the shape of a little sugar cone. However, since they have become Christians, most have begun to wear their hair and beard according to Spanish custom. Their shaving knives are not of iron, but of stone. The women show up sometimes with long, curly hair, sometimes with their hair tied or braided. Every afternoon, when they bathe for three hours, they smear the ends of their hair with lime, which eats into the hair, turning it prematurely white or grey. They are either white or brown when they are born, and it is only the oil that turns them gradually dark-brown.

They keep their **houses** extraordinarily neat and clean, specially those in which they actually live themselves. As a rule, the Mariana Islanders have three separate buildings, one for their household utensils, another for storing their food, and the best house in which members of the household sleep and live. Their bedding consists of two blankets woven of raffia: one on which they lie, and one with which they cover themselves. Instead of a pillow for the head they use a wooden block, Not only their bedding, but also all their tableware, their household utensils and other vessels are made of the same material as the blankets, that is their [drinking] vessels(?),¹ bowls, plates, and so forth, which can hold all kinds of broth, soups and drinks so well that not a drop will seep through. All such blankets and utensils are made by the women. I already said that throughout the year they live on roots, but that they eat rice on holidays. They eat fish as raw as they come from the water, and as long as they are small, I eat them the same way.

Otherwise, the Mariana Islanders are not so savage that, if one were to observe their ways carefully, one would not find any politeness among them. They demonstrate their friendliness readily enough when the ship from the Philippine Islands returns to China [sic] once a year. They guard it for many days in the sea and accompany it for a while. They have proven their charity to the many strangers who have been shipwrecked near their islands. They have shown them all possible kindness, comforted them, housed them and provided them with all necessities. They are so friendly that they visit us not daily, but almost hourly, which is an inconvenience because it interrupts our business. But we can get rid of them soon enough when we give them tobacco of which they are

1 Ed. note: The German word used here is "Küsten," which means coasts/ shores; it is the result of a mis-translation of the original Latin word, I think.

extremely fond. Before the arrival of the Europeans, they knew nothing of this weed, and when they first saw Spaniards with smoking pipes in their mouths, they asked one another: "Who are these strange people who eat fire and exhale smoke with their breath?" But their distaste soon ended when they themselves began to snuff and smoke tobacco. Now they are so overly addicted to its use that men and women, boys and girls walk around with pipes. Indeed, when they are lacking tobacco, they stuff all kinds of other leaves into their pipes and light them, and there is neither end nor measure of smoking and snuffing among them. Our advantage is that these people, who care nothing at all about money, will offer us Europeans anything we need for our comfort, just for tobacco. When we missionaries teach them or admonish them about it, they will listen to us patiently. In the past, their only substitute for money was iron, but since they now have a surplus of such goods which cannot be consumed, they value tobacco above all else, and tobacco has actually become the common currency with which one can buy and obtain anything. For a hen we pay with two tobacco leaves, and for one leaf of tobacco, a Mariana Islander will happily work all day. In order to handle these barbarians, I carry with me, wherever I go, a case of snuff tobacco, so that I can interest anyone whom I meet in the greater glory of God, although I am personally not a friend of tobacco. Previously, glass beads as well as hawk's bells counted for so much that the inhabitants would trade a chicken for one glass bead, and 15 chickens for one bell, and according to that measure they used to sell food to the strangers. But for some years now, they yearn for nothing but tobacco, and I can tell you that we must instill the Christian faith not only through the ears and the mouths of these Indians, but also through their nostrils. Whatever objects they like best, they wear around their necks, one this and another that, such as bells, glass beads, a needle, a knife and so forth. They wear this junk hanging from their necks, not in front over their chest, but in the back over their shoulders. In addition to tobacco, they also love clothes, which I have already mentioned.

To describe their politeness even better, I must not forget to relate that when they meet each other, it is not their custom to say good morning, good day or good evening. Instead, they offer to wash each other's feet. As they approach our missionaries in the street, they greet them with: "**Praise be to the most holy sacrament of the altar.**" If there are several of them, they will say such words in unison. Once they come close to the priest, the men and boys will kiss his right hand and say *Madios* instead of *A Dios*: **May God be with you.**¹

No Mariana Islander will ever eat or drink before he has warm-heartedly offered something to all others present, or he will divide the food in as many parts as there are persons present and hand everyone his portion, keeping only the last and generally the poorest for himself. When they drink, they do not bring the vessel to their lips, but pour the liquid into their mouths from a distance. They regard it as rude to touch with their

1 Ed. note: At the beginning of the mission, they used to say *Si Dios maasi*.

lips a vessel from which another person is to drink as well. They do not tolerate any rubbish in their houses. People are not allowed to spit inside the room but must go out into the street with their mouths full. To relieve themselves (*salva venia*)¹ they go all the way to the seashore. For that reason, they initially abhorred our baptismal ceremonies during which the priest touches noses and ears with his saliva.

They are so curious and nosy that as soon as a ship arrives from America, they make it their business to inspect everything it brings. If they see anything strange on which they have never set their eyes before, they are in the habit of saying: **“Now that I have experienced and looked upon these beautiful things, I am ready to die.”**

Nothing is more admirable than their affection. No Mariana Islander will ever deny another what he desires, even when the other does not express his wishes. If a man sees something he likes, he will say straight out to the owner: **“I want this or that.”** As soon as he has said it, the owner will make no excuses but give it to him. This is the case not only with adults, but also with small children. If one child should want a piece of food that another is about to put into his mouth, it is given to him, and a child would rather go hungry than to deny something to a playmate. A Mariana Islander will even share a tobacco leaf, for which he has worked hard all day, with a neighbor whom he happens to meet. In the beginning, these generous people thought that all men were as honest as they were, and they became very annoyed with the Christians who denied them the things they wanted, regarding them as rude barbarians who have no room for love.

When a Mariana Islander becomes ill, all his friends, even from far-away villages, come together to comfort, refresh and entertain the patient. They stay with him until he is either well again or has passed away. If the patient does not like any food or drink, they never tell him that he must take it or force it on him. They will not deny him anything, whether it be beneficial or detrimental, for the patient's will must be done, even when he requests something that contributes to his demise.

They tolerate with infinite patience another person's bad smell, illness and other awful things without making the patient feel sad, and without avoiding him. Several of them have scabs and leprosy all over their body, all full of pus and sores, in other words, like living cadavers, so that it seems almost impossible to tolerate their bad smell and their awful appearance. However, the Mariana Islanders pay no attention but endure it with incredible patience and even with happy indifference, which is the reason why they always look cheerful and jovial. There is no vice to which they are less subject than drinking. With great care they abstain from all drinks that intoxicate and dull the mind, although there is no lack of [coconut] palm trees from which other Indians extract a strong wine.

1 Ed. note: A Latin expression which means, I think: “except if they cannot help it.”

Document 1682I

Account of the events in the Mariana Islands, by Fr. Angelis

Source: Present location unknown; 15-page ms. offered for sale by Maggs Bros. of London in 1923 for 25 pounds, i.e. \$125 (Cat. N° 442, n° 1877, pp. 151-152) and again in 1927 (Cat. N° 491, n° 50); cited in S&D 21: 50

Summary.

The events in question start with the arrival of the author aboard the galleon **San Telmo** at the port of Umatac, on 15 June 1681, with Fathers Boranga, Strobach, Tilpe, and Zarzosa. Their initial postings were as follows: Fr. Tilpe and Fr. Zarzosa to Agaña to minister to the soldiers and the students of the college; Fr. Boranga to assist Fr. Cardeñoso at the Residence of Agaña; Fr. Strobach to assist Fr. Coomans in Pago;¹ Fr. de Angelis to assist Fr. Le Roulx in Inarajan. He then talks about baptisms, the new station at Ritidian, the visit that Fr. Superior, Solorzano, made to Rota, and the murderers of Fr. Sanvitores living there in hiding, etc.

Extract of a report sent from Rota in 1682

I trust in God that some of the brief letters I wrote your Reverence last year on setting foot in these Islands, will have reached you safely. Although hurried notes, I was anxious to send them that you might have news of my arrival here, and that I have been, after all, destined for the cultivation of those poor souls... It seemed impossible that I could have arrived safe and sound after my many trials and poor health... but God must have heard all your prayers and the many others of my dear Fathers and Brothers; and I had the benign protection of Holy Mary, who has given her glorious name to these Islands, and who, I trust, will ever regard them as truly Marian...

1 Ed. note: By 1682, most of the assignments had changed, e.g. Fr. Coomans had been transferred to Rota, and so had Fr. Angelis.

We set foot in these Islands on the feast day of the Martyrs and Patrons of these Islands, Vitus, Modestus, and Crescentius, and of the Ven. Father Diego Luis San Vitores...

We disembarked from the vessel **San Telmo** on 15 June 1681, Father Carlos Boranga, Father Agustin Strobak, Father Juan Tilpe, Father Diego Zarzosa and I, at Umatag, a small port on the Island of San Juan; but at Agatña, which is the seat of Government, where are the Governor, the Garrison and Father Superior of this Mission, we were unable to cast anchor...

Arrived on land, we were received with peals of bells and hearty embraces by the Vice Provincial and other Fathers. The hospitality lasted as long as the means of this poor island allowed; until St. Ignatius' Day we remained at Agatña... when his Reverence dispersed us over the island. Father Juan Tilpe and Fr. Diego Zarzosa remained at Agatña, to assist in the spiritual culture of the soldiery, and to take charge of a seminary for boys, who are taught to read, write, sing in the choir and other subjects which they are capable of understanding... and where there is a shortage of teachers, these boys are retained at the seminary until they reach man's estate; and when they marry, they are given clothing for themselves and their wives, tobacco, a knife, timber, etc—of which are the riches of this land... Very often, good interpreters emanate from this college, who help the newly-arrived Fathers like myself; and they live Christian lives as an example to the others. I can say the same of the girls.

Father Carlos Boranga was sent to the Residence at Agatña to accompany Fr. Thomas Cardeñoso, one of the first companions of Father Diego [Luis] de San Vitores; Father Agustin Estrobak, to the one at Pago in company with Father Comano; Theophilo [i.e. himself] to the one at Venasaga¹ to serve [with] Fr. Basilio Le Roulx, in praise of whom much might be written.

In a short time I baptized 68 persons here, 6 boys and the rest adults. After a short time had elapsed, in which the Island enjoyed the blessings of God and peace among the Islanders, the Fathers tried to raise a new Residence at **Riti[di]jan**, 7 leagues from Agatña, where a year ago, the angry mob had burned it down, and Father Gerardo Bouwens had risked his life in the manifestation of his piety, seeing his beloved companions killed before his eyes... and the dissolute orgies of the natives, who had chafed under lawful control and waged war against us... when the Fathers had been obliged to relieve the few soldiers on sentry duties, by day and night, and had had little else but cabbage leaves to eat.

[The writer relates in detail the many struggles that had ensued between the natives and the Government, and how Father Bouwens had worked indefatigably for the restoration of order, aided by a younger priest, Lorenzo Bustillo. He also gives an account of the Vice Provincial's visit to the Island of Rota.]

On the Father Vice Provincial's return from the Conference, it was decided to erect a new Residence in the Island of **Rota**, in the midst of which could be gathered all the

1 Ed. note: Misprint for Inarajan.

scattered Islanders, they themselves offering to come down from the mountains and erect their little homesteads in the vicinity of the Father's home... Thus, everything being arranged with Master-of-Camp Don Antonio de Saravia, Governor of these Islands, they spent the early part of Lent of the year 1682 in starting this enterprise.

[He gives news of other communities.]

They [i.e. the two murderers of Father Diego Luis de San Vitores] were hiding in this island of Rota in fear of imprisonment... One of them shot some arrows at the church one night, which were found there the next day; and another time, he made an attempt on the life of Brother Balthasar Dubois, when he was looking for wood for the building... The whole Island is against these two evil-doers, and they have volunteered to guard the Fathers until they capture the delinquents, and they go out daily in search of them, in order to secure absolute peace... although it may be a greater glory to give our lives in this way, it is nevertheless advisable to defend ourselves, for the good of these poor souls, whose only Idol is their own flesh... but little by little, we are bringing them to a more moral mode of life... Nearly all of them this year have been married according to the rules of the Council of Trent, and not as was their custom, which was, to regard a woman as their wife until such time as either of them was angered, when the injured party left the other and sought another mate, the children remaining with their mother... Day by day, they come to us to be married, saying in their native tongue: "Father, I desire to marry according to the law of God, as the native form of marriage is forbidden."

[He describes graphically the new Residence, which is built entirely of wood, and painted white...]

... And, we have laid down much matting in the church...

Saint Francis Xavier used to say that, among the Indians, there was little salvation to expect for the adults, and that the only good one could derive from the Indies was the salvation of the little ones... So have I found it, on account of their excessive liberty and the difficulty they experience in keeping the commandments... but I hope on for their salvation...

On feast days when they come to mass they foregather outside the church until the Father summons them with a bell. This is the signal that they are to bear the standard of our Redemption, and they form a procession. Then the congregants of the various districts proceed with their Chief and Officers in front, the children following behind the standard bearer, and after them, the rest of the procession in twos, the men on one side, the women on the other. On raising the banner aloft, they chant the *Sarfahon*, which [in their language] is *Per signum*,¹ etc. They continue in procession, singing the *Ave Maria* in their own tongue, and on arrival at the church, they go down upon their knees and pray to *Asayna* [rather *Sayna*], God, which is a prayer of contrition.² After that, holy water is sprinkled, and the mass begins, and two or three children chant the

1 Ed. note: That is, the sign of the Cross: "In the name of the Father, etc." (see HM4:664).

2 Ed. note: Rather, it was the Our Father (see HM4:667).

lessons in their native tongue, which all the others repeat. This lasts for a quarter of an hour after the mass; and, on the conclusion of the *Salve*, and Act of Contrition, the Father delivers a short sermon... and with that they return to their homes...



European model for the first school for boys at Agaña, Guam.

Documents 1682J

Other letters from Fr. Solorzano in 1682

J1. Letter to Fr. Provincial of Bohemia, dated Agadña 20 May 1682

Source: Fr. Emmanuele de Boye's Vita P. Strobach, pp. 72-74.

Note: This rare book is available at the Vienna Library and in the Vatican Library

[If found, may be published later in the supplementary volume]

J2. Letter to Prince Vicente Gonzaga, dated Agaña 30 May 1682

Sources: AGI Fil. 12-1-5, pp. 23-26, formerly in 11-8-92 and/or 67-6-11; a copy, sent attached to a letter from the Governor of the Philippines (Doc. 1684R), is in AGI Ultramar 562, col. Simancas 2, folios 9-12; copy in Col. Pastells, Fil. 1, pp. 342-347.

Note: Prince Gonzaga was then Acting President of the Council of the Indies, a post he filled from 1680 to 1685, in replacement of the Duke of Medinaceli who was then too busy serving as Prime Minister of Spain.

Summary made by the Secretary of the Council of the Indies.

Father Manuel de Solorzano of the Society of Jesus, Superior of that Mission, dated 30 May 1682.

It was given by His Excellency the Prince, Don Vicente Gonzaga, on 21 August 1685.

Wherein, he tells him: 1) of the good outcome that resulted from his having provided a Governorship for that country, and having sent to fill this post the Master-of-Camp Don Antonio Saravia, whom he approves of;

2) that a fortress was being built and that a boat had been built;

3) that there had been a large number of baptisms, of babies, and of old people on the point of death, and that churches had been erected;

4) that in order to advance this Mission, he proposes that in future Governors to be sent there be later appointed to the Government of the Philippines, for reasons mentioned therein;

5) that the Governor of the Philippines has not remitted the boat that he had been ordered to send;

6) the Generals of the galleons of the Philippine run have not obeyed either at every opportunity the order they have, to touch at the Marianas on their way back, and when they have, they have applied freight charges on the freight they have carried for that Mission;

7) and he begs that some remedy be given to the above points.

Warning: With regard to the boat, the Governor of the Philippines advises that he has already sent it, in his letter dated 26 June 1684 (Doc. 1684R).

Original text in Spanish.

Excelentissimo Señor

Llega al amparo de V^a Exc^a la Mission Mariana, despues de las muchas persecuciones, que por algunos años la han trabajado, y affligido, pero que favorecida de la gran piedad, y Catholico zelo de V^a Exc^a pueda con mas libertad establecer [se/la fe] en todas estas Islas, y dilatarla en otras muchas naciones y Reynos. Y como despues que V^a Exc^a gobierna la Presidencia de Indias recibimos de su Magd. una merced tan señalada como fue el proveer de gobierno estas Islas con el titulo de Governador y Capitan General en la persona del Maestre de Campo D. Antonio Sarabia, es forzoso que la Mission, y yo como cabeza y Superior della damos quenta a V^a Exc^a de los buenos efectos que de este gobierno se han seguido para el servicio de ambas Magestades, y de los aumentos, que esta Christiandad ha tenido desde que entro en esta[s] Isla[s] el dicho Maestro de Campo D. Antonio Sarabia, para que afficionado V^a Exc^a a esta nueva Yglesia, y tierna planta la ampare, defienda y favorezca, y para que no se olvide V^a Esc^a de un soldado suyo que con tantos trabajos y peligros de la vida, ha venido a Marianas, y en ellas sirve a su Magd. tan desinteresadamente, y con tanta fineza.

Llego a estas Islas el Maestro de Campo D. Antonio Sarabia por Junio de el año pasado de 1681 falto de salud, y fatigado de los achaques, que le sobrevieron en Mexico, y no fueron bastantes para hacerle desistir de su venida a estas Islas, por mas que procuraron persuadirselo los medicos, y todo genero de personas, por el peligro manifesto a que ponía su vida, y aviendo reconocido el estado de los Naturales, por medio de los informes que yo le di de todo, y como se podia adelantar mucho esta Christiandad, sin dilacion ninguna mando poner en execucion los medios necesarios para el aumento y estabilidad de la Fe, no solo en estas, sino tambien en las demas Islas.

Alentados con esto los Ministros Evangelicos, y socorridos con cinco Sacerdotes, que llegaron este año, comenzaron con grande empeño a trabajar en la reducion de estos barbaros, de suerte que en buen tiempo toda la Isla se vio Christiana y sujeta a las leyes Divinas, y Ecclesiasticas, desechados sus antiguos Ritos, y barbaros costumbres: y assi tambien el Maestre de Campo D. Antonio Sarabia, procura perficionarla en lo politico, imponiendoles otras, premiando benemeritos, castigando culpados, y noscivos, poniendo entre los Naturales gobierno, y Ministros competentes de Justicia.

Repartio tierras obligando a beneficiarlas, y proveyo de quien enseñasse a hilar, y texar a sus Naturales para remediar la summa desnudez de estas gentes.

Pasamos a Evangelizar en otras quatro Islas, y hicieron se gran numero de bautismos de los parvulos, que por espacio de nueve años, que duro la persecucion, avian nacido. Socorrieronse muchos ancianos moribundos y finalmente, se plantaron los estandardes de la fe en la Isla de Rota, donde se levantaron templos, y se quedaron tres Religiosos para administrarla, y establezer en ella las costumbres, y leyes Christianas.

*Fabrica se al presente una **fortaleza** en este Real de Agaña en la Isla de S. Juan, la qual por disposicion de D. Antonio Sarabia hico en mis manos libremente Juramento de fidelidad, y vasallaje a su Magd. con la solemnidad, y circunstancias debidas. Y atendiendo a la falta de embarcacion, que padezemos tan necessaria para los aumentos de esta Christiandad se ha hecho assi mismo un barco de 29 o treinta codos de largo, que importara mucho, y todo con designio de visitar por si mismo el Governador las Islas, y assentar las cosas como conviene. Hase reedificado el Collegio o Seminario de las Niñas Naturales de summa importancia, para la firmeza de esta Christiandad, y finalmente se han obrado otras cosas mui buenas y esperamos el año siguiente mayores aumentos debidos al zelo, y empeño con que el Maestre de Campo nos favoreze en causa tan pia, cooperando en quanto puede a la propagacion de la Fe Catholica.*

Todo lo qual me obliga a supplicar de parte de esta Mission, con grande empeño a V^a Exc^a se sirve de ampararla procurando se perficione este gobierno de Marianas, ya que se ha empezado con tanto acierto, lo qual se hara facilmente si su Magd. da la futura del Gobierno de Filippinas a los Governadores, que son o fueren de Marianas. Porque de otra suerte no podra subsistir este gobierno en hombres de tantas prendas, como concurren en la persona de un Maestre de Campo, y la razon de este es la summa pobreza de estas Islas Marianas, donde no se halla cosa de interes, como es buen testigo el Maestre de Campo D. Antonio Sarabia. y assi quando conste a todos, que el Gobierno Mariano no tiene interes ninguno, y solo tiene el ser tan remoto, y peligroso, no abra persona tal que quiera admitirlo, y avra de recaer en personas ineptas con mengua de la Christiandad.

La importancia de la futura dicha, es grande para la propagacion de la fe en estas y otras Islas, y para las de Filippinas. Para estas, porque la Republica de Manila dexara de contradecir nos, sabiendo que en ello disgustara a quien la ha de gobernar despues y el Governador de Manila procurara favorezernos por muchos respetos, y el Governador de Marianas aviendo experimentado las necessidades de estas Islas, las socorrera despues con todo lo necessario, pues naturalmente les ha de tener alguna compassion y affecto. Para las Filippinas es de grande importancia, porque si acaso faltaba Governador en ellas, tenian a la puerta el Successor, sin que se llegase a reconocer los inconvenientes, que en tales ocasiones a avido en Manila. y por otras razones, que se dexan entender, y yo no digo por no alargar demasiadamente esta carta.

Tambien necessitamos que V^a Exc^a nos favorezca poniendo el remedio, que se requiere para que el Governador de Filippinas, quiera, y acabe de obedezzer las Reales Zedulas de su Magd. en que mandase nos provea de un Patache para el comercio de

estas Islas, y progressos desta Christiandad, para lo qual mando su Magd. librar el dinero bastante y pára en poder del Governador de Manila, pero el Patache se a quedado en idea sin que sea possible recavar la execucion: por la contrariedad que impiamente (si es licito decir lo assi) hace Manila a esta Mission, y Christiandad, con razones falsas, contrarias a la razon recta, y a la experiencia. y aunque es verdad que el Governador D. Juan de Vargas Hurtado, dicen apercebia, para Marianas cierta embarcacion que llaman Balandra, y abia de aver llegado aca por Mayo de 1681 [pero] la dicha Balandra no ha llegado, ni sabemos todavia si salio o no de Manila.

Tampoco se puede conseguir de los Generales de estas Naos, que den fondo en el Puerto de esta Isla, para dexarnos el socorro, por mas que su Magd. lo aya mandado en repetidas zedulas, y órdenes, y siendo una cosa de summa conveniencia para las mismas Naos, cuyos Generales nos hacen á mas de esto tributarios, sacando un tanto de flete, por cada pieza, que se embarca para Marianas, siendo assi, que su Magd. quiere, que se traygan sin que se paguen ningunos derechos; y de este tributo aun no se escapa la ropa del Maestre de Campo D. Antonio Sarabia, el qual informara mejor de ello, y de otras cosas a V^a Exc^a.

A quien supplico me perdone lo prolixo de la carta, y tenga por bien de favorecernos amparando esta nueva Christiandad y poniendo el remedio eficaz a las cosas, que he apuntado, pues en ello hace V^a Exc^a una obra muy aceptable à Dios y se hara V^a Exc^a principal agente en la conversion de las almas y propagacion de Nuestra Santa Fe Catholica, cuya dilatacion y aumento depende de estos medios humanos, y entre tanto nuestra obligacion es, como de fieles servidores, y Capellanes, de V^a Exc^a rogar a Dios guarde, y prospere muchos años la vida de V^a Exc^a y le guie y acompañe en todas sus cosas para gloria suya, y bien de la Monarchia Española.

Desta Isla de S. Juan en el pueblo de Agaña a 30 de Mayo de 1682.

Excellentissimo Señor

B. L. M. de V^a Ex^a.

Su menor servidor y humilde capellan,

+

Manuel de Solorzano.

Translation.

Your Excellency:

The Mariana Mission seeks the protection of Your Excellency. After many persecutions that have affected and afflicted it for a few years, but favored by the great piety and Catholic zeal of Y.E., it can with more freedom establish the faith in all these Islands, and propagate it to many other nations and kingdoms. Since after Y.E. took over the presidency of the [Council of the] Indies, we have received from H.M. a favor as remarkable as the provision of a Governor for these Islands, with the title of Governor and Captain General, in the person of Master-of-Camp Don Antonio Saravia, it is unavoidable that the Mission, and I, as Superior in charge of it, report to Y.E. the good effects that this Governor has had, in the service of both Majesties, upon the in-

creases made by this Christian community since said Master-of-camp, Don Antonio de Saravia, arrived at this Island, so that Y.E. may be pleased with this new Church, and this tender plant of hers, and will protect, defend and favor it, and also to remind Y.E. of a soldier of yours who has suffered so many hardships and endangered his life in coming to the Marianas, and has served H.M. very disinterestedly there and with such a great flair.

Master-of-camp Don Antonio de Saravia arrived at these Islands in June of last year 1681 with failing health and tired as a result of the illness that hit him in Mexico, but it was not sufficient to make him desist from his coming to these Islands, even though the physicians and all sorts of persons tried to persuade him to give up, on account of the obvious danger to which he exposed his life. Having informed himself of the condition of the natives, through the reports that I gave to him about everything, and about the means that could be taken to make this Christian community progress, he immediately ordered that the necessary means for the increase and stability of the faith be carried out, not only in this Island but also in the others.

The Gospel ministers were encouraged by this, and given the succor of five priests who arrived this year, they began to make great efforts in working at the reduction of these barbarians, so that within a short time the whole Island was seen to be Christian and subject to the divine and ecclesiastical laws, its ancient rites and barbaric customs rejected. For his part, Master-of-camp Don Antonio de Saravia tries to improve it in the political arena, by imposing other laws, by rewarding the deserving ones, by punishing the guilty and evil-doers, and by appointing competent leaders and justices to control them. He distributed lands, with the obligation to cultivate them, and provided someone to teach the natives how to spin and weave in order to solve the problem of extreme nudity in these peoples.¹

We carried the Gospel to 4 other Islands, and we made a large number of baptisms among the children who had been born during the period of 9 years that the persecution had lasted. Many old and dying people were assisted and finally the standards of the faith were planted in the Island of Rota, where churches were raised and three religious remained there to administer it, and to establish there the Christian customs and laws.

At this time, a fort is being built in this royal camp of Agaña, in the Island of San Juan. By arrangement of Don Antonio de Saravia, with due solemnity and circumstance, he freely swore allegiance to H.M. in my hands. In view of the fact that we are still suffering the absence of the vessel that is so necessary for the progress of this Christian community, a boat of about 29² or 30 cubits in length was also built, one that will be very important, and this the Governor did with the intention of visiting the islands in person and to settle the affairs properly. The College or Seminary for girls has been

1 Ed. note: Although the culture of cotton may have started at this time, we learn from the Belgian letters that they may also have used the fluff from the cotton-tree, or kapok, as in the Philippines.
2 Ed. note: The Ultramar copy says 25, instead of 29, in error.

rebuilt; it is of extreme importance for a firm establishment of this Christian community. Finally, many other very good things have been done, and for next year we hope for much more progress, thanks to the zeal and efforts with which the Master-of-camp is favoring us, in such a pious cause, by cooperating as much as he can to propagate the Catholic faith.

All of this obliges me, on behalf of this Mission, to make a great effort to beg Y.E. to please protect it, by trying to improve this Government of the Marianas, now that a beginning has so easily been made; this will surely be achieved if H.M. gives the future government of the Philippines to the Governors who are, or will be, of the Marianas, because otherwise this government could not continue to attract men with such good qualifications as those that are seen in the person of a Master-of-camp, and the reason for this is the extreme poverty of these Mariana Islands, where nothing of interest can be found, and a good witness of this is Master-of-camp Don Antonio de Saravia. Thus, when it will be reported that the government of the Marianas does not have anything of interest to recommend it, except its remoteness and its dangers, there will not be found a person to accept the post, and it will fall into the hands of inept persons, much to the discredit of Christianity.

The importance of said future appointments is great for the propagation of the faith in these Islands and for the Philippine Islands. For these Islands, because the government in Manila would stop opposing us, knowing full well that in doing so they would displease the man who must govern it later on, and the Governor of the Philippines would try to favor us for many reasons, and the Governor of the Marianas, having experienced the needs of these Islands, would succor them afterward with everything necessary; indeed, he should naturally have some compassion and affection for it. It is of great importance for the Philippines, because, failing a Governor there, they would have at hand the successor, without a need to mention the well-known disadvantages that have affected Manila on such occasions, and for other reasons that are understood, and that I do not need to state, so as not to lengthen this letter too much.

We also need that Y.E. favor us by putting the required remedy to make the Governor of the Philippines accept and obey the royal decrees of H.M., by which he is ordered to provide us with a Patache for communication with these Islands and the progress of this Christian community, for which H.M. sent enough money, now held by the Governor of Manila, but the Patache has remained a project, and it has not been possible to overcome the opposition that Manila impiously (if I may be permitted to say this) puts up against this Mission and Christian community, with false reasons, contrary to logic and to experience. And though it may be true what they say, that Governor Don Juan de Vargas Hurtado meant to send to the Marianas a certain vessel that they call a Sloop, and that it should have gotten here by May of 1681, said sloop has not arrived and we do not know whether or not it has left Manila.

Neither can we get the Generals of these galleons to anchor in the port of this Island in order to leave us the succor, no matter how many times H.M. has ordered them in repeated decrees and orders, this being something of extreme importance for the gal-

leons themselves. Furthermore, the Generals of said galleons are making us their tributaries, by taking out a certain amount as fees for transporting each bundle [of freight] shipped to the Marianas, although H.M. has declared that goods be carried without the payment of any duties. Even the clothing of Master-of-camp Don Antonio de Saravia did not escape [the payment of] this tribute, as he will more aptly report to Y.E. about it, and about other things.

Please pardon me for the length of this letter, and may you consider it worthwhile to favor us by protecting this new Christian community, and putting an efficient remedy to the things that I have listed, because in so doing, Y.E. does a pious work that is very acceptable to our Holy Catholic faith, whose propagation and development depend on such human means, and in the meantime, our obligation is that of faithful servants, and Chaplains, of Y.E. and we beg God to preserve the life of Y.E. and make it prosper for many years. May He guide and accompany you in all the things that you do for His glory and good of the Spanish monarchy.

From this Island of San Juan in the town of Agaña, 30 May 1682.

Your Excellency.

The least servant and humble Chaplain of Y.E., who kisses your hands,
Manuel de Solorzano.

Documents 1682K

Letters from Captain Quiroga to the Duchess of Aveiro in 1682

K1. Letter dated Anparo [sic] 30 May 1682

Source: Present location unknown; 3-page ms. cited by S&D 21: 49.

Note: This letter was written from somewhere in the Marianas. Therefore, Anparo must be a misprint, perhaps for Agaña.

[If found, may be reproduced in the supplementary volume.]

K2. Letter dated Manila [rather Marianas] 12 June 1682

Source: Present location unknown; 2-page ms. offered for sale by Maggs Bros. of London in 1923 for 5 pounds (Cat. N° 442, n° 1887, p. 160) and bought in 1924 by the Count of Arellana.

Note: On this date, 12 June, the galleon San Antonio was leaving Umatac.

Extract in the Maggs Catalog.

...

Greatly indebted to you for the many favors accorded me, I write these lines to place myself at your service, as one of the most affectionate servants of that House which I have always hoped that God would bless... I do not doubt that the Lord who has adorned them with such gracious gifts will make them truly His... for it is well said that "by the fruits shall ye know the tree"—for a bad tree cannot yield good fruit any more than a good tree can omit to do so, according to the Gospel...

In my last letter to you I enclosed a letter which was in my opinion very precious, concerning the Martyrs, who, in defence of the Faith, died in the Marianas. These are the Ven. Father Diego Luis de San Vitores, and the Ven. Father Esquerra... worthy of every consideration by reason of their sanctity. I shall be extremely glad to hear that you have received this most valuable souvenir.

...

Document 1682L

**Letter from Fr. Antonio Rodriguez to
the Duchess of Aveiro, dated Manila
4 June 1682**

Source: Present location unknown; 2-page ms. offered for sale by Maggs Bros. of London in 1923 for 15 pounds (Cat. N° 442, n° 1880, p. 156); cited in S&D V: 354.

News about the Chinese and Philippine Missions**Extract in the Maggs Catalog.**

...

Even if I filled numerous pages, I could not then express my delight at receiving news of your Grace, for to those of us who are in this remote corner of the earth, it is a great comfort to receive news from Europe, and specially from those whom we esteem and keep in good remembrance.

I assure you that it is nearly three years since we have had news from Spain, and that which we have now received being so good, I leave it to you to realize the joy it brought us.

I refrain from giving you the latest news of the Mariana Missions, because you will have received this last year by the ships that arrived in your country. At the same time, the vessel which was bound for the Marianas, was compelled to put in at these Islands, after encountering one of the fiercest gales the islands have ever experienced. Speaking frankly, this was because they did not leave here in good weather [i.e. season], which prompted Father Xaramillo to suggest they should start again when the weather was more favorable, but he has not been able to get anything from the Governor, in spite of his efforts these past two years...

With regard to the Chinese Mission...

[Rest omitted]

Document 1682M

Letter from Fr. Salgado to the Duchess of Aveiro, dated Manila 8 June 1682

Source: NLA ms. 1428; cited in Butler, and in Lietz' Calendar of Philippine Documents.

Synopsis by Lietz.

Salgado complains of the mail service. He congratulates the Duchess on her efforts to get a good governor for the Marianas. The people of those islands did not have a person they could trust and were fleeing from the settlements. On the ship which brought the governor of the islands, Don José [Quiroga, lay brother of the mission] left for Manila. He planned to go to Mexico and ask the bishop there for alms for the mission. The excuse was frivolous. Moreover, he was missed very much in the Marianas where he was an effective leader against the Indians, even replacing the ineffective governor [Salas]. Salgado has insisted that José stay in Manila pending arrival of an order from the Duchess or from the Duke of Medinaceli sending him back to the Marianas.

Prospective missionaries of the Order should be required to finish their studies in Manila, rather than in Mexico, before going to the Marianas. It is important, too, that they finish their studies before entering the mission. Only three of the Jesuits who last came have remained in the Marianas.¹ Insanity and illness accounted for the loss of two other prospects. Another, although he had finished his studies, was allowed to make the journey but was not accepted by the superior in the Marianas, Fr. Bartolomé Besco, because he could not be supported.

Salgado believes that not merely love and reason are necessary for the conversion of the natives, but that force and the fear of military might must be mingled with these, otherwise nothing will be accomplished and there will be great risk. Guam is the site of all the mission work being done. It covers a rather small area of only six towns, the largest of which has about 1,200 souls. There is a lack of shipping communications with the Philippines. In 1681, an attempt was made to send a ship, but it was the wrong time

¹ Ed. note: That was in 1679, when Fr. Besco was superior.

of year and the attempt failed. Now the governor pleads lack of funds for a second attempt. Fr. Xaramillo is in Manila to plead for the mission.

The mission of Siao [in Celebes] has been destroyed by the Dutch who plotted against the King and carried off the missionaries to Ternate. After a time in jail they were released and returned to Manila by way of Macao. Three have since left for China. The principal difficulty of the mission is the expenses. In addition to what can be raised, certain items must be purchased.]¹

Full translation of the letter

JHS²

I have been very favored to find myself in receipt of a letter from Your Excellency, and very happy to hear about the state of your health, which is so important; may God keep it going and increase it as I beg Him to do, for His greater glory, the progress of the apostolic missions, and the good of numberless souls. The said letter is dated 5 September 1679. I received it during July of last year [1681], and could not answer it then as the galleon, that is sent every year from here to New Spain, had already left. I have not received any other from Y.E. since I left Europe. There would have been many written to me by Y.E., because in the one that did make it into my hands, brought to me by the Governor of the Marianas,³ Y.E. tells me that on the same date you had written another longer one, inside the envelope for Fr. Vidal, and another one previously; I have received neither the one from Fr. Vidal's envelope nor the preceding one, not even the other that Fr. Francisco Garcia told me about in one of his letters of 1680, saying that Y.E. wrote to me that year to notify me of a certain foundation for the Marianas. I am not surprised that the letter of 1680 did not make it into my hands, because as the fleet left, the galleon in which came our mission [band] ran aground, and in it many papers and letters were left behind; but those of 1679, I do not know how they got lost. The same thing has happened to the letters I wrote to Y.E. that same year of 1679 from Mexico (perhaps two of them, or at least one very long one), since Y.E. tells me that she had not received any letter from me after my departure; I know that the other letters have arrived which I wrote to Madrid to various individuals, from whom I have had answers. I do not know what the problem is, as I wrote all of them at the same place, and time, and remitting them all together to one person. After I arrived at my province in the Philippines, I have written to Y.E. two or three letters, all of them long ones, at least I have not lost any opportunity offered by the galleon that goes to New Spain, except the first one because it had already left the port when I arrived. It is

1 Ed. note: The following year, 1683, Fr. Salgado became Provincial of the Philippine Province of the Jesuits.

2 Ed. note: Latin acronym meaning: "Jesus, Savior of Mankind."

3 Ed. note: Captain Quiroga who boarded the galleon to Manila, upon the arrival of Master-of-Camp Saravia.

true that I have not written to Y.E. by way of the Dutch because I do not think it to be safe and because Fr. Xaramillo, who lives in Manila, knew accurately what was the best way to send letters. However, leaving such a preamble, I now go on to answer the letter of Y.E., and to the few but very substantial points contained in it.

I declare that it mattered very much that Y.E. succeeded in sending such a ranking Governor to the Marianas¹ and one with such good habits, as they say, because soldiers do nothing [good] if their officer is not good, and more so those of the Marianas, about whom a member of our third order, José Quiroga, told me that he had no-one he could trust there, and when he did not go out with them they did nothing worthwhile, and dared not face the enemy, and thus he was obliged to accompany them to every battle, no matter how small. It is also important for such an individual to [have] come as Governor of the Marianas, in order to impress all those here with the great importance that the King, and his Council of the Indies, give to the Mariana Mission, and to the conversion of those islanders. Right after the said Governor arrived at the Marianas, and in the same galleon, Don José got on board and came to Manila, without the Fathers, and the Governor who succeeded him, being able to detain him. We have asked him here why he had come and abandoned the mission for which they had taken him from Spain; he answered that he came to go on from here to Mexico to ask for a good alm from the Archbishop of Mexico on behalf of the Marianas. The said Archbishop, who is an angel, is a relative of his, and is named Don Francisco de Aguiar y Seyjas. The excuse appears frivolous because the alm is uncertain, and he will be missed in the Marianas, where, as he himself admits, there is no man of valor, except the Governor who, on account of being disabled, will find himself unable to follow [sic] the soldiers in battles, specially as such battles, according to the said Don José, commonly take place amid rocky thickets and high ridges where the Indians fortify themselves. Thus, Don José, who is in good health, has strength and valor, could have captained and encouraged the soldiers instead of the Governor. Even if he were to get some alm from the Archbishop, it would not be fat enough to deserve the effort, as so much more is spent during long crossings. All of this, and much more, we told the good Don José, and he admitted that he had made a mistake. Thus, we persuaded him to return immediately to the Marianas, without going to Mexico, aboard a vessel that we think the Governor will send on a direct route to the said Marianas; the delivery of this vessel did not take place, as I will say below. I see that he is trying to go to Mexico a second time regardless of all that was said; I have told him that, with respect to the alm, it is superfluous for him to go there, because he can ask for it by letter. He excuses himself by saying that the Governor has no plan to send the vessel from here immediately to the Marianas. Thus, he intends to go there by way of Mexico. However, because I do not know whether he will change his mind or not, once in Mexico, I will continue to insist that he remain here until we see if, in the galleon that we hope will come from New Spain soon, there will come some letters from either Y.E., or the Duke of Medinaceli

1 Ed. note: Master-of-Camp, i.e. Colonel, Antonio Saravia.

in which he [i.e. the Governor of the Philippines] is ordered to make the vessel ready to be sent to the Marianas, along with a new decree from the King in which he is again ordered to do so.¹

The next point touched upon by Y.E. in your letter, the one about you having heard by letters that the Brothers meant for the Marianas continue on to the Philippines, about which there are disadvantages. I declare, my Lady, that I have already informed Y.E. in Madrid about this, which is that Fr. General has ordered that those coming for the Marianas before they have finished their studies, must first pass to the city of Manila to complete them. This order seems well founded to me, and very advantageous to that mission, because if before they enter a mission field, they do not get the basics in virtue and education in some college, they will not take advantage of the next ones who would then be harmed; I do not go on about this, because it is something obvious. In case they should be missed in the mission, it is easy for he [i.e. the Superior of the band] who comes from Spain to substitute others in their place from among those who have completed their studies. However, Y.E. will say that it would be better for them to complete their studies in Mexico, and not in Manila, to which I will respond that if the direct route from here to the Marianas is established without [the need for] going to Mexico, I am quite certain that the better alternative is for them to study in Manila. However, if it is not established, I doubt it would be more certain or appropriate, because there are arguments for and against, but I am more inclined to think that the better way is for them to complete their studies in Manila, which is their Province, and that the Mexican Province is foreign, etc. The disadvantage of having to go back to Acapulco to go from there to the Marianas could be remedied by ensuring that those who leave Europe for the Marianas be already graduate and, should one or more of them come before they have graduated, [the solution] is to leave others who have graduated in their places. That mission would lose nothing by this, because graduates have usually been members for a longer time, have more solid and substantial virtue. Believe me, Y.E., that it is perhaps convenient for whoever comes as Superior from Spain to make such an exchange [in personnel], no matter whom, for another who, having completed his studies, come for the Marianas, because it may happen that, with the experience gained with the subjects under many occasions and tasks during the course of such long crossings, he may recognize some as useless for such an apostolic mission as that of the Marianas, and it would become necessary to leave another one in his place [in any case], because less virtue and fervor is required of those living in a college rather than walking alone in the mission field among naked barbarians, and even among Europeans. I have already advised Y.E. about the [three] subjects I left in the Marianas [in 1679] and why I did not leave more of them; I will briefly repeat some of this, in case that letter got lost like those I wrote from Mexico to Y.E. Only three were left there and they were

1 Ed. note: In the end, Captain Quiroga did make it back to the Marianas aboard the direct patache, the following year, 1683.

Fr. Thomas Vallejo from the Province of Castile, and born in Navarra, and Fr. Basilio le Roulx, Flemish, and Br. Balthasar du Buis, also Flemish, a coadjutor and a carpenter;¹ all three are angel-like in habits and by nature. As the subjects whom we were awaiting from Italy and Germany had not arrived on time to embark aboard the fleet in which we ourselves left Spain, only four graduates came with me, and one of them was left behind in Spain on account of some sickness that happened to him, and another became crazy during the second crossing, before we reached the Marianas, so that the Fathers were reduced to two in number; both had completed the seven years of studies usually given by the Society, and consequently, they were those I could leave in compliance with the order I had from the Fr. General. Besides these two Fathers, there was another, who had not completed his studies, who wished and requested to be left. Well, though I wished to grant his request, I could not do so on my own, as it was up to the Fathers of the Province. Having thus considered their wishes, I conceded in this way to the said Father his wish to be left also in the Marianas, without contravening the order of the Fr. General. In fact, he was offered to Fr. Bartolomé Besco, then Superior of the Marianas,² along with the other two Fathers, but the said Fr. Superior did not want to accept him, because he said that there was a need for only two Fathers and one Brother coadjutor, and that besides, he did not have enough [resources] to support more. He selected, out of the three Fathers whom I wanted to leave, the two who had completed their studies, and out of the Brothers, he chose the carpenter as being the most useful there, and he refused two others whom I offered to him, giving the same reason that he did not need them nor could support them. The Father, who had remained in Mexico on account of sickness, embarked the following year and remained at the Marianas where he stayed for only one year [1680-81], because his bad health forced him to leave that mission and come to the Philippines.³ The one who became crazy over the period of a few months recovered a little, and later went back to being raving mad; finally this individual became so bad for lack of judgment that he cannot be entrusted with anything. I do not know how the Provincial of Andalusia sent him as he was that way, as those from the same province say, and he had already been crazy there on one or two occasions. They did not tell me and I did not learn such a thing until the same thing happened to him here; I would have been the crazy one if I would have brought him after hearing such news [in time].⁴

Finally, Y.E. tells me in the said letter that there are four things upon which the Christian community in the Marianas depends upon, and they are the vessel, the fort,

1 Ed. note: The last two were not Flemings, nor from the Flandro-Belgium Province, but in fact French-speaking men from the Gallo-Belgium Province.

2 Ed. note: Almost nothing is known about this Italian Jesuit, who arrived in the Marianas in 1677 and was superior from 1677 until 1680, when he died, soon after another was named superior.

3 Ed. note: I think that the sick one was either Fr. Arroyo or Fr. Mancker, most probably Arroyo.

4 Ed. note: I think that the crazy one was Fr. Llanes, from Cordoba (see HM6:670).

the workers, and the Governor; only the Governor, that should have been the last one, has been obtained. It is true that all those four [things] are necessary for that mission, but there is already a sort of fort there, and for now there are enough workers according to what they write to me from the Marianas, as Y.E. will see in that letter from Fr. Gerardo [Bouwens], a senior and zealous missionary there, who has been Superior of the said mission.¹ It must be pointed out that a few weeks after the date of his letter, out of the eight priests who were in the second block of our mission [band], five of them have remained there [1681], and there is still the third block to come, from which more may stay. I have also another purpose in remitting this letter to Y.E., it is to make Y.E. see some of Don José [Quiroga]'s weakness; he is not as timid as I thought, as I had written to Y.E.; rather he is hard of judgment, and does not consult with others. I believe him to be better at executing orders rather than at commanding. What I have said about there being enough workers for now in the Marianas, there has to be an extension until they begin the conquest of the other islands besides that of Guahan; many more workers will later be necessary. The complete reduction of the Indians, no matter what their number is, depends upon weapons, at the beginning, as experience has shown in other parts of the Indies, and here also, and in the Marianas; but the thunder of arms must always be mixed with the love of the working Fathers, by their affection, and by making them understand that everything is done for their own good, etc. Although the Ven. Fr. Sanvitores thought at first that reasoning, and love, would be enough to convert them as if they were Europeans, later he recognized that it was necessary to mix with the love and reasoning of the Fathers the violence and fear of weapons, because otherwise little fruit was obtained and at great risk. Thus, what is more important now is that the Governor of the Marianas should go to the conquest of the other islands, and then adding workers, because the island of Guahan alone, where all the Fathers work, is a small sphere, supposing that it does not hold more than six settlements and the biggest of them does not exceed 1,200 souls, counting children and adults.

It is also very important that the Governor of the Philippines send a vessel from here to the Marianas immediately; Mr. Juan de Vargas sent a craft called a sloop at the beginning of 1681, but he despatched it out of season, and thus it had to turn back in distress. Fr. Xaramillo urged him to send it again one more time. The Governor excused himself by saying that he had already complied with the King's decree about the matter. The Father responded very well that it was not complying with what the King wished and ordered to have sent the sloop out of season, without waiting for the monsoon, but when the winds were contrary; thus, in order to comply with the said decree, he should send it a second time at the proper time, and not during the rigorous winter, facing the wind. Finally, he gave some hope of sending it; later on, he did nothing, giving as an excuse that there was already a Governor of the Marianas independent of the Philippines, and thus such a matter had changed in status, and that neither the

1 Ed. note: Fr. Bouwens, born in Antwerp in 1634, arrived at Guam in 1672, and died on Saipan in 1712. His first term as Superior was from 1676 until 1677, when Fr. Besco took over.

Governor of the Marianas had written to him about the said boat, nor had the King ordered him anew, that although he had received a letter from Y.E. in which it was said that the Duke of Medinaceli was writing to him about this, he had not received such a letter, and finally that he did not have money to provision and despatch a vessel to the Marianas, that he hoped to see the letters and orders that are to come this year about July or August, in order to resolve this issue. If the order from the King is not expressly worded, or the letter from the Duke of Medinaceli similarly, or that from the President of the [Council of the] Indies, I do not hope that he will do anything worthwhile. I have already written, including to Y.E., about the motive that Fr. Xaramillo had for coming to Manila, sent here by the Vice-Provincial of the Marianas; it is to solicit here some benefits for the Marianas, specially with the Governor who thinks highly of him, and what his Reverence will not get from him, nobody else will. Thus, I judge that he is more useful to the Mariana Mission by being in Manila than by working there; it could be that neither the Father, nor anybody else, except the King or his First and Private Minister, or the President of the [Council of the] Indies, will be enough to convince the Governor to despatch a vessel to the Marianas, because as some considerable expense has to be made in provisioning it, it will be charged to him, even though such provisioning should not be at his expense but that of the King. This said, it is a good thing that we of this Province petition the Governors about this, specially the Provincial (without whose orders and consent nobody moves) who is the one representing the Province, and the one who acts here as an agent and Procurator for the Marianas, i.e. Fr. Xaramillo, who is perfectly punctilious.¹ I say that it is good that we petition, no so much because our prayers move them, but because of what they say, and that is that they do not have an opportunity here to obey the King and his Council of the Indies, although that is not the true reason for not executing their orders, but rather for other reasons they keep to themselves.

The mission of Siao [in Celebes], about which I had written much to Y.E. from Mexico, has fallen apart completely, because the Dutch, who worked in Ternate with apparent pretexts, and complaints against the King of Siao, attacked the force that the King of Spain had in that island and they took it and brought with them to Ternate the missionary Fathers who worked there and suffered much; after something like two years, during which they were held prisoners, they let them go to Macao, from where two came back to this Province and one stayed there in order to go to China as a missionary. Two more have now left Manila also to assist the missionary Fathers in Great China who have asked and continue to ask the help of this Province which, although it does not include Great China, is nevertheless helping them, out of charity. About this and everything else here, Y.E. will hear greater and better details from the Fathers Procurators Geronimo de Ortega and Luis de Morales, who are now leaving this Province to go to Spain, and Rome; Fr. Morales will be able to inform Y.E. well about the Ma-

¹ Ed. note: The Provincial was then Fr. Francisco de Messina. He was to be replaced by the author of this letter the following year (see Doc. 1683M).

rianas, because he was one of the first companions of the Ven. Fr. S. Vitores, and the one who stepped upon and discovered the most islands in the Marianas.

I do not know [much] about what I heard with regards to some foundations that the great zeal of Y.E. has made available for the progress of the Mariana Mission;¹ this is an admirable thought, and it will be very useful to the said mission if the said fund are well spent. Caution!, for instance, if the income from the annuities meant for the necessities of the said mission are applied to some college, or colleges, to be erected in the Marianas; but should it happen that they [instead] erect colleges there [in Spain] with the obligation to give a few subjects to the Marianas, this would not be as profitable here, because the subjects are given willy-nilly; the same will accrue to the Marianas but the usefulness will go to the Province in Spain where the colleges will be erected. Of course, the Fathers there will say that it is the best way to assist the said mission, either because they are not as well informed as those of us who touch them with our hands, or because it is better for his Majesties. Y.E. will believe me when I say that the greatest impediments to the progress of the mission for many reasons, specially that concerning the boat, which is the main one, are the expenses. Having something with which to bring them down, all these difficulties will be overcome very easily. Much, much more than the King allots is being spent to bring the subjects here from Europe, and thus this difficulty will also be ironed out with annuities; from them some amount could be taken as well to clothe the Marianos who convert themselves to our holy faith. This **caution** is given because the Fathers of that Province may well feel that I am not minding my own business.

Well, I have made Y.E. tired.

I wish you many years with much augmentation in His divine Grace.

Manila, 8 June 1682.

Your Excellency,

Your minor servant and chaplain, who kisses the hands of Y.E.,

JHS

Francisco Salgado.

[To] Her Excellency [the Duchess of Aveiro].

1 Ed. note: See Doc. 1679M.

Documents 1682N

Two letters from Governor Saravia, dated Ritidian 10 June 1682

Sources: Present location unknown, although the first document may have been sold to Professor Boxer in 1958; 2-page and 3-page mss. respectively, offered for sale by Maggs Bros. of London in 1923 (Cat. N° 442, n° 1883, p. 158 & n° 1881, p. 157, respectively).

N1. Extract from his letter to the Duchess of Aveiro

...

My great desire to express my homage, compels me to worry your Grace with this letter, when there was really no need for it; the news of these Islands within the past year has been communicated to your Grace by the Vice Provincial and the other Fathers with every kind of truth, and your Grace will learn the news from the letters and signed report which I enclose herewith and place at your Grace's feet.

What I am able to acquaint you with is the news that this Island and that of Rota are very quiet, a fact which is due to the good influence of the Fathers who give one to understand by their exemplary mode of life that they are not men but seem like angels clothed in human flesh. It is a joy to see the two seminaries for the boys and girls... and to hear them pray to God for the health of their Majesties and of your Grace, as their patroness and benefactress. Indeed, all the benefits they receive from the Fathers they attribute to you.

Etc.

Marianas, 10 June 1682.

N2. Extract from his letter to Fr. Balthasar de Mansilla

...

Last night I received all your Reverence's letters and the accounts, but being late in the evening, I was unable to read them, and only saw them this morning. I have found them so correct that I thank you. There is only one thing which is not quite clear to me,

and that is regarding the Agent's expenditure. I therefore beg your Reverence to send word asking him how it is that so much money has been spent in so few days, for I have not received any but wretched food (as the Fathers, who have honored me with their company are aware) and two cheeses; and even with the 36 pesos which the goats and sheep cost, it is a trifling purchase for the **600 pesos** charged to me.

I have received a jar of sugar which was by no means full. I have not received anything else, neither have I ordered anything else; therefore, if this account refers to somebody else's purchases, there is no reason why I should defray the cost... The agent will therefore be able to state clearly in what way the money has been spent.¹

...
Father Borja,² acting on your Reverence's instructions has handed me a little barrel of capers, but as I do not find it entered on the account you send, please charge it to my next account. I beg you to send me no more than what I have asked for in my note, the rest to be in money, and I will remit what is due to Manila, as I did last year and this. Hatchets, cutlasses and the like are very much on the market, and there is not an Indian who wants them [sic].

Sail-cloth is also not required, although I sent for some recently, as I have received some from Manila as also sugar so that you should refrain from sending what is not ordered. God guard your Reverence as I desire.

Resilian [sic] 10 June 1682.

[In a postscript the General [sic] begs the Father to render a statement of accounts with regard to his salary, so that he may keep a check upon his expenditure. He proves once more his unique talent for comical supposition:]

Meat is unnecessary as there are many cows and such a quantity of pigs that they destroy the newly-sown fields. I trust your Reverence will continue to order the Masses [sic], sugar not being required as I ordered some from Manila.

1 Translator's note: If the contemporary critics of officials are to be believed, however, the money was quite possibly never spent, but merely pocketed!

2 Ed. note: This was Fr. Francisco Borja y Aragon (see Doc. 1682P).

Document 16820

Letter from Fr. Xaramillo to the Duchess of Aveiro, dated Manila 17 June 1682

Source: Present location unknown; 6-page ms. offered for sale by Maggs Bros. of London in 1923 for 31 pounds (Cat. N° 442, n° 1876, p. 150).

Extract in the Maggs Catalog.

...
The Indians have stolen the despatch cases in which were many letters and documents referring to the Marianas... and I have not the time to write to your Grace as lengthily as I would wish—I therefore send the enclosed transcripts of what I am writing to the King; all the needs of the Mission are stated, and the condition it is in at present; and from these you will observe how greatly we depend upon your pious and zealous help.

I have received four letters from you, one of which came by way of Holland, to which I replied via the same country; God grant that they may have reached your hands.

This past year, on 21 May 1680, the Fr. Superior of the Marianas told me to go to Manila to negotiate in the interests of the Mission. I resisted as much as I could within the limits of discipline; but I felt it to be the will of God... and went.

[He briefly describes the many interviews and arguments he has had with the Governor, who was reluctant to assist; but refers her to the lengthy reports which he encloses and which give fuller particulars. He says that the Duchess' letters, which he showed the Governor:]

... They moved him in an incredible manner... and seeing that I was a witness and wrote everything to you, he was afraid to handicap the progress of the Mission... and said to me: "Well, take care what you do, Father Xaramillo, for if I do not do anything for the Marianas, it will be your fault, for you will not have known how to ask for it, and that is what I shall have to write to the Duchess of Aveiro." What impressed him very much was the tact with which you remarked to him, that there was no need to make excuses, as anything was possible for a Governor... and that you had told me you

had desired to possess wings to fly to the Marianas... and other pious wishes, which embarrass me when I reflect upon my unworthiness...

[He mentions how he seized this favorable opportunity of pressing his case with the Governor, and in the first place, requested him to confirm the election of Don Joseph Quiroga (who, at the writer's suggestion, had been proposed by General Antonio Nieto), as Governor and Captain General of the Mariana Islands. The Governor of the Philippines raised many objections, but was finally prevailed upon to consent and issue the necessary documents. He also appointed as Master-of-Camp an Indian named Don Antonio Ayihi, who was a fine personality and a great acquisition to the local Government.¹ Having gained this end, the Father proceeded to sound the Governor on the matter of the sloop from Manila.]

It is therefore advisable that your Grace should stress the point in one of your letters to him, and express regret with regard to the voyage of the sloop to Siam, requesting him to grant for such purposes the vessel which His Majesty has ordered to be built for the use of the Mariana Mission... they say that the small boat which was sent to Siam will never return; I would therefore welcome a Decree from His Majesty, ordering that, if the sloop should indeed be lost, the Governor should send another—and let the terms be strict and urgent, which is the only way to ensure acquiescence, for these Governors are accustomed to ruling like minor Kings themselves, and have so much power, being so far from Madrid.

Etc.

...

Manila, 17 June 1682.

Three letters from Governor Vargas dated Manila 20 June 1682.

Sources: The first two are supposedly in AGI, under old number Fil. 67-6-11, but were not found. The location of the third letter is presently unknown; it was offered for sale by Hiersemann (ref. Streit, V, p. 358).

1. Letter saying that he has received a letter from the new Governor of the Marianas, Antonio de Saravia.
2. Letter about the construction of a new galleon.
3. Letter to the Duchess of Aveiro, in which he is said to thank the Duchess and speaks about the martyrdom of Fr. Sanvitores.

[If found, they may be reproduced in the supplementary volume.]

¹ Ed. note: Thus Ayihi attained the official rank of Colonel equivalent, a rank that he then shared with Governor Saravia. This confirms my earlier theory that Ayihi had been promoted to the equivalent of Lieutenant Colonel (as we would say today) by Colonel Saravia himself, not to Lieutenant General (as some confused Jesuit writers have reported).

Document 1682P

Letter from Fr. Francisco de Borja to the Duchess of Aveiro, dated Manila 22 June 1682

Sources: Present location unknown; there are two 2-page mss. offered for sale by Maggs Bros. of London in 1923 (Cat. N° 442, n° 1884 & 1888, pp. 159-161). The second one gave the author's personal views on the Mariana Mission; it may be reproduced in the Supplementary Volume, if found.

Extract in the Maggs Catalog.

...
After having written to your Grace, I was informed how it was Br. D. [sic]¹ Domingo de Valencia who had brought the report of the Ven. Father Diego Luis de San Vitores' high character, which mission he performed with all the precision which his well-wishers could desire. I know he entertains the hope that His Majesty will honor him with some ecclesiastical benefice in this Cathedral; therefore, appreciative of the affection with which you ever regard the affairs of the Marianas, I beg you to help him to the attainment of this... and in consideration of the many high qualities of mind and heart with which he is gifted—indeed, without offence to anyone, it can truly be said that he is the most virtuous and wise priest, and the dean of all the clergy here...

Etc.

Editor's comments.

Blair & Robertson say nothing about Fr. Borja y Aragon, although it is known that he was related to the famous Duke of Gandia who became a Jesuit priest and a saint, St. Francisco de Borja, or Francis Borgia. However, B&R do mention Doctor Valencia, a secular priest who was the dean of the Manila ecclesiastical *cabildo*. He had been a graduate of the Jesuit College of San José in Manila; this partially explains his interest in the early Cause for the beatification of the Venerable Sanvitores, in addition to

1 Ed. note: Misprint for "Dr. Don" (see his name in B&R index).

his position as Dean of the local clergy. He was appointed Bishop-elect of the Diocese of Nueva Cáceres (Philippines) as early as 1685, when he was then Treasurer of the Cathedral (i.e. the ecclesiastical council or *cabildo*), but did not get the actual bishopric until 1715, apparently. By the way, the date indicates that this letter was written at sea, between the Marianas and the Philippines, and later mailed from Manila (see Doc. 1682Q for confirmation).

Document 1682Q

Letter from Fr. José Gregorio to the Duchess of Aveiro, dated aboard ship, 29 June 1682

Source: Present location unknown; 2-page ms. offered for sale by Maggs Bros. of London in 1923 for 10 pounds (Cat. N° 442, n° 1885, p. 159).

News of the Mariana Mission

Extract in the Maggs Catalog.

...
It seems that our Lord now begins to quicken this dead weight of a Mission. I say this to notify you of the many favors bestowed upon us by His Divine Majesty during this voyage, for on the 33rd [sic] day, we sighted, and cast anchor at these Mariana Islands, in front of Aumata [i.e. Umatac], three-quarters of a league from land—and will you not be pleased, knowing that the chief pilot was the Admiral Leandro Coello, who cast anchor with the utmost dexterity, and whose skill as a pilot was preferable to that of any other who has traversed these seas.

I cannot express to you our joy on beholding the Indians, so altered, according to what we heard from those who had lived among them years ago. The majority go about fully dressed; they live in large villages under Spanish rule, and they have a great affection for the Fathers, to whom they turn spontaneously in their hour of need... which is proof that the seeds of the Gospel have taken deep root in the hearts of the natives. The Fathers work indefatigably in the culture and education of the little ones, and you would be delighted with the small Marianan collegiates, so sprightly and polite, they seem like little Spaniards.¹

The Fathers now have six Residences; and they hope that with the two barques which the mission possesses—one of which was constructed under the Governor's instruc-

1 Ed. note: This last comment was indeed the ultimate praise.

tions—they may continue with the conquest of the other islands; and that, within two years, they will all have been won for God and the King.

The Governor had broken the Indians' lances, and forbidden them their use. At present they are **building a fort at Agaña** for their protection, in case of need. There are some master masons here, and bricklayers, for the work; and this year, of the few soldiers who remained, the majority had some trade which they will follow for the convenience of the Island community.

Father Theophilo [de Angelis] is in Mapupas [i.e. **Mapupun**], which is a Residency under the protection of San Antonio. He can already understand the native language, and the country suits him very well; and in the midst of all the troubles which the Missionaries have to bear, he enjoys robust health.

Etc.

...
Embocadero, 29 June 1682.¹

1 Ed. note: The Embocadero is, of course, the San Bernardino Strait, the letter being later mailed from Manila.

Document 1682R

Letter from Fr. Jacinto García to the Duchess of Aveiro, dated Manila 14 August 1682

Source: Present location unknown; 2-page ms. offered for sale by Maggs Bros. of London in 1923 for 21 pounds (Cat. N° 442, n° 1879, p. 155).

Note: The Maggs Catalog is wrong in assigning this letter to Fr. Francisco García, a more senior Jesuit living at Madrid.

Extract in the Maggs Catalog

...

I would have liked to write to your Grace, if briefly, through the Fathers Procurators who have left this year for Rome from this Province, but on account of my having received two letters from your Grace, one dated 1679 and the other 1682 [sic],¹ I could not overlook my obligations, particularly as, on 23 July, the ship arrived from Acapulco, bringing us very good news of our Mariana Mission...

As I wrote you, I was only allowed when I passed those Islands, as much as was permitted to the Israelites in search of the Promised Land, which was, merely to gaze upon them with sorrow in my heart;² but I remembered Saint Gregory, and reflected that obedience was better than sacrifices, and it is the case that... as I was unable to complete my studies, I passed on to these Islands as a student, whence the Superiors sent me to the Philippines, to continue my studies in the City of Manila, where I am undergoing my first year's course in Theology...

I was much comforted by your letter and have taken to heart your good advice... and I fervently pray that God may spare you for our benefactress and Mother of the Mission.

1 Ed. note: This must be a misprint for 1680.

2 Ed. note: Fr. Salgado (p. 624) could not therefore have been referring to him as the sick Father who stayed behind 1 year in Mexico and 1 year in Guam.

You say you wish me to tell you what happens in the Marianas; I cannot do so with such accuracy as Father Antonio Xaramillo, and as with the Marianas, so with the other affairs... but everything is given in the reports which are sent to you, and in effect refer to the much that has already been accomplished there and the perfect way in which matters have been organized since the arrival of Master-of-Camp Don Antonio de Sababia.

[The writer gives a general account of the political and spiritual state of the Marianas, and, like many of his fellow Missionaries, has an unholy dread of the occult power of the “forces of Hell”.]

However, today, there are fewer enemies, and it seems that we are about to conquer... This is the gist of what my time permits me to give as information... and I here wish to testify—so that you may know of the great work done by the worthiness of His Lordship Bishop Juan Duran, who arrived this year as assistant Bishop of these Islands; he is worthy of the utmost consideration by reason of his dignity and the many excellent qualities which adorn his personality; who, while passing that way, has cultivated the tender plant of this young Christian community among the Indians and has sent a report to Spain, although it does not contain an account of all the information he was able to glean in his short sojourn...¹

Etc.

1 Ed. note: Bishop Duran belonged to the Order of Mercy. Another bishop, Barrientos, a Dominican, also stopped at Guam in 1682 (see Doc. 1682T). Both confirmed Chamorro boys, but they gave very different opinions about their visit.

Document 1682S

Royal decree dated San Lorenzo 21 October 1682

Sources: AGI Fil. 13-1-9, p. 142; copy in Fil. 331, libro 7, p. 856.

The Marianas are to get favorable status

Original text in Spanish.

El Rey

Respuesta al Governador de Filipinas sobre la mision de las Islas Marianas.

Mi Governador y Capitan General de la Islas Filipinas y Presidente de mi Audiencia de ellas.

Con carta que me escrivisteis en once de Junio del año passado de mill seissientos y ochenta y uno, remiteis copia de la que os escrivio el Vice Provincial de los Religiosos de la Comp^a de Jhs que residen en las Islas Marianas[,] avisando los progresos favorables que en lo espiritual y temporal havia avido en ellas.

Y visto en mi Consejo de las Indias ha paresido deciros (como lo hago) he estimado mucho estas notiçias, y os encargo pongais toda aplicazion en asistir y ayudar estas misiones por lo que interesa el servicio de Dios y mio.

De San Lorenzo el Real, a veinte y uno de octubre de mill seissientos y ochenta y dos años.

Yo el Rey.

Por mandado del Rey nuestro Señor, Don Francisco Altamira Angulo.

Señalada del Consejo.

Translation.

The King

In answer to the Governor of the Philippines regarding the Mariana Island Mission.

My Governor and Captain General of the Philippine Islands, President of my Audiencia there.

In a letter which you wrote me dated 11 June of the past year of 1681,¹ you remitted a copy of a letter written by the Vice Provincial of the religious of the Society of Jesus who reside in the Mariana Islands, advising of the favorable progress made there.

This having been seen in my Council of the Indies, it has seemed proper to tell you (as I do now) that I have esteemed such news very much, and I entrust you to make every possible effort to assist and help this mission, given that the service of God and my own is involved.

From San Lorenzo, 21 October 1682.

I, the King.

By order of the King our Lord, Don Francisco de Altamira Angulo.

Countersigned by the Council.

**Note: Letter from the Viceroy to the Duchess of Aveiro, dated
Mexico 8 December 1682**

Source: Present location unknown; a 4-page ms. cited by Streit & Dindinger, vol. 21, p. 49.

[He supposedly reports on the political and religious conditions of the Philippine and Mariana Islands. If found, it may be reproduced in the supplementary volume.]

1 Ed. note: See Doc. 1681R2.

Document 1682T

Letter from Fray Francisco Ximénez to the Duchess of Aveiro, dated Mexico 11 December 1682

Source: Huntington Library HM 9967; sold by Maggs Bros. in the 1920s.

Note: Burrus has proven that the author was the Franciscan friar who was chaplain to the vice-regal couple, not the Jesuit bearing the same name.

Original in Spanish.

Escelentísima señora.

Por las cartas de mi señora la Vireyna e savido cómo vuestra Excelencia se halla con entera salud, de que doy a Dios nuestro Señor repetidas gracias y la continuaré en mis yertas oraciones.

Al Duque [de Medinaceli], mi señor, escribí un párafo que vuestra Excelencia lo que más viere que conbenga; pues no tengo a quien atender si no es a la grandeça de vuestra Exelencia, y a bastantes años que con mucho gusto e asistido y asistiré a estos señores, hasta que Dios nuestro Señor disponga el retiro de mi celda o lo que más combiniere.

Las novedades, señora, de este reyno y de sus sircunbecinos, sabrá vuestra Excelencia por otra mejor pluma que la mía, y sólo puedo desir a vuestra Excelencia que e tenido carta del señor obispo Barientos¹ que, a el pasar por las yslas Marianas, le trajeron unos fámulos para confirmar y otros muchos muchachos; y así los fámulos de los religiosos no savían ni aun presinarce, ni nada de la dotrina christiana. Y me dise en su carta que, con harto dolor de su corasón, passó a Felipinas a su obispado por ber lo perdido que estaban aquellas yslas.

En lo que toca a las Californias...

En lo que toca a el reyno del Nuevo México...

Este reyno se halla, gracias a Dios, con gran pax y gusto: (que no es ponderación, señora), lo que quieren a los señores vireyes, porque son tan benignos que jusgo que

1 El Obispo dominicano Ginés Barrientos, titular de Troy y auxiliar del Arzobispo de Manila.

desde que ay Indias no a avido señores que ayán mirado a estos pobres yndios, que son quasi esclavos, que con más amor los ayán tratado. Dios nuestro Señor les pague esta caridad y su buen celo.

Otra nobedad no tengo que avisar a vuestra Excelencia; sólo que Dios nuestro Señor parese que quiere premiar a sus Excelencias, pues mi señora está preñada de dos meses.

Señora, unos jugetes tengo que enbiar a mis amos en esta flota. Dios la traiga y me guarde a vuestra Excelencia en su grandeça, que será para mí mi mayor alivio y póngame vuestra Excelencia a los pies de mis amos.

México, y diziembre 11 de 1682 años.

Excelentísima señora,

Capellán de vuestra Excelencia q. s. m. b.,

Fr. Francisco Ximénez

[A la] Excellentísima señora Duquesa de Abeiro, mi señora.

Translation.

Most Excellent Lady:

By the letters received from my Lady the Vicequeen, I have learned how Your Excellency is in good health, and I give God our Lord repeated thanks for it, and will continue to do so in my rigid prayers.

To my Lord the Duke [of Medinaceli] I wrote a paragraph to which Your Excellency should add what seems proper, since I have no-one else to appeal to, except to the highness of Your Excellency, and it has been many years since I dealt with these gentlemen, but I will continue to do so until God our Lord arranges for my retiring to my cell, or for whatever else He may see fit.

My Lady, as far as the news from this kingdom and neighboring ones are concerned, Your Excellency will learn from a better pen than mine, but I only wish to say to your Excellency that I have received a letter from his Lordship Bishop Barrientos¹ who, upon passing by the Mariana Islands, there were brought to him some servants of the college and many other boys to be confirmed; not even the servants of the religious knew how to make the sign of the cross, and nothing of the Christian catechism. And he tells me in his letter that, with much grief in his heart at seeing how lost those islands are, he went on the Philippines to his diocese.²

With regards to California...

-
- 1 The Dominican Bishop Ginés Barrientos, titular Bishop of Troy and auxiliary Archbishop of Manila.
 - 2 Ed. note: As auxiliary to Archbishop Pardo, he too was against the Jesuits. He was a troublesome individual, seizing authority from the ecclesiastical cabildo, persecuting Governor Vargas, etc. etc. (see B&R index, under Barrientos). So, his criticism of the Jesuit mission in the Marianas should be taken with a grain of salt. He probably had expected the Chamorros to be able to speak Spanish.

With regards the kingdom of New Mexico...

This kingdom [of New Spain], thank God, is happily at peace. And (this is no exaggeration of mine, my Lady) they [i.e. the Mexicans] like the Viceroy and Vicequeen, because they are so benign that I think there has not been before in the Indies a viceregal couple who looked after these poor Indians—who are almost slaves—with more love than they have. May God our Lord repay them for this charity and good zeal.

I have no other news to report to Your Excellency, except that God our Lord seems to wish to reward their Excellencies, since my Lady is two months pregnant.¹

My Lady, I have to send some toys to my [little] masters² by this fleet. May God guide it and do me the favor to keep Your Excellency in your highness, as this would be a great consolation to me. Please Your Excellency to place them at the feet of my masters. Mexico, 11 December 1682.

Most Excellent Lady,

Your Excellency's chaplain, who kisses your hands,

Fr. Francisco Ximénez

[To] My Lady, Her Excellency the Duchess of Aveiro.

1 Ed. note: The baby was born on 5 July 1683. The Archbishop of Mexico baptized the boy on the 14th.

2 Ed. note: He refers to the Duchess' children.

Document 1682U

Letter from Fray Manuel de Santa Cruz to the Duchess of Aveiro, about his 1669 visit, etc.

Source: BNM ms. 4349, fol. 199-212; a 27-page ms. cited by Fr. Burrus' Kino (1964, p. 47); cited by S&D, op. cit., p. 337.

Notes: The document is part of a tome on Augustinian history. The historian Díaz (ref. B&R 42: 189-190) mentions that this priest was born in Toledo; he left the Philippines as Procurator and led 3 bands of missionaries containing in all over 50 religious, the first in 1684, the second in 1699 and 1700, and the third in 1712. Fray Santa Cruz wrote the present letter while at Coruña, Spain.

Original extracts in Spanish.

A la Excma. Señora Duquesa de Habeiro.

Al impulso del mandato de V.Ex^a quisse correr la pluma por no haver hallado la breve discepcion [sic = descripcion] de las Yslas Philipinas, y su descubrimiento que V.Ex^a me mando buscase, pero atajome, el reparo de mi corto caudal y assi mismo mis negoçios, y lo açelerado que en ellos ando por razon de este pressente año de 1682. Pero aunque no quede desempeñado de mi obligaçion por satisfacer en algo al mandato de V.Ex^a dare una breve notiçia de las que he podido adquirir, y de vista he examinado.

...

[Legazpi, 1565]

Navego la Armada [de Legazpi] en demanda de las Yslas que llamaron de los Ladrones, y llamaronlas assi, porque saliendo sus havitadores, en embarcaçiones pequeñas a las Naos, por algunos generos de la tierra a vender como son, cocos, arroz, y otras menestras cambiandolas por algunas cosas de yerro, cuchillos, ó, arcos, se escapavan sin dar cosa alguna de lo que les ofreçian dar quedandose los pobres paçientes en las naos burlados y sin el pedaço de yerro que havian dado. Al pressente se llaman dichas Yslas por felicidad de sus naturales, y renombre de ellas las Yslas Marianas; las quales distan de las Yslas Philipinas 300 leguas, y estan en forma de cordillera. Corren de

Norte, a Sur, desde 13 grados hasta los Lequios de Japon que estan en 34. Y son unos baxos çerca de sus puertos, son Yslas pequeñas las mas de ellas.

[Via the Northern Marianas in 1680]

*Y no todas se an descubiert- y suelen las naos que salen de Philipinas para la Nueva España, descubrir nuevas Yslas y Yslottes, en el Parangon [sic = paraje], de las referidas Yslas, como nos suçedio bolviendo yo a España en el Galeon **San Telmo**, el año de 1680, que día de Santo Thomas de Villanueva, se reconoçio un Yslotte, y el día de San Matheo dimos a la vista con una Ysla baxa con tres picos, y una quebrada en medio y se las pusieron a cada qual el nombre del Santo del dia en que se vieron y hasta este tiempo, no se avian descubiert- ni se hallavan en las Carttas, y Mapas de aquel harchi-pielago, y solo se [h]a reconoçido tener gente las Yslas, hasta 24 grados.*

Al presentte las naos que salen de Acapulco, para Philipinas van a reconoçer las Yslas Marianas, por 15 [sic] grados por las dos Yslas llamadas, Çarpana; y Lavam [sic] dista una de otra de atravesia dos leguas, poco mas, y pasan por medio de ellas las naos, para proseguir su derrota; en la Ysla de la Zarpana [rather Guam] asisten al presentte los Padres de la Compañia, y es la maior de las que hasta aora se [h]an descubiert- to. Tiene de çircunferençia diez y seis, a 18 leguas. Los naturales de ellas es gente barvarisima, pues ademas de andar en cueros hombres, y mugeres, y comer crudo el pezcado y arroz, de que de ordinario se sustentan faltandoles la luz de el Evangelio les faltava la luz humana pues ni aun nombre della tenían, y el remoto conoçimientto, y nombre de luz tenían, por un bolcan, que en dichas Yslas, ay.

[Account of his first visit to Guam, in 1669]

[fol. 201]

*El año de 1669, por el mes de Junio, passe por las referidas Yslas en el galeon **San Joseph**, y habiendo ya entrado en ellas el muy Reverendo Padre San Victores, con sus Compañeros a predicar el Santo Evangelio, a sus naturales aun se estavan tan barvaros, que no los havian podido reduçir los Padres, a que tapasen sus parttes verendas, solo las mugeres trayan una oja, ó cascara de arbol, bien pequeña que mas hera melindre de su honestidad que el traerla por ella; Y en fin es gentte tan barvara que la voluntad de su torpeça manifiestan en la ocassion de su biliandad [sic], mordiendose unos a otros. Suppose esta particularidad, porque habiendo entrado muchos Yndios en la nao, entre ellos fueron dos mugeres y estavan unos y otros señalados de mordeduras sus cuerpos, y habiendoles preguntados algunos curiosos la causa de aquellas señales se explicaron lo bastante de que proçedian. Y aunque no se persuadian los que lo havian preguntado, a que fuese la causa essa hasta que algunos Ladinos, en la lengua [de los] naturales de Philipinas, que vivian con ellos confirmaron con su dicho ser assi.*

Haver la nao, como a vender algunas cosas concurrieron gran cantidad de embarcaciones pequeñas de las dos Yslas arriba dichas, y ymbidiosos[s] los unos de los otros ynrristraron [sic] unas lanchillas [i.e. lanzillas] que traen por armas, y sus puntas heran de canillas de hombres, con denuedo, de querer pelear, y temiendose no se matase al-

guno para divertirlos se disparo una pieza, y fue tan grande el temor que les causo, que habiendo mas de 60 embarcaciones a un tiempo se arrojaron todos al agua abroquelandose cada qual con su embarcacion, y otros que avian entrado en la nao, atonitos del estruendo sin reparar en cosa alguna se arrojaron a la Mar, desde la parte donde estaban, tanto les causso el ruido de la pieza.

Estuvimos tres dias entre las dos Yslas dichas, admirados de que huviese tal gente en el Mundo, y ellos asombrados de vernos a nossottros, porque aunque cada año pasan las naos por aquel parage, les haze la misma harmonia, un año, que otro[. he] hecho esta digreçion en atencion de dar notticia a V.Ex^a aunque por ligero de las yslas que con su Catholico animo favoreçe, y es su Protectora, y porque mas latamente habra tenido V.Ex^a notticia de las dichas Yslas Marianas, no me detengo en anotar algunas particularidades de ellas, y de sus naturales, y assi passo con brevedad a lo que mi Discurso, se encamina para lo qual buelbo del hilo, de como la Armada del Adelantado Miguel Lopez de Legaspi, habiendo montado las Yslas Marianas encamino su derrota, a las de Philipinas...

...
Y assi pues V.Ex^a ... ampare V.Ex^a aquellas Yslas Philipinas; no olvidandose de las Yslas Marianas, que a todo se estiende el generoso animo de V.Ex^a, y lo devotto de su espiritu reçiva V.Ex^a, aunque mal dibujada esta breve notticia y discrepçion [sic] que mi rendida voluntad, ofreçe a los pies de V.Ex^a no por desempeño de mi obligacion sino por manifestar lo mucho que estimo, el emplearme en algo en el serviçio de V.Ex^a. Pues atropellando el conoçimiento de mi cortta suficiencia, he atendido mas obedecer escribiendo (ya que no pude hallando la discrecion segun reconoçi; me mande V.Ex^a, buscase) que atendiendo a la Colonia [Coruña], a que me dispongo, de lo poco sustancial de este mi escripto, Pero quedare con la gloria de haverme empleado en serviçio de V.Ex^a, aunque sea en cossa tan menuda como lo es esta.

Guarde y prospere la Magd. divina por largos años la vida de V.Ex^a para Protectora de nuevas y dilattadas Misiones, amparo y ayuda de misioneros Apostolicos.

B.L.M. de V.Ex^a

Su mas humilde Capellan.

Translation

To the Most Excellent Lady, the Duchess of Habeiro [sic].

At the instigation of the mandate of Y.E. my pen wanted to rush but I had to repress it [because] I have not found the brief description of the Philippine Islands, and their discovery that Y.E. ordered me to look for, on account of my short resources and also the matter of my business affairs, and the speed with which I carry them out as this is already the year 1682. However, I am not absolved of my obligation to satisfy somewhat the mandate of Y.E. and therefore I will give a brief notice of the things that I have been able to acquire, and that I have seen.—

...

[Legazpi, 1565]

The fleet [of Legazpi] sailed in search of the Islands that they called the Ladrões, and they were called thus, because their inhabitants came out in small boats to the galleons to sell some local products, such as coconuts, rice, and other vegetables, trading them for some things made of iron, such as knives, or hoops. They were fleeing without giving any of the things presented in exchange, leaving the poor patients aboard the galleons cheated and without the piece of iron that they had given. At present said Islands are named the Mariana Islands, on account of the good luck of their inhabitants and their fame. Said Islands are 300 leagues from the Philippine Islands and are laid out as a chain of islands. They run from north to south, from 13 degrees as far as the Japanese Lequios [sic]¹ that are in 34 degrees. There are some reefs near their ports; most of them are small islands.

[Via the Northern Marianas in 1680]

And not all of them have been discovered, and the galleons that go from the Philippines to New Spain used to discover new islands and islets, in the neighborhood of the above-mentioned Islands, as happened to us when I was returning to Spain aboard the galleon **San Telmo** in the year 1680. On the feast-day of St. Thomas de Villanueva,² one islet was sighted, and on the feast-day of St. Matthew³ we sighted a low-lying island with three peaks and a gorge in the middle.⁴ Each one was given the name of the Saint of the day in which they were seen, and until this time they had not been discovered [sic] nor are they found on charts and maps of that archipelago. The Islands are known to be populated only as far as 24 degrees.

At present the galleons that leave Acapulco for the Philippines pass in sight of the Mariana Islands, in 15 [sic] degrees, by the two Islands called Zarpana, and Lavam [sic]⁵ which are 2 leagues apart, more or less, and the galleons pass between them, in order to pursue their course. At present the Fathers of the Society reside in the Island of Zarpana [rather Guam], and it is the biggest of those that have been discovered so far. Its circumference is from 16 to 18 leagues. Their natives are very barbarous people; indeed, in addition to the men and women walking about naked and eating raw fish and rice, which is their ordinary food, they lack the light of the Gospel, and even lack the human light, because they do not even have a name for it [i.e. fire], and only a remote

1 Ed. note: Thus confounding the Ryukyu, or Okinawa, Islands with Japan proper.

2 Ed. note: The exact date was therefore 18 September 1680.

3 Ed. note: The date was 21 September 1680.

4 Ed. note: A fair description of Maug Islands, first visited by one of Magellan ships in 1522, but we are not sure because he does not specify the latitudes. This ship is said elsewhere to have re-discovered the Sulphur Islands.

5 Ed. note: This shows that the author was using an old chart, and had not bothered recording the correct native names when he himself had passed by the islands.

knowledge of it, as they call for light, they use the name of a volcano which there is in said Islands.¹

[Account of his first visit to Guam, in 1669]

In the year 1669, during the month of June, I passed by the above-mentioned Islands aboard the galleon **San José**. The Most Reverend Father San Victores has already made an entry there with his companions to preach the Holy Gospel to their natives. They were still so barbarous that the Fathers had not been able to force them to hide their shameful body parts; only the women carried a leaf, or bark, from a tree, such a small one that it was more finickiness than true honesty in having to wear it. All in all, they are such a barbarous people that they show their lewdness positively in the occasion of their baseness(?), by biting one another. We learned about this custom when many Indians came on board the galleon; among them, there were two women. And many of them had their bodies marked with bites, and when some curious people asked them the cause of those marks they explained their origin sufficiently well. But those who had asked about it were not persuaded that such was the cause until some interpreters, in the language of the natives of the Philippines, who were living with them, confirmed it to be so, with their own words.

Upon seeing the galleon, a large quantity of small craft flocked in from the two above-mentioned Islands to sell a few things, and some becoming envious of the others, they lifted some small spears that they carry as weapons—their points were made of men's leg bones—daring the others to fight, but fearing that they might kill one another, a gun was fired to distract them, and the fear it caused them was so great that, with more than 60 craft present at the time, all threw themselves into the water, and everyone shielding himself with his own craft. Those who had come on board the galleon, astounded at the noise, without further ado threw themselves overboard, from whichever part they were; such was the result of the noise made by the gun.

We spent three days between the said two Islands, wondering at the existence of such people in the world, and they were astonished at seeing people like us, because although every year the galleons pass by that neighborhood, the same scenario takes place year after year. I have made this digression in order to give news to Y.E., though briefly, about the islands that your Catholic mind favors, and of which you are Protectress, but because you would have already received more detailed news about the said Mariana Islands, I will not detain myself any longer in annotating some particularities of them, and their natives. Thus, I leave this brief parenthesis in my Discourse and head back to the thread of my main story, of how the fleet of the Frontier Governor Miguel Lopez de Legazpi, having come up to the Mariana Islands, pursued his voyage to the Philippines...

...

¹ Ed. note: He is probably referring to Mount Salalaguan in Guam, whose name was synonymous with Hell in the old legends.

So, indeed, Y.E. ... may Y.E. protect those Philippine Islands, not forgetting the Mariana Islands, as the generous mind of Y.E. extends to everything, and may the devoted spirit of Y.E. receive, though badly sketched, this brief notice and description which my submissive will place at the feet of Y.E., not to discharge myself of my obligation, but as a manifestation of the great esteem I have for doing something for the service of Y.E. Indeed, disregarding the knowledge of my shortcomings, I have attempted to obey Y.E. (and search for what Y.E. ordered me to look for) but used my discretion instead to write the above notice, using the little material available to me here in La Coruña. But I will remain with the glory of having employed myself in the service of Y.E., though it be in something so minute as this one.

May His divine Majesty preserve the life of Y.E. for long years and make it prosper, as Protectress of new and vast Missions, protection and help of the apostolic missionaries.

The humblest Chaplain of Y.E.,
who kisses your hands.

Documents 1682V

Petitions to the King for free transport of goods shipped to the Marianas

VI. Executive Summary—Petition by Fr. Manuel Rodriguez

Source: A 2-page ms. among the Phil. mss. II in the Lilly Library, Indiana University.

Translation.

Sire:

Manuel Rodriguez of the Society of Jesus, Procurator General of the Provinces of the Indies, declares: that, some missionaries of his order having entered the Mariana Islands in the year 1668 with the consent of Your Majesty, carried by the zeal to convert the many souls of those hidden gentiles so well shielded behind risky and unknown seas, Y.M. has always sponsored this endeavor, in the interest of God's service, with renewed assistance from his own assets, out of the Catholic zeal and pious liberality of Y.M., by recommending many times to the Viceroy of New Spain to take care and assist the maintenance of those reductions, and even to protect and succor their missionaries, as he has [in fact] done, to comply with the wishes of Y.M. concerning the assistance that has been received aboard the galleons that bring the subsidy from Acapulco to the Philippines.

Having learned that the assistance sent this past year of 1681 aboard the galleon **San Telmo** was taxed with so many transport fees that one of the principal missionaries in the said islands states that the best part of that subsidy and assistance was spent in paying [for] them, thereby reducing their usefulness. For a remedy to this harmful situation, I beg and pray Y.M. to please order that the said assistance go "On His Majesty's Service," free of transport charges and conditions, about which I hope to receive a favorable reply from the piety of Y.M.

V2. First petition by Fr. Rodriguez, undated (but presented on or before 16 January 1683)

Source: AGI Fil. 83-2-65.

Original text in Spanish.

Señor

Manuel Rodriguez de la Comp^a de Jhs Procurador General de las Provincias de Indias:

Dize, que habiendo entrado los misioneros de su religion desde el año de 68 con vneplacito de V.M. a las Islas Marianas llevados del zelo de combertir las muchas almas de aquella escondida Jentilidad, tan resguardada de peligrossos, y no conocidos mares, siempre V.M. a fomentado esta empresa como del servicio de Dios con socorros repetidos y disposiciones propias del catholico zelo, y piadosa liberalidad de V.M. recomendando repetidas veces a los Virreyes de la Nueva España cuydassen y atendiessen a la conservazion de aquellas reducciones, y aun al resguardo y alivio de sus misioneros como lo han hecho co-operando con el desseo de V.Mgd. en los socorros, que an recibido en los Navios que llevan el situado para Philipinas desde Acapulco.

*Y habiendo savido que los que se remitieron el año de 81 en el Navio **San Telmo** tubieron tan excesibos fletes, que afirma uno de los principales misioneros de dhas Islas que en su paga se fue la mayor parte de aquel situado, y socorro en que se les defraudava su utilidad.*

Para el remedio deste daño, a V.Mgd. pide, y suplica se sirva de mandar que el dho socorro, vaya por quenta de V.Mgd. libre de fletes, y conduçiones en que espera recibir merced de la piedad de V.Mgd.

[Unsigned]

[Decision of the Council:]

Consejo 16 de Henero 1683.

El Padre Manuel Rodriguez informe con distincion y claridad de que se componen estos gastos.

[Rubric]

—Traese el nuevo memorial, en que hace el informe.

Translation.

Sire:

I, Manuel Rodriguez of the Society of Jesus, Procurator General for the Provinces of the Indies:

Do declare that, since the missionaries of my Order made their entry in the Mariana Islands in the year 1668, with the benevolent pleasure of Y.M., they have burned with the zeal of converting the many souls of that hidden gentile land, so well protected by dangerous and unknown seas. Y.M. has always sponsored this enterprise as one that is to the service of God and given repeated succors and decisions arising out of the Cath-

olic zeal and pious liberality of Y.M., by recommending many times to the Viceroys of New Spain to take care of and attend to the preservation of those reductions, and even to the protection and relief of their missionaries, and they have in fact cooperated with the desire of Y.M. with succors that were sent aboard the ships that carry the subsidy to the Philippines from Acapulco.

And upon learning that the succors that were sent in 1681 aboard the ship **San Telmo** were charged such excessive transport fees, that one the main missionaries of said Islands states that, in order to pay them, the greater part of that subsidy and succor was used, thus defrauding them of their usefulness.

For a remedy to this damage, I do beg and beseech Y.M. to please order that the said succor be conveyed on the account of Y.M. free of transport charges, and other fees, in which I hope to receive mercy from the piety of Y.M.

[Unsigned]

[Decision of the Council:]

Council, 16 January 1683.

Have Father Manuel Rodriguez report distinctly and clearly on the breakdown of such costs.

[Rubric]

—Bring forward the new memorial, that includes said report.

V3. Second petition by Fr. Rodriguez, dated 18 January 1683

Source: AGI Fil. 83-2-66.

Original text in Spanish.

Señor

Manuel Rodriguez de la Comp^a de Jhs, Procurador General de las Provincias de Indias:

Dize que por Decreto del Real Consejo de Indias de 16 del corriente, se le ordena informe con distincion, y claridad del costo, y gastos que tubo en su conduccion el año pasado de 81 el socorro hecho por orden de V.Mgd. desde la Nueva España, a los misioneros de las Islas Marianas en los Navios del situado de Philipinas.

Y habiendo savidoselo por mayor del dho costo en los fletes de el Navio que llebo el dho socorro de que habla, el padre Francisco de Borja misionero que fue en dho Navio; diziendo en su carta de 8 de Julio de 81 se suplique a V.Mgd mande que el socorro que se conduze de Acapulco no pague los exsorvitantes fletes que el dia de oy pagan; porque en esto se consumen la mayor parte del situado. No se halla por raçon de este aviso con individuales noticias de la cantidad que llevaron de fletamento por las toneladas, que ocupo el dho socorro, que es de cosas volum[fin]osas, como arroz, vizcocho, arina, legumbres, y otros mantenimientos, preçissos para el sustento, vino, aceyte, y zera, para zelebrar el santo sacrificio de la missa, y algunos peltrechos para el

corto presidio de la Isla de Guan, que es la principal. Pero con las noticias y experiencia que tiene del subido precio de los fletes de Ropa, y Cajones en los Galeones y flotas le parece, que en los Navios que salen de Acapulco a navegacion mas dilatada, y peligrosa llevaran a raçon de mas de quatro pesos de a ocho [reales] por cada pieza de fardo o cajon de bara de largo, y su competente ancho, y en cossas no de mucho valor como las referidas de vastimentos, sale bien, que a razon del dho fletamento poco mas o menos, importara mas de la mitad de su valor el costo de su conduzion y siendo socorro de V.Mgd. y en Navios de su Real servicio parece no se le deven cargar costos algunos, y con la notiçia de haverlos tenido, y no ser façil poderlos pagar el superior de aquellas reduçiones de las Marianas.

A V.Mgd. suplica se sirva de proveer lo que en su memorial tiene suplicado, que el dho socorro no tenga costo alguno de conduzion, o que se lleve a costa de V.M. entregandoseles libre de toda pensson. [sic] a los misioneros, en que espero recibir merced de V.Mgd.

Madrid y henero 18 de 1683.

Manuel Rodriguez

[Decision of the Council]

Consejo 21 de Henero 1683.

—Escrivese al Sr. Virey Conde de Paredes que el animo de V.Mgd. es que les sea util este socorro y que asi procure todo lo que pueda conducir a beneficio de obra tan piadosa, tomando los arbitrios que le pareziere y se fia a su piedad.

Translation.

Sire:

I, Manuel Rodriguez of the Society of Jesus, Procurator General for the Provinces of the Indies:

Do declare that, by decree from the Royal Council of the Indies, dated on the 16th of this month, I was ordered to report with distinction and clarity on the cost, and expenses that in the year 1681 affected the transport of the succor sent by order of Y.M. from New Spain to the missionaries of the Mariana Islands aboard the subsidy ships of the Philippines.

And I have learned the matter of the greater part of said cost in transport charges aboard the ship that brought said succor from Father Francisco de Borja, missionary who was aboard said ship. In a letter of his dated 8 July 1681¹ he beseeches Y.M. to order that the succor that is conveyed from Acapulco not pay the exorbitant charges that they pay nowadays, because the greater part of the subsidy is thus expended. This letter does not give a list of individual sums paid out for the tonnage occupied by said succor, which consists of voluminous things, like rice, biscuit, flour, vegetables, and other food supplies necessary for sustenance, wine, oil, and wax to celebrate the holy sacrifice of the mass, and some equipment for the small garrison of the Island of

¹ Ed. note: See Doc. 1681Q.

Guan, which is the main one. However, with the news and experience that I have of the high prices paid as transport charges for clothing, and for crates aboard galleons and fleets, it seems to me that in the ships that leave Acapulco on a longer and more dangerous voyage, they might charge over 4 pesos of 8 [reals] for each piece of cargo, or crate of 1 yard in length, and similar width, and for things of little value, such as the above-mentioned food supplies, it could indeed turn out that, if such a rate is more or less applied for said charges, the cost of their transport might amount to over half their value. They being a succor from Y.M. and aboard ships of your royal service, it seems that no charges should be applied to them at all. And news has been received that they were so taxed and that it was not easy for the superior of those reductions in the Marianas to pay them.

I beseech Y.M. to please provide what I have requested in my memorial, that is, that said succor should not involve any transport cost, or it should be carried at the expense of Y.M. and delivered duty free to the missionaries, in which I hope to receive mercy from Y.M.

Madrid, 18 January 1683.

Manuel Rodriguez

[Decision of the Council:]

Council, 21 January 1683.

—Write to the Viceroy Count of Paredes saying that the mind of H.M. is that this succor be useful, and that he should try to have everything carried thus in the interest of such a pious work, by asking for the excise taxes that he sees fit, but trusting in his piety.¹

¹ Ed. note: The resulting letter is Doc. 1683A.

Document 1683A

Letter from the King to the Viceroy, dated Madrid 28 January 1683

Source: AGI Fil. 101-10-592 [a draft copy].

Original text in Spanish.

[Endorsement:] *Al Virrey de N^a España que procure y disponga todo lo pudiere conducir a beneficio de los Religiosos Misioneros de la Comp^a de Jhs que asisten en las Islas Marianas.*

El Rey

Conde de Paredes Marques de la Laguna Pariente, de mi Consejo, Camara y Junta de guerra de Indias, mi Virrey Governador y Capitan General de la N^a España y Presidente de mi Audiencia de ella, ô a la persona, ô personas a cuyo cargo fuere su gobierno.

Manuel Rodriguez de la Comp^a de Jhs, Procurador General de las Provincias de las Indias, me ha representado, que el socorro que el año de 1681, se remitió en la Nao de Filipinas a los Misioneros de su Religion que asisten en las Islas Marianas, les tuvo de coste tan excesivos fletes que su mayor parte, se convirtió en la satisfazion de ellos, p^a cuyo reparo, me ha suplicado, fuese servido de mandar que el que seles ymbiare, vaya de cuenta mia, para que consigan el beneficio y libertad de los fletes y conduzion;

Y habiendo visto en mi Consejo de las Indias a parecido deciros que mi Real animo es que les sea util este socorro, para que procureis todo el veneficio que pueda conducir a obra, tam piadosa, tomando los proporcionados advitrios [sic=arbitrios] que os pareziere y fio de Vuestra Justificazion, &^a

Translation.

[Endorsement:] To the Viceroy of New Spain, for him to try and arrange for everything in his power for the benefit of the Religious Missionaries of the Society of Jesus who reside in the Mariana Islands.

The King

Count of Paredes, Marquis of Laguna, Relative, member of my Council, Chamber and War Committee of the Indies, my Viceroy Governor and Captain General of New Spain and President of my Audiencia there, or to the person, or persons, in whose charge its government may be.

Manuel Rodriguez of the Society of Jesus, Procurator General of the Provinces of the Indies, has made representations to me, about the succor of the year 1681, that was remitted aboard the Philippine galleon to the Missionaries of his Order who reside in the Mariana Islands, having cost them such excessive transport charges that the greater part of it was used to satisfy them, and he has applied to me for relief, begging me to please order that any succor sent to them be on my account, so that they may be benefitted and free from transport charges.

And this having been seen in my Council of the Indies, I have decided to tell you that my Royal mind is that this succor be useful to them, so that you may try [and arrange for] everything in your power to benefit an enterprise that is so pious, by taking the excise taxes that may seem suitable to you, and I trust in your justification, etc.

Documents 1683B

The legal case against Pilot Francisco Lazcano

Sources: 1) AGI 101-10-593; 2) AGI Fil. 331, libro 7, fol. 429v-430v, pp. 882-884; and 3) AGI 12-1-55, pp. 13-51.

Preliminary note.

The King orders an investigation regarding the cost of the failed voyage of the sloop **San Francisco Xavier** to the Marianas in 1680. This file also contains some “autos” or records of proceedings in a legal case instigated by the Fiscal of the Audiencia against Francisco Lazcano for alleged wrong-doing, a process begun under Governor Vargas. The summary investigation had been carried out by Don Diego Calderon y Serrano, judge of the Audiencia, and recorded by Captain Juan de Quintanilla, who was also a notary public. In 1681, Lazcano was absolved of any wrong-doing, since the return of the vessel had been due to bad weather. However, on the charge of having mistreated his officers and seamen, he was condemned to pay the court costs, before the embargo on his personal property was lifted.

The case was re-opened in 1684 as a result of the royal decree below, to see if the case against Lazcano should ever have been opened at all in the first place. The judge in the appeal case was the judge Don Diego Antonio de Vega.

B1. Letter from the King to the Governor of the Philippines, dated Madrid 28 January 1683

Original text in Spanish.

El Rey

Commission a Don Gabriel de Curuzelaegui que va por Governor de Philipinas para determinar si su antesor no lo hubiere hecho la causa contra el Cabo del vagel que fui a las Marianas, y las adiciones que se hisieron a su gasto.

Almirante Don Gabriel de Curuzelaegui Cavallero del orden de Santiago a quien he proveydo por mi Governador y Capitan General de las Islas Philipinas y Presidente de mi Audiencia de ellas.

En carta que me escriveis Don Juan de Vargas vuestro antezesor en onze de Junio de mill seiscientos y ochenta y uno, me dio cuenta de haver hecho fabricar el vagel que se le ordenó para las Islas Marianas, y que habiendo salido de Cavite por Septiembre de aquel año en demanda de ellas volvió de arrivada al Cavo de cinco meses sin haverlas podido descubrir, sobre cuyo viage dize hizo caveza de prozesos contra Francisco de Lezcano Piloto que llevó a su cargo el dho vagel, y que quedava entendiendo en ella; y con la referida carta remitió un papel que a vuestro antezesor dieron Juan de Veriztain, y Diego de Morales officiales Reales interinos de Philipinas en catorze del dho mes y año sobre que en la Junta de Quantas de las que dieron de su cargo se les havian excluydo tres mill y cinquenta y dos pesos un tomin y seis granos que gastaron en el apresto y auto del dho vagel, pidiendo no se diese lugar à ello.

Y habiendose visto en mi Consejo Real de las Indias con lo que azerca de uno, y otro punto dijo mi fiscal desta, he tenido por bien daros comission (como por la presente os la conzedo) para que si vuestro antezesor no huviere fenecido la referida causa contra Francisco Lezcano Cavo del vagel que despachó a las Marianas la provigais sustanzieis y determineis vos, como hallaredes por derecho pasando a hazer executar vuestra sentençia de que me dareis cuenta, y en caso que la parte o partes interesadas, interpusieren apelazion se la otorgareis para el dho mi Consejo. Y hallando fenecida la dha causa reconozereis si se ha executado la sentenzia que en ella se hiciere dado, y no estandolo hareis se cumpla y me dareis cuenta en la primera ocasion con lo que sentieredes en la materia, como assimismo de la justificazion que os remito tocante à las adiciones que Don Diego Antonio de Viga oydor de la dha mi Audiencia siendo fiscal de ellas puso à los dhos officiales reales en los tres mill y cinquenta y dos pesos un tomin y seis granos que gastaron en el referido vagel que se despachó a las Marianas en que obrareis con la atenzion que de vos fio disponiendo para el mas entero conozimiento y resolucion de la materia que concurra el dho Don Antonio de Viga a proponer sus reparos y a falta suya que lo haga el que le huviere suzedido, ó el tubiere sirviendo la dha Plaza de Fiscal, que para todo lo referido os doy y conzedo el poder y comission que se requiere, y en tales casos es nezesario, y de lo que resultare, me avisareis.

*Fha en Madrid a veinte y ocho de Henero de mill y seiscientos y ochenta y tres años.
Yo el Rey.*

*Por mandado del Rey nuestro Señor, Don Francisco de Altamira Angulo.
Señalada del Consejo.*

Translation.

The King

[Commission given to Don Gabriel de Curuzelaegui who is going as Governor of the Philippines to determine, if his predecessor did not do so, the case against the

Captain of the vessel that went to the Marianas, and the additional expenses that were made as a result.]¹

[To] Admiral Don Gabriel de Curuzelaegui, Knight of the Order of St. James, whom I have appointed as my Governor and Captain General of the Philippine Islands and President of my Audiencia there.

In a letter your predecessor, Don Juan de Vargas, wrote to me on 11 June 1681,² he reported to me that he had ordered the construction of a vessel and sent it to the Mariana Islands, and that it left Cavite during September of that year bound overthere, but it turned back in distress at the end of 5 months, not having been able to sight them. Also he said that he began a trial against Francisco de Lezcano, the pilot who had the said vessel under his command, and that the trial was proceeding. Enclosed with the above-mentioned letter was a paper given to your predecessor by Juan de Beristain and Diego de Morales, interim Royal officials in the Philippines, dated 14th of said month and year, to the effect that in the Meeting of the Accounting Committee, which was held at his request, the sum of 3,052 pesos 1 tomin and 6 grains that they had spent in making ready said vessel was denied them, and they begged to be reimbursed.

And this matter having been seen in my Royal Council of the Indies, along with the opinion of my Fiscal therein about both points, I have decided to give you a commission (as I do presently), in case your predecessor did not finish the above-mentioned case against Francisco Lezcano, Commander of the vessel that he despatched to the Mariana Islands, you are to make provision for it, have it presented, and judge it, in accordance with law, then pass your sentence, have it carried out, and report to me.

However, should the party or parties concerned intercede with an appeal, you are to admit it and refer the case to the said my Council. Now, should said case be closed, you are to find out if the sentence given in it has been carried out, and should it not be so, you are to make sure it is, and then give me a report at the first opportunity including your opinion on the matter, as well as about the justification (enclosed) regarding the additional expenses that Don Diego Antonio de Viga, member of my Audiencia there, as its Fiscal, gave to said royal officials in the 3,052 pesos 1 tomin and 6 grains that they spent for the above-mentioned vessel that was despatched to the Marianas. In this, you are to proceed with the care that I trust you will use in arranging for the most complete investigation and resolution of the matter involving said Don Antonio de Viga, in devising their relief and, failing him, it is to be done by whoever might have succeeded him, or the person filling the post of Fiscal. For everything referred to above I give and grant you the power and commission required, as is necessary in such cases, and you are to give a report on the results.

Made at Madrid, 28 January 1683.

I, the King.

1 Ed. note: This endorsement appears only in the third source.

2 Ed. note: Cited in Doc. 1681R2.

By order of the King our Lord, Don Francisco de Altamira Angulo.
Countersigned by the Council.¹

B2. Typical ship supplies available at Manila in 1680—A synopsis.

[At Manila, on 3 February 1685, the notary notified Captain Don Pedro de Arasuri, the royal accountant, and he handed over a certification that the fine of 3,052 pesos had been received into the government accounts. Lazcano must have borrowed the money for that, as well as to purchase the command of the admiral ship **Santa Rosa** then being made ready to go to Acapulco. The profit he made on that successful voyage must have been way in excess of this relatively-small fine. His appointment must have been arranged by Governor Curuzeláegui, to get the matter settled to the satisfaction of all concerned. It turns out that the amount of the fine was about equal to Lazcano's own salary for the voyage, plus the sum spent in acquiring the following supplies for the failed voyage:]²

- 83 arrobas and 6 pounds of fresh pork;
- 16 arrobas of processed wax for candles;
- 20 cavans of mongo beans;
- 1 wooden crate with lock and key;
- 5 arrobas and 10 pounds of sugar from Pasay;³
- 160 gantas of locally-produced white wine;
- 32 gantas of vinegar from *tuba*;⁴
- 300 [pieces of] dried deer flanks;⁵
- 50 gantas of [dried] shrimp;
- 12 porcelain demijohns and 8 small Chinese jars, with preserves;⁶
- 2 other jars with sweet biscuits;⁷
- 12 locally-produced tanned hides;
- 1 piece of “elephant” white cloth;⁸

all for the provision of the sloop **San Francisco Xavier.**]

[The above supplies did cost 2,590 pesos and the salaries for the crew (of about 15 people) amounted to over 2,700 pesos. By way of comparison, the much shorter, but successful voyage of 1683 by the same sloop, under sea Pilot Pedro Lopez de Cueva, cost 1,728 pesos in supplies and 1,338 pesos in salaries.]

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- 1 Ed. note: For the follow-up story, see Doc. 1685R2, Doc. 1687E and Doc. 1687P.
 - 2 Ed. note: See another list of supplies that did make it to Guam in 1688 in Doc. 1688B.
 - 3 Ed. note: Pasay is now a suburb of Manila.
 - 4 Ed. note: This vinegar was made by letting the juice from the coconut flower stems turn sour, and perhaps filtering it through cloth.
 - 5 Ed. note: *Tollo* is the Spanish word used for this dried meat, similar to bacon, or jerk beef.
 - 6 Ed. note: The two words used in Spanish for the containers are *limeta* and *tivor* respectively.
 - 7 Ed. note: The Spanish word used is *marquesote*, a sweet cookie in the shape of a frilled collar (hence the name) made with either rice or corn flour, eggs, sugar, etc., and baked naturally.
 - 8 Ed. note: In other words, some rough cotton cloth, bearing the picture of an elephant as a trademark, imported from China, to make pants and skirts for the natives of the Mariana Islands.

[It is noted that the King had provided only 3,000 pesos for the construction of that boat. The construction of the sloop cost more than that, excluding what the royal stores provided, by way of ship rigging and equipment. Naturally, the Accounts Department and the Judges of the Audiencia had been reticent to allow the additional expenditures beyond the budgetted figure of 3,000 pesos, although the Governor had provided a decree for them. To play it safe, it appears that they tried to recuperate some moneys by fining the Captain for same, as an afterthought. The difficulty with this lied with the fact that the ship-building supplies and the salaries of the workmen (tallied up to the time of sailing) would have been used and paid out, regardless of the account (or ship-building project) to which they would have been charged.]

Document 1683C

Letter from Bishop Pizarro to the King, dated Manila 24 February 1683

Sources: AGI Fil. 76, doc. n°... (old 68-1-34); translated in B&R 38: 81-86.

Note: This bishop was a graduate of the College of San José in Manila, and so was naturally favorable to the Jesuits.

Letter from Bishop Pizarro Orellana to Charles II

Sire:

Although the Royal Audiencia must give you information of the controversies that have arisen between the religious of St. Dominic and the Fathers of the Society of Jesus—from which resulted others between the Archbishop of this city and the said Fathers, as he attempted to be the judge in their suits, upon which he implored your royal aid—I cannot avoid, for my own part, giving you an account thereof, in order not to fail in my obligation. I must embark in a few days for New Segovia, from which place the despatch that I would send may not arrive in time [for the mail to Acapulco], on account of the storms that may arise and the perils of the way that have been experienced—specially at this present time, with the deaths of several passengers, among them a religious of St. John of God.¹

And although in another letter (which I sent by way of Banta [Banda? Batavia?]) I gave Your Majesty a detailed account of the litigation that has begun to take shape between the College of San José, which is in charge of the Fathers of the Society, and that of Santo Tomás, which is administered by the Fathers of St. Dominic, it has seemed needful that I should continue that account, giving it quite fully on account of the unforeseen events that since have resulted.

¹ Ed. note: See the account of the establishment of this hospital order in Manila (1643) in Concepción's *Historia de Filipinas*, vii, pp. 56-69; and the full history of its first century's labors there, by the rector of its Manila convent, Fray Juan Manuel Maldonado de Puga (Granada, 1742).

Years ago the said Fathers of St. Dominic began a lawsuit against those of the Society in regard to the priority of their college, and, too, in regard to the authorization enjoyed by the Society of power to confer degrees on their students in arts and theology. After many disputes, and declarations by the Royal Audiencia, both parties had recourse to your Royal Council of the Indies; the Society obtained sentence in its favor, and the royal executory decree was ordered to be issued—of which, it cannot be doubted, account can be given in the Council. And although the Society has remained in peaceable possession, during the course of so long a time as has elapsed since the said executory decree, the Order of St. Dominic has tried in every way to disturb them—giving, in the “conclusions” which they print, the impression that their university is the only one [in Manila], and that the degrees conferred in that of the Society of Jesus were null and void. And now they are again styling their College of Santo Tomás a “royal college”; and for greater ostentation they placed, on the 24th of November in the past year, Your Majesty’s arms over the gates of the said college. When the Fathers of the Society saw this, they raised objections, demanding the observance of what was decreed and ordained by Your Majesty in the above-mentioned executory decree, and that the rector of the College of Santo Tomás be notified of it, in order that he might not plead ignorance on account of not being an old resident of this city. The said rector, being notified of this opposition, purposely absented himself. Your Royal Audiencia commanded that copies of the decisions of your Royal Council, contained in the executory decree, be affixed to the doors of the said College of Santo Tomás, and posted in other public places in this city. The rector, without doubt, must have resented the command by your Royal Audiencia; for upon one of the posted copies of the decisions of the Council a lay religious of St. Dominic placed another paper, in which he censured the Fathers of the Society for trading and bartering.¹ Thereupon immediately came out your Archbishop [Felipe Pardo], who is of the said Order, with official statements against the Society, calling many laymen, residents of the city, to express their opinion on the point at issue, under [penalty of] censures. He also sent a notary to the ship **Santa Rosa** (which had put back to port), for the same purpose, because among those who had embarked thereon was Father Gerónimo de Ortega, who had been appointed by the said Order procurator-general for your royal court and that of Rome,² with his

1 Montero y Vidal cites (*Historia de Filipinas*, i, p. 368) a line of this pasquinade: “He who desires to buy *carajais* or frying-pans, iron, etc., resorts to the Fathers of the Society.”

2 Sailing for Europe (1683), he died at sea before reaching Acapulco.

companion, **Father Luis de Morales**.¹ This arrogant act was perhaps occasioned by seeing the said procurator and his companion lade on the ship various goods which they ordinarily send to the Marianas for the support and maintenance of the Fathers who reside there, and of the others who (as is generally and publicly known) are aided by the said Fathers with their accustomed charity and zeal. For these purposes they employ the liberal alms with which Your Majesty has been pleased to cooperate in the promotion of a work so to the service of God our Lord, in that and other labors—as in the missions of China and other realms, where they are occupied in preaching the holy gospel. Besides, [I must not omit mention of] the disinterested manner in which they proceed in the administration of the missions which they occupy; this is sufficient testimony to their being so far removed from transactions of that sort, and evidence that we can and ought to understand; for every one knows that they do not exact fees for burials or marriages, or other functions.

In this condition has remained the litigation of the said Fathers, who are pressured by your Royal Audiencia; and since it is necessary for a definite account of the proceedings in future, I refer you in everything to the official legal report of the Audiencia.

May our Lord prosper Your Majesty with the happiness and success that Christendom needs for its protection and promotion.

Manila, 24 February 1683.

Francisco, Bishop of New Segovia.

[Endorsement:] Manila—to His Majesty—1683.

The Bishop of New Segovia, Don Francisco Pizarro.

Received on 19 May 1685, from the hand of Diego Altamirano, procurator of the Society.

[These lines are followed by a brief synopsis of the bishop's letter, and the comment: "Thus far no letter has been received from the Audiencia; but recently letters have come from the Bishop of New Cáceres, Don Fray Andrés Gonzalez, and the auxiliary Bishop Barrientos, which mention, among other things, the commercial transactions of the Society, and this information has been handed to the Fiscal."]

[Decisions of the Council:]

Council.—Have the two other letters brought forward, one from this bishop, and the other from the auxiliary Bishop Duran.

1 Luis de Morales was born in Tordesillas on 29 September 1641, and became a Jesuit novice at the age of 17. Later, he devoted himself to the Philippine missions; in Mexico he met Father Sanvitores, who selected Morales to aid him in the evangelization of the Marianas, where he labored for 3 years. In 1671, Morales went to Manila, where he was assigned to the Tagal missions; in 1676 he became rector of Antipolo, and in 1681 vice-rector of Cavite. Going to Europe with Ortega, the latter's death imposed his responsible mission upon Morales. Having fulfilled its duties, he desired to return to the Philippines, but was detained in Mexico for 7 years [1690-1697]; he came back to Manila, and soon afterward was elected provincial. His term of office ended, he was rector of the Manila college for 4 years; and he died there on 14 June 1716.

Council, 4 June 1685.

Carry this to the Fiscal, so that he can examine with it all the other papers regarding this subject; and have a clerk make a summary of the whole matter.

Document 1683D

Royal decree of 31 March 1683 regarding the yearly despatch of a vessel to the Marianas

Sources: AGI Ultramar 561; AGN Californias, vol. 26, fol. 60-61. Note: This new Governor reached Manila the following year.

Decree addressed to Governor Curuzeláegui

Original text in Spanish.

El Rey

Almirante D. Gabriel de Curuzelaegui y Arriola, Caballero del orden de Santiago, à quien he proveido por mi Gobernador y Capitan general de las Islas Filipinas, y Presidente de mi Audiencia de ellas, ó à la persona, ó personas à cuyo cargo fuere su Gobierno.

Con cedula mia de primero de Julio del año de mil seiscientos y setenta y siete, remité à vuestro antecesor un papel que se habia presentado en mi Consejo Real de las Indias, sobre diferentes puntos, concernientes al fomento de la Mision de las Islas Marianas que esta à cargo de la religion de la Compañia de Jesus, uno de los males fué que en Filipinas se fabricase un baxel para hacer comunicables aquellas Islas con las Marianas, despues con ocasion de la representacion que me hizo Alonso Pantoja de la Compañia de Jesus, siendo Procurador general de las Provincias de Indias, cerca de que aunque à D. Juan de Vargas, vuestro antecesor se habian entregado tres mil pesos para la fabrica del baxel referido, no se habia ello echo, tube por bien mandarle en cedula de diez y ocho de Noviembre, de mil seiscientos y ochenta, despues de quanto antes que hubiese el dicho vagel, advirtiendole era materia que la deseaba muy de veras, y que en su buen logro, me havia muy agradable servicio, y que si no se pudiese fabricar, le comprase, y sino se pudiese comprar le fletase, y que se para ello no tubiese harto caudal le pidiese à mi Virrey de la Nueva España, à quien el mismo dia ordene le socorriese, con lo que vuestro antecesor le avisase habia suplido, ó que le faltaba; y asi mismo mandé

*al dicho Don Juan de Vargas, señalase el premio de encomienda de Indios, al sugeto que hubiese hecho algunos viages, y que en quanto à las licencias que el dicho Procurador habia pedido para hacer viages à Canton ó Macan, con obligacion de ejecutar uno à las islas Marianas, reconociese si se podia hazer, y que no habiendo en ello inconveniente, contra lo católico, ni contra lo político intentase su practica; como mas particularmente se contiene en las cédulas citadas à que me refiero: y D. Juan de Vargas en carta que me escribió en once de Junio del año de mil seiscientos y ochenta y uno, dio cuenta de haberse conducido en el Puerto de Cavite la fabrica de una balandra para el efecto referido, con las maderas y otros materiales que sobran de las Naos de esa Carrera, y los **Pandayes** que por mi cuenta estan alli asalariados, trabajen ó no trabajen, sin haberse sacado cosa de mi Real hacienda, y que las despachó à las Islas Marianas, habiada y socorridos los oficiales y marineros, con los tres mil pesos, que à este fin apliqué y que habiendo salido de Cavite à mediado de Setiembre de mil seiscientos y ochenta tiempo competente segun el juicio del Piloto, à cuyo cargo fué, bolbió de arrivada despues de cinco meses de navegacion, no solo sin tomar Puerto, pero ni aun descubrir las Islas, y que juzgandola culpable quedaba procediendo contra el Cavo, y le tenia preso en el Castillo Santiago de Manila. Con cuya vista en mi Consejo de las Indias os tengo mandado lo que he tenido por combeniente en orden al fenecimiento de esta causa, como lo teneis entendido, por el despacho que entre otros recibisteis en Cadiz.*

Ahora Manuel Rodriguez, de la Compañia de Jesus, Procurador general en esta Corte, de las Provincias de Indias, me ha representado, que la causa de no haber logrado el viage referido la dicha Balandra fué por no haber salido en los meses de Marzo, ó Abril que conocidamente son los faborables, siendo la travesia de solo trescientas leguas, surcando aquellos mares los Holandeses sin embarazo para ir à las Molucas, y que respecto de la precisa necesidad, se debe insistir en la consecucion de dicho viage suplicando me fuese servido encargaros le establezcais, de suerte que con efecto se logre la comunicacion de las Islas Filipinas con las Marianas para aumento de nuestra Santa Fé, y remedio de aquella gentilidad.

Y habiendose visto en mi Consejo Real de las Indias, con lo que dixo mi Fiscal de ello, he tenido por bien de dar la presente, por la cual os encargo y mando dispongais al cumplimiento de la referidas Cédulas expedidas à vuestro antecesor, y en su ejecucion pongais todo cuidado para que se consiga la conservacion y navegacion del dicho Bajel à las Islas Marianas, y por este medio el logro de la comunicacion entre ellas y las Filipinas, en que me hareis agradable servicio, y de lo que resultare me dareis cuenta.

*Fecha en Madrid, à treinta y uno de Marzo de mil seiscientos y ochenta y tres años.
Yo el Rey.*

*Por mandado del Rey nuestro Señor,
D. Francisco de Altamira Angulo.*

[Membrete:] A D. Gabriel de Curuzelaegui, que va por Governador a Filipinas sobre que disponga la comunicacion de aquellas Islas con las Marianas. Corregido.

Translation.

The King

Admiral Don Gabriel de Curuzelaegui y Arriola, Knight of the Order of St. James, whom I have appointed as my Governor and Captain General of the Philippine Islands, and President of my Audiencia there, or to the person, or persons, in whose charge their government may be.

In a decree of mine dated 1 July of the year 1677,¹ I remitted to your predecessor a paper that had been presented to my Royal Council of the Indies, regarding various points having to do with the development of the Mariana Island Mission which is in the care of the Order of the Society of Jesus. One of the misfortunes was that a vessel meant for transport between those Islands and the Marianas was built in the Philippines. Afterwards, upon the occasion of the representation made to me by Alonso Pantoja of the Society of Jesus, then Procurator General of the Provinces of the Indies, regarding the fact that, although your predecessor, Don Juan de Vargas, had been delivered 3,000 pesos for the construction of the above-mentioned vessel, he had not done so, I had decided to order him, by a decree dated 18 November 1680,² to provide said vessel as soon as possible, warning him that I very much wished that it be done, and that he would give me pleasure if he succeeded, and that if he could not built it, he was to buy one, and if he could not buy one, he was to charter one, and if there were not enough funds to do so, he was to ask for some from my Viceroy of New Spain. On same date, I ordered the Viceroy to come to his succor with what your predecessor had advised him that he had provided, or with what he was missing.³ In addition I ordered said Don Juan de Vargas to fix the reward of a land-grant of Indians for the individual who would have made a few voyages, and, with regards to the permits that said Procurator had asked for voyages to Canton or Macau, with the obligation of making one voyage to the Mariana Islands, he was to judge whether they could be made or not, and, should there be nothing improper in it against the body Catholic or the body politic, he was to attempt its practice (more details are included in the above-mentioned decrees).

Don Juan de Vargas, in a letter written to me, dated 11 June 1681,⁴ reported that the construction of a sloop was carried out in the port of Cavite for the above-mentioned purpose, using the lumber and other materiel that were left over from the construction of the galleons of that run, and the **Pandays**⁵ who have a full-time job there and receive an official salary, whether they work or not, and he did not need to draw on my Royal treasury. He despatched it to the Mariana Islands, using the 3,000 pesos for the purpose of making it ready and paying the wages of the officers and seamen. It

1 Ed. note: See Doc. 1677H.

2 Ed. note: See Doc. 1680S3.

3 Ed. note: See Doc. 1680S1.

4 Ed. note: Cited in Doc. 1681R2.

5 Ed. note: Tagalog word meaning “smiths” in general, but used by Spaniards in Manila to mean “master craftsmen”, such as carpenters, blacksmiths, etc.

left Cavite in the middle of September 1680, a suitable time according to the judgment of the pilot, under whose command it was, but it returned in distress after a navigation of 5 months, not only never making port but not even sighting any island. So, having judged him guilty, he had begun a law-suit against the commander, and he was being held prisoner in Fort Santiago in Manila. The matter was reviewed in my Council of the Indies and I have already ordered you to carry out my decision, by finishing the case in question, as you are aware, from the despatch that, among others, you received in Cadiz.¹

Now, Manuel Rodriguez of the Society of Jesus, Procurator General for the Provinces of the Indies at this Court, has made a representation to me, saying that the reason why the above-mentioned voyage of said sloop did not succeed was because it had not departed during the months of March or April, which are known to be favorable, given that the crossing is only of 300 leagues, and the Dutch cruise those seas without problem to get to the Moluccas, and that, in view of the extreme need involved, the continuation of said voyage should be insisted upon, and he begs me to please entrust you with its establishment, so that communications between the Philippine Islands and the Marianas be effectively created, for the promotion of our Holy Faith, and the relief of those heathens.

And this having been seen in my Royal Council of the Indies, along with what my Fiscal there said about it, I have decided to give you the present, by which I entrust you, and order you to make arrangements for the accomplishment of the above-mentioned decrees issued to your predecessor, and you are to take due care in carrying them out, so that the preservation and navigation of said vessel to the Mariana Islands be achieved, in which you will do me an agreeable service, and you are to send me a report on the results.

Made at Madrid, 31 March 1683.

I, the King.

By order of the King our Lord,

Don Francisco de Altamira Angulo.

[Endorsement:] To Don Gabriel de Curuzelaegui who is going to the Philippines as their Governor, for him to arrange for communication between those Islands and the Marianas. Corrected.

1 Ed. note: See Doc. 1683B.

Document 1683E

Letter from Fr. Zarzosa to Fr. Juan de la Fuente, dated Guam 28 April 1683

Source: RAH 9/2668 doc. n° 84.

Note: Fr. Fuente was Provincial of Andalusia, Fr. Zarzosa's home province (see Doc. 1682B).

Original text in Spanish.

Mi Padre Juan de la Fuente.

Pax Christi, etc.

Las muchas obligaciones que siempre e devido a V.R^a me sirven de continuo recuerdo, para tener en la memoria su persona de V.R^a: base llegando el tiempo de venir a estas islas la nao de la China, y me esfuerza anticiparme a escribir estos renglones, porque la nao apenas nos deja el socorro, situado, quando luego al punto se parte a la vela.

Alegrarame mucho de que esta halle a V.R^a con muy buena salud, que Nuestro Señor aumente por muchos años, para mucho bien y credito de esa Sta. Provincia, yo la gozo al presente en esta isla de S. Juan, cavezera de la mission Mariana, para servir a V.R^a con gran consuelo mío, como ya en otras e significado a V.R^a, y con no menos agradecimiento de mi dichosa suerte, que por medio de V.R^a e conseguido.—

Quiera su Magestad darme espiritu para emplearme devidamente en ministerios tan apostolicos y corresponder a tan alta vocación, que certifico a V.R^a con toda lisura, me sirve de grande confusion, que siendo tan malo, aya merecido tan dichosa suerte como ser Misionero Mariano: Doy mil gracias a Dios, y a V.R^a las buelvo a dar con todo el afecto de mi corazon, suplicando a V.R^a continue el favorecerme con sus santas oraciones, y sacrificios para que yo acierte a servir a su Magestad en Ministerio tan apostolico, y tan proprio de los hijos de la Compañia.

*El año pasado de 82 escrivi a V.R^a dandole quenta muy por exemplo de los progresos desta mission, del genio, y costumbre destas gentes; no tengo por aora cosa particular que avisar acerca de la Christiandad, sino que ba cada dia en mayores aumentos, concurriendo a un mismo tiempo Dios, y los hombres a favoreerla. Este año de 83 el Sr. Gobernador, y Capitan General D. Antonio de Saravia, a dispuesto **dos barcos luengos**, y municiones necesarias, partió a conquistar la isla de **Saypan**, (donde martirizaron al Ven. Padre Luis de Medina) por ser dha isla el unico impedimento, para*

*que no se promulgue el Evangelio en toda esta Cordillera de Japon [sic], que desea con vivas ansias misioneros: aviendose dado a la vela dho Sr. Gov. y navegado en prosecución de sus santos intentos dos dias se levantaron vientos tan furiosos que le obligaron a arrivar a esta isla de San Juan: mas aviendole dho los Indios, que las mares de Julio y Agosto son aproposito para esta empresa, dispone otra vez el executarla, y sin duda la conseguira felizmente por que los Marianos temen mucho las armas de fuego, y no tienen con que resistirlas. Su Magestad lo disponga a su mayor gloria, que cierto sera singular dha desta Misión si por medio della se buelve a introducir la fe en los dilatados Reynos del Japon. Y yo me causara esto admiración quando vemos que **infirmamundi elegit Deus, ut confundat fortia.***

Las nuevas de la peste, y temblores que an sucedido en España, y sus estragos an llegado por aca con universal sentimiento de todos los Padres desta Mission; quiere N. Señor mejorar los tiempos, y a V.R.^a me le [guard]e muchos años como deseo, etc.

Marianas, y abril 28 de 1683.

Mui siervo de V.R.^a

Diego de Zarzosa

Translation.

My dear Father Juan de la Fuente.

Peace of Christ, etc.

The many obligations that I have always owed to Your Reverence have served me as a reminder to keep the person of Y.R. in my memory. It is now about time for the China galleon to come to these Islands,¹ and I make an effort to anticipate it by writing these lines, because the galleon has hardly time to deliver the relief supplies and subsidy to us, that it immediately sets sail.

I will be glad if this letter reaches Y.R. in very good health, which Our Lord should increase over many years, for the good and credit of that holy Province. As for me, I enjoy it at present in this Island of San Juan, capital of the Mariana Mission, in order to serve Y.R., to my great satisfaction, as I have already told Y.R. in other letters. I have also mentioned, with no less gratitude, the great luck that I have obtained through Y.R.

His [divine] Majesty deigned to give me the [necessary] spirit to be duly employed in such apostolic ministries and to measure up to such a high vocation. I say to Y.R. with complete plainness, [as] it is for me a [subject of] great confusion, I being so bad, having deserved such good luck as to be a Mariana Island Missionary. I give a thousand thanks to God, and I again say thanks to Y.R. with all the affection in my heart, begging Y.R. to continue to favor me with your holy prayers and masses, so that I may be reaffirmed in the service of His Majesty in such an apostolic ministry, one that is so appropriate for the sons of the Society.

¹ Ed. note: However, there was no galleon in 1683. The earliest opportunity for this letter to get to Manila was aboard the special sloop that returned there in February 1684.

Last year 1682, I wrote to Y.R., giving you a detailed account of the progress of this mission, of the genius and customs of these people. For now, I do not have anything special to add regarding the Christian community, other than every day in greater numbers, not only God but also men rush to favor it. This year 1683, the Governor and Captain General, Don Antonio de Saravia, made **two long boats** ready and, having collected food supplies, and the necessary munitions, left for the conquest of the Island of **Saypan** (where they gave martyrdom to the Ven. Fr. Luis de Medina), because the said island is the only [remaining] obstacle to the propagation of the Gospel to the whole of this island chain to Japan [sic], which is desired so vividly by missionaries. The said Governor set sail and sailed for two days in pursuit of his holy intentions. Such furious winds arose that he was forced to return to this Island of San Juan. However, the Indians having told him that the sea in July and August is more suitable for this enterprise, he decided to try it once more, and no doubt he will be able to carry it out successfully, because the Mariano people fear firearms very much, and they have nothing to oppose them. May His Majesty decide the outcome to His greater glory. It would indeed be a stroke of good luck for this Mission if, through it, the faith could be re-introduced to the vast kingdoms of Japan. I would consider this a wonderful thing, when we see that *infirmi mundi elegit Deus, ut confundat fortia*.¹

News has reached us here about the plague and the earthquakes that have occurred in Spain, and their havoc. All the Fathers of the Mission feel sorry about it. May Our Lord improve the times, and preserve Y.R. for as many years as I desire, etc.

Marianas, 28 April 1683.

Y.R.'s humble servant,

Diego de Zarzosa

1 Ed. note: Latin quote from the Bible: "To confound the strong of this world, God selects the weak." (I Corinthians 1:27).

Document 1683F

The peripatetic galleon **Santa Rosa**, 1682-1684

Source: Robles doc. n°3, Ayer Collection, Newberry Library.

Note: Among the papers relating to the estate proceedings (1677-85) of the Manila Audiencia member, Francisco de Coloma y Macedo, there is one letter which appears to have been sent by the Audiencia to the Viceroy of New Spain in 1683. In part, it reads as follows.

Note on the galleon **Santa Rosa**, dated 20 May 1683

Last year 1682, the galleon **Santa Rosa** departed from these islands bound for that Kingdom. It returned in distress after six months, to the general regret expressed by everybody, and much to our consolation for the delay in the mail that we remitted with everything else, as your Grace will see below...

After the galleon **Santa Rosa** turned back in distress, we opened the envelopes in order to add a few paragraphs to take account of the changes in a few things.—

In order for your Grace to appreciate what has been done, we let you know that General Antonio Nieto is general of the galleon **Santa Rosa** that makes the voyage to that Kingdom this year in the first place, and in the second place, Captain Francisco Enriquez [de Losada] whom you have placed in command in case of the death of the said General during the voyage and, if both die, Captain and Master Feliz de Vuelta. The above, in accordance with their precedence, will deliver in the first place to one or other empowered representatives in Acapulco **one small box with the gold and jewels** that are mentioned in the attached will and testament [of Coloma y Macedo]; and in the absence of Your Grace, there is already an order for it to be delivered to Father Fray Francisco Sanchez, Vicar of the Hospice of San Jacinto in Mexico and, in the absence of both, to Captain Alonso de Abalos y Bracamonte.—

...

Manila, 20 May 1683.¹

¹ Ed. note: The **Santa Rosa** made it to Acapulco and returned via Guam in 1684, under the command of General J. de Zelaeta.

Documents 1683G

Letters from Fr. Strobach to Fr. Provincial of Bohemia, dated May 1683

Source: Stöcklein's Welt-Bott I, n° 4 & 6.

G1. Letter to Fr. de Boye, dated Rota 21 May 1683

Original text in German.

Brief Des gottseeligen Blut-Zeugens V.P. Augustini Strobach

der Gesellschaft JEsu Missionarii aus der Böhmischen Provintz/ (welchem die Spanier den Nahmen vertauschen/ und in ihren so wohl Büchern als Schrifften ihn Patrem Carolum Calvanese von Calva, einen naturalisirten Mayländer nennen.) An R.P. Emanuele de Boye gedachter Societät in Böhmen vorgesetzten Provincialem. Geschrieben auf der Marianischen Insul Sarpana oder Sanct-Anna, sonst auch Rota genannt/ in dem Dorff Sosa und der allda befindlichen Residenz des Heil. Francisci Borgia den 21 May 1683.

Innhalt: *Beschaffenheit der Insul und Mission Rota, absonderlich aber der Christenheit des Heil. Francisci Borgia zu Sosa. Die Früchten, so er Pater Strobach allda eingebracht hat. Seine Begierd zur Marter-Cron. Der Brief lautet also:*

Ehrwürdiger in Christo Pater Provincial!

P.C.

Wie daß ich mit GOTTes und seiner lieben Heiligen/ nahmentlich der allerseeligsten Jungfrau und des heiligen Indianer-Apostels Xaverii Hülff/ wie nicht weniger Krafft deren heiligen Meß-Opffern und Gebett/ so Euer Ehwürden samt unserer deroselben anvertrauten Provintz für mich verrichtet haben/ auf denen Marianischen Eilanden glücklich angelangt seye/ hab ich bereits in meinen vorigen Briefen nicht allein überschrieben/ sondern auch denenselben eine ausführliche Nachricht von dem Zustand so wohl diser Insuln als unserer Mission eingeschlossen. Inmassen aber es sich leichtlich hat mögen zutragen/ dasz obgemeldet meine Schrifften unter Weegs zu Grund gangen wären; als lege ich solche abermahl bey/ auf daß aus mehreren dergleichen Send-

schreiben wenigsten eines zu dero vätterlichen Händen gelange; welches ich ins künfftige gleichsam beobachten werde/ obschon ein neues mir aufgetragenes Amt mir hierzu kaum die Zeit vergönnet; weil ich nemlich seit Anfang Jenners dieses lauffenden Jahrs auf die Insul Rota oder Sanct-Anna, und zwar in das Dorff Sosan bin übersetzt worden/ dessen Pfarr-Hof die Residenz des Heil. Francisci Borgiæ benambset wird: allwo ich mit Auslegung der Christlichen Lehr und Austheilung derer HH. Sacramenten/ wie auch mit Besuchung deren Krancken Tag und Nacht gänzlich beschäftigt bin. Mein Vorfahrer Pater Cumano [sic] ist von hier in das Dorff Agusan, allda er eine neue Kirch erbaut/ von denen Obern geschickt worden. Diese zwey seynd nun die einzige Gotts-Häuser unsers gegemwärtigen Eilands; jedes ist nur mit einem Priester versehen/ welchem ein so grosser Last allein obliegt/ dessen nicht geringste Beschweruß in dem bestehet/ daß die Innwohner ihrer schlechten Nahrung halber sehr weit auseinander liegen/ wiewohl sie insgemein nur von Wurtzen leben: inmassen unser Erdreich zum Reiß-Gewächs nicht tauget/ absonderlich bey Abgang des Wassers; indem auf der gantzen Insul nicht mehr dann ein Bächlein ist/ und eben dieses öffter austrücknet. Ich zehle in meinem Kirch-Spiel tausend Seelen/ so in 190. Häuser/ diese aber in drey Dörffer ausgetheilt seynd. Sosa ist das mittlere/ von welchem zu einem wie zu dem andern eine Spanische Meil Weegs ist. Gestaltsam nun jedes aus beyden eine gantze Meil weit sich in die Länge hinaus erstreckt/ als hab ich von einem äussersten End des einem biß zu dem Ausgang des andern/ vier Meil eines überaus rauhen und schropffichten Weegs theils über Kiß-Sand/ theils über Klippen/ bey insgemein scharffem Wind/ welcher mit seinem Gewalt die Leuth aufhält/ oder gar zu Boden wirfft.

Doch gedeyhet dises zu meinem grösten Trost/ daß der gantze Kreyß des Heil. Borgiæ, dem ich vorstehe/ dem Christenthum ergeben ist: ich allein hab hierselbst über 500. erwachsene Personen (eine Menge Kinder ungezehlt) mit eigener Hand getauft/ und alle Eheleuth/ so über 170. Paar betragen/ zusammen gegeben: wofür ich GOTT ohne Unterlaß Danck sage/ der mich obschon allerdings Unwürdigen meines Berufss und Verlangens auf eine so freygebige Weiß hat theilhaftig gemacht/ und meine Müheseligkeiten so gnädig seegnet/ welches ich/ nächst der mächtigen Vorbitt seiner allerheiligsten Mutter und des Indianer Apostels Sancti Francisci Xaverii, wie nicht weniger anderer Auserwählten GOTTES/ Euer Ehrwürden heiligen Meß-Opffern zu dancken hab/ womit ich aber inständigst bitte noch ferner bey GOTT anzuhalten/ damit ich durch seine kräftige Gnad gestärckt mit Lust und Freuden in disem Weingarten GOTTES unermüdlich verharren/ keine Mühe noch Arbeit scheuen/ und in die Fußstapfen des seeligen Manns/ unsers Patris Didaci Ludovici von San Vitores, welcher diese Marianische Insuln der erste mit seinem Schweiß und Blut/ da er um des Glaubens willen ist getödtet worden/ glorwürdig begossen hat/ ohne Verdruß treten möge: welches desto gewisser zu erhalten/ ersuche ich die gesamte Provintz/ mir bey dem Vatter aller Gnaden die erforderte Hülff und seinen Gottlichen Beystand/ der auf disen mehr als auf keinen andern Missionen höchst-nöthig ist/ durch ihre Andachten auszuwürcken/ womit so wohl die Priester als Brüder mir ein solche Gnad erweisen werden/ daß ich dieselbe nicht allein mit meinem wenigen Gebett/ sondern auch/ wann es GOTT also ge-

fällt/ mit meinem Leben und Blut/ welches ich für seine Ehr und deren Seelen Heyl aufzuopffern mich erbiere/ von Hertzen gern bezahlen will. Ich verbleibe

Euer Ehrwürden

Gegeben auf der Sanct-Anna, Insul in dem Dorff Sosan aus der Residenz des H. Francisci Borgia den 21 May 1683.

Wenigster Diener in Christo

Augustinus Ignatius Aloysius Strobach der Gesellschaft Jesu unwürdigster Missionarius.

Translation, by P. H.

Letter by the late martyr, the Venerable Father Augustin Strobach,

Missionary of the Society of Jesus, from the Bohemian Province (whose name the Spaniards have changed and who in their books and other papers is called Father Carlos Calvanese [sic]¹ of Calva, a naturalized person from Milan. To the Reverend Father Emmanuel de Boye, Provincial in charge of said Society in Bohemia. Written in the Mariana Islands, on the Island of Sarpana, or Santa Ana, also known as Rota, in the residence of St. Francis Borgia in the village of Sosa, 21 May 1683.

Contents: Characteristics of the island and the mission of Rota, but in particular the Christian community of St. Francis Borgia at Sosa. The fruits which Father Strobach has harvested there. His eagerness to wear the crown of martyrdom. The letter reads as follows:

Reverend Father Provincial in Christ.

Peace of Christ!

I already wrote in my previous letters how with the help of God and His beloved Saint, namely the most blessed Virgin, and that of St. [Francis] Xavier, Apostle of the Indies, and last but not least thanks to those holy sacrifices of the mass and the prayers in which Your Reverence and the entire Province under you have included me, how I arrived safely at the Mariana Islands. I have also enclosed a detailed report about conditions in these islands and in our mission.² However, since it could easily have happened that my above-mentioned letters were lost along the way, I enclose more of them this time, hoping that of several such missives at least one will reach Your Paternity's hands. I will do the same thing in the future, even though the new post in which I have been installed here will hardly leave me any time for it. Early in January of this year, I have been transferred to the village of Sosa on the Island of Rota, or Santa Ana, namely to its parish house, which is called the residence of St. Francis Borgia. Here, I am fully occupied day and night with interpreting the teachings of Christ and administer-

1 Ed. note: Rather Carlos Xavier; Fr. Calvanese was a Spaniard, who was to be part of the same mission band. Their names became confused when reported by non-Spanish-speaking Germans who had just arrived in Spain.

2 Ed. note: See Doc. 1682H.

ing the holy sacraments as well as visiting the sick. My predecessor, Father Comano [i.e. Coomans] has been sent by the superiors from here to the village of Agusan, where he has built a new church. These two are now the only houses of God on our present island; each has only one priest, whose burden is very great. One of the main hardships is that because of the poor food situation, the inhabitants live very far from each other, although they generally live only on roots, since our soil is not suited for growing rice, specially for the lack of water. The whole island has only one small creek, which often dries up. In my parish there are a thousand souls who live in 190 houses, which in turn are divided among three villages. Sosa is the village in the middle, and the others are each a Spanish mile away. In addition, each village is stretched out over a whole mile from one end to the other, four miles of extremely rough and rugged road that leads partly through gravel and sand, partly over cliffs, where the wind is usually so strong that its force holds people back or even throws them to the ground.¹

But to my greatest joy, the whole district of St. Borgia, which I have under me, is devoutly Christian. Here, I have personally baptized more than 500 adults (with a lot of children whom I did not count) and married all the couples of whom there are more than 170 in total, for which I continually say thanks to God who has so generously granted me what I desired, although I am not worthy of my occupation, and who has blessed my endeavors so graciously, for which I have to thank not only the powerful pleas by His Holy Mother and by St. Francis Xavier, the Apostle of the Indies, as well as numerous other of God's chosen people, but also Your Reverence's holy sacrifices of the mass. I continue to beg you to beg God to strengthen me with His powerful grace, so that I may tirelessly remain with happiness and joy here in God's vineyard, sparing neither effort nor toil, and walking without trouble in the footsteps of our late Father Diego Luis de San-Vitores, who was the first to gloriously shed his sweat and blood in the Mariana Islands,² and who was killed for the sake of the faith. To ensure this with even greater certainty, I beg the entire Province to pray to the Father of all Grace for His help and His divine assistance, which is more urgently needed here than at any other missions, by which the Priests and the Brothers would do me such a favor which I would very gladly repay not only with my poor prayers, but also, God willing, with my life and blood, which I offer in sacrifice for His honor and for their salvation. I remain,

Your Reverence,

signed on the island of Santa Ana, in the village of Sosa, in the residence of St. Francis Borgia, on this 21st of May 1683.

Your lowliest of servants in Christ,

Augustin Ignacio Luis Strobach, most unworthy Missionary of the Society of Jesus.

1 Ed. note: My educated guess is that Fr. Strobach's parish stretched from Tatacho in the NE, to beyond Poniya Point (and its corresponding hill) in the SE, as far as the Haofina River.

2 Ed. note: He was not the first to have shed his blood, but the missionaries wished it were so.

G2. Report on the missionaries and their assignments

Note: This is perhaps the same report as quoted by Maggs Cat. 442, n° 1873 & also Cat. 491, n° 48(?).

Original text in German.

Von denen Missionariis auf denen Marianischen Insuln.

Unsere Gesellschaft hat sich auf diesen Insuln bereits 15. bis zwanzig Jahr bemühet dieselbe zu dem allein seeligmachenden Glauben zu bekehren/ letzt-verwichenes 1682. Jahr aber die Zahl dern Arbeitern mit neu-angekommenen Missionariis vermehrt/ vor welcher Ankunft auf diesen Eilanden nicht mehr als 13. Priester samt drey Brüdern und einem Opfer-Bruder (Fratre Donato) gewesen waren: nemlich R.P. Emmanuel de Salorzano [sic] Vice-Provincial ein Spanier in das siebende Jahr: P. Gerardus Bowens ein Nise]derländer ins zehende: P. Petrus Comano ein Niederländer ebenfalls ins zehende: P. Basilius von Roulx ein Niederländer ins vierdte: P. Laurentius Bastillo [sic] ein Spanier/ ehemals ein Mit-Apostel des gottseligen P. Diego Ludwig von San-Vitores: P. Thomas de Cardeneza [sic] gleicher Gestalten ein hinterlassener Mitarbeiter Venerabilis Patris San-vitores, ein Spanier: P. Joannes von Ahumada ein Spanier ins zehende: P. Thomas von Vallejo ein Spanier ins dritte: P. Carolus Boranga ein Wiener aus Oesterreich ins dritte: P. Joannes Tilpe aus Böhmen ins dritte: P. Augustinus Strobach aus Böhmen ins dritte: P. Diego von Zarzosa ein Spanier ins dritte: P. Theophilus de Angelis ein Wälscher ins dritte: Bruder Petrus Pavon ein Spanier ins zehende: Bruder Antonius de los Reges [sic] ein Mexicaner ins sechste: Bruder Balthasar du Bois ein Niederländer ins vierdte/ und der geschenckte Laybruder/ welcher mit oftgedachtem ersten Stiffter und Blut-Zeugen San-Vitores gleich angangs hieher gekommen ist.

Vergangenes Jahr aber haben sich als neue Glaubens-Lehrer zu uns auch folgende geschlagen: P. Antonius Kerschbaumer aus Ober-Teutschland und P. Matthias Cuculinus aus Böhmen; sie seynd allhier mit dem neuen Kriegs- und Lands-Obrist Herrn Antonio de Sarabia angelangt/ welcher fürhin wider vorigen Gebrauch weder dem Unter-König zu Mexico, noch dem Obrist-Stadthalter deren Philippinischen Insuln/ sondern bloß allein dem Catholischen König wird untergeben seyn/ ein warhafftig erfahrner/ tapffrer/ kluger und für die Kirche Gottes eyfferender Herr/ mit dessen Beystand wir das Christliche Weesen auf einen neuen Fuß zu setzen uns vorgenommen/ hiezu aber den Anfang auf der Haupt-Insul Sancti Joannis und dem Eiland Rota gemacht/ wie nicht weniger dem alten Herkommen gemäß die jungen Missionarios denen ältern hin und wieder zugesellet haben: als erstlich mich Augustinus Strobach dem Patri Petro Comano in dem Dorff Pago, oder auf der Residentz der Empfängnuß: Den P. Carolum Borango [sic] dem P. Gerardo Bowens in dem Dorff Marasan [sic = Inapsan?] oder Sanct Josephs Residentz: Den P. Theophilum de Angelis dem P. Basilio Roulx auf dem Dorff Umatag auf der Residentz des H. Dionysii des Areopagiten; Die übrigen zwey neue Priester/ nemlich P. Zarzosa und P. Tilpe seynd in dem Haupt-Ort Agadna und in unserer daselbst befindlichen vornehmsten Residentz Sancti Ignatii zuruck behalten worden/ jener zwar als Minister, der andere aber als Vorsteher des Seminarii oder

Pflantz-Schul der Marianischen Jugend. Allein diese Eintheilung hat wegen aufgerichteten etlichen neuen Residentzen und dem Brand/ durch welchen die zu Retigam [sic = Ritidian] im Rauch aufgangen ist/ bald wieder müssen verändert werden: Krafft welcher neuen Anstalt ich von Pago nach Marasan gezogen bin; Pago ist von der Haupt-Residentz S. Ignatii oder von Agadna nur zwey Meil/ Marasan aber zu Land 6. Meil/ zu Wasser hingegen 10. Stund entlegen. Unser erste und gröste Sorge ware/ dieses grosse Eiland völlig von allen noch übrigen Heydnischen Mißbräuchen zu saubern/ und nach Römisch-Catholischen Gebrauch einzurichten. Darum haben wir alle diejenige/ welche entweders gar nicht getaufft oder in das Tauff-Buch nicht eingetragen waren/ durch das Sacrament der Wiedergeburt der Catholischen Kirchen einverleibt/ und diejenigen/ so wie Eheleut beysammen leben/ hiemit aber die schändliche Gewohnheit der sonst unter diesen Völckern üblichen Ehescheidung gänzlich abgeschafft. Auf solche Weise habe ich theils ohne/ theils mit Bedingnuß zu Marasan nicht weniger als 450 getaufft und über hundert Paar copulirt. Wie viel ich aber nach der Zeit/ als ich allhier zu Sosan in der Residenz des H. Borgiæ auf der Insul Rota angelanget/ mit beyden diesen Sacramenten versehen habe/ ist in meinem beygeschlossenen Brief verzeichnet.

Nachdem nun die Haupt-Insul des H. Joannis auf obbesagte Weise war reformiret worden/ war gesamter Missionarien eintzige Sorg/ wie sie auch die übrige bewohnte Eiländer möchten in gleichen Stand setzen/ wozu dann der neue Kriegs- und Lands-Obrist von sich selbst geneygt war/ welcher unserm Patri Vice-Provincial, der solche Mühe auf sich nahm/ eine Bedeckung von dreyszig Kriegs-Leuten mitgegeben/ dieser aber mit solchem Geleit erstlich die Insul Rota, folgens die Eiländer Agiguam, Teniam, und Saypan untersucht hat: in welchen allen/ (Saypan allein ausgenommen) er nicht allein höflich empfangen/ sondern auch mit gehöriger Nahrung ist versehen worden. Er hat mit dieser Gelegenheit vier hundert Kinder und hundert erwachsene Leut getaufft/ derer etliche schon hundert Jahr erlebet hatten/ aus welchen ihrer zwey nach empfangenen andern heiligen Sacramenten gleich darauf gestorben seynd. Er hat bey seiner Zuruckkunfft bis 60. Marianer/ welche von der Haupt- Insul durchgegangen waren/ wieder nach Haus gebracht. Sein Vorhaben ware auch die übrige Insuln zu durchwandern/ allein die Sturmwinde und hohe Wellen haben es nicht zugelassen. Er hat auf Ersuchen des Herrn Obristen nicht allein die Heyden nach nöthiger Unterrichtung getaufft und die Eheleut auf ewig gegen einander verbunden/ sondern auch alle Insuln genau betrachtet/ ihr Lager wohl beobachtet/ ihre Meerhäfen in Augenschein genommen/ auch bequeme Plätze/ wo Pfarr-Höfe und Kirchen könnten angeleget werden/ ausgesehen.

*Jetzt dasjenige/ was ich oben von der Insul Saypan gesagt habe/ etwas ausführlicher zu erwehnen/ haben zwar die Saypaner anfangs/ da Pater Vice-Provincial ausgestiegen/ ihm alle Ehr erwiesen: als er aber nachmals fragte/ ob sie keine Kinder zu tauffen hätten? ihre junge 18. bisz 25. Jahr alte Pursch zusammen beruffen/ solche ihm vorgestellt und kurtz um geantwortet: **Diese seynd unsere Kinder/ welcher Tauff-Baad vielleicht verlangt wird.** Der Pater merckte ohne Dollmetschen/ wohin sie mit dergleichen trutzigen Worten auswolten/ daß sie nemlich lieber ihre mannbare Jugend zum Krieg ausrüsten/ als dem Evangelischen Gesetz sich ohne Vorbehalt untergeben wolten. Er*

bliebe nichts destoweniger länger daselbst mit dem Vorsatz bey ihnen zu übernachten. Nachdem aber ein getreuer Marianer/ so Geschäften halber von der Haupt-Insul Sanct-Joannis dahin kommen/ und ein guter Christ ware/ ihn gewarnet/ die Meuterer ziehen alle Mannschafft auf der Insul zusammen in dem Absehen/ ihn samt seinen dreyßig Mann zu morden/ hat sich besagter Pater Provincial mit seinen Gesellen und Kriegs-Leuten um Mitternacht in aller Stille in die Insul Tenian übersetzen lassen. Dasselbst aber vernommen/ daß/ so bald der folgende Tag angebrochen/ biß 80. Schiffelein und beyläuffig tausend Mann an dem Ufer der Insul Saypan zusammen gekommen seyen/ zu keinem andern Ziel/ als ihn und seinen Gefolg todt zu schlagen. Allein sie waren für dißmal zu späth aufgestanden/ und haben ihnen selbst ein böses Spiel gemacht.

Denn so bald der Spanische Obrist deren Saypanern muthwilliges Beginnen vernommen hatte/ zürnete er hefftig/ liesse Bauholtz schlagen und ein ziemliches Schiff bauen/ auf welchem er selbst alle Insuln zu umfahren und zu besuchen/ die Saypaner aber wegen ihrer Meuterey zu straffen entschlossen ware. Seine Meynung überhaupt ware/ alle und jede Insuln mit unsern Priestern zu versehn/ und sie in ihrer geistlichen Amts-Verwaltung mit starcker Hand zu schützen; Allein so löblich als dieses Vorhaben war/ so wenig ließ es sich damals bewercken; inmassen zu selbiger Zeit auf denen Marianischen Insuln nicht mehr als dreyzehen Missionarii, folgends so viel Priester als Insuln seynd vorhanden gewesen. Doch wurden zu End des Mertzen 1682 auf die Insul Rota zwey Patres, nemlich Petrus Comano und der frisch angelanete P. Carolus Boranga samt dem Bruder Baltzer du Bois auf deren Inwohnern Verlangen/ so es treu mit denen Spaniern und denen Missionariis meyneten/ abgefertiget; sintemal diese redliche Insulaner/ um zu zeigen/ wie sehr sie von allem Aufstand entfernet seyen/ nach und nach alle Meuterer/ so sich auf ihrer Insul aufhielten/ gefangen/ gebunden/ und dem Obrist überantwortet/ ja ihm gleich bey seiner Ankunfft einen Rädelsführer/ welcher vor 9 Jahren Patrem Franciscum Erquera [sic] aus unserer Gesellschaft erschlagen hatte/ im Julio 1681 eingeliefert und selbst ihnen einige Missionarios zu schicken gebetten hatten. Gemeldeter Priester-Mörder ward vermög des über ihn gefällten Urtheils auf der Brust/ wie auch an Händen und Füßen mit glüenden Zangen gezwickt: auf der Richtstadt aber auf die Erden geworffen: allda wie einer/ der gerädert wird/ an Händen und Füßen ausgespannt: darnach nicht zwar mit dem Rad/ sondern mit einem Kolben an allen Gliedern/ von dem Kopff angefangen/ zerschmettert: das Haupt samt Händen und Füßen mit dem Beil abgeschlagen: der Leib aber geviertheilt/ und letztlich so wol die Viertheil/ als Kopff und Glieder an verschiedenen Orten theils aufgesteckt oder angeschlagen/ theils andern zum Abscheu aufgehenckt. Doch hatte er sich vorhin in dem Kercker tauffen lassen und sein Urtheil mit ungemeiner Standhaftigkeit ohne Zeichen einiges Schmertzens oder der geringsten Forcht großmüthig ausgestanden/ ob schon vorher dergleichen Hinrichtung auf diesen Insuln niemals war gesehen worden/ allwo das Hencken und Erschiessen biß dahin die grösten Straffen gewesen waren. Er hätte zwar durch einen List sich solchem erbärmlichen Tod schier entzogen/ indem er/ bey vernommener Ankunfft eines neuen Obristens/ seinen Mit-Mörder (welcher des Pa-

*tris Erquerra seelig Reiß-Gefährten/ so ein Spanischer Soldat war/ erwürget hatte) durch einen Betrug gefangen und eingesperret hat/ in dem Absehen denselben dem Obrist zu behändigen/ hiedurch aber nach dem sonst üblichen Landsbrauch Gnad und Verzeihung seiner Ubelthat zu erlangen. Allein GOtt verhängte die Sach gantz anderst/ der gefangene Bösewicht ist ihm entwischt/ er aber selbst eingezogen und obbeschriebener Gestalt zur wohlverdienten Straffe verurtheilet worden. Doch bliebe seinem Mord-Cammeraden/ der ihm aus dem Kercker entgangen war/ sein Lohn ebenfalls nicht aus; immassen auch dieser bald hernach gefangen und an den Galgen ist geknüpffet worden/ weil er nemlich weniger als der erstere gesündigtet hatte; dann jener war der eigentliche Stifter alles Übels/ und hatte ihm den Soldaten um das Leben zu bringen anbefohlen: Zudem auch wegen einem gewissen Umstand ein dermassen schärffter Urtheil verdient; als er nemlich in der Meynung/ nun wäre der von ihm ermordete Pater Erquerra gestorben/ ihn auf der Erden für todt hatte liegen lassen/ und davon gangen ware: da er aber zuruck geschauet und wahrgenommen/ daß der Pater sich aufrichte und noch lebe/ rennte er auf denselben loß/ und triebe ihm endlich die Seel aus dem Leib. Die übrige vier Bösewicht (dann es waren ihrer sechs) welche diesen zwey Mördern geholfen hatten/ waren schon vorhin theils von ihres gleichen entleibt/ theils von der Obrigkeit hingerichtet worden/ mithin nur diese zwey Todtschläger übergeblieben/ welche ein vornehmer Indianer einen nach dem andern gefangen und dem Obrist eingehändiget/ nach ihnen aber noch einen dritten dergleichen Meuchelmörder Namens **Scheref** nach Agadna gebracht hat/ welcher gleich dem ersteren mit feurigen Zangen gepfetzt/ mit Kolben zerschlagen/ in Stück zerhauen und aufgesteckt ist worden/ angesehen er gleichfals einen Priester-Mord an dem gottseeligen Patre Sebastiano Montroy [sic] begangen hatte. Obgesagter Indianer aber hat sie dernwegen eingezogen und dem Gericht zugestellt; weil ihm der Obrist/ als er von ihm an statt der Erschlagenen andere Seelsorger für sein Insul begehrte/ geantwortet/ er werde ihnen der gleichen Spitzbuben/ von welchen die vorige Priester sind getödtet worden/ würden gefänglichlich zugeführt haben; Dann der Eyfer zu dem Christlichen Glauben überwoege bey denen von Rota die Lieb und das Mitleiden, gegen ihre schuldige Landes-Leuth so sehr/ daß sie solche lieber in den Todt lieffern als länger ohne Priester leben wolten.*

Nichts wünschen wir inbrünstiger/ als daß die fünf in Spanien zurück gebliebene und in diese Provintz gehörige neue Missionarii bald anlangen/ damit sie mit uns vor einem paar Jahren hier angekommenen fünff Priestern die zehende Zahl erfüllen/ welche/ wie der H. Philippus Nerus zu fagen pflegte/ die gantze Welt zu bekehren fähig ist. GOtt gebe/ daß sie denen Patribus Kerschbaumer und Cuculino, die uns mit ihrer Ankunfft sehr erfreuet haben/ bald nachfolgen; da hingegen P. Thomas Vallejo Unpäßlichkeit wegen vergangenes 1682. Jahr von denen Obern nach denen Philippinischen Insuln/ um allda seiner Gesundheit zu pflegen/ ist geschickt worden; immassen wir hier auf diesen armseligen Eilanden weder Artzt noch Artzeney haben/ folgsam keinem Krancken aufzuhelffen im Stand/ wohl aber mit Arbeit und Elend dergestalt überhäufft sind/ daß solche einen gesunden Leib und starcke Natur erfordern.

Nun leben wir der Hoffnung/ daß nach so scharffer Abstraffung deren Priester-Mördern/ und so klugen Anstalten des Herrn Obersten/ absonderlich da die Innwohner der Insul Rota sich des Evangelii dergestalt begierich erzeigt haben/ alles besser von staten gehen/ und gesamte Marianer nach ihrem Beyspiel sich in das Joch Christi nach Wunsch schicken werden.

So weit erstreckt sich der Brief und die Nachricht Venerabilis Patris Strobach. Jetzt wollen wir aus anderer Marianischen Jesuitern Sendschreiben auch den Folg selbiger Geschichten vernehmen.

Translation, by P. H.

About the Missionaries in the Mariana Islands.

On these islands, our Society has already endeavored for 15 to 20 years to convert the islanders to the only true faith. Last year, 1682, the number of workers was increased when new missionaries arrived. Before these came, there were no more than 13 priests, plus three Brothers and one *donado*, or oblate Brother, as follows:

—Rev. Fr. Manuel de Solorzano, Vice-Provincial, a Spaniard, here in his seventh year;

—Fr. Gerardo Bouwens, from the Low Countries [i.e. Belgium], here in his tenth year;

—Fr. Pedro Comano [i.e. Coomans], from the Low Countries [i.e. Belgium], also in his tenth year;

—Fr. Basilio Le Roulx, from the Low Countries [i.e. Belgium], here in his fourth year;

—Fr. Lorenzo Bustillo, a Spaniard, formerly a companion of the late Fr. Diego Luis de San-Vitores;

—Fr. Tomás de Cardeñoso, a Spaniard, also a worker left here by the Ven. Fr. San-Vitores;

—Fr. Juan Ahumada, a Spaniard, in his third year;

—Fr. Tomás de Vallejo, a Spaniard, in his third year;¹

—Fr. Carlos Boranga, from Vienna in Austria, here in his third year;

—Fr. Juan Tilpe, from Bohemia, here in his third year;

—Fr. Augustin Strobach, from Bohemia, here in his third year;

—Fr. Diego de Zarzosa, a Spaniard, here in his third year;

—Fr. Teófilo de Angelis, an Italian,² here in his third year;

—Brother Pedro Pavon, a Spaniard, here in his third year;³

1 Ed. note: He left the Marianas that year (1682) on account of sickness (see below).

2 Ed. note: Fr. de Angelis was born in Sienna, Italy, and had belonged to the Tyrol Province of the Jesuits.

3 Ed. note: Since he arrived in 1674, he was really in his 8th year in 1682.

—Br. Antonio de los Reyes, a Mexican, here in his sixth year;¹

—Br. Balthasar du Bois, from the Low Countries [i.e. Belgium], here in his fourth [rather third] year; and

—the auxiliary oblate Brother who came here in the very beginning with the often-mentioned founder and martyr San-Vitores.²

But last year, the following new teachers of the faith have joined us:

—Fr. Antonio Kerschbaumer [alias Cerezo] from Upper Germany and Fr. Matías Cuculino [i.e. Kuklein] from Bohemia; they arrived here with the new Governor, Don Antonio de Savavia, who, contrary to the previous custom, will be subject neither to the Viceroy of Mexico nor to the Governor of the Philippine Islands, but solely to the Catholic King.³ He is a truly experienced, brave, and intelligent man who is eager to serve God's Church. With his assistance we expect to place Christianity here on a new footing. A beginning has already been made on the main Island of San Juan and on the Island of Rota, where in keeping with the old custom, the new missionaries are sometimes assigned to be with the older, as follows:

—yours truly, Augustin Strobach, with Fr. Pedro Comano in the village of Pago, or the residence of the Immaculate Conception [in 1682];

—Fr. Carlos Boranga with Fr. Gerard Bouwens in the village of Marasan [sic]⁴, or the residence of San José;

—Fr. Teófilo de Angelis with Fr. Basilio Le Roulx in the village of Umatag, or residence of San Dionisio, the Aeropagite;

—the other two new priests, namely Fr. Zarzosa and Fr. Tilpe, remained behind in the main village of Agadña, that is, in our main residence of San Ignacio, the former as [house] minister, the latter as supervisor of the seminary or school for young Mariana Islanders. However, these arrangements soon had to be changed again because several new residences have been erected, and because of the fire which has destroyed the residence in Retigam [rather Ritidian]. Due to these changes, I have moved from Pago to Marasan [sic]; Pago is only 2 miles from the main residence of San Ignacio, i.e. from Agadña, while Marasan [sic] is 6 miles by land and 10 hours by water from Agadña.⁵ Our first and greatest concern was to cleanse this large island completely of all remaining heathen idolatry and to establish the Catholic Church by means of the sacrament

1 Ed. note: Fr. Strobach, writing from Rota, is relying on his memory; in fact, there is no clear record of this Mexican's arrival at Guam; it was perhaps as early as 1676, but also as late as 1681.

2 Ed. note: A reference to the Filipino named Felipe Sonson.

3 Ed. note: A clear misunderstanding of Spanish administrative practices by this German Father; he was the first Governor directly appointed from Spain, but he remained subordinate to the Governor of the Philippines and the Viceroy.

4 Ed. note: This could be a misprint for Inapsan, though the church there may have been dedicated to San Miguel; the stronger possibility is Inarajan (see below).

5 Ed. note: This remark points to Marasan being a misprint for Inarajan, which was the most distant mission station.

of re-birth for all those who were not baptized at all or had not been entered in the baptismal records, as well as those who live together as married couples. We have completely abolished the disgraceful custom of divorce, which used to be common among these people. In this manner, I have baptized no less than 450 in Marasan [sic], some conditionally, others not,¹ and married over 100 couples. My enclosed letter shows how much time I have spent administering both of these sacraments after I arrived here at Sosa on the Island of Rota, or the residence of St. [Francis] Borgia.

After the main Island of San Juan was reformed as mentioned above, all the missionaries cared only for the establishment of the same conditions on the other inhabited islands. The new Governor himself was interested in doing this, and he assigned an escort of 30 soldiers to our Father Vice-Provincial, who took on this responsibility. With this escort, he investigated first the Island of Rota, then the Islands of Aguiguan, Tenian and Saypan, in all of which (with the only exception of Saypan) he found not only a friendly welcome, but was also supplied with proper food. On this occasion, he baptized 400 children and 100 adults, several of whom were over 100 years old, including two who died immediately after they received other holy sacraments. When he returned, he brought back up to 60 Mariana Islanders who had [previously] fled from the main island. It was his intention to visit all the other islands as well, but the storms and high waves did not allow it. At the request of the Governor, he not only baptized the heathens after necessary instruction and solemnized the marriages of couples, but he also inspected the islands thoroughly, observing their location, viewing their seaports and selecting convenient sites for the construction of parish houses and churches.

To add some more detailed information to what I have said above about the Island of Saypan, the Saypanese were very civil to the Father Vice-Provincial when he first disembarked, but when he asked them again whether they had any children to baptize, they called together their 18- to 25-year old young men, who were introduced to him with the following words: **“These are our children whom you may wish to baptize.”** Even without an interpreter, the Father realized what message they tried to give him with such haughty words, namely that they would rather prepare their young men for war than to subject them unconditionally to the rule of the Gospel. But when a faithful Mariana Islander, who had come from the main Island of San Juan for business reasons, and who was a good Christian, warned him that the rebels were assembling on the island for the purpose of murdering him and his 30 men, said Father [Vice-] Provincial arranged for himself, his followers and the soldiers to be taken over to the Island of Tenian at midnight, when all was quiet. There he heard that, as soon as the next morning had dawned, up to 80 small vessels and about a thousand men gathered on the shores of the Island of Saypan with no other goal than to kill him and his entourage. But this time they had gotten up too late, and the affair turned against them.

1 Ed. note: The old German word “Bedingnuß,” now written “Bedingung” corresponds to the Latin expression “sub conditione.”

As soon as the Spanish Master-of-camp [Saravia] heard about the hostile intentions of the Saypanese, he became very angry. He ordered some timber cut and had a fairly large boat built in which he could sail himself and visit all islands, and he was determined to punish the Saypanese for their mutiny. His view in general was that priests should be sent to every single island, where he would provide them with strong protection and enable them to administer their spiritual office. But as laudable as that goal was, it was not feasible to achieve it at the time, since there were no more than 13 missionaries in the Mariana Islands then, which meant as many priests as there are islands. However, at the end of March 1682, two Fathers, namely Pedro Comano and the newly-arrived Fr. Carlos Boranga together with Br. Balthasar du Bois, were sent to the Island of Rota at the request of those islanders who were faithful to the Spaniards and the missionaries. These honest islanders, to show how far removed they were from any uprising, gradually captured and bound all mutineers found on their island and handed them over to the Master-of-camp who, when he had arrived, back in July 1681, they handed over to him one ring leader who 9 years before had killed Fr. Francisco Ezquerra of our Society, and they asked him to send them a few missionaries. The man who had murdered the priest was convicted, and his sentence was carried out as follows: His chest, hands and feet were pinched with red-hot tongs; at the place of execution, he was thrown to the ground and stretched out by his hands and feet like someone who is broken on the wheel; then every part of him, starting with the head, was broken not by a wheel, but with a club; the head, the hands and the feet were cut off with an axe, and the torso was quartered; at last the four parts as well as the head and the limbs were scattered around to deter others, with some parts being skewered or nailed, some hung up. But before his death, he had allowed himself to be baptized in the prison, and he suffered his sentence with unusual courage, without signs of pain or the slightest fear, although such executions had never been seen on these islands before. Hangings and executions by firing squad had been the severest form of punishment until then. He almost escaped this miserable death by means of a trick. When he heard that a new Master-of-camp would arrive, he used a ruse to capture and lock up his fellow murderer (who had strangled Fr. Ezquerra's late travelling companion, a Spanish soldier) with the intention of handing the man over to the Major and thus—according to local custom—to obtain a pardon and forgiveness for his own evil deed. However, God decreed otherwise. The captured villain escaped from him, and he himself was jailed and sentenced as he had well deserved, in the manner described above. However, his fellow murderer, who had escaped from prison, also did not go without punishment. He was soon captured and hanged at the gallows, because he had sinned less than the former, who had been the actual instigator of all evil and had ordered this man to take the soldier's life. There also was another circumstance which contributed to his more severe sentence. He had walked away from Fr. Ezquerra, whom he had left for dead, lying on the ground. But when he turned around, he realized that the Father was still alive and trying to get up; so he ran toward him and finally drove the soul out of his body. The other four villains (there were six all together) who had helped these two murderers,

had already been dealt with: two had been killed by their own people, and two had been executed by the authorities, leaving only those two murderers, whom a high-ranking Indian had captured and handed over to the Major. Afterwards, this man brought a third such murderer to Agaña, whose name was **Cheref**, and who—like the first—was torn apart with red-hot tongs, then killed with a club, and chopped to pieces which were impaled. He had also murdered a priest, namely the late Fr. Sebastian Monroy. The above-named Indian captured and handed these men over to the court because the Master-of-camp, whom he had asked to send priests to his island to replace those who had been killed, had answered that those villains who had killed the earlier priests would be imprisoned. The eagerness for the Christian faith was stronger in these Indians of Rota than their love and compassion for their guilty compatriots, and they would rather send these to die than to live any longer without priests.

Our most fervent wish is that the five new missionaries who stayed back in Spain and who were intended for this Province will soon arrive. That, together with us, the five priests who came here some years ago, would complete the number of ten which, as St. Philip Neri used to say, is all that is required to convert the entire world.¹ God willing, they will soon follow Fr. Kerschbaumer and Fr. Cuculino, whose arrival we have welcomed so much. However, the Superiors sent Fr. Tomás Vallejo to the Philippines last year (1682), due to illness, so that his health could be restored there, since we have neither a physician nor any medicine here in these miserable islands, and we are unable to help anyone who is ill. Yet we are overburdened with work and hardship, which requires a healthy body and a strong constitution.

We live in the hope that following such wise measures taken by the military commanders, and specially since the inhabitants of the Island of Rota have shown such eagerness for the Gospels, everything will be better here, and that, following their example, all Mariana Islanders will ask us to place them under the yoke of Christ.

Thus ends the letter and the news from the Venerable Fr. Strobach.² From the reports written by other Jesuits in the Mariana Islands we now want to learn how these stories continued.

1 Ed. note: St. Philip Neri (1515-1595), born in Florence, founder of the Oratory. Feast-day 26 May.

2 Ed. note: See also Doc. 1682H.

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