

HISTORY OF MICRONESIA
A COLLECTION OF SOURCE
DOCUMENTS

VOLUME 8 — LAST CHAMORRO REVOLT
1683-1687

Compiled and edited
by

Rodrigue Lévesque

LES ÉDITIONS
LÉVESQUE



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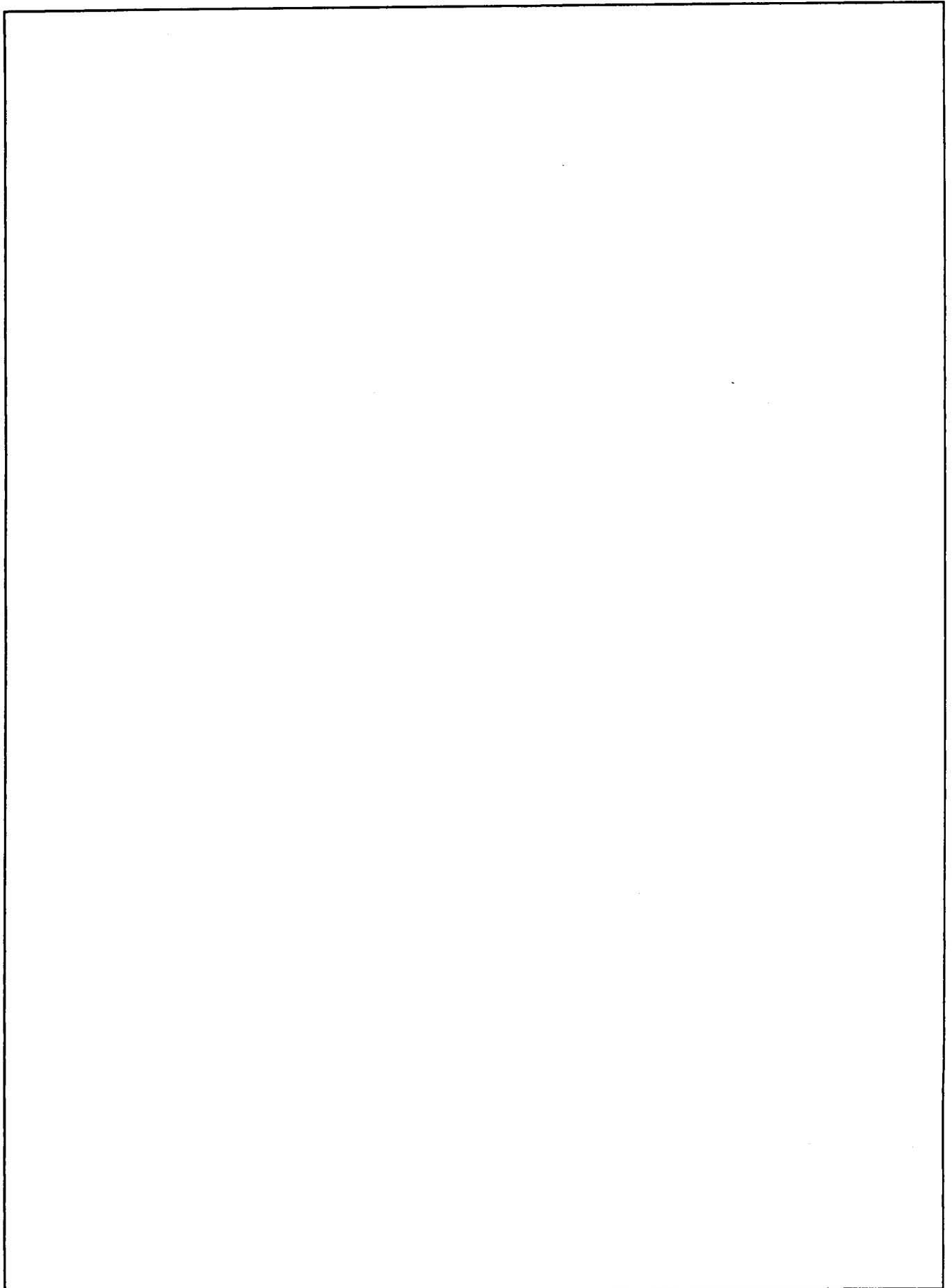
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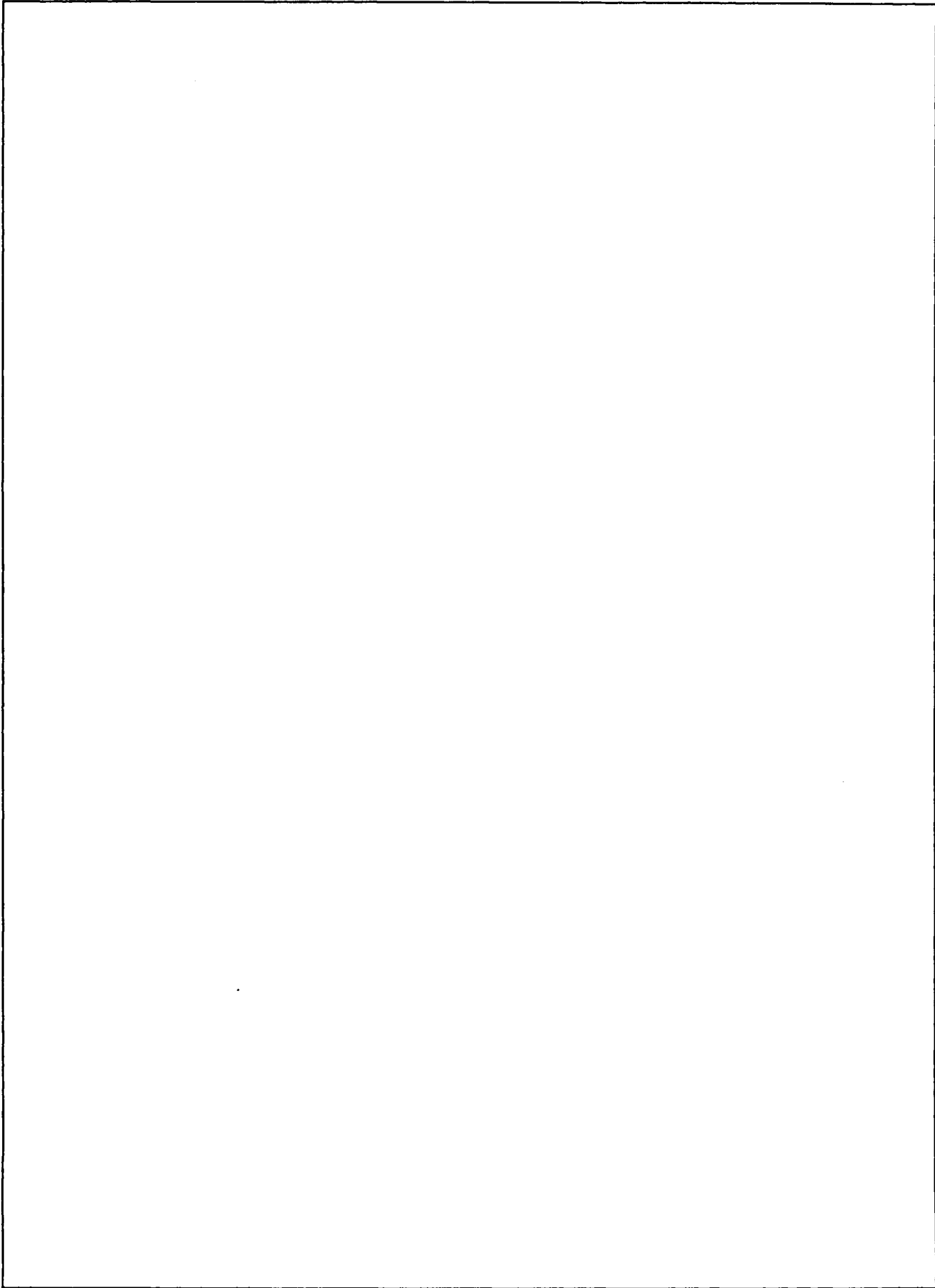
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Rear endpaper “Philippine Islands and the Ladrones or Marianas, the Moluccas, etc.” published in Paris in 1703, by Nicolas de Fer [1646-1720], royal geographer, and engraved by C. Inselin.

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

The last Chamorro revolt of 1684—one that almost succeeded—against their Spanish conquerors marked the point of no return for the people of the Mariana Islands. Its causes were ascribed by the participants to a lack of vigilance on the part of the Spanish Governor, Major Damian de Esplana. He believed that the Chamorros, those of the Island of Guam at least, had already been pacified, and had adjusted to foreign occupation, new plants and animals, and a new religion. On a bright Sunday morning, after mass, Esplana was promenading through the streets and gardens of his capital, Agaña, unarmed and unescorted, when he was attacked with a machete wielded by a tall and fat young man named Yura, who had planned a revolution. Antonio Yura had been educated by the Jesuits in a nearby school, and been abused 10 years earlier by this governor, who used to overburden the school children with manual labors. Unfortunately for Yura, a Chamorro boy witnessed the attack upon the governor, raised the alarm, which brought two soldiers running to his defence; Yura was killed. This volume contains the full story of this attack, and the many violent incidents that followed over the course of many months, all narrated by the survivors.

Of some significance, I think, was the use of psychological warfare by both sides in this military conflict. One favorite Chamorro trick consisted in using the native wives of Filipino soldiers serving in the Spanish army to entice them out of their fort; consequently, three or four soldiers deserted, taking their muskets along with them. Esplana planned to make the first use of chemical warfare in Micronesia, by poisoning some wells in native villages, but the priests effectively blocked him, saying that it would be immoral, in that it would make innocent victims.

There are many reasons why the revolt of 1684 did not succeed. One was the existence of a proper stone fort, named after Our Lady of Guadalupe, which had been completed by the previous Governor, Saravia, the year before. What remained of the Spanish colony was safe inside this fort, although the people there almost starved to death. The rest of the troops were then in Saipan, under Major Quiroga, and under siege, but protected by a wooden stockade which they had built of coconut logs at Point Susupe. They broke free three months later, and forced the natives at gunpoint to transport them aboard their canoes back to Guam, where they saved the remainder of the colony. Many rebels then abandoned Guam and fled to northern islands, leaving plenty of food behind. Another Spanish detachment was then in the Gani Islands north of Saipan; they were all systematically killed by the rebels, including Father Coomans, one of the Belgian missionaries. On the first day of the revolt alone, 4 soldiers had been killed by surprise and 17 wounded; 6 missionaries were also left for dead.

Another significant reason for the failure of this revolution was the staunch support and active defence of the Spanish colonists by the native chief of the village of Sinahaña (inland from Agaña), a man named Ignacio Hineti, who had fought against the Spanish in the previous revolt of 1676, but sided with them in 1684; with about 50 disciplined Chamorros under his command, he fought many skirmishes outside the fort with the poorly-led rebels. He also escorted some missionaries to safety. However, the Colonel of native troops, Antonio Ayihi, was then in the Gani Islands. He did his best to protect the Spanish detachment led by the Filipino Captain Tapia, but could not prevent their being drowned at sea, when the soldiers were thrown overboard at a given signal. His friend at Alamagan protected the life of Father Coomans for a while. In the end, it was the political maturity and military experience of these two native leaders that probably were instrumental in ending this last Chamorro revolt.

The 4-year period covered by this volume saw many other **significant events at sea**. The Mariana sloop made its first successful run from Manila in 1683; it brought Quiroga back, and also Father Xaramillo, who came as Visitor of the mission. English pirate ships stopped at Guam to refresh: Captain Eaton in 1685, and Captain Swan in 1686. The first ship was approached by the Filipino deserters, acting as advisers to the rebel group; they asked Captain Eaton to attack the Spanish, but the pirate Captain had them slaughtered instead, choosing to provide Esplana with more gun-powder. In the latter year, the Manila galleon Santa Rosa was returning from Acapulco but was warned off in sufficient time to avoid the pirates, and to divert southward, but unfortunately she soon ran aground upon unknown shoals, that have since been known as the Santa Rosa Shoals. The famous pilot, Francisco Lazcano, was her chief pilot. After some emergency repairs to the galleon's rudder, he had gone ahead in the launch to scout for a way out of the shallows, when bad weather caused him to drift out of sight, and eventually took him all the way to the Philippines, without drinking water. That same year 1686, Esplana himself, was similarly carried off Guam in a boat; he and his men survived on a few watermelons. This particular odyssey, narrated by the Jesuit Father Francisco Gayoso, is published here for the first time. By the way, the galleon Santa Rosa sighted Yap in 1686 and named it Caroline—a name that was eventually applied to the whole archipelago. Another galleon, the Santo Niño, was then in the area; she has been sent from Manila to look for the English pirates (then at Guam); she too sighted Yap and named it St. Barnabe Island.

Rod Lévesque
Gatineau, December 1996.

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I also wish to thank Mr. John Maggs, of Maggs Brothers, London, England, for permission to quote extensively from his catalogues of rare books and autographs of the 1920s. They contain excerpts from the former archives of the Duchess of Aveiro, documents which have since been dispersed among collectors the world over, and are thus mostly unavailable to the historian.

Errors and corrections

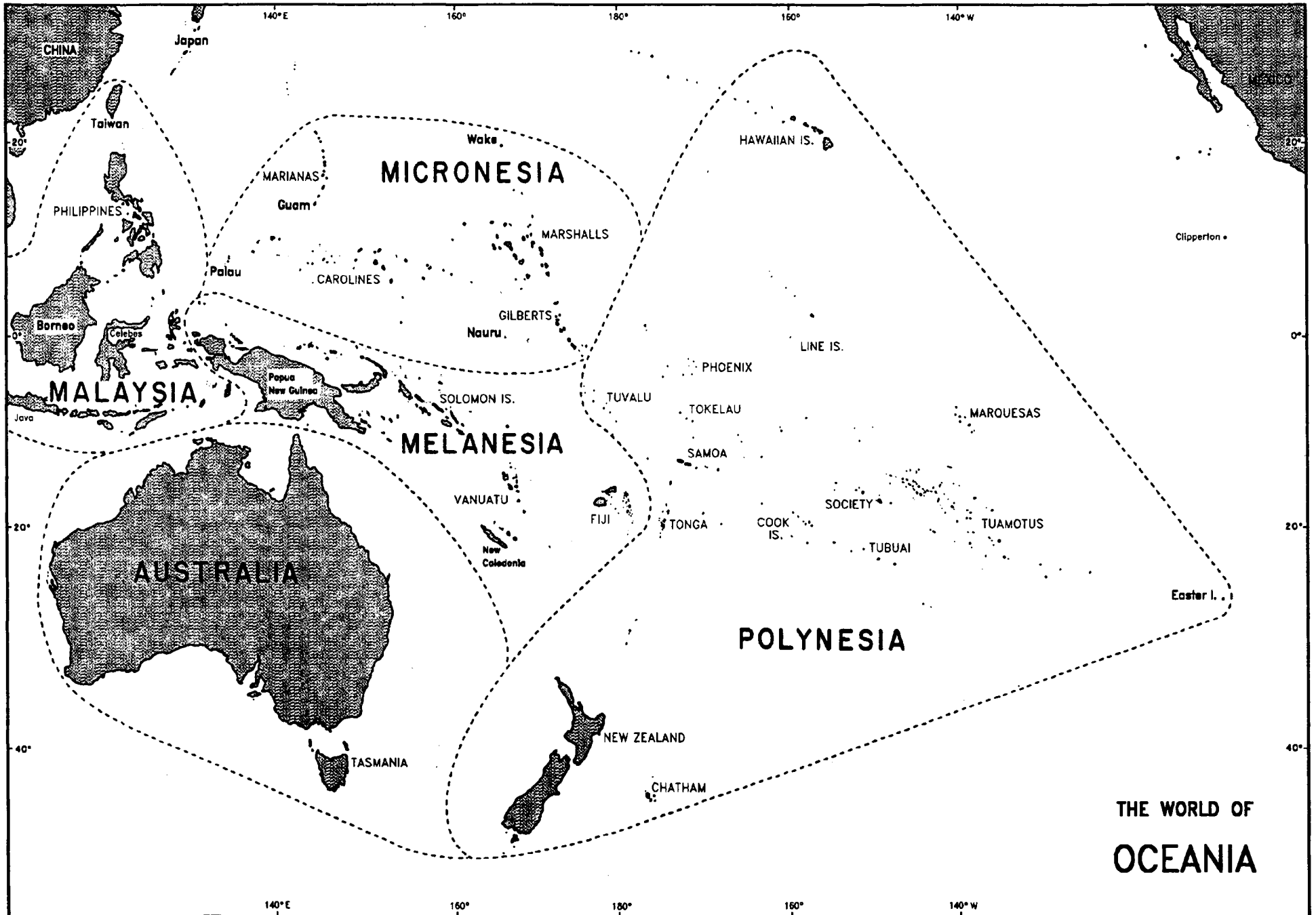
Despite every effort to check the facts, minor errors have undoubtedly remained. For these, as well as for the judgments expressed, the editor takes full responsibility. However, readers who spot factual errors are sincerely invited to submit corrections.

Note on sources

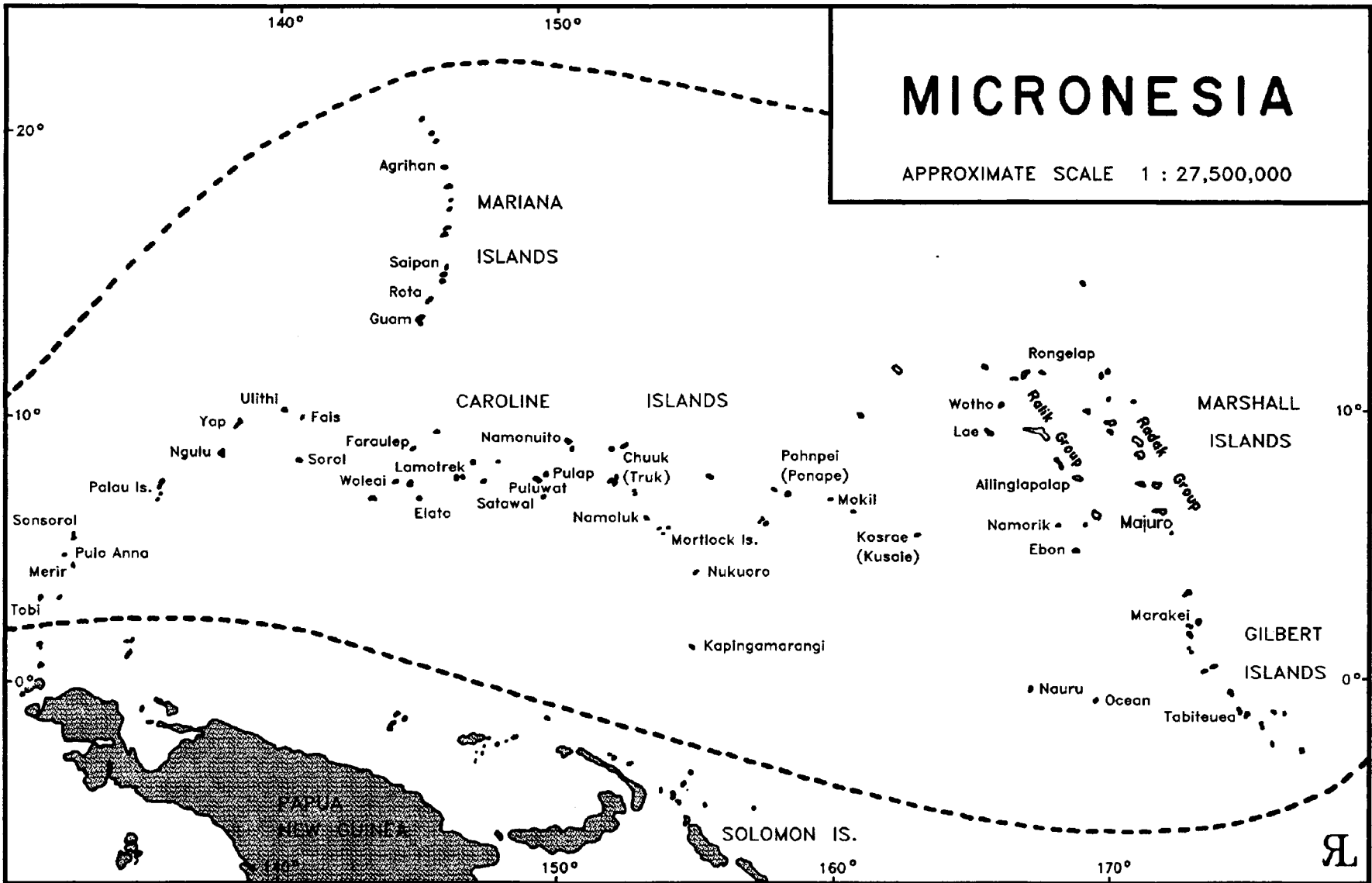
The documents drawn from AGI are from the *Filipinas* bundles, unless otherwise indicated.

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**



Document 1683H

Letter from Fr. Solorzano to Fr. Vidal in Mexico, dated Guam 20 May 1683

Source: Present location unknown. Fr. Vidal must have sent this 7-page letter to the Duchess of Aveiro, as it was found among her papers. It was offered for sale by Maggs Bros. of London in 1923 for 31 pounds, i.e. \$155 (Cat. N° 442, n° 1895, p. 167).

Extract in the Maggs Catalog

...
What a comfort it was to me to get your letter!... I had been so disappointed to find that many of the letters I had written you in the past few years had not reached you...

Coming to the question of this Mission, I must tell you that we have enjoyed many spiritual and temporal benefits.

The island of **Rota** is now organized into seven [sic]¹ large districts, and in the new district of Agusan we have built a new residence and church, which I dedicated to our Apostle of the Indies [i.e. St. Francis Xavier].

In Agaña we have a **fortress** built of stone, earth and lime, which is now very near completion. The plan has been forwarded to Father Mansilla [in Mexico] so that he may show it to the Viceroy and to you. I had spoken to the Governor about the projected fortress which was being built of wood, and pointed out that, although the work involved would be considerable, the material would not be durable. He agreed with my view, and decided to build it of more substantial material... and it is now a work of considerable utility to this Mission, and many unmarried soldiers have already been installed there; while the married ones live in a newly-established community which progresses day by day.

¹ Ed. note: A slip of the pen for "two". He was thinking of the 7 districts of Guam.

With all these new buildings, I have not neglected the construction of the **mission house and church**—a building which, I am told, is not inferior to the Convents of Manila. Built of wood, it is constructed substantially to last many years...¹

[He describes the peaceful life of the community—which later events proved to be the calm before the storm—and the progress which was being steadily made; the construction of the Colleges and of the residences. He writes with happy anticipation of the conquest of the Islands of Agiguan, Tinian, and Saypan, where he hopes to “plant the standard of the Faith.” The Governor, too, though at first apathetic, was persuaded to lend his cooperation...]

And on the 22nd of October, he resolved to embark with 60 soldiers and all the necessary appointments. I, on my part, had long previously made my preparations...

[They encountered rough weather on the journey, however, and were obliged to put into port at Agaña two days later, when the Governor called his officers together to consult with them as to the course they should pursue...]

With the intent to postpone the journey for another year. Seeing that all this was a trick on the part of Satan to injure the souls of this community, I opposed this decision on several grounds; first, I maintained that the journey could be safely undertaken... urging the need to succor those many souls, but as this reason did not make much appeal to him, I asked His Excellency for what he could not will refuse me; to wit, 40 soldiers (whom the King pays for the protection of us Ministers in these enterprises)... which he denied me. Recognizing the extreme gravity of the obstacle, I told him plainly, to his face, that if he did not grant me this, I would go myself alone with my breviary, from Island to Island, at the risk of my life, to comply with the obligation which was incumbent both upon His Excellency and myself. He said I could do as I pleased. And I went.

Etc.²

1 Ed. note: It might have been better to have two separate buildings, as this single structure was to be destroyed by fire, the following year...

2 Ed. note: Fr. Solorzano could have mentioned that the Governor was sick in bed, and could not go right then, even if he had wanted to... The rest of this report was not published by Maggs Bros.

Documents 1683I

Jesuit annual report for 1682-1683, by Fr Solorzano

II. Official version

Source: RAH 9/4797 (formerly Tomo A-60 of the Muñoz collection of transcripts), fol. 235-240; cited in B&R 53: 30.

Note: Muñoz made this transcript in 1790, from a copy that was then in the possession of Isidro de Olmos.

Original text in Spanish.

Breve relacion de los sucesos mas notorios(?) en el aumento de la Mision i Cristiandad Mariana desde Junio de 1682 hasta fines de Mayo de 1683 años.

*A 8 de Junio de 1682 dio vista a la isla de San Juan la nao **San Antonio de Padua**, que traia a su cargo el General D. Tomas de Endaya, cuya piedad i celo cristiano unicamente se ha señalado en favorecer esta cristiandad haciendo dar fondo a las naos en el Puerto para que con mayor brevedad i seguridad se desembarque el socorro necesario para la conservacion i aumento de esta nueva Yglesia. Venia en la nao el Illustrissimo Sr. D. Fr. Juan Duran, que gososo de la buena disposicion destos naturales; progresos de la fee en estas Yslas, quiso confirmarlos en ella i fortalecerlos con el sacramento de la confirmacion, para lo qual saltó en tierra con aclamacion i agasajo de todos por ser el primer obispo que la ilustró con su presencia i santidad con tan santo exercicio. Juntaronse muchos de los naturales en la Yglesia de San Dionisio Areopágitata a donde fueron confirmados recibiendo con la gracia del sacramento particular devocion i afecto de las cosas sagradas. Concluida esta funcion i haviendonos dejado dos nuevos misioneros i con barco i proveidose la nao de todo lo necesario de bastimentos i agua para el resto de su viage se dieron a la vela dejandonos mui consolados i agradecidos por el grande bien que se hace a esta Cristiandad dando fondo la nao en el puerto, pues en seis horas se hizo todo el despacho de la Mision, i los de la nao quisieron por su gusto i recreo detenerse dia i medio mas. Para que se vea claramente que el dar fondo no es causa de que se detengan las naos en Marianas sino de que se despachen mas presto, i que la detencion si la hai no la causa la mision sino el andar barloventean-*

do con daño irreparable de la cristiandad, ó el querer recrearse i proveerse de lo que necesitan los pasajeros.

[The first stone fort of Guam, 1683]

Haviendo pasado la nao a Manila se trato de poner en execucion dos cosas mui esenciales: la una fue la conclusion i perfeccion de la fortaleza que se havia empezado de maderas [sic], i la 2^a la conquista i sujeccion de la Ysla de Seypan, de que depende la reduccion de las demas. Para la 1^a se hizo el empeño posible, aunque al mejor tiempo faltó la madera que se requeria con que fue forzoso empezar la obra de nuevo con doblado trabajo de piedra i lodo si bien por su firmeza i duracion bien empleado; i como ya era empeño del Governador i Capitan General esta obra, se dio tanto calor i prisa a ella que falta solo uno de los quatro barluartes que tiene por acabarse estando los demas i sus cortinas acabados[,] terraplenados i calafateados, i mui en breve se dará fin i perfeccion a toda la obra.

Dava prisa a la conquista de Seypan la obstinacion de aquellos Isleños, que no contentos de haver intentado el año antecedente la muerte del superior de la Mision i de toda la escolta que llevaba: este año hicieron prisioneros a mas de 60 cristianos de esta Ysla de San Juan, los quales violentamente fueron detenidos i obligados a que no bolvieren a sus casas, pretendiendo que se revelasen e hiciesen de su bando contra los españoles i todos sus amigos i aliados, para lo qual les ofrecian tierras i todo buen trato en su Isla. Por otra parte la necesidad extrema de tantas almas de aquella cordillera i el rescato de los prisioneros estimularon a los Ministros evangelicos para arrojarse a los peligros aun sin escolta porque no pereziesen sin el remedio de su salvacion.

Todo lo qual halló igual correspondencia i consonancia en la piedad i celo Catolico del Maestre de Campo D. Antonio Sarabia que mandó aprestar los barcos con que se halla la mision disponiendose el mismo a la jornada sin querer fiarla de otro. A 23 de Octubre del año pasado de 1682 se embarco con 60 soldados i dos sacerdotes con determinacion de dejar enarbolado en Seypan el estandarte de la fee, allanadas todas las dificultades que lo pudiesen impedir dejando en dicha isla un moderado presidio para resguardo de los Ministros Evangelicos i sujeccion de los barbaros. Mas fue Nuestro Señor servido de que escaseasen los vientos i poco a poco se solvieron contrarios, de suerte que haviendo estado batallando dos dias contra los vientos i los mares por ultimo las embarcaciones debiles se rindieron a la fuerza superior del temporal, i se vieron obligados a coger tierra, viendo que era imposible hacer viage.

No dentro [sic= desertó? desabonó? derogó?] de la empresa el valeroso Governador antes con mayor empeño se disponia para ella, quando con un nuevo accidente de enfermedad que le sobrevino se difirio por algunos dias, en los quales corrieron tan furiosos i horribles uracanes i tempestad que parecia que todo el infierno se oponia a la empresa. Pero sosegado el tiempo i viendo el Governador D. Antonio Sarabia que su achaque no le permitia el acometerla personalmente señaló dos de sus Capitanes con 50 arcabuzeros que fuesen en su nombre a Seypan. Embarcaronse todos con dos sacerdotes a 21 de Noviembre i llegaron felizmente a la Ysla de Rota. Y a 28 del mismo mes

se bolvieron a embarcar para pasar a Seypan, i el mismo dia se levantaron vientos contrarios que les obligó a arribar a Rota. Volvieron 3ª vez a embarcarse a 9 de Diciembre de 82 i habiendo navegado todo aquel dia con escaso viento las muchas corrientes fueron llevando la embarcacion tan lejos de tierra que estuvieron a pique de perderse, i volviendo a soplar el nordeste contrario les hizo arribar a Rota donde les tuvo encarcelados hasta fines de Diciembre, sin ser posible proseguir el intento. Porque los vientos se establecieron de suerte que quatro meses continuos no cesaron de ser contrarios. No dando Dios lugar por justos juicios suyos a que se lograrse tan santa pretension i gloriosa empresa en la reduccion de aquellas almas.

*Y asi para no perderlo todo convirtieron su fervor los Ministros Evangelicos en la formacion de otra nueva residencia e Yglesia que se establecio en la Isla de Rota dedicada al Apostol de las Indias San Francisco Xavier, i se erigio en el pueblo de **Agusan**. Y asi aquella isla está ya reducida a dos partidos con dos Yglesias cuyos Patrones son los dos Franciscos Xavier i Borja, i cada partido consta de tres pueblos grandes, a que se han reducido los moradores de toda la Ysla, los quales se señalan mucho en el fervor de aprender la doctrina cristiana en la obediencia i rendimiento asi los Ministros de justicia como a sus Parrocos, i casi todos dejados ya sus ritos gentilicos son casados **in facie Ecclesiae** i la jubentud mui bien instruida i doctrinada.*

No se estava ociosa la milicia de Rota en este tiempo porque teniendo noticia de que el año de 4 deste siglo [rather 1601]: de dos naos Capitana i Almiranta que salieron de Filipinas para Nueva España, la Almiranta San Antonio [sic] se havia perdido en aquella isla arrojada de una tempestad i que se descubrian algunas piezas de artilleria que se pudieran sacar aunque con trabajo, i que ya se havia sacado otra que llevo a Manila el Governador D. Juan de Vargas Hurtado. Trataron de sacar la dicha artilleria aunque no sacaron mas de una pieza que estava en moderado fondo, porque las otras, ó ya por estar mas en lo profundo, ó porque con los muchos años las cubrieron los arrecifes como ya tenian a brazada i medio cubierta a esta no se vieron ni se hallo rastro dellas.

Viendo pues que la constancia de los Nortes les tenia cerradas las esperanzas de pasar a Seypan dejando en tan buen estado la Cristiandad de Rota se bolvieron a esta Ysla de San Juan trayendo consigo la pieza para colocarla en la nueva fortaleza, la qual dio ocasion para mejorar de sitio a todo el presidio, que antes estava entre la mar i un rio con estrechura expuesto a inundaciones i otros accidentes penosos. Los Ministros Evangelicos que aun residian en la casa primitiva de la Mision con demasiada estrechez e incomodidades pasaron a i mismo a mejor sitio i casa de bastante capacidad por sus funciones(?) i ministerios.

Y para establecer de una vez esta republica i dar perfecto asiento i raices a esta Cristiandad pretende el Governador i Capitan General D. Antonio Sarabia imitar aquel celebre Governador de Filipinas Gomez Perez das Mariñas relevando a los soldados que tienen familia i casados ya con los naturales se han hecho pobladores desta Ysla, de las cargas de la milicia i otros trabajos quales son hacer guardias, rondas centinelas i otras faenas militares para que dedicados al beneficio i cultivo de la tierra que se les señalare i otros empleos formen una cabal republica que conste de todas sus partes i

Ministros de justicia: dejando el competente numero de soldados solteros, los cuales residen ya dentro de la fortaleza, i los casados forman un pueblo mui bueno que cada dia se va aumentando con nuevos edificios.

*Al presente todo el empeño es en pasar adelante a la reduccion de las demas Yslas en especial la de Seypan, porque demas de ser de mucha gente i obstaculo para la conversion de las demas, i por esto de mayor importancia su reduccion[,] en ella se hallan muchas piezas de artilleria de bronce de la nao **Concepcion** que se perdio en aquella isla haviendola derrotado, i dexado sin timon una gran tempestad, la qual artilleria se puede sacar facilmente i traer a esta isla ó a donde fuere de mayor servicio de su Magd. Para la execucion desta empresa no se aguarda mas, que al tiempo i vientos favorables que los havrá por el mes de Julio i Agosto, porque mas entrado el tiempo peligra la empresa por la variedad i inconstancia i contrariedad de los vientos que soplan desde mediado Octubre, i ha sido causa de no conseguirse este año pasado. Quiera su Magd. favorecernos i ayudarnos como hemos menester, i son nuestros deseos de dilatar su gloria, i aumentar su fee santissima en estas gentes barbaras.*

Agadña i Mayo 8 de 1683.

Manuel Solorzano.

Translation.

Brief account of the more notorious(?) events in the progress of the Mission and Christian community of the Marianas, from June 1682 to the end of May 1683.

On 8 June 1682, the galleon **San Antonio de Padua** sighted the Island of San Juan. It was under the command of General Don Tomás de Endaya, whose piety and Christian zeal have shown themselves in a unique fashion when he favored this Christian community; he ordered the galleon to be anchored in the port, so that the succor necessary for the preservation and development of this new Church be unloaded more quickly and safely. Aboard the galleon came the Most Illustrious Don Fray Juan Durán; he liked the good disposition of these natives and the progress of the faith in these Islands sufficiently to want to confirm them in it and to fortify them with the sacrament of confirmation. To this effect, he stepped ashore, much to the acclamation and welcome by all, on account of his being the first bishop to illustrate it with his presence and holiness with such a holy exercise. Many of the natives came together in the church of St. Dionysius [or Denis] the Areopagite, where they were confirmed, receiving with the grace of the sacrament a special devotion and affection for sacred things. Once this function was over, and after the galleon had left us two new missionaries,¹ with a boat, and supplied us with everything necessary as food supplies, and taken on water for the rest of its voyage, they sailed away, leaving us much consoled and thankful for the great benefit done to this Christian community in the anchoring of the galleon inside the port. Indeed, the whole despatch of the Mission was carried out within 6 hours, and

1 Ed. note: They were Fathers Cuculino [Kuklein] and Cerezo [Kerschpaumer].

those aboard the galleon wanted to stay one day and a half more for their pleasure and recreation. I say this, so that it can be seen clearly that the act of anchoring does not cause the detention of the galleons in the Marianas, but cause them to be despatched faster, and that the detention, when there is, is not caused by the Mission, but is due to the tacking back and forth, thus causing irreparable harm to the Christian community, or due to the passengers wishing to recreate themselves and provide themselves with what they need.

[The first stone fort of Guam, 1683]

After the galleon had gone to Manila, two very essential things were begun: one of them was putting the finishing touch to the construction of a wooden [sic] fort that had been undertaken, and the second thing was the conquest and subjection of the Island of Seypan, upon which depends the reduction of the others. In the first instance, all possible efforts were made, although most of the time the required lumber was lacking. That is why it became necessary to begin the work again, thus doubling the amount of labor, to make it of stone and mud;¹ the labor was thus well employed as it was made stronger and would last longer.² So much enthusiasm and hurry were applied to this work that right now there remains only one of the four bulwarks to be finished; the others and its curtains and ramparts are finished, and pointed,³ and very soon the whole work will be complete and given the final touch.

The conquest of Seypan was made urgent by the obstinacy of those Islanders who were not content with the attempt made last year on the lives of the superior of the Mission and the whole escort in his company. This year they made prisoners out of over 60 Christians from this Island of San Juan, who were forcibly detained and forced not to return to their homes. They tried to make them join their rebellious party against the Spanish, as well as all their friends and allies; to this effect, they offered them lands and a good treatment in their Island. On the other hand, the extreme need of so many souls of that chain of islands and the rescue of the prisoners stimulated the Gospel ministers to throw themselves into the dangerous situation, even without an escort, so that they might not perish without the remedy of their salvation.

All of this found a corresponding echo in the piety and Catholic zeal of Master-of-camp Don Antonio de Saravia who ordered that the boats be made ready, and therefore the Mission agreed and prepared to make the journey without any thought of another postponement. On 23 October of last year 1682, he embarked with 60 soldiers and 2 priests with the determination to leave the standard of the faith planted in

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- 1 Ed. note: The expression "piedra y lodo" is usually interpreted to mean that the foundation was made of coral stone, cemented with lime made from burned coral, and a superstructure made of adobe (sun-dried mud) bricks.
 - 2 Ed. note: It lasted only 10 years. The seaside wall was not strong enough to resist erosion from excessively-high waves during the typhoon of November 1693.
 - 3 Ed. note: In other words, the cracks between the stones and bricks had been filled with mortar and mud respectively.

Seypan, with all difficulties that could impede it removed, and intending to leave a moderate garrison in said Island for the protection of the Gospel ministers and the subjection of the barbarians. However, Our Lord was pleased to abate the winds and little by little they became contrary, so that, after battling contrary winds and seas for two days, the weak craft finally gave up in the face of the superior strength of the storm, and they saw themselves obliged to head for shore, when they saw that the voyage was impossible.

The valorous Governor did not give up the enterprise; rather, he prepared himself for it with greater effort, but it had to be postponed for a few days when a new accident, an illness, happened. During this time, such furious and horrible hurricanes and storm occurred that it seemed as if the whole of Hell was opposing the enterprise. However, once quiet weather returned, Governor Don Antonio [de] Saravia realized that his illness did not permit him to personally lead it, he assigned two of his Captains to go to Seypan in his place, with 50 arquebusiers. They all boarded boats, along with 2 priests,¹ on 21 November and successfully made it to the Island of Rota. And on the 28th of the same month, they boarded the boats once again to go to Seypan, but that same day contrary winds began to blow and they were forced back to Rota. They embarked a third time on 9 December 1682 and, having sailed the whole of that day with weak winds, the strong currents pushed the boat so far from shore that they became on the verge of sinking; so, as soon as a contrary northeasterly began to blow, it made them return to Rota where it kept them cornered until the end of December, in the impossibility of pursuing their intention; indeed, that wind became constant, so that it blew contrary for 4 whole months. For just reasons on God's part, such a holy pretension and glorious enterprise in the reduction of those souls did not take place.

So, in order not to lose everything, the Gospel ministers converted their fervor into the creation of a second, new residence and church that was established in the Island of Rota, and dedicated to the Apostle of the Indies, St. Francis Xavier, which was built in the town of **Agusan**. So, that island is now reduced to two districts, with two churches whose patron saints are the two Francis, Xavier and Borgia, and each district consists of three large towns, to which have been reduced the inhabitants of the whole Island. Already they are remarkably zealous in learning the Christian doctrine and are obedient and submissive, not only to the ministers of justice but to their parish priests, and most of them have already given up their heathen practices and were married in the church, and the youth is very well taught and indoctrinated.

The soldiers were not idle either during this time in Rota, because, knowing that the fourth [rather 1st] year of this century, out of the two galleons, flagship and consort, that had left the Philippines for New Spain, the consort San Antonio [sic]² became lost in that Island, thrown there by a storm and that a few cannon were showing, and could

1 Ed. note: They were Fathers Coomans and Strobach.

2 Ed. note: Error: the San Antonio was wrecked in 1604, but not in Rota; it was the Santa Margarita that was wrecked in Rota in 1601.

be salvaged, although with some labor, and that one other that had been salvaged already had been taken to Manila by Governor Don Juan de Vargas Hurtado [in 1678]. They tried to take out said cannon, although they did not take out more than one, which was at a moderate depth, because the others were either too deep, or because the reefs had covered them with the passage of time; indeed, they had already covered the cannon by one and a half fathoms [of growth] and no trace of them could be seen.

Finally, seeing that the northerlies were so constant as to close any hope of passing to Seypan, they left the Christian community of Rota in a good state and returned to this Island of San Juan, transporting with them the one cannon, in order to place it in the new fort. [The construction of this new fort] gave the opportunity to improve the site of the whole garrison, which was previously located between the sea and a river in a narrow space exposed to floods and other bothersome accidents. The Gospel ministers, who had been living still in the primitive mission house, in tight quarters and with too many discomforts, moved to a better site as well, and a house with enough space for their functions and ministries.¹

And, in order to establish this republic once and for all and give a perfect settlement and roots to this Christian community, the Governor and Captain General, Don Antonio Saravia, pretends to imitate that famous Governor of the Philippines, Gomez Perez Dasmariñas, by relieving the soldiers, who have families and, as they are already married with natives, have become colonists in this Island, of their military duties and other labors, such as keeping watches, making rounds as sentinels or other military tasks, in order to dedicate them to the exploitation and cultivation of the land assigned to them and other employments, thus to form a valid republic to consist of all its parts, including ministers of justice. That leaves a competent number of unmarried soldiers, who now live inside the fort, and the married ones form a very good town that is growing every day with new buildings.

At present, the whole endeavor is for passing forward to the reduction of the other Islands, specially that of Seypan, because, in addition to its having a large population and being an obstacle for the conversion of the others, and therefore its reduction being more important, there are to be found many bronze cannon from the galleon **Concepción** that was lost at that Island, after a great storm had led her astray and left her without a rudder. These cannon can be easily salvaged and brought to this Island or wherever they can be of greater service to His Majesty. To achieve this enterprise, the only thing that causes a delay, is the weather and favorable winds, which are expected to become so by the month of July or August, because later than that, the enterprise would be at risk on account of the variability, inconstancy, and contrariness of the

1 Ed. note: The year 1683, therefore, marks the expansion of the Agaña garrison, to the west and southwest of the enclosure of 1677, whose center was probably the same as, or close to, the future Plaza de España, still extant. The civilian town grew west of that whole administrative complex, as follows.

winds that blow as of mid-October, and they have been the cause of not achieving it this past year. May His Majesty decide to favor us and to help us as we need, and in accordance with our desires to propagate His glory, and augment His most holy faith among these barbarous peoples.

Agadña, 8 May 1683.¹

Manuel Solorzano.

I2. Version sent to the Duchess of Aveiro

Source: 6-page ms. sent to the Duchess of Aveiro, and offered for sale by Maggs Bros. of London in 1923 for 52 pounds i.e. \$260 (Cat. N° 442, n° 1892, pp. 164-165) and again in 1927 (Cat. N° 491, n° 51, pp. 44-46).

Extract in the Maggs Catalog.

Events in the Marianas from June 1682 to 20 May 1683.

...

Last year I gave your Grace an account of this Christian community, and notified you of the arrival of Don Antonio Saravia; I will now proceed to give you as briefly as possible an account of the events which have occurred here from June 1682, until the latter part of May 1683.

I told you how we had established a very good Christian community in this Island of San Juan [i.e. **Guam**], the principal Island of the Marianas, the natives being dispersed over seven large districts, where there are as many residences of the Missionary Fathers, and churches. They live in peace and quiet, and have a form of civilized government, with justices, and discipline among the natives.

And as the Island of **Rota** was peaceful, and a residence and church had been established there, which we dedicated to San Francisco de Borja; and having myself made a tour of all the islands for the purpose of baptizing the infants (who since the death of the Ven. Father San Vitores had lacked the spiritual aid)...

I reached the Island of **Zaypan**, where the natives conspired against me and against the escort of 30 soldiers who were with me, and wanted to kill us; in consequence of which we were obliged to refrain from the prosecution of our aim, emerging from one peril into another by sea, etc., in order to secure the subjection of that Island, where the people are cruel and the most churlish of the lot, and as it is situated in the very center of the island group, it is a hindrance to the conversion of the rest, for we cannot pass on to them without entering Zaypan, neither can the natives come to us, specially as we lack the tender [i.e. vessel], with the possession of which all this could easily be remedied. Our principal desire was to remove this grave obstacle to the development of the Faith... the need being the more imperative on account of their having prepared to resist us, and captured 60 Christians from this Island of San Juan, who had gone there

1 Ed. note: There is a transcription error here, I think. This should be 28 May, as the report is said to cover until the end of May.

for the purposes of trade, which the natives carry on among themselves; and they detained them with such stubborn force, that they remained, so as not to risk their lives...

This being a serious matter, the Military Chief, Don Antonio de Saravia, sent two barques which belong to the Mission, one of which he ordered to be constructed last year, the other having been left us by the galleon **San Antonio** which passed this way in June 1682... and embarked with two priests and 60 soldiers for Zaypan. However, God, in his wisdom, ordained that there should be unfavorable winds, so that after two days at sea, where they were buffeted by the storm, the small craft succumbed to the greater force of the seas and tempest and arrived back at this Camp of San Ignacio, very disconsolate but resigned to the will of God.

This good gentleman did not, however, abandon his enterprise, although a fresh contretemps compelled him to take to his bed for awhile; but, not wishing to forsake the work once begun, he deputed two of his Captains to take charge of the expedition, while I offered my services, since, being deprived of their Captain-General, I might at least prove of assistance to them with my experience and advice whenever necessary.

The Common Enemy [i.e. Devil] rose against us—for see how greatly it mattered to him to thwart us; and it seems that our Lord gave his licence to disturb the seas and excite the fury of the winds to such an extent that we verily believed our last day had come.

Nevertheless, when the tempest had calmed, about the middle of November 1682, we embarked and arrived safely at **Rota**.

[Further adventures at sea are related in detail, with an account of the gales which prevented the party from attempting to navigate the neighboring seas. They therefore spent their time in developing the mission in Rota, organizing the communal life of the natives and erecting a church and house for the Fathers which they dedicated to St. Francis Xavier, the Apostle of the Indies.]

Thus the Island of Rota, or Santa Ana, is Franciscan and of the Mother of Mary, and the natives are very good, obedient and peaceful, and are very amenable to doctrine.

We also salvaged some bronze [cannon], which had lain buried in the sea (with more which is now invisible) since the year 1604 [sic], when a passing ship named **San Antonio** [sic], which had sailed from Manila that year, having suffered in a great storm, was finally smashed to pieces off the island of Rota, with all lives lost.¹

[He stresses the need for a regular communication between Manila and the Marianas, mentioning that the last ship to bring supplies in 1682 had been commanded by the capable Don Thomas de Andaya.]

He [i.e. Endaya] who had all the supplies for the Mission, the Garrison, and the Collegiates, unloaded in six hours, so that as far as we are concerned, it is not necessary to detain these ships long in port. But the commander tarried a day and a half, taking on board 600 tanks [jars?] of water, a large quantity of chickens, fat pigs, water-melons, bananas, coconuts, rice, other fruit, fish, and all this almost free of charge! The passen-

1 Ed. note: This refers, of course, to the **Santa Margarita** shipwreck of 1601.

gers delighted in landing after so long a voyage, to bathe in the beautiful river... The auxiliary Bishop D. Fray Juan Duran, was among our recent visitors, and was deeply impressed by the kindness of the Indians and the good influence exercised over them by the Society.¹ He wanted to be the first Bishop to land on Mariana soil, and, in your Grace's church of St. Dionysius [at Umatac], he confirmed many natives... I do not doubt but what the Bishop must have spoken very highly of this Mission on his arrival at Manila, and I would be very glad, if, as an authoritative witness, he would give an account of all he saw to His Majesty, or the Council of the Indies.²

...

San Ignacio de Agaña, 20 May 1683.

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- 1 Ed. note: Fray Juan Durán, of the Order of Mercy, titular Bishop of Sinopolis, was auxiliary Bishop of Cebu. He was a native of Lima, and said to be "very learned, of a handsome figure and lofty stature" (ref. B&R 42: 200).
 - 2 Ed. note: A report by Bishop Durán has not yet been found; one may eventually be found in the archives of the Propaganda Fide in Rome. It should be pointed out that the visit of Bishop Ginés Barrientos, of the Order of Preachers, on the same day, is not given as much as one line in this report; the animosity between Dominicans and Jesuits was strong indeed.

Document 1683J

Letter from Fr. Balthasar de Mansilla to the Duchess of Aveiro, dated Mexico 13 August 1683

Source: Present location of the ms. is the Huntington Library, where it is ms. #HM 22489; 5-page ms. sold to Mr. Huntington on 18 February 1928 by Maggs Bros. of London in 1923 for 35 pounds (Cat. N° 442, n° 1894, p. 166). Published in Fr. Ernest J. Burrus' Kino writes to the Duchess (Rome, 1965), p. 145 (but pp. 219-225 in the Madrid 1964 edition); copied by Zambrano (see Bibliography).

Note: Fr. Mansilla was born in 1638 and served in the Philippines from about 1663 until 1677. Between 1677 and 1688, he was in Mexico acting as procurator or treasurer for the Philippine and Mariana missions. He followed the vice-regal couple to Madrid, where he stayed until at least 1690. He returned to the Philippines where he died in about 1693. Fr. Burrus makes the remark that Fr. Mansilla's style of writing (in Spanish) was "even more turgid and inflated than the usual Gongorism of the time..."

Summary by Burrus, repeated by Zambrano.

He thanks her for the ornaments that she sent to the Marianas, along with her portrait. The Manila galleon has been delayed. He then gives her a summary of the letters that he has written to her previously. A competent governor is required for the Mariana Islands, which are now in trouble; he makes various recommendations. It is necessary to promote the commerce between the Philippines and the Marianas. He points out the lack of honorable conduct on the part of the governors of the Philippines and their oppression of the natives; it seems that it is the only way that they follow to get food supplies for the missions in the Orient is to kowtow to them and use money. Mansilla copies a letter he received from Fr. Kino in California.¹

¹ Ed. note: This Fr. Kino was a German whose real name was Kühn. His first names, in Spanish, were Eusebio Francisco.

Spanish version of Fr. Mansilla's letter, as published by Fr. Zambrano

*Excelencia:*¹

Mientras que V. E. me honra y enriquece tan generosamente en mi cargo de proveer las Islas Marianas con ornamentos tan ricos y con su propio retrato: rehusa sin embargo, con gran desengaño mío, el escribirme de su mano. Si alguna falta mía es la causa de ello, mi gratitud hace una llamada a su bondad, esperando me perdone y absuelva, mirando mis deseos de servir a las Islas Marianas, y en ellas a Vuestra Excelencia.

Excelencia: el galeón de Manila no ha llegado aún este año o si ha llegado al puerto, no nos lo han notificado; y así no ha habido oportunidad de ayudar a aquella misiones, para las cuales tenía abundantes provisiones. Si la balandra ha tenido buen viage, será la abundancia del socorro, doble. Confío en la providencia del Altísimo de que no permitirá que se abandone empresa tan de su agrado como el de las Islas Marianas.

Por medio del bote que zarpó en Diciembre del año pasado, le envié a su Excelencia una relación o plan para señalar para las Marianas un nuevo gobernador, cuyo real nombramiento ya ha llegado al virreinato; y lo es Don Juan de Zalaeta, motivo de esperanza y seguridad, ya que Don Juan ha estimado siempre, la empresa de aquellas islas. La falta de barco, ha hecho por el momento, imposible el cambio. Pero las esperanzas crecen ya que el decreto real manda que en caso de adversas circunstancias, el Virrey tiene la facultad de señalar a algún otro para que tome la residencia del anterior, que lo era Don Juan de Vargas.

El Virrey ha pensado que no hay otro de más confianza que Don Juan de Zalaeta, ya que por el oficio que desempeña, ha mostrado todas las cualidades que se necesitan para el nuevo cargo, pues conoce la crítica situación de las Marianas. Y, gracias a mis consejos, ya aceptó; y me consta que el único que le movió, fue el deseo de promover la fé cristiana, y es clara prueba de ello, el que haya tenido que renunciar otro puesto mucho más lucrativo, como era el de gobernador de Acapulco; con esto va persuadido a que en primer lugar ha de promover el comercio entre las Filipinas y las Marianas. La ayudará mucho la amistad que conserva con el gobernador de las Filipinas, Curuzeláegui.

Y de mi parte, además de las buenas cualidades y ardoroso celo que conozco en Don Juan de Zalaeta, sé de cierto que Curuzeláegui hubiera ido a las Marianas muy contra su voluntad, y en cambio Zalaeta, va decidido a mostrar su habilidad y actividad en ese puesto gubernamental.

El Virrey no ha disimulado su profunda satisfacción por la buena voluntad de Don Juan, y ya lo ha nombrado para ese puesto tan merecido por sus méritos, y espero que los acrecentará con la toma de residencia de Don Juan de Vargas, y promoviendo el comercio de las Islas Marianas.

1 Ed. note: This version is different from Fr. Burrus' version, also in Spanish, which follows. Was the original written in Latin?

Sin embargo de todo lo dicho, y reconociendo el nombramiento y los méritos de dicho Don Juan Zalaeta, en mi opinión preferiría que el gobernador de las Marianas siguiese siendo Don Antonio de Saravia quien desde el 13 de Junio de 1681 funge ese oficio, y ha dado claras muestras de táctica militar y excepcional energía: y en lo que lleva de gobierno en esas islas, se ha caracterizado Don Antonio en el cumplimiento abnegado de su deber, y de notable estrategia militar, sólo anhelando la gloria de Dios y del Rey. Con su ejemplo ha mostrado a los demás, que es el gobernador que merecen esas infortunadas islas, desde su principio. Ese oficio de gobernador de las Marianas no es sino un escalón, para el mismo puesto en las Filipinas, y se puede considerar como un noviciado para el segundo; ya que no teniendo en las Islas Marianas ningún estímulo para la adquisición de riquezas, vaya a las Filipinas con modestas pretensiones que no aguijoneen la ambición.

Perdone su Excelencia, mi atrevimiento al explicarle mi deseo por el bienestar de esos dos grupos de islas; pero el único fin que me ha movido ha sido asegurar aún a costa de mi vida, la instrucción de millares de almas que se pueden ganar en esos países, teniendo buenos gobernadores.

Excelencia: con la más profunda gratitud, he recibido los decretos del gobierno español por medio del P. Manuel Rodríguez; decretos que promueven el comercio mutuo entre las Marianas y las Filipinas, como también el del transporte gratuito de todo lo que va para los misioneros. Si el primero se llevara a efecto, el segundo sobraría, pues todo se les va a los misioneros en los gastos del dinero que éstos envían a Manila para adquirir provisiones compradas, como ya se lo he explicado en otra a su Excelencia. Pero si el primero no se cumple, seguiremos con la obligación de proveer de todo a los abnegados misioneros, a pesar de los muchos decretos y despachos de los señores Virreyes, a los cuales los capitanes de los navíos desprecian con mil pretextos, y sólo se conforman (fuera de alguna rara excepción) con que paguemos los envíos. Haremos sin embargo el debido uso de este decreto, y ojalá logremos alguna ventaja parcial.

*Le envío por segunda vez la relación que le envié en Diciembre en que le daba entera cuenta a todas sus preguntas, y va también un **mapa de las Marianas** que no pudo salir entonces.*

Incluyo aquí una carta del P. Kino escrita desde California al P. Francisco de Castro en que describe su entrada en aquel país y las esperanzas que hay en la conquista; otra del superior de Veracruz (Bernabé de Soto) como testigo ocular del ataque a Veracruz por los piratas...

México, Agosto 13, 1683.

Mansilla.

Spanish version of the letter, by Fr. Burrus

Excelentísima señora

Que quando V. E. me honrra y enriqueze tanto en mis Marianas con tan preciosos ornamentos y su retrato, me disfávorezca negándome sus letras, es fuerza de desgracia mía. Y si para ésta a dado motivo algún yerro mío, halle puerta para el sagrado de la

benignidad de V. E. mi reconocimiento, dignándose V. E. de castigar mi yerro y de admitir en sacrificio los ardientes deseos que me asisten de servir en quanto yo alcanzo a las Marianas y en ellas a V. E.

Señora excelentísima, este año nos a faltado nao (sin duda que arrivó y no será otra la causa)¹ y a mí materia en que servir a aquellas misiones para quienes tenía dispuesto un muy copioso socorro. Si la balandra logró su viaje,² se abrá compensado esta falta y yo lo espero así de la providencia del Señor, que no a de desamparar causa tan suya.

En el aviso que salió por diciembre del año passado³ dí quenta a V. E. del estado⁴ que por entonzes tenía el designio de embiar gobernador interino, en virtud de la zédula de su Magestad que vino al señor Virrey, y cómo tenía destinado para él a don Juan de Zalaeta⁵ y los motivos que para ello había y buenos efectos que nos podíamos prometer, así en el gobierno de Manila como en el fomento de nuestras Marianas, a quienes siempre ha mirado don Juan con singular afecto.

Esto se malogró no habiendo venido nao y con la assignación en el gobernador Curzelegui,⁶ pero aun en esta nueva fábrica de gobierno caven algunas buenas esperanzas hazia nuestro destino; pues en la misma zédula de su Magestad se mandaba que, en caso de no efectuarse la assignación de gobernador por las causas que ocurriesen y lo impidiesen y lo huviese por su Magestad, señalase su Excelencia persona que fuese a tomar la residencia de don Juan de Bargas, y ésta fuese de la satisfacción que pide la materia, y se le diese por adjunto un letrado y, si fuese necesario, a éste se le ogreseca garnacha en premio. Y considerando su Excelencia no podía fiar esta empresa de persona de mejor satisfacción que don Juan de Zalaeta; y que de llevar este puesto y concurrir en él las prendas que a V. E. tengo significadas y conocimiento de aquellas yslas, podrá influir mucho en el ánimo del nuevo gobernador para el fomento de las Marianas; le señaló para este ministerio y él lo a azetado, de mi dictamen, sólo por lograr el zelo que le asiste de servir, en quanto pudiere, a [las] Marianas; de que es buena prueba el que hallándose castellano de Acapulco, plaza de tan buena quenta, la deja, por las esperanzas que tiene de que, con su influxo, se logre el comercio de Manila y Marianas, a que no ayudará poco la estrecha amistad que profesa dicho don Juan con el gobernador Curzelegui.

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- 1 Su llegada se supo en México el 13 de enero de 1684, y el 15 de enero que los dos barcos (Sanra Rosa, la Capitana, y San Telmo) habían entrado en el puerto (ref. Robles, Diario, II, pp. 60- 61).
 - 2 No zarpó [de Acapulco] hasta el sábado, 14 de enero de 1683; la información llegó a la Ciudad de México el 23 de enero de 1683.
 - 3 Véase García-Ortíz, Istoría, pp. 562-563.
 - 4 No se sabe con seguridad la existencia del documento.
 - 5 Famoso en la historia de Filipinas por la rigurosa *residencia* que tomó del Gobernador Juan Vargas (antecesor de Curzeláegui).
 - 6 Tomó posesión del cargo de gobernador de las Filipinas el 24 de agosto de 1684; la Audiencia le sucedió en 1689.

A mí, fuera del motivo en sus buenas prendas y santo zelo que fue el que tuve para persuadirle a esta resolución, me movió también el ver que Curzelegui venía muy malo¹ y de mucho riesgo, en que está aún; y que para qualquiera accidente de mudanza, con esta resolución estaría ya don Juan² dentro de esta empresa y con par franco para el gobierno.

El señor Marqués se a dado por muy satisfecho de la resignación de don Juan, y le propone para aquel gobierno para que a labrado tan buenos méritos, y espero los a de labrar muy seguros allá, así en la justificación con que espero a de proceder en la residencia de don Juan de Bargas, como en lo mucho que a de servir a nuestras Marianas. Y aunque yo no puedo dejar de concurrir con este dictamen al presente, ni impedir el passo que le pudieren abrir sus méritos y fortuna; no obstante, el más seguro y fundado en razón y justicia parece que el gobernador de Marianas, don Antonio de Saravia,³ debía ser preferido, así porque sus méritos de milicia son de mayor y muy distinta graduación, como por la de gobernador actual de aquellas yslas, cui acción tan desnuda de interés humano y aun de gloria militar, califica el espíritu de don Antonio, sólo vestido de la gloria de las dos Magestades; y era exemplar bueno para aquellas pobres yslas tuviesen gobernadores quales los necesitan al principio, el que viesen servir de escalón para el gobierno pingüe de Philipinas, y en este noviciado se podían quebrantar los bríos de la codicia, no teniendo materia para ella y pasar má templados a donde la ay tan fecunda para ella.

V. E. perdone mi atravimiento, que el deseo del bien de unas y otras yslas me hazen discurrir en los medios de sus conveniencias, y quisiera yo dárselas, aunque fuera a costa de mi vida; porque sé por experiencia cuántos millares de almas se pueden ganar a Dios en ellas y otros reynos por ellas; que uno y otro consiste en tener buenos gobernadores; y en asegurándolos desinteresados, son buenos.

Señora excelentísima, doy a V. E., con todo rendimiento, las gracias por las zédulas que, por mano del Padre Manuel Rodríguez,⁴ e recibido, así para que por todos medios se solicite el comercio entre Philippinas y Marianas, como para el transporte libre de los socorros que se remitan a los misioneros. Si lo primero se consigue (como lo espero), no abrá necesidad de valernos de lo segundo acá; porque solos reales se abrán de embiar, con que en Manila se compran los géneros, como tengo dado qüta a V. E.; pero, si nuestra desgracia es tanta que se malogre lo de la embarcación, abremos de continuar con los socorros de géneros de acá y pagar como siempre, por más zédulas que vengan y órdenes como los dará el Virrey para su execución; porque, en no queriendo los cavos de las naos (y sólo uno u otro zeloso por milagro quiere), au mil pretext-

1 Su dura carrera como almirante de la flota de Barlovento apenas le preparó para su neuva tarea.

2 Zalaeta.

3 El barco San Telmo le llevó a las Marianas el 13 de junio de 1681; murió a consecuencia de los riguros de una campaña contra los nativos rebeldes, el 3 de noviembre de 1683. Le sucedió Damián de Esplana.

4 Procurador de las misiones extranjeras en Madrid.

tos para escusar los órdenes, y sólo se venzen, y hallan camarotes donde llevar los géneros, en pagándoles fletes.

Al fin, usaremos de esta nueva arma; afilaré.mosla con la industria y le daremos algún buen corte con alguna paga; y quando no logremos el beneficio por entero, no se dejará de lograr en gran parte.

Remito en esta ocasión la 2ª vía de la que escribí a V. E. por diciembre, en que doy quien por extenso; respondiéndolo a los puntos de las de V. E.; y ba aora la carta geográfica de las Marianas que no pudo ir entonces.¹

Assimismo remito con ésta una del Padre Eusebio [Kino], escrita desde las Californias, a un sujeto de casa en que da quènta del ingreso a aquella conquista y faustos principios de ella. Y otra carta del rector de la Veracruz en que da quènta de la desgracia del saco de aquella pobre ciudad como testigo de vista.²

Nuestro Señor se duela de nosotros, y guarde a V. E. los muchos años que deseo y e[s] menester.

México, y agosto 13 de 83.

Excelentísima Señora,

Besalos pies de V. E. su más humilde y rendido criado.

JHS.

Balthasar de Mansilla.

[A la] Excelentísima Señora, mi Señora Duquesa de Abeyro y Arcos.

Translation taken from the Maggs Catalog

...
When, after honoring and enriching me in my Marianas with such charming gifts and your portrait, you deny me the favor of a letter, the misfortune is poignantly felt; and if this is due to any fault on my part, my gratitude finds asylum in your benevolence, in deigning to punish my error, and admitting my ardent desire to serve, as far as it is in my power to do, the Mariana Missions, and you through them.

In the report sent out about December last year, I informed you of our intention to appoint an Acting Governor in compliance with the Royal decree issued by His Majesty to the Viceroy, for which post we had had in view Don J. de Zalaeta on account of his suitability and the benefits we might have expected from such an appointment, with regard both to the Government of Manila and the Marianas, which Don J. has always regarded with particular affection. Now this has been rendered impossible by the non-arrival of the ship, and the nomination of Cruzeláegui as Governor [of the Philippines], but there is still some hope of achieving our end, for in that same Royal decree it was provided that in the event of the Governor's non-appointment for any unforeseen cause, His Excellency should suggest an approved nominee to act as coun-

1 Cf. Streit & Dindinger, XXI, pp. 63, 67, 75, 373- 373.

2 Bernabé de Soto, S.J. Su informe sirvió de base a Alegre [Historia] para el relato del saqueo de Vera Cruz, que empezó el 17 de mayo de 1683.

sellor... and considering that His Excellency could not have entrusted this mission to a more suitable person than Don J. de Zalaeta... who with his knowledge of those Islands could greatly influence the new Governor in favor of developing the Marianas, he was nominated for this ministry, and he has accepted it at my suggestion, solely for the sake of serving the Marianas—which he proves by leaving the post of warden of the Castle of Acapulco (a town with so agreeable a community) for the hopes he entertains of furthering the commercial relations between Manila and the Marianas, which will be influenced in no small measure by his close friendship with Governor Curuzeláegui.¹

As for me, apart from the zealous impulse which prompted me to persuade him to this resolution, I was touched to see that Curuzeláegui was—and still is—dangerously ill, and that through any accident on the way, Don J. might find himself at the helm of the ship of State. The Viceroy professes to be very gratified at Don J.'s resignation, and proposes him for appointment to the Government for which he has worked so admirably... and although I cannot but concur in this proposition at present, not obstruct the path which his merits and fortune might open out for him, nevertheless, perhaps, in all fairness, the Governor of the Marianas, Don Antonio de Saravia would have been a preferable choice, in view of his higher military qualifications of his actual experience as Governor of the said Islands; whose action—so bereft of wordly interest—qualifies Don Antonio's spirit, vested in the glory of the two Majesties...

I enclose a **map of the Marianas** which I was unable to send you with my last communication.² Likewise another [letter] from Fr. Eusebio [Kino] written from the Californias to someone here, in which he gives an account of his entry into that land and the splendid openings offered.

...

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- 1 Ed. note: In 1993, while visiting Professor C.R. Boxer near London, England, he showed me an original file in his possession regarding Zalaeta's record of service. This file probably originated with Fr. Mansilla and became part of the Duchess' archives. Zalaeta became the General of the galleon that took Governor Curuzeláegui to Manila in 1684. He did not get to serve as Governor of the Marianas either.
 - 2 Ed. note: It was probably the original, or a copy, of Fr. Lopez' map of 1671 (see HMS: 382).

Document 1683K

Letter from Fr. Coomans to Fr. General, dated Rota 30 May 1683

Source: ARSI Phil. 13, fol. 267-268v; translated by Fr. W. C. Repetti and published in the Guam Recorder, vol. 17 (Nov. 1940), pp. 319-320, 344.

Original text in Latin

[fol. 267]

Rde in Christo Pater

Pax Ejusdem

Revoluta nobis annua scribendi opportunitate, deesse non possum quin Ram Vam de rebus nostris faciam certiore; a qua quidem anno Superiori nullas accepi, credo defuisse navigii oportunitatem, quo factum sit ut nullæ ad nos Romanæ deferrentur.¹

*Itaque, quod ad me attinet, hactenus valeo corpore, ferendis laboribus Apostolicis utcumque sufficiens, si vigor animi conanti responderet. {Utinam liceret haurire, aliquid ex abundantia Ræ Væ, et fatiscentem spiritum novitius renovare! Sed vota hæc sunt superiorum placitis metienda.} Distineor adhuc imbuendæ Christi fidei et christianis moribus Insulæ S[anct]æ Annæ, vulgo Rota, in quam 4^a Martij superioris anni 1682 ingressus, quæ sola miserentis Dei benignitas fuit, non parum profeci. Quippe assuetos inter se continuis velitationibus barbaros tranquilla pace continui. Tametsi discordiarum Pater non raro conatus est infelicia semina superseminare. Etenim dum ad templi domusque fabricam, vel ad christiana officia de more conveniunt, ex levi joco arrepta occasione non semel ad arma convolantes Ministro Apostolico ansam præbuere non nihil periculi pro Deo exantlandi. Ceterum ea fuit divini verbi vis, ut posita barbarie, quocumque ducerem non gravate sequerentur. Ergo, uti superioribus meis indicavi, ingressus ab occidua insulæ parte, adiutus incolarum opera, extruxi divinis officijs dicatam domum sub tutela S[anct]i Francisci de Borgia, in loco **Sosa** vernacule ab in-*

¹ Ed. note: From this point, the text is the same as the core of his letter to Fr. de Pape of same date (Doc. 1683L). Words in square brackets occur only in Doc. 1683L; words in this {type of brackets} appear only in the ARSI version.

*colis nominato, eique alteram, habitatione patrum adiunxi, utramque, ut his locis satis amplam et commodam. Hic præcipuus labor positus in instruendis barbaris in fide Catholica ubi illud non infeliciter consecutus sum, ut omnes a minimo usque ad maximum universa doctrinæ christianæ capita perbelle adiscerent, et remotis barbaræ antiquitatis fabulosis carminibus, mane, vesperi, interdiu memoria volverent, et concinne decantarent. Tum recipiendo salutari lavacro volentes habui et obsequentes. Deinde Matrimonio junxi ex patrio more iam ante conviventes. Ægris et moribundis Sacramentorum cura exhibita; ac reliqua [demum omnia] exacta ad eum modum, quo in insula S[an]cti Joanni {usu stabilita} superioribus meis Ræ Væ perscripsi. Evoluto inter hæc anno superiore 1682, sub initium volentis {3^a Febr.} transivi in borealem insulæ partem; ubi in pago **Agusan** non absimili ratione novæ Residentiæ fundamentis insisto, quam Parenti nostro Indiarum Apostolo dedicavimus. Huc e reliquis insulæ partibus convocati/evocati, qui portuosos anfractus et impervia præcipitia vicatim dispersi incolebant, non inviti paruerunt, quod locus procreandis radicibus, quibus hic pro pane vescimur, nam oryza hæc insula vix aliquid fert, et piscatui peridoneus censeretur. Itaque [dum hæc scribo cesis] iam arboribus, quibus nova domus et templum initantur, imo etiam terræ commissis, {dum hæc scribo} novo ædificio tectum imponitur. Et ego consuetis exercitijs inculcandæ Christianæ fidei attentus insisto.*

Atque hæc sunt, quæ me quidem proxime concernunt. Nunc de Missione nostra paucis sic habe. Pergit illa, faventibus superis, in dies florescere, in qua elaboranda desudant e Societate nostra Sacerdotes quattuordecim et Coadjutores tres. Et quidem, quod mirere e diversis fere omnes Societatis Provincijs Superior omnium cum titulo et potestate Vice-Provincialis Pr. Emanuel de Solorzano, cui etiam Superiori anno Commissarij Inquisitionis a S[an]cto Officio Mexicano cura commissa, et Pr. Didacus de Zarzosa e Bætica.¹ e{x} Toletana Pr. Laurentius Bustillo, et Fr. Petrus Pavon: ex Castellana Pr. Thomas Cardeñoso: ex Austriaca Pr. Carolus Boranga: ex Bohemica Pr. Joannes Tilpe, Pr. Augustinus Strobach, [fol. 267v] [et Pr.] Mathias Cuculino; ex Germanica Superiore Pr. Antonius Zereso: ex Neapolitana Pr. Theophilus ab Angelis: ex Mexicana Fr. Antonius de los Reyes: e Gallo-Belgica Pr. Basilius le Roulx, et Fr. Balthasar du Bois: ac demum e nostra Flandro-Belgica mecum Pr. Gerardus Bouwens: cuius interatum infortunium commemorandum in loco venit.

Stabat iam e nupero incendio restaurata Deo, et habitationi nostræ dicata domus, nec tamen suis numeris perfecta, quando tumultuantium aliquot inquieta manus, inulti nuperi sceleris fiducia tumidi, in novam domum sacrilege conspirant, eique flammam inobservati admovent. Perculit omnes, sed maxime Patrem, iterata calamitas: et ne [malum, not manum] ex mora invalesceret, properatis cursoribus Prætorem admonuit. [H]aberat is, visitandæ insulæ intentus ad meridionalem plagam, et ratus in mora periculum cum sua cohorte continuo advolavit, alteraque dimissa quæ silvatum latebras et montium recessus cum incolis perscrutaretur, non ante destitit, quam et turbulentam factionem violentus oppressit, interfecto ab incolis sceleris auctore, et afflictam

1 Ed. note: In margin, it says "cum Padre Joanne A[u]mada."

Residentiam plane restituit: cui etiam accidit, quod rebus humanis solet, ut ab ipso damno adolesceret. Quippe in futurum prospiciens vigilans Prætor dispersas per vicina littora incolarum domos in ordinatas series circumquaque distribuit, et primum in Insulis Marianis oppidum S[anct]i Michælis nuncupavit. In his erat sub finem Maij, cum ineunte Junio adfuit ab Nova Hispania presidiaria navis, qua præter duos auxiliares nobis sacerdotes, vehebatur D[ominu]s Joannes Durandus [i.e. Bishop Fray Juan Duran] primæ vacantis Filipinarum Episcopus, qui recreatus læta facie sucrescentis in fide sobolis, animum induxit paratos et poscentes Neophytos Confirmationis Sacramento initiandi. Ergo invitante malacia sua mari, in proximam ædem S[anct]o Dionisio Areopagitæ sacram exscendit, ibique sacris operatus facile ducentos salutaribus sacris impertiit. Jamque compositis rebus ad stationes suas reverterant Patres; quando inimicus pacis rebus ex voto currentibus remoram iniecturus, perturbavit animos incolarum tertiæ partis Residentiæ principalis Assan dictæ, qui inita clanculum conspiratione naviculis patriis fugam arripuere. Causas prætexebant nescio quas antiquæ libertatis dulcedinem representantes, revera ut suave Christi iugum excuterent. Nec defuturi videbantur pro sua imbecillitate qui sequerentur exemplum, nisi velox remedium adhiberetur; quod cum in militibus propter itinerum difficultatem satis expeditum non esset, ad Patres, qui in proxima insula S[anct]æ Annæ rebus fidei intendebant, negotium defertur. Et commodum maior pars fugientium respiraturi paulisper in illa consederant. Itaque convocatis raptim fidelioribus incolis ad suos remeare vel invitos co-egerunt, ubi levitatis temerariæ meritas pœnas persolverunt. Nec defuit præmium fidelitati, concessis in prædam naviculis, et patria supelectile; ex quo duplicatus in futurum fructus emersit, ut et malevolis alæ prescinderentur, et alijs frænum inyiceretur ne in fuga præsidium temere reponerent. Verum principalis cura hoc anno fuit in remotiores ad boream insulas pia arma circumferre: quem in finem extracto superiore anno navigio alterum hoc anno additum, cuius rudera ad nos ab insulis Philipinis navis præsiaria devexerat. Et quidem expeditionem susceperat ipse insularum Prætor, comitantibus P[atr]e Gerardo Bouwens, et P[atr]e Mathia Cuculino: verum adversa maris tempestas Apostolica vota fefellit. Et quamquam propter afflictam Gubernatoris valetudinem gloriosam expeditionem iterato suscepit ipse Pr. Vice-provincialis noster, et cum armata cohorte in proximam insulam S[anct]æ Annæ pervenit; tamen reflantibus usque ventis contrariis retroire coactus est: in quo conatu evolutus est tandem annus 1682: tametsi resederit animo cura quamprimum daretur anni tempestas cupitam expeditionem denuo resumendi, quæ forte proximis meis ad Ram. Vam. materiem supeditabit.

Interim in insula S[anct]i Joannis superioribus annis cœpta diligenter promovebantur, et volentes neophyti ad omnem pietatem et Christianos mores instituebantur in quibus minute referendis immorari non licet. Illud tamen non ommittam, quod cum recepto gentis more naviculis suis per varias insulas negotiatorum causa discurrant, illud in morem rite induxerint, ut peccata prius apud sacerdotem deponerent; ne, si forte naufragium ventorum et maris [fol. 268] inconstantia exhiberet, tam salutari tabula destituerentur. Illud etiam præteriri nefas, quod adultis iam Collegiorum alumnis,

prodijt læta soboles timoratorum coniugatorum, qui quæ in umbra apud Patres longa annorum serie didicerant, inter suos exemplo et sermone propagarent.

Atque hæc sunt e multis pauca quæ se mihi hoc anno cum R^a V^a communicanda obtulerunt; quam coronidis loco illud unice obtestor, ut me, et hanc tenellam nostram in fide spartam Deo {ipse, et precibus commissorum sibi novitiorum} commendare ex animo ne gravetur: tum a me, et a P[atr]e Gerardo salutem amantissimam¹ impertiri Patri Carolo a Manderscheyt et Patri Goteniez cæterisque notis quos omnes ex animo et singillatim saluto.

Ex Insula S[anct]æ Annæ, vulgo Rota, Residentia S[anc]ti Franc[isc]i Xaverij, in Agusan 30^a Maii 1683.

Ræ Væ servus in Christo

Petrus Coomans.

[fol. 268v, Address:] *Rdo. in Christo Pre. Pri. Carolo Noyelle, Societatis Jesu pro Germania Assistentia. Romæ.*

Translation by Fr. Repetti

Reverend Father in Christ.

Peace be with you.

The annual opportunity for writing being at hand again I cannot neglect to inform your Reverence² about our work, although I received nothing from you last year; the lack of a ship, I believe, preventing us from receiving any letters from Rome.

In regard to myself, I have been well up to the present, engaged in apostolic work, implanting Christian faith and habits in the island of Santa Ana, commonly known as Rota, to which I came on 4 March of last year 1682, and in which, only by the kindness of a compassionate God, I have accomplished a little. Forsooth, I have enjoyed a tranquil peace with the cessation of the usual visits of the natives to each other; nevertheless, the father of discord has not infrequently attempted to sow the seeds of disturbance. Because, when the people gathered for the construction of the church and residence for religious duties, a harmless joke would at times cause them to seize their weapons, causing the apostolic minister to apprehend some danger of suffering for God. But such was the force of the divine word, that, laying aside their barbarity, they would follow whatever I told them. And so, in the place which I have reported to my superiors, at the entrance on the west side of the island, with the help of the inhabitants, I

1 Ed. note: At this point, the text of the letter to Fr. General is different from that to Fr. de Pape in the next document.

2 Ed. note: Fr. Coomans had not yet heard about Fr. de Noyelle's election to the Generalship of the Jesuits in 1682; otherwise, he would have addressed him as Your Paternity.

have built the said house for divine service in **Sosa**, the native name, under the patronage of San Francisco Borja.¹ Next to it is the dwelling of the Fathers, both structures being sufficiently large and convenient for the place.

The principal work has been that of teaching the natives the Catholic faith and in this I have not been unsuccessful; so that all, from the least to the greatest, might learn the chief truths of the whole Christian doctrine, and, abandoning their fabulous pagan hymns, memorize and sing the Christian doctrine morning and evening.² Then receiving the salutary water [of baptism], I joined in matrimony those who were already living together in the native manner, administered the sacraments to the sick, and did everything else, exactly as in the island of San Juan as I have written to your Reverence through my Superiors.

[Second parish established at Agusan]

In the course of the year 1682, I went to the northern part of this island, and in the village of Agusan, I commenced a similar new residence, which we have dedicated to our apostolic Father of the Indies [i.e. St. Francis Xavier]. Those who were dwelling in difficult and trackless places were summoned, and they willingly obeyed, and this place is deemed suitable for fishing and for the planting of the root [crops] which are used here as bread. Indeed, while I am writing this, the trees which support the church and house have been cut, imbedded in the ground and the roof is being put on; I am intent on inculcating the Christian faith by the usual methods and this occupies most of my time.

[Progress of the Mariana Island Mission]

And now something about our mission. With the Divine favor it progresses every day, in the work of which 14 priests and 3 brothers of our Society are laboring; and what is remarkable is that they are from nearly all the Provinces of the Society.³

1 Ed. note: Francisco Borja, or Borgia, the Duke of Gandia, became a Jesuit priest, and later a saint of the Catholic Church.

2 Ed. note: It is a pity that Fr. Coomans did not record the texts of those fabulous pagan hymns. They would indeed be of interest to modern social anthropologists.

3 Note by Fr. Repetti: To facilitate administration, the Society of Jesus is divided into Provinces, Vice-Provinces and Missions, and their boundaries usually follow national or civil lines. These divisions are usually given the national or civil name. The heads of these divisions are called Provincials, Vice-Provincials and Superiors, respectively, and they are under the authority of the General of the Order. The latter has Assistants who act in the capacity of Advisors but have no authority.

The Superior, who has been given the title and authority of a Vice-Provincial, is Father Manuel de Solorzano and he and Father Diego de Zarzosa are from the Betic [Province];¹ Father Lorenzo Bustillo and Brother Pedro Pavon from Toledo; Father Tomás Cardeñoso from Castile; Father Carl Boranga from Austria; Father Juan Tilpe, Father Augustin Strobach and Father Matias Cuculino [i.e. Kuklein] from Bohemia; Father Antonio Cerezo [i.e. Kerschpaümer] from Upper Germany; Father Teófilo de Angelis from Naples; Brother Antonio de los Reyes from Mexico; Father Basile Le Roulx and Brother Baltasar Dubois from French Belgium; and finally, Father Gerard Bouwens and I from Flemish Belgium.²

The repeated misfortunes of Father Bouwens [at Ritidian, Guam] must be related. The said residence was just restored to the service of God and our inhabitation after the recent fire, but not fully completed when, on the occasion of some disturbance some unruly spirits, inspired by the recent crime, sacrilegiously plotted against the new house. Without being noticed they put a fire to it, and all were stunned by the repetition of the calamity, specially the Father. Lest the evil spread by delay he hastened messengers off to the Governor. He was away on an inspection of the southern part of the island but, learning of the new danger, he hurried back with his soldiers, and sent a squad to search the recesses of the hills and forests with the inhabitants of the town. The search did not cease until the turbulent element had been suppressed, the author of the crime killed by the people, and the troubled residents fully restored to quiet. As usually happens to human affairs, a good result followed from the calamity itself. The vigilant Governor, looking to the future, arranged in regular rows the houses of the people which were scattered at random along the shore, and he gave the name of San Miguel to this first town in the Mariana Islands. This was at the end of May³ and at the beginning of June [1682] the ship from New Spain arrived, which, besides bringing us two priestly helpers, also carried Don Juan Duran, a bishop of the Philippines, who was pleased with our growing flock which was prepared and asking for the sacraments of Confirmation. The sea being unfavorable, he stopped at the nearest place, St. Denis the Areopagite⁴ and there conferred the holy sacrament on at least 200. When it was over and the Fathers had returned to their stations, the enemy of peace stirred up the minds of a third of the

1 Ed. note: That of Andalusia, Spain.

2 Ed. note: Fr. Repetti says that Fr. Coomans made a mistake in naming only 13 priests, instead of 14. The 14th priest was Fr. Ahumada who was then temporarily absent in Manila, and returned to the Mission a few months later, aboard the sloop. The official reports hardly ever mention his presence, probably because he had become mentally unstable, was an embarrassment, and lived in seclusion.

3 Ed. note: This explains why two letters written by Governor Saravia in 1682 were dated from Ritidian (Doc. 1682N).

4 Ed. note: This was at Umatac. The first church was dedicated to Saint Dionisius, or Denis, who had been a member of the Areopagus (which was a high court of judges located on the hill west of the Acropolis in ancient Athens, Greece). He was converted by Saint Paul, became Bishop of Athens, and was martyred at about the end of the 1st century A.D. His feast-day is celebrated on 9 October.

inhabitants of the principal residence called **Asan** who, entering into a secret agreement, took to flight in their native canoes. I do not know the causes of this unless the sweetness of their old liberty urged them to shake off the sweet yoke of Christ, nor did it seem unlikely that others would follow their foolish example if a remedy were not quickly applied. As it was very difficult to send soldiers after them the matter was left to the Fathers who were working in the next island, Santa Ana. The greater portion of the fugitives stopped there for a short rest and the more faithful inhabitants having gathered, they were constrained, even unwillingly, to row [!] back [to their homes], where they might receive the punishment of their reckless levity. Neither was there lacking a reward for fidelity, viz., native canoes and furniture, whence a double effect for the future was obtained, the trouble makers were restrained and the others were rewarded; otherwise, they would bring the garrison into contempt by flight.

The principal concern this year was to carry the Gospel to the more remote northern islands, for which purpose, in addition to the boat constructed last year, another was added, which was brought to us by the Philippine galleon. The Governor himself undertook this expedition, accompanied by Fathers Gerard Bouwens and Matthew Cuculino, but rough seas frustrated the apostolic desires; and although bad health prevented the Governor from making another attempt, Father Vice-Provincial himself and an armed guard came to the next island, Santa Ana, but unfavorable winds still prevailing, he was forced to return [to Guam]. This attempt ended the year 1682, but the hope of making the voyage with favorable weather still persists, and perhaps my next letter to your Reverence will contain the account.

Meanwhile, the work begun in past years in the Island of San Juan is being promoted. The willing neophytes cooperate in the establishment of every kind of Christian practices which are too numerous to mention in detail. I can not omit to mention that when the natives set out on business to the other islands, as is their old custom, they first go to confession so that in case of shipwreck by winds or waves they will be prepared for death. Mention must also be made that the former pupils of our schools are now living exemplary married lives.

These are a few of the many things which come to mind to write to your Reverence. I request only one thing of you, that you commend me and this our distant mission to God, lest it fail. For me and for Father Gerard Bouwens greet most sincerely Father Manderscheyt and Father Gotinies and the others, all and each of whom I greet.

From the Island of Santa Ana, commonly known as Rota, the residence of St. Francis Xavier in Agusan, 30 May 1683.

Your Reverence's servant in Christ,
Peter Coomans

[Address:] To Rev. Fr. Superior in Christ Fr. Charles de Noyelle, Society of Jesus, Assistance of Germany, Rome.

Document 1683L

Letter from Fr. Coomans to Fr. de Pape, dated Rota 30 May 1683

Original text in Latin

Source: AGR 2: 187-188v.

[fol. 187]

Reverende in Christo Pater

P[ax] E[jusdem]

Accepi amantissimas Ræ Væ datas ad me Mechlinia 4^a Martij 1681 in Insulis Marianis octava Junii 1682, in quibus mentionem facit aliarum ad me via hollandica transmissarum, quas hactenus videre non licuit: faxit Deus, ut hoc anno Manila ad nos destinentur. Cum illis accepi alteras Ræ Væ datas Bruxellis 20 Nov. 1678 ad me, ut R^a V^a in ijs meminit, via hollandica transmissas, et ultimas R[everend]i P[atr]is Norberti van Coukerken datas Ruremunda 6^a Aprilis 1680, cum quibus spem omnem iucundissimi commercij, in tam caro capite amisi: hoc solo reliquo apud me grati animi monumento, ut quem vivum sospitem et incolumem in sacrificijs vovebam, hunc mortuum quotidianis suffragijs quoad vivam prosequerer [sic]. Quamquam nota mihi a puero innocua viri vita, et indefessus labor, sperare me iubent illis minime indigere. Significat suis R^a V^a munus instituendi novitios sibi ab obedientia impositum. Novit Deus quantum ego ex hac notitia gaudij perceperim: quippe cum probe, intelligerem quam uberes fructus Provinciam et Societatem ex tam præclara electione manerent, sed verecunde hæc apud integrum sui ipsius censorem. Reliquum est ut ad me meaque paucis animum convertam. Et quidem quod meæ rarissime ad vos perferantur, est cur maximopere doleam, nec video tamen quod potissimum remedij adhibendum: nisi ut exemplo Ræ Væ hollandica via aliud litterarum exemplar transmittam, quod hoc anno facio.¹

Itaque quod ad me attinet, hactenus valeo corpore ferendis laboribus Apostolicis utcumque sufficiens, si vigor animi conanti res ponderet. Utinam liceret haurire, aliquid ex abundantia Ræ Væ, et fatiscentem spiritum novitius renovare!

1 Ed. note: From this point, the text is the same as for the previous letter to Fr. General.

*Sed vota hæc sunt superiorum placitis metienda. Distineor adhuc imbuendæ Christi fidei, et Christianis moribus Insulæ S[anc]tæ Annæ, vulgo Rota, in quam 4^a Martij superioris anni 1682 ingressus, quæ sola miserentis Dei benignitas fuit, non parum profeci. Quippe assuetos inter se continuis velitationibus barbaros tranquilla pace continui. Tametsi discordiarum Pater non raro conatus est infelicia semina superseminare. Etenim dum ad templi domusque fabricam, vel ad Christiana officia de more conveniunt, ex levi joco arrepta occasione non semel ad arma convolantes Ministro Apostolico ansam præbuere non nihil periculi pro Deo exantlandi. Cæterum ea fuit divini verbi vis, ut posita barbarie, quocumque ducerem non gravate sequerentur. Ergo, uti superioribus meis indicavi, ingressus ab occidua insulæ parte, adiutus incolarum opera, extruxi divinis officijs dicatam domum sub tutela S[anc]tj Francisci de Borgia, in loco **Sosa** vernacule ab incolis nominato, eique alteram, habitatione Patrum adjunxi, utramque, ut his locis satis amplam et commodam. Hic præcipuus labor positus in instruendis barbaris in fide Catholica ubi illud non infeliciter consecutus sum, ut omnes a minimo usque ad maximum universa doctrinæ [fol. 187v] christianæ capita perbelle adiscerent, et remotis barbaræ antiquitatis fabulosis carminibus, mane, vesperi, interdum memoria volverent, et concinne decantarent. Tum recipiendo salutari lavacro volentes habui et obsequentes. Deinde Matrimonio junxi ex patrio more iam ante conviventes. Egris et moribundis Sacramentorum cura exhibita; ac reliqua demum omnia exacta ad eum modum, quo in insula S[anc]tj Joannis usu stabilita superioribus meis Ræ Væ perscripsi. Evoluto inter hæc anno superiore 1682, sub initium volentis 3^a Febr. transivi in borealem insulæ partem; ubi in pago **Agusan** non absimili ratione novæ Residentiæ fundamentis insisto quam Parenti nostro Indiarum Apostolo dedicavimus. Huc e reliquis insulæ partibus convocati, qui portuosos anfractus et impervia præcipitia vicatim dispersi incolebant, non inviti paruerunt, quod locus procreandis radicibus, quibus hic pro pane vescimur, nam oryzæ hæc insula vix aliquid fert, et piscatui peridoneus censeretur. Itaque succisis iam arboribus, quibus nova domus et templum innitantur, imo etiam terræ commissis, dum hæc scribo novo ædificio tectum imponitur. Et ego consuetis exercitijs inculcandæ Christianæ fidei attentus insisto.*

Atque hæc sunt, quæ me quidem proxime concernunt. Nunc de Missione nostra paucis sic habe. Pergit illa, faventibus superis, in dies florescere, in qua elaboranda desudant e Societate nostra Sacerdotes quatuordecim et Coadjutores tres. Et quidem, quod mirere a diversis fere omnes Soc[ie]tatis Provincijs Superior omnium cum titulo et potestate Vice-Provincialis Pr. Emanuel de Solorzano, cui etiam Superiori anno Commissarij Inquisitionis a S[anc]tjo Officio Mexicano cura commissa, et Pr. Didacus de Zarzosa e Bœtica: ex Toletana Pr. Laurentius Bustillo, et Fr. Petrus Pavon: ex Castellana Pr. Thomas Cardeñoso: ex Austriaca Pr. Carolus Boranga: ex Bohemica PPs. Joannes Tilpe, Augustinus Stroobach [sic], Mathias Cuculino: ex Germanica Superiore Pr. Antonius Zereso; ex Neapolitana Pr. Theophilus ab Angelis: ex Mexicana Fr. Antonius de los Reyes: e Gallo-Belgica Pr. Basilius le Roulx, et Fr. Balthasar du Bois: ac demum e nostra Flandro-Belgica mecum Pr. Gerardus Bouwens: cujus interatum infortunium commemorandum in loco venit.

Stabat iam e nupero incendio restaurata Deo, et habitationi nostræ dicata domus, nec tamen suis numeris perfecta, quando tumultuantium aliquot inquieta manus, inulti nuperi sceleris fiducia tumidi, in novam domum sacrilege conspirant, eique flammam inobservati admovent. Perculit omnes, sed maxime Patrem, iterata calamitas: et ne malum ex mora invalesceret, properatis cursoribus Prætorem admonuit. Aberat is, visitandæ insulæ intentus ad meridionalem plagam, et ratus in mora periculum cum sua cohorte continuo advolavit, alteraque dimissa, quæ silvarum latebras et montium recessus cum incolis perscrutaretur, non ante destitit, quam et turbulentam factionem violentus oppressit, interfecto ab incolis sceleris auctore, et afflictam Residentiam plane restituit: cui etiam accidit, quod rebus humanis solet, ut ab ipso damno adolesceret. Quippe in futurum prospiciens vigilans Prætor dispersas per vicina littora incolarum domos in ordinatas series circumquaque distribuit, et primum in Insulis Marianis oppidum S[anct]i Michælis nuncupavit. In his erat sub finem Maij, cum ineunte Junio adfuit ab Nova Hispania præsiaria navis, qua præter duos auxiliares nobis sacerdotes, vehebatur D[ominu]s Joannes Durandus [i.e. Bishop Fray Juan Duran] primæ vacantis Filipinarum Episcopus, qui recreatus læta facie sucrescentis in fide sobolis animum induxit paratos et poscentes Neophytos Confirmationis Sacramento initiandi. Ergo invitante malacia sua mari, in proximam Ædem S[anct]i Dionisio Areopagitæ [i.e. Umatac] sacram exscendit, ibique sacris operatus facile ducentos salutaribus sacris impertiit. Jamque compositis rebus ad stationes suas reverterant Patres; quando inimicus pacis rebus ex voto currentibus remoram [fol. 188] injecturus, perturbavit animos incolarum tertie partis Residentiæ principalis Assan dictæ, qui inita clanculum conspiratione naviculis patriis fugam arripere. Causas prætexebant nescio quam antique libertatis dulcedinem representantes, revera ut suave Christi jugum excuterent. Nec defuturi videbantur pro sua imbecillitate qui sequerentur exemplum, nisi velox remedium adhiberetur; quod cum in militibus propter itinerum difficultatem satis expeditum non esset, ad Patres, qui in proxima insula S[anct]æ Annæ rebus fidei intendebant, negotium deferretur. Et commodum major pars fugientium respiraturi paulisper in illa consederant. Itaque convocatis raptim fidelioribus incolis ad suos remeare vel invitos coegere, ubi levitatis temerariæ meritas pœnas persolvere. Nec defuit præmium fidelitati, concessis in predam [= prædam] naviculis, et patria supelectile; ex quo duplicatus in futurum fructus emersit, ut et malevolis alæ prescinderentur, et alijs frænum inyiceretur ne in fuga præsidium temere reponerent. Verum principalis cura hoc anno fuit in remotiores ad boream insulas pia arma circumferre: quem in finem extracto superiore anno navigio alterum hoc anno additum, cujus rudera ad nos ab insulis Philipinis navis præsiaria devexerat. Et quidem expeditionem suscepit ipse insularum Prætor, commitantibus P[atr]e Gerardo Bouwens, et P[atr]e Mathia Cuculino: verum adversa maris tempestas Apostolica vota fefellit. Et quamquam propter afflictam Gubernatoris valetudinem gloriosam expeditionem iterato suscepit ipse Pr. Vice-Provincialis noster, et cum armata cohorte in proximam insulam S[anct]æ Annæ pervenit; tamen reflantibus usque ventis contrariis retroire coactus est: in quo conatu evolutus est tandem annus 1682: tametsi

resedit animo cura quamprimum daretur anni tempestas cupitam expeditionem denuo resumendi, quæ forte proximis meis ad Ram. Vam. materiem supeditabit.

Interim in insula S[anc]ti Joannis superioribus annis cæpta diligenter promovebantur, et volentes neophyti ad omnem pietatem et Christianos mores instituebantur in quibus minute referendis immorari non licet. Illud tamen non ommittam, quod cum recepto gentis more naviculis suis per varias insulas negotiatorum causa discurrant, illud in morem rite induxerint, ut peccata prius apud sacerdotem deponerent; ne, si forte naufragium ventorum et maris inconstantia exhiberet, tam salutari tabula destituerentur. Illud etiam præteriri nefas, quod adultis iam Collegiorum alumnis, prodiit læta soboles timoratorum conjugatorum, qui quæ in umbra apud Patres longa annorum serie didicerant, inter suos exemplo et sermone propagarent.

Atque hæc sunt e multis pauca quæ se mihi hoc anno cum R^a V^a communicanda obtulerunt; quam coronidis loco illud unice obtestor, ut me, et hanc tenellam nostram in fide spartam Deo ipse, et precibus commissorum sibi novitiorum commendare ex animo ne gravetur: tum a me, et a P[atr]e Gerardo salutem amantissimam¹ impertiri primum Amp[li]ssim]is DDis. Parentibus, fratribus et sororibus Ræ Væ, quorum ego memoriam in Sacrificijs nullo unquam die prætermitto, ac deinde e Soc[ie]tate nostra Domesticis omnibus, cæterisque e Provincia cognitis et ignotis, quos omnes ex animo et singillatim saluto.

Ex Insula S[anc]t]æ Annæ, vulgo Rota, Residentia S[anc]ti Franc[isc]i Xaverij, in Agusan 30 Maii 1683.

Ræ Væ servus in Xro.

Petrus Coomans S.J.

[fol. 188v, Address:] *Rdo in Christo Pri. Pri. Liberto de Pape,*

Societatis Jesu Rectori,

Mechliniæ [crossed out in favor of] Bruxellis

[Margin:] *Ex insula S. Annæ die 30 Maii 1683 P.C.*

Loose translation

Reverend Father in Christ,

Peace be with you.

I received the very loving letter of Y.R. dated Malines 4 March 1681, which reached me in the Mariana Islands the [first] week of June 1682, in which it is mentioned that another was sent to me via Holland,² but up to now I have not been permitted to see it. May God will that it will come from Manila this year. With the above, I received another letter from Y.R. to me, dated Brussels 20 November 1678, to keep in touch,

1 Ed. note: At this point, the letter to Fr. de Pape varies from that to Fr. General.

2 Ed. note: And from there to Batavia, to Manila, then to Guam, either direct by patache, or by galleon via Acapulco.

via Holland, and another from Rev. Fr. Norbertus van Coukerken, dated Ruremond [in Holland] 6 April 1680, with whom I lost all hope of a very pleasant contact with such a dear person.¹ The only thing for me to do is to gratefully offer masses at the altar, hoping that he is [you are?] alive, safe and sound, and to pray daily for this deceased, as long as I remain alive. Although to me the known life of a [grown] man [is more important] than [his] unknown child[hood], and [his] untiring labor, they invite me to hope to miss them as little as possible. This means that the role of Y.R. in training novices is to impose obedience to you. God recognized how much I would perceive joy from that news; well and good, I am to understand that the Province and the Society will achieve abundant fruits from such a brilliant choice, but with discretion these things might get through the censor intact. What is left for me to do is to change my mind a little. It may be true that my letters make it to you but rarely, that is why I was very truly sorry; nevertheless, I see how to apply a very powerful solution: it is not to follow the example of Y.R. via Holland but that of the other letter, which is what I am doing this coming year.

[The rest of this letter is exactly the same as the body of the previous letter to Fr. General (see Doc. 1683K for translation), except for the following ending:]

I and Fr. Gerard [Bouwens] send our most sincere greetings firstly to the very beloved [family of the] parents, brothers and sisters of Y.R., whom I remember in my sacrifices without omitting a single day, and then to everyone in the Society at home. I also send greetings to others in the Province, known and unknown, as a whole and individually.

From the Island of Santa Ana, commonly Rota, at the Residence of St. Francis Xavier in Agusan, 30 May 16783.

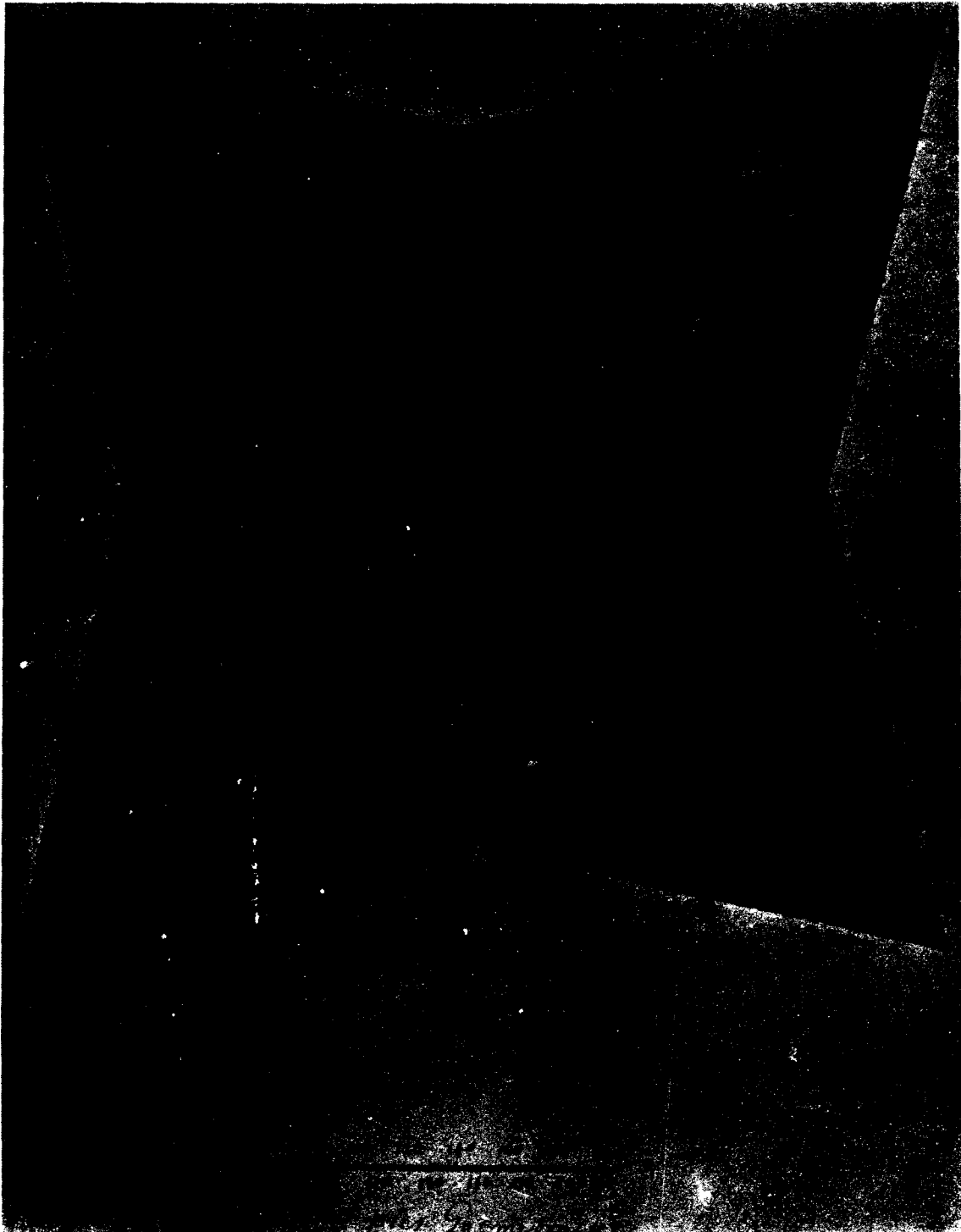
Y.R.'s servant in Christ,

Petrus Coomans, S.J.

[Address:] To the Rev. Fr. Superior Libertus de Pape, Rector of the Society of Jesus, Malines [crossed out in favor of:] Brussels.

[Note in margin:] From the Island of Santa Ana, 30 May 1683, P.C.

¹ Ed. note: Fr. de Pape must have advised him of the incapacity (if not the death) of Fr. van Coukerken, which must have occurred after April 1680 and before March 1681.



Plan of Fort Santa Maria de Guadalupe, built at Agaña, Guam. *If scale is accurate, then the plot upon which the fort was built measured 300 feet by 300 feet.* (From *AGI Mapas y Planos, Filipinas, 12*).

Documents 1683M

Governor Saravia builds a proper fort at Agaña, Guam

M1. Letter to the Duchess of Aveiro, dated Guam 6 June 1683

Source: A 3-page ms. was offered for sale by Maggs Bros. of London in 1923 for 31 pounds (Cat. N° 442, n° 1896, p. 168).

Notes: The plan of Fort Santa Maria de Guadalupe was published in the Guam Recorder, vol. 7 (1977), pp. 39-40.

Synopsis of this letter.

He reports that he has completed a fortified house with large proportions, capable of holding 400 men. It has 4 bulwarks with ramparts on which he has placed 4 bronze cannon, three of which have been brought from the neighboring islands, and a *trabuco*, or blunderbuss. It has been 14 years since the Jesuit Fathers implanted the Faith there, and they wish to request that His Majesty be pleased to honor them with the recognition of 9 residences of 3 to 4 settlements each, to be given the titles of towns, and, given that this the capital of all the Marianas deserves the name of Sancta María and the title of city.

Extract from the Maggs Catalog

[The writer, with profound solemnity, expresses himself in an unconsciously-humorous manner, which is emphasized by his invincible habit of misspelling his words, and his sublime indifference to punctuation.]

...
Placing myself absolutely at your feet, I inform your Grace that last year '82, the gal-
leon Santa Rosa,¹ brought us from Manila a barque in sections of 15 cubits, which,

1 Ed. note: Error for San Antonio. He was expecting the arrival of the Santa Rosa, however.

under my orders, was subsequently reconstructed; and with it I received a letter from you, dated 26 November 1680, which was such a very great pleasure to me that it seemed as though it had come from Heaven to comfort me. It reached me when I was very sad on account of the church of San Miguel, which had been burned down in Revillan [i.e. **Ritidian**], and in spite of all investigations, we were unable to trace the instigator of this evil deed.

After having had a new church and house for the Fathers built, and funded two townships in the vicinity,¹ I embarked with 60 soldiers and two Captains (one of Infantry and another, Marine) to conquer the Island of **Zaypan**, which is 30 leagues distant from this one, but in spite of all our efforts, we were unable to make any headway against the gales that blew in that quarter; so that we were forced to seek shelter in the harbor of **Assan**, greatly at the risk of our lives...² and since then, which we judged to be the 19th October, we had not had an hour of good weather until today, when, if it be the will of God, we will sail...

We have not been idle, for, General Don Thomas de Andaya having left me some laborers, I have had a **fortress** built, with room for 500 men [sic] of earth, lime and stone with its counter-forts, etc., and I have placed in the two bastions which face the sea, five brass bars [rather bronze cannon]... and I have called that fortress by the most holy name of [**Santa**] **Maria de Guadalupe**. I send you the **plan**, as it is the first building erected in the Marianas to your name.³

I am writing to the King to ask him if he will instruct the Governor of the Philippines to supply me with gun-powder, shot, 40 muskets, 50 arquebuses, a little canvas⁴ and saltpeter. I beg you, as our Patroness, to intercede with His Majesty so that we may obtain what we justly demand. From Mexico I ask nothing, for it is a never-ending business with those Ministers.

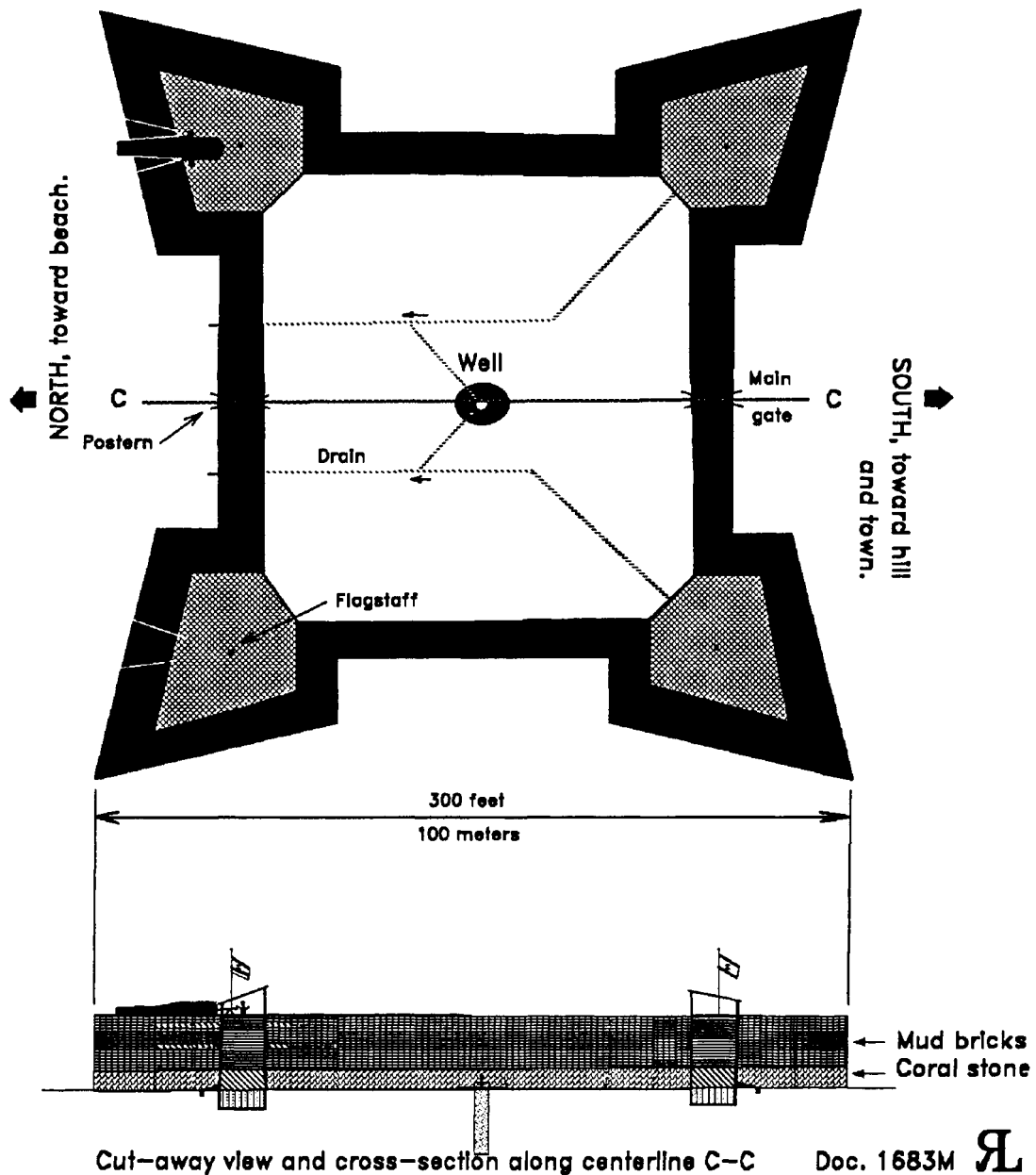
My Lady, please to see the Duke of Medina[celi] and remember me to him and say I do not write to him as he asked, as I do not wish to trouble him [!].

May God, who can, grant you in this miserable life, infinite spiritual and earthly blessings, and in the life to come, eternal rest, as you deserve.

...

[Fort] Sta. Maria de Guadalupe, 6 June 1683.

-
- 1 Ed. note: It appears that, even though the priests had chosen to rebuild their residence at Ritidian, there were still two churches, one at Ritidian and one at Inapsan, as of 1682.
 - 2 Ed. note: In the Pacific War, Asan Beach was one of two major landing beaches used by the U.S. Marines, but first, they had to clear the coral heads and other obstacles to navigation with dynamite, etc.
 - 3 Ed. note: The Duchess' full name was Doña María de Guadalupe Lancastre e Cárdenas.
 - 4 Ed. note: Error, as "pinzote" means whipstuffs (see M2 below).



Imaginary reconstruction of Fort Santa Guadalupe, 1683. *Master-of-camp Don Antonio de Saravia designed and supervised the building of this fort in 1682 and 1683. The quarters inside the bulwarks were probably 3 stories high.*

M2. Letter to the King, also dated 6 June 1683

Sources for M2 & M3: AGI Fil. 12-1-5, pp. 9-22, formerly AGI Fil. 11-8-94 & 67-6-11; cited in B&R 53: 313; also in AGI Ultramar, col. Simancas 2, folios 4-5, 13-14; copy in AHN Fil. 5854; copy in Colección Pastells, Fil. 1, pp. 334-337.

Notes: The original of this letter, plus the plan of the fort, were received by the Council of the Indies from the hands of Don Joseph de Veitia [Linage] on 20 August 1685. Evidently, the latter got them from the Duchess of Aveiro. The King officially acknowledged this letter (see Doc. 1685Y3).

Original text in Spanish.

Señor

Por causa de que todos los años se suelen caer las casas, i edificios, que ai en estas Yslas que son de madera por los grandes [h]uracanes que reinan he determinado haser una fortaleza de piedra, barro, y cal, la qual estoi acabando de mui buena proporsion, capaz para quatrocientos hombres, con quatro baluartes terraplenados y he colocado en ellos quatro piezas de bronce, y un trabuco, que las tres destas el Padre Vise Provincial Manuel de Solorsano Superior de esta Mision, y Comisario del sancto tribunal de la Ynquisition ha hecho traer de las Yslas çircunvezinas.

Esta fortaleza necessita de polbora, y balas assi de hierro como de plomo, y de cinquenta alcabuses, y quarenta mosquetes y una dosena de pinzotes, de unas tinagas de zalitre, asufre, pez, y agua ardiente, y de un poco de hierro; y aunque todo esto pudiera venir de Mexico para que se ahorren los fletes, y venga la hacienda mas bien acondicionada sera mucho mejor venga de las Yslas Philipinas; esto es cosa que importa al serbisio de Vuestra Magd. i assi suplico se sirba mandar de que se traiga con brevedad, pues en ella consiste la conserbasion de estas Yslas. Yo si tubiera dinero no enfadara a Vuestra Magd aqui no ai de donde sacarlo por causa de que no ha llegado el tiempo para que los indios paguen tributo segun Vuestra Magd. les ha hecho merced, toda via faltan seis años. El situado que desde el año pasado yo cobre en virtud de Cedula de Vuestra Magd. no es mas que para quarenta plasas, y Yo al presente estoi sustentando çientos y treinta.

*El año passado intente el conquistar la Ysla de Seipan y por los malos tiempos no se pudo conseguir, este año confio en Dios se cumplira nuestro deseo, y se sacaran catorce piezas de bronce que estan debaxo del agua en dicha Ysla adonde se perdió años ha la Nao **Concepcion** Capitana de Philipinas.*

Con orden de Vuestra Magestad ha catorse [sic] años que los Padres de la Compañia de Jesus plantaron el Estandarte de la Sancta fee Catholica, y Apostolica Romana en estas Yslas que vivian los moradores de ellas debaxo del iugo del enemigo comun, sin conosimiento de Dios, i es tanto el fruto que se ha hecho en tan brebe tiempo por estos sanctos Missioneros, que el dia de oy esta mas bien arraigada la fee Evangelica en los corasones que estoi por desir, que hasen ventaja a los Christiandades mas antiguas; todo esto se deve atribuir a los dichos Padres, y en particular al grande zelo que ha mostrando [sic] el dicho Padre Vise Provincial, que como un nuevo Apostol con su exemplar, y doctrina ha concludido assi en esta Ysla como en la de Rota, de tal suerte que no

ha quedado uno siquiera por baptisarse, ha fundado diferentes Yglesias, y los ha enseñado ha vivir politicamente de que yo quedo admirado.

Desean estos Yndios el ver estas Yslas reducidas a buen gobierno de politica, y Justicia, y alegan de que estas tierras estan regadas con la sangre de algunos martires aunque no estan declarados, y que ay collegios de niños, y niñas que Vuestra Real Magestad esta sustentando todos los años, y que resibido con tanto amor el sancto Tribunal de la Ynquisition, y assi como se hallan capases para qualquier cosa[,] quisieran que Vuestra Real Magd. se sirbiesse honrrarles, con que a las nueve Residencias que cada una dellas tienen a tres y a quatro Pueblos, que son de su Jurisdision se les diesse Titulo de Villas, i a esta como a madre de todas por haver meresido el nombre de Sancta Maria, y llamarse todas ellas Marianas, el nombre de Ciudad ha me paresido ser mui justo el ponerlo a la notisia de Vuestra Magd para que disponga lo que fuere de mas açierto para el serbisio de Dios, de su Madre Sanctissima, y de Vuestra Magd. la divina guarde su Catholica, y Real Persona como desseamos y hemos menester sus fieles vasallos.

Fortaleza de Sancta Maria de Guadalupe y Ysla de San Juan, Cablesera de las Marianas, y Junio 6 de 1683.

D. Antonio Saravia

Translation.

Sire:

Because the houses and buildings in these islands usually fall down every year, for they are made of wood, on account of the great hurricanes that take place, I have decided to make a **fortress** of stone, mud, and lime, which I am completing; it has very good proportions, able to contain 400 men, with 4 bulwarks with ramparts and I have placed on them 4 bronze cannon and one blunderbuss, three of which Father Vice-Provincial Manuel de Solorzano, Superior of this Mission, and Commissioner of the Holy Inquisition, has had brought from the neighboring islands.

This fortress needs powder and balls, of iron as well as of lead, 50 arquebuses, 40 muskets, and one dozen “pinzotes,”¹ a few jars of saltpeter, sulphur, fish, and brandy, and a little iron. Although all of this could come from Mexico, in order to save the freight charges, or rather to benefit the royal treasury, it would be better that it come from the Philippine Islands; such a thing would be important for the service of Your Majesty, and thus I beg that you may be pleased to order that it be brought as soon as possible, since in this rests the preservation of these Islands. If I had money I would not bother Your Majesty. Here, there is no source of funds because the time period fixed by Your Majesty to exempt the Indians from paying tribute has not yet been completed; there are still 6 years to go. The subsidy which I received as of last year in accordance

1 Ed. note: In old dictionaries, this word means “whipstaff,” that is the pulley-rope mechanisms to handle the bar of the rudder. O’Scanlan’s Spanish maritime dictionary gives many definitions for this term, but admits the meaning of a set of cables and pulleys. They could also have been meant to raise and move heavy objects, such as cannon.

with a decree from Your Majesty is not for more than 40 positions, and I am sustaining 130 positions at present.

Last year I tried to conquer the Island of Seipan and on account of the bad weather was unable to do so; this year I hope to God that our wish will be accomplished, and that the 14 bronze cannon that are below water at the said Island where the Philippine flagship galleon **Concepción** from the Philippines was lost years ago, will be salvaged.

It has been 14 years since, by order of Your Majesty, the Fathers of the Society of Jesus have planted the standard of the holy Catholic and Roman Apostolic Faith in these Islands, where their inhabitants lived under the sway of the Common Enemy without the knowledge of God. The fruit gathered so far by these holy Missionaries has been so great, in such a brief time, that as of today the evangelic faith is rather well rooted in their hearts, so much so that I dare say that they might surpass many older Christian communities. All of this must be attributed to the said Fathers, and specially to the great zeal that the said Father Vice-Provincial has shown, and continues to show; as a new Apostle [of these Islands] by his example and his preaching, he has managed so well in this Island, and in that of Rota, that there is not one more soul to baptize left. He has founded different churches, and he has showed them [i.e. the natives] how to live politically, something that amazes me.

These Indians wish to see these Islands reduced to good political government, and justice, and they refer to the fact that these lands have been fertilized with the blood of some martyrs, though not yet recognized as such, and that there are colleges for boys and girls that your Royal Majesty is sustaining every year, and that the tribunal of the Holy Inquisition has been received with much love, and as well they are ready for anything that Your Majesty may be pleased to honor them with, for instance, the 9 Residencies, that contain from 3 to 4 settlements each within their jurisdiction, could be given the title of Towns, and this one, which is like the mother of them all, since it has deserved the name of Santa María—and all of them called Marianas—the name of City. It has seemed to me very proper to bring the matter to the attention of Your Majesty, so that you may decide what is more correct for the service of God, His Most Holy Mother, and that of Your Majesty, whose Catholic and Royal Person the Divine Majesty may preserve, in the interest of us your faithful vassals.

From the fortress of Santa María de Guadalupe, and Island of San Juan, capital of the Marianas, on 6 June 1683.

D. Antonio Saravia

M3. Minutes of the Council of War for 23 August 1685

Source: As above; copy in Col. Pastells, op. cit., pp. 347-350, and Fil. 17, fol. 278-278v.

Original text in Spanish.

Acuerdo de la Junta de Guerra de 23 de Agosto de 1685 sobre varios puntos tocantes a las Yslas Marianas.—Examinado.

Junta a 23 de Agosto de 1685

Que se haga consulta por su orden en noticia de su Magd. en lo que escribe el Governador de las Islas Marianas, Don Ant^o de Saravia haver ejecutado tocante al fuerte (enviando la Planta) y las cosas que pide:—

Y que havindose discurrido en la Junta con la atenzion que pide la gravedad de la materia, por consistir en ella la conservazion, y aumento de aquella nueva Christianidad que con tanta felicidad se va plantando, es de parecer (con la noticia que con estas Naos de Azogues se a tenido de haver fallezido dho Governador y que el de Philipinas (a prevencion) habia embiado persona que las governase en interín), que al oficio se apruebe lo obrado por el General D. Ant^o de Saravia en orden a la fabrica del fuerte, encargardole mucho imite las direcciones celosas, y christianas del Gobierno del antezezor assi en el fomento de las Misiones, como en la conservazion de lo adquirido. Y al Governador de Philipinas se le ordene embie luego a las dhas Islas Marianas, los arcabuzes, mosquetes, y demas [generos] que pidio D. Ant^o de Saravia y en quanto a la remision de la polvora, balas, azufre, y las otras cosas que pidio en que no señala cantidad que se gobierne en esto practica y prudentemente [prudencialmente y] conforme al mas immediato conocimiento que le asistira para ver las que combendra remitir de cada genero y esas remita largo, de forma que este el fuerte proveido de todo lo nezessario, encargandole mucho cuide de sus asistencias y de aquellas Islas, socorriendolas con todo lo que se le pidiese, para asegurar su conservacion y aumento de la Santa fe en ellas; y insta mas el que esto se cumpla, y ejecute assi por el Governador de Philipinas quanto aquellas Islas carezen de todo genero de frutos.

Que respecto de que el situado que su Magd. a conzedido para su conquista, no es mas de para 40 plazas;¹ y dize el Governador mantenia 130, siente la Junta, combiene se aumente a este numero el situado, ordenando al Virrey de la N^a España remita con el que todos los años se embia à las Philipinas lo que importare el crezimiento de las 90 plazas, juzgando la Junta este aumento por nezessari[ssim]o para la maior seguridad de conservar aquellos Dominios, y en ellos la Christianidad que es el fin principal a que su Magd. deve atender por el maior servicio de Dios siendo mui combeniente el resguardo de esta fuerza para lograr el fin referido por los accidentes (que es bien prevenir) de rebelarse los Naturales Indios, contra los Españoles, lo que ya se havia empezado a experimentar como avisa el Governador de Philipinas pues que quedava sosegada la rebellion.

Que haviendo fallezido el Governador D. Ant^o de Saravia cuia calidades de virtud, y celo al servicio de Dios le hizieron superior para este Gobierno[,] pues havindose retirado años havia del de su Magd.[,] el fervor de la fè, y devozion le llevó mas que otro interes à el por que en aquella tierra no le pude haver; pensara la Junta en sugeto en quien residan las mesmas prendas para proponerle a su Magd.

1 Note in margin: "Es nezessario ver el antezedente y Zedula para esta dotazion."

*Montefacho,
Monclova,
Baunosille,
Valdés,
V^a Umbrte.,
Canelejas,
Beitia,
Yscar.*

Señor mio,

Esa carta se ha formado en virtud de lo que comprendi ayer se votó sobre el negocio que Vuestra Merced verá por ella no he querido pasar á que se ponga en limpio sin que S.E. la vea y corrija como fuere servido, y asi suplico á V.Merced la ponga en su noticia y mi respeto mandandome lo que he de ejecutar.

*Guarde á V.Merced muchos años como deseo de su merced,
Antonio Ortiz de Otalora.*

[A] *Sr. D. Pascual de Aldave.*

Señor mio,

He leído á S.E. la minuta de esta Consulta y ha merecido en todo su aprovacion, y dice comprendió V.Merced escelentemente lo que se voto, y que se puede ponerlo en limpio y pasarla á las Reales Manos de S.M. la divina que á V.Merced muchos años.

*Besa las manos de V.Merced su mayor servidor,
D. Pasqual de Aldave.*

Translation.

Decision made by the War Council on 23 August 1685 about various points regarding the Mariana Islands.—Processed.

Meeting of 23 August 1685.

Let us hold a consultation in order to advise His Majesty with reference to the contents of a letter written by the Governor of the Mariana Islands, Don Antonio de Saravia, to the effect that he had built a fort (enclosing the plan) and what he requests.—

And this having been discussed in the Meeting, with the attention that the gravity of the matter requires because upon it depends the preservation and progress of that new Christian community that is being implanted with so much success, it was our recommendation (given the news received with the recent quicksilver galleons that said Governor has died and that the Governor of the Philippines has, in the interim, appointed a temporary replacement) that the person holding the office be congratulated for what General [rather Governor] Don Antonio de Saravia has done, in order to build the fort, and entrusting him to greatly imitate the zealous and Christian ways of governing of his predecessor, not only to foster the progress of the Missions, but also the preservation of what has been gained. And then the Governor of the Philippines should be or-

dered to send to said Mariana Islands the arquebuses, muskets, and other [goods] requested by Don Antonio de Saravia, and with regards to the despatch of the powder, balls, sulphur, and the other things requested, in which quantities are not specified, let practice dictate the prudent quantities, in accordance with the more immediate information that might assist him to decide the quantity of each type of goods, and he is to send generous quantities, so that the fort will be provided with everything necessary, entrusting him to pay much attention to the assistance given to those Islands, succoring them with everything they ask of him, in order to guarantee their preservation and the progress of the Holy Faith there; and the Governor of the Philippines is to take even greater care than usual, inasmuch as those Islands are devoid of every type of [local] products [i.e. income].

With respect to the subsidy that Your Majesty has granted for their conquest, it is not more than 40 positions,¹ and the Governor says that he is maintaining 130 men, the Meeting feels that this number is the proper personnel establishment, and orders the Viceroy of New Spain to increase the respective subsidy that is sent every year to the Philippines by the amount corresponding to an increase of 90 positions, and the Meeting is of the opinion that this increase is very necessary for a greater security in the preservation of those Territories, and of the Christian religion there, as this was the main objective to which Your Majesty must take care of, for the greater service of God, inasmuch as the protection of this garrison is very desirable to achieve the purpose intended, on account of the possibility (that should be prevented) that the Natives might rebel against the Spanish, in view of what the Governor of the Philippines has advised about some rebellion having been experienced already, though the situation was then quiet.

With respect to the death of Governor Don Antonio de Saravia, whose qualities in virtue and zeal for the service of God made him superior for this Government (indeed, having already retired after years in the service of Your Majesty, his zeal for the Faith and his devotion, more than any other reason, led him there, because there can be no personal interest in serving there) the Meeting is thinking about finding a replacement who has the same qualifications, in order to propose his candidature to Your Majesty.

Montefacho,
Monclova,
Baunosille,
Valdés,
Villa Umbrete,
Canelejas,
Veitia,
Iscar.

1 Ed. note: A note in margin says: "It is necessary to see the background and decree for this [personnel] establishment."

Dear Sir:

That letter was drafted in line with my understanding of yesterday's vote regarding this affair, but Your Grace will see that I did not dare put it in final form until His Excellency can see it and make the corrections that he pleases, and therefore I beg Your Grace to place it before him, along with my respectful greetings, and I stand ready to obey his orders.

May [God] save Your Grace for as many years as I expect from His mercy,
Antonio Ortiz de Otalora.
[To] Mister Don Pascual de Aldave.

Dear Sir:

I have read the minute of this Consultation to His Excellency and he has approved the whole thing, and says that Your Grace understood correctly what was voted, and that it can be put in final form and passed to the royal hands of His Majesty. May the Divine one keep Your Grace for many years.

From your greatest servant, who kisses your hands,
Don Pascual de Aldave.

Document 1683N

Letter from Fr. Salgado to the Duchess of Aveiro, dated Manila 29 June 1683

Source: Present location unknown; 4-page ms. offered for sale by Maggs Bros. of London in 1923 for 31 pounds (Cat. N° 442, n° 1897, pp. 169-170).

Note: Fr. Salgado was Provincial from 1683 to 1687.

Extract in the Maggs Catalog.

...
Having written a long letter to you a year ago, I now have very little to add; both letters will reach you simultaneously.¹ I must inform you that, after repeated requests, the Governor of the Philippines was prevailed upon to send the vessel [i.e. sloop] a second time to the Marianas, which was what I most desired, for I know that only upon the continuous communication between the Philippines and the Marianas does the well-being of the latter depend.

In order to bring the Governor to acquiesce, we represented to him how unpleasant it would be for him, were he to ignore the Royal decrees in which he was instructed to send vessels to the Marianas; which he can hardly be said to have complied with, by sending one in two years or more. We also pointed out that obeying the King's commands might prove highly profitable to himself in the matter of promotions, etc., in which you would not fail to concur. But, although we were reminded that there was already a Governor of the Marianas, and he was therefore not concerned, or had received a request from either that Governor or the Duke of Medina[-celi], nevertheless God willed that he should be moved by our eloquent appeals to send a type of ship called a

¹ Ed. note: True, there was no galleon sent from Manila in 1682, and none that passed by Guam in 1683.

bilander [i.e. sloop] to the Marianas, which sailed from here on the 24th of April of this present year.

On board is Father Antonio Xaramillo, who was here, negotiating on behalf of those Missions, and Father Juan Adan,¹ who will be of great help on the voyage, being an eminent mathematician and able to 'measure the sun'. Father Xaramillo, will, with his eloquence and ability, encourage the pilot and sailors until they reach the Marianas. This Father has a good deal of influence with the Governor, Don Juan de Vargas, and it is largely due to him that our request was acceded to.

Both these Fathers were earnestly to make every effort, both on the outward and return journey, and with the assistance of the Governor of the Marianas, to do all they could to discover the islands lying to the South of the Marianas because the 13 islands already discovered lie to the north. God grant them a prosperous voyage.

Accompanying them also was Don Joseph de Quiroga, who should be of inestimable service (not being handicapped, like the Governor [Saravia]), and capable of inspiring and leading the soldiers in military exploits.

We have had no letter from the Marianas this year, neither are we likely to get one for another year to come; unless the Viceroy of New Spain should despatch a warship to those islands.

Since becoming the military Chief, Don Joseph, alias the Hermit,² has begun to organize the place and improve the conditions of the Mission, assisted by the Governor, so that the Missionaries say that the conditions out there were never better.

[Population estimates for the Marianas revised]

Nevertheless, I cannot conceal from you this fact—that, with regard to the 13 islands already discovered, the community is not as great as we, who were not established there, had supposed. There are not many more than 13,000 inhabitants all told, and—at least, until last year—only four islands were orderly. And when Don Joseph Quiroga stayed there, not even the island where the garrison was stationed was entirely subdued... so that Don Joseph and the Governor, Don Antonio Saravia have, between them, accomplished far more than their predecessors did in all those years, and up to last year, Don Antonio was still resolved to go on conquering and reducing to submission to the Divine will all the remaining islands.

The reason why there are so few people on the 13 islands is that they are so small, and some are scarcely inhabited at all... but this information does not altogether tally with the reports of the early Missionaries who had written that they had baptized more than 30,000 natives—and, indeed, where there are only 13,000 inhabitants, it is difficult to baptize 30,000!... The explanation is, that

-
- 1 Ed. note: I have identified this Jesuit as Father Juan Adan Gerstl, whose last name was often misspelled as Cherstel, or Gestel; he was Austrian. It is strange that Fr. Juan Ahumada is not mentioned (here, but perhaps he was in the original ms.); he was also aboard this sloop, and being sent back to the Marianas, after an absence of 6 years in Manila.
 - 2 Ed. note: He was a member of a third order; hence, the nickname of "El Ermitaño".

the natives thoroughly enjoyed the ceremony, and being delighted with the rosaries which they were given to wear round their necks, presented themselves again and again for baptism, unrecognized by the Fathers until long after. Now that the deception has been discovered, of course, it would not do to publish this, as the Fathers would be blamed, but I assure you it is no flight of my imagination...¹

The islands of the south, mentioned by the Venerable Father [San] Vitores, are also mentioned by the Father General in his letter to you, in which he says that they are in the same latitude [rather longitude] as those already discovered, and although they may have been discovered in bygone ages, their discovery does not refer to the present time, for they are still unknown to our generation. Our Father General thinks the Indians are like Europeans, and that it would be impossible for a handful of Spaniards to hold the Marianas against the multitude of fierce Indians, whereas the vital difference lies in the quality of the valor and the type of the weapons used...

You may be proud to have achieved two great triumphs for the Mission, and they are—to have obtained a separate Governor for the Marianas (and such an excellent one at present) and the substantial grant of money, for which we are all infinitely grateful...

Etc.

...

Manila, 29 June 1683.

¹ Ed. note: As I have pointed out in Volume 4, the original mistake was made by then-Brother Bustillo, who made a mistake in Latin, by reporting “triginta” (30) instead of “tredecim” (13) thousand baptisms.

Document 16830

Letter from Fr. Isidro Clarete to the Duchess, dated Manila 9 July 1683

Source: Present location unknown; 3-page ms. offered for sale by Maggs Bros. of London in 1923 for 15 pounds (Cat. N° 442, n° 1922, p. 193).

Notes: The date of this letter is not 1685 (as wrongly stated in the Maggs Catalog), but 1683. Fr. Clarete was born in 1627, and arrived at the Philippines, with Fr. Sanvitores, in 1662. After completing his studies he became a teacher in the college of Manila (ref. Murillo Velarde, B&R 39: 197).

Extract in the Maggs Catalog.

...
After the sloop had left the port of Cavite with the relief for the Marianas, as I informed you, and we judged it to have reached the Islands of St. Peter and St. Paul, an aide-de-camp arrived with the bitter news that the sloop had been detained in a port on account of its crew having mutinied against the commander;¹ it was therefore necessary to get someone to take the news to the Governor, who on hearing it, arranged with his customary efficiency, a settlement of the riot, making up the vacancies in the crew with reliable men, and appointing a new commander whom they might fear and respect; this man is Major Esplana, who governed those Islands² with such courage and it is to be hoped that by the grace of God, this voyage will be accomplished... [the sloop] must soon arrive at the islands with the supplies they need.

To tell you the truth, my Lady, if the Governor had not been anxious to render this service to God, to His Majesty and you, the Devil would have found this a very favorable opportunity for some of his evil deeds, but His Excellency has held out a helping hand in every way possible.

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- ...
1 Ed. note: The Pilot in command was Pedro Gomez. Captain Quiroga was there as a passenger and had no authority over the crew. The Islands of San Pedro & San Pablo seem to correspond to Capul & Dalupiri Islands, on the NE corner of Samar (see p. 151).
2 Ed. note: Esplana was still an army Captain when he served his first term as Governor of the Marianas, 1674-76. He had no compulsion when capital punishment was necessary. Thus he became Quiroga's superior.

For the purpose of ensuring the delivery of supplies to that Mission in the future, two means present themselves to my mind, one of which is that we should set aside about 2,500 pesos for the expenses of this sloop, if the route is safely opened up, as we shall see; the other is that our Father General should appoint here, a Father Procurator for the Marianas, to whom the supplies for that Mission should be sent, and this to have nothing to do with any affairs concerning this [Philippine] Province and that in regard to this matter, he should not be hindered or overruled by the Superiors. This Father Procurator should have the services of a Brother allotted to him, who should accompany him and assist in matters concerning the Marianas.

In short, I hope that our Father General will do all that our Rules and Regulations will permit, otherwise, many opportunities will be lost of succoring those missionaries, and they will not always have a chaplain with the courage to speak up as I have done on their behalf. Not that I wish to praise myself, but it is necessary to tell you, that had I not given the 2,000 pesos myself, perhaps the Governor would not have so readily despatched the sloop, and had I not now lent him 600 pesos, he would not have had the money to pay the auxiliary crew either; and although His Excellency assures me that he will repay the money, it is still necessary to supply them with funds, and it will not always be possible to find someone to give the money as I did, I therefore repeat my entreaty, and beg for your cooperation by proposing the promotion of the Treasurer, Don Juan Fermin, the Judge Don Christoval Grimaldo, and the Magistrate, Don Estevan la Fuente, I will thus be able to obtain concessions from these statesmen [i.e. royal officials], upon whom everything depends.

...

Document 1683P

Letter from Fr. Borja y Aragon to the Duchess of Aveiro, dated Manila 24 July 1683

Source: Present location unknown; 4-page ms. offered for sale by Maggs Bros. of London in 1923 for 31 pounds (Cat. N° 442, n° 1898, p. 171).

Extract in the Maggs Catalog.

...

I enclose herewith a letter which I wrote you last year, as it contains some points which I would fain bring to your notice...

The tender [i.e. sloop] which His Majesty has repeatedly sent to these Islands has now left...¹ with Father Antonio Xaramillo on board, who has left no stone unturned in his desire to accomplish the voyage. I tremble at the thought of the journey in his poor state of health, and trust that God will take him safely to his destination, for indeed the progress of this Christian community depends upon the outcome of that voyage.

Now, more than ever, do we need the Royal decrees, for in regard to the one issued last year... both the present Governor and his successors are sure to say that the King's instructions have been complied with, inasmuch as the tender has been despatched to the Marianas... but what I fear is that after its return here it will not again be sent to those Islands... I therefore leave it to your understanding to suggest what course you think advisable in the matter.

Through the death of Father Francisco de Messina,² Father Francisco Salgado now officiates as Father Provincial, which office is just what those poor Marianas need.

1 Ed. note: Badly translated; this should read: "has repeatedly ordered sent to those Islands..."

2 Ed. note: Father Messina, was born in Messina, Sicily, in 1614. He arrived at the Philippines in 1643 and was involved with the Chinese community there for many years. He was Provincial for the three years preceding his death, which occurred at Santa Cruz (across the river from Manila) on 12 October 1682.

Verily, I assure you, do I marvel at the events, without parallel, which are occurring in this corner of the globe; as, for instance, that which has happened this year between the Courts [i.e. Audiencia] and the Archbishop [i.e. Pardo], as a result of which it has been found necessary to banish the latter from his Archbishopric, and certain it is that their delay in carrying out this decision is a reprehensible lapse on the part of the Authorities, in spite of their assertion that they had not hurried, that they might the better act with all due prudence... In fact, they allowed matters to reach such a stage, that my Lord Archbishop had not only rejected 22 Royal orders with much contempt of the King's authority, but had issued a Note, in which he declared himself not only spiritual but temporal head of the community, to the detriment of the Presentation, and conducive to the risk of sedition in the Republic... with which declaration, the Fathers in his Archbishopric attempted to exercise some influence in their sermons and private conversation, repudiating their position as vassals of His Majesty.¹ And, because our Society, albeit as ever Defenders of the Faith, showed itself on the King's side, the illustrious Archbishop sought to injure our reputation which we enjoy in these parts as loyal subjects of the Crown...²

He has charged us with obtaining a great quantity of clothing... although he has been well aware of its destination these many years—none knows better than he where it goes to; ... but now suiting his purpose to do so, he does not choose to confess that he knows full well that these clothes go to the 200 persons in the Marianas whom we help... He now affects complete ignorance and pretends to be shocked, but I do not know whether, before God's Tribunal, he will be excused this, as against the zeal which he professes...

The affairs of this community might proceed more satisfactorily if those in authority showed greater enthusiasm... The mountainous districts of the Island of Manila are full of heathens... who are deprived of the true Light.

Etc.

...

Manila, 24 July 1683.

1 Ed. note: He, of course, refers to the Friars, not other Jesuits.

2 Ed. note: The future would prove otherwise, witness the events that preceded the Jesuit expulsions, and suppression, about 90 years later.

Documents 1684A

Composite reports for the period 1681-1684, edited by Fr. Morales

*Sources: AGI Ultramar 562, colección Simancas, fol. 37-46 (formerly 68-1-40 as cited by Astráin VI, p. 827, note 1); printed pamphlet in RAH Jesuit tome 19, doc. n° 25; copy transcribed by James Robertson (see B&R 53: 122), now found in NLA ms. 1391 (Ayer vol. 20, doc. 12); copy of the unedited and official version in Colección Pastells, Fil. 2, pp. 392-397 and 452-456; translated into French by Fr. Le Gobien, in his *Histoire des Isles Marianes* (Paris, 1700), under the title: "Mémoire du Père Louis de Morales touchant la situation, la distance et la grandeur des Isles Marianes."*

Notes: The information for this report came from the annual reports submitted by Fr. Solorzano (Doc. 1682D, 1683G & 1684D), but changed beyond recognition, either by Fr. Xaramillo in Manila, or by Fr. Morales himself, or both. Both of them had served in the Marianas. It is clear that Fr. Morales has been influenced by other sources as well, possibly the letters addressed to the Duchess of Aveiro in 1684, and the visit report submitted by Fr. Xaramillo (Doc. 1684L). The text below is mostly from the printed version, except for the words in brackets.

Original text in Spanish.

Señor

Lvis de Morales, Procurador de la Compañia de Iesus de Felipinas, y de la Santa Mission de las Islas Marianas, se pone à los Reales pies de V.

*Magestad con las **dos Relaciones** adjuntas del estado, y progressos que desde el año de 81 tienen aquellas Islas en lo espiritual, y temporal,*

que tiendo amparadas, y honradas con el soberano nombre de la Reyna nuestra Señora, madre de V. Magestad, ha querido la Divina clemencia que ambos progressos corran con la felicidad, y aumento que constara de dichas Relaciones, lo qual se deve todo à la piedad de V. Magestad, pues no fuera facil que sin este socorro se pudieran contrastas con fuerças humanas las grandes dificultades, y embarazos que por mar, y tierra, y tambien con el desvio, y poca afición de algunos Ministros, movió, y mueve cada dia el comun enemigo contra aquellas plantas, y tierna Christiandad, cuya conservacion, y aumento pende unicamente de la piedad, y grandeza de V. Magestad, quanto es mayor el desamparo, y necesidad, que en comparacion de las demas tierras de

Indias tienen aquellas Islas con la falta de todas las cosas que pueden servir de cebo à la codicia de los hombres, porque no ay minas de oro, plata, ni demas metales fructuosos; y aun para lo preciso de la vida humana, fue necessario llevar de otras partes, plantas, semillas, y animales que vãn produciendo con fecundidad, y aumento, y no menos esperança, de que las Islas reducidas poblarán del sustento y demas cosas necessarias. Y para proceder con la legalidad, y puntualidad que devo a informar el animo de V. Magestad, pondré à la letra las relaciones mismas que Manuel de Solorzano, Vice-Provincial, y Superior de dichas Misiones remite, del tenor siguiente:

Relacion de el Estado, y Progressos de la Mission de las Islas Marianas desde Junio passado de 81 hasta el de 82.

Note: This first part is similar but not the same as the reports in Doc. 1682D.

*El dia 13 de Junio de 1681 en que llegó à estas Islas Marianas el Galeon **San Telmo**, parece que fue tambien el dia en que llegó à su término la plenitud del tiempo escogido de Dios, para acrecentar en ellas la Christiandad, que por espacio de 13 años ha cultivado el zelo apostólico, à costa de grandes trabajos, persecuciones, sudor y aún riego de sangre, con que muchos Ministros, y soldados sellaron la verdad de la Fé, que plantavan unos; y otros ayudavan à plantar, viendose ya en las Marianas alguna práctica, y exercicio de las acciones christianas, y policia de hombres que se ven en otras Christiandades de Indias, adonde mas dilatados tiempos hà que rayaron las luzes del Santo Evangelio.*

*La causa de tanto bien, ha sido despues de Dios la virtud exemplar, disposicion, y Gobierno Militar del Maestre de Campo Don Antonio de Saravia, Governador, y Capitan General de estas Islas Marianas, descubiertas con potestad que tambien le dió el Rey nuestro Señor para exercer el mismo gobierno en todas las Islas adyacentes, y Australes que faltan por descubrir. Pues en conquistas nuevas el principal fundamento sobre que se levanta la fabrica de la Christiandad, es la prudente disposicion, y Christiana vida de el que con el gobierno tiene el poder: uno, y otro ha hermanado hasta aqui admirablemente el nuevo Governador para conseguir la empresa que Dios, y el Rey le encargaron, porque luego que saltó en tierra de Marianas, informado del estado de aquella Christiandad, y de lo que seria mas à proposito para asegurar aquellos Indios, empezó à disponer varias cosas. En el presidio de sus soldados señaló varios oficios, como son Veedor, Contador, Sargentos, &c. Señaló tambien un Capitan de Guerra, que con gran frecuencia ande rodeando la Isla para saber quanto en ella necessita de remedio. Ha hecho una **fortaleza** todo de Palo Maria, con quatro baluartes Reales que tienen en cada cara 120 pies geométricos, y una casa nueva para habitacion de los Governadores; y para los soldados que cayeren enfermos levantó un Hospital mas capaz que el que avia antes. Ayudó tambien mucho [Su Señoria] à la fabrica de una Iglesia grande, que para Españoles, é Indios se hizo dentro del presidio, en lugar de la que avia derribado un [Baguio, ó] uracan, y lo mismo fué con otra, à quien el año antecedente avia pegado fuego à traicion un Indio. Mudó un Pueblo à otro sitio mejor de aquel en que se hal-*

lava, y formó otro de nuevo para toda la gente que vive en lo interior de el Monte: con que con los seis Pueblos que estavan formados en las playas, está reducida à siete Pueblos con seis [sus] Iglesias[.] la Isla de San Juan, que antes se dividia en mas de 160 rancherías. En todos estos Pueblos ha dado este Cavallero à los mismos Indios oficios de Capitanes, Tenientes, y Topiles, ó Alguaziles,¹ que junto con los Fiscales que han señalado los Religiosos, los traen gobernados, de suerte que es para dar mil gracias à Dios. Lo mismo se está acabando de introducir en la segunda Isla de Rota (ahora Santa Ana) á donde se hallan dos Ministros del Evangelio para cuidar de toda ella, reducida à dos Pueblos grandes, y de esta manera se procurará; y aun con el favor de Dios, y zelo del Governador se verá presto conseguido en las otras once Islas de el Norte, como se dirá despues.

Quien entre (todos) los Indios Marianos ha sido mas favorecido, es aquel celebre principal Don Antonio de Ayihi, pues el es tambien el que con fineza de afecto, y obras, acompañadas de grandes riesgos de su vida, há mostrado que no es Indio mas que en el nombre, y fidelissimo vassallo Español de su Magestad en el modo de obrar que ha tenido desde que entró en Marianas el Ven. Padre Diego Luis de San Vitores à predicar la Fé, y atendiendo [Su Señoria] à que todos los Governadores de Filipinas y Generales de Naos que por aqui han passado, se han mostrado agradecidos con dicho Indio; le hizo su Teniente General, dandole con el título gran poder entre los mismos Indios, de los quales es muy respetado, y temido con no pequeño fruto de la Christiandad, y deseo que tienen los demas de mostrarse finos para llegar algun dia à ser premiados.

A esta distribucion de oficios sucedió la publicacion de algunos vandos que mandó echar [Su Señoria] el Governador para evitar desórdenes que pudiessen atrassar el fruto que se intenta con la predicacion, y como por ningun respecto dexará de llevar adelante lo que una vez bien deliberado, y consultado, piensa ser servicio de Dios, [y del Rey]: assi tambien es notable la entereza, y resolucion con que ha hecho executar las penas que han merecido los delinquentes. Echóse un vando de que nadie se atreviesse à hazer fuerça à alguna muger, so pena de que [se] le daria garrote, y como supiesse que tres soldados avian desobedecido esta ley, los hizo prender [Su Señoria], y bien averiguada la causa, los mandó sacar del presidio, y à cada uno de ellos en el mismo puesto en que avian cometido el desacato se les dió garrote. No tuvieron tan mala fortuna otros dos soldados que antes de echarse el vando intentaron forçar à otras, pero no se quedaron sin castigo, y assi los tuvo nueve meses en duras prisiones, haziendoles trabajar como (à) negros. Dos Indios que le truxeron pressos los naturales de otras Islas, uno matador del Padre Francisco Ezquerria, [y] otro del Padre Sebastian de Monroy murieron ahorcados, y para escarmiento publico los hizieron quartos, que se pusieron por los caminos. A uno de los oficiales del campo, porque le iba con chismes y cuentos no verdaderos, pero muy à proposito para perder la paz con los Ministros de el Evangelio, le desterró fuera del presidio, despues le dió su casa por carcel, y por ultimo le reformó el puesto que le avia dado. Con estos, y otros castigos proporcionados à los delitos, andan

1 Ed. note: "Topiles" literally means "cantors" but what is meant by "alguaciles" is "constables."

todos à raya, y no hay soldado ni Indio que no tiemble de faltar à su obligacion, premiando tambien à los que cumplen con ella. Deste modo consiguió el quitar à los Indios las venenosas lanças de huesso, que mandó se las entregassen todas dentro de un mes, pena de la vida, lo qual se hizo en la Isla de San Juan, entregando gran cantidad de ellas, y no viendose ya alguna.

Ni son menos los incentivos que [Su Señoría] dicho Governador comunica para la virtud con su exemplo, que es el miedo que à los vicios, y desordenes [causa] pone con sus castigos, tiene un grande horror, no solo al vicio de la sensualidad, pero à conversacion que sea muy familiar con mugeres: confiessa, y comulga muy à menudo, y siempre que sus achaques (que no son pocos) le dán lugar, vá à oír Missa. El respeto que muestra à qualquiera Ministro del Evangelio, nos haze acordar muchas vezes, en esta conquista de las Marianas de los exemplos que en este particular dieron el insigne Don Fernando Cortés, y el Capitan Don Diego Martinez de Urdayde, quando aquel procurava sugetar al yugo de la ley de Dios, y Corona de nuestros Reyes los Indios de la Nueva España, y este à los de Cinaloa [sic]. Porque quando ha visitado la Isla en silla de manos, ó a cavallo, conforme dan lugar los achaques, al punto que el Religioso del Partido sale con su gente à recibirle [Su Señoría], luego se apea, y con todo rendimiento le coge la mano, y la besa delante de todos, sin que para esto valgan excusas, ni cortesanas resistencias. No se quiere hospedar sino en casa del Padre Missionero, sin aver remedio de tomar el mejor lugar por mucho tiempo que se porfie sobre esto, porque dize [Su Señoría] que esto, y mucho mas se deve a los sacerdotes [y que no hay que burlarse perdiendo el respeto á tan alto estado].

Aunque suceda estar allí quatro, ó cinco dias, ordena al Capitan de Guerra, y Ayudante de el Campo, que acudan al Padre por el nombre del Santo, (y) para entregar la guardia, no desistiendo [Su Señoría] de esta piedad y galanteria Christiana, por mas que lo reuse lo ageno de la profesion religiosa, y la modestia de el mismo estado lo sienta. Al despedirse para passar con su visita à otro Pueblo, no ay remedio de ponerse a cavallo, [ó en silla de manos,] hasta que el Padre del tal Pueblo sea [se ha] buuelto, y entrado en casa, porque hasta entonces se está parado. Estas, y otras dignaciones que nadie se atreviera à pedir las, y que en conquistas nuevas de Barbaros, solo caben en el celo de que se propague la Fé, la han promovido mucho en esta nueva mission, porque con ellas obliga a los demas a mostrar grande aprecio de los sacerdotes, y doctrina que predicán, y assi anda mas refrenado la soltura militar, no oyendose un juramento à los soldados, y aviendo muchos que logren la enseñança Christiana con la frecuencia de sacramentos, pues en los Indios, a quien por los ojos han de entrar los misterios de la Fé, claro esta que à vista de estos exemplos se ha de fundar un gran respeto, y concepto de Dios, de su Ley, y de los Ministros que se la enseñan; y como demas à mas tiene cada uno de los siete Pueblos de esta Isla su Parroco que assiste en el mismo Pueblo con sus ayudas de Capitanes, Tenientes, Fiscales y Topiles, como se usa en otra Christianidades antiguas, corre sin tropiezos, y con mucha felicidad el miniterio de Dios. Hacense muy continuamente varias explicaciones de la Doctrina Christiana. Publicose con nueva solemnidad la Ley del Sagrado Concilio Tridentino, sobre no casarse, sino es es-

tando presente el Cura, y otros testigos, inculcando tambien sobre la perpetuidad de este sacramento, y assi ya se acabaron aquellos sus casamientos antiguos, que en la realidad no los hazia, sino consortes de la torpeza, por poder cada uno apartarse de el otro quando fuesse su voluntad. Casaronse muchissimos de nuevo por la Iglesia, y por la quietud con que perseveran en sus casas, y familias, se reconoce la gracia, y virtud de el sacramento que recibieron. Ya no ay memoria de aquellas casas publicas antiguas en que muchos solteros ponian à una sola soltera para que contribuyesse à sus apetitos, porque desde que (en los primeros) [dos] años se abrasaron las tales casas, consumiendo un fuego à otro fuego, no se ha buuelto à reedificar otra alguna de nuevo. Extinguióse aquella barbara costumbre de morderse, y arañarse con la ceguedad de su torpe amor. Assisten con gran puntualidad à la Missa, sugetandose a que despues della se lea el Padron, y à la Penitencia que se impone si acaso alguno faltó à [de] ella; confiesan todos, y la Comunión se dá à quien el riguroso examen califica por digno de ella, y estos no son pocos, pues para cumplir con la Iglesia en el Presidio, solo de Agaña comulgan este año mas de quatrocientos Indios. Aquella suma licencia con que antes se entregavan à la sensualidad, está oy tan refrenada, como indican los castigos de aquellos cinco violentadores que diximos arriba, pues la fuerça con que intentavan rendir à las que pretendian, es evidente argumento que no avia voluntad de condescender con su torpe intento.

Oyense muy frequentemente por las playas, caminos, y casas cantares de la Doctrina Christiana, y lo que debe servir à todos de especialissimo consuelo, y de dar à Dios muchas gracias es, el que estando reducidos à Pueblos, y con Religiosos en ellos, mueren todos prevenidos con los santos sacramentos, porque ni cae alguno de los Indios enfermo, ni pare alguna muger, sin que luego los muchachos del Pueblo, y los Fiscales, den cuenta al Padre para que se prevenga el peligro; y assi sacando aquellos lançes, en que las muertes repentinas vencen la mas cuidadosa diligencia, no muere alguna persona sin el beneficio de los sacramentos, que es lo mas que se puede pretender. De la juventud de su habilidad [humildad], y de la educacion Christiana con que la cultivan los Ministros de el Evangelio, y fruto que perciben de ella, ya se ha dicho en las Relaciones, é informes de otros años, y in especial de los niños que se crian en un Colegio aparte, y niñas tambien en otro, que ayudó à reedificar el Governador Don Antonio de Saravia, porque con la mas frequente enseñanza de los Padres en la iglesia, y de dos Maestras [Maestros] que viven con las Niñas, juntan los ejercicios Christianos con las habilidades de coser, y texer, y otras competentes à su estado. Los Niños del Colegio, sobre acudir [asistir] à sus funciones por modo de Comunidad, y Confessar, y Comulgar amenudo, saben ayudar à Missa, y enseñar esto mismo a otros; leen, escriben, muchos cantan, y otros tocan muy bien el harpa, y hazer con primor de oficio de catequistas quando se lo encargan los Padres.

En lo temporal se vá adelantando tambien mucho esta tierra, porque el Governador ha conseguido de los Indios que labren mas tierras, sembrando en ellas mucho maiz, y arroz, y para esto ha repartido a los naturales mas beneméritos algunos sitios muy a proposito para las sementeras. Mandó sembrar tambien algodón, y por los Pueblos

embrió gente que los enseñassen a hilar, y texer, como en la Nueva España, y son ya muchos los que esto han aprendido, y assi andan vestidos (muchos) [todos á quienes alcanza la ropa,] y de los demás se procura que de cortezas delgadas de arboles traigan siquiera el resguardo preciso para la honestidad, y decencia. Las vacas se multiplican mucho, y (el ganado de cerda en tanto grado) [los puercos se aumentan tanto], que no cuesta poco el defender los sembrados de ellos. Tambien se va procreando algunas cabras, y obejas que traxo el Governador, y las semillas, y plantas de Nueva España, que á su misma diligencia se benefician, se ván logrando, como son granados, vides, higueras, olivos, y otras especies; solo el trigo no ha dado bien, y se presume que es por venir passado con el calor de la Nao en tan prolija, y dilatada navegacion.

*Quiso [Su Señoria] dicho Governador que todos estos Indios reconociesen tambien en la tierra la Magestad de aquel por cuyo zelo, y magnificencia experimentan tanto bien espiritual, y temporal, y assi se les dió á entender como la Magestad Católica del Rey nuestro señor Don Carlos Segundo (que Dios guarde por felizes años) era el que á costa de sus Reales Tesoros, procurava por tantos medios la salvacion de sus almas; y que pues otros que en varios Reynos del Mundo avian recibido semejantes beneficios, mostravan el agradecimiento con rendido vasallage, conociendole por Su Señor natural, y Rey, que ellos avian de hazer lo mismo. Parecióles muy bien la propuesta, y assi convocada la Isla, todos los Indios, Capitanes, y Oficiales, y los mas principales de toda ella en nombre de los demás, puestas las manos sobre los evangelios, prometieron libre, y espontaneamente, con juramento, invocando á la Santissima Trinidad, y a la Virgen, en cuya Iglesia, dedicada á su nombre, se hazia este juramento de ser muy fieles vasallos del Rey nuestro Señor Don Carlos Segundo, y de obedecer todos sus Reales ordenes, con todas las demas leyes que su Magestad fuesse servido de imponerles, como lo hazen otros vassallos; y recibido este juramento salieron todos de la Iglesia; disparóse la Artilleria, tocaronse las Caxas, y otros instrumentos, echandó todos los sombreros por alto, y apellidando á voces, **Viva el Rey nuestro señor Don Carlos Segundo.***

*Toda esta junta de bienes se pretendió dilatar por las otras Islas del Norte, y assi no dando lugar los achaques al dicho Governador para navegar en estas embarcacioncillas tan deviles de estos Indios, se embarcó un Religioso con 24 soldados, y algunos Indios, que divididos en sus vanquillas [varquillas] corrieron hasta la quarta [sic] Isla de **Seypan** (que aora se llama San Joseph). En esta visita se bautizó (gran) multitud de parbulos que avian nacido por espacio de mas de siete años, y algunos de ellos tan sazoados para la Gloria, que despues de bautizados se murieron casi en los braços de sus padrinos, no aguardando Dios otra cosa que las sagradas aguas del bautismo para satisfacer la sed que tenia de sus almas. Muchos adultos, y viejos se encontraron moribundos, y se dispusieron con los sacramentos, dexando tambien con la vida esperanças bien fundadas de su salvacion eterna.*

Solo en la Isla de Seypan, ó San Joseph, se detuvieron las corrientes de estas Misericordias Divinas, no dando lugar á recibirlas la crueldad, y porfiada obstinacion de los Indios, que quisieron (aunque no lo consiguieron) matar á quien les iba á comunicar la mejor vida; y como al bolver de este viaje se hiziesse relacion [á Su Señoria] al Govern-

ador de todo lo sucedido, se encendió con un santo enojo, y deseo de tomar venganza contra los de Seypan, y luego al punto mandó cortar maderas, y prevenir materiales para un Barco de 24 codos de largo, que se acabo por Mayo, esperando la municion para ir por si mismo à sugetarlos, como esperamos en Dios, y en el teson de su valor, lo conseguirá, pues tan de su Divina Magestad es la causa. Rendida esta Isla, que es donde reside la gente más indomita, y carnicera, parece que solo es obra de año y medio, ó quando mucho de dos, el que todas las treze Islas del Norte se reduzcan quando mucho à solas quatro, en la forma que está oy la Isla de San Juan, y estará tambien dentro de pocos dias la de Rota, ó Santa Ana, y la de Tinian, ó Buena Vista.

*Y si la Balandra que en el Galeon **San Telmo** nos dixeron [en 1681] se aprestava en Manila hiviesse venido aquí, casi estuviera ya todo conseguido: Esta es la que por dias, y aun por instantes esá aguardando el Governador Don Antonio de Saravia, en cumplimiento de las Reales ordenes que su Magestad ha expedido, y con cuya confiança se partió [Su Señoria] desde Madrid à estas Islas, pues sin ella es imposible descubrir las Islas Australes que le encargó su Magestad en el titulo que le dió de Governador, y Capitan General de estas Islas; y está admirado de esta dilacion, escribiendo à su Magestad sobre ella, y à los Religiosos no nos cabe poca tristeza, no solo porque por (la) falta de dicho Baxel se dilata el conocimiento de Dios à tan innumerables almas, sino porque (segun) [tambien] hemos tenido noticia de Madrid, dudamos mucho que este Cavallero persevere aqui largo tiempo sin empleo de otros mayores Gobiernos: y quizás quando venga (el) dicho Baxel caerá en manos de quien no le sepa lograr tan bien en la propagacion de el Evangelio, como él [Su Señoria] le logrará. Dios nuestro Señor que es secretissimo, y admirable en la providencia con que dispone la conversion de las almas restantes del Mundo, conceda los medios mas oportunos para lograr la Sangre de su Santissimo Hijo en la salvacion de todos. Amen.*

Relacion de la Mission de Marianas desde el Junio passado de 82 hasta 25 de Abril presente de 84.

*El año passado [1683] avia formado Relacion de el estado de esta Mission, dando noticia de como se hallava establecida una muy buena, y copiosa Christiandad en esta primera Isla de San Juan, Cabeça principal de las treze Islas Marianas, reducidos los Naturales de dicha primera Isla, y sus 160 rancherias à siete Pueblos numerosos, con otras tantas Residencias, y Yglesias en dichos Partidos, donde se hallan en paz, quietud, gobierno, y politica Christiana de justicia, y Ministros, à cuya imitacion la segunda Isla, por nombre **Rota** (yá Santa Ana) está assimesmo [reducida á dos partidos é iglesias asistidas de dos Sacerdotes. Daba asimismo] noticia de como en prosecucion de la conquista, por armas se passó à la tercera, y quarta Isla, allanadas ya al yugo del Santo Evangelio, con Iglesias fundadas, y reducidas sus rancherias à tres Ministros.*

En este estado nos hallavamos por fines de Mayo de 83 aguardando la Nao de Filipinas, mas fue nuestro Señor servido de mortificar los deseos con la falta de dicho Galeon, no pudo este año hazer su acostumbrado viage de Filipinas à Nueva España.

Crecia el desconsuelo de avernos de faltar el Santo Sacrificio à la mitad del año por falta de vino, y harina para hostias; pero esta falta la recompensó nuestro Señor por otra via con la abundancia de sus misericordias, aviendose facilitado, y conseguido finalmente la embarcacion tan deseada de que su Magestad (que Dios guarde) tenia hecha merced, con repetidad cedulas, y encargos, à favor de esta Mission, porque considerando en Manila la estrema necessidad en que se hallava esta Christiandad, por la arribada, y falta de Nao de este año, se vieron las instancias con mayor empeño, y atento el Governador de Filipinas à tan urgente aprieto dispuso el apresto de una embarcacion, y socorro necessario para el viage de Marianas.

*Salieron en dicha embarcacion (que es una Balandra) los Padres (Visitador) Antonio Xaramillo, y Juan de Adamo, vino por Cabo el Sargento Mayor D. Damian de Esplana, y en su compañía el Capitan Don Joseph de Quiroga, y guiando su derrota por altura de 13 grados y medio; à los 28 dias de apartado(s) de las Islas Filipinas dieron fondo en Omatag [sic], Puerto de esta Isla de San Juan, desmintiendo los impossibles que hasta oy se avian ponderado, en orden à impedir el viage, y socorro via recta, desde Filipinas à estas Islas. **Llegó dicha Balandra el dia 23 de Agosto [1683]**, en ocasion que nos hallavamos no poco fatigados, y necessitados de tal socorro, por estar à la sazón el Governador Don Antonio Saravia ausente, y con casi toda la Milicia en la segunda Isla de Santa Ana, con designio de passar à la Conquista de la quinta Isla, por nombre Seypan. Salióse deste aprieto con el socorro de gente, y bastimentos que venia en dicha Balandra. Dióse luego aviso al Governador de tan feliz llegada de socorro, y gente, suplicandole, que atento à su poca salud, y à la falta que hazia su persona en esta primera Isla (se bolviessse, y) encargasse la empresa començada al Sargento Mayor Esplana, que acabado de llegarse ofrecia à ella; pero estaba tan empeñado que no fue possible reducirle, por dezir avia dado palabra à su Magestad de hazer personalmente aquella conquista. Salió, pues, à primero de Octubre, tiempo el mas arriesgado de estas Regiones, assi por la destemplança de los mares, como por lo recio de los vientos, los quales en esta ocasion fueron tan furiosos, que ya tuvimos por perdido al Governador con [casi] la mas gente del Presidio, y no pocos Indios amigos que le acompañan.*

*A este suceso se juntó otro de no menos sensible consecuencia, y que prueba lo arriesgado que andaria en el Golfo el Governador. Fue el caso, que **la Balandra** que estaba surta en el Puerto, assegurada al parecer con nueve cables, con la furia de los vientos, y crecidos mares, rompiendo todas las amarradas **se hizo pedazos** en los arrecifes de la costa, cortando las esperanças del nuevo descubrimiento de las Islas del Sur, y tierra Austral incognita, donde se encaminan nuestros designios. Fué empero amargo este que no quiso la Divina providencia tuviesse efecto en nuestro campo, pues à los tres dias, sossegada la tempestad, se tuvo aviso que el Governador avia buuelto à la segunda Isla, sin mas perdida que la de siete embarcacioncillas, ó canoas, sin aver peligrado soldado alguno, pues aunque se hallaron casi en el termino de su viage, no les permitió la furia de la tempestad saltar en tierra, antes bien dexandose llevar de las olas, y vientos contrarios, hallaron la salud en el mayor riesgo, y sobreviniendoles à pocas horas un Norte favorable, pudieron, sossegado algun tanto el mar, arribar, y bol-*

ber à coger puerto en la segunda Isla, de donde pocos dias antes avian salido. Dimos infinitas gracias à Dios por tan singular beneficio, y ocho dias despues entró en esta primera Isla el Governador con toda su gente: **luego se trató de resarcir el daño de la Balandra perdida, fabricando competente embarcacion** en que pudiesen dar la buelta à Manila los que avian traído el socorro à estas Islas, haziendo de camino las diligencias de descubrir nuevas tierras al Sur, à cuya empressa se ofreció el Sargento Mayor Esplana, dando principio à la nueva fabrica con los fragmentos, y reliquias que avian quedado de la Balandra, poco antes destrozada en la furia de los mares.

En esta ocasion quiso dar una buelta à toda esta Isla nuestro Governador, con pretexto de dar calor à la fabrica del nuevo Baxel, quando nuestro Señor, disponiendo el premio de sus fátigas, y Christiano zelo, le dió la enfermedad de la muerte con tan apresurados accidentes, que en quatro dias le llevó para si la mañana tres de Noviembre de 1683 aviendose dispuesto como tan Catolico, y piadoso Cavallero: Fue juntamente sentida, al passo que en vida admiradas sus prendas, religion, y piedad; no pudo hazer testamento por escrito, si bien de palabra dispuso de sus pocas alhajas à favor de obras pias. Tenia la Real Audiencia de Manila prevenido este lançe con pliego de Gobierno, para en caso de muerte; y aviendose abierto dicho pliego, se halló nombrado por Teniente de Capitan General, y Governador en interim, el Sargento Mayor Don Damian Esplana, el qual tomó luego (su) possession; y hechas las exequias al difunto Governador con el lucimiento, y aparato que permite la cortedad y pobreza de estas Misiones, puso luego todo su empeño en que se concluyesse **la nueva embarcacion, salió esta de 30 codos de quilla, y echada al agua à los tres meses de su fabrica, el dia 22 de Febrero de 84** se tornó à embarcar el Padre Antonio Xaramillo la buelta de Manila à dar razon de su visita, y viage à estas Islas Marianas.

Despachada dicha embarcacion à Manila, todo el empeño del nuevo Governador, y Missioneros, fue la pacificacion total de la Isla quarta **Tinian** (yá Buena-Vista Mariana) y la Conquista de la quinta Isla **Seypan** (ya San Joseph)[.] salieron à dicha empressa hasta 60 soldados, y por Cabo Don Joseph de Quiroga y Losada con titulo de Sargento Mayor[.] Entraron en **Tinian** donde fueron recibidos de paz. Passaron à **Seypan**, y aunque con alguna resistencia, fue finalmente vencida, y dominada toda la Isla, y los Missioneros hallaron copiosa mies de bautismos de niños, y predicacion de los adultos. Al mismo tiempo, por parte de la Milicia, se puso en execucion el sacar la Artilleria de la Nao **Concepcion**, que el año de 35 [rather 1638] naufragó en dicha Isla, y ayer 24 de Abril de 84 escribiendo esta [relacion], llegaron cartas del Sargento Mayor, en que dava aviso, como se iban sacando ya algunas piezas menores, con esperanças de encontrar las demás de mayor porte, que se esperan hallar **en poco mas de siete braças de fondo**. Sacada dicha Artilleria, se verá la que está para servir, avisando à Manila, por si conviene dexar la que pareciere necessaria à la seguridad, y Presidio de estas Misiones, pues [con las nuebas Yslas conquistadas parece] inescusable el añadir **nueva Fortaleza, y Presidio**, assi de armas como de gente, especialmente **en la quinta Isla [i.e. Saipan]** donde se ha hallado mas resistencia, y menos constancia en la Fé, y obediencia de sus Naturales.

Este es un resumen de los sucessos de estas Misiones hasta oy, donde el piadoso zelo tendrá materia de alabar à Dios nuestro Señor, y sus admirables providencias con estas tiernas Christiandades, que cada dia se ván aumentando, y echando mas firmes rayzes. Espero en la piadosa, y Soberana Madre de estos pobres continuará el favorecerlos, mediante las Santas Oraciones, y sacrificios de sus devotos, [y afectos]: A quienes guarde Dios felizes años [para su mayor Gloria, y aumento de la Santa Iglesia.—]

[Esto (Señor) es el estado en que al presente se hallan dichas Misiones, para cuyo aumento, assi espiritual como temporal, aunque son muchas las cosas de que necessita, solo las mas precisas pondré en diferentes memoriales à la consideracion de V. Magstad; de cuya piedad, y Católico zelo, assi el suplicante, como dichas Misiones, esperan en todo recibir merced.]

Part translation.

Sire:

Luis de Morales, Procurator of the Society of Jesus for the Philippines and the holy Mission of the Mariana Islands, places himself at the Royal feet of Your Majesty with two enclosed Reports of the spiritual, and material, state of and progress made in those Islands, since the year 1681.

As the Islands in question have been protected and honored with the sovereign name of the Queen our Lady, mother of Your Majesty, Divine clemency has willed that both types of progress proceed with the success and improvement stated in said Reports. These are due entirely to the piety of Your Majesty; indeed, it would be easy to imagine what would have happened, given human forces, when confronting the great difficulties, and obstructions, at sea and ashore, and also with the indifference and little affection on the part of some officials, that the Common Enemy has promoted, and promotes every day against those new shoots, and fresh Christian community, whose preservation and progress depend entirely upon the piety and greatness of Your Majesty. In fact, the greater the isolation and need, when compared with other countries in the Indies, those Islands lack all those things that might serve as bait to attract the greed of men, because there are no gold nor silver mines, nor any other income-producing metal, and not even enough to maintain human life, it being necessary to bring in from elsewhere the plants, seeds, and animals that are now producing with fecundity, and increase, giving us hope that the Islands, once reduced, will be used to grow food and raise the other necessities of life. However, in order to discharge the legal obligation I have to inform Your Majesty in a timely manner, I will reproduce literally the reports submitted by Manuel de Solorzano, Vice-Provincial and Superior of said Missions, as follows:¹

¹ Ed. note: Literally, they are not. The narratives were heavily edited. Only what seems to be at variance with the original reports will be translated below.

Report on the state, and progress of the Mariana Island Mission from June 1681 until June 1682.

...
 [Synopsis: The arrival of Saravia in 1681 has had a positive effect. He built a fortress entirely made of palo Maria, with 4 bulwarks and each side measures 120 feet.¹ The natives of the Island of Guam have been reduced to 7 towns with 6 churches. Those of Rota have now been reduced to 2 large towns.]²

“The man who, among the Mariano Indians, has been most favorable, is that famous chief, Don Antonio de Ayihi; indeed, it was also he who has shown that he is Indian in name only, given the delicacy of his affection, and good works, accompanied by great risks to his own life. He has been a very faithful Spanish vassal of Your Majesty in his manner of proceeding ever since the Venerable Father Diego Luis de San Vitores entered the Marianas to preach the Faith. Given the fact that all the Governors of the Philippines and Generals of the galleons who have passed by here, have shown that they were thankful to said Indian, he [i.e. Saravia] made him his Lieutenant General [rather Governor], the title giving him great power among the Indians themselves, who deeply respect and fear him, much to the benefit of the Christian community, and the desire that they have of showing themselves courteous so that some day they too will be rewarded.”

[Some proclamations have been issued, for instance, imposing the death penalty by choking collar on anyone convicted of raping a woman. This penalty was applied to 3 soldiers. Two others who had forced women before the by-law was promulgated, were condemned to 9 months of hard labor. One assassin of Father Ezquerria, and one assassin of Father Monroy, died by hanging and were subsequently quartered. One officer was sentenced to house arrest for calumnies against the missionaries. The Island of Guam was finally rid of the infectious bone-tipped spears, when the death penalty was declared for any Indian who did not turn them in within one month. Whenever he is not prevented by illness (which is often) Governor Saravia attended mass, attended the sacraments, and showed a good example to all.³ Saravia sometimes visited the island districts, either in a sedan chair or on horseback. Upon arriving at the town, he would get down and kiss the hand of the parish priest in sight of everyone, then choose no other lodging than the priest's residence. Saravia ordered his officers to address the Fathers only by their first names (those of their patron saint), as a mark of respect.⁴ Upon leaving the settlement and saying goodbye, Saravia would not set out until the parish priest had gone back inside his lodging, etc. **The old customs are a thing of**

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- 1 Ed. note: Fr. Morales has confused, of course, the earlier wooden enclosure with the more permanent stone-and-mud fort begun only after June 1682.
 - 2 Ed. note: Fr. Morales jumps the gun here, as this did not take place until the following year.
 - 3 Ed. note: Fr. Morales takes off into a digression, praising the good examples of the conquerors of New Spain.
 - 4 Ed. note: This is a Spanish custom, similar to the way the title Don is used with the person's first name only.

the past: no more loose marriages, no more public houses, no more habit of inflicting one another [love] bites and scratches. All attend mass, as the roll call is taken afterwards. In Agaña, 400 Indians took communion this year. The sentence that was passed on 5 rapists contributed to changing local sexual customs... Saravia rebuilt the college for girls, and they were being taught by two female live-in teachers how to sew and weave, and other female occupations. The college boys learned how to read and write, and also how to sing and play the harp, and how to teach catechisms to others, etc.]

[The natives have succeeded in getting the Indians to sow corn and rice, by distributing suitable lands for this purpose. He has also ordered the cultivation of cotton, and people have been sent to the towns to teach how to spin and weave, as they do in New Spain. Many are already wearing clothes; the rest use the bark of trees for that purpose. The pigs have multiplied so much that the protection of the plantations against them require much work. There are also goats, and sheep that the Governor brought, and other seeds and plants from New Spain, to wit: pomegranates, grapevines, fig trees, olive trees, and other species. Only wheat does not grow well, on account of the heat suffered aboard the galleon.]

[All the native chiefs [in Guam] and those appointed Captains of towns were made to swear allegiance to the Spanish king, inside the church at Agaña. Afterward, the cannon were fired, the drums and other musical instruments played, and all the hats thrown up in the air, upon shouting: "Long live the King our Lord, Don Carlos II." One religious went to Saipan with 24 soldiers and a few friendly Indians. Many children died in the hands of their god-parents as soon as they were baptized. The natives of Saipan then tried to kill their visitors.]

[Back in Guam, Saravia ordered the construction of a long boat measuring 24 cubits in length, that was completed in May. The reduction of Saipan was expected in a year and a half, two years at most. If the sloop had come from Manila, most of this reduction would already have taken place. Without it also, it is impossible to explore the Islands to the south of the Marianas.]

Report about the Mariana Mission, for the period from June 1682 until April 1684.

[Synthesis: The first part of this report was written in June 1683, but the galleon never showed up. Fortunately, on 23 August 1683 the sloop that had been sent directly from Manila arrived at Umatac with Father Antonio Xaramillo returning for an official visit. His companion was Fr. Juan Adam.¹ The sloop was under the command of Major Damian de Esplana.² Captain José de Quiroga was in his company. A first attempt was

1 Ed. note: Whose family name was Gerstl, sometimes misspelled Cherstel, or Gestel.

2 Ed. note: It may be useful to remind the reader at this point that the rank of Sergeant-Major then was a rank equivalent to the modern officer rank of Major; so, Major Esplana was senior to Captain Quiroga and junior to Colonel Saravia.

made at the beginning of October to invade Saipan, but the weather forced the flotilla to retreat to Rota. In the meantime, the same storm caused the Manila sloop [anchored at Umatac] to break free of the 9 cables that had been used to moor it, and it broke to pieces on the reef. Out of these pieces, a boat was built by Esplana for the purpose of taking the visitors back to Manila.]¹

[Saravia wanted to check on the progress of the boat construction, and he was on an official tour of Guam when he suffered a final attack, and died 4 days later, on 3 November 1683. He made a verbal testament, giving his few possessions to good works. When the sealed letter from the Governor of the Philippines was opened, Esplana was named as the new Governor of the Marianas. The new boat was finished in only 3 months, soon after the burial of Saravia. It turned out to measure 30 cubits in length of keel. On 22 February 1684, Fr. Xaramillo and companion left to return to Manila with it.]

[Esplana then went to the conquest of Tinian and Saipan with 60 soldiers, under Quiroga as their Sergeant-Major.² They were received peacefully in Tinian and they went on to Saipan and met some resistance, which they overcame. The soldiers were then employed to salvage the cannon from the site of the wreck of the galleon **Concepción**. “Yesterday, 24 April 1684, when this report was being written, there arrived letters from the Sergeant-Major in which he advised that they had already salvaged a few small guns, and were hoping to find the other, larger, guns, which they hoped to find in water less than 7 fathoms in depth. Once said cannon are salvaged, a decision will be made as to their disposal, and Manila will be advised, should it be appropriate to leave here those necessary for the security and the Garrison of these Missions, given that it is indispensable, if a new fortress and garrison, not only of weapons but of men, are added, specially in the fifth Island [i.e. Saipan] where more resistance has been found, and less constancy in the Faith, and obedience on the part of its natives.”]

[Concluding paragraph added by Fr. Morales:]

“This, Sire, is the present state of said Missions. For their development, spiritual as well as material, although they need many things, I intend to refer only to essential ones in various memorials to be addressed to the consideration of Your Majesty, from whose piety and Catholic zeal, not just the supplicant, but also said Missions, hope to receive favor in everything.”

1 Ed. note: This boat must have been built in the port of Umatac.

2 Ed. note: Quiroga had just received a field promotion, from Captain to Acting Major, but was restricted to the job of Camp Commander.

Documents 1684B

Letters from Fr. Coomans in 1684

B1. Letter to Fr. de Pape, dated Guam 19 February 1684

Source: AGR 2: 189-190v.

Original text in Latin.

[fol. 189]

Reverende in Christo Pater,

Pax Ejusdem

Quas ad Ram. Vam. destinaveram Anno superiori {1683} remorata est præsidiaria Insularum Philipinarum, quæ ventorum ad faciendum iter acomodorum defectu cursum non tenuit, et nos hac unica mittendarum litterarum via destituit. Et quamquam huic malo remedium adhibuit insularum Prætor, qui moræ impatiens, paratas in Hispaniam litteras naviculæ patriæ commisit, addito ductore hispano nauta; quæ quidem quod superat humanam fidem, ventis usa secundis cursum destinatum feliciter confecit, delata post undecim dierum navegationem in Insulam Mindanao ultimam ditionis Christianæ partem, et inde quadriduo ad ipsas insularum fauces dictas et embocadero: tamen vitio laborum an casu factum est, ut nostræ litteræ illis non adjungerentur. Ergo, quod solum restat, quærendum remedium est, ut illis has quoque adjungam, ne {tam caro} [Ræ Væ] {capiti} in officio meo videar defuisse. Itaque paucis sic habe.

Evoluta jam tempestate qua ab nova Hispania Marianas Insulas prætervehi consue- runt præsidiariæ Philipinarum, tametsi defectus annui subsidij, in regione tam remota accidit sane permolestus, eo tamen fidentius animis insistendum rati qui rebus præerant, concordibus votis expeditionem indixerunt in insulas septentrionales. Et quidem adversantibus ventis semel iterumque rejecti, tandem [sub finem Julij 1683] ad {vici- nam} Insulam S[anct]æ Annæ feliciter appulere duo Europææ formæ navigia [minora] seu maiores lembi, et naviculæ patriæ facile sexaginta, quibus vehebantur ipse insula- rum Prætor, duo Patres, milites hispani quotquot faciendæ expeditioni apti judicati, cum reliquo aparatu. Dum hic morantur operientes oportunitatem trajiciendi, ecce tibi ab insulis Philipinis ad est 23^a Augusti præsidiaria ad nos recto itinere destinata. Duce-

bat illam Gubernator D[ominu]s Damianus de Esplana olim virtute sua bellica de Missione nostra optime meritis. Aderat cum illo totius expeditionis auctor post Deum Pr. Antonius Xaramillo, qui post exantlatos in Missione nostra Apostolicos labores, hujus potissimum negotij causa missus Manilam procurator, nunc demum revertebatur nomine et potestate visitoris, ad periculosum iter magnis suis votis eo præcipue electus, ne, quod alias factum jam erat, consternati nautæ adversantis pelagi procellis, ubi nulla affulgeret [189v] emolumentum spes, omisso itinere Manilam remearent. [Est] vero non immerito adhibitam hanc curam eventus probavit. Quippe boni omnis inimicus prædis suis metuens certum habebat pia cœpta impedire. Vix ad insularum fauces pervenerant, cum imminens periculum et mortis adeundæ prætextu pars mago nautarum in navigij navarchum et Patrem conspirant, certi [his] de medio sublatis in alios orientalis Indiæ portus cursum avertere.

Et jam temerariæ voces conspirationis Indices spargebantur, detrectabantur imperia, arma etiam, ne quid ultra deesset, expediebantur, iamque res eo devenerat ut apertam ruinam cuncta minarentur, nisi obviam iret coarctata necessitas. Ergo dati in vincula conspirationis Auctores, et annonæ procurandæ prætextus delatus in terram Pr. Antonius Xaramillo vicinæ Provinciæ supremum judicem adit, et citatis cursoribus Manilam ad summum insularum Prætozem litteras destinat Indices periculi, et remedia supplices. Et ille quidem cum armata manu ilico adfuit, et seditionis auctores iam in vincula coniectos secum avexit, hic vero præsens remedium valentem animo navigij ductorem supra memoratum D[ominu]m Damianum de Esplana cum fidis militibus, et suppetiis nautarum ex templo submisit.

Rebus ita compositis, dum bona spe pleni faventes zephyros expectant, adest inopinato navicula Mariana. Res miraculi loco habita; et amplexati faustum omen, receptis etiam vectoribus tribus, nam quartum in itinere mors occupaverat, quod bene vertat, cursum prosequuntur, quem 25 dierum spatio feliciter confecere: agitati tamen procellis tam vehementibus, ut necesse habuerint non pauca ad comeatum, et subsidium spectantia irato mari in prædam concedere. Excepti a nobis omni, ut par erat, significatione affectus, habitisque Deo gratijs, et propitijs superis de negotijs et fine itineris agi cœptum. Et quidem in eo conspirabant omnium vota, ut ad susceptam expeditionem navigium adhiberetur. Sed prius majori malo quærendum remedium erat: nam fessa navis tam præsentem, quam anteactis itineribus large admittebat aquam, cui exhauriendæ vix diu noctusque ducta sentina sufficeret. Ergo ad constipandas tabularum commissuras cura conversa. Verum ubi eductis impedimentis inclinata navis carinam detexit, tantum vitij repertum est, exæsis carie asseribus, ut satius habuerint exterius tantum immissa stuppa pice obducere, ne si corrupta secare prætenderent, plus mali invenirent, quam mederi facile possent. Ex quo aliud non levius malum emersit, ut ad faciendam expeditionem in Insulas boreales plane inutilis haberetur, inter hæc convocatis e suis stationibus Patribus, officio suo incumberebat Pr. Visitor. Præcipuum caput in eo erat, ut iam constitutæ nostrorum domus et Residentiæ ad illam plane normam redigerentur, quam in Philipinis Insulis usus probavit. Nactus etiam oportunitatem Prætor cum suis ab insula S[anc]tæ Annæ in vecinam Buena vista Marianas dictam

Tenian perrexit, exceptus ab incolis omni genere hostilitatis. Vix anchoras jecerat, dum necessaria (faciendæ) excensioni curantur repente mirum in modum mare intumuit, agitatum procellis tam vehementibus, ut necesse habuerit prescisis funibus mari sese committere, ne vicinis scopulis ambæ rates [190] illiderentur; ubi diu multumque jactatus, amissis etiam nonnullis ex naviculis patrijs, malo victus retroire coactus est, et vix demum salvus et incolumis insulam S[anct]æ Annæ tenuit. Hic dum moratur incertus animi, majus inopinato malum supervenit, nuntiato naufragio navis præsiariæ quod furens procella in ipso portu causaverat, et cum illo spem plane presciderat ut australes insulæ detegerentur: nisi invictus animus Ductoris navigij huic malo occurreret, qui ex {ipsis} rudibus, et [ubi] {si quid} deerat conquisita materia ad fabricandam novam sese fortiter accinxit, et feliciter consecutus est.

His malis supervenit repentina mors ipsius Insularum Prætoris D[omin]i Antonij de Saravia quæ contigit 3^a Novembris ex Apostemate quod occupatum visitandæ Insulæ S[anct]i Jo[ann]is {interius dirumpens} valentem oppressit. Successit in officio ipse navigij ductor D[ominu]s Damianus de Esplana, et rerum potitus tam efficaciter manum operi admovit, ut has meas festinare compulerit, que ad Ram. Vam. via australi Manilam petunt.

Faxit Deus ut campum nobis amplum aperiant spargendi Evangelij, dum ego procius [sic] ad expeditionem borealem occasionem proximam scribendi Ræ Væ expecto, cui a P[atr]e Gerardo Bouwens ceterisque Patribus salutem amantissimam libenter impertior et eandem Amplissimis D.Ds. Ræ Væ Parentibus D[omin]o Petro cæteræque familiæ ac præsertum in Provincia Patribus cæterisque notis et ignotis impertiri exopto.

Comendo me SSmis. Ræ Væ sacrificiis et precibus, ejusdem quotidie memor.

Agatña ex Insulis Marianis 19 Feb[ruar]ij 1684

Ræ Væ Servus in Xro

Petrus Comano S.J.

[190v, address:] *Reverendo in Christo Patri Patri Liberto de Pape Soctis. Jesu Rec-tori,*

Mechliniæ [crossed out in favor of]

Bruxellis

Translation.

[Note existing translation of same text (in B2 below) by Fr. Repetti, Guam Recorder, see below]

B2. Letter to Fr. [General] de Noyelle, dated Agaña 20 February 1684

Sources: ARSI Phil. 13, fol. 269-270v; translated and published by Fr. Repetti in Guam Recorder 17 (1940): 409-411.

[Text same as B1 above, except for ending, as follows:]

... et eandem PPs. Carolo a Manderscheydt et Gotenies ceterisque notis impertiri exopto. Comendo me SSmis. Ræ Væ sacrificiis et precibus ejusdem quotidie memor.

Agatña, ex insulis Marianis, 20^a Februarii 1684

Ræ Væ Servus in Xro

Petrus Coomans S.J.

[Address:] Reverendo in Christo Patri Patri Carolo Noyelle Societatis Jesu pro Germania Assistenti. Romæ.

Translation by Fr. Repetti.

...
The letter which I intended for your Reverence last year, 1683, was delayed by the fact that the supply ship of the Philippine Islands could not follow its proper route for lack of wind, and this single mail facility failed us. The Governor of this Island, who became impatient by the delay in letter prepared for Spain, took measures to remedy the situation. He sent off a native boat under the command of a Spanish sailor and, contrary to all expectation, it happily completed the journey, by the aid of favorable winds, in 11 days of navigation, and made port in the island of Mindanao, the last part of the Christian section, and four days later reached the entrance and strait of the Islands.¹

Nevertheless, by chance or some fault in the work, our letters were not taken, and so nothing is to be done but to seek a way by which to add this to them, lest it may appear to your Reverence that I am negligent in my duty.

The season having passed when the galleon from New Spain is wont to touch here, and although the failure of annual supplies in such a remote place is very troublesome, nevertheless, those in authority decided on an expedition to the northern islands. And although they were forced back time after time by contrary winds, at length two boats of European style reached the neighboring island of St. Ann, and easily 60 native boats which carried the Governor himself, two Fathers, as many Spanish soldiers as were needed, together with the luggage. While they were waiting for an opportunity to pro-

¹ The San Bernardino Strait.

ceed, behold, on the 23rd of August there arrived from the Philippines a supply ship sent directly to us, under the command of Governor Damian de Esplana, who formerly deserved well of our mission by his warlike spirit. With him came the author, after God, of the whole expedition, Father Antonio Xaramillo, who, after exhausting apostolic labor in our Mission, was sent to Manila principally on business as Procurator. Now he was returning with the office and authority of Visitor.¹ He was chosen for this perilous journey chiefly on account of his great desire to reach here, lest the same thing as happened previously might occur again; the sailors, terrified by the contrary waves of a storm, where there was no hope of a reward, might give up the voyage and return to Manila.

Scarcely had they reached the strait of the Islands when a number of sailors, under the pretext of imminent danger of death, conspired against the Captain and Father to change the course to other ports of East India, and bold talk gave indications of a spreading conspiracy. They were murmuring at commands and even preparing arms, and matters had already come to such a pass that evident failure threatened unless something was done to meet the situation, and the authors of the plot were put in chains. Under the pretext of soliciting alms Father Antonio Xaramillo went ashore and reported to the head of the province and a report was sent to the Governor of the Philippines in Manila, stating the signs of danger and requesting help. He came in person with an armed force and carried off the ringleaders who were already in chains. The presence of the Governor with soldiers and a supply of sailors was an encouragement to the commander of the boat, Don Damian de Esplana.²

With everything thus arranged and while waiting with his hope for favorable winds, the boat from the Marianas unexpectedly appeared, and taking this as a good omen, and having taken on three persons, they continued the voyage which was successfully completed in 25 days, although the stormy weather compelled them to consign to the angry sea not a few articles of food and supplies. They were welcomed by us with every manifestation of joy, as was fitting, and thanks were rendered to God for the successful outcome of the voyage.

All agreed that the boat should be used for the expedition which had been undertaken, but that first the defects should be remedied, because this boat, not only in the present but in former voyages, had leaked so badly that the water could scarcely be kept down by pumping day and night. To caulk the seams, the equipment was removed and the boat careened until the keel was exposed, and so many defects were found that it was deemed advisable merely to put oakum and pitch in the outer parts, lest cutting away the rotten parts would expose defects that could not be easily repaired. The

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- 1 A "Visitor" in the Society of Jesus is a man, chosen for his prudence and experience, who is sent to make an inspection, or arrange some special business, in another section of the Society. Coming in from the outside, as it were, he can usually take a more disinterested and broader view of the situation than those who are too close to it.
 - 2 Ed. note: Fr. Coomans did not get the story right. The Governor of the Philippines did not travel to Capul Island, where the mutiny was quelled (see p. 151).

result was that the boat was deemed utterly unfit for the expedition to the northern islands.

Meanwhile, having summoned the Fathers from their stations, Father Visitor commenced his duty, the principal point of which was to regulate our Houses and Residences, already established, according to the form observed in the Philippine Islands.

The Governor took advantage of the opportunity to go with his men from the island of St. Ann to the neighboring Buenavista, known in the Marianas as Tenian, where he was received by the people with every kind of hostility. Scarcely had they dropped anchor and were preparing for a landing when the sea roughened in a remarkable manner and the waves became so strong that they had to cut the cable and put out to sea to prevent being driven on the rocks. After being tossed about for a long time, and losing some of the native boats, they were compelled to return frustrated, and they barely reached the island of St. Ann in safety. While they waited there in an uncertain frame of mind, a greater unexpected misfortune happened: news was received of the wreck of the supply boat in the very port [of Umatac], due to a furious storm; and with it would have gone all hope that the southern island[s] would be reached, had not the undaunted spirit of the commander of the boat met this disaster and constructed a new boat out of any material that could be found, and successfully.

On top of these misfortunes came the sudden death of the Governor himself, Don Antonio de Saravia, on the 3rd of November last, while visiting the interior of the island of St. John. He was succeeded by the commander of the supply boat, Don Damian de Esplana, and he took hold of everything so successfully that these letters of mine are being hastened, which come to your Reverence by way of Manila.

May God open to us a wide field to spread the Gospel; while I stand ready for any opportunity for the northern expedition, I look for an occasion of writing to your Reverence, to whom I gladly extend the heartiest greetings from Father Gerard Bouwens and the other Fathers and the same to Fathers Charles Manderscheydt and Gotenies and the others [who know me]. I commend myself to your Reverence's most holy sacrifices and prayers and give you the same daily remembrance.

Agaña, in the Mariana Islands, 20 February 1684.

Your Reverence's Servant in Christ,

Peter Coomans, S.J.

[Address:] To Reverend Fr. Superior, Fr. Charles de Noyelle of the Society of Jesus, care of the Assistance for Germany, Rome.¹

1 Ed. note: The Mariana missionaries were about to learn of Fr. Noyelle's election to the Generalship in 1682.

B3. Letter(s) to Fr. General (& Fr. de Pape), dated Saipan 17 (& 18) May 1684

Sources: The master copy of this letter was sent to Rome and is dated 17 May; it is kept in ARSI Phil. 13, fol. 271-273v. The text of it has been translated from the Latin and published by Fr. Repetti in Guam Recorder, March 1941, pp. 494-496, 520-521, as reproduced below. There are two other similar copies, sent to Fr. de Pape in Belgium, both written and signed by Fr. Coomans himself but dated the next day (18 May). These are kept in AGR 2: 191-195 (2 copies filed together); the folios mentioned below belong to the second copy, which differs from the first by only a few scattered words.

Original text(s) in Latin.

[fol. 193]

Reverende in Christo Pater

Pax Ejusdem

Superioribus meis perscripsi Ræ Væ quidquid Missio nostra Mariana tum quidem notatu dignum offerebat, quibus nunc subdo, quæ in insulis Ag[ul]iguan, Tenian, et Zai-pan, nunc ab S[anc]to Angelo Custode, ab nomine Mariano, et S[ac]nto Josepho dictis nobis sese scribenda ob[st]ulerunt.

*Itaque expedita navi in insulas Australes, qua vehebatur Pr. Antonius Xaramillo, et Pr. Adamus Cherstel, Gubernatore D[omi]no Petro Gomez, quæ cursum tenuit **22^a februarij 1684**, unica restabat cura remotas ad boream insulas ditioni Christianæ adjungendi. Et quidem hanc curam integro fere biennio foverant Dæ Mæ D[omi]nijs Antonius Saravia Insularum Prætor, et Pr. Emanuel de Solorzano, irrito semper eventu. Verum D[omi]nijs Damianus de Esplana melioribus auspicijs fretus, negotium commisit D^o Joseph de Quiroga Militiæ Præfecto: ipse cum maioris formæ navigio, cui fabricando insistebat, pone secuturus. Ergo **22^a Martij**, afflantibus jam ab austro faventibus zephyris, vela fecerunt unum [majoris]¹ formæ navigium, et patriæ naviculæ non plus quam viginti; quibus vehebantur cum suo ductore selecta sexaginta militum manus, et Pr. Mathias Cuculino, cum omni necessario ad bellum aparatu: quos ego die postera navicula patria secutus ad Residentiam S[anc]ti Michaelis propter relantes ventos in anchoris inveni. Ac deinde **24^a** insulam S[anc]tæ Annæ tenuimus. Et quamquam adversari votis aura videbatur, tamen (altera die) postquam incarnato verbo litavimus cursum ante lucem velis remisque tentavimus: sed frustra et consumpta opera, in portu ejusdem insulæ, dicto **Tatgua**, [considerere]² coacti sumus, ubi semel iterumque, sed irrito eventu tentato itinere, tandem **12^a Aprilis** sub vesperam altum tenuimus, assumptis ex Insula Stæ Annæ alijs 20 naviculis, et illa nocte remis progressi,*

1 Ed. note: Instead of the word “majoris”, the other copy, and the master copy, have the word “nostratis” = European-style.

2 Ed. note: Same in master copy, but, instead of the word “considerere”, the other AGR copy has the word “residere”.

*sub ortum solis diei sequentis vela pandimus, remisque adiuti eo die cursum tenuimus, emensi fretum usque ad Insulam **Agiguan**: ita tamen ut post occasum solis propius advecti, per noctis tenebras occasio barbaris adimeretur, ne solitis faculis vicinam insulam de adventu nostro admonerent. Quo factum est, ut noctem illam totam insulam prætervecti, transmissa freto, sub diurnum crepusculum diei sequentis conjuncti omnes ipsam insulam **Tenian** subiremus, a nemine antea deprehensi. Evigilavere nimirum imprudentes [incolæ],¹ et classem nostram littoribus suis imminentem conspicati, terrore percussis, raptim in concilium eunt, viribusque diffisi, nam inopinatus accessus spem omnem defensionis excluserat, decernunt experiri pacem.*

*Itaque selecti principales pauci nostros in littore operiuntur: alij silvarum in via latibundi petunt, ne, si vis ingruat, plures quam necessitas cogat in periculum dentur; reliqua imbellis turba et tenerior ætas in montium [interiora] {asperiora}: et observa nobis littora dilabuntur. Et iam ingressi portum littus tenebamus; cum lumborum tenuis per undas obviam factus præcipuus insulæ dominus dictus Caiza, pacem exposcit, studiose excusans, vim sibi, et suis illatam ab incolis insulæ **Zaipan**, ne nostros, uti decreverant, pacifice [admitterent].² Ergo escensione facta: dum curandis corporibus tempus impenditur, dimissi per insulam, qui pacem compositam [quaquaversum]³ nuntiarent: quo audito, exhilaratis animis, accessere non pauci cum suis munusculis eandem confirmantes.*

*Postera die, que fuit 15^a Aprilis, post actas Deo, Divisque propitijs gratias, et oblatam pacificam hostiam, iter adornavimus in insulam Zaipan, assumptis etiam ex hac insula aliquot naviculis usui futuris [193v] tam ad pacem initam hisce obsidibus confirmandam, quam ad portus, et faciles aditus designandos. Nam satius visum est [ipsos]⁴ malorum auctores et perturbatores pacis inopinato agredi, ne spatium nacti vias præstruerent, et defossis humo telis insidias molirentur. Itaque pacato mari velis remisque leniter dilapsi, ubi ad occidentem insulæ cursum infleximus, inconspicuum venere naviculæ patriæ quamplures aut fugientium, aut armis nobis obviam venientium. Verum ad conspectum nostræ classis dilapsis omnibus, et fretum unius leucæ emensi, dum littori aplicamur; prosiliebant e spissura arborum insultantes barbari, et fundis circumactis saxea tela continuo emittebant, irritum plærumque conatu, ob distantiam nostrorum: quibus longioribus sclopiis subinde respondebant, haud simili eventu. Donec perventum est ad ipsas fauces, aut aditus portus interiores ad pagum **Catanhuda**, quo ex omni circum regione non pauci convenerant, defensuri se, et si quid possent [;] aditum nostrorum in insulam prohibitori, pars cimbis advecti, pars pectore tenuis undis immersi fundas, et hastas late minabantur. Tum vero experrecti nostri animos tollere,*

1 Ed. note: Same in master copy, but, instead of the word “incolæ”, the other AGR copy has the word “indigenæ”.

2 Ed. note: Instead of the word “admitterent”, the other AGR copy has the word “reciperent”.

3 Ed. note: Instead of the word “quaquaversum”, the other AGR copy has the word “propere” = quickly.

4 Ed. note: The word “ipsos” does not appear in the second AGR copy.

et objectam moram vi armisque repellere. Impellunt remos: tela eminus cominusque expediunt, fit clamor [:] hinc inexpertas hispanorum vires proterve lacescentium, hinc nudipellem superbiam ludibunde repellentium. Miscentur iræ, et ignivoma tela cum debilibus fundis de imperio [concertant].¹ Dum fervent animi, et cruenta munera hinc inde Mavors dispertit arenæ adlabimur. Nec mora: e nostrati navigio in cimbam delabitur militum Præfectus, sequuntur illum promptissimi quique. Dum fremit, et Martem spirans circum omnia intentat, ferociorem unum contra audacius euntem sclopo mentum transadigit. Provolvitur ille, et fugiente anima, solum cruentat. Cecidere scilicet consternati barbarorum animi, et nostrorum erecti in littus prosiliunt [:] fit fugit et fugientium tergis dum alij audacter inhærent, alij exanime cadaver per littus protrahentes terrorem circumferunt. Nec tamen qui mari pugnabant, animos despondebant; sed facto agmine in majus navigium, et posteriores naviculas ferocius invecti, iam certam victoriam pæne/ferè fædaverant. Verum et hic ubique constans nostrorum virtus eluxit. Emicuere præ cæteris cohors remigum, quæ ex [indigenis juvenibus]² assumpta pars azinace et clypeo, pars hastis nostratibus depugnabant; qui imperterriti clamore invicem adhortati, in mare prosiliunt, et cominus cum hoste progressi, post brevem pugnam in fugam omnes avertunt. Atque ita nemine ex nostris desiderato, nemine graviter saucio, optatum littus [omnes]³ tenuimus. Dimissi extemplo qui labitantes hostes, aut latentes insidias pervestigarent, tum præda militibus indigenisque [comitibus]⁴ concessa, ac demum ultricibus flammis in tecta circumquaque sævitum, ijs exceptis sub quibus illam noctem sub diligenti vigilia egimus; nemine tamen per noctis tenebras hostile quid molivi auso.

16^a quæ fuit Dominica, peracto sacrificio, et dictis litanijs in gratiarum actionem, visum est oblatam victoriam vincendo prosequi. Ergo septentrionem versus terra iter intendimus, navigio majori cum reliquis naviculis et aparatu mari comitari jussis. In itinere hostis defuit: obvia tecta flammis consumpta: [inter spolia]⁵ erutum unum bellicum tormentum minoris formæ. Inter eundum conspecti aliquot indigenæ, signis et gestibus pacem aut aloquium postulantes; præmisimus ductores viæ ex Insula Tenian, qui reduces nuntiarunt veterius ad boream adesse pagos, qui pacem postulantes adventum nostrorum cum muneribus expectent. Itaque regressi ad mare littus adnavigavimus ad locum Yuyu dictum. Sed fides fefellit, circumactis late fundis locum tuebantur, et accessum arcebant. Sed frustra: nam nihil moratus militiae Præfectus cum suis e navigio desiliens per ipsas undas femorum tenuis in terram delatus, arma ignivoma late circumferens, obtantes omnes in fugam avertit. Unus ilia transfixus locum momordit: læsi nonnulli, ex utroque latere flammis [194] et præda sævitum: et quod locus param

1 Ed. note: The other AGR copy has the word “decernunt” instead.

2 Ed. note: The word “juvenibus” appears alone in the other copy.

3 Ed. note: The word “omnes” is replaced by the word “victores” in the master copy and other AGR copy.

4 Ed. note: This copy repeats the word “militibus” instead.

5 Ed. note: The words “inter spolia” do not appear in the other AGR copy.

aptus videbatur ob silvarum et arborum opacitatem, nonnihil ad occidentem regressi in mari noctem exegimus.

*17^a primo mane dimissa terrestri itinere cohors cum aliquot naviculis, quæ reliquam ad boream insulam perlustrarent, usque ad pagum **Fucfuc**, cui pax concedi jussa, quod in nupera expeditione naufragos aliquot indigenas nostros benigne [recepissent]¹, et navicula omnique necessario impedimento adiutos ad suos in patriam demi[si]ssent: reliqua omnia, nisi pacem suppliciter poscerent, ferro et flamma abolerent. Quod feliciter factum, unum etiam e turma quæ resistere ausa fuerat cominus assecutum azinace truncarunt, et pede truncum ex arbore ad terrorem suspenderunt. Et quamquam aliquibus in locis indicia pacis arundines saccaræ et nuces palmeæ offendebantur; tamen quia emissa fundis tela nonnunquam crepitarent, et defossæ humo cuspides plures offenderentur, eadem fidelia omnes aspersi. Nos cum nostro Duce in terram [r]egressi, ad prominentem insulæ sinum, dictum **Anaguan**, hac die substitimus. Ubi dum socios reduces operimur, expæditi aliquot milites cum fidis indigenis prædatum excurrunt; flammis etiam, quæ supererant, tecta abolitivi. In itinere obviam se præbent armati ex insidijs nonnullis, in quos dum sclopum explodit unus ex nostris, et mortiferum vulnus adverso infligit (nam postea extinctum enotuit) dum accurrit, rem cominus azinace confecturus; ecce tibi ex insidijs alij hastas et lapides inopinato explodunt, in quos dum ignivoma tela posteriores nostri intendunt, ignari socium configunt; qui manum graviter, et ventrem nonnihil vulneratus, infecta re ad nos difertur: ubi [obligatis]² vulneribus, refocilatus, et navi impositus quievit, et brevi postea convaluit. Sub vesperam adfuere socij, et conjuncti omnes terrestri itinere in occidentem regressi, quidquid supererat flammis abolevimus, et noctem peregimus in pago **Harac**.*

*Ex quo 18^a ad meridiem profecti, hospitem domum ab incendio liberavimus, eo quod dum ante biduum hæc iter peragimus, fugientis hospitis vox obandiretur, quæ lingua hispanica per amorem Dei pacem exposceret, cujus suplices sac[c]areas arundines paucas exposuerat. Tum inoffenso pede ulterius progressi, donec emensi locum ubi ad primum ingressum depugnâvimus, rursum omnia [hostilia]³ deprehendimus ad pagum **Arâiao** ubi morabatur præcipuus insulæ dominus, seu principalis, dictus Radahao, qui postquam nostri expeditionem insulæ moliri cœperunt, Magni Patris sibi nomen vindicaverat inter suos, sed nunc ingruente malo perterritus, fugam in remotiores insulas arripuerat. Locus tamen a suis defendebatur, non aperta vi, cui diffidebant, sed structis insidijs. Nam spatium nacti illis diebus, quibus borealem plagam bellando lustravimus, littora circum, et domorum[,] atria effoderant, fossasque cuspidibus hastarum osseis, et obduratis igne ligneis obarmaverant, tum superimpositis ramusculis, et arborum folijs, obductaque leviter arena ad fallendum contexerunt. Nec fefellerunt insidiæ indigenas socios, qui fraudibus assueti nostros admonuere; non ita tamen quin duo incauti præcipites in foveas dati, pedem hasta transfigerent. Vallum etiam decussatis asseribus,*

1 Ed. note: The other copy wrongly says "excepissent".

2 Ed. note: The master copy and the other AGR copy say "aligatis".

3 Ed. note: The word "hostilia" appears in the master and other AGR copy.

*et arborum truncis erexerant, quod audacior reliquis turma fundis et hastis defendebant. Verum irruentibus nostris, ferrumque et faces fortiter inferentibus aversi in fugam hostes, et obvia tecta flammis [incensa],¹ hoc solo discrimine, quod domum Magni Patris ipsi defensores incenderent, ne facti famam nostris relinquerent. Inde ulterius progressi in pagum pervenimus **Agingan** dictum, ad ipsas angustiores oceani fauces hanc inter et adversam insulam Tenian, ubi hujus sæculi A[nn]º 36 [sic] præsiaria navis ab insulis Philipinis novam Hispaniam petens naufragium fecerat. Qui locus usibus nostris [194v] oportunos vibebatur ad extrahenda tormenta bellica, quæ mari sepulta tanto annorum intervallo derelicta jacuerant. Habitatores loco aufugerant, et nos corporibus et quieti spatium dedimus, nihil ultra hostile passi, præter emissa fundis aliquot tela: ad quæ repellenda egressa expedita cohors, præter fugientes paucos nihil convenit. Inter hæc fidos indigenas ex insula Tenian demissimus in vicinum pagum **Opian** dictum, pacem oblatores, quod antea his retro annis, Patribus, et Hispanis insulam aduentibus fideles sese et hospitales præbuerant, quam incolæ obvijs ulnis amplexi, fideiusorem miserunt, qui pavorem reliquorum excusaret, et pacata omnia et amica polliceretur.*

19ª post ortum solis monuere vigiles apparere hostium turmam, in quam ipse militum Ductor cum aliquibus egressus, per avias semitas alios emisit, qui fugientibus [cæteris], unum adacto azinace prosternunt, et truncum caput trophæum reportant. Advenerant interea ex vicino pago Opian pacem poscentes indigenæ: et quamvis insueti spectaculo non parum commoti, quieverere tamen, postquam edocti sunt, nihil ipsis a nobis timendum, et vultum contemplati, hæredem dixerunt ipsius loci Principalis cui in alia expeditione in mari deprehenso manum nostri amputaverant.

20ª reversi amici indigenæ ex pago Opian, aduxere comites pagi Agingan pacem rogatores: qua concessa, sub vesperam cum expedita cohorte in orientem iter tenuit militum Ductor; sed metu conterritis barbaris, nihil hostile invenit. Ergo flammis abstinuit, prædam militibus et indigenis concessisse contentus, et postera die in castra reversus, quod pluvium cælum iter longius impediret, sub vesperam ad extrahenda tormenta curam aplicuit, et quinque extracta ex minoribus, quæ sequenti die ad sedecim inventa, et aliud crassioris formæ, quod mortarium vocant, ejaculandis in altum bombis accommodatum. Hac die initium factum baptizandis parvulis, quos ex pago Opian, comitantibus reliquis vicinis nonnullos aduxerunt, et composita pace timorem exuerunt.

*23ª rursus in septentrionem expeditio ducta, in qua ad pagum **Tumhum** obvios habere novem indigenas, assumptis armis lavandi [corporis]² causa ad mare progredi ausos: in quos dum nostri invehuntur, cecidere duo, eminus primo, mox cominus ferro prostrati, reliquos fuga salvavit. Fuit inter illos secundus insulæ Principalis, et belli Præses, qui nomen Gubernatoris inter suos usurpaverat, dictus Punni, homo magnani-*

1 Ed. note: The master and other copy say "absumpta" instead.

2 Ed. note: The word "corporis" appears in the master and other AGR copy only.

mus, et recepta morte animi constans, ultimam quam detulerat hastam in nostros intorsit, sed irrito conatu. Tum ulterius progressi [pervenere]¹ in Harac, et luce postera in Fucfuc, ubi incolis metu aufugientibus incenderunt domum publicam, et cum illa ingentem cumulum hastarum, et calvariarum: ac nihil præterea hostile perpessi, iter remensi sunt usque ad pagum Catanhüda, in quo constitere ob portus commoditatem, et nos ex pago Agingan illis obviam facti, conjuncti omnes castra posuimus 26^a Aprilis, quo demum ex universa fere insula supplices facti incolæ pacem impetrarunt. Ac sequentibus diebus fabricandis domibus tam divinis officijs, quam recipiendis mitibus tempus impendimus.

*Donec 30^a Aprilis iteratam expeditionem exorsus militiæ Præfectus, [facto]² itinere per orientem, nihil ultra hostile invenit, et capto operæ pretio ex parvulis baptizatis, quos ambabus ulnis volentes off[er]ebant, hoc demum pignore pacem firmiter stabilitam rati, die **tertia Majj** reversus est. Terra omnis fertilis, et consuetis terræ fructibus, oryza et radicibus abundans, per latas planities in circuitu unius montis quasi in centro positi distenditur spatium octodecim leucarum ambitu complexa. Tum reliqui dies extrahendis majoribus tormentis dati, quorum quotidie singula extracta et comodiore loco ad fauces portus transvecta. Quando, ut sunt humanæ res, tot lætis tristitia miscentur. Convenerant 5^a Majj, varijs e locis incolæ domum nostram fabricaturi: et visum est ænea tormenta aliquot exonerare, ad terrorem ingenerandum: cum ecce, nescio quo vitio, feralis machina disrumpitur, et violento [195] impetu duos e comitibus hispanis rapit; alterum ex admoto fomite cladis auctorem, cui pars æris rupta in cor et pectus impacta, vix in extremo agone sacramentis aptum reliquit; alterum haud procul assidentem, quem latus et ilia saucium, costa etiam ni fallor disrupta, post tertium diem sacramentis omnibus rite præmunitum vis mali absumpsit. Ex socijs hispanis nonnulli leviter vulnerati, et ex indigenis nonnulli, plus timoris domum retulere [-unt], quam vota poscerent.*

*7^a Majj, compositis iam utcumque rebus insulæ Zaipan, ne recens natis parvulis ex mora periculum nasceretur, expeditio instituta in insulam Tenian: relicto in Zaipan sufficienti præsidio. Et incolæ, alienis malis edocti, vias circumquaque omnes preparaverant, et quisque sub suo lare secure vivens, pacem ore, pacem animo deprædicabat. Circumivere insulam decem plus minus leucas ambitu complexam, et adscriptis Christianorum albo parvulis, nemine off[en]so, et a nemine off[en]si, nona ejusdem in insulam **Agiguan** profecti sunt, preruptam, et paucis habitatoribus cultam, nec plus duabus leucis ambitu continentem: ac demum [omnes] undecima ejusdem ad suos reversi sunt, ubi pacifica omnia reperere. Interea remissi in patriam quotquot ex insulis **Guahan** et **Rota** superioribus bellis sedes mutaverant.*

Atque hæc sunt, quæ pauculis [his] mensibus scribenda obtulit Missio nostra Mariana, quæ rogo Ram. Vam. grata habere dignetur, utpote ex optima voluntate profecta,

1 Ed. note: The word used in the other two copies is "quievere".

2 Ed. note: The other copies say "ducto" instead.

qua inter bellorum tumultus, et nullam quietem officio meo deesse nolui: quæ, si digna videbuntur, dum R^a V^a cum amicis communicabit, ac præsertim cum Pe. Petro Cant, cui hac vice scribere occupationes præcisæ non permittunt. Tum salutem a me plurimam,¹ et a Patre Gerardo Bouwens, ac reliqua Missione dicet, inter quos primo loco commemoro Amplissimos DDos. Parentes, fratres, et sorores ac familiam universam: quorum omnium memor quotidie vivo in sacrificijs et precibus, ac me eisdem Ræ Væ et illorum omnium ex animo commendo.

Ex Insula Zaipan 18^a Maij 1684.

Ræ Væ Servus in Christo

Petrus Coomans S.J.

A Letter from Saipan in 1684 (the Rome version).

I have written to my Superiors whatever our Mariana Mission has offered as worthy of note and I now write to them what has occurred in the islands of Agiguan, Tenian and Zaipan, now known to us as Guardian Angel, [Bonavista] Mariana and St. Joseph [respectively].

The boat in which Fr. Antonio Xaramillo and Fr. Adam Cherstel [sic]² arrived was sent off to the southern island[s] [i.e. Carolines] on 22 February 1684, under the command of Don Pedro Gomez,³ and then only one task remained and that was the addition of the northern islands to the Christian jurisdiction; and indeed this desire had been cherished for almost two whole years by Don Antonio Sarabia and Fr. Manuel Solorzano but it was always frustrated by Don Damián de Esplana. Relying on more favorable prospects, [he] entrusted the task to Don José de Quiroga, military commander, with a larger boat, on the construction of which he had insisted.

Therefore, on March 22nd, with a favorable wind from the south, sail was hoisted on the European-type boat and it was accompanied by not more than 20 native canoes with 60 selected soldiers and leader, and Fr. Mateo Cuculino, and everything needed for war.

I was to follow them in a native canoe on the next day [to the Residence of St. Michael].⁴ However, on account of failing wind we remained at anchor and on the 24th we were still at the island of Santa Ana [Rota], and although conditions appeared unfavorable we attempted a start with sail and oars before daybreak, but in vain, and after

1 Ed. note: From here on, the text destined for Belgium is different.

2 Ed. note: In one of the copies, Fr. Coomans writes his last name Cersthel; in another letter written a few days later in Rota by Fr. Bouwens, his name is given as John Adam Gestel (see Doc. 1684E). Gestel is a typical Flemish name, but not the real spelling, since he was Austrian. His real name was Gerstl.

3 Ed. note: He was the actual master of the sloop San Francisco Xavier that arrived from Manila in August 1683, bringing Damián Esplana, José Quiroga, and Fr. Xaramillo back to Guam. The boat built from its wreckage had no name; it was supposed to head south but did not.

4 Ed. note: The text in brackets appears in the 2 copies in AGR. San Miguel = Ritidian.

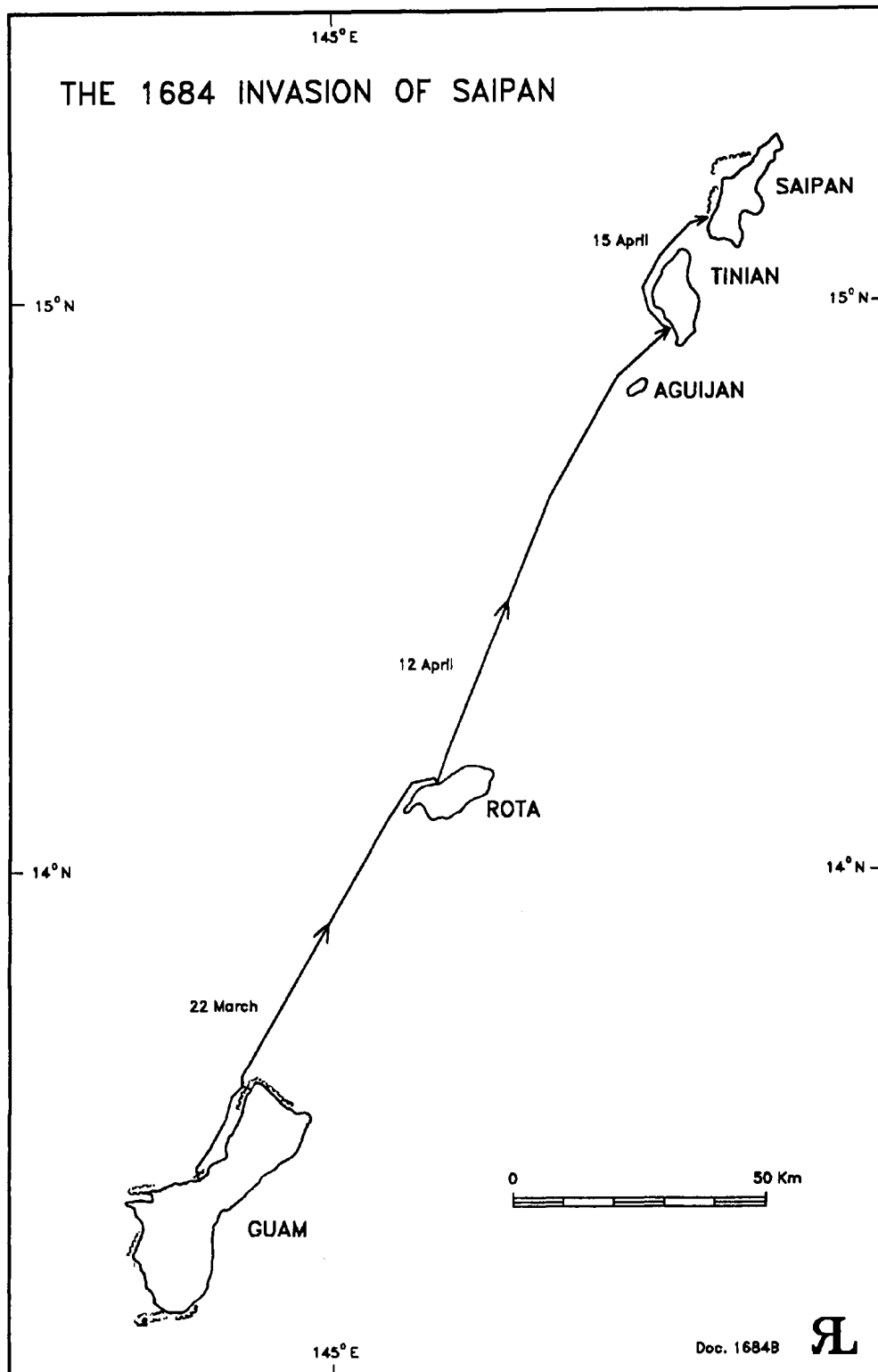
much labor we were forced to put in at a place called **Tatgua**¹ on the same island. Time and again we made a start but without success until at last on April 12th we set out with 20 native canoes from the island of Santa Ana, rowed all night, and at sunrise of the following day spread the sails and helped with oars during the day, covering the stretch to the island of Agiguan in such wise that drawing nearer after sunset the darkness was taken advantage of, lest the natives of the island be warned of our approach, which was so accomplished that the whole island was passed during the night, and having crossed the strait we were all united at the island of Tenian at daybreak, without anyone having been perceived up to that time. Nevertheless, the natives were vigilant and perceived our fleet approaching their shore, they were struck with terror and took counsel, and mistrusting their strength for our unexpected approach had driven all hope of defense, they decided to try peace. And so, a select few of their leaders met us on the shore while others sought the shelter of the woods, lest none more than necessary be exposed to danger in case force were used; the remaining unarmed persons and youngsters took to the very rough hills.

We were approaching the shore when we were met by a principal chief of the island, named Caiza, who waded out until the water reached his hips and asked for peace, earnestly excusing himself and his people from the pressure brought to bear by the people of Zaipan not to admit us peaceably, as they (the people of Tenian) had decided. Having landed and while resting, messengers were sent everywhere to announce the peace which had been made, and on hearing of it, not a few came in joyful mood to confirm it with little presents.

[The 1684 invasion of Saipan]

The next day, which was April 15th, having said mass and giving thanks to God, we set out for the island of Zaipan, also taking some native canoes from this island, to assure the peace by this precaution and also that they might point out the ports and easy approaches. For it was sufficiently known that the originators of evil and the disturbers of the peace would obstruct the paths and guard them with traps dug in the earth. And so with the sea calmed down and moving gently with sails and oars along the west part of the island a very large number of native canoes came into view, some fleeing and some coming to meet us with arms; but at the sight of our fleet and, having crossed the strait of one league's width while we were approaching the shore there issued from the dense woods the insults of the barbarians and a continuous rain of stony missiles,

1 Ed. note: Tatqua is a misprint in the Repetti transcription. Fr. Pobre had called that place Tasgua, or Tasga (see Doc. 1602A). It was located about half-way between Tatchog and Teteto Beaches.



most of which fell short. Reply was made with long-range guns but with similar result until we reached the mouths or inner approaches to the village of **Catanhuda**,¹ to which not a few had come from every neighboring region to defend themselves or to prevent our entrance into the island, some in skiffs, both to frighten us and to repel us by force of arms.

The rowers bend to the oars, missiles are thrown from far and near, shouts arise; on one side those boldly harassing the unfamiliar force of the Spaniards, on the other those playfully repulsing naked pride; anger mingles and fiery missiles contend for mastery with weak efforts. While feeling grows and Mars distributes bloody gifts here and there, we touch bottom, and without delay the commander jumps into a skiff and soldiers follow him immediately and while pressing forward one ferocious enemy is noticed advancing and he is felled with a shot, rolls over, and yielding up his spirit, stains the ground with his blood. The terrified barbarians lose spirit, ours rise, the men leap ashore, the natives take to flight, and while some show a little boldness, others drag the corpse along the shore and spread terror around them.

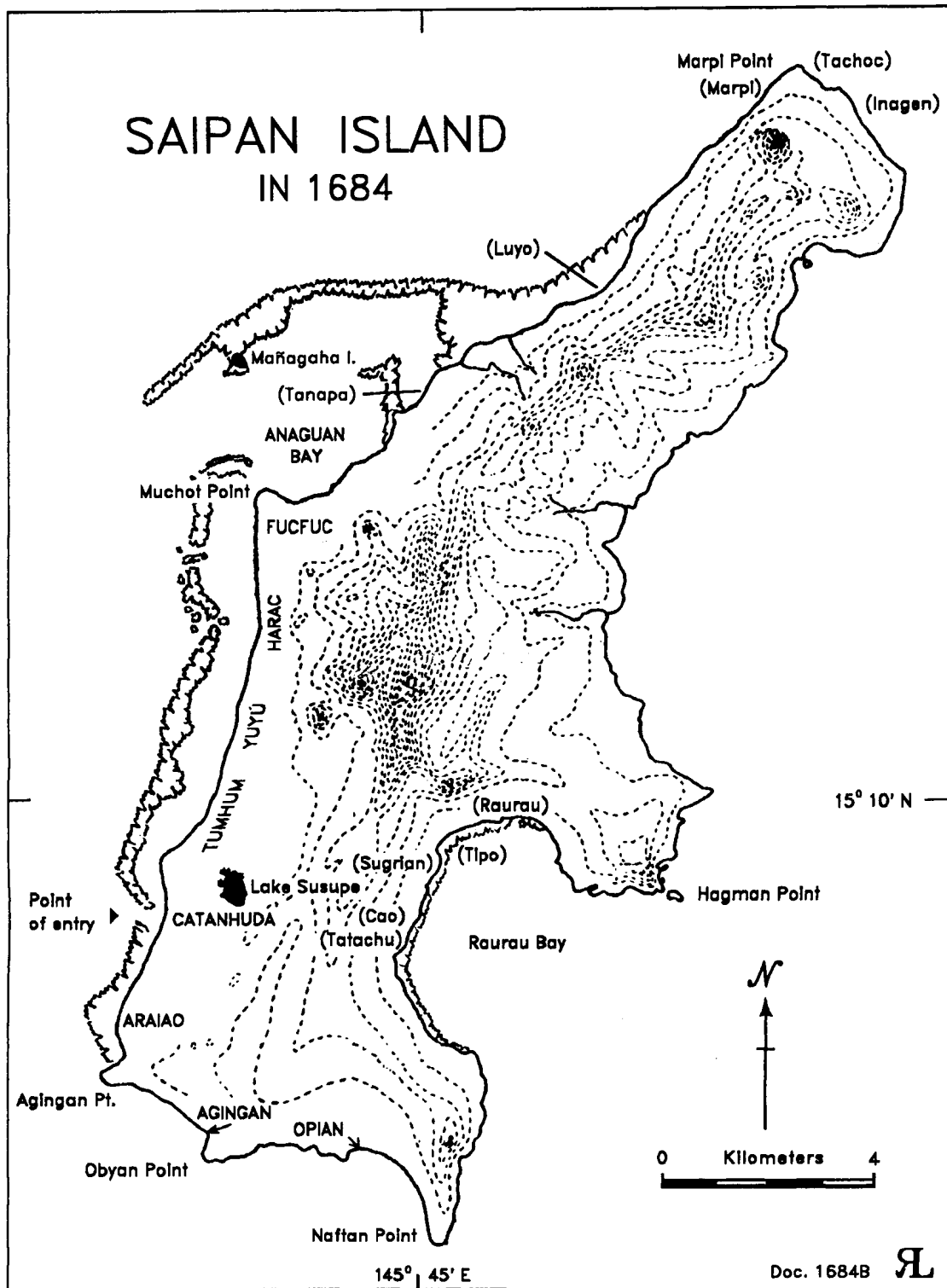
Those who were fighting on the water were not disheartened and a struggle took place around the large boat and the following canoes, and pressing more fiercely they almost achieved victory, but everywhere the strong spirit of our force prevailed, and especially conspicuous was the force of rowers which had been collected from among the young natives; part fought with sword and shield and part with our lances, and unaffected by the din, they encouraged one another, leaped into the water and closed with the foe and after a brief struggle they [i.e. the enemy] all turned in flight. Thus with one of ours killed and none seriously wounded we victoriously held the shore.

Scouts were sent out to search for hidden enemies or traps, then booty was allowed to the soldiers and native helpers, and finally the houses were burned, except those needed for the night. With a vigilant watch no hostile action was attempted against us during the night.

On the 16th which was Sunday, after saying mass and reciting the litanies in thanksgiving, it was seen that victory was to be obtained by conquering, and therefore it was decided to go towards the north part of the island, ordering the boats to coast along. No enemy was met on the march, the houses encountered were burned; in the spoils appeared a small cannon,² and some natives were seen making gestures and signs for peace. Some of the leaders from Tenian were sent to them. Upon returning they

1 Ed. note: The name of this village is clearly Catanhuda in one of the AGR copies, and Catanhùda in the other. It is incorrect to transcribe it Catanhitda, as was done, I think, by Fr. Le Gobien. The meaning in Chamorro is North Huda, whatever Huda meant, and there may have been a Ruchanhuda further down the shore. However, we can be sure that Catanhuda corresponded to Chalan Kanoa today, on account of its facing the natural break in the offshore reef, as this account reveals.

2 Ed. note: Most likely salvaged from the **Concepción** shipwreck.



Map of Saipan in 1684 showing location of the old villages. Major José Quiroga and his armed band of Filipino soldiers, supported by natives from Tinian, Rota and Guam, landed at Catanhuda and soon re-conquered the whole island. Apparently, Catanhuda had been renamed Fatiguan by 1695.

reported that further north there were some villages that desired peace and were awaiting our coming with gifts. Therefore, returning to the seashore we sailed to a place called **Yuyu**,¹ but the trust failed; all the lowland around was guarded and they obstructed our approach. But in vain, for without any delay the commander, followed by the soldiers, jumped into the water up to the hips, reached the shore and fired in all directions, whereupon all took to flight except one who was pierced through the abdomen and died on the spot. Some on both sides were wounded; the place was burned and looted and as it did not seem to be safe on account of the dense woods we spent the night in the boats.

On the 17th at daybreak the land march was given up and the company was joined by some native canoes which had examined the rest of the northern part of the island as far as the village of **Fucfuc**,² to which peace was granted because in a recent expedition it had received some of our shipwrecked people kindly and helped them with native canoes and all necessary equipment; but all others, unless they earnestly asked for peace were laid waste with iron and fire. This was successfully accomplished and one person out of the crowd who dared to resist was cut down with an axe and his body hung by the foot from a tree to inspire fear.

Although in some places, they showed food and made signs of peace, yet as missiles were hurled from concealment at times and traps with many spikes³ were discovered, all were distrusted, and we returned to a conspicuous bay of the island, called **Anaguan**,⁴ and remained there for the day awaiting the return of others. Some soldiers were

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- 1 Ed. note: Fr. Repetti has this as Yuyic, but that is a transcription error, as one copy at AGR says Suyù (with the S misshapen) and the other clearly says Yuyu. We can conclude that the accent was on the last syllable. This place would appear to correspond to the Oleai area today.
 - 2 Ed. note: Again, Fr. Repetti transcribed this wrongly as Sucsuc. Both copies at AGR say Fucfuc, one saying "Fucfuc", the other "fucfuc". There is no telling how far from Yuyù this place was, but the scouting canoes had no reason to go beyond the next settlement, and they must have gone up there on the previous afternoon. With the time needed for negotiations, the canoes could not have gone much farther than Muchot Point. Later comments do not clash with the conclusion that Fucfuc would therefore correspond to Muchot or Garapan today.
 - 3 Ed. note: These words could be added: "made of human bones".
 - 4 Ed. note: The troop and canoes may have gone beyond Tanapag, because the Spanish boat would have been cut off by the closing reef there, and so we are told by Fr. Coomans who was aboard it that the boat turned back to the wide bay north of Muchot Point. This anchorage was also a safe place as Fucfuc had offered peace. Unfortunately, we are not told here the place names north of Anaguan Bay.

sent out with trustworthy natives to explore and on the way were assailed from ambush; the attack was answered by gunfire and our soldiers began to return. One was wounded seriously in the hand and lightly in the stomach but his wounds were bound up and he was placed in the boat where he quickly recovered.

In the evening our companions joined us and in one body we resumed the land march towards the west [sic]¹ burning whatever remained² and at nightfall we reached the village of **Harac**.³

From here, on the 18th, we proceeded southward, sparing a friendly house⁴ from fire because from it, when we were following the fleeing enemy two days previously,⁵ a voice was heard in the Spanish language asking for peace [for the love of God]⁶ and the supplicants waved some pieces of sugar-cane. Without any hindrance we reached the place where we were opposed at our first landing.⁷ We encountered hostility at the village of **Araiao**,⁸ the home of the principal lord of the island called Radahao, who, after our [earlier] expedition, had assumed the name of “great Father”⁹ among his people, but now, filled with terror, he had fled to remote parts.¹⁰

Nevertheless, the place was defended by his people, not by open force, which they mistrusted, but by hidden traps; for, taking advantage of the two days during which we were in the north, they had dug pits around the shore and at the entrances of the houses and armed them with bone spear points and fire-hardened wooden stakes, and covered them with branches and leaves and sprinkled sand lightly over them.

1 Ed. note: Going westward on foot from anywhere along that coast is impossible; they must have gone SSW, or “luchan” as the natives probably said. They were in fact retracing their steps, as the account mentioned a place where they had been 2 days before.

2 Ed. note: Of the hamlets south of Fucfuc.

3 Ed. note: This village could not have been much further than Gualorai today.

4 Ed. note: Rather a guest-house, probably a community house.

5 Ed. note: At Yuyù.

6 Ed. note: In brackets are some important words missing from the Repetti translation.

7 Ed. note: Catanhuda, i.e. Chalan Kanoa today.

8 Ed. note: South of Chalan Kanoa is San Antonio and Afetña, one of which used to be this Araiao, then the capital of Saipan. I would think that it corresponds to Afetña, which means Belly point, is a site with a better view from the round point and wider lagoon before it. This place is for some reason recorded as Duchauliao [= Ruchan Araiao?] on a later map, ca. 1770.

9 Ed. note: Probably “Padre Magas” in Chamorro, the same name they had given to Fr. Sanvitores and to other Father Superiors after that.

10 Ed. note: The Latin text clearly says, however, that he had fled to remote islands, i.e. the Gani Islands north of Saipan.

The traps did not deceive our native allies who were accustomed to them and warned us, not, however, before two careless men had fallen into a pit, one of them receiving a spear [point] through his foot. There was also a stockade of logs which was defended with spears but when our men made a charge the enemy took to flight and the houses were set on fire, with only one difference, that the defenders themselves fired the house of the "great Father" lest we claim the credit for it.

[Salvaging some cannon from the Concepción shipwreck]

Continuing the march we came to the village of **Agingan** which is located on the shore at the point nearest to Tenian.¹ It was here, in the year '36 [rather 1638] of this century, that the Mexican-bound galleon² was wrecked, and it seemed a suitable place for our purpose to raise the guns which had been buried in the sea so many years. The inhabitants had fled from the place and we rested for a time, experiencing nothing hostile except some spears thrown from the woods, and when a squad was sent there, it found nothing but a few fugitives. Meanwhile, our friendly natives from Tenian were sent to a neighboring village, **Opian**, to offer peace, because some years back they had shown themselves friendly to our Fathers and Spaniards visiting the island and offered them hospitality. The inhabitants met them with open arms and sent a trustworthy person who made excuses for the fear of the others and promised all agreements and friendship.

On the 19th after sunrise the guards reported the appearance of a crowd of enemies against whom the commander and some others went out, and some others were sent through the paths of the woods. One of the fugitives was struck down with a sword and his head brought back as a trophy. In the meantime, peace delegates came from the village of Opian and, although they were not a little disturbed by the unusual sight, they quieted down when they learned that we did not intend to harm them; and looking at the head they said it was the heir of the chief of the place [i.e. Agingan], whose hand had been cut off when captured at sea by our men on another expedition.

On the 20th the native friends from Opian returned and brought companions of the village of Agingan to ask for peace which was granted. In the evening, the commander went out to the east but met no hostility,³ and therefore nothing was burned but the

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- 1 Ed. note: Agingan is one of a few places in Saipan whose memory was not lost after the island was abandoned in the mid-1720s. One would at first assume the location of the center of this village to have been nearer Agingan Point, but Obyan Point is just as close to the shore of Tinian Island. What is said hereafter and what was learned from modern salvage operations (ca. 1988) would suggest that the old village of Agingan was located at the end of the beach nearer Obyan Point.
 - 2 Ed. note: A better rendering would be as follows: "the flagship [going] from the Philippines to New Spain".
 - 3 Ed. note: Probably toward Dandan, the nearest, and southern, part of Raurau Bay.

natives and soldiers were allowed to plunder. They returned [to camp] the next day and, because rain impeded further marching, an effort was made in the evening to raise some of the guns. Five small ones were gotten up and the next day the number was raised to sixteen, and another of heavier body which is called a mortar, used for throwing bombs. On this day a beginning was made in the baptism of infants from Opian and nearby places, and with peace their fear was laid aside.

On the 23rd an expedition went north again and in the village of **Tumhum** nine armed natives were met who risked going to the sea to bathe, two of whom fell before our attack and the rest saved themselves by flight.¹ Among them was the second chief of the island and a war chief named Punni who had assumed the name of "Governor" among the people; a brave man who met death boldly hurling his last spear at us, but uselessly. Proceeding further they rested at **Harac** and at daybreak went on to **Fucfuc** where the inhabitants, fleeing in fear, set fire to the public house in which there was a large pile of spears and skulls.² Not meeting with any sign of hostility they retraced their route to the village of **Catanhùda**³ where they stopped because of its convenient port and we from Agingan met them there.

[The construction of a Spanish stockade at Saipan]

Being united we made camp on the 26th of April and delegates came from nearly every part of the island to ask for peace, and the following days were spent in the construction of houses for different purposes and for the soldiers.

On the 30th, the commander led a party through the east but no hostility; infants were baptized who were willingly offered with both arms and this pledge firmly ratifying the peace, a return was made on May 3rd.

All the land is fertile and give abundant crops of grain and roots throughout the wide plains which surround a single mountain almost in the center, 18 leagues in circuit.

[More cannon salvaged]

The rest of the days were spent in getting up the larger guns of which one raised each day and transported to a more convenient place at the entrance of the port. But as in all human affairs, a mishap occurred. On May 5th the inhabitants of various places had gathered to build the new houses; a number were transporting a brass cannon, when, for what reason I do not know, the machine broke and injured two Spaniards; one was struck in the heart and chest and was given the last Sacraments; the other, not far away,

- 1 Ed. note: We are not given enough clues to accurately locate Tumhum on the map. It was, however, on the western seashore, somewhere between Agingan and Harac, but for some reason was not mentioned earlier in this narrative. I think it was located in the area of upper Susupe or San José today, because it appears there on a map of Saipan drawn one century later, ca. 1770.
- 2 Ed. note: We may interpret public house to mean the residence of the bachelors, then would-be soldiers. Apparently, the rest of the population did not agree with the young men.
- 3 Ed. note: Clearly written thus in both AGR copies.

was struck in the abdomen and side and, if I am not mistaken, a rib was broken, and after three days he died, fortified with the last Sacraments. Some other Spaniards were slightly injured, and some natives returned home chiefly out of fear.

On May 7th, with everything settled on the island of Zaipan and leaving a sufficient garrison, the expedition set out for Tenian; and the people of this island (Tenian), taught by outside evils¹ had prepared paths in all directions, and each living in his own house they professed peace by word and spirit. The island is 10 leagues, more or less, in circumference.

On 9 [May 1684], the party set out for the island of Agiguan, very rough, and with few inhabitants and not more than two leagues in circuit. At length on the 11th, all returned to their homes where they found everything peaceful and meanwhile those who had moved from the islands of Guahan and Rota in previous wars were not sent back.

These are the few points to be written which our Mariana Mission has given in the past few months, which I ask your Reverence to accept kindly, lest the best of good will be troubled, for, unwilling to neglect my duty, they are sent in the midst of the turmoil of war. There is one thing I ask; if perchance, these items are worthwhile, show them to Father General.² It is also requested that the Procurators of the Indies in Spain should not delay our letters, which happens so frequently, as we know by our experience and from our Provinces, perhaps because they find it troublesome to connect with ships, but is a greater injury to charity than to business.

Greetings from me and our Mission to Fathers Manderscheidt³ and Gotenies and all others, known or unknown, and kindly deign to remember me in your prayers and holy sacrifices.

From the mission of Zaipan, 17 May 1684.

Your Reverence's servant in Christ,
Peter Coomans

Editorial comment.

The Brussels copies, both dated one day later, 18 May, are substantially the same text as above, except that the last few paragraphs of the story are condensed, i.e. the return to Tinian and the trip to Aguigan. This happened because Fr. Coomans copied his draft more densely on this day and, in an effort to save one sheet of paper, summarized the end of the account, even resorting to writing on the edge of one of the copies. Also the closing paragraphs are different. In the AGR copies, there is no mention of the procurators in Spain. He excuses himself for not having had time to write to Fr. Peter Cant. Fr. Gerard Bouwens and the rest of the Mission, he says, send their

- 1 Ed. note: Meaning taught by bad examples from elsewhere, in which resistance had been severely punished.
- 2 Ed. note: This comment shows that the copy meant for the Fr. General was not sent directly to him, but addressed to Fr. Manderscheidt.
- 3 Ed. note: Technically, he had already seen the document. Fr. Karl Manderscheidt was then in Rome, as a letter from Fr. Bouwens written a few days later confirms (see Doc. 1684E).

greetings to their numerous parents, brothers and sisters in the universal family. The original closing paragraph of the Rome version translated above is as follows:

[fol. 271]

... ne gravetur ex optima voluntate profecta, qua inter ipsos belli obstrepentis tumultus officio meo deesse nolui, quam hoc unice obtestor, ut apud Rdum. Ad[mod]um Patrem nostrum, si hæc forte digna videbuntur, que communicentur, temporis angustius excuset, unumque deprecetur ut nostras in Europam litteras Procuratores Indiæ Hispali et Madriti non remorentur, quodquod se non æque nostro et Provinciarum fieri nimi intelligimus, forte ne solvendo nauco hæc officia graventur, sed majori sane tam Societatis quam negotiorum detrimento. Tum salutem a me et Missione nostra impertiri ne gravetur PPtres. Mandescheit, Gotenies reliquisque notis omnibus et ignotis; ac demum me in SSmis. suis sacrificiis et precibus meminisse dignetur.

Ex insula Zaipan hæc 17^a Maii 1684.

Document 1684C

Letter from Fr. Solorzano to Fr. Vidal, dated Agaña 7 April 1684

Source: Present location unknown; 4-page ms. offered for sale by Maggs Bros. of London in 1923 (Cat. N° 442, n° 1903 (part 1), pp. 174-175).

News of the Mariana Islands

Extract in the Maggs Catalog.

...

In my letter of the 20th May last year 1683,¹ I gave you a compendious report of all that had taken place with regard to this Mission from June 1682 to May 1683, when we had our despatches ready for the ship which we then awaited. But the Lord saw fit to mortify us in this matter, so that our subsequent enjoyment should be heightened the more, for the greater good of this Christian community.

The fact was that the ship which should have reached us by June 1683, having been overcome by violent tempests and contrary winds, which blew along these seas in the year 1682, was unable to make the voyage to Acapulco, and put in at Manila, leaving us in need of supplies, and that State [i.e. the Philippines] with the trouble consequent upon the great losses sustained in the taxation of merchandise.

Having lost the entire month of June 1683, and with it our hopes of the ship and relief, I did not, on that account, lose my hope of conquering the Islands of Tinian and Zaypan, there to plant the banner of our Faith and establish a Christian community such as we have here and in the Island of Rota. I therefore spoke with our Governor and Commander-in-Chief who said, that although he was equally eager for that conquest, having written to the King to the effect that he would undertake that enterprise personally, nevertheless, he did not seem disposed to proceed with it, or to allow anybody else to do so; and it was all a matter of frothy compliments with a desire to emerge gracefully from the obligation he had imposed upon himself.

1 Ed. note: See Doc. 1683H.

But being a matter of so much importance and consequence, I continually interrupted his excuses and insisted upon the need for carrying out his obligation, with the result that, finding himself without a loop-hole of escape, compelled either to do it himself or send others to do it, he manifested hostile sentiments and complained against me.

They left this Island, then, in two barques which we possess, taking with them nearly the whole of the militia, very few people remained in this garrison, and then only useless invalids, and consequently we remained quite unprotected in the event of a revolution, or riot among the Indians. Our Governor arrived with all his troops at **Rota** towards the end of July 1683, and remained there without making the further voyage albeit there were favorable winds, and every opportunity. He did not, however, wish to, and made frivolous excuses; consequently, the Indians who accompanied the expedition, recognized that we did not wish for that conquest and were losing both time and opportunities.

Meanwhile, the poor creatures suffered much during their journeys between Rota and this Island, and in the absence of the troops they began to nourish hostile sentiments and we discerned the commencement of a rebellion among the Indians, which left us all in great danger.

But our Lord God, who takes such personal care of His beloved Church, showed us the singularly providential manner in which He rules and defends it; for when most oppressed by the absence of the relief ship and evil circumstances in which we found ourselves... through the instrumentality of Father Antonio Xaramillo, the authorities were moved to order the despatch of the bilander, which set sail from Manila, Father Isidro Clarete contributing over 80,000 pesos [sic] towards the equipment;¹ and Father Antonio, true Mariano that he is, travelled aboard to come to our assistance and, notwithstanding all the opposition he met with from the Governor and others in the Philippines, carried out his intention. Thus the Father Provincial, Francisco Salgado, gave him leave and sent him as Visitor to this Mission, accompanied by Father Juan Adan [Gerstl].

[The writer proceeds to relate the experience of the benefactors from Manila. He describes how the motley crew of Greeks, Italians, Frenchmen, Maltese and Indians mutinied against the commander of the bilander, and were replaced at short notice by the capable Philippine Governor, who placed the new crew under the command of Don Damian de Esplana.² He describes the perils encountered at sea, and how they finally arrived at the Marianas.

...

Agadña, 7 April 1684.

-
- 1 Ed. note: Fr. Isidro Clarete was a teacher at the College at Manila. There has to be a transcription error in the amount of pesos, which is exorbitantly too high. In Doc. 1683O, Fr. Clarete only mentions 2,600 pesos, which he says indirectly that he got, perhaps on loan, from 3 royal officials whom he names.
 - 2 Ed. note: Thus, Captain Pedro Gómez was pilot and master, and fully in charge only on the return voyage.

Documents 1684D

Two brief reports sent directly to Spain by Fr. Solorzano in 1684

Note: This document was used by Fr. Morales in part 2 of Doc. 1684A.

D1. Letter from Fr. Solorzano to the Duchess of Aveiro, dated Agadña 25 April 1684

Source: Present location unknown; 4-page ms. (attached to previous document) offered for sale by Maggs Bros. of London in 1923 (Cat. N° 442, n° 1903 (part 2), p. 175) and again in 1927 (Cat. N° 491, n° 52, p. 46).

Synopsis in the Maggs Catalogs

...
[Father Solorzano tells how supplies for the Mariana Islands had been delayed by storms, but that the people of Manila had sent help to them under the command of Don Damian de Esplana. The garrison had been away in the island of Rota, preparing the conquest of the island of Zaypan, and on its return voyage had nearly been lost in a great storm together with the governor and various friendly Indians, in all some 300 persons.]

Added to this anxiety was another... which was that the bilander [i.e. sloop], which was moored to the harbor with 9 cables, broke away during the gale, and was finally smashed to pieces on the reefs off the shore, thereby destroying our hope of exploring the southern islands which lead to the unknown Austral lands and are the goal of our endeavors...

[The writer goes on to tell how they had tried to obtain other boats for the purpose of exploring the islands in the South, and that the Governor having died, Esplana had been nominated in his stead.¹ A detailed description is also given of the exploits of Don

1 Ed. note: It was not to be until 1686 that one island, named Caroline [Yap], was sighted to the south of Guam by a ship going from Guam to Manila.

Antonio de Saravia in the neighboring Islands, and of his subsequent death. His account of the nomination of the new Governor is very interesting. He states that the Missionary Fathers, anticipating the death of Saravia, had prevailed upon the Governor of the Philippines to nominate a successor, which he did.]

He gave [says the writer] to Major Damian de Esplana the title of Lieutenant Governor and Commander-in-Chief, and in the event of his death, he should be succeeded by Don Joseph de Quiroga.

[In view of the subsequent bitter complaints against the former (whom Fr. Manuel de Solorzano himself describes in later reports as “God’s punishment to the Mariano people”) his comments are very amusing. He describes the funeral service which was held at Agaña in memory of the dead Governor, and relates how the new Commander summoned all the military and clergy to his house for the ceremony of his formal nomination.]

He ordered that the Document from the Royal Council should be opened, and they read aloud his warrant, in which the King conferred upon him the title of Commander-in-Chief and Governor of these Islands, and in the event of his death nominated Don Joseph de Quiroga as his successor; at which, having gone through the formalities and courtesies of congratulations, we all felt very pleased.

Etc.

Agaña (Mariana Islands), 25 April 1684.

D2. Letter to the King, dated aboard the galleon Santa Rosa, 8 June 1684

Source: AGI Ultramar 562, col. Simancas, folios 85-87.

Notes: This letter was forwarded by Governor Curuzelaegui, as an enclosure to his letter dated 11 December 1684 (Doc. 1684R). Both reached the King on 18 May 1686.

Original text in Spanish.

Breve resumen de los sucesos mas notables que hubo en las Islas Marianas desde Junio de 82 hasta Junio de 84, en que pasó la Capitana Santa Rosa, y en ella el Señor Gobernador y Capitan general D. Gabriel de Curuzelaegui.

Despues que pasó á Filipinas la Nao S. Antonio de Padua todo el empeño del Señor Gobernador D. Antonio Saravia Gobernador y Capitan general de Marianas, y de los Padres Misioneros de la Compañia de Jesus que asisten en dichas islas era la dilatacion del Santo Evangelio, en las Islas que miran al Norte, especialmente la de Seipan, de cuya conquista dependia la reduccion de todas las demas de esta cordillera, para lo cual mandó aprestar los dos barcos el Señor Gobernador, y con bastante número de Soldados, quiso hacer personalmente la conquista, y habiendose embarcado, le sobrevino un recio temporal, que trayendolo perdido y desgarrado por los golfos le obligó á coger tierra, despues de muchos peligros. No desistió por este mal suceso de la empresa, aunque una enfermedad que le sobrevino le obligó á embiar uno de sus Capitanes con cin-

cuenta hombres de armas, a quienes quiso acompañar el Vice-provincial de la Mision, para ayudarles con el Consejo, y esperiencia, y por socorrer á los naturales, pero habiendo entrado ya el mes de Noviembre, y siendo los tiempos recios, no pudieron pasar de la Isla de Rota, donde, haciendo esfuerzo de pasar adelante y embarcandose dos veces arrivaron entrambas con mucho trabajo y peligro. Y asi viendose imposibilitados de pasar adelante, se ocuparon en dar asiento á la Cristiandad de aquella Isla, y se sacó una pieza de Artilleria de una Nao que muchos años antes se habia perdido [en Rota], y hechas estas diligencias, se bolvieron á esta Isla de San Juan, para aguardar mejor ocasion, y tiempo.

Por Junio de 83, se esperaba la Nao y socorro de la Mision para que socorridos asi de gente como de otras muchas cosas necesarias se prosiguiese el intento, pero este año nos faltó el socorro, y nao por haber arriivado á Manila por malos temporales que le impidieron el viage, y asi perdidas las esperanzas de los socorros humanos, no por eso se perdieron las de la dilatacion de la fé; y habiendo mejorado de salud el Gobernador D. Antonio de Saravia quiso de nuevo hacer por si mismo la conquista; pasó con sus dos barcos á la Isla de Rota, donde se hallava por el mes de Agosto de 83 cuando llegó á estas Islas, el Patache ó Balandra que despachó para socorro de estas Islas el Gobernador D. Juan de Vargas Urtado, la cual vino á tan buena sazón, y tiempo que fué el remedio de la Mision; por que las necesidades que se padecian por falta de socorro eran muchas.

Asi mismo por Octubre salió de Rota el Gobernador D. Antonio de Saravia en demanda de la Isla de Seypan á donde llegó á dar vista con tan recios vendabales que no pudo obrar cosa ni coger tierra, sino precisamente dexarse llevar de los vientos, y de la divina providencia, por que la tormenta era tal que la Balandra en el Puerto de Umatag se hizo pedazos, y ya se davan por tragados del mar los barcos con el Gobernador y toda su gente. Perdieronse muchas embarcaciones de indios amigos, que iban á la empresa acompañando al Gobernador, y en medio de tantos y tan grandes peligros fué Nuestro Señor servido de librar de ellos al Señor Gobernador y su gente que arriivó á la Isla de Rota y despues á esta de S. Juan.

Poco despues de haber llegado á esta Isla salió su Señoria á visitar la Isla, y en este viage le dió la enfermedad de la muerte con tanta prisa que en tres dias le llevó Nuestro Señor para sí muy bien dispuesto, como Cavallero tan Cristiano y católico, prevenido con los Santos Sacramentos y conocimiento entero de su peligro, y asi se dispuso para el último trance con exemplo, y edificacion de todos.

*Por muerte del Señor Gobernador D. Antonio Saravia, entró á gobernar estas Islas el Sargento mayor D. Damian de Esplana, Cabo Superior de la Balandra, el cual traia despacho de la Real Audiencia de Manila, y pliego en que le hacia merced de Teniente de Capitan general de **Estas Islas** [sic] y tomada la posesion se aplicó con tantas veras al aumento de la Cristiandad que en tres meses hizo un barco de treinta codos de quilla en que despachó la gente de la Balandra con los Padres que habian venido en ella con órden de que descubriesen las Islas de la Cordillera del Sur que guñan á la Austral incognita, como se hizo, para que tomada lengua é informe de los naturales de dichas*

Islas, se de forma de predicarles el Santo Evangelio, y entablar el Comercio de Manila con estas Islas inmediatamente sin el rodeo á la Nueva España, y para que costeano dicha cordillera del Sur, se vea si con embarcacion de mediano porte se puede dar á todo cumplimiento.

*Despachada la Balandra á Manila, hizo el nuevo Gobernador otro barco de veinte y cinco codos de quilla para la empresa de Saypan, á donde embió un Sargento mayor con sesenta hombres de armas los cuales conquistaron dicha Isla, y sugetaron otras dos. **Sacóse de la Isla de Seypan la Artilleria de la Nao Concepción que se perdió por los años de 40 [sic] poco mas ó menos, y parte de ella se llevó á Manila este año de 84 dexando el resto para el año siguiente.***

Con que en suma el estado de esta Cristiandad va con muchos aumentos y en las Islas de S. Juan, y Rota, hay una Cristiandad muy florida; y en Saipan, Tinian, y Agui-guan, se van haciendo cristianos, habiendose ofrecido muy prontos á todo lo que se les mandase, hanse bautizado todos los párvulos de aquellas tres Islas, y corre la predicacion del Santo evangelio con gran felicidad, con que entablandose la comunicacion inmediata de Manila con estas Islas, se espera grandisimo aumento de la fẽ estendiendose por la cordillera del Sur, hasta entrar en la dilatadisima Tierra de la Austral, donde se ganaran para el Cielo innumerables almas.

Quiera Dios nuestro Señor que asi sea, y nos lo prometemos todo del Católico celo y favor que nos hace el Sr. Gobernador y Capitan general D. Gabriel de Curuzelaegui que pasando por estas islas nos ha dado grandes alientos en nuestras empresas, con el favor, cariño y ayuda que nos promete para dilatar el nombre Cristiano, y tener la principal parte en obra de tanta gloria de Dios y servicio de ambas Magestades.

*Fecha en la Nao **Santa Rosa** á 8 de Junio de 1684.*

Manuel de Solorzano, Vice-Provincial de Marianas.

Translation.

Brief account of the more noteworthy events that occurred in the Mariana Islands from June 1682 to June 1684, when the flagship Santa Rosa passed by, and aboard her His Lordship Governor and Captain General Don Gabriel de Curuzelaegui.

After the galleon **San Antonio de Padua** passed to the Philippines [in 1682], all the efforts of His Lordship the Governor, Don Antonio Saravia, Governor and Captain General of the Marianas, and of the Father Missionaries of the Society of Jesus residing in said Islands, were to spread the Holy Gospel in the Islands that lie northward, specially that of Seipan, on whose conquest depended the reduction of all the other islands of that chain. To this effect, His Lordship the Governor ordered the two boats to be made ready, and with a sufficient number of soldiers, he wished to make the conquest in person. So, having embarked, he met with a stiff gale that pushed him off to the high seas and he was forced to seek the land, after encountering many dangers. After this bad outcome, he did not desist from the enterprise, although an illness that occurred to him forced him to send one of his Captains instead, with 50 armed men, whom

the Vice-Provincial of the Mission wished to accompany, in order to help them with his counsel, and experience, and to succor the natives. However, as it was already the month of November, and the weather was stormy, they could not pass beyond the Island of Rota; in fact, they made efforts to go beyond in two separate attempts but both times they were forced back, with much hardship and danger. So, when they saw that the voyage [to Saipan] was impossible, they occupied themselves in establishing the Christian community in that Island, and **one cannon that came from a galleon that was lost there years ago was recovered**. After these proceedings they returned to this Island of San Juan, to await a better opportunity, and weather.

By June 1683, it was expected that the galleon that normally brings the subsidy of the Mission would arrive and leave a reinforcement in men as well as many other necessary things, and that the project would be pursued, but this year neither the subsidy nor the galleon came, because the galleon had turned back to Manila on account of the bad storms that prevented the voyage. So, having lost the hope of getting human help, it was not a sufficient reason to let the propagation of the faith suffer a delay. When the health of Governor Don Antonio de Saravia improved, he wished once again to personally lead the conquest. He went on to the Island of Rota with his two boats and he was there in the month of August 1683 when there arrived at these Islands the Patache or Sloop that the Governor Don Juan de Vargas Hurtado had despatched to the succor of these Islands. It came in such a good season, and weather that it became the remedy of the Mission, because the necessities that it was suffering for lack of succor were great indeed.

In addition, during October the Governor Don Antonio de Saravia left Rota bound for the Island of Seypan, and he arrived in sight of it but, due to the stiff monsoon winds, he was unable to do anything, not even land, and could not but let himself be carried off by the winds, and divine providence, because the storm was such that the sloop anchored in the Port of Umatag was broken to pieces. Already it was thought that the boats had been sunk with the Governor and all his men. Many canoes of the friendly Indians who were part of the enterprise in the company of the Governor were lost, and in the middle of so many and so great dangers, Our Lord deigned to liberate His Lordship the Governor and his men from them, and they arrived back at the Island of Rota and afterward to that of San Juan.

A little after his return to this Island, His Lordship set out to visit the Island, and during this voyage he has hit by the illness that killed him so quickly that after 3 days Our Lord took him to Himself. This very Christian and very Catholic gentleman had been very well prepared with the holy sacraments and a complete understanding of his condition; therefore, he prepared himself for the last passage, to the great example and edification of everyone.

As a result of the death of His Lordship Governor Don Antonio de Saravia, the Sergeant Major Don Damian de Esplana, the Senior Officer of the sloop, became the governor of these Islands. He had brought along a despatch from the Royal Audiencia of Manila, and sealed orders making him Captain General of **These Islands**.¹ He took possession of the office and then applied himself to the promotion of Christianity so well that within three months he built a boat of 30 cubits in length at the keel, aboard which he despatched the men of the sloop with the Fathers who had come aboard it with the order to go on to the exploration of the Islands of the southern archipelago that lie in the direction of the unknown Austral Land, which was done,² in order to make contact with and inform on the natives of said Islands, so that the Holy Gospel may be preached to them, and to establish the direct route between these Islands and Manila, without the roundabout voyage by way of New Spain, and also to see if by coasting said chain of islands to the south, to find out if a vessel of average tonnage could be used to accomplish everything.

Once the sloop had been despatched to Manila, the new Governor built another boat of 25 cubits of length at the keel for the Saypan enterprise. He sent a Sergeant Major there with 60 armed men, who conquered said Island, and they subjected two others. **The cannon from the galleon Concepción that was lost there around the year 1640, more or less, were salvaged, and part of them were taken away to Manila this year 1684, and the rest were left for next year[’s voyage].**

Consequently, in summary, the state of this Christian community is progressing rapidly, and in the Islands of San Juan and Rota, there is a very flourishing Christian community. In Saipan, Tinian, and Aguiguan, some people are being converted and these have obeyed readily to everything that was ordered of them; all the children of those three Islands have been baptized, and the preaching of the Holy Gospel proceeds with great success. Consequently, with the establishment of the direct contact of Manila with these Islands, it is hoped that the faith will be greatly propagated by an expansion to the southern archipelago, as far as making an entry into the very widespread Austral Land, where numberless souls will be gained for Heaven.

May God our Lord be pleased to let it be, and we sincerely hope so, given the Catholic zeal and favor that His Lordship, the Governor and Captain General Don Gabriel de Curuzelaegui has done us when he passed by these Islands. He has given us great encouragements in our enterprises, with the favor, affection and help that he promises to propagate the Christian name, and to take the lead in a pious work that is so much to the glory of God and the service of both Majesties.

Made aboard the galleon **Santa Rosa**, 8 June 1684.

Manuel de Solorzano, Vice-Provincial of the Marianas.

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- 1 Ed. note: In view of previous, and later, claims by Esplana, as to the title of Lieutenant of Captain General of the Philippine Islands, not just of the Marianas, these two underlined words seem to be a dire foreboding of things to come.
 - 2 Ed. note: Nothing of the sort took place. As soon as this boat, built at Umatac, had left Guam, it was judged too rickety by Captain-Pilot Gomez, for anything but a direct run to Manila.

Documents 1684E

Two letters from Fr. Bouwens, dated May 1684

E1. Letter to Fr. Karl Manderscheidt in Rome, dated Rota 28 May 1684

Source: AGR 2: 160-161v. Note: The basic text is the same as the letter to Fr. General that follows it, except for the final paragraph.

Note: There has been a change for the better in Fr. Bouwens' handwriting as of 1684 when he became Superior a second time. It is much more Roman and less Gothic in style.

Original text in Latin.

Rdo. in Christo Patri P. Carlo Manderscheidt Socitis JESU sacerdotis, Ad S. Petrum Pænitentiario. Romæ.¹

[fol. 160]

Reverende Pater in Christo

Pax Ejusdem

Quis ego sum Pater optime, quis inquam ego sum; aut quæ domus patris Dei ut inter gravissimas curas continuasque sacrosancti istius tribunalis, in quo ipsius Christi in terris vicarii vires sustinet R. V^a meminisse mei non dedignetur. Nec meminisse tantum, verum et copiosissimis suis litteris, singularique affectus, ac benevolentia suæ significatione plenissimis homuncionem prosequi in hunc usque orbis angulum, ubi etiamnum dego telluris inutile pondus quando alii iam cælum occupant Spoliis ditati opituis tot animarum, quas inter continuos labores, æstuantesque sudoris, quin et sanguinis pro Xro profusi imbres partuvire non destitere prius, quam formaretur Christus in illis. Ego vero, degener miles tot defectibus, negligentis, et culpis implicitus id Apostoli, nec

¹ Ed. note: This is the address on the cover. It reads: "To Rev. Father in Christ Fr. Karl Manderscheidt, priest of the Society of Jesus, Penitentiary at St. Peter, Rome." In other words, he was a special confessor there. The penitentiary in question was a hostel for pilgrims. The building is still there, on the side street near the Jesuit headquarters, but is now part of a hospital complex.

immerito, vereor, ne cum aliis, prædicaverim (si prædicaverim tamen) ipse reprobus efficiar. Malorum hoc maximum pro infinita sua Misericordia avertat Deus; meque auxiliatrice suâ gratiâ instrumentum efficia fidei promovendæ hos inter Neophitos, in quorum salutem, quid triennio hoc proxime præterito præstitum fuerit a Missionariis Marianis perscripserint alii, atque imprimis R. P. Petrus Comans [sic] egregius sane operarius litteris, ut assoletidatis tum ad R. Adm P. N.¹ tum ad R.P. Germaniæ Assistentem. Ego tantum obij nactus non finis nam templis parvum extruendis, partim iis qua flamma sacrilega (et quidem bis eodem anno eodemque in loco) absumpserat, restaurandis distentus anno superiore resumptâ semel iterumque expeditione D. Governatorem ex obedientiâ comitabar ad insulas hoc tractu magis septemtrionales. Res intra votum stetit: nam frustrata effectu vel invitos redire coegere venti pertinacissime reluctantes.

Interea tempus aderat, quo onerariam ex America hac in Philippinas reducem præsto labamur: Sed spem omnem elusit eo anno Manilam reiecta vir inchoato itinere. Nos itaque eo solatio, et omni pene comeatu destitutos penuria excepit etiam eorum, quæ necessaria sunt ad sacrificium, cui peragendo vir suppetebant particulæ. Gubernatoris in tercerat Regium Indiarum senatum edoceri Madriti de præsentī Marianarum statu, vir itaque magni sane animi, et obres in Cathalannia partim, partim vero in Sicilia per annos plusquam 30 præclare gestas ad altiora regimina haud dubie pro [160v] ingenti sane ausu ex hisce in Philippinas insulas ablegavit naviculam unam vir quinque hominum qui ea vehebantur, capacem. Rem non modo temerariam, sed et desperatione plenam existimabant omnes. At secus accidit, nam vastissimum hunc oceanum 11 dierum spatio per 300 fere leucas emensi continentem feliciter tennere, vir fretum detenerant Manilense, cum ecce in navem incidunt, quæ iam per duos et amplius menses Manilâ solverat, at ventes destituta iter suum prosequi non poterat in Marianas quo ad instantiam nostrorum recta destinabatur a D. Philipinarum Governatore, apud quem rem strenue urserat qui a quadriennio hinc fuerat Manilam ablegatus, quo subsidia Missioni necessaria sollicitaret R. P. Mathias Antonius Xaramillo, quem in itinere comitabatur R. P. Joannes Adamus Gestel ex Provincia Austriaca Manilam non ita pridem advecto: Dies plus minus 20 tenuit navigatio postquam ventis destituti, ad duos omnino menses substiterant in freto Manilensi; et 22^a Augusti huc appulere; quo tempore expeditioni sua intentus in proxima primariæ insula degebat D. Gubernator, qui tandem desperata rei successu domum redire coactus non ita post sacramentis tempestive munitus diem extremum obiit, vir omni lande dignus ob eximium vitæ exemplaris testimonium. En alterum Divinae Providentiæ erga tenellum hunc Christi gregem Providentiæ argumentum. Nam diplomate Cancellariæ Manilensis designatus advenerat una cum Patribus; qui Gubernatori nostro, si is vita fingeretur, succederet: et opportunes quidem: Nam inter praesidiarios nullus erat omnino cui munus istud tuto potuisset committi: Interea aliam ab ea, quam prius hic viderat R.P. Antonius nobis reversus cum potestate visitoris invenit, laudavitoque rerum faciem. Nam in duabus

1 Ed. note: A reference to Fr. General.

*insulis S. Joannis altera, altera Sanctæ Annæ, pacifice res administrabatur Christiana, ita ut incolæ utrobique una cum fide mores induerint cultiores; siquidem latibulis suis extracti mores Pagos incolunt, quos septem e nostris administrarant in priori insula templis domiciliisque ibidem inter illos erectis. Posterior vero insula in duas quasi Parochias divisa incolas numerat 1,200 aliquanto plures: horum doctrinæ assignati duo ex nostris. Suum quisque cum templo incolit domicilium. Hoc affirmare licet ad unum omnes iam certo esse baptizatos: Nam hac de re consultis Superioribus in Provincia ex eorum placito salutari. Fonte iterum abluti sunt sub conditione de quorum baptismo nec immerito fuerat dubitum in ante aliquos annos. Jam suos quisque liberos domi educat iis dum taxat exceptis, quos tum pueros, tum puellas geminum num alit Collegium, quod Regia munificentia fundatum mature R. P. Provincialis, gravissimorumque Provinciæ Patrum indicis conserbatur in nonquam quod experimur, totius Missionis emolumentum. Hinc enim serto sperare licet, fore ut nunquam amplius [fol. 161] erigantur publica illa domicilia iam pridem demolita, flammisque tradita quæ more inter illos olim usitato destinabantur inventuti ad libidinem inter solutos libere exercendam. Abolevit melior institutio et aliam consuetudinem, qua invicem more ne inter bruta quidem exercitato mordere solebant etiam in partibus maxime obscænis: dilaniare unguibus faciem plerumque ac pectus; insuper et palpebras radicibus evellere in cerbum expletæ libidinis argumentum. Has aliasque turpitudines constans Ministrorum sustulit sollicitudo, qua factum est, ut qui vestitu carent, storeis viri quidem; mulieres vero tunicellis ex interiori arboris cujusdam cortice confectis sese obtegant, ut decentius in conspectum veniant. Hoc sane seu ingeniti pudoris, sed reducis, quod potius credo, verecundiæ sit inditium, fæminas, si veleminus e nostris aliquem conspexerint, illico declinando a via subducere sese, ne Religiosum offendant obtutum spectaculo minus decenti. Continuas fornicationes (nam defectu perpetuitatis, nullus, olim hic fuit veri matrimonii contractus) sustulere legitimæ nuptiæ, ita ut affirmare ansimque unum quidem ex omnibus more patrio illegitime quondam inter se copulatis, perseverare eo in contractu: ac deinceps terna admonitione præmissa; solemnique benedictione subsequente matrimonium contrahunt soluti in facie Ecclesiæ: Baptizandis parvulis, quos iam citra difficultatem ultro deferunt parentes, defunctisque humandis Ecclesiastica sepultura nullus omnino repugnat; quin et algros, ne fine Sacramentis discedant e vita, humeris suis, ubi id fieri in Philippinis Insulis recepto ac stabilito. Alii per syndicos suos, fiscales vulgo nuncupant, de periculo admonent etiam nocte intempesta, quo citra incommodum administrentur moribundi. Hæc et plura, quæ ad vitam modum spectant tum politicam, tum Christianam mirum in modum probavit R. P. Visitor, quo absoluta visitatione Manilam per australem plagam reverso, ut insulas isthic nobis adiacentes detegeret. Nos versus Boream arrepto itinere fidem extendimis duabus in insulis **Tiniam**, et **Zaypan**, quæ ab obitu V.P. Didaci Alojsii de Sanvitores omni prorsus doctrina, cæterisque ad æternam salutem necessariis fuerant destitutæ:*

Martii mense proxime elapso suscepta fuit expeditio, confectaque ex sententia mense Aprili subsistentibus isthic R. Pe. Petro Comano, et R. P. Mathias Cuculino ex Provincia Bohemica. Uterque rem agit quam strenuissime 30 lupinaria una in insula fundi-

tus excidere eraniis tibiisque mortuorum, quibus abuti solent prostigiatores bono numero igne donatis. Nunc doctrinandis formandisque adultis, ac parvulis lustrabi aqua, ne de salute periclitentur, abluendis continuo incumbunt.

Hæc sunt quæ ad gratissimas copiosissimasque R. Væ litteras repono de rebus hic inter Marianas actis, Deum obversans ut patriæ afflictæ, et cum ea patienti fere ubique societati Matri nostræ charissimæ opitulari dignetur; ac R. Vam. quam diutissime servar incolumen, cujus SS. Sacrificiis indefessisque ad sacra limina laboribus, quam possum enixissime me commendo.

Ex insula S. Annæ una ex Marianis 28 Maii 1684.

*Humillimus R. V. in Christo servus ac filius quamvis eo nomine indignus,
Gerardus Bouwens.*

Translation.

[Same as E2 below, except for the final paragraph]

E2. Letter to Fr. de Noyelle, dated Rota 29 May 1684

Source: ARSI Phil. 13, fol. 274-275v; translated from the Latin and published by Fr. Repetti in the Guam Recorder, vol. 18 (June 1941), pp. 95-96, as follows.

I am very much affected at hearing of the poor health of your Reverence; may God already have restored it and strengthened it that it may be conserved for many years for the good of the whole Society; so I wish, so I hope.

Fr. Peter Coomans may have already written about our Marianas, as I presume. I was collecting material to write but it was lost by the sacrilegious fire which destroyed my church, and this happened twice in the same year at the same place. In the following year, under obedience to the Governor, I accompanied expeditions to the northern islands during which time the galleon from America to the Philippines was expected. But the hope was not realized because the ship returned before the voyage [from Manila] was scarcely begun. Deprived of this encouragement and almost every need was experienced and almost the requisites for saying mass were lacking. But the merciful God was present to those trusting in Him and now the repeated request of our Superiors influenced the Governor of the Philippines to send from Manila to these islands the vessel for which we had asked in vain for more than 10 years and which had been granted by royal decree. The project was pushed by the zeal and authority of Fr. Mateo Antonio Xaramillo with the assistance of Fr. Isidro Clarete who was authorized to distribute in alms the sum of 2,000 pesos which he had received.

The whole mission owes a debt of thanks to this good Father from this worthy and opportune aid, for neither the sympathy of others nor the influence of Superiors could have secured the sum of money necessary for the voyage. Therefore, the supplies for the voyage were obtained in Manila with the permission of the Visitor himself [i.e. Fr.

Xaramillo] and Fr. John Adam Gestel,¹ of the Province of Austria, recently arrived in the Philippines, was assigned the task of gathering them for the Mission.

The military commander who governed here knew nothing of these preparations and he had repeatedly reported the actual condition of the Marianas to the Council of the Indies in Madrid. This governor, distinguished by more than 30 years of service in Sicily and other places, decided to send a native canoe to Manila, a thing which was not only bold but even desperate. He told our Superior, Fr. Manuel de Solorzano, who prepared a package of letters reporting on conditions in the Marianas, as is customary. To expose anyone to such an evident peril precluded hope of success, but it happened otherwise for after 11 days on the waves of this ocean and travelling 300 leagues the canoe fortunately reached port. They had scarcely reached the [strait of] Manila [i.e. San Bernardino] Strait when, behold, they met the boat which had left Manila two or three months earlier and which was prevented by contrary winds from continuing its voyage to these islands. At last, a kind God favored it and it reached here after more than 20 days of navigation from the Strait.

I can easily describe the joy and consolation with which it was received, so much so because it was unexpected. The Reverend Father Visitor found a different aspect on things from what he had previously seen, for in two islands Christianity had prevailed so that the inhabitants of both joined in a life of culture and faith. Drawn out of their fastnesses they live in villages, seven of which have resident priests. In the main island [i.e. Guam] they have churches and residences in the villages; the other island [i.e. Rota] is divided into quasi-parishes and the people are 1,200 in number, sometimes more, and two priests are stationed there, each with a church and residence.²

This can be affirmed, that all are certainly baptized, because this point was considered by Superiors in the [Philippine] Province and it was their decision that those whose baptism had been seriously doubted for many years should be baptized again conditionally. Now each one instructs his children at home excepting those boys and girls who are supported in the college, founded by the generosity of the Queen. Rev. Fr. Provincial and experienced Fathers of the Province decided that it must be carried on because of its benefit to the whole Mission, for it affords a definite hope that the public houses, now demolished and burned, will never again be erected, in which, according to ancient custom the unmarried youth freely gave themselves to lust. The efforts of the priests have abolished these and other sources of evil which were a constant incitement to sin. Tunics have been woven from an inner fiber of trees by which the men and women cover themselves more decently. This is indeed a sign of inborn modesty, or, I rather believe, of re-awakened shame, if slightly-clad women see one of our Fathers they withdraw from the road to avoid giving offense by lack of decency.

Formerly there was no true matrimony here because of the lack of permanency; now legitimate marriages have been made so that I dare assert that not one continues in the

1 Ed. note: Gestel is the Dutch spelling. The correct spelling was Gerstl.

2 Ed. note: These were located at Sosa and Agusan.

illegitimate unions which were previously made. Banns are announced three times and those who are free in the eyes of the Church contract matrimony with its solemn blessing. Children are baptized whom the parents bring in from far and near; the dead receive Christian burial, and lest the sick die without the sacraments they are brought to the church on the shoulders of relatives, as has become customary in the Philippines. Others send word through their fiscals of serious illness so that the dying are ministered to in all kinds of weather. These and many other things, both in civil and religious matters, were witnessed by the Fr. Visitor.

When the visitation was completed we sailed to the north to restore the faith which had failed in two islands which, since the death of Venerable Fr. Diego Luis de Sanvitores, had lacked for 12 years all instruction and every other necessary means of attaining eternal salvation. The expedition was undertaken last March and lasted through April, as Fr. Peter Coomans has already informed you. Fr. Mateo Cuculino, who arrived two years ago from the Province of Bohemia, also went. Both applied themselves to the task to the best of their ability, instructing adults, baptizing infants, protecting the dead from the hands of sorcerers, and in one island [i.e. Saipan] 30 public houses, used for sinful purposes, were burned.

[The remainder of the letter is blotted by ink which soaked through from the other side of the sheet where the address was written, but it can be seen that it is only the formal closing of the letter.]

Rota, 29 May 1684.

Gerard Bouwens, S.J.

Document 1684F

Last letter from Fr. Solorzano to the Duchess, dated Agaña 10 June 1684

Source: Present location unknown; 3-page ms. offered for sale by Maggs Bros. of London in 1923 for 31 pounds (Cat. N° 442, n° 1904, p. 176).

Note: This second letter was despatched aboard the galleon Santa Rosa. The almiranta San Telmo arrived a few days after the flagship Santa Rosa had left Guam.

Arrival of the galleon Santa Rosa on 8 June 1684

Extract in the Maggs Catalog.

...
I will tell you how there reached these Islands, on 8 June 1684, the ship **Santa Rosa** with Don Gabriel de Curuzeláegui on board, en route for the Governorship of the Philippines bearing many messages for the Mariana Missions from you.

Together we deliberated on the question of the progress here and he told me that you had been pleased to honor us with your support and that you had asked that trade should be established between the Marianas and Manila by means of a bilander or tender. He promised to arrange it so, and to help us in every way possible, specially as we had now achieved the impossible and could travel between these Islands and Manila, and **Father Antonio Xaramillo had discovered the southern islands when he returned to Manila last year '83 in the bilander with which he himself succored the Mission. We only require now that the promises and the actual deeds should correspond.**

This gentleman asked me for a résumé of the events which had occurred here these last two years, to forward to you; I wrote this very hurriedly, to make sure that you should receive, through another medium, news of this Christian community.¹

On board the said **Santa Rosa** came the relief for the Military section, that for the Fathers and collegiates remaining on the Admiral-ship **San Telmo** [to come]. On sail-

¹ Ed. note: See Doc. 1684D.

ing from Acapulco, the helm was found to be in need of repair and, being work which would take some 10 to 12 days to complete, they have tarried. We hope they will come with the things we need.

By this ship I received a letter from the Father Procurator of the Province of Mexico, who is Don Balthasar de Mansilla, in which he notifies me that the ship **San Telmo** is bringing us a large box of sacred vestments, so graciously donated by you for the use of these your servants and clergy in this remote corner of the earth. I tender due thanks to you on behalf of all the Mission, for your gift which is so timely, for we are now so scattered in these Islands, and with new buildings in Tinian and Zaypan.

After the departure of the ship **San Telmo** we shall continue with the conversion of the other Islands which they call *de Gane* [i.e. the Gani Islands],¹ and will bring the inhabitants to this Island of San Juan, thus confining the scope of the Mission to the Island of Zaypan on the north, where a considerable garrison of soldiers is required for the security of all.

With the establishment of regular sailings between Manila and these islands, we can promise you a greatly-increased number of converts to the Faith in the group of islands to the south, until we penetrate the Austral Land, which is the goal of my desires.

I shall be leaving this office of Vice-Provincial on the 13th of this month of June, but will not, on that account, fail to keep you posted of our doings in this Christian community.²

...

San Juan (Agadña) (Guam), 20 [rather 10] June 1684.

1 Ed. note: The Gani Islands were those north of Saipan.

2 Ed. note: He was replaced as Superior by Fr. Bouwens. The following month, on 24 July, Fr. Solorzano was killed by natives of Guam.

Document 1684G

Letter from Fr. Jacinto García to the Duchess of Aveiro, dated Manila 18 June 1684

Source: Present location unknown; 2-page ms. offered for sale by Maggs Bros. of London in 1923 for 15 pounds (Cat. N° 442, n° 1909, p. 181).

Extract in the Maggs Catalog

...
Not to abandon my good resolution—which is, never to forget the correspondence I owe you—I have decided not to omit all the news of our Mariana Mission.

First, all that appertains to Christianity, which is the principal element, is progressing most favorably, and, secondly because our Lord has now surmounted the enormous difficulties we had in discovering the route by which a means of communication could be opened up between those Islands and Manila, which is—as has been written to you several times—what the Mission depends upon for its development.

Father Antonio de Xaramillo has accomplished the voyage, not without special divine dispensations, as he himself will communicate to you in addition to further particulars of the Mission (which as an eyewitness he is in a position to give authoritatively). I can only say that the voyage was brief and pleasant. The outward journey occupied 26 days and the return journey only 9—which proves that there are not now what were termed insuperable difficulties;¹ we therefore look to you, as zealous and charitable Mother of the Mission, to influence the King in the establishment of commerce between both groups of islands.

1 Ed. note: The times mentioned are for the San Bernardino—Guam distance only. Even so, they made an average speed of 10 knots on the return trip.

As regards the unhappy news which I mentioned above, Our Lord God has gathered unto Himself, to our personal loss and grief, and that of many others, the Governor, Don Antonio Sarabia, a man of excellent qualities.

I am still engaged upon the work I mentioned to you in a previous letter. I am pursuing my studies in Manila, and have entered upon the third year of my course in theology and longing to complete it, which, if the Lord wills, will be in a year and a half from now; and thereafter to join the [Mariana] Mission...¹

Etc.

¹ Ed. note: This Fr. García was to attempt to go to the Marianas as a missionary in 1686, leaving Cavite aboard the Mariana sloop in August of that year (ref. B&R 39: 131-132), but the vessel did not make it.

Document 1684H

Letter from Fr. Salgado to the Duchess, dated Manila 24 June 1684

Source: Present location unknown; 2-page ms. offered for sale by Maggs Bros. of London in 1923 for 31 pounds (Cat. N° 442, n° 1905, pp. 177-178).

News of the Philippine and Chinese Missions

Extract from the Maggs Catalog.

...
The dates of the last letters I received from you were 29 June and 26 November of the year 1680, to which I replied during the year 1682, and I also wrote to you last year, sending the letters by the Fr. Procurator to Rome, Geronimo de Ortega, and Fr. Luis de Morales who sailed in that year for New Spain.¹ In this I cannot write at length, as I desire, having made a long journey, in which I was six months overdue. On my return, I found I had not sufficient time for all the letters that I must write.

As Father Antonio Xaramillo writes at length,² I will content myself by giving you news relating to the Mariana Mission, in which there are at present 17 Religious, three of whom are lay brothers and the rest are priests. Fathers Antonio Xaramillo and... Adan, about whose departure from here to the Marianas I advised you last year, have arrived safely in the Islands, and so we have achieved the impossible with some of the minor difficulties of this Mission, for we have found a direct route, and thus can avoid the great detour via Acapulco, which is what I desired most of all.

Some other Fathers were detained several months in the Marianas, when Father Xaramillo visited there,³ for he was appointed Visitor, and set a very good example in virtue to all those Missionary Fathers.

1 Ed. note: In Doc. 1684Q1, it is clear that Fr. Ortega having died, Fr. Morales was elected to replace him.

2 Ed. note: He wrote to the King (Doc. 1684L) about his voyage to the Marianas, 1683-1684.

3 Ed. note: I think what is meant here is that the missionaries scheduled to go to the northern islands were detained in Guam for the duration of Fr. Xaramillo's visit.

He tells me that they are all fervent workers, and that everything appertaining to the Mission, and the spiritual welfare of those Indians is satisfactory. It is as well established as the one here, and even better, with the extra help sent by the good Governor to the Fathers, and the Christian Captain General, Don Antonio de Saravia, who has passed on to a better life to receive the reward he deserved for all his good work in saving souls...

What I consider the most urgent and necessary act for the advancement of this Mission, is that the King should order the Governor of these Islands to complete the conquest of all the islands that lie to the North, as this is at present coolly overlooked; there are only two which have as yet been conquered... The Governor of the Philippines should also be instructed to despatch a vessel regularly to the Marianas, with orders to navigate and explore the southern islands, on their return journey...

Father Francisco Palu, the French Bishop, whom you know well, has already reached China, with two of his priests, who in compliance with the edict of His Holiness, under penalty of ex-communication and suspension, give prompt and implicit obedience to the orders of his Lordship and the other Bishops... the Franciscan and Augustinian Missionaries who are in Canton, and belong to the Province of the Philippines, were put off with an excuse when they asked for it,¹ saying that orders were awaited from their respective Provincials... Bishop Palu intends to visit the Emperor of China; God grant that that Christian community be safely established.

I do not wish to omit to tell you, although it is not my place to do so, for fear of being considered a "suspicious informer", that our experience teaches us that it is not convenient to have in this country too many Bishops of the same Religious denomination at one and the same time. There being four of the Holy Dominican Order at present, they seem to have lost their heads in sheer vanity, and have taken too much upon themselves, with the result that there is much talk, not to say even scandal.²

Etc.

...

Manila, 24 June 1684.

1 Ed. note: They refused to recognize Bishop Palu as their superior. Bishop Palu had gone to China in 1683 by way of Hermosa Island. He lived but a short time in China, dying in the city of Moyang (ref. B&R 42:213). As far as the Jesuits in China were concerned, they were deeply involved in a controversy too, that of the so-called Chinese rites.

2 Ed. note: One of those Dominican bishops was Bishop Barrientos who visited Guam in 1682.

Document 1684I

Letter from Fr. Francisco de Borja to the Duchess, dated Manila 24 June 1684

Source: Present location unknown; 2-page ms. offered for sale by Maggs Bros. of London in 1923 for 12 pounds (Cat. N° 442, n° 1910, p. 181).

Extract in the Maggs Catalog.

I already informed you in the year 1682 [rather 1683]¹ of the voyage of the bilander in which Father Antonio Xaramillo travelled. Now I add that he accomplished the journey safely. In 20 days he reached the Marianas and in two months from their arrival, it was wrecked. However, with the diligent help of the Captain, Don Pedro Gomez de la Cueva, who was the pilot of the bilander, very speedily a new one was built, in which he made the return journey, and sighted these islands after a five-days' voyage;² so that the principal difficulty is overcome. I abstain from giving you details of this journey, for I understand that Father Antonio Xaramillo is doing so fully, and having been an eye-witness of the affairs in the Marianas, his testimony will the better bear the stamp of authenticity.

Our pleasure on the arrival of the bilander was mitigated by news of the death of Don Antonio Sarabia, for he could ill be spared from the mission by reason of his many fine qualities of virtue and zeal—but the Lord will see to it that the void is filled. I beg you to inform this gentleman's brother, for upon this news, much important work depends (which the said Don Antonio had left established in Catalonia).³

There is not very much news I can give you, for I am sure that by now you will have received the long reports from the other Fathers.

Etc.

Manila, 14 June 1684.

1 Ed. note: See Doc. 1683P.

2 Ed. note: If so, that would mean that Captain Gomez in his new sail boat would have made an average of 18 knots... rather than the 10 knots reported earlier.

3 Ed. note: Regarding the execution of his last will and testament (albeit verbal), from which the Mariana Mission was probably expecting some financial benefits.

Documents 1684J

Letters from Governor Vargas, dated Manila 26 June 1684

J1. Letter regarding the construction of the galleon Santo Niño de Cebú

Source: AGI Fil. 11-1-53.

Original text in Spanish.

Del Governador de Filipinas.

Señor

El galeon que di quenta a V.M. el año passado de ochenta y tres que dava en Astillero por no haver otro en el Puerto de Cavite que pudiese navegar el pressente a Acapulco se ba concluido, y le despacho por el situado ordinario de estas Islas, y por General de el al Maestro de Campo Don Francisco de Ardila Guerrero perssona en quien concurren las partes asi de practica y experiencia militar por haver servido a V.M. en la frontera de Portugal desde el año de 48 hasta el de 66 passando por los puestos de soldado, sargento, Alférez, theniente de Acaballos [sic] y Capitan de corazas, y lo continuo asi mismo desde el año de las pazes de Portugal hasta el de 77 que passo a estas Islas donde sirvio la plaza de Maestro de Campo, de este tercio que halle vaca quando llegue a ellas como de actividad, y disposicion para obrar en la Nueva España en favor de este comercio que se halla muy deteriorado. La fabrica de este galeon se a hecho con el mayor ahorro de la Real Hacienda que a sido posible, y del costo que a tenido, dare quenta a V.M. el año que viene.

Guarde Dios la Catholica y Real perssona de V.M. muchos años.

Manila, y Junio 26 de 1684.

Juan de Bargas Urtado

[Endorsement:] *Da quenta a V. Magd. de haverse concluydo la fábrica de un galeon que haze viaxe el pressente a Acapulco y va por General de el el Maestro de Campo D. Francisco Guerrero Ardila. Refiere por mayor sus servicios.*

Translation.

From the Governor of the Philippines.

Sire:

The galleon, whose keel I mentioned to Y.M. last year 1683 as having been laid, because there was no other galleon in the port of Cavite that could sail to Acapulco this year, has been completed, and I am despatching her for the ordinary subsidy of these Islands. Her General is Master-of-camp Don Francisco de Ardila Guerrero, a person in whom are found the necessary talents from military practice and experience, on account of having served Y.M. on the frontier with Portugal from the year 1648 until 1666. He passed through the ranks of soldier, sergeant, Second Lieutenant, Lieutenant of Cavalry and Captain of Cuirassiers; he continued to serve after peace was signed with Portugal until 1677, when he passed to these Islands, where he served in the post of Master-of-camp of this regiment, which I found vacant when I came here, and I find him to be active enough and with the right disposition to work in New Spain to the benefit of this commerce, which is now very deteriorated. The construction of this galleon was done with the greatest possible savings for the Royal Treasury, and I will give Y.M. a cost report next year.

May God keep the Catholic and Royal person of Y.M. for many years.

Manila, 26 June 1684.

Juan de Bargas Urtado.

[Endorsement:] He reports to Your Majesty that he has finished the construction of a galleon that was then on the way to Acapulco, with Master-of-camp Don Francisco Guerrero Ardila [sic] as her General. He rates his services as above average.

J2. Letter regarding the navigation route from the Philippines to the Marianas

Sources: AGI Fil. 11-1-55; also in AGI Ultramar 562, col. Simancas 2, folios 6-7; copy in AHN Fil. 5854; copy in Colección Pastells, Fil. 1, pp. 337-340.

Original text in Spanish.

Del Governador de Filipinas: Da cuenta de haverse descubierto el viage de aquellas Yslas á las Marianas.—El estado de estas Misiones.—Muerte del Governador Don Antonio Saravia, y de que nombro persona que las governase y la embio desde Manila con futura.

Señor.

*En execucion y cumplimiento de cedula[s] de V.M. en que se sirve mandarme fomento las Misiones y nueva Christiandad de las Yslas Marianas y remita vagel a ellas, é puesto la atencion y cuidado con que devo obedecerla[s] y conosiendo la estreches en que estarian los Religiosos y la Infanteria por haverles faltado el socorro de la Nueva España con la arribada del Galeon que salio de estas Islas el año de 82 hise abiar la Balandra **San Francisco Xavier** que se fabrico con destino de que descubriese este viage y no*

obstante el haver arribado el año de 680 que salio en demanda de dhas Islas Marianas y contra el sentir universal de las personas peritas en la navegacion, la bolvi a despachar el pasado de 83 y de uno y otro tengo dado quenta a V.M. y fue Dios servido de que venciendo las dificultades del nuevo viage llego a salvamento en derechura de la Isla de Guan ó San Juan en 26 dias de navegacion desde el embocadero de San Bernardino que distara 80 leguas de esta ciudad de Manila a tiempo que se hallava ausente el Governador y Capitan General D. Antonio de Saravia en la conquista de ciertas Islas del Norte y aquella Xhristiandad en evidente riesgo de perderse por la revelion de algunos naturales la qual se sosego y castigo con la llegada de dha Balandra y la gente del Mareo de ella y habiendo entregado el socorro y estando este vagel amarrado en dha Isla sobrevino un temporal que en aquellos mares son estos formidables el qual por no tener puerto donde abrigarse le hizo pedaços en los arrecifes y peñas que la cercan sin poderse remediar por no haverse descubierto puerto alguno hasta entonces, y habiendo sesado se recogieron algunos fragmentos y quarteles que hecho el mar a las playas y se formo una embarcacion con que pudo volver la gente a estas Islas habiendo descubierto asia el sur un puerto capaz de poder entrar en el un vagel de hasta doscientas toneladas y entrada las brizas, en nueve dias de Navegacion llego de torna viage a estas Islas la embarcacion referida.

[Death rates in Guam and Rota]

Las noticias que me an dado los Padres de la Compañía de el estado spiritual y temporal de aquellas Misiones son el que florice la Christiandad de tal manera que se quentan ya 8,000 Christianos reducidos a nueve pueblos con nueve Iglesias cada una con su Ministro y que segun los asientos de los libros de Baptismos y entierros parece que en sola tres años han muerto muy cerca de tres cientos niños con la gracia Baptismal y de sietecientos adultos con sacramentos de que no se puede tener mas noticias por haverse quemado los libros hasta entonces.

Murió el Governador Don Antonio de Saravia pocos dias despues de haver llegado de la conquista referida y entro en su lugar por mi theniente y Governador el Sargento Mayor Damian de Esplana en virtud de titulo y nombramiento mío que le di en futura quando salió de estas Yslas con la Balandra para que por muerte de el Governador propietario las governase no habiendo otra disposicion de V.M. para ello, previniendo este futuro, y por que no avia alli persona ninguna a quien se le pudiese encargar el Gobierno político ni militar, y es sin duda Señor que si no uviera yo prevenido este casso se hallaran los Religiosos con mucho desconsuelo y quisa se malograr[se] el fruto de tanto tiempo hallandose aquello sin superior.

El avio de este vagel con el socorro de los marineros y oficiales y el bastimento costo dos mill y dos cientos pesos poco mas ó menos de la Real Hazienda de V.M.

La continuacion de esta carrera jusgo Señor sera mui del servicio de V.M. y de el universal bien de estas Islas pues se evitara el que los galeones que vienen de Acapulco se detengan en la Isla de Guan tres y quatro dias con perdida conosida de mucho tiempo por la qual estan expuestos y sucede muchas vezes, no entran en Cavite pudiendo

hazerlo se pasaran adelante, pero para conseguirlo es necessario se remita a esta Caxa alguna porcion de Reales hasta quatro mill pesos que se queden sacar del situado de las Marianas asi para fabricar vageles como para su apresto y avio y socorro de los oficiales y gente de mar porque las penciones que tiene [h]oy sobre si esta Caxa no permite divertir ninguna aunque mui leve en otros efectos que no sean los precisos del socorro de este campo.

Guarde Dios la Catholica y Real persona de V.M. muchos años.

Manila y Junio 26 de 1684.

Juan de Bargas Urtado

[Endorsement:] *Manila, a su Magestad, 1684. El Governador Don Juan de Vargas, 26 de Junio: Recibida en Navios de Açogues a 9 de Agosto de 85.*

Translation.

From the Governor of the Philippines: He reports the discovery of the sailing route from those Islands to the Marianas.—The state of these Missions.—The death of Governor Don Antonio Saravia, and that he has appointed a person to govern them and sent him from Manila with sealed papers.

Sire:

In compliance with the decrees of Y.M., in which your were pleased to order me to foster the Missions and new Christian community of the Mariana Islands and to send a vessel there, I have endeavored to take care and obey them. Knowing of the shortage under which the Religious and the Infantry would be, on account of the failure of the succor from New Spain with the return in distress of the galleon that had gone out from these Islands in the year 1682, I ordered the sloop **San Francisco Xavier** to be outfitted. It was built for the express purpose of discovering this voyage and notwithstanding its return in distress in the year 1680, when it went out in search of said Mariana Islands, and despite the universal opinion of expert pilots, I once again despatched it last year 1683—both these matters having been reported to Y.M. already—God was pleased to will that the difficulties of the new route be overcome. It made a safe run directly to the Island of Guan, or San Juan, in 26 days of sailing from the Mouth of the Strait of San Bernardino, which is located 80 leagues from this city of Manila, and arrived when the Governor and Captain General, Don Antonio de Saravia, was absent and busy conquering certain Islands to the north and that Christian community being in obvious danger of being lost, on account of the rebellion of a few natives. Said rebellion calmed down and punishment imposed with the arrival of said sloop and its seamen. Now, after the succor was delivered and as this vessel was lying at anchor at said Island, a storm arose—one of the formidable storms of those seas—but the vessel could not find a port offering a better shelter and was shattered to pieces upon the reefs and rocks that encircle it. The matter could not be helped, because no safe port has been discovered so far. Once the storm was over, a few fragments and sections that the sea had thrown up upon the beaches were salvaged and a boat built to enable the men to return to these Islands. Having discovered toward the south a port capable of holding

a vessel of up to 200 tons, and once the tradewinds had set in, it made the return voyage to these Islands after sailing 9 days with the above-mentioned boat.

[Death rates in Guam and Rota]

The news given to me by the Fathers of the Society of the spiritual and material condition of those Missions are that the Christian community flourishes there to such an extent that one can already count 8,000 Christians reduced to 9 towns with 9 churches, each one with its Minister. According to the record books listing baptisms and burials, it seems that in just three years very close to 300 children have died with the baptismal grace as well as 700 adults with the last rites. There are no previous data, because the older record books have been burned.¹

Governor Don Antonio de Saravia died a few days after having returned from the above-mentioned conquest, and his place as my Lieutenant and Governor was taken over by Sergeant Major Damian de Esplana, by virtue of an appointment letter from me that had been given to him as sealed orders when he left these Islands aboard the sloop, to the effect that, in case of the death of the officially-appointed Governor, he should become Governor, there being no other disposition from Y.M. foreseeing this eventuality, and because there was no-one there to whom either the political or the military government could be entrusted.² There is no doubt, Sire, that, had I not foreseen this eventuality, the Religious would have been left very disconsolate and perhaps the fruit of so many efforts would have come to an untimely end, without a superior there.

The outfitting of this vessel with the succor of seamen and officers, and the food supplies cost 2,200 pesos more or less to the Royal Treasury of Y.M.

Sire, my opinion is that the continuance of this run would be greatly to the service of Y.M. and to the universal good of these Islands. Indeed, there will be no need for the galleons coming from Acapulco to be detained at the Island of Guam for 3 to 4 days, with a recognized loss of time, thus exposing themselves to the frequent failures to make it to Cavite. Now that they can do so, they might bypass it, but in order to achieve this, it is necessary that this local treasury receive some portion of the pesos, up to 4,000 pesos, that should be taken out of the subsidy of the Marianas, not only to build vessels but also to make them ready, to outfit them and for the succor of officers

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- 1 Ed. note: These vital statistics shed some light on the early population of the Marianas. This represents a mortality rate of 1,000 over 3 years, or 333 per year in a population that decreased from almost 9,000 down to about 8,000 for Guam and Rota (see Doc. 1682G & 1684L), hence an average death rate of 40 per thousand population. For rough comparison purposes, the Canadian crude death rate in 1985 was one of the lowest in the world, at 7 per 1,000 population. By the way, Governor Vargas got his information from Fr. Xaramillo. Unbeknown to the Governor, the new record books in question had already been burned a few days earlier, during the 1684 revolt. See Doc. 1684L for more exact figures reported by the Governor's informants, Fr. Xaramillo.
 - 2 Ed. note: This remark was disparaging to Captain Quiroga, whom he had met in Manila. The Governor's assessment of Quiroga was probably due to the inability of Quiroga to quell the mutiny that took place aboard the sloop, soon after departure from Cavite in 1683. The Governor sent Esplana to do the job.

and seamen, because the funds committed to salaries charged to this local treasury are such that it is impossible to divert any amount, though it be very small, to other purposes, unless they come out of the budget of this garrison.

May God keep the Catholic and Royal person of Y.M. for many years.

Manila, 26 June 1684.

Juan de Vargas Urtado

[Endorsement:] Manila, to His Majesty, 1684. Governor Don Juan de Vargas, 26 June.—Received by way of the ships of the quicksilver fleet, on 9 August 1685.

Documents 1684K

Fr. Bouwens gives advice to Governor Esplana

K1. Draft petition to the Governor of the Marianas, dated Marianas 10 October 1684

Source: Present location unknown; 2-page ms. offered for sale by Maggs Bros. of London in 1923 for 25 pounds, i.e. \$125 (Cat. N° 442, n° 1907, p. 178).

Important note: Fr. Bouwens signed this petition, but it was written in Spanish, apparently by Fr. Bustillo. The missionaries and soldiers were then living under siege inside Fort Guadalupe in Agaña.

Extract in the Maggs Catalog.

...

The state in which this Mariana Mission finds itself today, and the new dangers to be feared for this Christian community, compel me to petition Your Excellency regarding some measures which, after consultation with the Fathers who are at present here with me at the fortress, have been deemed appropriate and necessary to our hope of resisting the enemy until we obtain Divine help, and that from the Force which assist you against the sacrilegious impiety with which they endeavor to do away with all, both sacred and profane. And trusting in your piety, we look forward to the realization of our wish that you should issue to the Government which you administer in His Majesty's name, the necessary orders to meet the present circumstances... And the other Fathers and I solicit in the present petition... for the salvation of the natives' souls, the following:—

(1) That, as you supervise the works carried out inside and outside the fortress, you should please to ensure your personal safety, having in attendance, not one or two youths, but some soldiers fully armed, who should not trust any of those unfaithful natives; and, to avert any treachery at night, I and the other Fathers offer to station ourselves outside the barracks where you may be sleeping.

(2) We also beg you, for God's sake, to moderate your language in addressing your troops—which, as you are aware from past events, might lead to mutiny, and imperil your life... It will be remembered that in the past, advantage was taken of the fullest

rigor of the law, to avoid greater revolt, and two of the ringleaders were killed... and whether this is the military way, and not prompted by ill-will (this manner of talking to them, in spite of that good teacher, Experience)—we have seen that hurting people does not fail to rouse animosity.

(3) That, although certain work is urgent, ... you should please lessen the hours of labor as far as is possible. There have been instances of men, tired with all-night sentry duty, who have been compelled to work until midday, without any breakfast, and with nobody to give them a morsel of food at noon. Worn out and desperate, they have even had to find their own corn and grind it, and cook their frugal meal, from which they have been called away again at two, until sunset, when they have had a wretched supper, and continued on sentry duty through the night, openly complaining of the excessive amount of work. We ask you to order that the work before midday should be reduced to two hours, and a similar period in the afternoon... and although the work will thus not be carried out so quickly, it will remove the people's just cause for complaint.

(4) Finally, we beg you to insist on the soldiers being instructed in the use of the firearms, etc., a practice not only appropriate to the military profession, but highly necessary in the present state of affairs.

...

K2. Letter from Fr. Bouwens to Major Esplana, undated

Source: Present location unknown: 4-page ms. offered for sale by Maggs Bros. of London in 1923 for 25 pounds (Cat. N° 442, n° 1916, p. 187).

Note: These two letters (and Esplana's answer) were originally attached to Doc. 1685K.

Important note: Fr. Bouwens wrote this letter after the revolt, not earlier than December 1684.

Extract in the Maggs Catalog.

...

In compliance with the many obligations by which I am bound in charity and justice, as Vice-Provincial—and bound both to give an account to my superiors of my work as spiritual head of this Christian community, and to His Eminence the Lord Bishop of Cebu, of all that happens in the community under my jurisdiction—I communicated to all the Fathers here the important step which your Excellency contem-

plates taking in the matter of the **towns of Assan and Aniguas**,¹ through the medium of their rulers [sic],² on their guilt in the death of Father Augustin Strobach and that of the sailors and soldiers, some of whom were thrown into the sea and other treacherously done to death on land; with the loss of two barques;³ the theft of clothing, weapons and other munitions; and I state hereunder what all the Fathers considered advisable under the circumstances. I beg you, on behalf of this entire Mariana Mission, to note the following:—

(1) Knowing full well that **these people are thoroughly unreliable and incapable of keeping their word**... in order to induce them to give up the culprits, it would be better to treat with them amicably, and admit them here, allowing them to return to their own towns... We will therefore be in a position to dictate terms which they cannot reasonably refuse; such as—

(2) The return of the weapons and other munitions, with two soldiers whom they have detained; and to give up the one who deserted the fortress on 30 November [1684].

(3) To detain any or all of the five fugitives who escaped from the fortress on 29 October and hand them over, either by escorting them themselves or notifying you... and to agree to hand over any further fugitives who might escape from the garrison and seek sanctuary with them.⁴

(4) To return immediately the fugitives who escaped to Sumay...

(5) Those who have absconded with the Fathers' jewels or those belonging to the church to return them immediately...⁵

(6) That these "rulers" shall gather those of other towns in the district of Ruchan,⁶ etc. (who, it is said, conspired together in this act of treachery) for the agreement on oath, and to give the miscreants to understand that they will otherwise have no peace... It is declared that a conspiracy was on foot to make war on us at the others' instigation... but they will be induced to keep the peace if the others do likewise.

1 Ed. note: Anigua and Asan are two localities immediately due west of Agaña.

2 Ed. note: The word "rulers" is probably a translation of the Spanish word "principales," or leaders.

3 Ed. note: The two sail boats in question had been burned by these formerly-friendly natives while they lied at anchor at Tinian, and loaded with cannon recovered from the **Concepcion** shipwreck site at Agingan Beach, Saipan. The rebels then killed Fr. Strobach, before returning to Guam in August 1684.

4 Ed. note: These five consisted of 1 Filipino soldier and 4 servants (see Doc. 1685P).

5 Ed. note: The Spanish word "alhaja" is often wrongly translated as "jewel", when it simply means "valuables" in general.

6 Ed. note: The Chamorro word "ruchan", when used with reference to the Agaña shoreline, means the West direction (see Doc. 1671Q). In this case, the localities of Anigua, Asan, Tepungan, etc. (west of Agaña) are meant.

(7) That those who became divorced and abandoned their legitimate partners should return to the true state of matrimony and that the Vice-Provincial should be notified, as this is a matter which concerns the Bishop of Cebu...¹ who will judge the cases on their merits.

(8) The conditions are not intended to fix the terms of the peace, but to bring the "rulers" together... with a view to arranging the terms for a future permanent peace...

(9) But as it is patent that they have neither sought nor desired peace (and we are the ones who have offered it), neither do they care to accept it, all the Fathers judge that this compels us to urge our terms by force of arms, with the military tactics which you may deem the most suitable... although it is not our place to suggest the means to one who is far better versed in these matters than we are... It is just to avenge the crimes committed against both Majesties, Divine and human, in killing five priests, more than 50 soldiers, and burning down churches; in thefts, profanities, the destruction of barques...

Etc.²

1 Ed. note: They were probably women, as it was they who usually walked off on their husbands, according to the old custom.

2 Ed. note: According to Doc. 1685K (p. 287), a third letter to Esplana was written but not delivered. Esplana wrote one answer to the two above letters, but it appears that Fr. García in Madrid destroyed it.

Document 1684L

Letter from Fr. Xaramillo to the King, dated Manila 29 June 1684

Sources: RAH 9/2677 (3 copies); another copy may be in RAH 9/2678.

The narrative of his voyage to the Marianas aboard the sloop San Francisco Xavier

Original text in Spanish.

Señor

Por Junio de mil seiscientos, y setenta y nueve, recevi en la Yslas Marianas una carta, en que en nombre de V. Magd. que Dios guarde, el Consejo de Yndias por medio de su secretario D. Joseph Veitia y Linage me mande informar en quantas ocasiones pudiere de la Christiandad de Marianas: obedeci à este orden el año siguiente de seiscientos, y ochenta informando à V. Magd. como testigo de vista en Marianas, y Philipinas todo lo concerniente al estado desta nueva mission: del que ella tiene aora, dare noticias, y tambien como nuevo testigo de vista, pues acabo de hazer un viaje à Marianas, donde la religion me embio con el cargo de Visitador, para que como tal, viesse, y examinasse de nuevo; despues volviessse à Manila, y diessse relacion mas verdadera, y puntual, que la que aqui suelen esparcir algunos, ó por poco inteligentes en la conversion de Gentiles, ó por muy opuestos confines particulares de su interes à la Christiandad de Marianas.

Ay pues en la primera Isla llamada San Juan, y en la segunda Santa Ana ocho mil Christianos, que despues de los disturbios, y guerras passadas viven no como antes, esparzidos montes en rancherias, y con inquietud; sino con quieta y pacífica posesion reducidos à nueve Pueblos, cuya formacion junta con la asistencia de un sacerdote, que con casa, é yglesia tiene cada Pueblo se à experimentado ser en todos ellos una como fuente de la divina gracia cuyas corrientes derivadas por aquellos campos, los van fecundando de suerte, que con admiracion vimos trocada la esterilidad, que en otro tiempo tenian por copiosos frutos de fee. Porque si esta forzosamente à de entrar por el oydo, y por el mismo repetidamente se an de insinuar sus verdades, para que se conserve la religion, que una vez se adquirio, que medio mas proporcionado para adquirir, y establezca la Religion de Christo en Marianas, que perseveran en sus Pueblos juntos el ministro, que à de predicar la fe, y los Indios, que la an de oir? desde el Indio mas niño, en quien apenas amanecio el uso de la razon hasta el viejo mas anciano, no ay entre los conquistados

quien no tenga muy abundante pacto de la Doctrina Christiana. La Juventud acude todos los días a Missa, reza el Catesismo, y por la tarde el Rosario, y esto se executa de modo, que los muchachos no hagan falta en sus casas para asistir à sus Padres: y porque no le suceda à estos Indios lo que al Papagayo, que diziendo mucho no entiende nada, no se contentan los ministros con que sepan de memoria lo que rezan; sino que despues les hazen varias preguntas sueltas, y à vezes con otras palabras siendo materia de rendir à Dios muchas gracias la capacidad, é inteligencia, que algunos muestran[.]

[Three Mariano boys to Manila, including Matapang's son]

Assi lo experimentan oy en Manila con tres muchachos Marianos, que vinieron conmigo admirandose seglares, y religiosos de su habilidad, buenos naturales, y aplicacion à cosas de virtud, y frecuencia de sacramentos. Uno destes tres niños es quien ocasionó la muerte que su Padre dio al Ven. Padre Diego Luis Sanvitores, y el tambien tiene este nombre que yo le puse quando me cupo la dicha de bautizarle, porque preocupado el Ven. Padre con el Bautismo de su propria sangre, no pudo administrarle el del agua entonces.

Pero quien con mas abundancia, y fruto goya deste Christiano cultivo son dos Collegios, uno en que por aora se crian hasta **sesenta niños** que con las avilidades de leer, escribir, tocar instrumentos, cantar, lecciones de cortesia, algunos oficios mecanicos, criados que les sirven, continua educacion en la virtud, y frecuencia de sacramentos se pretende, y se consigue, que en policia y Christiandad salgan mas aventajados que todos: otro en que se crian **treinta niñas** en quien se logra la misma dicha y ninguna se admite en el que pase de los diez años para que desembarazado el corazon de qualquier especie de vicio se impriman mas facil, y tenazmente las de la Doctrina del Cielo: tienen dos maestras que dentro del Collegio les asistan en todo: no entra en el algun hombre, y si alguna muger a de entrar a ver a alguna de las Collegiales pide primero licencia al Superior y Vize Provincial de la mission: acuden estas niñas en comunidad a sus exercicios y quando assi van a la Yglesia todos los días, no se pueden mirar sin particular consuelo viendo lo que son, y acordandose lo que serían con la disolucion de costumbres que les tenia prevenida el Demonio en tantas Casas Publicas de torpeza como avia entre estos Yndios: Pues en sola la Ysla de San Juan avia mas de sesenta, las quales antes de venir yo a Manila se deribarón todas en mi pressencia, y aun a mas de la mitad se pego fuego: quando estas niñas tienen ya edad competente se casan, y ordinariamente son estos casamientos con los muchachos que se crian en el Collegio: y como unos y otros estan tambien enseñados, redundan estos matrimonios en gran confirmacion de la fee para los demas Yndios[.] este mismo fruto rinden a la fee los que se ban contrayendo entre Yndias Marianas y soldados Españoles y Philippinos que dentro del presidio tienen la misma ocasion de la enseñanza continua y los buenos efectos que se siguen de ella.

Los Domingos y fiestas de guardar, acuden con mucho puntualidad todos los Pueblos a Missa y puestos los hombres a un lado de la Yglesia y las mugeres a otro, se ponen los Fiscales en medio para observar si los demas estan con modestia y silencio mientras se dizen missa y canta la Doctrina que entonan dos niños y repite el Pueblo despues se haze a todos un sermon, en que con la mayor claridad que se puede se les propone lo que Dios manda, y prohíbe en sus preceptos[.] el premio que esta [a]guardando para los buenos, y el castigo que se reserva para los malos: y por ultimo se lee el Padron en que estan escritos sus nombres para notar si alguno a faltado a missa, y por el mismo a sus tiempos se aberigua si alguno no a cumplido con los preceptos de la confession y comunion annua, la asistencia con que se mira por enfermos y moribundos es tanto mayor, quanto mas se asercan al riguroso tranze de la muerte de

que depende el logro, o eterna perdida de sus almas: y assi en quantas ocasiones se ofrecen dentro y fuera de la Yglesia, se pregunta a los niños y a los Fiscales si en sus Pueblos ay parida o emfermos: administranse les con tiempo los sacramentos y en lo que permite despues la vida se buelven a vizitar otras vezes, reconciliandolos de nuevo, consolandolos y exercitandolos en actos de fee, esperanza y caridad que es lo que mas importa para aquella [h]ora diziendoles tambien quando se puede la recomendacion del alma y para quando ocurre algun lanze de esto estando ausente el ministro, ay algunos muchachos instruidos en el ministerio de catequistas, y tambien de bautizar en los partos peligrosos.

[Death rates in Guam and Rota]

A tantos y tan proporcionados medios no concede Dios con escasesa los fines, que se pretenden por ellos: que es la salvacion de las almas; sino con la liberalidad y abundancia: que aqui dire, y fuera mejor para señalar este numero de escojidos, que la pluma destilase no tinta; sino sangre de Jesu Christo: pues con ella escrivio el mismo Señor sus nombres en el Libro de la vida. Desde el año de seiscientos y ochenta hasta el de ochenta y tres en dos Yslas, solas San Juan y Santa Ana an muerto con la gracia Bautismal doscientos y sesenta y siete niños, y seiscientos y cinquenta adultos con sacramentos segun saque la suma del Libro de los entierros: de los niños es cierta totalmente su bien aventuranza eterna: de los adultos muertos con la prevencion de los sacramentos pide la piedad y otras razones se cria [=cree] lo mismo, porque estos Yndios no tenian ni tienen otras sectas, o ydolatria que les dificulte la adoracion de Dios verdadero: ni el vicio de la embriaguez que siendo tan comun en otros Yndios causa gran perplexidad en los ministros sobre si quando se confiesan, llevan, ó no verdadero proposito de la encomienda: no multiplicad de mugeres con quien estubiesen cassados a un mismo tiempo: no la inhumanidad de comerse unos a otros: no el trato de mercancias ni sus engaños. Pues si a [=es?] la providencia de Dios en propagar el culto de la religion Christiana, toca el que puestos los medios de la predicacion que ya quedan referidos, de los Infieles se hagan fieles; de fieras indomitas y silvestres, docibles; de piedras hijos de Abraham; y que del oriente y occidente bayan muchos a descansar en el Reyno de los cielos con Abraham, Ysaac, y Jacob en lugar de muchos hijos del reyno de la fee, que por sus culpas merecieron las tinieblas exteriores. Que tienen que dezir a esto los que tanto ladran contra Marianas? Los que llaman a aquellos Yndios infieles, brutos y[r]racionales, y estatuas de piedra, porque no le daran a Dios tambien el renombre de obrador de maravillas y dispensador de sus riquezas con todos los que le imbocan sin assepcion de persona? lo esencial de la Christiandad consiste en que aya quien anuncie el Evangelio, en que los oyentes lo resivan y que en señal de averlo rezevido se sujetan a sus leyes, a los sacramentos y zere monias sagradas de la Yglesia. Pues si todo esto se ve y con gran logro en Marianas, porque quieran negar o escurecer en ellas la Christiandad y la fee? y sientan cortos limites de tiempo y tierra como son tres años y dos Yslas entre parbulos y adultos an muerto serca de mill personas logrando siertamente los unos el fin para que Dios los crio, y creyendo piadosamente de los otros lo mismo por la disposicion de sacramentos con que murieron, a quantos millares mas se abra estendido este numero de predestinados en treze Islas y por espacio de dies y seis Años, que arayaron en ellas las luzes del Evangelio, pues varias vezes discurrio por todas treze con infatigable zelo el Ven. Padre Diego Luis de San Vitores y sus compañeros. Todo esto esperamos aora crezca con no inferiores aumentos, porque a veinte y uno de febrero de este año de ochenta y quatro estavan ya prevenidos en la Ysla de San Juan dos varcos grandes con gente[,] armas y matalotage y solo faltava que por el sur soplaze dos días siquiera el viento para darse a la vela y conquistar la tercera Ysla llamada Nuestra Señora de Buena Vista, o Tinian; y la quarta San

*Joseph, o Saypan que son al presente las reveldes y de quien dependen las otras y sacar tambien la artilleria de los dos Galeones **Concepcion** y **Santa Margarita** que tantos años [h]a padecieron alli naufragios. No dudo abran benzido ya los españoles aquellos Yndios apostatas porque este favor y otros de mayores consecuencias para la fee en aquellas cordilleras de Yslas nos promete la singular providencia de Dios que en defenza de Marianas à resplandecido en una serie de sucesos tales que causan armonia, y se concilian alguna ponderacion.*

*Opusose a las Marianas con poca razon y menor piedad el Governador passado de estas Yslas Philipinas, Don Manuel de Leon, y Dios le dio el pago quitandole de repente la vida y sin sacramentos, quando despues de continuas pretenciones el Governador presente, Don Juan de Vargas Hurtado, me abia consedido que el baxel fabricado por orden de Vuestra Magestad para Marianas yntentase segunda vez el viage a ellas se opuso el Sargento mayor Juan Bentura pidiendo el tal baxel o balandra para llevar en ella al Reyno de Siam sus mercaduras: prevalecio la pretencion del interes a la del evangelio; aunque no a la pena que suele dar Dios a sus transgresores porque al Governador que dio licencia para el viage de Siam lo afligio su divina Magestad entonces con una postema que lo puso en peligro de morir: al Sargento Mayor Juan Bentura quando bolvio de su viage le apreto con otra postema que hizo cierto el peligro porque al levantarse una mañana clamó diziendo: **ay que me muero**: y assi sucedio espirando sin sacramentos ni enfermedad alguna que precediese[.] a otro que le hizo compañía en la navegacion atravesaron pocos dias despues el corazon de una puñalada dudandose si la absolucion que le dieron, le alcanzo vivo. No fueron bastantes estos lanzes a conseguir la nueva navegacion que pretendia a Marianas, quisas porque ocupada la concideracion en otras materias no la ubo para mirar estos acaecimientos como recuerdos de Dios; antes unas vezes dilatado con esperanzas; otras detenido con escusas, que el governador presente, me proponia me dixo que el viage no era posible; que desistiese de mis intentos, y que si yo queria el aria Junta de esta republica en que por escrito consultaria la navegacion y receviria los pareceres sobre este punto. Respondi que esta Junta no era nesesaria pues temiendo los vezinos de Manila algunos destierros que ya se avian empesado Hazer, era cierto llevarian adelante y firmarian la oposicion que en otras ocaciones avian mostrado. En quanto al desistir de mi pretencion le dixi que desistia por quando un Governador y Capitan General, que es quien le puede aqui todo, no gusta de una cossa no ay remedio en lo humano para conseguir lo contrario; pero que advirtiese que un no puedo dicho delante de los hombres equivale a un no quiero delante de Dios: que las quensequencias de almas son muy peligrosas para este mundo y el otro, y que si algunas se signiesen [=seguiesen?] en detrimento de la Christiandad de Marianas no yrian por mi quenta, pues le constaban las continuas pretenciones que con el mismo avia tenido por servir entrambos Magestades en el logro y aumento de la fee en aquellas Islas:*

Y asi no le volvi a hablar palabra sobre este punto, pero quan poca falta azen las palabras, y propuestas de los hombres quando Dios con sus obras predica y habla? uno de los sermones que su divina Magestad haze en Manila y que se reputa por clamor de su Justicia es que despues de consumida gran cantidad de Hazienda en la prevencion de la nao que todos los años sale de estas Yslas para Acapulco no consiga el viage o por sobra de opuestos vientos o por falta de los nessessarios, porque entonces, impedido el comercio se pierde el gasto hecho, atrassanse los caudales, el situado de Mexico no viene, las mercaduras y sustentos se hazen mas caros; los pobres peresen, y la tierra abunda de innumerables necesidades. Pues este sermon con todas sus circunstancias penosas predico Dios en Manila quando me intimaron el silencio sobre el viage de las Marianas; porque aquel año se avia aprestado con no poco de

*hazienda el Galeon **Santa Rosa** y todo se frustró a fuerza de un temporal tan furioso que imposibilitó la navegación, y por poco hizo padecer naufragio al navio: Y es digno de particular advertencia que la tal tempestad fue a treinta y uno de Julio día del gloriosísimo patriarca de la Compañía de Jesus San Ignacio de Loyola el qual viendo que en Manila negaban la navegación a la misión Mariana de que cuidan sus hijos quiso negar también a Manila la navegación a Acapulco de que depende el bien de esta tierra y para esto conmovió el Santo los vientos y alteró los mares de suerte que se rompieron los cables del navio[,] las anclas quedaron perdidas en la mar, el batel se hizo pedasos, y el Galeon dio en tierra que por no ser peñasco sino lodo y lama no se dividió en quarteles con que se huviera perdida todo[,] volvieron a componer con nueva prevención lo que pedía remedio haciendo también en Manila novena y procesiones de grandes concorsos para que la navegación prosiguiese; Pero estas plegarias no oyó Dios y la nueva prevención solo sirvió de nuevo gasto, porque passados seis meses volvió de arribada el Galeon **Santa Rosa** al puerto donde avia salido, y de donde se avia ausentado no mas que ochenta leguas siendo tres millas que avia de navegar para llegar a Acapulco.*

*Ya que este navio no pudo darse a la vela, tendieron las de su corazón los hombres para engolfarse en un mar de lagrimas con que generalmente lloraban todos sus miserias y trabajos que aun hasta oy duran, y como estos dan entendimiento discurrían que si en Manila a donde de otras partes concurren tantos baxeles, y ay mas medios para vivir se padecía tanto que sería en las Marianas donde despues de Dios no llega en lo humano otro socorro que el que vuestra Magestad le embia en el torna viage de la nao que de Manila sale y no avia navegado aquel año? Este argumento junto con la compacion que era foroso tener a los sacerdotes que trabajan por la christiandad en Marianas y a los soldados que los defienden convencia eficazmente que avia de yr la balandra entonces a aquellas Islas, pero estorvavalo la falta de dinero con que se avia de disponer el vagel y aqui resplandeció otra providencia de Dios moviendo su divina Magestad el corazón de un sacerdote para que de la hacienda que segun la voluntad de su dueño podia en obras pias distribuir aplicase cerca de dos mill reales de a ocho con que se pagaron los sueldos de capitán y piloto, oficiales, marineros, y grumetes de la valandra y algo de matalotage: **Y veinte y quatro de Abril del año de seiscientos y ochenta y tres nos dimos a la vela desde el puerto de Cavite en la balandra San Francisco Xavier[,] el Capitán y piloto Don Pedro Gomez de la Cueva[,] dos sacerdotes de la Compañía de Jesus y otro cinquenta personas.***

A pocos dias de navegación conocimos que el adereso que se avia hecho a lo material de la balandra, era no el que suele llevarlos vageles que sirven al dinero y a la codicia sino el que la propagación del Evangelio sin mas ganancia que almas podia esperar del mundo y de contradición que en Manila se hecho siempre a Marianas; porque el vaupres y el lastre sin cuya devida proporcion y fortaleza es casi sierta la ruina de un navio salieron tales del puerto que aquel lo allamos podrido y rendido por dos partes y assi fue foroso poner otro nuevo en la Isla de Tinacao [sic = Ticao]: el lastre yba tan diminuto que fue foroso también añadir otras dies barcadas mas de piedra y a no aberlo hecho asi huvieramos naufragado con las tempestades que despues padecimos en el golfo. Azia tanta agua la valandra que de media a media hora se le daban a la vomba y aun quando despues aver llegado a Marianas se pretendió enmendar esta falta, se halló un gran rumbo tan comido de broma que se pasava con el dedo de la madera exaltando todos la misericordia de Dios y patrocínio de S. Francisco Xavier el no aver padecido las velas sobre ser viejas y llenas de remiendof.] eran pocas y tan faltos de xarcía que no fue foroso vuscar mas en la provincia de Albay admirados todos que el Castellano de Cavite Juan Gallardo y el Maestro Mayor de la Rivera, a quienes por su oficio tocava dar la balandra marinera y bien compuesta la echazen a la mar

con riesgo tan conocido de tantas vidas, por cuya caussa las echaron varias maldiciones, en la balandra, y aunque estas no fueron justas, pero si lo es la severa reprehencion que de V.M. se tienen merecida dicho Castellano y Maestro mayor de Cavite.

[The failed mutiny aboard the sloop]

Otro riesgo fue y mui penoso el que nos puso el Demonio en la colera con que vuestros marineros reñeron contra otros sacando las armas en ocaçion que un Español avia caydo casi muerto de el golpe con que le hirio un estrangero y fue singular providencia con que Dios estorvo las muertes de muchos y perdida del vagel el que mi Compañero y io estubiesemos en un caso tan repentino tan seria que a tiempo nos podimos oponer reprehendiendo a unos y quitando a otros las armas y aun fue forsozo aquella noche andarnos paseando por el combes como quien hazia guardia porque la alteraçion y enojo que avia entre la gente de mar, amenazava una gran desgracia. Era el remedio entonzes echar de la balandra a uno que con mas despecho y ocaçion de motin yntentava la venganza, y Dios que permitio el peligro nos dio tambien el consuelo en una embarcaçion que acaso encontramos cuyo Piloto requerido en nombre de V. Magd. por el Capitan de la Balandra, se entrego del presso y lo trujo a Manila donde esta sirviendo con grillo en la galera.

Mayor fue sin comparacion otro peligro que se siguió a este por ser de aquellos que San Pablo llama de falzos hermanos. Yban en la balandra entre Franceses, Griegos, Benecianos, y Sicilianos Dies estrangeros cassi todos al parecer gente vil y que como bagamunda avian navegado gran parte del mundo no atados a la fidelidad de algun rey determinado sino al lanze y ocaçion que les pudo dar la vida y sustento para ella: obserbaronse algunas insolencias tales que no [h]uvo hombre de juicio en la Balandra que no temiese alguna revelion: y aun dubdaban algunos si algunos de los estrangeros eran Christianos. No avia soldados en la Balandra ni medios para castigar o perseverar presos en ella los que fuesen delinq[ue]ntes: a Manila no podiamos bolver, y en alta mar con hombres de esta condicion no era ir a padezer raziionalmente peligros por Dios: sino a perder temerariamente el viage, vagel y vida: solo aspiravamos con un gran disimulo y cautela yr al partido de Palapag, dar fondo alli y con apariencia de componer alguna cosas de la Balandra, dar avisso al Alcalde mayor de aquella provincia que distava tres dias de camino para que trujese consigo alguna gente con cuya ayuda pudiesse el Capitan de la valandra hazer la Justicia competente. Para esto intentamos salir por el estrecho o envocado que llaman San Bernardino, y porque en esta salida avia gran riezgo que antes de llegar a Palapag viendose los estrangeros fuera de entre las Yslas sucediese la revelion[,] rara la providencia divina con que a veinte y nueve de mayo al estar ya para salir nos faltava el viento y las corrientes nos volvian atras porque en no salir estava nuestra seguridad. Aumentaronse aquella noche tanto las ynsolencias y las sospechas que no fue posible disimular mas y assi prevenidas muy vien dentro de la camara de popa algunas armas consulto el Capitan lo que deberia hazer? respondiõsele lo que atentas todas la sircunstancias parecio obligazion y rectitud en su oficio, aconsejandole unas cosas y aviendose indiferentemente en otras que el tenia determinadas:

Al amanecer el dia siguiente treinta de Mayo salio el Capitan a la puerta de la camara, hizo que se juntase toda la gente y preguntoles si reconocian aquella valandra por vagel de vuestra Magestad en cuyo lugar el la yba gobernando? vien puede ser que todos la reconociesen por tal; pero solo en gente española vi responder que si. Mando luego inmediatamente que a tres estrangeros que eran el Contra maestre, Condestable y Guardian les echazen grillos, declarando por traidor contra vuestra Magestad y digna de las penas de tal a qualquiera que se levantase de su asiento, hasta que la pricion se acabase: muy descuy-

dados estaban en aquella [h]ora los extranjeros, y sin armas y como el Capitan las llevaba consigo, fuera de otras que estaban prevenidas a mano y todo indicava resolucion de atropellar con qualquiera que se opusiese[.] sugetaronse muy facilmente a la pricion, que sin ruido ni desgracia alguna se executo: dixose luego la missa al gloriosissimo y in victo[r]iosissimo Rey San Fernando cuyo dia [era,] reconociendo todos al Santo por autor del veneficio que aviamos resevido[.] pues en su vispera nos falto el viento para desembocar en que estava el peligro, y en su fiesta nos consolo con el remedio de la pricion patrocinando como rey de España desde el cielo a la mission que su misma corona y real zetro en persona de vuestra Magestad promueve en la tierra[.]

No era la balandra capaz de conservar mucho tiempo dentro de si semejantes presos, y asi sin dilacion alguna aquella misma mañana nos asercamos a la Ysla de Capul ministerio de los religiosos de la Compañía de Jesus y en una ensenada que llaman el puerto de las galeras se dio fondo y al Yndio que era capitan de la Ysla entrego como a ministro de V.M. el Capitan de la valandra los presos con orden de que à cada uno lo pusiese solo y con seis Yndios siempre de guardia[.] mientras el Capitan azia causa a los presos le fue forzoso prender a otro extranjero y a un Yndio de la margarita y como todos eran marineros aunque las priciones aseguraban la paz; pero como no avia gente con que suplir su falta, imposibilitaban la navegacion a Marianas, que era lo que de tantas maneras pretendia el Demonio. Hizimos pues el Capitan y io un despacho al Governador de Manila de donde distavamos ochenta leguas pidiendo seis marineros, seis soldados, y un Ayudante para que si se ofreciese al Capitan en lo restante del viage tuviese ministros con que estorbaren quietudes y hazen justicia. La dicha estava en este correo, que avia de ir unas vezes por mar, y otras por tierra tuviesse tiempos favorables y buen avio por las provincias que avia de pasar para llegar a Manila, y que en esta ciudad concediese el Governador a lo que ese pedia con presteza y con la misma llegase todo a Capul donde esperavamos: Y la providencia de Dios fue el conzederlo todo a medida de nuestro deseo. Vino tambien de Manila el Sargento Mayor Damian de España con horden de passar a Marianas por cavo superior de la Balandra, y primero de dar garrote en la misma a quien lo merecieren aunque esto no tubo lugar por aver antes el Capitan entregado los presos al Alcalde mayor de Catbalogan y este remitidolos a Manila con la caussa que les avian hecho.

Empezavan ya à soplar los vientos por el poniente que eran los que necesitavamos para ir a Marianas y imbocando el favor de Dios tendimos las velas a veinte y nueve de Julio dia de Santa Marta desembocando por San Bernardino y entrando en mar alta confiando que pues la Santa por caussa de la fee navego segura en un vagel sin velas y remos hasta Marsella, la misma fee, cuya causa procuravamos nos llevaria tambien seguros en medio de los peligros hasta Marianas: asi fue porque de alli a tres dias fiesta de S. Ygnacio de Loyola se levanto una tempestad tan braba que fue forsoso alijar a la mar quanto yban al combes por donde subian las olas impelidas de los vientos, y como a las dies de la noche entro el nuevo contra maestre en la camara de popa a avizarme que ya era [h]ora de disponer la gente y absolverlos a todos porque el peligro de naufragar era grandisimo: no era licito faltar a una obligacion tan precisa como esta, ni tampoco en caso que se pudiese aguardar algo, era asentado desmayan con tan triste nueva la gente quitandole el aliento cuya falta en tan ariezgados lanzes haze ziertas las degracias y assi le parecia al contra maestre que se disimulase algo aunque por corto tiempo[.] conpadeziose entretanto San Ygnacio, y ia que el Santo nos avia dado en su dia la materia de paciencia con la furia de los mares quisso darnos la del consuelo alcanzando de Dios que aquella furia no se aumentase mas[.] Poco a poco fue descaeciendo la tempestad en su fuerza hasta que dentro de dos dias se sosego del todo[.]

Bolvieron despues los tiempos favorables y aunque mezclados a beses con alguna[s] contrariedades y otra tempestad que tubimos, fue Dios servido que a veinte y dos de Agosto por la mañana se descubriese con yncreible alegria por la proa la tierra de Marianas y el día siguiente acompañada la valandra de sus embarcaciones dimos fondo a las quatro de la tarde en la Ysla de San Juan en el puerto de Umatag en frente de la Yglesia de San Dionicio.

El gozo que en esta ocasion rezivieron el Governador y Capitan General Don Antonio de Saravia, los ministro[s] del evangelio, los soldados y Yndios parecia un gozo proprio de resurreccion con que avia cobrado aquella Christiandad nueva vida. Por lo menos se le estorvo el morir en dos ocasiones en las quales tengo por cierto que atendiendo al curso natural de las cosas[,] si no hubiera llegado la valandra perecio aquella nueva mission. La una ocasion fue a quatro de octubre en que el governador Don Antonio de Saravia desde la Ysla de Rota salio con mas animo que oportunidad de tiempo y deliveracion de consejo a quien se lo deviera pedir a la conquista de Tinian y Saypan llevando en dos varcos grandes todo lo bueno de soldados y armas que avia en Marianas siguiendole tambien muchos bancas de los Yndios. Levantose una terrible tempestad porque entonzes es el tiempo ordinario de ellas y conpelidas de los vientos algunas embarcaciones de los Yndios volvieron a la Ysla de San Juan diziendo que el Governador con los soldados y varcos no parecia y como el temporal duro ocho días sin saver lo que pasava, corrio esta vos por toda la Ysla, la qual se hubiere revelado a no estar allí con gente y armas de la Balandra el Sargento Mayor Damian de Esplana que en otros tiempos avia Governado dos años aquella Ysla y era temido de los Yndios porque aunque estos sean actualmente Buenos pero para una desgracia de estas no se a de mirar lo que son sino a lo que serian en la ocasion con el natural facil, inconstante, y de niños que a todas las naciones de yndias dan las historias y las experiencias y por esto se suele dezir aqui que la Christiandad que ay a los alrededores de Manila no menos se deve a las piezas de artilleria y tercio de infanteria que corona las murallas, que a los ministros que la predicán. Luego que vimos la tempestad y el peligro que corria el Governador con casi todo el precidio se saco en nuestra Yglesia el sanctissimo sacramento diziendo todos los días en su presencia la letania de los sanctos con asistencia de quantos religiosos que podia[,] cantose tambien una missa a San Francisco Xavier pidiendo su interseccion en tan gran peligro. Conpadeciose Dios y quando menos pensavamos a media noche entro en el presidio el sacerdote de la Compañia que yba por capellan de aquella armada dandonos nuevas de que el Governador con los españoles avia entrado otra vez en la Isla de Rota donde quedavan todos vivos y buenos menos unos pocos Yndios que con la tempestad se ahogaron.

La otra ocasion en que hubiera perecido la Christiandad de Marianas fue a primero de noviembre, en que murio el Governador Don Antonio de Saravia en la Ysla de S. Juan y en la Yglesia de su Santo y tan aceleradamente que despues de aver resevido los sacramentos, apenas tuve tiempo mas que para ayudarlo a bien morir. Muerto este cavallero no avia en todo el precidio de Marianas siquiera uno que tuviese capacidad, valor y talento para Governar aquellos Yndios y soldados y assi quedavan las Yslas con la infelicidad y desdichas que suele padezer la tierra donde no ay gobierno. Pues esta mal se remedio con la balandra tambien entrando por theniente de governador el Sargento Mayor Damian de Esplana que vino en ella y para esto aquel señor por quien reynan los reyes y los consejeros en sus tribunales dan justas leyes, movio al presidente y oydores de Manila para que hiziesen una provicion real en que dicho Sargento mayor entrase a gobernar como theniente de aquellas Yslas en caso que el Governador Don Antonio de Saravia muriese como sucedio haciendole despues su entierro y honrras con el mayor apara-

to eclesiastico y militar que se pudo en Marianas y se devia a quien por V. Magd. tenia el titulo de Governador y Capitan General de aquellas yslas.

De las quales salimos a viente y uno de febrero en demanda de la cordillera de yslas del sur y aviendo navegado un dia sin encontrar ysla alguna, como el varco en que ybamos era echo de tablas viejas, sin aforro ni fortaleza alguna y navegava con trabajo por ser muy atravesadas las olas, por consulta del Piloto y demas marineros lo seguro fue gozar del favor del viento y dirigir la proa a Manila donde llegamos dentro de ocho [sic] dias pasmandose esta ciudad de ver falcificados los impocibles que oponian a este viage que en veinte y seis dias aviamos hecho desde Manila [sic] a Marianas y por via recta que era otra quimera en su comun opinion. Ansi desengañado que quien haze guerra a sus dictamenes son los predestinados que Dios tiene con Marianas, y como esta es providencia con que sertisimamente se salvan y se salvaran los que son escojidos siendo infalible que se a de cumplir el numero de los que quiere Dios para si, trastornara su divina Magestad los mentes[,] trocara la voluntad de los hombres, a uno dara enfermedades[,] a otros quitara las vidas, las naos de esta republica no aran viajes[,] descubrira malos intentos y vencera dificultades insuperables primero que falte un apise en los medios por donde a determinado conseguir el fin de salvar las almas, y quando los hombres padescan [sic] que esta totalmente zerrado el pazo para empresas de su agrado entonzes se abra las puertas de su misericordia y se convertiran todos los estorbos en mayor bien de aquellos que segun la eleccion y propocito de su santissima voluntad tiene distinados para ser salvos, como se a visto en esta nueva navegacion.

Tienen tambien por que callarlos que conserva la Religion dezian en Manila que que Christiandad avia en Marianas pues sabe[n] ya el fruto que se cojen en ellas: De siete mil que avian quedado en Ysrael sin mancharse con la ydolatria se glorio Dios con ser de infinita capacidad su zelo, porque por su amor no doblaban la rodilla a Dios solo verdadero y con esto y las esperanzas demas se pueden aplicar los Elias de estos tiempos y admirarse de los justos aunque ocultos juicios de Dios que perdidas las Christiandades de Sanboanga[,] Therrenate y del Reyno de Siyao pocos años ay corriendo aora gran peligro de lo mismo la Christiandad del dilatado y rico Ymperio de la China con la llegada del obispo y vicario franceses, demuestras tan claras su divina Magd. de favorecer a la Christiandad de Marianas que por pobre no pierde nada con aquel Señor que vino a evangelizar a los pobres[.] Huega [=juega] Dios en el orbe de la tierra[,] como dize la escritura y aunque su voluntad dispusso que las suertas gananciosas de este Juego cayesen en otras tierras que con la riqueza de sus minas de oro y perlas den boses a los mercaderes para que surcando los mares vayan a ellas, en Marianas quizo dexar solo la gran pobreza y miseria que tienen sin mas riqueza que la de las almas por quien no el oro y plata sino la sangre que se derramó por ellas esta clamando y no a mercaderes sino al que entre tantos monarchas y reyes es escojido singularmente de Dios para dilatador de su gloria, propagador de su fee, y defensor de su puridad como lo es V.M. sin mas recompensa por lo que gasta de su real tesoro con este archipelago de Philipinas y Marianas que la multitud de vien aventurados, que cada año embia V.M. desde la tierra al Cielo.

Manda V.M. informe tambien lo que nesita la Mission Mariana, y con lo que en ella crezera mucho aun por nuevas Yslas es lo siguiente:

Lo primero que V.M. mande hazer otra valandra del porte que tenia esta en que navegamos aora a Marianas a donde baya todos los años: esta navegacion puede ser en dos tiempos que aprueva el Capitan y piloto Don Pedro Gomez de la Cueva y aun se ofreze a ponerle en execucion: uno el mes de marzo navegando con vientos brisas asia el sur y desde grado competente volbiendo con vientos suris [= sures] la proa a Marianas. Otro el mes de Julio, agosto y setiembre en que ay vientos para ir via recta como

sucedio en este nuevo viaje y despues salir de Marianas por febrero declinando al sur al descubrir tan inumerables islas como ay alli, y a quien desde la Ysla de S. Juan se pueden comunicar las luzes del evangelio.

El segundo que en esta embarcacion no baya soldado alguno marinero de los estrangeros que se hallan en Philipinas sino españoles, criollos, mestizos, o indios, de estas Yslas con quien se evitan los peligros de revelion o lebantamiento.

*Lo tercero que en llegando de este vagel a Marianas o de primera instancia o despues de aver embarcado la carga baya a dar fondo a una azenada [ensenada] que en la Ysla de S. Juan se llama **Piga**, cuya barra esta en el Pueblo llamado **Meriso**, y tiene nueve brazas de fondo prosiguiendo en una canal de a nueve, siete, seis, y sinco brazas de fondo de lodo y lama: esta ensenada esta por una parte abrigada con la Isla de San Juan a distancia de un tiro de arcabuz; y en frente a distancia de media legua tiene otra Ysla llamada de los Cocos, y de cuyas puntas salen por uno y otro lado unos peñascos y vajos que en lo ancho y largo se dilatan mucho y en ellos y en la Ysla quiebra el mar las olas de suerte que ni aun con tempestades se inquieta la canal donde se a de dar fondo[.] junto esta ensenada esta sita al sur mirando al sueste otra ensenada ay en la misma ysla y del mismo modo al norueste asi a unos Pueblos llamados **Agofan, Hagat, y Apra** y aun ay otra aprueba el piloto que las examino como tambien la enzenada de **Arfayan [=Acfayan]** sita entre leste y sueste en la misma Ysla de San Juan con una buena barra hasta la entrada del rio y si con estos puertos se perdio la valandra fue porque hasta despues de sucedido el naufragio a diez de octubre de seiscientos y ochenta y tres, no se buscaron con diligencia ni con piloto como sucedio aora fue de que ni aun en la ensenada en que estava dado fondo la valandra se huviera hecho pedazos como afirma el Piloto, si el castellano de Cavite Juan Gallardo huviera dado mas amarras y [c]ables.*

Lo quarto que V.M. se digne de premiar a dicho Capitan y piloto Don Pedro Gomez de la Cueva con alguna de las encomiendas de estas Yslas Philipinas pues lo mereze con el nuevo viaje que a descubierto desde Manila a Marianas y con lo mucho que padecio en el procurando otros quitarle el credito y diziendo publicamente que no entendia el arte de Piloto, que se yva a ahogar y a perdnos a todos: todo lo qual sufrio por hazer con esta nueva navegacion grande obsequio a Dios y a vuestra Magestad tambie[n].

Lo quinto y ultimo que en el vagel que saliere de Manila a Marianas no puede al Governador embiar desterrado a nadie [d]esta republica como se empezo a executar con el General Don Sebastian Rayo con sentimiento grande de casi todos y por serrar la puerta a estos destierros, abren en Manila tantos la voca por a hablar contra Marianas, temiendo que si esta Christiandad y nueva navegacion se estableze tendra los Governadores ocasion de zatisfazer sus paciones y sentimientos particulares y pues el motivo que V.M. tiene en conservar esta mission, es dilatar por tierras nuevas el conocimiento de Christo. Sirva para esso solo esta mission cuya Ministros Evangelicos postrados todos a las reales plantas de V.M. en nombre de aquellos nuevos Christianos. En especial de los que ya bolaron al cielo, y con mas particularidad de los niños muertos con el Bautismo rinden las gracias por tanto bien como an rezivido y suplica a V.M. se digne de conseder lo contenido en este Papel para que bayan adelante los progresos de la fee rogando yncesantemente a Dios dilate por muchos y felizes años la vida de V.M. y la perpetue en digna subjecion que con la sangre erede [sic = irradie?] tambien el mismo ardor de propagar la religion christianaf.] Hasta lo ultimo del mundo, Amen.

Manila y Junio veinte y nueve de mil seiscientos y ochenta y quatro años.

Translation.

Sire:

In June 1679, I received at the Mariana Islands a letter in which, on behalf of Your Majesty (whom may God save) the Council of the Indies, through its secretary, Don José de Veitia y Linage, ordering me to report as often as possible on the Christian community in the Marianas. I obeyed this order the following year 1680 by giving Y.M. a report, as an eyewitness in the Marianas and in the Philippines,¹ on the state of this new mission. I will now give news about it, again as an eyewitness. Indeed, I have just made a voyage to the Marianas, where my Order sent me as a Visitor, so that as such I would see and examine it anew, then to return to Manila and give a report, more truthful and timely than those that some people, either little conversant with the conversion of heathens, or opposed to the Christian community in the Marianas for their own private reasons, would otherwise spread.

It is a fact that in the first Island called San Juan, and in the second one, Santa Ana, **there are 8,000 Christians**. After the past troubles and wars, they no longer live as they used to, spread out among the hills in their ranches, but in disquiet. Nowadays they live a quiet and peaceful life in 9 towns, to which they have been reduced, and whose creation, with the assistance of one priest, each with their own house and church, in each town, has meant that all of them have experienced a source of divine grace, that flows like a stream through those fields and fertilizes them, so that we wondered at seeing their former sterility being transformed into the copious fruits of the faith. In fact, if it be true that the faith must enter through the ears, and that its truths must be inserted by continuously repeating them, in order to preserve the religion once it has been acquired, what better way to acquire and establish the Religion of Christ in the Marianas than to have them stay permanently in their towns, next to the minister sent there to preach the faith, and to have the Indians listen to him? From the youngest child, in whom the use of reason has just been awakened, to the oldest person, there is none, among the conquered ones, who has not an understanding of Christian doctrine. The young people attend Mass every day, recite the Catechism, and in the afternoon the Rosary, and it is done this way so that the boys and girls will not be missed at home to help their parents. And, in order to prevent these Indians from becoming like parrots, that talk much and understand nothing, the ministers are not content with having them learn what they recite by rote; rather, afterwards they ask various random questions, and sometimes with other words. It gives him an occasion to give thanks to God, when he sees the ability and intelligence shown by some of them.

[Three Mariano boys to Manila, including Matapang's son]

People in Manila today are experiencing this for themselves with three Mariano boys, who came with me. Lay, as well as religious, people wonder at their ability, good natures, and efforts at virtuous things and the attendance at the sacraments. One of

1 Ed. note: See Doc. 1680T.

these three boys is the one who[se baptism] occasioned the death that his father gave to the Ven. Father Diego Luis Sanvitores. He too holds this name, as I was the one who gave it to him when the good luck of baptizing him befell me; the Ven. Father himself had been preoccupied with the baptism of his own blood, and was unable to administer the baptism of water to him then.¹

However, those who represent the real gems of this Christian garden more fully are in the two Colleges. In one of them have been raised so far up to **60 boys** who have the skills to read, write, play musical instruments, sing, receive lessons in etiquette, a few manual trades, have servants to serve them, a continuous education in virtue and attendance at the sacraments; the aim, which is being achieved, is that in civilized and Christian behavior they will come out with more qualities than everybody. In the other college **30 girls** are being raised, with whom the same good luck is being attained, and none of them beyond 10 years of age is admitted, so that their heart may still be devoid of any sort of vice and they be more easily and durably impressed with those [tenets] of the Doctrine of Heaven. They have two female school teachers living within the College to attend to them at all times. No man can enter, and if any woman must enter to see any of the College girls, she must first ask the permission of the Superior and Vice-Provincial of the mission. These girls flock to their exercises as a group. So, when they come to church every day, one cannot look upon them without being specially consoled by what they are, and the thought of what they would have been, with the dissolute customs that the Devil had reserved for them in so many Public Houses of turpitude, as existed among these Indians. In fact, just in the Island of San Juan there were more than 60 of them, but before I myself came to Manila [in 1680] they were all torn down, and more than half were even burned. When these girls have already reached a competent age they get married, and ordinarily these marriages are with the boys that are raised in the College. Given that both parties are well taught, these marriages redound in a great confirmation of the faith for the other Indians. The faith yields the same fruit in those marriages that are being contracted between Mariana Indian girls and Spanish or Filipino soldiers who within the garrison have the same opportunity for a continuous training and the good effects that follow from it.

On Sundays and compulsory holidays, all the towns flock with great punctuality to hear mass. The men are placed on one side of the church and the women on the other. The controllers place themselves in the middle to watch if the others are dressed with modesty and observe silence while the mass is being said. The doctrine is sung when two boys intone it and the people repeat after them. Afterwards a sermon is made to all of them; in it is explained to them as clearly as possible what God orders, and forbids in His commandments, the reward that awaits the good, and the punishment that is reserved for the bad. And finally the roll upon which their names are written is called, to find out if anyone had skipped mass, and through the same roll, at given times, it is checked whether anyone has failed to attend the annual confession and communion.

1 Ed. note: Diego Luis Matapang was therefore 12 years of age in 1684.

Also, attendance is even checked more carefully with respect to the sick and dying, specially when they are approaching the rigorous rite of passage, i.e. death, upon which depends the eternal happiness, or damnation, of their souls. So, upon as many occasions as present themselves, inside or outside the church, the children and the controllers are asked if in their towns there have been some births or sicknesses. The sacraments are administered to them in a timely manner and, as long as they remain alive, they are visited again, and they are reconciled again, and consoled and exercised with acts of faith, hope and charity, which is what is more important for that time; whenever possible, the recommendation of the soul is also said, and when some final incident such as these occurs in the absence of the minister, there are some boys trained in the ministry as catechists, and they can also perform baptisms during difficult childbirths.

[Death rates in Guam and Rota]

So many means, so well applied to them to achieve the purpose intended, and that is, the salvation of souls, are not ignored by God. Indeed, with the liberality and the frequency that I am about to mention, it would be better, to mention the number of the select, if my pen did not distill ink but the blood of Jesus Christ; indeed, the Lord himself has written their names in the Book of Life. From the year 1680 until that of 1683, only in the two islands of San Juan and Santa Ana, 267 children have died, as well as 650 adults with the sacraments, according to the sum that I have copied from the Book of burials.¹ We can be certain of the everlasting happiness of the children, but for the adults who have died with the preparation of the sacraments, piety and other reasons beg us to believe the same, because these Indians did not have, nor do they have, other sects, or idol-worship that might make difficult the worship of the true God. They do not even have the vice of drunkenness, which is so common among other Indians, and a cause of great perplexity in the ministers, who cannot tell whether they are sincere when they confess, and promise to reform themselves. Besides, they do not have a multiplicity of wives, with whom they might be married at any one time. They do not have the inhumanity of cannibalism. They do not practice trade and its tricks. In fact, if it be the providence of God that in the propagation of the cult of the Christian religion, the means of preaching that are mentioned above can be brought to bear, from heathens they may become faithful, from untamed and wild beasts they may become docile, from stones they may be turned into sons of Abraham, and let them come from the east and from the west, and rest in the Kingdom of Heaven with Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, taking the place of many sons from the kingdom of the faith, who on account of their sins, have deserved darkness outside. What can be said now by those who bark so much against the Marianas? Those who call those Indians heathens, animals without reason, and stone statues? Can they not accept God's reputation as a miracle

¹ Ed. note: To correct the rough figures reported earlier by Governor Vargas, the crude death rate was therefore $267 + 650 = 917$ which divided by 3 years gives 306 per year, which in turn is divided by the average population figure of 8,500 to yield a death rate of 37 per 1,000 population.

worker and a giver of His wealth to all those who invoke Him, without excepting anyone? The essential thing in [spreading] Christianity is to have someone to announce the Gospel, from whom the listeners can receive it, and as a sign of having received it they subject themselves to its laws, to the sacraments and the sacred ceremonies of the Church. Now then, if all of this can be seen and successfully so in the Marianas, why is it that they wished to negate or obscure Christianity and the faith overthere? and they feel resentful for the fact that within the short limits of time and space, represented by three years and two islands, nearly 1,000 persons, among children and adults, the former having certainly achieved the purpose for which God created them, and we piously believe that the latter have also achieved it on account of the preparation of the sacraments with which they died. To how many more thousands of predestined people would it have been extended, in 13 islands and over a period of 16 years that the light of the Gospel shone there? Indeed, the Ven. Father Diego Luis de San Vitores and his companions ran up and down these islands many times with untiring zeal. We now hope that all of this will grow with no smaller results, because on 21 February 1684,¹ two big boats were already prepared at the Island of San Juan with men, weapons and supplies, and the only thing missing was the wind; it had to blow southerly for two days before they set sail and go to the conquest of the third Island, called Nuestra Señora de Buena Vista, or Tinian, and the fourth Island San José, or Saypan. The other islands depend upon these islands, which are presently in rebellion. Also the cannon from the two galleons **Concepción** and **Santa Margarita** that have suffered shipwrecks there many years ago have to be salvaged. I do not doubt that the Spanish would have by now conquered those apostate Indians because we expect this favor and others of major consequence for the faith in those chains of islands from the special providence of God who in defence of the Marianas has manifested Himself splendidly in a series of events, designed to cause harmony, and make people stop and take notice.

Don Manuel de León, the former Governor of these Philippine Islands, was opposed to the Marianas with little reason and less piety, but God repaid him by taking away his life suddenly and without the sacraments. When, after continuous pretensions, the present Governor, Don Juan de Vargas Hurtado, had granted me that the vessel built by order of Your Majesty for the Marianas could attempt the voyage a second time, Sergeant Major Juan Ventura opposed it, and asked him for such a vessel or sloop to take his merchandise to the Kingdom of Siam. The pursuit of private interests prevailed over that of the Gospel, although not without the punishment that God usually gives to its transgressors, because His divine Majesty then afflicted the Governor who gave permission for the voyage to Siam with an attack of bile that brought him close to death. To Sergeant Major Juan Ventura, when he returned from his voyage, He afflicted him with another bile attack that made him realize that his death was imminent, because upon getting up one morning he complained, saying: "Alas! I am dying," and so it happened. He expired without the sacraments, not even a sickness to precede death. A few

1 Ed. note: That was the date at which Fr. Xaramillo's boat left Guam to return to Manila.

days later, another man, who had sailed in his company, was stabbed through the heart, and it is doubtful if the absolution that they gave him was done when he was still alive. These incidents were not enough for me to obtain the new voyage that I wanted to make to the Marianas, perhaps because people were busy considering other matters and they did not realize that such events were warnings from God; rather, sometimes the present Governor would give me hope for it, but at other times he would delay it with excuses, such as the time he told me that the voyage was impossible, that I should give up my project, and that if I wished, he would call a Meeting of this government in which he would consult on the navigation and ask for written opinions on this point. I answered that this Meeting was not necessary, because the residents of Manila feared being exiled, such as had already taken place, that the outcome was certain and that they would sign the opposition, as they had done on previous occasions. With regards to my desisting from my project, I told him that I desisted, because when a Governor and Captain General, who is a man who can do everything, does not like something, there is no remedy, humanly speaking, to achieve the opposite, but that he should watch out, that an "I cannot do" said before men is equivalent to an "I do not want to do" before God, that the consequences of the souls are very dangerous in this world and the next, and that if some thing were to happen to the detriment of the Christian community in the Marianas, they would not be charged to my account, but to his, since I had dealt with him continuously regarding the projects to serve both their Majesties in the development of the faith in those Islands.

So, I did not speak with him again about this point, but what need is there of words, and proposals from men, when God by his works preaches and speaks? One of the sermons given by His divine Majesty in Manila and one that makes His justice noteworthy is that, after a large quantity of money had been spent making ready the galleon that goes out every year from these Islands for Acapulco, the voyage did not succeed, either for an excess of contrary winds, or for lack of the necessary ones, because then the expense made is lost, the commerce is impeded, new funds do not arrive, the subsidy from Mexico does not come, the merchandise and food supplies become scarce, the poor perish, and the country is flooded with numberless needs. Indeed, God preached this sermon with all its painful circumstances in Manila when they imposed silence upon me regarding the voyage to the Marianas. In fact, the galleon **Santa Rosa** had been outfitted that year with no small amount of money but all was frustrated on account of such a furious storm that it made the voyage impossible, one that almost made the ship suffer a shipwreck. And it is worth noting that said storm occurred on 31 July, feast-day of the most glorious patriarch of the Society of Jesus, St. Ignatius of Loyola; when he saw that Manila was blocking the voyage to the Mariana Mission where his sons are laboring, he wished to prevent also the voyage to Acapulco upon which depends this country, and to do this the Saint moved the winds and altered the seas so that they broke the cables of the ship, its anchors were lost at sea, its boat was broken

to pieces, and the galleon ran aground.¹ However, as the shore was not rocky but only mud and sand, she did not break open, in which case she would have been lost. They were able to repair the damages, and they also made a novena in Manila and processions that were attended by large crowds in order to obtain a successful voyage. However, God did not listen to such entreaties and the new preparations only occasioned new expenses, because six months later the galleon **Santa Rosa** arrived back at the port of its departure, and from which she had travelled only 80 leagues, when 3,000 leagues was the remaining distance to reach Acapulco.

Now that this ship could not sail, the hearts of men softened up and a sea of tears engulfed them, so that most of them were complaining about their misery and hardships, which by the way still continue. Now then, hardships give understanding, and they began to think that, if there was such suffering in Manila, where so many vessels visit and there are more means to earn a living, what of the Marianas where, besides God, no human help arrives other than the succor that Your Majesty sends with the return voyage of the Manila galleon, when the voyage had not taken place? This argument, plus the compassion that was necessary to feel for the priests who labor for Christianity in the Marianas and for the soldiers who defend them did effectively convince people that the sloop had then to go to those Islands, but the lack of money for making the vessel ready was hindering the project. Another providence of God came to the rescue, as His divine Majesty moved the heart of a priest² in order to apply about 2,000 pesos of 8 reals each from some money that, in accordance with the will of its owner, he could distribute in pious works, to pay the wages of the captain and pilot, officers, seamen, and ship's boys of the sloop and for some of the supplies. **And, on 24 April of the year 1683, we sailed from the port of Cavite aboard the sloop San Francisco Xavier, the Captain and pilot, Don Pedro Gomez de la Cueva, two priests of the Society of Jesus and 50 other persons.**³

After a few days' sailing, we recognized that the repairs done to the sloop were not of the same quality as those done to vessels that serve to earn money and greedy purposes, and not to the propagation of the Gospel with no other gain than souls, as expected from the world and the opposition that in Manila is always made against the Marianas. Indeed, the bowsprit and the ballast, without whose proper proportion and strength the ruin of a ship is almost certain, were such when we left port that we found the bowsprit rotten and split into two parts and therefore it became necessary to replace it with a new one at the Island of Tinacao [rather Ticao]; as for the ballast, there was so little of it that it was necessary also to add 10 more loads of stone. If we had not done so, we would have foundered with the storms that we suffered through afterwards in the wide ocean. The sloop was leaking so much that the pump was worked every half hour and even when, after our arrival at the Marianas, they tried to repair this fault, a

1 Ed. note: This happened within Manila Bay.

2 Ed. note: Fr. Clarete (see Doc. 1683O).

3 Ed. note: Captain Quiroga is curiously not mentioned by Fr. Xaramillo. He also ignores Fr. Ahumada, but the latter may have joined the ship later on with Major Esplana, at Capul Island.

large stretch was found to be so worm-eaten that one could push one finger's through the wood, and everyone recognized that it was God's mercy and the sponsorship of St. Francis Xavier that the old sails, full of patches, had not given up; spare rigging was missing and it was necessary to look for some more in the province of Albay. Everyone was amazed that the Fort Commander of Cavite, Juan Gallardo, and the Superintendent of the shipwards there, whose responsibility it had been to make sure of the seaworthiness of the sloop had released it, with an obvious danger to so many lives; that is why everyone aboard the sloop cursed them. And even if such curses were not right, Y.M. would certainly be right in severely reprehending said Fort Commander and Superintendent of Cavite.

[The failed mutiny aboard the sloop]

Another danger happened, one that was very painful, one that the Devil place in our way with the anger that made some seamen take up arms against other seamen, on the occasion of a Spaniard having fallen almost dead when a foreigner wounded him with a blow. It was by special providence of God that the deaths of many and the loss of the vessel carrying my companion and I did not take place. It happened so suddenly, but we were able to intervene quickly enough to oppose it, by reprehending some and removing the weapons from others, but it was even necessary for us that night to patrol the deck, as if we were mounting a guard, because the quarrel and anger among the sailors threatened a great disaster. The solution then was to expel from the sloop a man who with more anger had tried to avenge himself under cover of a mutiny. God willed the occurrence of this danger, but he also willed the consolation offered by a boat that we chanced to meet, and it was requested by the Captain of the sloop, in the name of Your Majesty, to take in the prisoner; it took him to Manila where he is now serving with fetters aboard the galley.

A much greater danger that followed came from false brothers, as St. Paul calls them. Ten foreigners were aboard the sloop, some French, others Greek, Venetian, or Sicilian. Most of them were vile people; as vagabonds they had sailed a great part of the world, not tied by allegiance to any particular king but looking for opportunities that life could offer, to make a living. Some insolent behavior was observed, and it was such that no reasonable man aboard the sloop could fail to fear some revolt. Some even doubted that some of the foreigners were Christians. There were no soldiers aboard the sloop nor means to punish those who might become criminals or hold them as prisoners on board. We could not return to Manila, and on the high seas with people of this caliber, it was not the way to choose to suffer reasonable dangers for God; rather, it was the way to foolishly lose the voyage, the vessel and our lives. We could only dissemble and hope to make it to the district of Palapag, to anchor there and, with the excuse of fixing some things about the sloop, to advise the senior Mayor of that province who resided at three days' distance by road, so that he could come with some armed men to help the Captain of the sloop carry out the appropriate justice. For this purpose, we tried to make it through the Embocadero, that is also called the Strait of San

Bernardino, and because in this exit there was a great risk that before we got to Palapag the foreigners, seeing themselves out of the inner sea, would attempt their revolt, divine providence intervened, to the effect that on 29 May, when we were about to make it through the Strait, the wind failed and the currents were taking us backwards, because our salvation lied in not being able to make it. That night, their insolences and our suspicions increased so much that it became impossible to dissemble any more. So, after preparing some weapons carefully inside the poop cabin, the Captain consulted [us] on what to do. He was answered that, in view of all the circumstances, it seemed that it was his duty and properly so, and some things that he had in mind were reinforced and others discouraged.

On the morning of the next day, 30 May, the Captain appeared at the door of the cabin and had all the men assembled. He asked them if they recognized that sloop as a vessel belonging to Your Majesty, in whose name he was in command. It would have been proper for them to recognize it as such, but I only saw the Spanish men answer in the affirmative. He then immediately ordered that three foreigners be placed in irons; they were the Boatswain, the Master gunner and the Boatswain's mate. They were declared to be traitors against Your Majesty and worthy of the penalties for same and were forbidden to move from their seating place until the irons were on them. At that time the foreigners had not been on their guard, and were unarmed. As the Captain was armed and had more weapons handy, and he looked resolute and willing to knock down anyone opposed to him, they submitted themselves very easily to being placed in irons. It was done without any noise or any untoward accident. Mass was then said to the most glorious and and victorious King San Fernando whose day it way, and everyone recognized that the author of the favor that we had received was this Saint. Indeed, it was on the eve of his feast-day that the wind to come out of the strait had failed, because that had been the danger, and on his feast-day he consoled us with the remedy of the imprisonment. As King of Spain, he was sponsoring from Heaven the mission that Your Majesty promotes on his behalf on Earth with the same crown and royal scepter.

The sloop could not have kept such prisoners on board much longer. So, without any further delay, that very morning we approached the Island of Capul, a ministry of the religious of the Society of Jesus and, in a bay that they call Port of Galeras, we anchored. To the Indian who was captain of the Island, as to a minister of Y.M., the Captain of the sloop delivered the prisoners, with an order that they both should be placed in solitary confinement, with 6 Indians always on guard. While the Captain was proceeding with the trial of the prisoners, it became necessary for him to have another foreigner and an Indian messenger seized and, as they were all seamen, though peace was now restored, there were no men available to take their places, thus making the voyage to the Marianas impossible. That is what the Devil had tried to get all along. Therefore, the Captain and I made a despatch to the Governor of Manila, which was 80 leagues away, asking him to send 6 seamen, 6 soldiers and an Adjutant, so that they might serve the Captain as collaborators, if need be, during the rest of the voyage, to prevent disturbances and render justice. Our good luck depended upon this mail cour-

ier, who would have to go sometimes by sea, and sometimes overland, getting good weather and a good outfit through the provinces that he had to cross to get to Manila, and then upon the Governor in this city to grant what he would ask, with speed and with the same speed bring back everything to Capul where we were waiting. And God's providence was up to our expectations. From Manila also came Sergeant Major Damian de Esplana with the order to pass to the Marianas as commander of the sloop, but firstly to give the choking collar to anyone on board who deserved it, although this did not take place, on account of the Captain having already delivered the prisoners to the Mayor of Catbalogan, and this man had sent them on to Manila with the case file that he had opened against them.

The winds were already beginning to blow from the west and they were those we needed to go to the Marianas. After invoking the favor of God we raised the sails **on 29 July**, feast-day of St. Martha, coming out through San Bernardino and entering the high sea, trusting then to the Saint who, on account of the faith, sailed confidently in a vessel without sails or oars as far as Marseilles. The same faith, whose cause we sought, would take us also confidently through dangers as far as the Marianas. So it was, because 3 days later, including the feast-day of St. Ignatius de Loyola, a storm arose, so fierce that it became necessary to throw overboard whatever was stored on deck, which was washed by waves pushed by the winds. At about 10 at night, the new boatswain came into the poop cabin to advise me that the hour had come to prepare the men and to absolve them all, because the danger of sinking was very great. It was not permissible for me to refuse a duty so necessary as this one, but in case one could wait a while longer, it was neither wise to make the men faint with such a sad news, because to discourage them during such risky moments was tantamount to causing misfortunes. So, it seems to the boatswain that the announcement should be postponed a while longer. In the meantime, St. Ignatius took pity, and now that the Saint had given us on his day a reason to be patient with the fury of the seas, he wished to give us a reason to console ourselves by obtaining from God that the storm's fury did not increase more. Little by little the strength of the storm was decreasing until it became completely calm within 2 days.

Favorable weather returned afterwards and although mixed at times with some contrary periods and another storm that hit us, God was pleased that **on 22 August** in the morning the land of the Marianas was sighted ahead, at our incredible joy. The next day, as the sloop was in company with their canoes, we anchored at 4 in the afternoon at the Island of San Juan in the port of Umatag in front of the church of St. Denis.

The pleasure caused upon this occasion to the Governor and Captain General, Don Antonio de Saravia, the Gospel ministers, the soldiers and Indians seemed a pleasure more appropriate to a resurrection, as if that Christian community had been given a new life. At least its death was prevented on two occasions, during which I think that, had the natural course of events continued, that new mission would have perished without the arrival of the sloop. One occasion happened on 4 October when the Governor, Don Antonio de Saravia, left the Island of Rota with more courage than an opportune weather and a deliberate counsel that he should have sought, to the conquest of Tinian

and Saypan, taking in two long boats the best from among the soldiers and weapons that existed in the Marianas, being followed also by many canoes full of Indians. A terrible storm arose, because it was then the ordinary season for storms. Pushed by the winds, some Indian canoes returned to the Island of San Juan, saying that the Governor with the soldiers and boats had disappeared. As the storm lasted for 8 days, without any news, the following rumor was spread throughout the Island, and it would have rebelled, had not Sergeant Major Damian de Esplana been here with the men and weapons of the sloop. This man had been in charge of that Island for two years before and he was feared by the Indians.¹ The reason is that, although these are presently behaving well, one must not look to the present situation to find a misfortune such as this, but to what it might be with their easy and inconstant character, similar to that of children, common to all the nations in the Indies as mentioned in the histories and according to experiences. That is why it is usually said here that Christianity in the neighborhoods of Manila is due as much to the cannon and the regiment of infantry that crown the walls as to the ministers who preached it. As soon as we saw the storm and the danger that the Governor and almost the whole garrison were in, the most holy sacrament was exposed in our church, and every day the litany of the Saints was said in its presence, with as many religious being present as possible. A mass was also sung to St. Francis Xavier, asking for his intercession in such a great danger. God took pity and when we least expected it, at midnight, the priest of the Society who had gone as chaplain of that flotilla came into the garrison, giving us the news that the Governor with the Spanish had turned back once more to the Island of Rota, where all of them remained alive and well, except for a few Indians who drowned during the storm.

The other occasion, in which the Christian community of the Marianas could have perished, was on the 1st of November, when the Governor Don Antonio de Saravia died in the Island of San Juan and in the church of his Saint² and so quickly that after he had received the sacraments, there was hardly enough time to help him to die well. After the death of this gentleman, there was not one man in the whole of the garrison of the Marianas who might have the ability, valor and talent to govern those Indians and soldiers. So, the Islands were left with the bad luck and misfortunes that usually befall a country where there is no government. Well then, this evil was remedied with the sloop, as there came in at the same time, as Lieutenant Governor, Sergeant Major Damian de Esplana. This gentleman, who believes that kings are meant to reign and the councillors in their tribunals to give just laws, convinced the president and members of [the Audiencia of] Manila to issue a royal provision by which said Sergeant Major would become the Lieutenant Governor of those Islands, in case Governor Don Antonio de Saravia died. This in fact took place after Governor Saravia's burial with full honors and the ecclesiastical and military pomp possible in the Marianas and due

1 Ed. note: From 1674 to 1676.

2 Ed. note: Not inland at Mapupun (Doc. 1682D), but at the Port of San Antonio, Umatac.

to one who had held the title of Governor and Captain General of those Islands in the name of Your Majesty.

We left the Islands on 21 February [1684] bound to the chain of Islands to the south and, having sailed for one day without meaning any island, as the boat in which we sailed was made of old boards, without a double layer, or any strength whatever, and as it was kept on course with difficulty on account of the cross-waves, a council was held by the Pilot and other seamen. The safest thing to do was to take advantage of the wind and steer for Manila, where we arrived within 8 days.¹ This city was astounded to see how false the predictions of the opponents to this voyage had been, as we had taken 26 days to sail from [the Island of] Manila to the Marianas, and by a direct route, which was another impossibility in their common opinion. To undeceive them from such their opinions, God has in store the predestined people of the Marianas. As this is providence, with which they will surely be saved, as they are the chosen, and it is infallible that the number selected by God as his own will be achieved; His divine Majesty will convert the minds, will change the will of men; giving illnesses to some, and taking the life of others; the galleons of this republic will no longer make their voyages; bad intentions will be uncovered and He will evince insuperable difficulties, as soon as a piece is missing in the means that He has decided to use to achieve the purpose of saving souls, and when men suffer [under the delusion] that the passage is totally closed for enterprises that are to His liking, He will then open the doors of His mercy and all the obstacles will be converted to the greater good of those who, according to the election and purpose of His most holy will, are predestined to be saved, as can be seen in this new sailing route.

Also, those of our Order in Manila who used to ask what Christian community there was in the Marianas have now been silenced; indeed, they have already learned the fruit that is gathered there. Out of the 7,000 people that had remained untouched by idol-worship in Israel, God was proud of their zeal being of infinite capacity, because, on account of love for Him they did not kneel to a god except the true God. And with this and the other hopes that the Elijahs of these times can apply and wonder at the just, though hidden, judgments of God, now that the Christian communities of Zamboanga, Ternate and of the Kingdom of Siao have been lost a few years ago, and that the Christian community in the vast and rich Empire of China is now in danger, with the arrival of the French bishop and vicar, His divine Majesty shows clear signs of favoring the Christian community of the Marianas. Being poor, it loses nothing with that Lord who came to preach the Gospel to the poor. God plays dice with the orb of the earth, as the scriptures say, and although His will fixes the lucky dice for this game, other countries have turned out to be wealthy, with gold mines and pearls that attract merchants to cross the seas to get there, but He chose to leave the Marianas only with a great poverty and misery, without any wealth other than that of souls, that offer not

1 Ed. note: In fact, the 8-day run took the boat only as far as the Strait of San Bernardino (see above).

gold and silver to merchants but blood spilled on its soil to one who among so many monarchs and kings was specially chosen by God as propagator of His glory, propagator of His faith, and defender of His purity, as is Y.M., without any other reward to show for the expenditure of his royal treasure in this archipelago of the Philippines and Marianas than the multitude of the blessed, sent every year by Y.M. from this earth to Heaven.

Y.M. has also ordered me to report on the needs of the Mariana Mission, and how it can be spread to new Islands. I offer the following points:

Firstly, Y.M. should order the construction of another sloop, of the same capacity as the one that we now sail in to the Marianas, where it goes every year. This voyage can take place at two different times in the year, and the Captain and pilot, Don Pedro Gomez de la Cueva, agrees and even offers himself to put it into practice: one during the month of March, sailing southward with the tradewinds as far as a competent latitude and, with southerlies, turning the bow toward the Marianas; the other during the month of July, August and September when there are winds to sail directly, as happened in this new voyage, and after leaving the Marianas in February, to divert southward to explore the numberless number of islands located there, and where the light of the Gospel can be carried from the Island of San Juan.

Secondly, that no foreign soldier or sailor should go aboard this vessel from among those who are found in the Philippines, but only Spaniards from Spain or the colonies, half-breeds, or Indians from these Islands, in order to avoid the risks of rebellion or mutiny.

Thirdly, that when this vessel arrives at the Marianas, either immediately or after the freight has been unloaded, it should go and anchor inside a bay of the Island of San Juan called **Piga**, whose bar is in the town called **Merizo**, and is 9 fathoms in depth, which decreases along a channel down from 9 to 7, 6, and 5 fathoms, muddy and sandy bottom. This bay is situated in the place that is sheltered by the Island of San Juan, at a distance of an arquebus shot, and before it, half a league away is another Island called Cocos, which has reefs coming out at both its points, with shallows that stretch out far and wide; the sea waves break upon them and the Island [Cocos], so that not even storms can bother the channel where the anchorage ought to be. Besides this bay, there is another bay in the same southern part of the Island, opened to the southeast, and similarly there are others in the northwest at towns called **Agofan**, **Hagat**, and **Apra**, and there is even one more approved by the pilot who examined them, as well as in the bay of **Acfayan**, situated between east and southeast in the same Island of San Juan with a good bar, as far as the mouth of a river. Now, if despite these ports the sloop was lost, it was because it was not until the shipwreck had occurred, on 10 October 1683, that

ports were looked for with diligence, at least not with a pilot present as was done afterwards. However, according to the Pilot, the sloop would not have broken to pieces in the bay where the sloop was anchored [i.e. Umatac], if the Fort commander of Cavite, Juan Gallardo, had provided more mooring cables.¹

Fourthly, that Y.M. be pleased to reward said Captain and pilot Don Pedro Gomez de la Cueva with one of the land-grants in these Philippine Islands; indeed, he deserves it, for having discovered the new route from Manila to the Marianas and for the great sufferings he went through, despite what others said, in trying to remove his credit, that he did not understand the art of navigation, and that he was going to get us all drowned along with himself. He put up with all of this in order to make an offering of this new route to God and to Your Majesty also.

Fifthly, and lastly, that the Governor may not send aboard any vessel going from Manila to the Marianas any person from this republic to exile, as was tried the first time with General Don Sebastian Rayo, at the great sorrow of most everyone, and in order to close the door to these exiles; indeed, in Manila many open their mouth against the Marianas, for fear that if this Christian community and new route become established, the Governors will have opportunities to satisfy their passions and individual feelings, but the motive that Y.M. has in preserving this mission is the propagation of the knowledge of Christ through new lands. This mission serves this purpose only. Its Gospel ministers are all prostrated at the royal feet of Y.M., on behalf of those new Christians, specially those who have already flown to Heaven, and more specifically the children who have died with baptism, and render thanks for so much good as they have received, and beg Y.M. to please grant the contents of this Paper, so that the faith can make further progress, by ceaselessly begging God to increase by many happy years the life of Y.M. and perpetuate it in worthy subjection, such that the same blood may remain imbued with the same ardor to propagate the Christian religion. Until the end of the world, Amen.

Manila, 29 June 1684.

1 Ed. note: Captain Gallardo had arrived in 1678 with Governor Vargas. He was soon promoted to Major and posted to Cavite. In 1680, when he was Warden of Cavite he was accused of having overloaded the Manila galleon for his own commercial advantage. During the "residencia" of Governor Vargas, Major Gallardo was one of those sued by the City of Manila. He was arrested and eventually died in prison, in 1689, during an influenza epidemic (B&R 39: 280).

Documents 1684M

The King responds to Fr. Xaramillo's earlier reports

M1. Letter to Fr. Xaramillo dated Madrid 9 August 1684

Sources: AGI Fil. 331, libro 7, fol. 441v-443, pp. 906-909; RAH 9/2677.

Original text in Spanish.

El Rey

A Antonio Jaramillo de la Comp^a de Jhs dandole graçias por lo que ha obrado en la Mision de las Marianas y avisandole las ordenes que se embian. Con duplicado.

Antonio Jaramillo de la Comp^a de Jhs Misionero de las Islas Marianas.

Las dos cartas que me escrivisteis en 20 de Diziembre del año de 1680 y 17 de Junio del de 1681 sobre el estado y buenos progresos de esa mision y lo que neçesitava para su mexor logro se han visto en mi Consejo Real de las Indias con lo que dexo mi fiscal del y ha parecido daros gracias (como lo hago) por lo que haveis obrado en materia tan del agrado de Dios y servicio mio, y espero lo continuareis con el mismo çelo que mediante el y el de los demas religiosos que os acompañanese ha de adelantar esa mision copiosamente con gran fruto espiritual de esa gentilidad y para que os halleis enterado de las ordenes que aora embio tendreis entendido que por çedula de la fha de esta encargo a mi Virrey de la N^a España disponga que la Nao, ó Naos de Philipinas quando abian de bolver a aquellas Islas salgan de Acapulco al tiempo señalado sin que exçeda de mediado de Marzo y que en todas las ocasiones lleven a las Marianas algunos soldados que no sean condenados ni forzados, y que de orden a los Generales de estas Naos que toquen en la Isla de San Juan (como tan repetidamente lo tengo mandado) dando fondo en el Puerto de San Antonio que cae al sur donde dexen à asegurada la gente y lo demas que lleveren para la conservaçion de esas Islas, y a mi Governador de Philipinas que con gran puntualidad disponga se execute el pasaxe desde Manila a las Marianas del navio que se fabrica a fin de conseguir la comunicaçion de ambas partes procurando sea la salida en tiempo mas a proposito del en que se dio el año pasado de

1680 para evitar no suszeda el que arribe sin tomar las Islas como entonzes lo hizo y que si en cada un año pudiese executar dos viaxes de las ordenes para ello por el alivio que en esto consiguieran advirtiendo el cavo que le governare que quando buelva a Philipinas haga su derota si quiera una vez declinando al sur y que tome las noticias que en aquella vanda pudiese inquirir esto, en caso de no reconocer riesgo, y que me informe del numero fixo de soldados que tienen las Marianas, y el que necesitaran para su conserbacion y defensa y la Infanteria que podran dexar en ellas, las Naos de esa carrera quando buelven de N^a España sin perjuicio de la que llevan al Real campo de Manila para tomar resolucion sobre este punto y de lo que se executare y fuere adelantandose esa mision me dareis cuenta en todas las ocasiones que se ofrezieren.

De Madrid a 9 de Agosto de 1684 años.

Yo el Rey.

Por mandado del Rey nuestro Señor,

Don Francisco de Salazar.

Señalada del Consejo.

Translation.

The King

To Antonio Jaramillo of the Society of Jesus, giving him thanks for what he has done in the Mariana Mission and advising him of the orders that are being sent. With a duplicate copy.

Antonio Jaramillo of the Society of Jesus, Missionary in the Mariana Islands.

The two letters that you have written to me on 20 December 1680 and 17 June 1681¹ regarding the state and the good progress of that mission and what it needed for greater improvements have been seen in my Royal Council of the Indies, along with what my Fiscal said about it, and I have decided to thank you (as I do now) for what you have done in a matter that is so pleasing to God and my service, and I hope that you will continue to do so with the same zeal. Through it and that of the other religious in your company, that mission ought to make progress, and yield a large quantity of spiritual fruit with those heathens. And in order to make you aware of the orders that I am sending now, you should know that, by decree of this date, I entrust my Viceroy of New Spain to make arrangements for the galleon, or galleons from the Philippines, when they had to return to those Islands, to leave Acapulco at the appointed time, without exceeding the middle of March, and that on all occasions they are to take to the Marianas some soldiers, none of them condemned criminals nor convicts, and he is to order the Generals of these galleons to stop at the Island of San Juan (as I have ordered so many times before) anchoring at the Port of San Antonio [i.e. Umatac] that lies to the south, where the men can be left in safety as well as the other things brought in for the preservation of those Islands. And my Governor of the Philippines is to arrange as quickly as possible for the voyage from Manila to the Marianas to take place with the

¹ Ed. note: Doc. 1680T and 1681P respectively.

ship being built, in order to place both parties in communication, making sure that the departure be at a more appropriate time than the one that took place last year 1680, in order to avoid a return in distress without reaching the Islands as it did, and that if two voyages per year are possible he is to give orders for it, on account of the relief that might result from it, and advising the eventual commander to choose his return route, at least once, by deviating southward to obtain notices of what might be found on that side, making inquiries, provided there is no danger in doing so, and he is to give me an accurate report on the fixed number of soldiers posted in the Marianas, and of what they might need for their preservation and defence and the infantry that could be left there by the galleons of that run when they return from New Spain without prejudice to that being transported to the Royal Camp of Manila, in order to make a decision regarding this point. He is to report on actions taken and contemplated to foster that mission, at every opportunity that may present itself.

From Madrid, 9 August 1684.

I, the King.

By order of the King our Lord,

Don Francisco de Salazar.

Countersigned by the Council.

M2. Royal decree sent to the Viceroy, dated Madrid 9 August 1684

Sources: AGI Fil. 331, libro 7, fol. 443v-444v, pp. 910-912; also AGN Reales Cédulas, vol. 20, exp. 49, pp. 1772-1773.

Original text in Spanish.

El Rey

Al Virrey de la N^a España que haga que las Naos de Philipinas salgan de Acapulco al tiempo señalado y lleven soldados a las Marianas.

Conde de Paredes, Marqués de la Laguna, Presidente de mi Consejo, Camara y Junta de Guerra de Indias, mi Virrey, Gobernador y Capitan General de la Nueva España y Presidente de mi Audiencia della.

Antonio Jaramillo de la Compañía de Jesús, Misionero de las Islas Marianas, en dos cartas de 20 de Diciembre del año de 1680 y 17 de Junio del de 1681, satisfaciendo a un encargo que le hice da quenta del estado y progresos de la referida misión diçiendo el fruto que se havia conseguido, y el que se esperaba, y lo que neçesita para su mejor logro.

Y havindose visto en mi Consejo de las Indias con lo que pidio mi fiscal del, he tenido por bien encargaros, y mandar (como lo hago) dispongais que la nao, o naos de Filipinas, quando ayan de bolver a aquellas islas, salgan de Acapulco al tiempo señalado, sin que exçeda de mediado Marzo, y que en todas las ocasiones, lleven para las Marianas algunos soldados, previniendo que no sean de los condenados ni forzados,

*y a los Generales de estas naos dareis orden que para su transporte, toquen en la Isla de San Juan (como tan repetidamente lo tengo mandado) dando fondo en **el puerto de San Antonio** que cae al sur donde dejen asegurado así la gente como lo demás que llevaren para la conservación de aquellas Islas en que espero pondreis espeçial cuidado por lo que deseo el adelantamiento desta misión, como lo fio de vuestro celo a mi servicio.*

Fecha en Madrid a 9 de Agosto de 1684.

Yo el Rey,

Por mandado del Rey nuestro Señor,

Don Francisco de Salazar

Señalada del Consejo.

Translation.

The King

To the Count of Paredes, Marquis de la Laguna, ordering him to send the Philippine galleons on time, with soldiers for the Marianas.

Count of Paredes, Marquis of Laguna, President of my Privy Council, Chamber, and War Council of the Indies, my Viceroy, Governor and Captain General of New Spain and President of my Audiencia there.

Antonio Jaramillo of the Society of Jesus, Missionary of the Mariana Islands, in two letters dated 20 December of the year 1680 and 17 June 1681, in compliance with one of my requests, to report on the condition and progress of the said mission, mentioned the fruit obtained there and the one expected in the future, and what is necessary the better to achieve it.

This having been seen in my Council of the Indies, as well as what [something more] my fiscal asked of him, I have decided to ask you, and to order you (as I do now) to arrange for the Philippine galleon, or galleons, to leave Acapulco at the scheduled time when it must return to those Islands, not later than the middle of March, and in every occasion they are to take some **soldiers** to the Marianas, making sure that they are not condemned men of the convict-soldier type; you are also to give route instructions to the Generals for them to touch at the Island of San Juan (as I have ordered so many times before) anchoring at **the port of San Antonio** that is located in the south [of the island], the better to leave the people there in safety and anything else for the preservation of those islands, toward which I hope that you will pay special attention, as it is my wish to develop this mission, and I expect nothing else from your zeal to serve me.

Made in Madrid, 9 August 1684.

I the King.

By order of the King our Lord,

Francisco de Salazar.

M3. Decree sent to the Governor of the Philippines, dated Madrid 9 August 1684

Source: AGI Fil. 331, libro 7, fol. 444v-446v, pp. 912-916.

Original text in Spanish.

El Rey

Al Governador de Philipinas sobre el pasaxe del vaxel a las Marianas y la gente que tienen necesitaran y podran dexar las Naos de aquella carrera.

Almirante Don Gabriel de Curuzelaegui y Arriola, Cavallero del orden de Santiago mi Governador y Capitan General de las Islas Philipinas y Presidente de mi Audiencia de ella.

Por çedula de treinta y uno de Marzo del año pasado de mill seiscientos y ochenta y tres os encargue dispudiesedes el cumplimiento de otras expedidas a vuestro antezesor tocantes a varios puntos concernientes al fomento de la mision que en las Islas Marianas tiene a su cargo la religion de la Compañia de Jhs poniendo todo cuidado en la consecuzion(?) conservacion y navegacion del vaxel que mande fabricar para la comunicacion entre las Islas Marianas y esas Philipinas.

Aora se an recibido dos cartas de dho Jaramillo de dha Religion y misionero de las Marianas, escritas en Manila a veinte de Diziembre del año de mill seiscientos y ochenta, y diez y siete de Junio del de mill seiscientos y ochenta y uno en que satisfaciendo a el encargue que le hize, da quenta del estado y progresos de la referida mision diciendo el fruto que se havia conseguido y el que se esperaba y lo que necesita para su mexor logro.

Y habiendose visto en mi Consejo de las Indias con lo que pidio mi fiscal de el, he tenido por combeniente ordenaros y mandaros (como lo hago) dispongais que con gran puntualidad se execute el pasaxe de esas Islas a las Marianas del navio que se fabrica a fin de conseguir la comunicacion de ambas partes procurando sea la salida en tiempo mas a proposito del en que salio el año pasado de mill seiscientos y ochenta para evitar no suzeda el que arrive sin tomar las Islas como entonces lo hizo y si en cada un año pudiere executar dos viaxes dareis las ordenes para ello por el alivio que en esto conseguiran advirtiendole al cabo que le governare que quando buelva a esas Islas Philipinas haga du derota siquiera una vez declinando al sur y que tome las notiçias que en aquella vanda pudiere inquirir esto en casso de no reconozar riesgo y de no executarlas vos en esta conformidad estareis advertido se os ara cargo de ello en vuestra residencia, y porque deseo saver el numero fixo de soldados que tienen las Marianas y el que necesitaran para su conserbacion y defensa, os mando que en la primera ocasion que se ofresca me ynformeis de ello diciendole que ynfanteria podran dexar en las Marianas las Naos de essa Carrera quando buelven de Nueva Esp^a, sin perjuicio de la que llevan a ese Real campo, dandome açerca de este punto vuestro parecer para que con vista del, provea lo que mas combenga y de lo que executaredes en quanto a lo demas me dareis quenta.

*Fha en Madrid a nueve de Agosto de mill y seisçientos y ochenta y quatro años.
Yo el Rey.
Por mandado del Rey nuestro Señor,
Don Francisco de Salazar
Señalada del Consejo.*

Translation.

The King

To the Governor of the Philippines regarding the passage of the vessel to the Marianas and the men posted and needed there, and those whom the galleons of that run could leave there.

Admiral Don Gabriel de Curuzeláegui y Arriola, Knight of the Order of St. James, my Governor and Captain General of the Philippine Islands and President of my Audiencia there.

By decree dated 31 March of the past year 1683, I entrusted you to make arrangements for the accomplishment of other decrees issued to your predecessor regarding various points concerning the development of the mission that the Order of the Society of Jesus has in the Mariana Islands, taking care to acquire, maintain and use the vessel that I ordered built for the communication between the Mariana Islands and those Philippines.

Now then, two letters have been received from said Jaramillo of said Order and missionary in the Mariana Islands, written in Manila on 20 December 1680 and 17 June 1681, in which, to satisfy a request of mine, he reports on the state and progress of the above-mentioned mission, telling of the fruit that had been gathered and the one expected, and what was needed to ensure its success.

And this having been seen in my Council of the Indies, along with the intervention of my Fiscal therein, I have decided that it would be proper to order you (as I do now) to arrange with great punctuality for the effective voyage from those Islands to the Marianas of the ship that was built to achieve communication between both places, by trying to have it depart at a more appropriate time than the one of last year 1680, in order to avoid a repeat of a return in distress without making the Islands, as it did then, and if two voyages per year are possible, you are to give orders for it, on account of the relief that might result from it, and advising the eventual commander to choose his return route to those Philippine Islands, at least once, by deviating southward to obtain notices of what might be found on that side, making inquiries, provided there is no danger in doing so, and if this is not done, you are warned that you will be charged for neglect in your "residencia," and because I wish to know the fixed number of soldiers posted in the Marianas, and of what they might need for their preservation and defence, I order you to let me know at the first opportunity, stating the infantry that could be left there by the galleons of that run when they return from New Spain without prejudice to that being transported to the Royal Camp of Manila, and giving me your opinion

on this point, so that a decision can be made in this respect. You are to report on actions taken and contemplated about this and the rest. Made at Madrid, 9 August 1684.

I, the King.

By order of the King our Lord,

Don Francisco de Salazar.

Countersigned by the Council.

Document 1684N

Letter from the Council of the Indies to Major Quiroga, dated Madrid 9 August 1684

Source: AGI Fil. 331, libro 7, fol. 441, p. 905.

Letter from Mr. Francisco de Salazar on behalf of the Council

Original text in Spanish.

Señor Don Joseph de Quiroga: es Theniente de Governor de las Islas Marianas. Con duplicado.

Haviendose entendido en el Consejo de las Indias el credito, y celo con que V.M[erced] se ha portado en la reducion y pacificazion de los naturales de las Islas Marianas (cui a mision esta a cargo de la religion de la Comp^a de Jhs) ha acordado dar a V.M. gracias por lo que ha obrado en materia tan ymportante y del agrado y servicio de Dios, y del Rey nuestro Señor y encarga à V.M. lo continue con la misma actividad, que lo ha hecho para que se logre el fin de la reducion de aquella gentilidad a nuestra santa fee Catholica.

De que aviso a V.M. como Secretario que soy de su Magd en dho Consejo de la negociacion de N^a España en cuya ocupacion me hallara V.M. para servirle con muy buena voluntad.

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

Madrid a 9 de Agosto de 1684.

B.l.m. de V.M., su mayor servidor,

Don Francisco de Salazar.

Translation.

Don Joseph de Quiroga, who is Lieutenant Governor of the Mariana Islands. With a duplicate copy.

The Council of the Indies having heard about the credit and zeal which your Grace has shown in the reduction and pacification of the natives of the Mariana Islands (whose mission is in the hands of the Society of Jesus), they have decided to thank your Grace for what you have accomplished in such an important matter, so agreeable to the service of God and that of the King our Lord, and they entrust your Grace to pursue the same activity in order to achieve the purpose of reducing those heathens to our holy Catholic faith.

I advise your Grace of same, in my capacity as Secretary to His Majesty in his Council for matters dealing with New Spain, in whose post I stand ready to serve your Grace with my utmost good will.

May God preserve your Grace for many years, as I wish.

Your major servant, who kisses the hand of your Grace,
Don Francisco de Salazar.

Documents 16840

Two letters from Fr. Salgado, dated Manila, December 1684

O1. Letter from Fr. Francisco Salgado to Fr. Manuel Rodriguez, dated 7 December 1684

Sources: RAH 9/2668 doc. 63 (formerly doc. 92); copy in RAH 9/2677.

Original text in Spanish.

*[Al] Padre Procurador General Manuel Rodriguez,
Pax Christi, &c.*

Hallome muy favorecido con dos [cartas] de V.R., que recebi este año por Agosto, aunque la data de la primera es de 30 de Junio de 82, y de la segunda de 25 de Mayo de '83: entrambas me fueron gratissimas por las buenas nuevas, que V.R. me participa de su salud, y de aver sido assumpto à ese officio, que tan dignamente ocupa V.R., de que doy à V.R., aunque tan tarde de los debidos placemes. Cuando llego aca, si es que llego, la que dice V.R. escrivio al Provincial de Philippinas el año de 81, aun no avia yo entrado en este officio, ni al tiempo de responder à ella, y à las cartas de España, que suele ser por Junio ó Julio, pareceme que no dejaria de responder el que era entonces provincial, y sino llego alla su respuesta, sera por averse perdido. Recebi agradecido aquella fundacion de Misiones, que es de mucha edificacion, y credito de la Comp^a, y assi la leymos casi todos los desta Prov^a con mucho gusto, y agradecimiento à V.R.; cuyo memorial al Consejo de Indias esta como de V.R., y como formado de su mucha capacidad, y prudencia de V.R.; pero no nos admira el caso, por que experimentamos aqui muchos semejantes à ese, y en todas partes, singularmente en Indias hacen los Padres de lo de HH. mayores, y quieren supeditar à los demas Religiones, y que les rindan vasallaje. Supretension de instituir en su Colegio de Manila Universidad de estudios generales, dira à V.R. mas de proposito el P. Luis de Morales Procurador General à Roma por esta Provincia, y de V.R. (pues fue nuestro Señor servido de llevarse à mejor vida al P. Geronimo de Ortega electo en primer lugar) como tambien su siniestra intencion, que es de quitar, y extinguir nuestra Universidad de Manila, por que la ultima sent[enti]a

del Supreme Consejo de Indias fue que se conservasen dichas dos Universidades hasta que se instituyese alguna dellas en estudios generales: y porque lo sea la suya, y cese la nuestra, quieren añadir Cathedras de ambos derechos, y de Medicina. Y este es el pago que nos dan por no aver la Comp^a contradicho la suya, que es mas moderna, y se erigio despues de la nuestra, dandonos antes, como à parte, traslado dello. Es cosa muy larga el aver de referir todos los lances, que à avido en esto, y assi me remito à la relacion, que hara à V.R. el P. Morales, como tambien en lo de las armas reales, que pusieron en su Colegio de Santo Tomas, y en lo del pleyto que nos armó el Señor Arçobispo de Manila Dominico sobre la mercancia, ó trato y contrato, de que se siguió notable escandalo, y descredito à la Comp^a, lo qual malician algunos, que lo hizo su Señoria por aver procurado nosotros que se intimase al Padre Rector de la Universidad de Santo Domingo la Sent^a del Supremo Consejo de Indias, que obtuvimos à nuestro favor: mire V.R. si esta es bastante causa para darse por agraviado de nosotros el Arçobispo, y los PP. Dominicos, como se dieron, dejando de acudir à nuestras fiestas &c, y si esto es mas que hacer de lo de HH. mayores. Tan insulta como esta es la queja, que dio al Consejo el Cabildo ecclesiastico de Manila sobre la dotrina de Santa Cruz, que esta à cargo de la Comp^a mas ha de 60 años, y no ay Clerigo que sepa, ni trate de aprender la lengua de los Chinos, que alli se administran. Diceme V.R. que los Señores de ese supremo Consejo de Indias estan inclinados à encomender à la Comp^a las Dotrinas de Mindoro, si fuera verdadera, y no aparente su inclinacion, ya se las ubieran encomendado en virtud de los informes, que fueron, y harto buenos, sin pedir otros de nuevo, pues eso, como dice el P. Espinar, es lo mismo que dar tiempo al tiempo, para que se olviden, y queden las cosas como antes: especialmente aviendo aprobado dicho Consejo las Dotrinas dadas aca à los PP. de Santo Domingo en Maribelez, y la playa onda, que estaban antes à cargo de los PP. Agustinos Recoletos, y aviendo estos entrado en las de Mindoro con authoridad del Governador, y Arçobispo, que se las encomendaron. Cino obstante lo dicho, se las encomendaren à la Comp^a, las admitira de buena gana; pero no parecera bien que las pretendamos aviendo ya entrado en ellas otra Religion despojada de las que antes administraba en Maribelez y la playa onda.

Estimo, come es justo, la resolucion del caso moral, que V.R. se sirvio remitirme: esta bien trabajado, y no dejará de servir aca en algunas ocasiones.

[Voyage of Fr. Xaramillo to the Marianas]

El Padre Antonio Xaramillo, de quien hace V.R. mencion en su carta, fue à Marianas en una balandra, que el año pasado [1683] por el mes de Julio se despacho alla, à donde llevo en 26 dias; y despues de aver visitado aquella mission, dio la buelta a estas Islas Philipinas, donde tomo tierra despues de solos nueve dias de navegacion. Trajonos muy buenas nuevas de la mission Mariana, donde esta todo lo que toca à los Ministerios, y cultivo de las almas mejor entablado, que en otras muy antiguas. Hallanse in dicha mission catorze sacerdotes de la Comp^a, casi todos sugetos muy escogidos, y de mucha virtud, y los mas dellos son Professos de quatro votos: aun fueran mas, à no averse venido aca dos por la corta salud, que alli tenian; fuera de los sacerdotes estan

alla tres H[erman]os Coadjutores, y un Donado. Murio el Governador de Marianas nombrado por el Rey, que era tan bueno, que no dejará de hacer gran falta para el aumento de aquella nueva mission, y Christiandad, sucediole en el puesto otro llamado Damian Esplana, que aunque no iguala al difunto, dicen que no lo hace mal. Lo que principalmente encargue el P. Xaramillo, quando salio de aqui para Marianas, fue el descubrimiento de las Islas del Sur; pero no tuvo efecto por ser debil, y poco segura la embarcacion en que se bolvio su R^a (que la valandra en que fue à Marianas, se perdio alla con un recio temporal) y por otros accidentes.

[Conquest of Tinian, Aguigan, and Saipan]

*Despues que se vino el P. Xaramillo, conquisto el Sargento Mayor D. Joseph de Quiroga por orden del nuevo Governador otras tres Islas, que son **Tenian, Aguigan, y Saypan**, que à sido faccion de mucha importancia, por que las conquistadas, donde estaban pacificamente los Padres, no eran mas de dos; es à saber la de Guajan ó S. Juan, y la de Rota ó Zarpana; item porque los naturales de Zaipan son los mas guerreros, y alli se acogian casi todos los Indios fugitivos, y facinorosos, y finalmente porque con eso se à concluydo la conquista de todas las Islas, que corren dende Guajan hacia el Norte, que llaman de Gani, pues, segun me avisa dicho D. Joseph de Quiroga, todas las seis isletas de Gani an pedido paz, con que aora solo resta descubrir, y conquistar las Islas del Sur, que dicen son mayores, y de mas consecuencia para aquella gloriosa mission, y propagación del Evangelio.—*

No à embiado aca el P. Procurador Balthasar de Mansilla la cedula, que V.R. me asegura la remitió para el nuevo Governador destas Islas (que este año llegó à ellas en el mes de Julio) acerca de la valandra para Marianas, puede ser que se la aya entregado à su Señoría en Mexico, [porque] à dicho que estaba cuydoso de despacharla, pero no sé lo que hara. Lo cierto es que sin esta inmediata comunicacion y comercio por medio de algun patache, ó valandra, entre Marianas, y Philipinas, sera muy difícil, y casi imposible, que se pueda conservar aquella mission; y tambien es necessario patache, ó valandra, ó otra embarcacion equivalente, para que de buelta de Marianas se procure el descubrimiento de las Islas, que se estienden al sur.

La segunda zedula, que dice V.R. se despacho al Virrey de la Nueva España, librandolo por ella de costos el socorro, que se enbia de aquel Reyno à Marianas, es muy justa, porque siendo nao del Rey la que trae dicho socorro para los tres gremios de Seminaros, militia, y Missioneros, es iniquidad, que se lleven fletes por el, y mas siendo limosna, sueldo, y estipendio, que da su Magestad. Pero es necessario otra cedula semejante à esa para el Governador destas Islas, pues tambien se embia de aqui socorro à Marianas, y no sé si mas que de Mexico, y ay las mismas razones para librarle de fletes, que en el, que viene de Mexico, porque uno, y otro le da el Rey, y la nao, que lleva este, y trae aquel, es una misma; y si tal vez son dos, ambas son del Rey, que en esta carrera no andan navios de particulares.

De Siam, que pertenece à la Prov^a de Japon, nos dieron noticia el año pasado de la muerte de nuestro P. Sup. Paulo Oliva, y de como era Vicario Genel. nuestro P. Car-

los de Noyelle: y este año supimos, que avia sido su P[aternidad] electo por Genl. y por Asistente de España el P. Pasqual de Casanueva: y de entrambo recibimos cartas, y con ellas pliego de gobierno para esta Prov^a que se halla muy consolada, y gustosa con tan acertadas elecciones.

En esta Ciudad de Manila ubo grandes pleytos, y diferencias entre la Rl. Aud^a y el Sor. Arzobispo, à quien estraño ultimamente dicha Aud^a, como referira à V.R^a mas por extenso el P. Morales. Pero despues que su R^a salio destas Islas, y llego à ellas el nuevo Governador, hizo este tanto empeño con los Oydores sobre que le restituyesen à esta Ciudad (que es la cavezera de su Arzobispado) y al gobierno del, que les obligo à llamarle con otra provision Rl., no obstante el aver dado parte à Su Magd. de dicha extrañeza, y no aver tenido respuesta, que es cosa bien rara. Vino luego el Sor. Arçobispo, y lo primero, que hizo, fue descomulgar à todos los Oydores, intimando un Auto à la Cathedral, y à todas las Religiones, que no los admitiesen à los divinos officios. La causa de descomulgarlos fue el averle estrañado, de suerte que este pagoles dio por averle restituydo à su Arzobispado. Ayer se hallo su Illma. en real Acuerdo con ellos, y con el Presidente de la Aud^a y Govor. nuevo, y se compuso todo; pero no sabemos si la composicion fué albolviendolos en secreto, ó sobreseyendo el Sor. Arzobispo. Ello es que los PP. Dominicos hazen en estas Islas todo quanto quieren, y à vezes quieren grandissimos disparates: en conclusion ellos son aqui los omnipotentes, porque son muy arrojados, y todos les temen à causa de ser Dominico el Confessor del Rey, y del Privado, de tener mucho dinero, que prestar à los seculares, item quatro obispos de su orden en esta tierra, donde no ay mas que un Arzobispado, y tres Obispados: el Arzobispo es Dominico, y los Dominicos le gobiernan, los de Zebu, y Camarines tambien: solo el Obpo. de la nueva Segovia era Clerigo secular, y por su muerte fue à gobernar aquel obispado el Sor. D. Fray Gines Barrientos Obpo. de anillo, y Frayle Dominico, con que todo el gobierno ecclesiastico destas Islas le tienen Religiosos Dominicos, de que se siguen muchos, y muy graves inconvenientes, como cada dia se experimentan. Solo el Sr. Obpo. de Zenopoli, que nos hace favor, es Religioso de la Merced; pero no es mas que auxiliar, y no gobierna ninguna Iglesia, y assi no puede nada.

Ya entro en la China uno de los Señores Obispos Franceses con dos Provicarios suyos, y le an dado la obediencia, que manda su Santidad, los Missioneros de Santo Domingo, y de la Comp^a. Los de S. Francc^o y S. Agustin se an escusado de darsela con decir, que no tienen orden para ello de sus Provinciales, no seamos en que parará, pleque à Dios, que todo se convierta en bien, y aumento de aquella tan dilatada christiandad.

Por remate desta me pongo à la obediencia de V.R., y me ofrezco à su servicio con toda esta Prov^a, deseando todos goze V.R. muy buena salud, que Dios prospere, como le suplico, y avemos menester, en cuyos santos sacrificios mucho me encomiendo.

Manila y Diciembre 7 de 1684.

Mui siervo de V.R.

Francisco Salgado

[Postscript:]

Pareceme que el Sor. D. Fernando Valenzuela escribe à V.R. sobre lo que constara por su Instruccion, y carta: y me encargo que yo tambien escriviese acerca de lo mismo; y aunque tengo por superflua mi recomendacion quando su Exc^a escribe; no obstante por condescender con su deseo, ruego y suplico muy encarecidamente à V.R. que se sirva de cooperar quanto buenamente pudiere V.R. en orden al buen expediente de sus negocios, y pretensiones, en que recibire muy singular favor, porque le debemos muy buena voluntad à este Cavallero, y mayor à la Reyna Madre, cuya hechura es. Claro esta que con las diligencias, que sobre eso se hicieren, se à de proceder con el recato, y disimulo possible, porque no resulte dellas algun daño al Sor. D. Fernando, ni à la Comp^a, todo lo dejo à la mucha prudencia de V.R., y que Dios guarde como deseo. Fecha ut supra.

Mui siervo de V.R.

Franc^o Salgado

[Endorsement:] *7 Dice. 1684. Manila P. Franc^o Salgado. Provl. El estado de la prov^a y de Marianas. Encomienda a Valenzuela. Un auto del Arzobispo. Respondida a 25 Dice. de 86.*

Translation.

[To] Fr. Procurator General, Manuel Rodriguez.

By the 2nd route [via Batavia and Holland].

Peace of Christ, etc.

I found myself very favored with two letters from Y.R., which I received this year in August, although the first one was dated 30 June 1682, and the second 25 May 1683. Both pleased me because of the good news Y.R. gives me about your health, and about having been promoted to that post, which Y.R. occupies in such a dignified manner, and about which I congratulate Y.R., albeit tardily. When the letter, which Y.R. says you wrote to the Provincial of this Province of the Philippines in the year 1681, gets here, if it did get here at all, although I had not yet come into this post myself, not even at the time that such letter, and others from Spain, would have been answered, normally around June or July. It seems to me that the then-Provincial would not have neglected to answer it, and, if this answer does not get there, it would be that it was lost.

I was pleased to receive that Foundation for the Missions, which is much to the edification and credit of the Society—anyway, that is how most of us in this Province see it—thanks to Y.R., whose memorial to the Council of the Indies, endorsed by Y.R., reflects the great capability and prudence of Y.R.; however, the case does not surprise us because we have lived through similar cases here. Everywhere, but specially in the Indies, the Fathers called Big Brothers [i.e. Dominicans] want to subjugate the other Religious, and have them render allegiance. Fr. Luis de Morales, who is going to Rome as Procurator General for this our Province, and yours, will tell you more about their pretence at instituting a University for general studies in their Manila College. By the way, our Lord was pleased to take to a better life Fr. Geronimo de Ortega who had been elected [first] instead of Fr. Morales. [The latter will tell you about] their sinister inten-

tion of removing and dissolving the University of Manila, because the last decision of the Supreme Council of the Indies was to preserve these two Universities, until one of them should institute a course of general studies, and because they want it to be theirs, not ours. They wish to add Chairs for both laws [i.e. Canon and Civil], and for Medicine. That is how they have repaid the Society, for having opposed their [university] which is more modern, and was built after ours; we were informed about this, as an afterthought. It would take much ink to recount all the quarrels that have happened about this; so, I refer to the narrative that Fr. Morales will give Y.R., for instance, about the royal arms that they placed on their College of Santo Tomas, and about the case built against us by the Lord Archbishop of Manila, a Dominican, regarding the merchandise, or commercial contract, that resulted in a notable scandal and discredit for the Society. Some malicious people say that his Lordship did so, because our people had managed to get a decision from the Supreme Council of the Indies delivered against the Fr. Rector of the University of Santo Domingo [in the West Indies], which was issued in our favor. Y.R. can decide for yourself if that constitutes enough of a reason for the Archbishop, and the Dominican Fathers, to consider themselves wronged, as they have said, after they failed to participate in our celebrations, etc. If only that was the only doing of the Big Brothers! No. Take, for instance, the insult resulting from the complaint made to the Council [of the Indies] by the Ecclesiastical Cabildo of Manila about the parish of Santa Cruz¹ which has been in the charge of the Society for over 60 years, and [that, they said] there is no priest who knows, or wishes to learn, the language of the Chinese, where they are ministered to. Let Y.R. tell me if the Gentlemen of that Supreme Council of the Indies would have been inclined to entrust to the Society the parishes of Mindoro, if their inclination were not true and apparent, given that they have assigned them after reviewing some reports and consultations; these must have been good, because they did not ask for more opinions. Well then, as Fr. Espinar said, that would have been delay for the sake of delay, just to have the matter forgotten and things continue as before, but, now that the said Council has approved the transfer to the Dominican Fathers the parishes of Mariveles and Playa Honda that were formerly administered by Augustinian Recollect Fathers, and having made their entry into those of Mindoro, upon the authority of the Governor, and that of the Archbishop who put them in charge of them. Notwithstanding the above, [and that] the Society was put in charge of them, they admitted them willingly, but it does not seem right for us to accept, since the other order that was despoiled of Mariveles and Playa Honda was admitted [in Mindoro] as well.

I do appreciate, and rightly so, the resolution of the moral case which Y.R. sent me; it is very well worded, and should be useful on other occasions.

1 Ed. note: Across the river from walled Manila.

[Visit of Fr. Xaramillo to the Marianas]

Fr. Antonio Xaramillo, mentioned by Y.R. in your letter, went to the Marianas in a sloop which was despatched overthere last year [1683] in the month of July. He got there after 26 days. After visiting that mission, he returned to these Philippine Islands, where he landed after only 9 days of sailing. He brought us very good news from the Mariana Mission, where everything that has to do with the ministries and cultivation of the souls is better established than in other, older places. There can be found in the said mission **14 priests** of the Society, almost all very select individuals, with much virtue, most of them having professed their four vows.¹ There were more of them, but two of them came here on account of poor health they suffered there.² Besides the priests, there are there **3 Coadjutor Brothers**, and one *Donado*.³ The Governor of the Marianas appointed by the King has died; he was so good that there will necessarily be a disadvantage for that new mission and Christian community. Another named Damian Esplana succeeded him. They say that, although he does not measure up to the deceased, he is not bad. The main thing I had entrusted Fr. Xaramillo with, when he left here for the Marianas, was the discovery of the islands to the south [of the Marianas]. However, it did not take place, because the boat in which he returned was weak and not too safe (the sloop in which he went to the Marianas was lost there during a storm) and for other accidental reasons.

[Conquest of Tinian, Aguigan, and Saipan]

After Fr. Xaramillo came back, Sergeant-Major Don Joseph de Quiroga, by order of the new Governor, went to the conquest of three other islands, which are **Tinian, Aguigan, and Saipan**. This was no small affair, because the conquered ones, where the Fathers lived peacefully, were only two in number, that is, the Island of Guajan, or San Juan, and that of Rota, or Zarpana; also because the natives of Saipan are more warlike, and almost all the Indian fugitives, and villains, gather there; and, finally, because this marks the end of the conquest of all the [Mariana] islands that run from Guajan all the way to the northern ones, which they call the Gani Islands. Indeed, according to a letter from the said Don Joseph de Quiroga to me, all the six [inhabited] Gani islets have asked for peace, which means that only the Islands to the South remain to be conquered; they say that they are bigger and of more importance for that glorious mission, and the propagation of the Gospel.

Fr. Procurator Balthasar de Mansilla had not sent here the decree that Y.R. assures me you remitted to him, to the attention of the new Governor of these Islands (who

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- 1 Ed. note: In February 1684, the 14 priests in question were Fathers Solorzano (Superior), Cardeñoso, Bustillo, Bouwens, Coomans, Le Roulx, Boranga, de Angelis, Strobach, Tilpe, Zarzosa, Kuklein, Kerschbaumer, and Ahumada.
 - 2 Ed. note: By a process of elimination, the two priests who left the Marianas for health reason in February 1684 were Fathers Alonso Lopez and perhaps Arroyo.
 - 3 Ed. note: These were Brothers Dubois, de los Reyes, and Pedro Pabon. The Filipino *donado*, or volunteer lay helper, was Felipe Sonson, a companion of Fr. Sanvitores.

made it here in July of this year), regarding the sloop for the Marianas. It could be that he did hand it over to his Lordship in Mexico, since the latter has said that he was anxious to despatch same, but I do not know the story. What is certain is that, without this direct connection and trade link through some patache, or sloop, between the Marianas and the Philippines, it will be very difficult, if not impossible, to preserve that mission. Also, a patache, sloop, or other similar boat is necessary to go to the discovery of the Islands that extend to the south, during the return voyage from the Marianas.

The second decree, which Y.R. says was sent to the Viceroy of New Spain, which would remove the charges from the relief sent from that Kingdom to the Marianas, is a very just one, because it is a ship that belongs to the King that carries the said relief for the three corporations, to wit the Seminaries, the militia, and the Missionaries. It is not just to charge shipping and handling costs for it, specially since they are the alms, salaries, and stipends given by his Majesty. However, another similar decree must be sent to the Governor of these Islands, because there is also some relief sent from here to the Marianas, perhaps even more than from Mexico. So, the same reasons can be applied toward the elimination of transport charges, because, one way or another, the relief is given by the King, and the galleon which carries it from here, or from there, is one and the same; when there are two galleons, both are the King's ships, as there are no privately-owned ships on this run.

From Siam, which belongs to the Province of Japan,¹ news has reached us that last year our Fr. General Paulo Oliva died, and that our Fr. Carlos de Noyelle was Vicar-General. This year we learned that the latter Father was elected General, and that Fr. Pascual de Casanueva became Assistant for Spain. We received letters from both of them, enclosing the official notification for this Province, which finds much comfort and pleasure in so befitting elections.

In this City of Manila there were great formal accusations, and discords, between the Royal Audiencia and His Lordship the Archbishop, whom the said Audiencia finally exiled, as Fr. Morales will further explain to Y.R. However, after His Reverence left these Islands, and the new Governor got here, he put so much pressure upon the members of the Audiencia to have him return to this city (that is the seat of his archdiocese) and upon its government, that he obliged them to call him back with a second Royal order, even though they had already notified His Majesty about the said exile, and they had not yet received a reply—something very strange. Then His Lordship the Archbishop came back, and the first thing he did was to excommunicate all the members of the Audiencia, by proclaiming a Writ in the Cathedral, and sending copies to all the Religious [orders], to the effect that they should not administer the sacraments to them. The reason [given] for excommunicating them was that they had exiled him; such was the payment they got for having called him back to his Archdiocese. Yesterday, his Most Illustrious [Lordship] was in the Royal Audiencia with them, and with

1 Ed. note: After their expulsion from Japan in the 1620s or so, the Jesuits maintained the hope of returning there, while they worked in other mission fields.

the President of the Audiencia, the new Governor, and everything was smoothed out; however, we do not know if the accord included His Lordship giving them absolution secretly, or in writing. This is an example of the Dominican Fathers doing whatever they want in these Islands; sometimes, they want great nonsensical things. In conclusion, they are here the almighty ones, because they are very haughty, and all fear them because the confessor of the King, and of the Privy Council, is a Dominican, because they have much money to lend to civilians, also four bishops belonging to their order: the Archbishop is Dominican, and the Dominicans govern those [dioceses] of Cebu, and Camarines also; it was only the diocese of Nueva Segovia that had a secular priest, but he died and his Lordship Don Fray Ginés Barrientos, a consecrated bishop and a Dominican, went to govern there. Hence the whole ecclesiastical government of these Islands belong to the Dominican friars, and the result are very serious disadvantages, as can be seen every day. Only the Bishop of Zenopoli¹ is favorable to us; he belongs to the Order of Mercy. However, he is only an auxiliary bishop, and not in charge of any Church; so, he cannot do anything.

One of the French Bishops has already made his entry into China with his two Provicars. The Missionaries of St. Dominic and of the Society have given [him] the obedience ordered by His Holiness, but the Franciscans and Augustinians have not done so, giving as an excuse that they have not received any orders to that effect from their Provincials [in the Philippines]. We do not know what will happen. May God be pleased to have good come out of this, and to increase that vast Christian community.

It seems to me that Don Fernando Valenzuela² should write to Y.R. regarding what is written in his [exile] Order, and he asked me to write also, even though my recommendation is superfluous when his Excellency writes. Nevertheless, to agree with his wishes, I beg and beseech Y.R. very dearly to please cooperate as well as Y.R. can in order to expedite his case file, and his request. I would be most gratified if you do, because we owe much good-will to this gentleman, and even more so to the Queen Mother, whose creature he really is. Sure, there is no need to point out that such transactions must proceed with due care, and the greatest dissimulation possible, so as not to cause

1 Ed. note: Juan Durán, titular Bishop of Sinopolis.

2 Note from B&R vol. 40, p. 206: Don Fernando Valenzuela, a grandee of Spain, Marquis of San Bartolomé de los Pinales and of Villasierra, chief master of the horse, gentleman of the chamber, etc., the favorite of the mother of King Charles II of Spain, Mariana of Austria (with whom his connection was said to be dishonorable), was, as a youth, page to the Duke of Infantado. He went to Rome with the duke, who was appointed ambassador to the papal court. On his return he gained the favor of the queen's confessor, the German Jesuit Nithard, who introduced him into court circles. His rise to favor was rapid, for he was talented and handsome. After the downfall of Nithard, he gained entire ascendancy over the weak queen, who showered honors upon him. Finally he was exiled to the Philippines (1676), through the efforts of Don Juan of Austria, uncle of the king, and was imprisoned in the fort of Cavite where he landed March 29, 1679. On the death of Don Juan, the first act of the queen was to have Valenzuela freed from his exile, and a special ship was sent to the Philippines to take him to Spain. It is reported, however, that he died in Mexico, while on his way to Spain, from the kick of a horse...

any harm to Don Fernando, or to the Society. I leave it entirely to the prudence of Y.R., at whose obedience I place myself, and I offer thanks for the service rendered by Y.R. to this Province. Everyone here wishes Y.R. very good health. May God favor Y.R., as I desire, and we need. Please remember me in your holy sacrifices.

Manila, 7 Dec. 1684.

Y.R.'s humble servant,

Francisco Salgado

[Endorsement:] 7 Dec. 1684, Manila, Fr. Francisco Salgado. He recommends Valenzuela. A writ from the Archbishop. Answered on 25 Dec. 1686.

O2. Letter to Fr. Espinar, dated San Pedro 30 December 1684

Source: RAH Fil. 9/2668, doc. 64 (formerly doc. 93).

Original text in Spanish.

Pax Christi, etc.

En otra que va con esta respondi como Provincial a las que recebi este año de V. R^a. Ahora referiré a V. R^a concisamente las nuevas de por aca.

...

*Ya avisé a V. R^a de aver salido destas Islas una balandra para Marianas, y que llegó alla en 26 días llevando por **piloto a Pedro Gomez**, y de vuelta llevo a esta Isla de Manila en 9, y que los PP. que fueron, y volvieron en ella nos trajeron muy alegres nuevas de aquella misión, y solo una mala, esto es de aver muerto el Governador D. Antonio Saravía, a quien sucedió en el cargo Damian Esplana que avia ido por Cavo de la Balandra.*

*Aora añado que en las cartas que recibí este año de Marianas me avisan aver conquistado D. Joseph de Quiroga las Islas de **Tinian, Aguiguan, y Saypan**, y que viendo esto los naturales de las demas Islas, que corren al Norte, temieron, y pedieron pazes. Esta a sido gran empresa, porque los PP. estaban todos arrinconados en las islas de San Juan y Rota, que solas estas estaban pacificas; y porque con este se a concluido la conquista de las Islas Marianas, que se extienden al Norte; lo que aora deseamos es que se procuren descubrir las de hazia el Sur, que dizen que son mayores de las del Norte. No sera negocio muy difícil, queriendo[-lo] el Sr. Governador, Dios le mueva el corazon, pues sera de mucha gloria de su Divina majestad.*

...

Dios le de buen suceso, y guarde a V. R^a como le suplico.

San Pedro, y Diziembre 30 de 1684.

Muy siervo de V. R^a

JHS

Francisco Salgado

Translation.

Peace of Christ, etc.

In another letter (enclosed) I answered as Provincial to the letters I received this year from Y.R. Now I will give Y.R. the concised news from here.

I have already informed Y.R. about a sloop that sailed from these Islands for the Marianas, and that it got there in 26 days, **Pedro Gomez being its pilot**, that it came back to this Island of Manila in 9 days, that the Fathers who went and came back aboard it brought us happy news from that mission, except for only one bad one, which was the death of Governor Antonio Saravia, to whom Damian Esplana, the commander of the sloop, succeeded him in the post.

Now I add that in the letters that I received this year from the Marianas, they advised me that Don Joseph de Quiroga has conquered the Islands of **Tinian, Aguiguan, and Saipan**, and that, when the natives of the other islands saw this, they sued for peace. This has been a great enterprise, because the Fathers were all squeezed into the islands of San Juan and Rota, that only these two were peaceful. Now that the Mariana islands that extend toward the North have been conquered, what we wish is to try and discover the islands toward the South, which they say are bigger than the northern ones. This will not be a very difficult task, as the Governor wants it done. May God give him courage, since it will be for the greater glory of His Majesty.

May God give you success, and keep Y.R. healthy, in accordance with my prayer to Him.

San Pedro,¹ 30 December 1684.

JHS

Francisco Salgado

¹ Ed. note: This was the Jesuit residence in San Pedro de Macati, today's Makati.

Document 1684P

Letter from Governor Curuzeláegui to the King, dated Manila 11 December 1684

Sources: AGI Fil. 12-1-5, pp. 3-6, formerly 11-9-117; also in AGI Ultramar 562, col. Simancas 2, fol. 8-9; copy in AHN Fil. 5854; copy in Colección Pastells, Fil. 1, pp. 340-342, and also in Fil. 17, fol. 306-307.

Original text in Spanish.

El Governador de Filipinas, D. Gabriel de Curuzelaegui: Da cuenta como dió fondo en las Islas Marianas y de los progresos de aquella mision, y remite el traslado adjunto de Imforme hecho por los Misioneros.

Señor

*En treinta y uno de Marzo de esta año di quenta a V.M., de como habiendo me embarcado en el Puerto de Acapulco en la Nao Capitana **Santa Rosa** para proseguir mi viaje a estas Islas, en conserva del Galeon Almiranta **San Telmo**, y como por desavio del timon de este, se paso el situado que en el venia a dha Capitana. Haviendo prezedido junta del General Almirante, Castellano y oficial[es] Real[es] de Acapulco, y los principales cavos de dhas Naos, en que se da por conveniente executar lo así, como representé a V.M., el dho dia sali de dho puerto y habiendo navegado con favorables temporales, llegue à ocho de Junio à la Isla de San Juan de Guan, la principal de las Marianas, donde se dio fondo y se entregó el situado que venia para ellas, en cuià ocasion, habiendo concurrido el Governador[,] Vizeprovl. de aquella mision y de mas Misioneros, traté de averiguar el estado de ellas, para arrimar el hombro a su fomento, en quanto me fuese posible, como quien conoce el celo y providencia que deven a V.M. aquellas Islas, para seguir este rumbo, segun este conocimiento y mi obligacion; mediante lo qual se recopilaron todas las noticias que fuesen dignas de participar a V.M. y se redujeron a la **relazion de dho Padre Vizeprovincial, que remito con esta a V.M.** donde ademas de lo adelantado que esta nuestra santa fee en dhas Islas se reconocen muchos fundamentos para esperar maiores progresos en lo de adelante, principal-*

mente en siete Iglesias que tienen fundadas en la Isla de Guan, dos en la de Rota, y las que actualmente intentan fundar en las demas.

*Y remitiendo me a ella en todo lo que mira a esto, doi quenta a V.M. de como las piezas de que haze mencion y se trasportaron a estas Islas, fueron quatro de a diez libras de calibre, treze pedreros y dos trabucos, que seran mas provechosas para estas Islas, por lo atrasado que está esta fundicion, y mas si se consigue como me ofreció dho Governador la trasportacion de trece del mismo calibre que quedaron por sacar, y quatro sacadas de la Nao **Concepción** en la Isla de Saipan. Y asimismo dejando en su lugar la soberana disposicion de V.M., se me ofrezco representar a V.M. como fuera muy provechoso para el aumento de aquellas Islas, qualquiera de los dos que son Don Damian de Esplana que lo obtiene oy, y el Sargento Mayor Don Joseph de Quiroga, por haver servido uno y otro con toda aprovacion ademas de estar exercitados, tener experiencia y conocimiento de aquellos Naturales y saver su lengua, que haze mucho a su comunicacion y conversion a cuiá razon ayuda tambien el ahorro de tantos crecidos salarios, como abran de gozar, los que vinieren de esa Corte, lo qual dejo a la superior consideracion de V.M.*

Ofreci a dhos Misioneros y Cavos lo que necesitasen para su [conservacion y] alivio y conservacion, en cuiá conformidad dho Don Damian de Esplana, me pidio por escrito, el socorro de veinte hombres, dos tinajas de polvora[,] un arbol y dos betas ó calabotes, lo qual le hize entregar dando recivo de ello, para abono del General y Maestre, y persuadiendome a que respecto de otras necesidades, que hallé padezen, seria mui del agrado de V.M. Y en esta consideracion, pondré todo mi conato y cuidado en asistirles con lo que necesitaren para lo de adelante, encargando fixa comunicacion con aquellas Islas à los Generales de las Naos que pasaren a la Nueva España, sin omitir cosa alguna de las que condujeren al trajino de estas Islas à aquellas, ya que se entable este corriente en todas las ocasiones que hubiere embarcacion y oportunidad, para cuió efecto no me escusa mi obligacion de representar a V.M. el que para este efecto sera necesario señalarmiento de la cantidad competente, que a mi ver excedera lo preciso de la costa a quatro mil pesos en cada un año, y estos siendo V.M. servido se podran remitir aparte del situado que à dhas Islas esta señalado en la Real Caja de Mexico, porque las cargas y gastos de estas por inescusables imposibilitan aquellos, y a esto y a lo demas que es de mi cargo, atenderé siempre con eficaz deseo del mejor servicio de V.M.

*Cuya C[atólica] R[eal] P[ersona] guarde Dios como la Christiandad ha menester.
Manila y Diziembre 11 de 1684.*

J. Gabriel de Cruzelaegui y Arriola

[Endorsement:] Haze relacion a V.M. de como dio fondo en las Islas Marianas, y de los progresos de aquella Mision, y remite traslado de informe de los Misioneros.

Recivido por la estafeta de Andalucia, a 13 de Mayo de 686.

Translation.

From the Governor of the Philippines.

Sire:

On 31 March of this year I reported to Y.M. that I had embarked at the port of Acapulco aboard the flagship **Santa Rosa** (in company with the almiranta **San Telmo**) to pursue my voyage to these Islands, and that the subsidy was transferred from the almiranta to the said flagship, when the rudder of the almiranta came off, as a result of the decision taken by a council attended by the General, the Admiral, the warden of the fort of Acapulco and the principal officers of the said galleons, in which it was decided that it was better to do it this way, as I have exposed to Y.M.

On the said day I left the said port and, having sailed with favorable winds, arrived on 8 June at the Island of San Juan de Guan, the main island of the Marianas, where we anchored and the subsidy that came for them was delivered. On that occasion, the Governor and the Vice-Provincial of that mission and other missionaries having come aboard, I tried to find out the state of affairs, in order to give them my support as much as possible, as someone who knows how much those Islands owe to the zeal and providence of Y.M., and to continue along the same course, keeping this idea and my duty in mind. Therefore, all the news worth mentioning to Y.M. were collected and they are contained in the Report of the said Father Vice-Provincial which I remit to Y.M., in which, in addition to the progress made by our holy faith in the said Islands, there are mentioned many reasons why greater progress can be expected in the future, specially in seven churches that they have founded in the Island of Guan, two in that of Rota, and those they intend to found in the others.

I make use of this report when reporting everything about this to Y.M., for instance, how the guns that he mentions have been transported to these Islands; there were four of them of 10-pound caliber, 13 mortars, and 2 blunderbusses, which will be of greater use in these Islands, on account of the backwardness of this foundry, and the more so when 13 more of the same caliber that are still to be salvaged, with 4 already salvaged, from the [wreck of] the galleon **Concepción** at the Island of Saipan, have been transported, as the said Governor has promised me he would do. Also, leaving in its place the supreme decision of Y.M. [to be acted upon], I take this opportunity to suggest to Y.M. that it would be very useful for the progress of those Islands that the one who might be substituted as their governor could be either of Don Damian de Esplana, who is now in charge of them, or Sergeant Major Don Joseph de Quiroga, as either of them has served well, in addition to being proficient, has experience and knowledge of those natives and know their language, which facilitates their communication and conversion; hence, this would contribute no small amount in reducing the ever-increasing salary costs, such as would take place, should some be sent from that Court; I leave it to the superior consideration of Y.M.

I offered to the said Missionaries and officers what they needed for their relief and preservation, in consequence of which the said Don Damian de Esplana asked me in writing the reinforcement of 20 men, 2 jars of powder, 1 mast, and 2 ropes or stream-

cables, which I arranged to have delivered to him in exchange for a receipt made to the order of the General and Master, and the same for their other needs which I was persuaded were missing there and would be very agreeable to Y.M. In this regard, I will bring all my attention and care to assisting them with their needs in the future, by ordering the Generals of the galleons that go to New Spain to maintain regular communication with those Islands, without omitting a thing that might lead to the inter-island transport between these Islands and those, now that this movement has been tried, at every opportunity that a vessel become available. However, I would be derelict in my duty if I did not take this opportunity to mention to Y.M. that in order to do this it will be necessary to earmark a sufficient sum, which in my opinion will necessarily exceeds the expenditure of four thousand pesos per year, and if Y.M. be pleased to have them remitted separately from the subsidy that is earmarked for the said Islands in the Royal treasury of Mexico, because such charges and expenses as these are unavoidable and necessary to get the desired result. As for this, and whatever else in my care, I will always try my best to serve Y.M. whose Catholic Royal Person may God preserve, for the sake of Christendom.

Manila, 11 December 1684.

J. Gabriel de Curuzeláegui y Arriola

[Endorsement:] He reports to Y.M. how he anchored at the Mariana Islands, and about the progress of that Mission, and he remits a copy of the report from the Missionaries.

Received by the courier from Andalusia, on 13 May 1686.¹

Two 1684 documents that I could not find.

1. Letter from Carlos José to José de la Cueva, dated aboard the galleon Santa Rosa, 25 June 1684.

Notes: The original of this letter was supposedly found among the Jesuit papers seized at Manila in 1768. The author says that the fair at Acapulco was not good, on account of the Atlantic fleet being at Veracruz, that the galleon San Telmo was delayed, and that the new Governor Curuzeláegui was aboard the Santa Rosa.

2. Letter from Governor Curuzeláegui to the Duchess of Aveiro, dated aboard the galleon Santa Rosa, 10 July 1684.

Reference: An 8-page ms. cited by S&D 21: 52, but no source given.

Note: He supposedly describes his voyage as far as the Marianas, the Islands of Guam, Rota, Tinian, and Saipan, and their inhabitants, and reports on the state of the Mission.

1 Ed. note: The letter was received, with the sanitized version of the 1682-84 report by Fr. Solorzano. This letter was examined by the Council of the Indies on 18 May 1686 (see 1686O).

Document 1685A

Certificate issued by Fr. Mansilla to Fr. Vidal, dated Mexico 6 January 1685

Source: AHH Mexico, Misiones de Filipinas, Temporalidades, leg. 326-2, p. 1760; photocopy at MARC.

Turnover of the accounts of the Mariana Is. mission

Original text in Spanish.

Traslado del finiquito de cuentas que dió el Padre Balthasar de Mansilla como Procurador de la Provincia de Filipinas, al P. Joseph Vidal su antecesor en el oficio.

El Padre Balthasar de Mansilla de la Compañía de Jesús, Procurador General de la Provincia de Philipinas y Marianas, certifico tengo fenecidas y empatadas todas las dependencias y cuentas con el Padre Joseph Vidal, Procurador que fue de la Misión de Marianas, y que aviendo entrado a ser Procurador de dicha misión por encargo del Ven. Padre Luís de San Victores, su primer Apostol, y en virtud de orden de N. P. Gen. Antonio Paulo Oliva de santa memoria, y en tiempo que dicha misión no tenía propios ningunos, con su mucho zelo solicitó muchas limosnas con las cuales socorría así a los Padres misioneros, como a los soldados, que estaban en su custodia, y después con el mismo, valiendose de todos los medios posibles del favor y de la industria, presentando memoriales al Excelentísimo Señor Virrey de esta Nueva España, y haciendo informes mui eficaces, consiguió cédulas y decretos con que se situó en esta Real Caxa de su Magestad la limosna para 18 misioneros, y 2 hermanos coadjutores, el sueldo para 40 soldados de custodia, y 5,000 pesos para 2 seminarios, uno de niños y otro de niñas. Todos los cuales sueldos o stipendios, y limosnas se cobran y han cobrado en esta Real Caxa todos los años, por aver quedado también establecidos, en fuerza de las diligencias y zelo de dicho Padre Joseph Vidal, con que consiguió las dichas cédulas, decretos, y mandamientos, que estan en este oficio y procuraduría.

Por lo que de lo íntimo de mi corazón, le doi las gracias en nombre de la Provincia de Philipinas y Marianas, como a insigne Benefactor de ella, y pido a nuestro Señor se

lo pague que es el único premio de su zelo, y al Venerable e insigne Martir Padre Diego Luis de San Vitores, con sus ilustres compañeros que han sellado con su sangre la Predicación de el Santo Evangelio, con todas las almas, que por medio de ella gozan de la gloria le alcansen del Señor les acompañe después de muchos merecimientos para alabarde y bendecirle eterna Madre, y para que esto conste, siendo verdadero testimonio así de lo referido como de mi agradecimiento, doi la presente fecha en 6 de Henero de 1685 en este Colegio de San Gregorio de México.

Balthasar de Mansilla

Translation of the above certificate.

Copy of the settlement of accounts given by Father Balthasar de Mansilla as Procurator of the Province of the Philippines, to Fr. Joseph Vidal, his predecessor in the post.

I, Father Balthasar de Mansilla of the Society of Jesus, Procurator General of the Province of the Philippines and Marianas, do certify that I have closed and balanced all the main and dependent accounts with Father José Vidal, former Procurator of the Mariana Mission; also [I affirm] that he had become Procurator of the said mission by special request from the Ven. Father [Diego] Luis de San Vitores, their first apostle, and by virtue of an order from our Fr. General Antonio [sic] Paulo Oliva (of holy memory), and since the said mission did not have any alms of its own then, with much zeal he solicited many, from which he did send relief to the missionary Fathers, as well as to the soldiers, who were under his care; later on, he himself expended much effort and energy by every possible means, and by presenting memorials to His Most Excellent Lordship, the Viceroy of this New Spain, and writing very effective reports, he obtained decrees that placed under the charge of the Royal treasury of His Majesty the aims for 18 missionaries and 2 coadjutor brothers, the salary for 40 soldiers for their protection, and 5,000 pesos for 2 seminaries, one for boys and one for girls. All the said wages or stipends, and alms were collected and have been collected from these Royal funds every year, and the practice has become so well established, as a result of the insistence and zeal of the said Father José Vidal exerted in getting the said decrees and orders, that they appear here in the office of the procurator.

Consequently, I give him thanks from the bottom of my heart on behalf of the Province of the Philippines and Marianas, as its renowned benefactor, and I pray the Lord to repay him with the only reward of his zeal, and the Venerable and famous martyr Father Diego Luis de San Vitores, with his illustrious companions who have sealed with their blood the preaching of the holy Gospel, with all the souls, that enjoy the glory because of it. May they obtain from Him that he join them, after [so] many meritorious deeds, in order to praise Him and bless Him and His eternal Mother.

In faith whereof, this certificate being not only to confirm the above but also to convey my thanks to him, I have affixed my signature on the 6th day of January 1685, in this College of San Gregorio in Mexico City.

Balthasar de Mansilla

Documents 1685B

Lists of Jesuit martyrs in the Mariana Islands

B1. List for the period 1668-1685

Source: Present location unknown; 7-page ms. sold by Maggs Bros. of London in 1923 to a Mrs. Carroll Paul, for 15 pounds (Cat. N° 442, n° 1923, p. 194).

Synopsis in the Maggs Catalog.

[The Catalog of Martyrdoms is arranged after the manner of a Calendar, with a short biographical sketch of each martyr, and a description of his death.]

[We are informed that “on 17 January 1676, Father Antonio Maria S. Basilio, a native of Messina in Sicily, was beaten to death in the town of Ope [Upi], Island of San Juan,” and in accordance with a practice of the period, his head was conveyed to the Jesuits’ House in Messina in 1685.]

[Gruesome details are given of the savage murder of five Fathers [sic] on 2 February 1674, some of whom were Filipinos and others from [Puebla de] Los Angeles in New Spain. They were stoned and stabbed, and flung into the sea, having met their death in the town of Siya [sic], Island of San Juan.]¹

[There are tragic anniversaries for at least one day in every month, faithfully noted down by the survivors. Particulars are recorded of the murder of the Venerable Father Diego Luis San Vitores, who had been one of the founders of the Mission, and had met his tragic end at the hands of those whom he had worked to enlighten and save. They stabbed him to death in the early hours of the morning of 2 April 1672, in the town of Tunbion [Tumhon], Island of Guam, and, together with his companion, Father [sic] Pedro Calongsor, he was contemptuously thrown into the sea. A Filipino Indian, Damian Bernal, was likewise murdered on the same day, for his profession of Christianity.]²

1 Ed. note: Siya, or Sidya, corresponds to Sella Bay today. Only one Father was killed then.

2 Ed. note: In the full list in B3 below, Bernal appears under an earlier date, 31 March 1672.

[Among the still earlier martyrs are natives of Sinaloa and Los Angeles, who had embraced the Catholic Faith, and a Filipino Indian who was killed as far back as August 1668.]

B2. Report on the 1684 martyrdoms, with a note from the Duchess of Aveiro to Fr. Luis de Morales, undated¹

Source: Present location unknown; 3-page ms. offered for sale by Maggs Bros. of London in 1923 for 10 pounds (Cat. N° 442, n° 1950, p. 216).

Note: The autograph note, in Spanish, is initialled by the Duchess, and is written on the back of a list of martyrs. Both list and note, together make 3 pages, 4to size. This document was sent by Maggs Bros. on approval to the Count of Arellana, but returned to them in 1924; there is no further record of sale.

Extract in the Maggs Catalog.

None of the things which I said to Don Ignacio yesterday was he able to understand; I therefore repeat that the eulogy of Father Theophilo [de Angelis], I gave to Father Ortega [sic],² and reflected upon it when I placed it among the others; but my memory is such, that I did not wish to be too sure until I had searched for it. The printer was not with me after Don P. gave them to me, so it is impossible that he should have taken them with him. Father Ortega [sic] says that of the five or six Martyrs and the good Sonson [a Filipino native who perished with the Fathers] we can make a report which I shall have printed.

[The names of the Martyrs are Fr. Manuel Solorzano, Brother Balthasar Dubois, Fr. Theophilo de Angelis, Fr. Agustin Sterbac [Strobach], and Father Carlos Boranga. In each case, the dates of birth, ordination and death are given. The paper is specially interesting both as a record of the Martyrdoms and as a specimen of an informal note from the lady who exercised so great an influence over the Christendom of her day.]

-
- 1 Ed. note: Since Fr. Morales arrived in Spain in August 1685, and visited the Duchess soon after, the note is late 1685. It is before 1686, because Fr. Ortiz' book was published that year in Naples.
 - 2 Ed. note: I think that Ortega is an error for Morales, who had replaced Ortega as Procurator, after the former's death. Unless she means Fr. Ortiz, the one who published the eulogy of Fr. de Angelis, among others (see Doc. 1685L).

B3. List for the period 1671-1685

Sources: Jesuit archives of the Province of Aragon, San Cugat del Valle, E-I-c5-(f) (4 pages) [= E-I-c-(d), fol. 72-74?]; photocopy at MARC. Published in a few places already, e.g. in Cox' Island of Guam.

Victims sacrificed by the natives of the Mariana Islands because of their propagation of the Holy Catholic Faith among them

Island of Guam

| | | |
|-----------------|---|---|
| | José de Peralta..... | Killed in the hills, Sept. 1671 |
| | Diego Bazan, a native of Mexico..... | In Chuchugo, 31 March 1672 |
| | Manuel Rangel, a Spaniard..... | " " " " " " " " |
| | Nicolas de Figueroa..... | In Ipao, on 31 March 1672 |
| | Damian Bernal..... | In Tumon, on 31 March 1672 |
| | Manuel de Nava..... | In Guae, on 31 March 1672 |
| Jesuit Father | Diego Luis de Sanvictores , a native of Burgos, age 45..... | In Tumhon ----, on 2 April 1672 between 7-8 a.m. |
| His servant | Calanzor, a native of Visayas in the Philippines..... | " " " " " " " " |
| Jesuit Father | Francisco Esquera, from Manila, age 30 | At 1 hour's walk between Jati |
| Merchant | D. Luis de Vera Puaro, a native of Manila | & Fuña, apparently in Sogua |
| Soldier | Sebastian de Rivera, a native of Manila.. | on 2 February 1674 |
| " | Marcos de Segura, from Puebla de los Angeles [Mexico]..... | " " " " " " " " |
| " | Pedro Alejo, from Puebla de los Angeles..... | " " " " " " " " |
| " | Matias Altamirano, from Guajaca [Oaxaca] | " " " " " " " " |
| Jesuit Brother | Pedro Diaz, a native of Talavera de la Reina..... | At Retidian, 7 December 1675 |
| Lieutenant | D. Isidro de Leon, a native of Seville.... | " " " " " " " " |
| Soldier | Nicolas de Espinosa, from Mexico..... | " " " " " " " " |
| Jesuit Father | Antonio Maria de San Basilio, from Catania, Sicily..... | At Upe on 17 January 1676. |
| A soldier | Spanish, whose name is unknown..... (perhaps Aguilar) [see below] | At Orote, 1676 |
| Jesuit Father | Sebastian de Monroy, from Arahall in Andalusia..... | At sea, before Sumay on 6 September 1676 |
| Lieut.-Governor | D. Nicolas Rodriguez, from Carvajal in Asturias..... | " " " " |
| Soldier | Santiago de Rotia, a native of Mexico | " " " " |
| " | Juan de los Reyes, from Pampanga.... | " " " " |
| " | Alonso de Aguilar, from Puebla de los Angeles..... | " " " " |
| " | José Lopez, from Querétaro | " " " " |
| " | Antonio Perez, from Cuernavaca | " " " " |
| " | Antonio de Vera, from Cholula | " " " " |

| | | |
|----------------|---|-----------------------------|
| Soldiers | From 40 to 50 Spanish soldiers ¹ (in the square and streets of Agaña) | On Sunday 23 July 1684 |
| Jesuit Father | Manuel Solorzano, from Fregenal, Extremadura (inside college)..... | " " " " " " " |
| Jesuit Brother | Baltazar Dubois, from Flanders, 30 years old (inside college)..... | " " " " " " " |
| Jesuit Father | Teofilo de Angelis, age 33, from Tonana [rather Sienna] | At Retidian on 24 July 1684 |

Island of Rota

| | | |
|---------------|---|---------------------------|
| Jesuit Father | Carlos Boranga, a native of Vienna..... | In Agosan in October 1684 |
|---------------|---|---------------------------|

Island of Tinian

| | | |
|---------------|--|----------------------|
| Jesuit Father | Agustin Strobach, a native of Moravia... | On (24?) August 1684 |
| Soldiers | 18 of them, names unknown..... | " " " " |

Island of Saipan

| | | |
|------------------------|---|------------------------------|
| Sergeant | Lorenzo Castellanos, Spaniard..... | On 19 Aug 1668 |
| Soldier | Gabriel de la Cruz, from Manila..... (First martyrs in the conversion of these islands) | " " " " " |
| Jesuit Father | Luis de Medina, from Málaga..... | On 29 Jan 1670 |
| Soldier | Hipolito de la Cruz, from the Visayas..... | " " " " |
| | Two Filipino soldiers..... | In 1672 |
| | Two Spanish soldiers..... | In 1684 |
| Mercenary ² | José de Tapia..... | Violently drowned off Saipan |
| Soldiers | 20 Spanish soldiers..... | in September 1684 |
| Jesuit Father | Pedro Coomans, age 37..... (the last of the martyrs) | In July 1685 |

Island of Anatajan

| | |
|------------------------|-------------|
| Lorenzo, Malabar | August 1669 |
|------------------------|-------------|

1 Ed. note: Transcription error for "from 4 to 5 Spanish soldiers," according to the Governor's report (Doc. 1685P). The year was 1684, not 1686.

2 Ed. note: That is how I translate the word "adventurero", adventurer. He came to Guam voluntarily, in the 1683 sloop, looking for commercial opportunities, and stayed behind. He was made a Captain and served in the Garrison. Drowned off Alamagan, not Saipan.

Documents 1685C

Letters from Fr. Jacinto García, dated Manila 1685

C1. Letter to the Duchess of Aveiro, dated Manila 8 March 1685

Source: Present location unknown; ms. offered for sale by Hiersemann; cited by S&D vol. V, p. 342 (date is stated therein as 25 May, and could refer to a different letter).

[Will be published in the supplementary volume, if found.]

C2. Letter to Fr. Gerónimo Guerreras in Madrid, dated Manila 29 May 1685

Present location unknown; 1-page ms. offered for sale by Maggs Bros. of London in 1923 for 5 pounds (Cat. N° 442, n° 1932, p. 198).

Extract in the Maggs Catalog.

...

I received your letter last year... and was comforted to have your good news... It seems that you commended your letter to the care of an Angel, as it was the only one to arrive intact... and makes me apprehensive, for although Father Antonio Xaramillo has sent many letters to that holy Province and to the Duchess of Aveiro, he has not had a single letter from our people or you, which gives him no little anxiety...

I have nothing to add to my letter of last year [Doc. 1684G] with regard to the Marianas, as Father Xaramillo has not since heard from the Fathers of that Mission.

We have had good news this year from the Missionaries in China, who say that the Chinese Emperor has done them many favors, and is well-disposed towards the Mission, which is steadily progressing day by day. The death has occurred of the Bishop, Father Francisco Palu, he who was at that Court after being sent over from these [Philippine] Islands. His death has created no little stir among the apostolic Vicars.

Documents 1685D

The Duchess of Aveiro is forewarned of Fr. Morales' coming, with the 1684 reports from the Marianas

D1. Letter from Fr. José Vidal to the Duchess, dated Mexico 3 May 1685

Source: Presently located in the Van Houten Collection, Gleeson Library, University of San Francisco; photocopy in the Bancroft Library; a 2-page ms. offered for sale by Maggs Bros. of London in 1923 for 10 pounds (Cat. N° 442, n° 1925, p. 195).

Extract in the Maggs Catalog.

...
Although on this occasion, Father Luis de Morales sails for Spain and, having been in the Marianas, will give you all the news of that Mission, and will also convey the latest reports, I nevertheless write to you, in discharge of my obligations, and forward to you the letter which Father Manuel de Solorzano, the Vice Provincial of the Marianas, wrote me; I send the original,¹ as there has been no opportunity of making a transcript.

...
I have not failed to carry out your instructions in rendering those Mariana Saints all the assistance I was able to give; and will continue to do so for the rest of my life. Even if I were not bound by my own desires, the very fact that you wish it is sufficient to compel me to execute your orders with all affection.

On the Father General's instructions, I have founded a congregation to Our Lady of Sorrows [Nuestra Señora de los Dolores]... and beg to elect you as Patroness of this congregation, in whose pious practices you take part by means of the 20,000 Masses ordered throughout the year by your congregants.

[Further details of the organization of the services follow.]

¹ Ed. note: Doc. 1684C.

You have promised us some medals of the Virgin... We also need some small rosaries of the Five Wounds, as each Mystery is represented by five little beads, and they have a medal of the Agony attached to each one. These little rosaries are among the special requirements of our congregation... and with them, may we have the little books to be found overthere, dealing with the story of the Nativity? ... You have no idea how far-reaching the good effects will be... These things appeal so much to the little ones, and to adults also... I trust you will pardon me for troubling you, but from my knowledge of your great beneficence and piety, I dare to trespass further upon your charity.

D2. Letter from Fr. Vidal to Fr. Francisco García, dated Mexico 3 May 1685

Source: Same as above; 1-page ms. sold by Maggs Bros. for 5 pounds (Cat. N° 442, n° 1931, p. 198).

Extract in the Maggs Catalog.

...
It gives me much comfort to write to you, because we have had good news of the Marianas, which I send on to the Duchess of Aveiro. We have also sent news of the Congregation we founded here in this College, of Our Lady of Sorrows, and recognize that we are indebted to the Duchess for her prayers and for the Masses.

Etc.

D3. Letter from Fr. Morales to the Duchess, dated Seville 14 August 1685

Source: Present location unknown; 2-page ms. offered for sale by Maggs Bros. of London in 1923 for 5 pounds (Cat. N° 442, n° 1933, p. 198).

Extract in the Maggs Catalog.

...
I have just arrived in the city of Seville, where I am making arrangements for a journey, in order to place the services of this, your most useless Mariana chaplain, at your feet.

Not to dilate further upon your kind and amiable remembrances, I forward herewith **two wallets with diverse letters from the Islands**, and particularly from my beloved Marianos, whose progress and conditions are reported to you by the Father Vice Provincial, Manuel de Solorzano. He also mentions the pleasant voyage of Father Antonio Xaramillo, who visited those Islands accompanied by Father J. Adamo [i.e. Gerstl], conquering the difficulties which had hitherto impeded the direct communications between Manila and the Marianas.

Etc.

Document 1685E

Official Jesuit report on the 1684 revolt in the Marianas

Letter from Fr. Bouwens to the King, dated Agaña May 1685

Sources: AGI Fil. 3-3-153 and/or -169; also in AGI Ultramar 562, col. Simancas, folios 51-64 (formerly 68-1-40, as cited in Astráin VI, p. 828, note 1); copy in Colección Pastells, Fil. 2, pp. 403-425, and in Fil. 17, fol. 308-319v, and also in Fil. 18, fol. 114 et seq.

Note: This is the executive report on the revolt of 1684. It is to be compared with the confidential report sent to Fr. García at the same time (Doc. 1685K), as well as with the official Jesuit annual report for 1684-85 (Doc. 1685M).

Original text in Spanish.

De Gerardo Bouwens, Vice-Provincial de la Mision Mariana de la Compañia de Jesus: Da cuenta á V.M. de como por muerte [del] Maes[tr]e de Campo D. Antonio Saravia Gobernador, y Capitan General de estas Yslas Marianas, entró en este Gobierno el Sargento mayor Don Damian de Esplana, y sucedió la conjuracion, y alzamiento &c.

Señor.

Hallandome con el cargo de Superior de los Religiosos de la Compañia de Jesus, Ministros del Santo Evangelio en estas islas Marianas me veo obligado á informar á V.M. del estado de esta afligida Cristiandad, y tomando el agua, como dicen, de mas arriba para el devido informe, digo: que el Patache, que tantos años ha tenemos pedido, y por muchas Reales cédulas concedido de la Católica piedad de V.M. llegó desde Manila á dar fondo en esta Ysla de S. Juan de Guan á 23 de Agosto de 1683 á los veinte dias despues de haber perdido de vista la tierra de las Yslas Filipinas, á cargo del Sargento Mayor D. Damian de Esplana criollo del Perú.

Volvió en este vage[le]l el Capitan D. José de Quiroga y Losada, natural de Galicia, que el año de 1680 tubo el gobierno politico y militar de esta Cristiandad, con ánimo de vivir aqui toda su vida en servicio de ambas Magestades, ayudandonos en la salvacion eterna de estas pobres almas, y asi luego que llegó [Saravia] le nombró por su Teniente de Gobernador y Capitan general, haciendole primero Sargento Mayor de toda la milicia, el mismo Gobernador, y Capitan general, que el año de 81, le sucedió en el Gobierno de estas Yslas, el Maes[tr]e de Campo D. Antonio de Saravia, embiado de V.M. para este Go-

bierno, el cual así mismo estando para morir, le eligió de nuevo por su Teniente de Capitan general, y Gobernador de estas Yslas, hasta que constando á V.M. legitimamente de su muerte viniese otro proveido, lo cual hizo vocalmente, por no poder mas, en presencia del Sacerdote, que actualmente estaba para administrarle los Santos Sacramentos, y de la milicia y oficiales de ella, que le asistian; pero habiendo muerto á 3 de Noviembre del mismo año de 83, manifestó el Sargento mayor D. Damian de Esplana un pliego y en el una provision Real, que truxo de Manila de la Real Audiencia y Chancilleria de V.M. que por el celo grande que la asiste en el Real servicio de V.M. dió esta Real provision á dicho Sargento mayor D. Damian de Esplana con la que entró este á ser el Gobernador y Teniente de Capitan general de estas Yslas Marianas en lugar del dicho difunto Maestre de Campo Don Antonio Saravia, quedando con la plaza, que tenia de Sargento mayor de esta milicia el ya dicho D. José de Quiroga y Losada, que así se la comfirmó el nuevo Gobrñador D. Damian de Esplana. Pero la lástima es, que el gran celo con que obró dicha Real Audiencia, y Chancilleria de Manila con esta Real provision se halla frustrado del feliz logro, que se prometia, por que andando el Gobernador D. Damian de Esplana con mas confianza, y menos cuidado de lo que convenia en la disciplina militar, y manejo de las armas se nos ajustaron bien presto los grandes progresos que hizo en su gobierno el año de 80 el Sargento Mayor D. José de Quiroga y Losada con singular valor, prudencia, zelo de justicia, y exemplar vida acavando de conquistar esta Ysla de Guan, y reduciendola á mayores poblaciones, la dispuso de suerte, que en ella se formaron aquel año seis partidos, señalando antes de salir de aqui para Manila el septimo que despues se formó como los otros seis, donde con iglesias y viviendas asistian los Ministros Evangelicos de asiento, y sin peligro, doctrinando, y administrando á estos Naturales con el fruto igual á su trabajo.

Conquistó así mismo dicho Sargento mayor Don José de Quiroga, aquel año de su Gobierno, la Ysla de Santa Ana de Rota, de donde reduxo á los foragidos, y con gran sagacidad hubo á las manos los que en tiempos pasados fueron autores, unos de los alzamientos que hubo, y otros de las muertes, que con sacrilega osadia habian dado á los Predicadores de Nuestra Santa fé Catolica, que el Venerable Padre Diego Luis de S. Vitores, Padre Antono Maria de San Basilio, y Padre Sebastian de Monrroy esta ejecutando por ellos la justicia, que merecian sus atroces delitos, cobrandole de esta suerte todos estos Ysleños la veneracion, y temor que necesitaban para mantenerlos en lealtad y obediencia debida á Dios y á V.M.

Con este mismo celo, buelto ya de Manila, y hecho Sargento Mayor en la forma dicha arriba, se encargó de reducir al divino y Real Servicio las demas Yslas de esta Cordillera hacia el Norte, y partiendo de esta de Guan, por la de Rota, llegó á las de S. Angel de Agiguan, Buenavista Mariana, que los naturales llaman Tinian, y á la de S. José de Saypan por el mes de Abril del año pasado de 84, conquistan-dolas á todas tres con tanta felicidad, que no perdió ni un solo soldado de 60 que llevaba. A tan feliz victoria correspondió el Cielo con el deseado progreso de la predicacion Evangelica, que los primeros años, aviendose promulgado en todas aquellas en unas de proposito y en otras de paso diversas veces y recibidolas sus moradores dando sus párbulos para el bautismo, que muchos moribundos, y tambien sanos adultos recibieron. Despues envidioso de estos frutos el enemigo del género humano pretendió ahogarlos, instigando á algunos naturales de la Ysla de Saypan, á que quitaron la vida á uno de los Evangelizadores, y se pusiesen en arma p^a no recibirlos mas, como de hecho lo hicieron, y aunque esto comen-zó entonces por pocos, dejandose despues otros evangelizar, poco á poco se vinieron á perbertir todos hasta este tiempo, en que entrando otra vez con la conquista referida la misma predicacion evangélica, con la cual desarraygando las malezas de la gentilidad y depravadas costumbres se empezó á fertilizar

muy de proposito con las sagradas aguas del Santo bautismo, que muchos centenares recibieron, y otros mas se iban disponiendo para una copiosa mies; si bien para cogerla con toda sazón se procedía de espacio y con tiento.

*En el interin recibió orden el Sargento mayor D. José de Quiroga de reconocer el (viage) y parage donde estaba la Artilleria de la Nao **Concepcion** que el año de 38 se perdió, para ver si se hallaba modo de sacarla, como lo habia deseado el Gobernador difunto D. Antonio de Saravia para guarnecer esta fortaleza; y se dió tan buena maña dicho Sargento mayor con su gente, y algunos naturales mas prácticos, que en brebe tiempo la sacó 20 culebrinas, y 14 pedreros, todas de bronce asentando de camino su Real y presidio en la misma Ysla de Seipan por ser la mas apropiado para la sujecion de todas aquellas del Norte.*

[The plan to evacuate the Gani Islands]

Hechas estas diligencias, el Gobernador D. Damian de Esplana escogió 25 soldados, los 20 de los que tenia el Sargento mayor en Seypan, á donde le embió los otros cinco, y con orden para que con su Cabo los embiase hasta las últimas Yslas, que hacen cordillera hacia el Norte y yo con el cargo de lo espiritual que tengo de esta Mision, embié un Sacerdote, que acompañándolos en la jornada acudiese á todos con los Sacramentos, para asegurar, en la extrema necesidad la salvacion de sus almas. El intento fué ir disponiendo á todos aquellos Ysleños con suavidad, y agasajo, para que dexando aquellas islas tan atrasmano, se viniesen á poblar á estas islas cercanas de Guan y Seypan, y demas circunvecinas de Guan, y Saypan mas apropiado para sus conveniencias espirituales, y temporales sin esponerse los religiosos y Ministros evangelicos con su escolta de soldados arriesgo evidente de perder las vidas atravesando tantos y tan furiosos Mares en embarcaciones tan debiles como son las de esta tierra.

Mientras todo esto se iba disponiendo corriendo las cosas tan a medida del fin que deseabamos, y llegando los 25 soldados con el sacerdote que los acompañaba, corriendo por todas las Yslas del Norte hasta llegar á las últimas con tanta felicidad, que siendo recibidos en cada una de ellas con agasajo de sus moradores (excepto un Pueblo de la penúltima Ysla que maquinando traicion y conocida por los nuestros, fueron muertos dos de nuestras armas, con que luego se rindieron los demas). Y viniendo ya las Naos [rather los nuestros] de buelta para Guan, de hecho se iban viniendo con ellos muchas familias de cada una de aquellas Yslas, cuando fué nuestro Señor servido permitir que tentase el Demonio á unos mal intencionados de esta Ysla de Guan, hallando la puerta abierta para esto desde que el Sargento mayor D. José de Quiroga presidiaba las Yslas recién conquistadas, con haber notable descuido en la observancia militar medio importantísimo para tener á raya los que de su natural son inconstantes en lo bien comenzado. Usaron pues mal de la sobrada confianza que de todos ellos hacia el Gobernador Don Damian de Esplana, y aspirando á su bárbara libertad pusieron unos 40 de ellos por obra Domingo despues de misa, á 23 de Julio de 84 la conjuracion que habian fraguado desde fines de Mayor ó primero de Junio de dicho año. El primero á quien hirieron de muerte [sic] fué al mismo Gobernador. Buscaronle, sin embargo ni embarazo en su misma casa cuatro mozos libres y bulliciosos, y no hallandole en ella, lo encontraron en la Calle solo, descuidado, y sin arma alguna para su defensa; acomedieronle derribandole en el suelo, donde cortandole la cara y cosiendole á puñaladas, con mofa, y escarnio, lo hubieran muerto infaliblemente, sino fuese que acudiendo dos soldados á los gritos de un niño Mariano, quitasen la vida al principal agresor, con lo cual los otros tres se pusieron en huida. Apoderandose los enemigos

del cuerpo de guardia mató un soldado, que sin cuidado y sin arma alguna en las manos, estaba de centinela, con otro que allí estaba dormido.

Al tercer soldado mataron aquel día en el camino, yendo de retirada los enemigos á sus pueblos, ejecutada ya la traicion, y el día siguiente espiró el cuarto, a quien con otros diez y siete, habian dexado mal heridos, y fué especial misericordia de Dios no haber muerto á todos los soldados, por andar esparcidos y sin armas, sin que el Gobernador D. Damian permitiese nunca que hiciesen cuerpo de milicia; que aver visto los conjurados, que siquiera hubiese cuatro soldados prevenidos en cuerpo de guardia son tan apocados estos Yndios que nunca hubieran llegado á tanta osadia.

Al instante que acometieron al Gobernador, y soldados, si es que asi se puede llamar por no exercitar la milicia, nos acometieron á los Religiosos en nuestra Casa, sin haber de 59 soldados (fuera de otros diez que no tenian plaza) uno siquiera, que nos pudiese laborecer, por no tener las armas prevenidas, como en todos los Presidios de V.M. loablemente se estila, y asi hirieron á tres Sacerdotes, y á otros tres religiosos legos, dexandolos á su parecer por muertos á todos seis. Tal era el sobresalto y turbacion con que los homicidas andaban, aunque de los seis Religiosos solo dos espiraron aquella misma tarde, uno de los cuales era, á quien sucedí en el Oficio de Superior y Vice-Provincial de esta Mision, que lo fué cuatro años en que gobernó con mucho acierto.

En este día mostraron bien su fineza unos mancebos de los Seminarios: pues viendo lo que pasaba acudieron aunque se hallaban sin armas á hacer lo que pudiesen en nuestra defensa, defendiendo en dos ocasiones á que no acabasen de matar á uno junto á la iglesia; por que entraron por entre los enemigos que le estaban hiriendo apartandolos y desviandolos, con que se pudo zafar el paciente, y recogerse á la fortaleza, y yendose retirando los conjurados cogieron á uno de ellos, y despues con sus alfanges que cogieron de sus casas le hicieron pedazos.

Otro Mariano llamado D. Ygnacio Yneti (á quien por su lealtad y méritos hizo Sargento Mayor de Indios el Gobernador difunto D. Antonio Saravia) con un hijo suyo y otro mancebo, que habia sido colegial de los dichos Reales Seminarios, se halló á medio tiro de arcabuz de nuestra Casa, y viendo la inquietud de la gente, y ruido, que le cogió impensadamente sin armas, ni modo para tenerlas allí á punto, se acercó con la presteza, que pudo á la iglesia, y casa y viendo lo que pasaba con la energia de sus palabras, afeando tal maldad á los conjurados, que despues de haber ellos dexado por muertos á los seis religiosos, que habian herido, queriendo poner fuego por tres veces á la iglesia y casa p que allí, si acaso no estaban totalmente muertos, saliesen fuera con el fuego para acabarlos, ó se quemasen todos los que hubiese vivos, y los sagrados vasos, ornamentos, é imagenes, los reprimió de suerte que desistieron de su mal intento.*

Acabada un Sacerdote de decir Misa y dar la comunión á un soldado, quando hallandose con el Santisimo en las manos, entraron por la iglesia cuatro soldados, y tras ellos una multitud de Indios, fuese el Sacerdote al medio de la iglesia con aquel Señor Sacramentado en las manos para sosegar el tumulto, y valió tanto que los Indios, unos se bolbieron atras, y otros escondiendose por detras de las columnas de la iglesia se entraron en la Casa: los soldados se pusieron al lado del Sacerdote, y como vieron que algunos Indios estaban ya arriba tirandoles piedras, y palos por las tribunas abajo, quisieron dispararles una boca de fuego, pero les dixo el Sacerdote, que no lo hiciesen en la iglesia, sino que entrasen en la Casa, y socorriesen á los Religiosos; pero no llegando mas que hasta la Sacristia sin entrar en la Casa[.] dispararon aquella arma sin efecto y luego desaparecieron. Desamparado de todos el Sacerdote, que tenia el Santisimo, queriendo salir fuera de la iglesia asi como estaba para ponerlo en salvo, se encontró á la puer-

ta al Mariano Sargento Mayor Don Ygnacio Yneti con los que dixe le acompañaban, que hincando las rodillas, le dijo: **No salgas Padre mio, por que te matarán, estate dentro que nosotros te defenderemos.** Y bolviendose con esto á la iglesia encontró en un rincón un soldado herido, y moribundo, dispusole para morir confesandole y comulgandole y estando en este acto le tiró uno de los alzados por una tribuna una piedra que perdiendo su fuerza le tocó levemente en la corona de suerte que no le impidió á proseguir en aquella buena obra; aunque antes de acabarla entraron por la iglesia unos Indios corriendo tras de un criado del Gobernador, y el Sacerdote para librarle de sus manos les salió al encuentro con presteza y quiso el Señor Dios de los exercitos, que tenia en las manos Sacramentado, que el criado se escapó, y el Sacerdote detubo á los Indios, los cuales se quedaron alli como unas estatuas á vista de la Sagrada custodia, mientras el Sacerdote les dixo: **Que no hiciesen tal maldad, que era grandisimo pecado, y que Dios, que tenia alli en las manos, tomaria la causa por suya, &c.** Los bárbaros atemorizados, sin decir ni hacer nada se bolvieron atras, y se fueron, y el Sacerdote bolbió á su moribundo á ayudarle con actos de contricion, y estando en esto llegó otro Criado del Gobernador gritando al Sacerdote, que fuese á dar el viatico á su amo que se estaba muriendo en la fortaleza y asi fué acompañado de unos dos soldados con luces, que alli se hallaron; aunque sin armas, con el Sargento mayor D. Ygnacio Yneti, y este y los otros Marianos viendo que ya los enemigos avian pegado fuego á las oficinas contiguas á la Casa de los Religiosos, sacaron á toda prisa de la Yglesia dos imagenes devotas de S. Miguel, y el Santo Angel de la Guarda, por que no se quemasen, y juntando otros fueron con tanta intrepitud, aunque sin embargo de los incendiarios que ya se habian ido, y acometiendo al fuego le apagaron para que no pereziesen los Religiosos que habia dentro de la Casa, en la cual entró dicho Sargento mayor D. Ygnacio con sus leales compañeros acompañado tambien de otros niños algo grandes colegiales dispuso que los Religiosos se retirasen á la fuerza, para lo cual ayudó á cargar el mismo á los heridos, y viendo que ya Religiosos, Gobernador y soldados estaban todos dentro de la fortaleza y seguros se fué á su pueblo, y juntando 50 hombres con armas, vino con ellos á toda prisa.

Luego que llegó con ellos los fué capitaneando hacia la iglesia y casa de los Religiosos, y habiendola rodeado, hizo señal á la fortaleza, distante un tiro de pistola, que venian aguardar la iglesia, y estar de nuestra parte contra los intentos de los rebeldes; y para certificarnos mas de esta generosa accion, lealtad y piedad cristiana, el mismo Sargento mayor D. Ygnacio se apartó de su escuadron, y hechos sus ojos dos fuentes de lagrimas, por el estrago hecho; aunque con valor, y celo cristiano, vino á la fortaleza con su espada en cinta, y baston en la mano, á dar el pésame al Gobernador, y Religiosos de la desgracia ofreciendo su persona, vida, y toda su gente para el servicio de ambas Magestades, y agradeciendole esta fineza en tan apretadas circunstancias, respondió muy tierno, y casi sin poder hablar por el embarazo de las lagrimas, y suspiros, que su leal y generoso corazon echaba, viendo los heridos y entre ellos á los Sacerdotes:

— **Aqui estoy, dixo muy fervoroso, para guardar de incendios de enemigos de Dios á su Casa y la de sus Ministros hasta dar la vida por esto, y por todos los que estais en esta fortaleza, y asi te pido, O Gobernador que me des licencia para ir ahora con los mios á chocar con aquellos cuarenta traidores, quemandoles el pueblo, y ensangrantando nuestras armas en ellos, y asi como ellos inhumanamente ensangrataron las tuyas en vuestras personas matando á los que son Padres de sus almas, &c.**

— **No, hijo, le respondió el Gobernador, que no tengo gente para que te acompañe.**

—*Basto yo y los míos, replicó el buen D. Ygnacio, pues vamos acompañados de la justicia y causa de Dios. Pidote O Gobernador que me des este gusto por Dios.*

—*No, no. Basta que guardéis la iglesia, le dixo finalmente el Gobernador, cuyo orden fué luego á intimar á los suyos, que con ansias aguardaban la licencia de ir ellos solos con su Sargento mayor y así hubieron de ejecutar no mas de lo que les ordenó de parte del Gobernador el cual, si de 69 hombres que tenia ya de armas, con los que antes no tenían plaza, aunque unos 19 habia heridos embiase con estos amigos solos diez con bocas de fuego, hubiera dado sobre los conjurados, para que no sembrasen despues la falsa nueva de que á todos nos habían acavado para alentar á los demas partidos, é Yslas á que matasen los guirragos, ó extranjeros, que alli habia, con que se hubieran atajado los grandes daños y muertes de los nuestros que despues sucedieron.*

Mataron pues á otro Sacerdote, en esta Ysla los de su partido, el tercero en la Ysla de Tinian, el cuarto en la de Rota, cuyos moradores resistieron por muchos días esta maldad, y alzamiento hasta que los de Tinian matando sin su consentimiento [i.e. de ellos] á este Padre que era Ministro en Rota juzgaron digo los de esta Ysla estar ya culpados.

Hicieron estas maldades los de Tinian con la falsa nueva, que los 40 conjurados esparcieron por todas las Yslas, de que á todos los guirragos ó extranjeros (que así nos llaman á todos cuando hay alzamiento) los habían muerto en Guan, matando antes de esto dos Sacerdotes los mismos de Tinian a traicion, instigados con esta falsa nueva, á otros dos soldados, siete marineros y siete grumetes todos gente nuestra, que alli se hallaban con dos barcos, aviendo saltado en tierra, divididos y descuidados en varias partes y sin armas aguardando viento para venir á Guan, con 9 piezas de bronce de artilleria, de las que se habían sacado de Seipan.

Hecha estas 16 muertes, y quebrados los barcos, y hechados á pique por los de Tinian, embiaron aun antes de matar á dichos dos Sacerdotes quien así mismo á traicion solicitase la muerte de los 25 soldados que con el Sacerdote que fué con ellos, acabada la visita de las ultimas Yslas del Norte, se aguardaban ya de vuelta; sucedió á los alevosos su intento muy á su salvo por que avisados de todo lo sucedido los Marineros que eran los de mas confianza, y de esta Ysla de Guan, con otros de Rota, Tinian, y Seipan y los traian en embarcaciones de la tierra en cada una uno, ó dos soldados con cuatro Indios, que eran los marineros dichos que gobernaban la embarcacion, incitados con grandes instancias de los que llevaron el aviso, á que hiciesen lo mismo, que habían hecho los de la Ysla de Guan y Tinian, fingiendo que los de Rota y Saypan también lo habían executado por adquirir el uso de sus gentilicas costumbres, y libertad de la patria, pues podían conseguirlo con tanta seguridad y sin riesgo suyo, &c. se les volcó de repente el afecto que nos tenían, y tramaron con inviolable secreto de arrojar á todos de repente al mar comenzando primero el que llevaba embarcado al Cabo Superior de los Soldados haciendo con esto seña á los demas para que ejecutasen lo mismo, lo cual todo cumplieron como lo pactaron escepto que escaparon 6 soldados, y el Sacerdote de esta manera: los 3 soldados, quiso su dicha que se hallasen en 2 embarcaciones apartadas algo lexo de las demas que ejecutaban la maldad, en una de las cuales estaba un buen Indio que estuvo en Manila y Mexico, y este trayendo uno en su embarcacion no le arrojó, ni tubo aviso de las traiciones sucedidas y salvó á los otros dos que iban allí cerca en la otra embarcacion, pidiendoselos á los que los llevaban para salvarlos y los truxo á Guan. Los otros tres soldados arrojados al mar de los que los llevaban, fueron recogidos y llevados á tierra de los Indios, que de aquellas islas del Norte se venian á Guan á dar la obediencia al Gobernador. Y la embarcacion en que iba el Sacerdote

tambien se halló apartada de las otras de la traicion, y los Indios, que le traian, y se vino con los demas conjurados á Guan [sic].

Y asi hoy dia el Sacerdote con los tres soldados recogidos por los de aquellas Yslas, estan allá desamparados en diferentes tierras, pero asegurados de las vidas por el Maes[tr]e de Campo D. Antonio Ayigi, Indio de Guan, tan fiel, y leal Cristiano en todos los alzamientos, que por su lealtad sola no ha fenecido Nuestra Santa fé en estas Yslas, dandonos siempre secretos avisos de las conjuraciones, y en esta ocasion habia ido á esta visita, y escursion, pero como á la buelta sucedió la desgracia, y venia embarcado de los ultimos, y muy lejos de las embarcaciones de la traicion, en una de las embarcaciones de aquellos Ysleños del Norte, para mejor acariciarlos y persuadirlos con su rara afabilidad y modo cariñoso bien especial á que viniesen á dar la obediencia al Gobernador y hacer lo que les ordenase, viendo la embarcacion del Sacerdote que habia ido á tierra, en donde habian de parar todas para decir allí Misa el dia siguiente que era Domingo, y que las demas se iban de largo muy á la mar afuera; fué ignorante de lo sucedido y de la traicion executada tras del Sacerdote, y de el sabiendo la tragedia sucedido lo llevó á una casa de un su amigo, y correspondiente, y si tan presto no se van los dos á amparar de este amigo, fueran muertos en la playa por una embarcacion de conjurados que con este intento rebolvió para tierra, y visto que ya estaban en salvo, dixeron á los de aquella Ysla como todos los Guirragos estaban muertos en Guan, Rota, Tinian, y Saypan, y asi que matasen aquel Padre, y á su Protector Ayigi, á quien por tantas finezas, cristiandad, y servicio habia hecho Maes[tr]e de Campo y Superior de todos ellos el Gobernador difunto D. Antonio de Saravia. No ejecutaron esta maldad, por ser mas piadosos, los de las Yslas del Norte, y asi dexando bien asegurados al Sacerdote y los tres soldados, aunque en diferentes islas, vino el buen Maese de Campo D. Antonio Ayigi á persuasion del mismo Sacerdote á reconocer si era verdad lo que se decia que todos los Guirragos estaban muertos. Embarcado pues solo en una embarcacion que le dió aquel su amigo llegó acá en 4 dias, sin llegar á ninguna de las nueve Yslas en la distancia que andubo, y ahora andamos esperando ocasion oportuna, para que buelva á traer los 4 dichos.

A 27 de Julio á la 1 del dia bolvieron los alzados acompañados de dos partidos, que ya para hacernos la guerra, y ver si nos podian acabar habian incitado, alentandolos que ya eramos pocos y lo podrian conseguir con facilidad, y asomandose por entre unos árboles fueron hacia la iglesia, que guardaba la gente del Sargento Mayor D. Ygnacio Yneti: salioles este al encuentro con todos los suyos de retaguardia, y comenzando con grandisimo valor, intrepitud, y resolucion de alentado Cristiano á dispararles lanzas les hizo el solo bolber atras por dos veces, y aunque les bolvió á acometer la multitud de los enemigos todos á una, no por eso hecharon pie atras D. Ygnacio y los suyos. Hizo señas á la fortaleza de pedir socorro de armas de fuego con mucha instancia pero el Gobernador no le concedió ni un hombre aunque ya tenia 75 por estar ya retirados á la fuerza los de los otros partidos; y asi el enemigo hiriendo dos hombres á D. Ygnacio, muriendo luego el uno, quemó la iglesia y vivienda de los Religiosos y tambien á los Colegios de niños, y otras casas, que habia por aquella vanda, sin cesar nuestra infanteria de jugar nuestras armas desde las murallas, de que fueron heridos tres de los enemigos y entre ellos á su principal cabeza, que allí luego acabó de matar el mismo D. Ygnacio, y cortandole la cabeza, y mandandola levantar en un palo, quedaron cortados los enemigos, y luego despues de haberlos corrido por algun rato nuestro D. Ygnacio, se retiraron á toda prisa.

Siguiose despues la quema de las demas iglesias y residencias de esta Ysla: la cual reconociendo el poco aliento del Gobernador D. Damian de Esplana, rompió guerra á instancia de los que primero se alzaron, y tubieron al Gobernador encerrado con los suyos en esta fortaleza mas de quatro meses, sin re-

solverse jamas á lograr algun buen lance por mas instancias que le hicieron asi los suyos, como los que de estos Marianos [que] nos asisten leales.

El Sargento mayor D. José de Quiroga y Losada, desde Saypan dió parte al Gobernador de lo que le pasaba por una carta, que le embió con sagacidad, para saber si viviamos, ó no; pues ya habia mas de cuatro meses que tenian los alzados cerrado el paso para no comunicarnos. Con esto respondiendole el Gobernador que se viniese con los treinta y cinco hombres que tenia de Presidio, pues habiendo vencido á los de las tres islas Aguiguan, Tinian, y Saypan, que se le habian alzado, podria obligarles á que le trugesen, se alegraron los soldados que tenia aqui el Gobernador, y se refrenaron de las fugas que con grandes fundamentos intentaban hacer á los enemigos.

La sagacidad pues, y vigilancia del Sargento Mayor D. José de Quiroga y Losada, sin saber de nuestras desgracias, descubrió á los 6 de Agosto del mismo año de 84 lo que urdian los de las tres Yslas Aguiguan, Tinian, y Saypan, contra su persona y los suyos, si bien su diligencia no pudo estorvar que á la sorna no diesen la muerte á tres de sus soldados, que estando fuera del Real aquel dia no alcanzaron su aviso. Rompiose guerra á lo descubierto y juntandose todos los de aquellas tres islas acometieron y cercaron por dos meses y medio á dicho Sargento Mayor con sus 35 soldados, con grandes esperanzas de poderles acabar, por ser los veinte y un soldados, unos muy debiles, y los mas enfermos; pero tomando el Sargento Mayor, y todos los suyos por Patron al glorioso Patriarca S. José, que lo es tambien de Saypan, y frecuentando los Santos Sacramentos no les dañaron los enemigos en cosa alguna. Antes si, oidas por el Sargento Mayor las nuevas que á gritos cada dia le daban los enemigos de que todos los Religiosos, Gobernador y Soldados estaban muertos, y que á el y á los suyos los acabarian presto, bramando como un leon de corage, y celo de bolber por la honrra de ambas Magestades, comenzó alentar á [a]lentar á sus soldados para que vengasen tantos sacrilegios cometidos contra Dios en las muertes de sus Ministros, y ultrage de iglesias, y vasos sagrados, tantas injurias contra la Magesta Real, y crédito de sus armas, salió á campaña por la vanda del Occidente de aquella Ysla, y tanto les fatigó y molestó aquella vez y otras muchas que desesperados de poderle resistir, les hizo desamparar la Ysla, é irse á las circunvecinas. Desembarazado por esta vanda, bolbió por la del Oriente. Mató en la refriega algunos, prendió á otros, hirió á no pocos, de los cuales unos escaparon huyendo, otros quedaron de los balazos mancos, cojos, y totalmente inutil para el manejo de las armas, y por esta causa compadecido de sus desdichas no los mató, dexandolos para ver si los podia hacer cristianos. Quemó algunos Pueblos, quitoles diversas embarcaciones [words missing]- taloles las sementeras, y á todas estas refriegas no salia mas que unas veces con 40 [rather 10], otras con 14 y nunca pudo mas que con 18 hombres: en las cuales peleas sucedieron lances bien raros y de admiracion librandolos Dios de evidente peligros, que corrian por las emboscadas y traiciones. Una vez entre otras se vió el Sargento mayor D. José con solos 10 hombres, rodeado de gran multitud de barbaros, los cuales, llovian piedras y lanzas, sobre nuestros soldados, y afirma dicho Sargento Mayor, y todos sus compañeros que clara y distintamente vian quebrarse en el aire las lanzas de hueso, que les tiraban los enemigos, y caian á sus pies, sin hacerles daño, y no fué menos maravilla, que ninguno de los nuestros saliese herido en todos estos encuentros: en todos los cuales traia provision hasta abastecer su Real para mas de un año.

Estas hazañas obrada el sargento mayor Don José de Quiroga en Saypan, sin tener nosotros en esta Ysla de Guan noticias de que vivia. Y si causó asombro en los enemigos, su valor, tambien en sus soldados; por que habiendo entre estos un Español algo desembuelto, á quien por sus demasias quiso castigar el Gobernador difunto. Este habiendo quebrantado un bando muy grave y militar, y por los embarazos

de la guerra, no habiendo tenido lugar el Sargento mayor de castigarlo; viendo que se podian temer mayores inconvenientes, lo prendió, y el dia siguiente, despues de bien dispuesto, lo mando arcabucear con terror asi de Indios como de Soldados, por ver que teniendo tan poca gente, y enferma, y estando cercado de enemigos se deshiciese del mejor de ella. Acabada esta funcion juntó á sus soldados y les hizo este breve razonamiento:

“Hermanos y compañeros míos:

Aquí nos ha traído Dios para defender su fé, y derramar nuestra sangre en testimonio de ella, si fuese menester. Ninguno otra cosa temo en esta vida sino el ofender á Dios, no el morir. Esto supuesto todos guarden los órdenes de la milicia, y se abstengan de ofender á Dios, por que yo no puedo dexar de castigar con muerte al que lo mereciere; de otra suerte no cumpliré con mi conciencia, y esto ha de ser irremisiblemente, aunque supiera quedarme solo para batallar con los enemigos de nuestra Santa Fé.”

Con esto quedaron los Soldados no menos admirados de su valor que edificados de su Cristiandad, y ofreciendole sus personas, y vidas para que los llevase donde quisiese. Entre los que habia cautivado habia una muger anciana, á quien mando amarrar las manos para que le sirviese de guia, para ir á su Pueblo, y prender al principal, para que mientras quedaba preso, y detenido en rehenes, pudiese embiar á esta Ysla de Guan, para cobrar noticias ciertas de lo que aca pasaba. Salió pues el Sargento mayor á deshora de la noche con la India, llegó al Pueblo cuyos moradores estaban del todo entregados al sueño, y asi pudo hacer en ellos gran destrozo quitando á mas de 200 la vida; pero movido de piedad, y con deseo de ejecutar su intento llegó a la Casa del principal, y le prendió con otro, de quienes supo con mucho consuelo, de los que en Guan estaban vivos.

Llegaron el dia siguiente los del pueblo de estos dos presos y de otros muchos con sus presentillos, para pedir pazes; pero el Sargento Mayor les propuso que si le querian librar el Principal, y á su compañero, era forzoso despachar á Guan una embarcacion con cartas, para saber de cierto del Gobernador, Soldados, y Religiosos, de quienes habian de traer respuesta, vinieron en ello; aunque con dificultad. Escritas las cartas las dió al que las habia de llevar, encargandole que con todo secreto las llevase, y que si por culpa suya se perdian, ó no traian respuesta habia de quitar las vidas á los que quedaban en rehenes y destruir á todos los de Saypan, &c. Prometiole el portador de cumplir lo que le ordenaba con fidelidad. Embarcose y llegó con el despacho á esta Ysla de Guan, á casa de un amigo suyo, y fino Cristiano, que en este levantamiento se habia espuesto á que le quitasen la vida, como lo intentaron por venir á darnos noticia, siempre que podia de los intentos del enemigo. Toda nuestra dicha consistió en que el Indio, que vino de Saypan con las Cartas tubiese por amigo á este fiel Cristiano, que á no ser asi en las circunstancias presentes, ni hubieran llegado las Cartas, ni los unos supieramos de los otros; pero Dios compadecido de tantas calamidades como habia padecido esta Cristiandad, dispuso con su altisima providencia, que se entregase el despacho á uno que siendo fino Cristiano, vivia entre los enemigos.

Luego que recibió las cartas este buen Indio Mariano salió con gran disimulo de su pueblo, y vino á esta fortaleza: llegó á las dos de la mañana, y á tiro de arcabuz empezó á dar voces invocando al Santísimo Sacramento señal que nos habia dado para que le coconiesemos siempre que venia á deshoras. Entró en la fortaleza y dió las cartas al Gobernador que en presencia de todos se leyeron con tanto jubilo que no hay eloquencia que bastantemente lo pueda suplir. Leidas las cartas el Gobernador, por parecerle que estos Indios le tenian en mucho aprieto, respondió al Sargento Mayor que se retirase á Guan con su gente, pues ya vencidos los de Saipan, tenia en ellos embarcaciones, y marineros que le trugesen. Obedeció luego el Sargento mayor á esta orden, sin reparar en los daños que se seguian en desamparar lo re-

cien conquistado, ni en los peligros tan grandes á que se esponian en navegacion tan dificultosa de mares, por ser en aquellos meses los vientos muy furiosos para embarcaciones tan debiles, y arriesgadas y los Indios que forzosamente por no haber otros de esta facultad havian de gobernarlas, sin ser experimentados en lealtad, por ser recién conquistados, que el escapar con las vidas pudiera tenerse á evidente milagro.

Solo la sagacidad de dicho Sargento mayor D. José de Quiroga, y su acertada disposicion pudo caute- lar tantos peligros, y aunque puesta toda su confianza en Dios, haciendo que su gente al tiempo de la partida confesan y comulgase; se aseguraba de los peligros del mar, si sus soldados observasen con la debida puntualidad las órdenes que les habia dado; de que se desviasen de la Ysla de Tinian por las corrientes, y mares, que al emparejar con ella, son furiosisimas, pero de 8 embarcaciones, en que venian, las 3 acercandose á una punta de Tinian, sin saber como, se perdieron de vista, y en ellas 15 soldados, sin ser posible al Sargento mayor, el ir en su busca por ser de noche, y por querer ir á buscarlos se le llenó su embarcacion, y las otras 4 de agua, y aguardandolos por algunas horas sin poder aguantar mas los mares de aquel parage, por el riesgo tan grande en que se veia, se halló obligado, con gran dolor de su corazon á dexar aquellas 3 embarcaciones, y proseguir con las otras su viage, por no perderlo todo. Pero como en todas sus empresas obra tan celoso del divino, y Real Servicio, fué Dios servido de consolarle de alli á pocos dias que habia llegado á Guan con la noticia de haber todos aportado, unos á Tinian, y otros á Seypan en donde los ampararon los enemigos, bien contra toda esperanza; y hoy dia los guardan con harto buen tratamiento.

La gente con que el Sargento mayor llegó acá á 23 de Noviembre de 84 son 20 soldados y un Sacerdote; y aunque de estos 20 soldados solos 12 son de provecho; al instante se nos mejoraron las cosas en tanta manera que los enemigos levantaron el cerco, en que nos tenian, y sin dilacion dandose todos por perdidos comenzaron á grandes bandadas á desamparar esta Ysla pasmados de que hubiese obligado á los de Seipan á que le truxesen, dejando á nuestro mando sus pueblos, casas, y sementeras llenas de arroz y raizes. Tanto fué el miedo que les puso esta llegada, que los mismos enemigos confiesan que aunque hubieran llegado todos los soldados como no llegase el sargento mayor, no hubieran levantado el cerco, ni se hubieran huido; pero si el solo hubiera llegado, y sin ningun soldado, siempre les hubiera puesto el mismo terror, y en la misma fuga desamparando sus tierras. Tan amedrantados los tiene su valor y su acertado gobierno lo habian experimentado el año de 80 cuando esto corria por su cuenta.

Confirió dicho Sargento mayor con su Gobernador D. Damian de Esplana los medios necesarios pues habia bastantes, para restaurar lo perdido en este levantamiento general; pero la desdicha fué, que el Gobernador no quiso aprovecharse de tan buenos principios para el efecto, que se le proponia, aunque le hizo para ello su Sargento Mayor repetidas instancias rogandole, ya que no se resolvia por si mismo, de intentar alguna faccion, si queria valerse de su persona, se sirviese de mandarle lo que podia y debia obrar para el servicio de ambas Magestades; pues para ello á costa de tantos peligros, lo habia llamado, y de su parte estaba pronto, sin rehusar trabajo alguno de cuantos fuesen menester para esto, y atajar otros mayores daños, que de no intentarlo se pudieran temer de nuevo, &c.

Yo, viendo al Gobernador con tan grande omision, sin ser posible el poderlo inducir á que tomase alguna resolucion en cosa tan grave, y de tanta importancia por interesar en esto la salvacion eterna de tantas almas, que como Superior en lo espiritual, estan á mi cargo: me vi obligado á suplicarle por escrito, fuese servido de permitir que se bolbiese por los derechos divino y humano, en la restauracion de Cristiandad tan florida como la halló cuando entró á gobernar lo político y militar de ella pero no pude lograr

mas que cumplir con mi conciencia, quedandome sin el consuelo que pretendia, no solo yo, y todos los Religiosos, sino tambien los mismos soldados; y aun de estos naturales Marianos, los que en este alzamiento, con gran fineza, y lealtad han espuesto sus vidas en defensa del divino y Real Servicio.

O S[acra] C[atolica] R[real] M[agestad] para llorar lagrimas de sangre es ver lo que pasa: pues ni el ver que tantas almas se pierden para siempre, ni el haberle requerido de parte de aquel buen Dios, y de la preciosissima Sangre de Nuestro Señor Jesucristo, y de las piadosissimas y católicas entrañas de V.R.M. ha sido bastante para alentarlos, sin quedarnos ya mas consuelo que el postrarnos ahora á los Reales pies de V.C.M. por cuya larga y felicissima vida, sucesion, paz y aumentos de todos los estados, y Reynos de V.C.R.M. para tanta gloria de Dios, y aumentos de la Santa Yglesia católica aplicamos todos nuestros trabajos, oraciones, y Santos Sacrificios; como es nuestra obligacion, &c.

De Agaña en S. Juan de Guan una de las Marianas á 15 de Mayo de 1685.

S.C.R.M.

A los pies de V.M.

B[esa] S[us] R[eales] M[anos], en nombre de los Ministros de esta Mision Mariana y de los pobres Ysleños Marianos que han quedado fieles, finos, y leales vasallos de V.M., su mas indigno capellan y siervo.

Gerardo Bovens

Translation.

From Gerard Bouwens, Vice-Provincial of the Mariana Mission of the Society of Jesus: He reports to Y.M. how, following the death of Master-of-camp Don Antonio Saravia, Governor and Captain General of these Mariana Islands, the government was taken over by Sergeant Major Don Damian de Esplana, and there happened the conspiracy, and uprising, etc.

Sire:

Finding myself with the position of Superior of the Religious of the Society of Jesus, the Ministers of the Holy Gospel in these Mariana Islands, I see myself obliged to inform Y.M. of the state of this afflicted Christian community, and to begin at the beginning as they say, I submit the following report.

The patache, that we had requested over so many years, and that the Catholic piety of Y.M. had granted in many Royal decrees, arrived from Manila to anchor at this Island of San Juan on 23 August 1683, some 20 days after it has lost sight of the land of the Philippine Islands, under the command of Sergeant Major Don Damian de Esplana, a Spaniard born in Peru.

Captain Don José de Quiroga y Losada, a native of Galicia who had taken over the political and military government of this Christian community in the year 1680, returned aboard this vessel, with the intention of living here for the rest of his life in the service of both Majesties, helping us in the eternal salvation of these poor souls. So, as soon as he arrived, the Master-of-camp Don Antonio de Saravia, the Governor and Captain General, the same man whom Y.M. had sent for this government and had succeeded him [Quiroga] in the government of these Islands in 1681, appointed him as his Lieutenant Governor and Captain General, and made him the first Sergeant Major of

the whole militia. It was also he who, on the point of death, elected him again as his Lieutenant of Captain General and Governor of these Islands, until such time as Y.M., once informed officially about his death, would provide someone else. He did so verbally, as he could not do otherwise, in the presence of the priest who was then about to administer the Holy Sacraments, and of the militia and its officers, who were in attendance. However, after his death on 3 November of the same year 1683, Sergeant Major Don Damian de Esplana exhibited a letter and in it there was a Royal provision that he had brought from Manila issued by the Royal Audiencia and Chancellery of Y.M. On account of the great zeal they have for the Royal service of Y.M., they issued this Royal provision to said Sergeant Major Don Damian de Esplana, and this is how this man became Governor and Lieutenant of Captain General of these Mariana Islands, replacing the late Master-of-camp Don Antonio Saravia. The above-mentioned Don José de Quiroga y Losada retained the post that he had, of Sergeant Major of this militia, and he was confirmed in it by the new Governor, Don Damian de Esplana. However, it is a pity that the great zeal shown by said Royal Audiencia and Chancellery of Manila, by this Royal provision, have negated the happy result that was hoped for, because the Governor, Don Damian de Esplana, began to act with more confidence, and less care, in matters of military discipline and the handling of weapons, thus began the quick decline in the great progresses that Sergeant Major Don José de Quiroga y Losada had made during his term in 1680, with particular valor, prudence, zeal for justice, and exemplary life, when he finished the conquest of this Island of Guan and reduced it to larger settlements, organizing it in such a way that 6 districts came to life that year, and before he left for Manila, a seventh one was created like the other 6, with churches and living quarters where the Gospel ministers permanently resided, and without danger, teaching the doctrine and ministering to these natives with the fruit being equal to their labor.

Said Sergeant Major Don José de Quiroga, during that one-year term of office, also conquered the Island of Santa Ana of Rota, from where he reduced the outlaws and with a great sagacity he effected the capture of those who in past years had been the authors, either of the uprising that occurred or of the deaths that with sacrilegious audacity they had given to the Preachers of our Holy Catholic faith, that the Venerable Father Diego Luis de San Vitores, Father Antonio María de San Basilio, and Father Sebastián de Monroy. He carried out on them the justice that their atrocious crimes merited, and thus all these islanders acquired the veneration and fear that they needed to retain the loyalty and obedience due to God and Y.M.

With this same zeal, once he had returned from Manila and become Sergeant Major in the above-mentioned manner, he took charge of reducing to the divine and Royal service the other Islands of this chain to the north, and having left this Island of Guan, to go to that of Rota, he arrived at the islands of Santo Angel, or Agiguan, Buenavista Mariana, which the natives call Tinian, and to that of San José, or Saypan, during the month of April of the past year 1684. He conquered all three with such success that he lost not one soldier from the 60 he had with him. Heaven corresponded to such a

happy victory with the desired progress of the preaching of the Gospel, that had been promulgated in all of them in the first years, purposely in some and in the others during successive visits; their residents had then received the faith and given their children to be baptized, and many adults, dying or healthy, had received it as well. Afterwards, the enemy of mankind, envious of these fruits, pretended to suffocate them, by instigating some natives of the Island of Saypan to take the life of one of the preachers, and they took up arms to prevent others from coming, which they did in fact succeed in doing, and although this began then in a few, and others had let themselves be converted, little by little they all became perverted until this occasion. The same preaching of the Gospel having entered once more with the above-mentioned conquest, which uprooted the weeds of their heathenism and deprived customs, a start was made, very appropriately, in applying fertilization with the sacred waters of Holy baptism, which was received by many hundreds, and many more were preparing themselves for a copious harvest. However, to gather this harvest, we were waiting for it to be very ripe and proceeding slowly and carefully.

Meanwhile, Sergeant Major Don José de Quiroga received an order to explore the area where the guns of the galleon **Concepción** had been lost in the year 1638, to see if he could find a way to salvage them, as the late Governor Don Antonio de Saravia had wished to do, in order to provide this fortress. Said Sergeant Major applied such skill with his men, and a few native divers, that within a brief time period **he salvaged 20 culverins and 14 swivel-guns, all of bronze** and at the same time building his camp and establishing a garrison in the same Island of Seipan, given that it is the most suitable location for the subjection of all those northern islands.

[The plan to evacuate the Gani Islands]

Once these proceedings were over, the Governor, Don Damian de Esplana, chose 25 soldiers, including 20 from those kept by the Sergeant Major in Seypan, that is, he sent him the other five [from Guam] with an order to send them as far as the northernmost Islands of this chain with an officer. I, being in charge of spiritual matters, sent one priest¹ to accompany them in the journey and attend them with the Sacraments, to insure the salvation of their souls, in extreme need. The plan was to begin preparing all those islanders through gentleness, and invitation, to have them leave those islands, so hard to reach, and come to settle in these nearer Islands of Guan and Seypan, and others in the vicinity of Guan and Saypan, more suitable for their spiritual and material advantages, without the need to expose the Gospel ministers with their escort of soldiers to the obvious danger of losing their lives by crossing so many and so furious seas in boats so weak as those of this country.

In the meantime that all of this was going on, things took place in accordance with the intended purpose, and the 25 soldiers with the priest in their company arrived at and visited all the northern Islands as far as the last ones, so successfully that they were

1 Ed. note: Fr. Coomans.

received in every one of them with pleasure by their inhabitants (except one town in the next to last Island [i.e. Asunción?] where they plotted a treason, and it became known by our people when two were killed by our soldiers, so that the others then gave themselves up). And our men were already returning to Guan, and in fact, many families from every one of those Islands were also coming with them, when our Lord willed to permit the Devil to tempt some badly-intentioned people in this Island of Guan. They found the door open, because the Sergeant Major Don José de Quiroga had gone to garrison the recently-conquered Islands, and there was [in Guam] a noteworthy lack of care in military observance, the most important means of keeping in check those who are by nature inconstant in things that were well begun. Indeed, they abused the excessive trust placed in all of them by the Governor Don Damian de Esplana and, harking back to their barbarous freedom, some 40 of them put the conspiracy they had plotted since the end of May or beginning of June into action on Sunday, 23 July 1684, after mass. The first person they wounded mortally [sic] was the Governor himself. Without any problem put in their way, four free and bellicose youths went straight to his house to look for him, and not finding him there, they met with him on the street, alone and completely without any defensive weapon. They attacked him, threw him down upon the ground, where they cut him in the face and stabbing him repeatedly, jeering and scoffing. They would have killed him for sure, had not two soldiers run up at the shouts of a Mariano boy, and killed the main assassin, thus causing the other three to flee. The enemies took possession of the guard-house and killed one soldier who, careless and without any weapon in hand was there as a sentinel, along with another who was asleep there.

They killed a third soldier on that day along the road, as the enemies were retreating to their towns, after they had carried out their treacherous deed. A fourth soldier expired the next day, but they had left 17 more badly wounded, and it was a special mercy from God that not all the soldiers died, because they had been all spread out, and unarmed, and the Governor Don Damian had not let them practice their drill not even once. Those involved in the conspiracy had taken advantage of this; indeed, if only there had been 4 prepared soldiers mounting guard, these Indians are so timid that they would never have attempted such a bold act.

At the same time as they were attacking the Governor, and soldiers (if one can call them such, on account of their lack of practice) they were also attacking us Religious in our House. Out of the 59 soldiers (excluding 10 others who do not have a position) there was not even one to come to our rescue, because the weapons were not ready, as is the praiseworthy custom in all the [other] Garrisons of Y.M. So, they wounded three priests, and three other lay religious, leaving all six for dead, in their opinion. Such was the shock and disturbance caused by the killers who were walking around, although only two of the six Religious expired that same afternoon. One of them was the man

whom I succeeded in the post of Superior and Vice-Provincial of this Mission, who had held it for 4 years with much ability.¹

On this [fatal] day, some lads from the Seminaries showed their refinement well; indeed, when they saw what was going on, they ran up, although they found themselves unarmed, to do what they could in our defence. Twice they prevented them from finishing off one next to the church; they did so by insinuating themselves among the enemies who were doing the wounding, pushing them apart, thus enabling the patient to slip away and to recover in the fort. When the conspirators were retreating, they grabbed one of them, and afterwards with the long knives they got from their houses, they cut him to pieces.

Another Mariano named Don Ignacio Ineti (who had been made Sergeant-Major of Indians by the late Governor, Don Antonio de Saravia) with a son of his and another lad who had been a college boy in the said Royal Seminaries, found themselves within half an arquebus shot from our House. Upon seeing the disquiet of the people, and hearing the noise, though he [i.e. Ineti] was caught unprepared, unarmed, and with no weapons handy, he ran up as fast as possible to the church and house and, when he saw what was going on, he spoke energetically, blaming such an evil on the part of the conspirators. They had already left the six wounded religious for dead, but they were trying to set the church and house on fire, three times, in case those inside were not completely dead; they came out with fire to finish them off, or to burn them alive if they were not dead, along with the sacred vases, ornaments and statues, but he repressed them so that they desisted from their evil intention.

One priest² had finished saying mass and giving communion to a soldier, and was still holding the blessed hosts in his hands when 4 soldiers came into the church, and behind them a crowd of Indians. The priest went to the center of the church with the Lord present in the hosts to pacify the tumult, and it was so effective that some the Indians retreated, but some others, hiding themselves behind the columns of the church, gained entry into the House. The soldiers placed themselves at the side of the priest, and when they saw that some Indians were already above and shooting stones and spears down from the tribunes.³ The soldiers wanted to shoot at them with a firearm, but the priest told them not to do it in the church, but that they should go into the house and rescue the Religious there, but they went no further than the sacristy, not going into the house, and they shot that weapon but missed, and then they disappeared from sight. The priest, still holding the blessed hosts, was left abandoned by all. He tried to go outside the church, in order to find a safe place for the hosts, but at the door he met with the Mariano Sergeant-Major Don Ignacio Ineti, accompanied by those I mentioned earlier. Kneeling down, Ineti told him: "Do not come out, dear Father, because

1 Ed. note: Fr. Solorzano, Superior from 1680 to 1684.

2 Ed. note: This was Fr. Cerezo (see Doc. 1685T).

3 Ed. note: As the design of the church-residence was one L-shaped building, the rebels went into the house part of the building, climbed the stairs and appeared at the second-level balconies, behind the altar and on top of the sacristy.

they will kill you. Stay inside. We will defend you.” As he was going back into the church, he met with a wounded soldier in a corner. As the man was dying, he prepared him to die by confessing him and giving him communion. As he was busy doing this deed, one of the rebels shot a stone at him from a tribune, but the stone lost its force and touched him lightly on the head, so that he was not prevented from doing that good deed. However, before he was finished, some Indians came into the church, running after a servant of the Governor, and the priest, in order to free him from their hands, came out to meet them quickly and the Lord God of armies, whom he still held in his hands, willed that the servant escaped, and the priest detained the Indians, who stopped in their tracks, and stood there like statues in sight of the sacred monstrance [rather ciborium], while the priest told them: “Do not do such an evil thing. It is a very great sin, and God who is here in my hands will be personally offended at you, etc.” The barbarians, terrified, kept silent and, without doing anything, went back outside, and the priest went back to the dying man to help him with acts of contrition. As he was doing this, there came another servant of the Governor, shouting at the priest, asking him to come and give the viaticum to his master who was dying inside the fort. He went there, accompanied by two soldiers with lit candles that were found there. Though they went unarmed, with Sergeant-Major Don Ignacio Ineti, but when he and the other Marianos saw that the enemies had set fire to the offices that are contiguous to the House of the Religious, they went back immediately to quickly remove from the church two devotional statues, of St. Michael and of the Guardian Angel, so that they would not burn. Then he called on others to join him and they went with intrepidity, not paying attention to the incendiaries who luckily had gone away, and attacking the fire they put it out, to prevent the death of the Religious who were inside the house. Sergeant-Major Don Ignacio then went into the house with his loyal companions, plus a group of some of the older college boys and arranged for the Religious to withdraw to the fort. In so doing, he personally helped to carry the wounded. Now that he saw that the Religious, Governor and soldiers were all inside the fort and safe, he went to his town¹ and collecting 50 men with weapons, he came with them in all haste.

As soon as he arrived with them, he led them toward the church and house of the Religious and, after he surrounded it, he made a signal to the fort, a pistol shot away, to indicate that they had come to guard the church, and to side with us against the attempts of the rebels. And, in order to prove to us that it was so, that he was loyal and pious Christian, Sergeant-Major Don Ignacio himself stepped aside from his squadron and his eyes became two springs out of which tears flowed, on account of the havoc caused, although with valor, and Christian zeal, he made his way to the fort with his sword hanging from his belt, staff in hand, to present his condolences to the Governor and the Religious, for the misfortune, offering his person, life and all his men for the service of both Majesties. Being thanked for such a timely response, he answered very

1 Ed. note: I think that his town was Siñahana (see Doc. 1685K where it is said that he came down from his town.).

tenderly, and in a low voice on account of awkwardness caused by his tears, and sighs, that his loyal and generous heart was pouring, upon seeing the wounded and among them the priests:

—“Here I am, said he very zealously, to prevent the enemies of God to set fire to His house and that of His ministers, and I am ready to give my life for this, and for all those who are in this fort. So, I ask you, O Governor, to give me permission to go now with my men to fight with those 40 traitors, and burn their town,¹ and to bloody our weapons on them, the same way that they have bloodied their weapons on your persons, killing those who are the Fathers of their souls, etc.”

—“No, Son, answered the Governor. I have no men to accompany you.”

—I and my men are enough, replied the good Don Ignacio, because we go accompanied by justice and the cause of God. I beg you, O Governor, to give me this pleasure for God’s sake.”

—“No, no. It is enough that you watch over the church,” finally said the Governor.

He went to relay this order to his men, who were anxiously waiting for permission to go by themselves with their Sergeant-Major, and they would have done so, had not the Governor ordered otherwise. As for the Governor, out of the 69 armed men he had now, including those who formerly filled no position, though some 19 had been wounded, if only he had sent along with these friends only 10 with firearms, he would have attacked the conspirators, and prevented them from spreading afterwards the false news that they had finished us all, in order to encourage the other districts, and Islands, to kill all the “guirragos,” or foreigners, present therein; he would have stopped them from doing the great harms and killings of our people that followed.

In fact, another priest in this Island was killed by the people of his district.² A third one was killed in the Island of Tinian, a fourth in that of Rota,³ whose inhabitants resisted this evil deed, and uprising, for many days, but without their consent people from Tinian killed this Father who was Minister in Rota. As I said, they thought that those of this Island were already guilty.

The people of Tinian did these evil deeds upon the false news that the 40 conspirators spread throughout all the Islands, to the effect that they had killed all the “guirragos,” or foreigners (that is how they call us all whenever there is an uprising) in Guan. Before killing these two priests, the same people of Tinian, instigated by this false news, had already killed treacherously 2 other soldiers, 7 seamen and 7 ship’s boys, all men of ours, who happened to be there with **two boats**. They had stepped ashore, spread out to various places, were unarmed and off their guard, while they waited for the right wind to bring them to Guan, **with 9 bronze cannon** from those that had been salvaged in Seipan.⁴

1 Ed. note: The rebels lived in the town of Apurguan.

2 Ed. note: This was Fr. de Angelis, at Ritidian.

3 Ed. note: Fathers Strobach and Boranga respectively.

4 Ed. note: These guns remained off the beach at Sunharon, Tinian, for many years.

Having killed these 16 men, and broken and sunk their boats, the people of Tinian, even before they killed the above-mentioned two priests, sent envoys to urge others to kill by treachery the 25 soldiers, along with the priest who had gone with them, who were on their way back, having finished their visit to the northernmost Islands. The rebels succeeded in keeping their plan secret; indeed, having advised the [native] sailors who were the most trustworthy ones, and from this Island of Guan, with some others from Rota, Tinian, and Seipan, assigned to transport the soldiers, 1 or 2 in each local canoe with 4 Indians, who acted as the said sailors manning the canoe in question, incited by the great efforts made by those who had brought them the advice, that they should do the same as those of the Islands of Guan and Tinian had done, and lied about those of Rota and Saypan having done the same, in order to regain the use of their heathen customs, and freedom for the country. Indeed, they could achieve it with such a certainty and at no risk to themselves, etc. Suddenly the affection they had for us was overturned, and they plotted with an unbreakable secret promise to throw everyone overboard all of a sudden, beginning first with the canoe that carried the Superior officer of the soldiers.¹ This was to serve as a signal for the other canoes to do the same. This they did as they had sworn to do, but 6 soldiers escaped [alive], and the priest also, in the following manner. Three of the soldiers had the good luck of being aboard 2 canoes that were somewhat apart from the others that were carrying out the evil deed. Another one happened to be with a good Indian, who had been to Manila and Mexico;² this man refused to throw him overboard and he did not participate in the treacherous acts that followed; rather, he saved the other two soldiers from the nearby canoe, by asking for them in order to save them and take them safely to Guan. The other three soldiers who had been thrown overboard by those transporting them, were picked up and taken ashore by the Indians from those northern Islands who were on their way to Guan to swear allegiance before the Governor. The canoe carrying the priest was also apart from the others involved in the treachery, and [from] the Indians transporting him, who came with the rest of the conspirators to Guan [sic].³

So it is that today the priest with the three soldiers picked up by the people of those [Gani] Islands, are overthere abandoned in various islands, but save and sound, thanks to Master-of-camp Don Antonio Ayihi, an Indian from Guan, so faithful, and loyal Christian during all the uprisings that it was due only to his unshakable loyalty that our Holy faith did not perish in these Islands, as he always gave us secret reports about conspiracies, and on this occasion he had gone on this visit, and excursion, but as the

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- 1 Ed. note: This was the mercenary merchant turned military officer, Captain José de Tapia.
 - 2 Ed. note: His travel companion, another Chamorro who had also returned from Manila and Mexico 9 years earlier, was not so faithful, as he was one of the conspirators who tried to kill the Governor, and was killed in turn (see the reports made by Governor Esplana, Doc. 1685P).
 - 3 Ed. note: Error of expression or in transcription; only the would-be conspirator went on to Guam, as Fr. Coomans was also picked up by Gani Islanders and deposited ashore. From what follows, it is clear that Fr. Coomans himself was then left at Agrigan Island, as Ayihi later bypassed 9 islands to reach Guam.

bark, and was thus very far from the canoes involved in the plot, aboard one of the canoes belonging to those Northern Islanders, the better to caress them and persuade them with his rare affability and very special loving ways, to make them come to give obedience to the Governor and do what he would order them to do. When he saw that the canoe carrying the priest had gone ashore, where they were all supposed to go to hear mass the next day which was a Sunday, and that the others were sailing far off on the high sea, he was ignorant of the tragedy that had happened and of the treachery carried out. He went after the priest and learned from him about the tragedy. He then took him to the house of a friend and correspondant of his,¹ and if the two [soldiers] had not so quickly sought the protection of this friend, they would have been killed on the beach, because a canoe involved in the plot went back ashore for this purpose, but upon seeing that they were already in safety, they told those of that Island that all the “guirragos” had been killed in Guan, Rota, Tinian, and Saypan, and so, they should also kill that Father, and his Protector Ayihi, who had been made Master-of-camp and Paramount Chief over all of them by the late Governor Don Antonio de Saravia, on account of his great delicacies, Christianity, and services rendered. They did not do such an evil thing, as the northern Islanders were more pious. So, leaving the priest and the three soldiers safe enough, albeit on different islands, the Master-of-camp, Don Antonio Ayihi, at the suggestion of the priest in question, came to reconnoiter if it was true what was being said, about all the “guirragos” being dead. In fact, alone he boarded a canoe given to him by that friend of his and made it here in 4 days, without stopping at any of the 9 Islands within the distance he covered, and how we are waiting for an opportunity for him to go back and bring back the 4 in question.²

At 1 in the morning of the 27 July, the rebels returned, accompanied by men from two [other] districts, whom they had incited to join them, to start a war, and see if they could finish us off, by advancing the idea that we were now few and they could do so easily. They began to appear from among some trees, making their way toward the church that was guarded by the men of Sergeant-Major Don Ignacio Ineti. He went out to meet them with all the men in his rearguard, and began with very great valor, trepidity, and resolve of a convinced Christian to throw spears at them. He by himself made them retreat twice, and although the multitude of the enemies returned to attack all at once, they did not make Don Ignacio and his men go back so easily. He signalled the fort to ask for succor with the firearms, very earnestly, but the Governor did not grant him not even one man, although he had 75 with him, because those of the other districts had by now retired to the fort. Thus the enemy wounded two men of Don Ignacio, one of whom died later on, and **they burned the church and house of the Religious and also the Colleges of the children, and other houses that were in that**

1 Ed. note: It was the custom of Micronesians to have correspondants on other islands, to provide for mutual hospitality during their travels.

2 Ed. note: It is not explained how come about 8 months had passed without Ayihi doing just that, except that he was waiting for the season of the monsoon winds to begin. Nine islands, because the expedition had gone at least as far as Agrigan Island.

area, although our infantry did not stop shooting our weapons from the ramparts, even wounding three of the enemies and among them their main leader. He was killed by Don Ignacio himself, who cut his head off and ordered it to be raised on a post. The enemy forces were cut off, and being pursued for some distance by our Don Ignacio, they withdrew quickly.

There followed the burning of the other churches and residences in this Island. This happened as they recognized the little desire on the part of the Governor, Don Damian de Esplana, and they declared war at the request of the first rebels and kept the Governor enclosed within this fort with his men for over 4 months, without ever deciding to try a good sortie, no matter how many requests were made to him, not only by his men but these loyal Marianos who help us.

Sergeant-Major Don José de Quiroga y Losada, reported on what he was doing to the Governor from Saypan in a letter that he sent, sagaciously, to find out whether we were still alive, or not; indeed, more than 4 months had passed since the rebels had cut the passage to our communication. Whereupon, the Governor wrote back to him, telling him to come back with the 35 men of his garrison; in fact, [he told him] that the people of the three Islands of Aguiguan, Tinian, and Saypan, who had rebelled but been conquered by him, could be obliged to bring them in. The soldiers kept by the Governor here rejoiced, and an effective end was put to the bad consequences that might have resulted in the desertions that they were planning to do to the enemy camp.

In fact, the sagacious and careful Sergeant-Major Don José de Quiroga y Losada, who knew nothing about our misfortunes, learned on 6 August of the same year 1684 that the three Islands of Aguiguan, Tinian, and Saypan plotted against his person and his men, although he could not prevent them from killing three of his soldiers behind his back; they had been outside the camp on that day and had not received his warning. War broke out openly and all of the peoples of those three Islands attacked said Sergeant-Major and his 35 soldiers and kept them surrounded for two and a half months, with great hopes of being able to finish them off, because 21 of the soldiers were either very weak, or very sick. However, the Sergeant-Major, and all his men took as patron saint the glorious Patriarch St. Joseph, who is also the patron saint of Saypan, and as long as they frequented the Sacraments, the enemies did not harm them in anything. To the contrary, once the Sergeant-Major had heard the news that the enemies were shouting to him every day, that all the Religious, Governor, and soldiers were dead, and that would similarly finish him and his soldiers off soon, he roared like a lion with courage and the zeal of avenging the honor of both Majesties, and he began to encourage his soldiers for them to avenge so many sacrilegious acts committed against God in the deaths of His ministers, and outrage to the churches, and sacred vases, so many injuries against the Royal Majesty, and the credit of his arms. He made a sortie toward the West side of that Island,¹ and he annoyed and bothered them that

1 Ed. note: A literal translation of the Chamorro word "ruchan" which, in Saipan, stands for the southward direction (see Doc. 1671Q), i.e. southward of his fort that was located at Susupe Point.

time and at many other times that they despaired of being able to resist. He made them quit the Island and go to the neighboring ones. Freed of them on this side, he went back to the eastern [rather northern] side. He killed a few in a battle, captured others, wounded not a few, some of whom escaped by fleeing but others were made lame, crippled by the balls, and completely useless for the handling of weapons, and that is why he did not kill them on account of their misfortunes, leaving them alive to see if they would become Christians. He burned a few towns, took away various canoes [words missing: destroying?] their crops. In all of those battles most of the times he went out with 40 [rather 10] men, sometimes with 14, but never more than 18 men. In the fights in question there occurred some very curious incidents, that make one wonder how God delivered them from obvious dangers that they run on account of ambushes and treacheries. On one occasion, the Sergeant-Major Don José saw himself with only 10 men, surrounded by a large crowd of barbarians, who were pouring stones and spears at our soldiers, and said Sergeant-Major, as well as all his companions, declare that they could see clearly and distinctly the bone-tipped spears that the enemies threw at them, break in the air, and fall at their feet, without doing them any harm. It was no smaller miracle that not one of our men came out wounded in all of these encounters; every time they would return with food supplies to the garrison and they collected enough supply for more than one year.

These feats were done by Sergeant-Major Don José de Quiroga in Saypan, while we in Guan being unaware even of his being alive. And if his valor astounded the enemies, it astounded his soldiers too; in fact, among these was one Spaniard, somewhat of a brazen character, whom the late Governor has wished to punish for his excesses. This man, having disobeyed a very serious military order, and being hampered by war, the Sergeant-Major had not had a chance to punish him. Upon considering that greater disadvantages could occur, he had him seized, and the next day, after he was well prepared, he had him shot by arquebus, at the fear of the Indians and soldiers alike, upon considering that even with few men, and sick ones, and being surrounded by enemies, he could do without the best of them. Once this function was over, he had his soldiers assembled and gave them this brief explanation:

“Dear comrades-in-arms,

“God has brought us here to defend the faith, and to spill our blood in testimony of it, if necessary. I fear nothing in this life, except to offend God, and I do not fear to die. This supposes that everyone [of you] will obey the orders of the militia, and will abstain from offending God, because I cannot but punish with death a man who deserves it; otherwise, I could not live with my conscience, something that I must do without fail, even if I am to be left alone to fight the enemies of our Holy faith.”

Whereupon the soldiers remained no less in awe of his valor than edified by his Christianity, and they offered their persons and lives that he might take them wherever he wished. Among the people he had captured there was an old woman. He had her hands

ted in order to use her as a guide, to lead them to her town,¹ and capture the chief, so that, as long as he was kept prisoner, and retained as a hostage, he would send someone to this Island of Guan, to collect certain news of what was happening here. In fact, the Sergeant-Major went out at night when he was least expected, with the Indian woman, and arrived at the town when the inhabitants were all asleep. So, he was able to make a great destruction among them, killing over 200 of them, but moved by pity, and with the desire to achieve his purpose, he arrived at the house of the chief, and captured him along with another, from whom he learned with much consolation that our men in Guan were alive.

The next day, people from the town of the two prisoners and many others came with their small gifts, to ask for peace, but the Sergeant Major proposed that if they wished to free the Chief, and his companion, it was necessary to despatch to Guan a canoe with letters, to get certain news about the Governor, soldiers, and Religious, from whom they had to bring an answer. They agreed to this, albeit with difficulty. Once the letters were written, he gave them to the man who had to take them, entrusting him to take them in complete secrecy, and if they were lost by his fault, or he did not bring an answer, he would have to kill those who remained as hostages and destroy all the people of Saypan, etc. The bearer promised to comply with what his orders faithfully. He embarked and arrived with the despatch to this Island of Guan, and went to the house of a friend of his, a fine Christian, who in this uprising had exposed his life many times, as they tried to kill him when he came as often as possible to tell us about the plans of the enemy. Our whole good luck consisted in the fact that the Indian who came from Saypan with the letters happened to have been a friend of this faithful Christian; otherwise, under the present circumstances, the letters would not have arrived, and we would never have learned about the fate of the others. However, God took pity on account of so many calamities afflicting this Christian community and arranged, out of His almighty providence, for the despatch to be delivered to a man who, though Christian, lived among the enemies.

As soon as this good Mariano Indian received the letters, he left his town with great dissembling and came to this fort. He arrived at two in the morning, and a distance of an arquebus shot he began to shout, invoking the name of the Most Holy Sacrament, the signal that he had given to us to recognize him, whenever he came at odd hours. He came into the fort and gave the letters to the Governor who, in the presence of everyone, were read with so much jubilation that there is no eloquence that could sufficiently make up for it. After he had read the letters, the Governor answered to the Sergeant-Major that, as it appeared that these Indians had him in a tight situation, he should withdraw to Guan with his men; in fact, as the people of Saipan were conquered, he had access to their canoes, and had sailors to bring them in. The Sergeant-Major then obeyed this order, without paying attention to the damages that would follow in abandoning what had been recently conquered, nor in the very great dangers that awaited

1 Ed. note: We know from the other accounts that the town in question was Obyan.

him at sea in such a difficult voyage undertaken during those months when the winds were very furious for canoes so weak. Under such risky circumstances, Indians had to be in charge of the canoes, though their loyalty could be questioned, as they were recently conquered; to escape with their lives intact could be considered an obvious miracle.

Only the sagacity of said Sergeant-Major Don José de Quiroga, and his keen awareness could have prevented so many dangers, and although he placed his whole trust in God, by having his men go to confession and take communion at the time of departure, he took precautions to avoid dangers at sea, by making sure that his soldiers observe his detailed orders very carefully; for instance, they were to pass far off the Island of Tinian on account of the currents, and seas, that are very furious as one approaches this Island. However, out of the 8 canoes they were in, 3 of them went close to the tip of Tinian, and without knowing how, they were lost to sight, and the 15 soldiers who were aboard them as well. It was not possible for the Sergeant-Major to go and look for them in the dark; nevertheless, he tried to do so but his canoe and the other 4 filled with water. Still, he waited for them for a few hours until he could not wait any longer in the waters of that neighborhood, as he ran such a great risk there. So, he found himself obliged, with great sorrow in his heart, to leave those 3 canoes behind and pursue his voyage with the others, so as not to lose everything. However, as in all his enterprises this one was just as zealously for the divine and royal service, God was pleased to console him; in fact, a few days after he got to Guan, the news arrived to the effect that they had all made port, some to Tinian and others to Seypan, where they were given protection by the enemies, against all hopes indeed. As of this date, they are being kept there but treated well.

The men who arrived here on 23 November 1684 with the Sergeant-Major were 20 soldiers and 1 priest,¹ and although out of these 20 soldiers only 12 were useful, there was an immediate improvement in our situation. In fact, the enemies lifted their siege and without delay, considering themselves all lost, they began to abandon this Island in large bands, stunned that the people of Seipan had been forced to transport them. They left in our power their towns, houses, and crops full of rice and root vegetables.

Said Sergeant-Major conferred with his Governor, Don Damian de Esplana, on the necessary means, and there were many indeed, to restore what had been lost during this general uprising, but the misfortune was that the Governor refused to take advantage of such good beginnings for the purpose intended, although his Sergeant-Major made repeated attempts at it, begging him, given that he could not decide to do so himself, to try some sortie, if he wished to make use of his services, all he had to do was order him to do what he could and should do for the service of both Majesties; indeed, it was for that purpose that he had recalled him [from Saipan] at the cost of so many dangers, and for his part he was ready to face whatever hardship was necessary for this, and to stop other greater damages, that could be expected otherwise, etc.

1 Ed. note: This was Fr. Cuculino [i.e. Kuklein].

As for myself, when I saw that the Governor was so greatly amiss, without a possibility of convincing him to make some decision in a matter so serious and so important, as it involved the eternal salvation of so many souls, for whom I felt responsible, being Superior in things spiritual, I saw myself obliged to beg him in writing,¹ to please give his permission to make them come back, in accordance with divine and human laws, in order to restore the Christian community to the flourishing state in which he found it when he began his term as political and military governor, but all I could do was comply with my conscience, and I was left without the consolation that I sought, not just myself, and all the Religious, but also the soldiers themselves, and even these Mariano natives who, during this uprising, had remained loyal with a great delicacy, and had exposed their lives in the defence of the divine and Royal service.

O, dear Catholic and Royal Majesty, I could have shed tears of blood at seeing what was happening; indeed, neither the sight of so many souls being forever lost, nor my having requested him on behalf of that good God, and of the most precious blood of Our Lord Jesus Christ, and of the very pious and Catholic entrails of your Royal Majesty was enough to encourage him. There is nothing left for us to do to console ourselves, except to prostrate ourselves at the Royal feet of your Catholic Majesty, for whose long and very happy life, succession, peace and increases in all the estates and kingdoms of your Catholic Royal Majesty, for the greater glory of God and increases in the Holy Catholic Church we apply all our labors, prayers, and Holy Sacrifices, as is our obligation, etc.

From Agaña in San Juan de Guan, one of the Marianas, 15 May 1685.

Catholic Royal Majesty:

At the feet of Y.M., he who kisses the royal hands, on behalf of the Ministers of this Mariana Mission and of all the poor Mariano Islanders who have remained faithful, courteous, and loyal vassals of Y.M.,

Your most unworthy chaplain and servant,
Gerardo Bovens

1 Ed. note: See Fr. Bouwens' letters to Governor Esplana, Doc. 1684K.

Documents 1685F

An English pirate, Captain Eaton, visited Guam in March 1685

F1. Letter from Fr. Bouwens to the Governor of the Philippines, dated Guam 20 May 1685

Sources: AGI Fil. 13-1-9, fol. 14v-19, pp. 168-177; copy in Ultramar 562.

Original text in Spanish.

Señor

*En esta doy parte a V.A. de como a veinte y quatro del mes de março de este presente año mill seis çientos ochenta y cinco amanecio en esta Isla de Guajan sierto vagel de alto bordo al qual saliendo luego a reconocer el Governador D. Damian de Esplana[,] embarcado con quarenta hombres[,] persuadiendose avia de ser el Galeon que de Acapulco venia tan antes de tiempo para Manila[,] hallo al descubrir a dho vagel era de alguna nazion estrangera y assi se hubo de retirar con los suyos para no ponerse a mayor riesgo[.] a veinte y siete se les embio a bordo una carta en quatro diferentes lenguas en nombre y con firma del dho Governador D. Damian de Esplana a quien el Capitan del vagel respondiendole **en frances**. Dixo que venia de Bordeaux aviado por aquellos mercaderes avia año y medio que sin yntençion de haser mal a nadie yba en demanda de nuebos descubrimientos[,] que casualmente avia dado con estas yslandas y necesidado de agua y leña[,] le pedia liçençia de proveerse y que por traer no pocos enfermos de su gente deseaba sumamente alguna carne a pagarsela[.]*

Embióle nuestro Governador los puercos que tenia con promessa de ir a cazarle otros mas[,] dando le assimismo la lizençia que pedia para hazer aguada este por todo el tiempo que al Capitan le pareçiesse[.] este satisfecho del agasajo en agradecimiento ademas de unas seis escopetas dejó a nuestro Governador D. Damian de Esplana quatroçientas libras de polvora y a doce de abril enparejandose con este fuerte[,] vino a despedirse tomando su viage en demanda del Japon.

El Capitan de la nao se llamó Thomas Liege [or Brige,] el piloto hombre moso era ingles y tales pareçian los mas de la gente que por todos eran al pie de ciento todos cassi

hereges[.] el escrivano se conocio ser frances y catolico por el se llego a saber que eran sinco las naos que un mismo tiempo avian salido de Francia por diferentes rumbos para las Indias llevando a un mismo intento de hacer nuevos descubrimientos[.]

Esta noticia doi a V.A. por lo que pudiera conducir al vien publico de esas provincias y al Real servicio de su Magestad que Dios guarde.

Guahan y mayo veinte de mill seisçientos ochenta y cinco.

Besa la mano de V.A. su mas indigno capellan y sierbo.

Gerardo Bovens

Translation.

Sir:

By the present I report to Your Highness that, on the morning of 24 March of the present year 1685, there appeared at this Island of Guajan a certain sea-going vessel. The Governor, Don Damian de Esplana then went out with 40 men to reconnoiter it, as he was persuaded that it was the galleon from Acapulco, very much ahead of time and bound for Manila. He found out that said vessel belonged to some foreign nation. So, he retreated with his people so as not to place himself at risk. On the 27th, a letter written in 4 different languages¹ was sent to them, on behalf of and bearing the signature of said Governor, Don Damian de Esplana, to whom the Captain of the vessel answered **in French**. He said "that he came from Bordeaux, outfitted by those merchants some year and a half ago; that he had no intention of harming anyone, but was on a voyage of explorations; that he had come upon these Islands by chance, and needed water and wood; he asked permission to refresh and, as there were not a few sick aboard, he extremely wished to buy some meat."

Our Governor sent him the pigs that were on hand, with a promise that he would go and hunt for more, also giving him permission to take on water, for as long as the Captain wanted. The latter, being satisfied of the welcome, by way of thanks to our Governor Don Damian de Esplana, gave him, in addition to some 6 shotguns, 400 pounds of powder and, on 12 April, he appeared before this fort to say good-bye, and took his departure bound for Japan.

The Captain of the galleon was named Thomas Liege [or Brige], the pilot was an English lad, and the majority of the men looked like Englishmen. All in all there was an effective of about 100 men, almost all heretics. The notary was recognized to be a Frenchman and a Catholic. Through him it was learned that 5 galleons had left France together and sailed to the Indies by different routes, but all had the same purpose of making new discoveries.

I pass on this news to Your Highness, as it may be useful to the public good of those provinces and to the royal service of His Majesty (God save him).

Guahan, 20 May 1685.

¹ Ed. note: Cowley wrote in his journal that the languages used by the Jesuit missionaries, on behalf of Esplana, were Spanish, French, Latin, and Dutch.

Your most unworthy chaplain and servant,
 who kisses the hands of Your Highness,
 Gerardo Bovens

F2. Letter from Fr. Bouwens to the King, dated Guam 28 May 1685

Sources: AGI Fil. 13-1-9, pp. 17-18, 20; formerly in AGI 13-2-25; copy in AGI Ultramar 562.

Original letter in Spanish.

Señor.

Doy cuenta a V. Magd. de como a 24 de Marzo 1685 amanecio con esta isla de Guahan cierto bajel de alto bordo: a 27 escriviole a n[uestr]o Gob[ernad]or D. Damian de Esplana; y por la repuesta, que recibio, supo ser nao francesa. Dijo su Cap[ita]n, por nombre Thomas Liege, avia año y medio, que aviado por unos mercaderes, salio de Bordeaux en demanda de nuevos descubrimientos sin intento de dañar a nadie.

Pidio dho Capn. licencia a nuestro Gobernador de hacer aguada, y proveerse de leña: Diosela embiandole asimismo alguna carne, de que dho Capn necesitava para los enfermos; A los quales queriendo yo acudir con los Santos Sacramentos hallè ser la major parte herejes; y segun hablaban mal la lengua francesa, dieron fundamento de sospechar, ser la nao Inglesa.

Por medio del escrivano de dho bajel, que conocidamente era Catholico y Frances de nacion, se supo, que otro quatro bajeles avian salido a un tiempo para las Indias tomando cada uno su rombo distinto; pero con el mismo intento de descubrir nuebas tierras.

A 12 de Abril se emparejo dho bajel con esta fortaleza y hecha la salva a las armas Catholicas de V. Magd., prosiguió su viage por el Norte en busca del Japon.

La nao era muy ancha de bque [sic = buque? beque?], y encogida de costados, sin embarazo ninguno por todo el combes: ni castillo de popa tenia. Era pertrechada de 26 piezas de artilleria, con cien hombres poco mas o menos, todos gente muy escojida y bien exercitada en el manejo de las armas.

Esta noticia he dado al Gobierno de las islas Philipinas, y al viRey de Mexico, por lo que pudiere conducir al Real servicio de V. Magd. cuya Real persona guarde Dios N. Señor con la paz, y tranquilidad que conviene para el bien y aumento de la Monarquia.

Guahan una de las islas Marianas y Mayo 28 de 1685 anos.

S.C.R.M.

A los pies de V.M.

Su mas indigno Capellan y siervo

Gerardo Bowens [sic]

Translation.

Sire:

I report to your Majesty how, at daybreak on 24 March 1685, a certain sea-going vessel appeared off this Island of Guahan. On the 27th, our Governor Don Damian de Esplana wrote to them, and by the answer we received, it was learned to be a French ship. Her Captain, whose name was Thomas Liege [sic], said that one and a half years earlier, outfitted by some merchants, he left Bordeaux in search of new discoveries without the intention of harming anyone.

The said Captain asked our Governor for permission to take on water and wood. Permission was granted, and in addition some meat was sent to the said Captain, who was in need of it for the sick. Wishing to help those sick people with the holy sacraments, I found the majority of them to be heretics, and, since they spoke badly the French language, they give a reason to suspect that the ship was English.¹

Through the notary of the said vessel, who was undoubtedly a Catholic and a Frenchman by nationality, it was learned that four other vessels had left together for the Indies, each one taking its own direction, but with the same intention of discovering new lands.

On 12 April, the said ship came by this fortress and, after giving a gun salute to the Catholic arms of Y.M., pursued its voyage toward the north bound for Japan.

The ship had a very broad beam (or bow?) but rather small sides, and had a clean deck, without even a poop castle. She was equipped with 26 guns, with 100 men more or less, all of them well-picked men and well trained in the handling of weapons.

I have given this news to the Government of the Philippine Islands and to the Viceroy of Mexico, in case it may be useful to the royal service of Y.M., whose royal person may God our Lord preserve, with the peace and tranquility required for the good and increase of the Monarchy.

Guahan, one of the Mariana Islands, 28 May 1685.

Sacred Catholic Royal Majesty,

At the feet of Y.M.

Your most unworthy chaplain and servant,

Gerardo Bovens.

Minutes of the Council of the Indies.

Guan, in the Marianas,
to His Majesty.

Gerardo Bovens, Vice-Provincial of the Mariana Mission of the Society of Jesus, May 1685.

It was delivered by Fr. Luis de Morales of the same Society, with a letter dated from the Philippines, on 16 October 1686.

1 Ed. note: Father LeRoux, whose mother tongue was French, would have been able to tell easily.

He reports on the French [sic] vessel that, on 24 March 1685, arrived at that port; the guns, and men it carried; that it was recognized that its intention was not to cause any harm, and it was learned that another four had sailed to discover new lands; and that it left on 12 April, for Japan.

Note that a letter from the Governor of the Marianas has not yet been received about this.

Seen in the Council on 9 November 1688: Letters are to be sent to the Governor of the Philippines and to the Governor of the Marianas, or, to the Viceroy, and then, bring this one forward.

Document 1685G

Letter from Fr. Tilpe to Fr. Matthias Tanner, dated Agaña 16 May 1685

Source: Stöcklein's Welt-Bott I, n° 3.

Original text in German

Brief P. Joannis Tilpe

der Gesellschaft Jesu Missionarii aus der Böhmischen Provintz/ An R.P. Matthiam Tanner besagter Societät Priestern. Geschrieben zu Agadna auf der Marianischen Haupt-Insul Guahan den 16 May 1685.

Innhalt: *Die Marianer rebelliren. P. Joannes Ahumada und er Pater Tilpe werden aus ihren Händen errettet. Ein Frantzösischer See-Capitain strafft die Meuterer ab. Boßhafftige Anschläg diser Barbaren.*

Ehrwürdiger Pater in Christo!

P.C.

Endlich haben wir verwichenes Jahr in dem Heumonat erfahren/ was die Marianischen Insuln seyen; zu wessen Anfang drey Dörffer auf der Insul des Heil. Joannis, so wohl wider die Spanische Besatzung/ als wider unsere Missiones, sich durch eine heimliche Meuterey zusammen verbunden/ und solchen ihren Aufstand den 23 Julii 1684 in das Werck zu stellen den Anfang gemacht haben/ gleichwie solches aus dem Bericht Patris Matthiæ Cuculini mit mehrerem erhellet. Die Rebellen hatten ihr Zeit und Zihl so wohl genommen/ daß ihr mörderisches Vorhaben schier nicht konte fehl schlagen; ge-staltsam sie eben besagten Tag hierzu erwählt hatten/ an welchem unser Vice-Propincial P. Gerardus Bowens, ein Niederländer/ unsere Patres zu einer Versammlung/ so alle halbe Jahr pflegt angestellt zu werden/ zu sich nach Agadna eingeladen hatte.

Ich befande mich damahls auf der Residenz des Heil. Antonii von Padua vier Stund von erwehntem Agadna, ohne das geringste von dem Blut-Baad/ so daselbst vorbe- gieng/ zu wissen. Derentwegen/ weil es Sonntag ware/ machte ich mich gleich nach gehaltenem Gottesdienst auf die Reiß/ um gemeldeter Congregation zu Agadna beyzu- wohnen. Als ich nun die Helffte meines Weegs zuruck gelegt hatte/ begegnete mir ein

Bott mit einem an mich von P. Joanne Ahumada Soc. JESu Missionario, in der nicht weit von dannen gelegenen Dorffschafft Pago, geschriebenen Zettul/ des Inhalts: ich solte mich retten wie ich könnte und mögte; dann der Stadthalter samt unsern Patribus zu Agadna wäre bereits erschlagen worden/ er aber seines Theils wolle zu erst-gesagtem Pago verharren. Ich sagte von einer so betrübten Zeitung meinen Reiß-Gefährten nichts/ auf daß sie mich nicht verliessen und davon liessen/ sondern/ unerachtet der böse Ruff immer mehrers bestätigt wurde/ verfügte ich mich zu benanntem Pater Ahumada, theils bey ihm meine Beicht abzulegen/ theils mit ihm von gegenwärtiger Gefahr mich mündlich zu unterreden. Die Marianer wolten so wohl den lieben alten jetzt-gemeldten P. Ahumada, als mich/ bald zwingen (einen jeglichen auf seiner Residenz) unter ihrem uns verdächtigen Schutz zu verharren: bald durch Botten bereden ohne sicheres Geleit uns nach Agadna zu flüchten; wir aber/ so den Braten gerochen/ blieben so lang zu Pago beysammen/ biß der tapffere und gottsförchtige Marianische Edelmann Ignatius Inete, mit einer Schaar treuer Indianer aus dem Dorff Sinahan selbst angelangt/ und beyde gantz sicher nach Agadna zu dem Stadthalter in die Schantz gelieffert hat/ allwo wir mit unsern übrigen Missionariis, und denen wenigen Spanischen Soldaten bereits in den zehenden Monath von denen aufrühischen Marianern belagert werden. Wir wohnen hierselbst in elenden Casarmen, und leyden mancherley Trangsal/ nicht ohne innerlichen Trost/ aus Zuversicht und Liebe desjenigen/ welcher auf Erden kein Plätzlein gefunden/ wo er sein Haupt könnte hinlegen.

Doch hat uns indessen ein wenig Luft gemacht der großmüthige Held Herr Joseph von Quiroga, Obrist-Wachtmeister und diser Eilanden Vice-Commendant, als er vor 6. Monathen aus der Insul Saypan mit einigen Hülfss-Völckern und seinem liebsten Priester/ den er aller Orten mit sich herum führt/ nemlich unserem Patre Mathia Cuculino bey uns anlangte; inmassen er die Rebellen auf eine Zeit lang verjagt/ und die Belagerung aufzuheben gezwungen hat. Allein eben solche Flucht wusten sie ihnen zu Nutzen zu machen; da ein abtrünniger Philippiner/ welcher/ nachdem er samt vier andern aus der Schantz nächtlicher Weile durchgegangen/ sie beredet hat die Insul zu verlassen/ auf daß wir Jesuiten/ weil wir niemand mehr wurden predigen und bekehren können/ hierdurch veranlasset wurden/ von hier nach denen Philippinischen Insuln zu übergehen/ welchenmach die Spanische Besatzung in eine solche Zaghafftigkeit gerathen solte/ daß sie mit derselben bald wurden fertig werden.

Aber sie befinden sich allerdings betrogen; sintemahl/ es koste auch unser Leben/ wir von diesen Eilanden nicht ehender werden abweichen/ biß unsere Obere uns von hier werden abruffen. Ja wir hoffen zu GOTT/ daß er uns bald aller Angst/ so wir hier ausstehen/ befreyen/ und dieses Gesind zu Paaren treiben werde.

Den 24. Mertzen dieses lauffenden Jahrs 1685. erschiene in dem Angesicht unserer Insul ein kleines Frantzösisches Kriegs- Schiff zu 26. Stücken und 70. Mann/ welches wir anfangs als ein unseriges aus denen Philippinischen Insuln verhofftes Hülfss-Schiff angesehen; der Commendant unserer Vestung schickte zum andernmaahl eine Schaluppe/ um dasselbige auszukundschaften/ das drittemahl aber gab er dem abgesandten Officier in vier/ als Lateinischer/ Spanischer/ Frantzösisch- und Niederländischer

Sprachen Pfd-Brieff mit/um zu erforschen/woher und wohin ihr Lauff gerichtet wäre? Der Capitain gab zur Antwort/ sie wären Frantzosen/ welche vor zwey Jahren aus Franckreich abgestossen hätten in Gesellschaft vier anderer Schiffen/ welche in dem Meer herum creutzten/ um neue Insuln zu entdecken. Ihr Absehen wäre nach Japon zu fahren/ baten derowegen ihnen einige Lebens-Mittel zu verkauffen/ wie auch frisches Wasser zu erlauben. Er ward seiner Bitt gewähret; der Obrist schickte ihm einige Schweine/ wie nicht weniger etliche Säck Waitzen und Reiß/ wogegen er uns vier Tonnen Pulvers und etliche Flinten verehrt hat. Hiernächst liesse er sein Schiff fleißig beschauen und ausbesseren/ biß er endlich den 11. Aprilis seines Weegs gegen Norden fortgesegelt ist.

Die Marianer bedienten sich dieser Gelegenheit/ als sie die Frantzosen mit Geschencken/ so in Hünern und Früchten bestunden/ ersucht haben/ sich mit ihnen in eine Bündnuß einzulassen/ und die Spanier gesamter Hand von disen Eilanden zu vertilgen. Der Capitain thate wie ein rechtschaffener Frantzöß; indem er ihren Gesandten befohlen auf das Schiff voraus zu gehen/ (dann er war auf das Land ausgestiegen/ allwo sie auch ihr Begeren ihm vorgetragen hatten) ihrer vier bestiegen demnach das Schiff/ welche er/ da er bald nachgekommen/ an Händen und Füßen hat binden lassen/ in dem Vorhaben/ sie dem Obrist nach Agadna zu schicken. Inmassen aber sie ihnen von solcher Uberantwortung nichts gutes traumen konten/ haben sie ein Mittel gefunden die Strick aufzulösen; da dann ihrer drey in das Meer gesprungen seynd/ doch ohne einigen Vortheil/ allermassen so bald sie sich gestürzt hatten/ dieselbige von der Frantzösischen Schiff-Wacht mit Feuer-Röhr seynd tod geschossen worden. Eben also seynd sie mit denen übrigen Insulanern verfahren/ welche auf dem Land stunden/ auf welche sie gleichfals Feuer gegeben/ und derer einen mit vier Kuglen in das Graß gelegt haben. In solche Frantzösische Mody wusten sich die Indianer so wenig zu schicken/ daß sie eilends die Flucht ergriffen/ und sich von der Zeit an niemahls mehr einen Bund zu schliessen haben gelüsten lassen. Der vierdte gefangene Marianer hielte für rathsamer auf dem Schiff zu verbleiben/ dessen sich die Frantzosen als eines Dollmetschens in dem Haafen/ so lang sie allda vor Ancker lagen/ bedient/ kurtz aber vor ihrem Abzug ihn frey entlassen haben.

Dergleichen Trost/ Liebe und Danckbarkeit geniessen wir allhier von unsern geistlichen Kindern/ welche unsern Todt nicht allein wünschen/ sondern auf alle Weiß thätlich zu bewecken suchen. GOtt wolle es ihnen verzeyhen/ und ihre Boßheit mit seiner Barmhertzigkeit belohnen/ auf daß sie bald in sich selbst gehen/ und sich gegen uns vernünftiger aufführen. Euer Ehrwürden geruhen ihnen zwar ihre Bekehrung/ uns aber die in dergleichen übereinander gehäuften Trangsalen nöthige starckmüthigkeit und Gedult von dem Allerhöchsten durch ihr Heil. Meß-Opffer auszuwürcken/ in welcher Hoffnung mich demüthig empfehle.

Euer Ehrwürden

Gegeben in der Schantz des H. Ignatii zu Agadna den 16. Maji 1685.

Diener in Christo, Joannes Tilpe der Gesellschaft JEsu Missionarius.

Mit meinem Spanischen Nahmen Ludovicus Turcotti von Nissa genannt.

Translation, by P. H.

Letter by Father Juan Tilpe

Missionary of the Society of Jesus, from the Bohemian Province, to the Reverend Father Matthias Tanner, Priest of said Society.

Contents: Rebellion of the Mariana Islanders. Fr. Juan Ahumada and he, Fr. Tilpe, escape with their life. A French [sic] sea Captain¹ punishes the mutineers. Vicious attacks by these barbarians.

Reverend Father in Christ.

Peace of Christ!

In July of last year, we have finally learned what the Mariana Islands really are. At the beginning of that month, three villages on the Island of San Juan had allied themselves in a secret mutiny against the Spanish occupation and against our missions. They had taken the first steps toward a rebellion on 23 July 1684. Father Matías Cuculino's report² will describe this in greater detail. So well had the rebels chosen their timing and their targets that their murderous project could not go wrong. They had chosen precisely the day on which our Vice-Provincial, Father Gerardo Bouwens, a man from the Low Countries [i.e. Belgium], had invited our Fathers to a meeting at his place in Agaña, as he does every six months.

At the time, I was at the residence of San Antonio de Padua,³ four hours from said Agaña, without having the slightest notion of the blood bath which was going on there. It was a Sunday, and I started out on my journey immediately after the service, to attend said meeting in Agaña. When I had travelled half the way, I was met by a messenger who gave me a slip of paper written to me by Father Juan Ahumada, Missionary of the Society of Jesus in the nearby village of Pago. The note said that I should save myself in any way I could or would, that the Governor of Agaña and all our Fathers there had already been killed, and that he himself would remain in Pago. I revealed nothing of this bad news to my travelling companions, lest they would leave me and run away. Instead, although the bad news was more and more confirmed, I went to said Fr. Ahumada, partly so he could hear my confession, and partly to discuss with him in person the imminent danger. The Mariana Islanders wanted to force our dear old Fr. Ahumada as well as me to stay at our respective residences under their protection, which seemed suspicious to us. Then they sent messengers to persuade us to seek refuge in Agaña, but without offering us safe escort. However, since we smelled a rat, we stayed together in Pago until Ignacio Inete [i.e. Hineti], a brave and God-fearing Mariana nobleman, arrived with a band of faithful Indians from the village of Sinahaña. They delivered us safely to the Governor's fort in Agaña, where we, with our remaining missionaries and a few Spanish soldiers, have been besieged now for ten months by the

1 Ed. note: This was the English captain Eaton (see Doc. 1685Z).

2 Ed. note: See Doc. 1685J.

3 Ed. note: This was the only mission inland, that at Mapunpun.

rebellious Mariana Islanders. We live here in miserable barracks, suffering all kinds of hardships, but not without taking inner comfort in the trust and love of Him who has found no place on earth to rest His head.

In the meantime, however, our brave hero, Major José de Quiroga, commander of [the garrison of] these Islands, gave us some breathing space when he arrived here 6 months ago from the Island of Saypan, with some friendly islanders, and with his favorite priest, whom he takes everywhere, namely our Fr. Matías Cuculino. He drove the rebels away for a time, forcing them to halt the siege. Yet they knew how to take advantage of their flight. A Filipino deserter, who together with four others had fled from the fort at night, tried to persuade them to leave the island, so that we Jesuits, since we had no-one to preach to, or to convert, would move away from here to the Philippine Islands, after which the Spanish garrison would lose heart and be easy to overpower.

But they were wrong. Even if it would cost us our lives, we will not leave these islands until our Superiors call us away from here. Yes, we hope to God that He will soon deliver us from all the fear which we must endure, and that He will send this rabble packing.

On 24 March of this year (1685) a small French [sic] warship appeared before our island, carrying 26 guns and 70 men.¹ In the beginning, we thought it would be one of our vessels bringing us aid from the Philippines. Then the commander of our fort sent out a sloop to investigate. The third time, he gave the officer going out a letter in four languages—Latin, Spanish, French and Dutch—to find out where they came from and where they were headed. The Captain replied that they were French [sic], that they had left France two years ago together with four other ships, which are cruising the ocean in search of new islands. Since it was their intention to go to Japan, they asked us to sell them some food and to allow them to take on fresh water. His wish was granted. The Major sent some pigs as well as several bags of corn/maize and rice, which he traded against four barrels of gun-powder and several rifles. Then the Captain had his ship thoroughly inspected and repaired, until finally on 11 April he sailed off, heading north.

The Mariana Islanders took this opportunity, when the French [sic] asked them for presents consisting of chickens and fruits, to seek an alliance with them in order to wipe out all the Spanish on these islands. The Captain acted like an upright Frenchman, ordering their envoys to board the ship. (He had come ashore, where they also told him what they wanted.) The four envoys boarded the ship, and the Captain followed them. He had them tied up by their hands and feet, with the intention of sending them to the Major in Agaña. But since they did not think that this situation could do them any good, they found a way to undo their ropes. Three of them jumped into the sea, but this turned out to be of no advantage to them. The guard aboard the French ship killed them with firearms. They did the same with the remaining islanders who were standing

1 Ed. note: It was not French (which they claimed to be) but an English pirate ship, that of Captain Eaton.

on shore; they also fired at them, sending one to the grave with four bullets. The Indians did not know what to make of such French manners; they quickly fled, and from that time on they have never felt like entering into an alliance again. The fourth captured islander thought it advisable to remain aboard the ship. The French used him as an interpreter as long as they were lying at anchor in the harbor, and shortly before their departure they set him free.¹

This is the kind of comfort, love and gratitude we enjoy here from our spiritual children, who not only wish us all dead, but try by all means to bring about our demise. May God forgive them and repay their malice with mercy, causing them to examine their hearts and to behave more reasonably toward us. May Your Reverence be so gracious as to ask the Almighty through the holy sacrifice of the mass for their conversion, and to give us the strength and patience necessary for the numerous hardships we must endure, in the hope of which I am yours,

Your Reverence,

written inside the fort at Agaña, San Juan [Island], 16 May 1685.

Your servant in Christ,

Juan Tilpe, Missionary of the Society of Jesus [whose Spanish name is Luis Turcotti, from Neiss in Austria].

1 Ed. note: Cowley reported that this man was one of the Filipino deserters, who obviously spoke Spanish, and could communicate with South American “volunteers” on board.

Document 1685H

Letter from Fr. Ahumada to Fr. Francisco García, dated Guam 17 May 1685

Source: Present location unknown; 8-page ms. offered for sale by Maggs Bros. of London in 1923 for 25 pounds (Cat. N° 442, n° 1917, p. 188).

Extracts in the Maggs Catalog

...
I was very glad to get a letter from you... and give due thanks for all the favors you have conferred upon this Mission...

Who, my Father Francisco García, can refer to the unhappy events which have occurred in this mission without shedding copious tears, wrung from the depths of the heart? For, having reached the happy stage we had attained, and which more capable pens than mine will have communicated to you, we are now cast down, but still pray that the Will be done, of God, whose ways are inscrutable, and who has permitted all this to happen.

[He describes at great length the conspiracy which ended in the revolt of the natives, and how he had viewed their entry into the church on the morning of the 23rd July [1684]—the day on which many crimes were committed—with many misgivings.]

We shall not rest until we have again brought these poor souls upon the path of righteousness... Three times had I faced death preparing to submit to the sentence which I knew must be executed against me, yet God has delivered me miraculously—He alone knows why. He confers upon me His favor, so that I may prepare and become worthy of a noble death...

In Agaña they killed Father Manuel de Solorzano, who had relinquished the office of Superior on 13 June, having governed this Mission for 4 years with great ability and zeal for the glory of God and good of the souls. He had followed closely in the footsteps of the Ven. Father San Vitores, whom he emulated. He worked indefatigably, particularly as Superior.

[The writer gives a description of the ferocity with which the Indians attacked other Brothers of the Jesuit Order, and how they killed Father Theofilo de Angelis. He speaks very highly of the Spanish Commander's skill and daring in the crisis.]

From the 6th August until the 23rd November, when the troops were withdrawn to this Island of San Juan, the war continued in Zaypan, during which time they made many incursions into the enemy's camp, according to the laws of strategy which are permissible, and always with fortunate results. The Commander, too, was favored by Providence, such as when all the lances were broken in mid-air—which could not have occurred except by a miracle. Once, too, he was struck by an arrow [sic] which rent his breeches but did not wound him, but he who shot at him did not go unpunished.

[Further graphic details are given of the fierce campaign; and of the arrival of a letter on the 3rd November, giving news of the General's [Joseph de Quiroga] successful termination of hostilities.]

...
These Indians deserve to be severely punished for the many cruelties perpetrated against our people; for the burning of our churches and houses; the wounds inflicted upon the Governor; the 40 soldiers whom they murdered; the two barques they destroyed; and for other innumerable crimes...

The punishment which has been ordered is calculated to instill fear into their hearts, that they may refrain from doing the same again. The murderers of the Priests are to be killed in a different manner from the murderers of the soldiers, for that is what justice demands; and they will thus realize what it means to murder a Father... **And there are many women also who deserve the death penalty**, some of whom, living in the vicinity of the barracks and knowing of the conspiracy, fled without warning the soldiers, although they could have warned them quite well without any risk to themselves...

Etc.

Letter from Fr. LeRoulx to the Duchess of Aveiro, dated Agadña 18 May 1685

Source: Present location unknown; a 4-page ms. cited by S&D 21: 55.

Note: The letter supposedly reports on the native rebellion, the death of some missionaries and therefore the setback suffered by the mission work.

[Will be reproduced in the supplementary volume, if found.]

Document 1685I

Letter from Fr. Cuculino [Kuklein] to Fr. de Boye, dated Agaña 20 May 1685

Source: Stöcklein's Welt-Bott I, n° 7.

Original text in German

Brief P. Matthiæ Cuculini der Gesellschaft Jesu Missionarii

auf denen Marianischen Insuln aus der Böhmischen Provintz. An R.P. Emanuelem de Boye besagter Societät in Boheim vorgesetzten Provincialem. Geschrieben zu Agadna in der Residenz des H. Ignatii auf der Marianischen Haupt-Insul Sancti Joannis den 20. Maji 1685.

Innhalt: *Er verehrt als Martyrer die Patres Strobach und Boranga, und verlangt Briefe aus Europa.*

Ehrwürdiger Pater in Christo!

P.C.

Wann ich alles und jedes/ was wir diß Jahr hindurch/ ich sag nicht gethan/ sondern vielmehr gelitten haben/ beschreiben solte/ würde ich ein grosses Buch anfüllen: weil aber solches zu bewercken mir unmöglich ist/ überschicke ich wenigstens hiemit heuriger Jahrs-Geschichten einen kurtzen Begriff/ welcher zweiffels-ohne Ew. Ehrwürden bewegen wird mit diesen blinden Insulanern ein Mitleiden zu haben/ und die Göttliche Barmhertzigkeit für sie zu bitten. Den P. Augustinum Strobach und P. Carolum Boranga (anderer um des Glaubens willen ebenfalls getödteter zu geschweigen) halte ich für wahre Martyrer oder Blut-Zeugen Christi/ ja ich ruffe sie an (doch nur für mich selbst ohne mich der Macht sie seelig zu sprechen/ einiger Weise anzumassen/) damit sie mir die Gnade/ GOTT heilig zu dienen/ erlangen wollen. Es haben in allem ihrer Fünff/ so von den Marianern seynd entleibet worden/ ihr Blut für das Evangelium vergossen/ welcher Lob und Tod unser P. Joannes Tilpe beschrieben hat/ und mit dieser Gelegenheit in Böhmen überschickt; vielleicht werden wir künftiges Jahr von dieser Sach einen ausführlichen Bericht dahin senden. Wann ich nach dem vierdten Jahr/ als ich in In-

dien bin/entweders von Ew. Ehrwürden oder von einem andern aus unserer Provintz nur ein einziges Brieflein erhalten hätte/wie würde mich solches nicht freuen? Nun hab ich bis auf diese Stunde von dannen noch keine Zeilen empfangen: wiewohl ich meiner Seits keine Gelegenheit dorthin zu schreiben/ habe lassen vorbegehen. Weil aber GOTT mich auch so gar dieses Trostes berauben will tröste ich wenigstens mich selbst mit der Zuversicht/ daß Ew. Ehrwürden nicht ermangeln/ meiner in Dero heiligen Meß-Opfern und Andachten zu gedencken.

Euer Ehrwürden

Gegeben zu Agadña auf denen Marianischen Insuln den 20. Maji 1685.

Wenigster Diener in Christo.

Matthias Cuculinus, der Gesellschaft JESu Missionarius.

Translation, by P. H.

Letter by Father Matias Cuculino, Missionary of the Society of Jesus in the Mariana Islands, from the Bohemian Province, to Reverend Father Emmanuel de Boye of said Society, Provincial of Bohemia.

Written at Agadña in the residence of San Ignacio on San Juan, the main island of the Marianas, on 20 May 1685.

Contents: He admires Fathers Strobach and Boranga as martyrs and requests letters from Europe.

Reverend Father in Christ.

Peace of Christ!

If I were to write down everything that we have not done, but suffered this past year, it would fill a large book. However, since I am unable to do this, I will at least send you, together with this year's journal entries, a brief description which no doubt will move Your Reverence to feel compassion for these blind islanders and to ask for divine mercy for them. I regard Fr. Augustin Strobach and Fr. Carlos Boranga (not to mention others who were also killed for the sake of the faith) as true martyrs or blood witnesses of Christ. I invoke them (but only for myself and without in any way taking it upon myself to beatify them), so that they may bestow on me the grace to serve God in holiness. Altogether, five of them have been killed by the Mariana Islanders. They have shed their blood for the Gospel; Fr. Juan Tilpe has sung their praises and described their deaths and taken this opportunity to report to Bohemia. Perhaps we will send a detailed report of this matter to Bohemia next year. How happy I would be if following the fourth year of my stay in the Indies, I would receive even as much as a single letter either from Your Reverence or from someone else in our Province. To this hour I have received not one line, although for my part I have not missed any opportunity to write. However, since God wishes to deprive me even of this comfort, I console myself with being confident that Your Reverence will not fail to think of me in his holy sacrifices and prayers.

Your Reverence,

written at Agaña in the Mariana Islands, on 20 May 1685.

Your least servant in Christ,

Matías Cuculino, Missionary of the Society of Jesus.

Document 1685J

Jesuit annual report for 1684-1685, by Fr. Cuculino [Kuklein]

Source: Stöcklein's Welt-Bott I, n° 8.

Original text in German

Kurtzer Begriff deren Geschichten/ so sich auf denen Marianischen Insuln von dem Junio an 1684. bis in den Majum 1685 zugetragen haben.

Beschrieben von P. Matthia Cuculino.

Nachdem der über die Marianische Insul bestellte Obrist-Wachtmeister Herr Josephus de Quirga [sic] auf Befehl des Kriegs- und Lands-Obristen Herrn Damiani von Esplana, die drey Insuln Saypan, Tinian und Agiguan von neuem gebändiget und der Spanischen Botmässigkeit unterworfen hatte/ schickte er einen Hauptmann mit 25 Soldaten in Gesellschaft unsers ihm zugegebenen Missionarii P. Petri Comani nach denen übrigen besser gegen Norden gelegenen Insuln/ (so in Marianischer Sprach die Eiland de Gani genannt werden) um dererselben Innwohner zu bereden/ aus solchen öden Oertern sich anher auf die so weitsichtige als fruchtbare Insul Sancti Joannis zu ziehen/ welche ich fürhin Kürtze halber mit ihrem rechten Nahmen Guahan nennen werde. Sie wurden auf allen diesen Eilanden überaus höflich empfangen/ eines ausgenommen/ allwo die Indianer ihm widerstanden seynd/ und eine Zeitlang in Klippen und Felsen/ mit welchen ihr Land wohl verwahret ware/ Sicherheit und Widerstands wegen sich gesetzt haben. Allein auch diese wurden nach einiger Gegenwehr bezwungen/ daß also alle Inwohner dieser Nordischen Insuln sich bequehmet/ ihre Kinder tauffen lassen/ und die meisten sich nach der Obristen Wunsch auf der Insul Guahan häußlich niedergelassen haben.

Da jedermann nun gedachte/ man hätte endlich die Marianische Eilanden in einen so glückseeligen Stand gesetzt/ dergleichen vorhin nimmer hätte können zu wege gebracht werden: meldete sich der leidige Satan auf einmal/ und säete ein verderbliches Unkraut unter diesen guten Saamen; indem er eine Meuterey und blutigen Zwietracht

gestiftet hat/ welcher biß auff diese Stunde noch kein End nehmen will. Die Sach äuserte sich folgender massen:

Auf der Marianischen Haupt-Insul Guahan, wo der Fleck samt der Vestung Agadna (als des Kriegs- und Lands-Obristen Residenz) ist/ ward dem einheimischen Krieg der Anfang gemacht/ als nemlich in einem auf diesen Eiland gelegenen Dorff Nahmens Apurquam (welchem zwey andere Volckreiche Dorffschafften/ nemlich Ritigam [i.e. Ritidian] und Pago bald beygefallen) die vornehmsten Inwohner so wohl ab der ihres Geduncken gar zu strengen Christlichen Zucht/ als Spanischen Botmäßigkeit einen Unwillen gefaßt/ und die alte Heydnische Freyheit wieder herzustellen sich entschlossen/ zu solchem Zweck aber zu gela[n]gen?) nicht allein andere Dörffer/ sondern auch die nechst-gelegene Insuln heimlich an sich gezogen und aufgewicket haben.

*Obschon nun ein Theil deren Insulanern solches Beginnen/ aus welchem (wie aus vorigen jederzeit übel ausgeschlagenen Unruhen) nichts als des Landes selbst-eignes Verderben erfolgen würde/ aus Liebe des Christlichen Glaubens und der allgemeinen Wohlfahrt mißbilligte; so gewanne dennoch der andere zum Aufstand geneigte Theil/ als der grössere Hauffen/ die Obhand und faßte den Schluß/ alle Ausländer/ so geistlich- als weltliche völlig aus ihren Insuln zu vertilgen. Es gebrach ihnen nicht lang an einem Rädelführer; weil bald angangs ein mächtiger und edler Marianer Nahmens **Antonius Juda** [sic] sich selbst zum Haupt aufgeworffen und denen zusammen geschwornen nachdrücklich zugeredt hat; sie solten doch einmal Hand anlegen/ und eine so wohl ausgesonnene/ auch mit guter Weile reifflich überlegte Sach in das Werck stellen/ ehe die Spanier ihren Bund entdecken/ mithin vorkommen/ und die Urheber erbärmlich hinrichten würden: Er seines theils wolte sich an die Spitz des Marianischen Heers setzen; einem jeden sagen/ was er zu thun hätte: sich keiner Gefahr entziehen/ sondern den allerfrechesten Streich/ nemlich den Obristen selbst todt zu schlagen/ über sich nehmen.*

*Demnach er durch so unruhige Bemühung zum ersten Angriff nicht mehr/ dann sechzig Mann zusammen gebracht hatte; feyerte er keinen Augenblick/ sondern kehrte zu dem blutigen Trauer-Spiel alle Anstalten mit solcher Behutsamkeit vor/ daß die Spanier desselben nicht ehender Lufft bekommen/ bis er ihnen das Messer an die Gurgel gesetzt hat: da er in der Nacht zwischen dem 22 und 23 Julii 1684 seine rebellische Mannschafft in gewisse Rotten abgetheilt und einer jeden Schaar/ was ihr obläge/ umständiglich befohlen hat. Diese musten denen Spanischen Soldaten/ so außerhalb der Vestung waren/ aufpassen und sie unversehens auf die Haut legen: andere die Schildwachten bey dem Schlagbaum und vor des Obristen Hauß (dann er wohnte heraus in dem Marckfleck) ermorden: etlich die Vestung selbst angreifen: einige die Jesuiten/ derer Residenz samt Kirchen und Pflantz-Schul gleichfals ausser der Schantz ware/ erschlagen: er aber (Antonius Juda) behielte ihm selbst bevor samt drey andern Rebellen den Obristen zu erwürgen. Es hat wenig gefehlt/ daß ihm nicht alles nach Wunsch wäre von statten gangen: Ja wir müssen der **Barmhertzigkeit GOTTES allein zuschreiben/ daß wir nicht alle seynd verzehret worden: Misericordia Domini, qui non sumus consumpti.***

Den 23 Julii/ so ein Sonntag ware/ kamen erwehnte Meuterer unter Anführung ihres Haupts des Ertz-Schelmen Antonii Juda von dem Dorff Apurguam nach Agadna, wo die Vestung samt dem Marckfleck ist/ nicht als offenbare Feind (dann sie hatten ihr Gewehr/ so da in einem Sabel/ einem Stileth/ und einem Wurff-Pfeil oder Speer aus Bein bestunde/ dermassen künstlich versteckt/ daßes niemand konte wahrnehmen) sondern als Gleißner unter dem Schein Christlicher Andacht/ und wohnten so wohl der Meß als dem übrigen Gottesdienst bey. Da solcher nun geendet war/ gieng Antonius Juda mit seinen drey Gesellen graden Weegs auf den Obristen loß/ welchen sie gantz allein ohne einiges Gewehr auf der Gassen spazierend und nichts Böses vermuthend wie angetroffen/ also auch mit vielen Stößen durchstochen und so lang an ihm gearbeitet haben/ biß sie von einem Kind/ welches anfieng mit heller Stimm zu schreyen/ verathen worden; da dann zwey Spanische Soldaten herzu geloffen seynd/ derer einer mit einem Spieß den Antonium Juda durchrennet/ der andere aber/ als er sich auf der Erden noch wehrete/ mit dem Sabel ihn todt gehauen hat. Zu gleicher Zeit stellte sich ein Bedienter des Obristen ein/ und erstache einen andern aus denen drey noch übrigen Meuchel-Mördern: Worab die zwey andere sich hefftig entsetzt und die Flucht ergriffen haben. Der halb-todte Obriste/ so auf der Strassen in seinem Blut lage/ ward aufgehoben und in sein Hauß gebracht.

Mitler Weil laufft derer Meutern einer mit seinem Hauffen schnaubend in unser Hauß/ und rufft so laut/ als er immer kan/ der Obrist seye erschlagen worden. Ehe man aber sich umsah/ waren schon alle Zugäng und Stiegen unserer Residenz von ihnen besetzt/ daß kein Mensch weder ein noch aus könnte. Auf gegebene Losung thun sie zur Sach/ und üben an unsern Missionariis ihr Hencker-mäßiges Vorhaben aus; sie machen den Angang mit dem Vice-Provincial R.P. Gerardo Bowens, welcher unter seiner offenen Zimmer-Thür in einem Gespräch mit zwey getreuen Marianern begriffen war; sie erlegten ihn mit zwey blutigen Wunden/ und zwey harten Kolb-Streichen/ dem einen in die Seiten/ dem andern an das Hufftbein/ und wurden zweiffels-ohne ihn gar um das Leben gebracht haben/ wann nicht ein Bruder/ so zu allem Glück bey ihm in dem Zimmer war/ die Thür zugeschlossen und innwendig verrigelt hätte. Auf diesen Lermen sprang P. Emmanuel von Salorzano [sic] ein recht Apostolischer und wohlverdienter Mann/ unwissend/ was da vorbey gieng/ aus seinem Gemach auf den Gang/ welchen sie mit Dolchen/ Stilethen und Kolben so erbärmlich zerfleischt haben/ daß er noch selben Abend verschiede. Indem etliche auf R.P. Bowens, andere hingegen auf P. Solarzano [sic] zuschlugen/ wagte sich ein dritte Rott Mörder an Patrem Diego oder Jacobum Zarzosa dem sie mit dem Kolben einen guten Streich auf das Haupt gegeben/ worauf er ihnen eilends entwichen/ und zu dem Herrn Obrist/ um ihn Beicht zu hören geloffen ist: Andere haben den Bruder Balthasarem du Bois mit Hauen und Stechen nicht allein gräßlich verwundet/ sondern seine Hirnschalen mit Kolben also zerschmettert/ daß er nach wenig Stunden den Geist aufgab: Einige seynd zwar eben so grob mit Bruder Petro Pavon verfahren/ welcher aber wider jedermans Vermutken noch mit dem Leben davon gekommen ist: Etliche haben einen andern recht lieben und heiligen aus denen Philippinischen Insuln gebürtigen alten Mann/ der sich selbst/ doch ohne Gelübd/ un-

serer Societät freywillig geschenckt hatte/ abscheulich zu schanden gehauet. Der gleichen Männer/ die sich auf solche Weiß der Gesellschaft aufopfferen/ gibt es in beyden Indien mehr/ welche derowegen Fratres Donati (als sagte ich: **Opffer-Brüder**) genannt werden. Es war hiemit des Metzgens und Mordens noch kein End; dann ein jede Mord-Rott thate das ihrige zu gleicher Zeit bewercken: da etliche in der Kirchen/ andere auf denen Gassen/ diese in denen Häusern/ jene um die Vestung/ andere auf dem Feld die Spanische Kriegs-Leuth aufgesucht/ achtzehen dererselben auf unterschiedliche Weiß gröblich verwundet/ vier aber gar getödtet haben. Unter die Todten seynd zu zehlen zwo Schildwachten/ die eine bey des Obristen Hauß/ die andere bey dem Schlagbaum vor der Vestung.

Unter währendem disem Blut-Bad lase der behertzte Mann P. Augustinus Kerschbaumer oder/ wie ihn die Spanier nennen/ Cerezo, in der Kirch in dem Marckfleck seine heilige Meß/ welche er noch vor dem Lärmen gleich nach der Predig angefangen hatte. Man warnete ihn zwar zeitlich/ er solte wegen äusserster Gefahr/ in welcher er samt denen allerheiligsten Geheimnissen [rather Geheimnissen] sich befande/ dieselbe abbrechen; er aber liesse sich auf keine Weiß schröcken/ sondern fuhre mit dem Göttlichen Opffer gantz andächtig fort/ ohne sich im geringsten irren zu lassen: er reichete so gar einem Soldaten auf dessen Bitt das H. Altar-Sacrament. Als aber zu gleicher Zeit eine Schaar zusammen-geschwornen Indianer mit gewaffneter Hand in die Kirch einfiel/ gieng er ihnen/ mit der Heil. Fronleichnams-Büchsen in der Hand/ biß in die Mitte der Kirchen entgegen; ab welcher kecken Helden-That die Mörder dergestalt erschrecken/ daß sie aus dem Gotteshauß ohne jemand zu beleydigen abgezogen/ etliche gar davon geloffen/ andere aber sich hin und wieder zerstreuet haben. Bald hernach hat er mit eben dieser H. Sacraments-Büchsen eine andere Rott Indianer/ so auf ihn und seine Soldaten angezogen daher kamen/ machen still halten/ daß sie wie unbewegliche Bild-Säulen vor ihm gestanden/ und nichts schädliches verübt haben; welches gewiß ohne heimliche Mitwürckung Göttlicher Allmacht meines Erachtens nicht hat geschehen können.

Als hiemit die Meuterer ihren teuflischen Lust gebüßt/ und in ein nächst unser Residenz gelegenes Hauß/ welches jedoch nicht verbrunnen ist/ Feuer gesteckt hatten/ nahmen sie die Flucht/ und liessen so wohl unsern Missionariis als denen Kriegs-Leuthen so viel Zeit/ daß sie samt ihren besten Sächlein in die Vestung haben einziehen können/: in welcher sie kaum angelangt waren/ als die Schildwachten meldeten/ es lasse sich ein Hauffen gewaffneter Männer sehen/ welche in Kriegs-Ordnung graden Weegs gegen der Vestung im Anzug wären. Da nun ab einer so betrübten Zeitung sich alles bestürzte/ und sich jederman eines neuen feindlichen Angriffs versahe: wurden wir gähling ungemein erfreut/ als wir bey Annäherung dieses Heers den tapfferen Helden Ignatium **Ineti**, ein edlen und Kriegs-erfahrenen Marianer/ so GOtt und seinem König jederzeit treu verbliebe/ und mit seinem gantzen Dorff uns zu Hülf kame/ erblickt haben; sein Absehen ware/ nicht so wohl die Vestung/ als die Kirch samt unserm Hauß und der Pflantz-Schul wider alle feindliche Anfälle zu beschützen/ wozu er sich gleich

nach seiner Ankunfft dem Obristen anerbotten/ anebst unser betrübtes Schicksal auf richtig beweint hat.

Die Rebellen im Gegenspiel waren kaum nach Hauß kommen/ als sie ohne Zeit- Verlust in alle Dörffer der Haupt-Insul Guahan, folgens auch in die nächste Eilande/ Rota, Saypan und Tinian eigene Botten abgefertiget/ durch dise aber denen vornehmsten Marianern eines jeden Orts dasjenige/ was da zu Agadna vorbeysgangen ware/ mit vielen eingemengten Lugen/ angedeutet/ mithin sie zu einem allgemeinen Aufstand/ mit der Versicherung eines völligen Siegs/ innständigst angetrieben haben; dann sie gaben vor/ die gantze Besatzung zu Agadna samt denen Jesuitem und dem Obristen wäre von ihnen in die Pfanne gehaut worden/ folgens die Zeit ihrer vorigen Freyheit wieder herbey kommen: wann dieselbe nur gesamter Hand eine so glücklich angefangene Sach zum Besten des allgemeinen Vatterlands wolten helfen ausführen. Viel liessen sich bereden: andere widersetzten sich zwar auf eine kurtze Zeit/ fiengen aber bald hernach an mit denen Wölffen zu heulen/ daß/ wenig ausgenommen/ fast alle Inwohner gesamter Insuln wider uns das Gewehr ergriffen/ und sich zu denen Rebellen geschlagen haben.

Die ersten/ so nach denen von Apurquam an der Empöhrung theil genommen/ waren die Innsassen des Dorffs Ritiyam [sic]; dann einer von diesem Ort/ welcher mit denen Apurquanern bey dem Blut-Spiel zu Agadna sich eingefunden hatte/ machte seinen Mit-Burgern weiß/ alle Spanier so wohl geistliche als weltlichen Stands wären allda würcklich aus dem Weeg geraumt/ und bewoge hierdurch ihrer viel/ sich mit denen von Apurquam wider die noch übrige Spanier zu vereinigen/ vor allem aber ihren Seelsorger P. Theophilum de Angelis einen wälschen [sic] Jesuiter hinzurichten. Dieser gottlose Priester-Mord ward etlichen ledigen Spitzbuben ihres Dorffs überlassen/ welche den Mann GOTTes noch denselben Tag an das Mastbäumlein eines Schiffs aufgehenckt/ und/ nachdem er über Nacht gestorben/ folgenden Morgen dessen Leichnam in das Meer geworffen haben.

Nichts desto weniger ware der Marianischen Mission und gesamter allhier befindlichen Christenheit Glück/ daß aus sonderbarer Verhängnuß GOTTes die Rebellen eben denselben Tag zu Ausführung ihrer Wuth erwählt hatten/ auf welchen R. Pater Vice-Provincialis alle Missionarios gewisser Berathschlagungen/ und theils erneuerender Gelübden wegen nach Agadna beruffen hatte/ gleichwie noch ben 23 Julii da unser Hauß von vergossenem Blut noch frisch gefärbt ware/ um Mittags-Zeit P. Thomas Cardeneza [sic], Abends aber P. Basilius Roulx und P. Laurentius Bastillo [sic] sich eingestellt haben. Hingegen blieben P. Joannes Ahumada und P. Joannes Tilpe aus; weil sie denen falschen Indianern/ so mit Versprechung ihres Schutzes sie erbitten hatten bey ihnen zu verharren/ gar zu leichtlich-glaubten; dann solche gute Wort ziehleten auf nichts anders/ als auf einen heimlichen Anschlag sie mit guter Gelegenheit todt zu schlagen: Allein der wackere Rottmeister Ignatius Ineti, welcher wegen ihrem Ausbleiben ihm/ was in der That ware/ gänzlich einbildete/ zoge den andern Tag mit seiner Schaar in ihre Dörffer/ holete sie mit gewaffneter Hand ab/ und brachte sie zu uns in die Vestung.

*Da nun die Missionarii in Sicherheit waren/ fanden der Obrist und Pater Vice-Prov-
incialis für rathsam/ dem Obrist-Wacht-Meister Herrn von Quiroga von gegenwärtiger
Unruhe Nachricht zu geben/ nebst angefügtem Befehl/ samt seinen 40 Kriegs- Leuthen/
mit welchen er auf der Insul und Schantz von Saypan sich in Besatzung befande/ wie
auch mit 17 andern Soldaten/ welche mit zwey Schifflein auf dem Eiland Tinian waren/
unverzüglich hieher zu kommen. Allein der Bott hat seine Wort nicht gehalten/ als er
auf der Insul Rota, ohne sich weiter zu wagen/ ist stecken geblieben; wohin wir eben-
fals durch einen andern Briefftrager an Patrem Strobach und Patrem Boranga ge-
schrieben/ und ihnen wegen vorstehender Gefahr sich nach Agadna hieher zu uns zu
verfügen/ aber umsonst/ bedeutet haben; dann/ nach dem sie sich diser Sach wegen mit-
einander unterredet/ die Insulaner annebends mit Versicherung alles Schutzes sie bey
ihnen zu verharren gebetten hatten/ glaubten sie/ es seye in alle Weeg GOTT weit gefäl-
liger/ wann sie als gute Hirten in solcher Wolfs-Gefahr bey ihren Schäflein verharreten/
von welchen sie hernach verlassen/ und endlich theils von den Tinianern/ theils von den
Saypanern gemartert worden.*

*P. Augustinus Strobach, nachdem er eine Kahren bestiegen/ wolte zwar den 27 Julii
hieher nach Agadna fahren: als er aber von dem Meer aus geschen/ daß unsere Kirch
und Hauß nebst andern Gebäuen theils im Brande steckten/ theils schon in der Aschen
lagen/ vermeynete er/ es seye um uns geschehen/ und der Feind habe die Vestung erobert:
kehrte also nach seiner Insul Rota zuruck/ allwo er von dem Indianer, den wir neulich
nach Saypan mit einem Brief geschickt hatten/ (weil er auf gedachtem Eiland Rota ware
sitzen geblieben) erwehntes Schreiben angenommen/ um solches selbst dem Don de
Quiroga nach Saypan zu überbringen. Er ware bereits bey der Insul Tinian angelangt/
legte sich allda vor Ancker/ und schickte seinen Schiffmann auf das veste Land/ um sich
zu erkundigen/ wie die Sachen daselbst beschaffen/ und wie die Indianer in disen Um-
ständen gesunnen wären? Indem er aber auf dem Schifflein der Antwort abwartete/
kamen die Tinianer/ rissen ihn aus seinem Fahrzeug/ und führten ihn zu dem vor-
nehmsten Indianer desselbigen Orts/ welcher ihm sein kleines Crucifix vor allem von
dem Halß gerissen hat/ ja solches zwischen zwey Steinen wurde zertrümmert haben/
wann nicht ein anderer frommer Marianer dasselbe ihm ausgebetten und an seinem
Halß zu tragen versprochen hätte. Die Ursach aber es zu verbrechen ware der Vorwand/
daß der Pater ein Christlicher Ertz-Zauberer seye. Von dannen ward er mit gebundenen
Händen in das Dorff Marpu geführt/ welchem ein gewisser von dem Christlichen
Glauben abgefallener und meineydiger Bößwicht vorstunde/ der dem guten Patri, als
dieser ihn wegen unerträglichem Durst um einen kalten Trunck Wasser bate/ densel-
ben kurtz um abgeschlagen hat. Von hier ward er in ein drittes Dorff gebracht; denen-
jenigen aber/ so ihn dahin lieffern solten/ ist scharff verboten worden/ ihn trincken zu
lassen. Er wurd abermahl einem vornehmen Indianer vorgestellt/ der ihn zu einem an-
dern dergleichen barbarischen Edelmann Nahmens **Quiyao** verwies. Dieser fragte
seine Geleits-Leuth/ was er unter Weegs gethan hätte? Als sie grantwortet/ er habe ohne
Unterlaß einige Gebetter gesprochen/ mit welchen die Christen den wahren GOTT
pflegen anzuruffen; versetzte der Wütrich: **Jetzt werden wir sehen/ was ihm diß alles***

*helffen werde. Der Priester forschte aus ihnen/ warum sie ihn todten wolten/ und was er ihnen jemahls zu Leyd gethan hätte worauf der andere nichts zu sagen wuste. Da aber der Pater wieder das Wortt nahm/ und sich verlauten liesse/ er fürchte sich nicht um Gottes willen/ den er beständig vor Augen hätte/ zu sterben/ in Betrachtung/ daß die ewige Weißheit bestens wüste was für ihn das beste seye: fiel ihm der Marianer in die Rede/ und sagte: **Wir erkennen diesen Gott nicht/ doch last uns sehen/ ob er dir helfen könne?** hube hiemit den Kolben/ so er in der Hand hielte/ in die Höhe/ fasste einen guten Streich/ und schlug den Pater mit allem Gewalt an die Gurgel/ welcher auch bald hierauf heilig verschieden ist. Alle Leuth/ so diesen gottseeligen Blut-Zeugen in Spanien/ America, und anderswo gekennt haben/ geben ihm das Lob/ daß er ein heiliger Mann gewesen seye. Von fernerer Verständnuß deren Tinianern mit denen Saypanern/ wie auch von ihrer Empöhrung werden wir unten an seinem behörigen Ort abermal Meldung thun; jetzt wollen wir die Geschichten von Guahan wieder zur Hand nehmen.*

Den 27 Julii 1684 fanden sich die Rebellen zu Agadna abermal ein/ und legten unsere Kirchen/ Haub/ Pflantz-Schul und andere gegen Aufgang gelegene Gebäu in den Aschen. Ignatius Ineti ist ihnen zwar eine Zeit lang widerstanden; weil aber deren Feinden eine gar zu grosse Menge gewesen/ musste er sich endlich an die Vestung unter die Stuck zuruck ziehen. Nach vollendetem Brand gieng der Feind wieder heim/ und sandte neue Botten an alle Dörffer/ welche bißher in den Aufstand zwar noch nicht eingewilliget hatten/ jetzt aber ihm alle angehangen seynd/ doch Sinachana [sic], so des Ignatii Ineti Sitz ware/ hievon ausgenommen/ welches nach seinem Beyspiel so wohl der Kirch/ als Ihro Catholischen Majestät allzeit treu geblieben ist.

Den 9 Augusti seynd endlich alle nunmehr durgehends rebellische Guhaner vor die Vestung geruckt/ und haben uns von allen Seiten zu ängstigen den Anfang gemacht/ anebst aber ausgestreuet/ unsere hin und wieder verlegte Leuth seyen alle zu Grund gegangen; wodurch sie unserer Besatzung/ welche ohne dem kleinemüthig ware/ allen Muth wurden benommen haben/ wann nicht wir Missionarii sie durch unser geistliches Zureden aufgemuntert/ und sie des Göttlichen Beystands versichert hätten. Die Meuterer wurden zwar für diesesmal durch unser grob- und kleines Geschütz/ wie nicht weniger durch den tapffern Widerstand des Ignatii Ineti, welcher sie zimlich weit verfolgt hat/ vertrieben/ kamen aber

Den 30 Augusti wieder/ und machten alle Anstalten uns zu belagern. Allein/ gleichwie sie vor Zeiten/ als zu Agadna nichts dann nur eine von Erden schlechthin aufgeworfene und mit Pallisaden umzaunte Schantz ware/ den Ort dannoch mit ihren beinernen Wurff-Pfeilen und Stein-Schlingen nicht haben zwingen können; also hatten wir auch jetzt/ da die Vestung rings herum mit einem gemauerten Wall versehen ist/ keine Ursach zu sorgen/ daß sie diesen übersteigen wurden: wann nur unsere Soldaten ihren Muth nicht sincken noch sich leichterdinge erschrecken liessen.

Weil sie nun selbst sahen/ daß sie mit denen Waffen uns nichts abgewinnen wurden/ nahmen sie ihre Zuflucht zu Kriegs-Listen und Verrätherey. Sie liessen erstlich Ignatium Ineti ersuchen/ vielmehr seinem eigenen Vatterland/ als denen unerträglichen Aus-

*ländern beyzustehen/ mit dem Verheissen/ ihm alle erdencklich Ehr und Vorzug einzu-
raumen. Als dieser ihr Anerbieten verachtet/ auch mit uns zu leben und zu sterben sich
entschlossen/ versuchten sie einen andern Streich/ der ihnen fast gelungen wäre; dann
weil etliche Spanier einige Marianerinnen zur Ehe hatten/ auch eine Compagnie Phil-
ippinischer Kriegs-Leuthen in der Vestung lage/ schickten sie unterschiedliche Weibs-
bilder unter allerley Vorwand zu uns/ welche die Philippiner bewegen solten/ entweders
den Obristen zu tödten/ und die Vestung zu übergeben/ oder wertigstens mit Gewehr
und Plunder zu ihnen zu übergehen/ mit der Versicherung/ daß sie all ihr Vermögen mit
denselben Brüderlich theilen wolten. Ein altes Weib/ deren Tochter an einen Philippini-
schen Kriegs-Officier vermählet war/ sprach ihrem Eidam gewaltig zu/ zu solchem
Schelmen-Stuck das Seinige möglichst beyzutragen/ welcher aber seiner Schwieger-
Mutter Anbringen dem Obrist ohne Verzug verrathen/ und ihn zugleich gewarnet hat/
sich vor seinen eigenen Soldaten in acht zu nehmen und die Wachten zu verdoppeln/
damit er nicht etwan verrätherischer Weiß um das Leben gebracht wurde. Dieser Phil-
ippiner heißt Franciscus Masangsong [sic].*

*Hiernächst bliebe denen Feinden uns zu besiegen kein Mittel mehr übrig/ als uns die
Lebens-Mittel also abzuschneiden/ daß wir endlich durch den Hunger zur Übergab bez-
wungen wurden. Inmassen sie aber sich besorgten/ es möchte uns der Obrist-Wacht-
meister Herr von Quiroga mit denen Seinigen zu Hülf kommen; als haben sie/ weil er
auf der Insul Saypan verschantzt lage/ so wohl die Saypaner als Tinianer dahin ver-
mögen wollen/ daß sie denselben bekriegen/ noch die Waffen ehender aus Händen
lassen solten/ biß sie ihn samt den Seinigen wurden vertilgt haben; angesehen sie zu
Agadna ein gleiches thun/ noch ehender das Gewehr niederlegen wurden/ biß der Ob-
rist mit allen Spaniern gantz und gar ausgerottet wäre/ worauf sie sich dann allerdings
zu verlassen hätten. Um der Sach eine desto hellere Farb anzustreichen setzten die Re-
bellen hinzu/ die Zahl deren Ausländern wäre bißher mercklich verringert worden; erst-
lich zwar in Tinian, allwo ihrer siebenzehnen: Zweytens in denen Norder-Insuln/ allwo
zwanzig: Letztlich zu Agadna selbst/ allwo ihrer viel geblieben/ mithin des Feindes
Macht um ein grosses wäre geschwächt worden; welches man aus dem handgreiflich
abnehmen könnte/ daß die Spanier sich nicht unterstehen dörrften einen Fuß ausserhalb
ihrer Schantz zu setzen. Gleichwie aber deren gegen Norden gelegenen Insuln schon et-
lichemal ein Meldung geschehen/ als wird nicht übel aufgenommen werden/ wann ich
von der daselbst geschehenen Niederlag mit wenigen Worten etwas anführe.*

*Es werden deren Marianischen Nord-Insuln acht unter folgenden Nahmen gezehlt/
nehmlich: Anataham, Sarigan, Guguam, Atamagan, Pagon, Agrigam, Belean und
Tinas. Nachdem der hie oben gemeldete Hauptmann mit seinen 25. Kriegs-Knechten
in Gesellschaft P. Petri Comano diese acht Eiland besucht hatte/ ist er gegen End Sep-
tembris gantz unwissend/ daß mittler Weil unsere Insulaner einen Aufstand erweckt/
und seine Schiffler heimlich verführt hätten/ wieder zuruck kommen: aber siche! da
er nicht weit mehr von der Insul Saypan entfernt/ und allda auszusteigen im Begriff
ware/ gaben die Indianische Boots-Leuth einander das verabredete verrätherische
Zeichen/ und stürzten die Soldaten in das Meer/ ohne dem Hauptmann zu verschonen/*

welchen sie den ersten in das Wasser geworffen haben. Solche Ubelthat zu bewercken ware ihnen desto leichter/ je weniger Mißtrauen die Spanier auf die Marianer/ derer Empöhrung oder Verrätherey ihnen verborgen ware/ setzen/ viel weniger solchen erbärmlichen Zufall vorsehen konten. Doch hat **Alphonsus Soon** einen Mann/ so er führte/ und ein anderer Schiffer seine zwey hieher gebracht; weil nehmlich die Insulaner ihnen das boßhaffte Geheimnusz nicht entdeckt hatten. Drey andere Soldaten wurden ebenfals/ da sie mit den Wellen stritten/ aufgefangen/ und also in allem nur sechs Mann errettet/ die übrige zwanzig aber/ (den Hauptmann mitgerechnet) seynd alle ertränckt worden. So bald P. Petrus Comano deren Schiff-Leuthen Schalckhafftigkeit vermerckt hatte/ machte er sich auf/ spielte den Meister auf seiner Kahnen/ und zwange seine Schiff-Leuth/ welche er hefftig erschrockt hatte/ ihn auf die Insul Atamagan auszusetzen/ allwo er unter dem Schutz eines mächtigen und getreuen Marianers mit Nahmen **Antonii Agihi** [sic=Ayih] sich noch heutiges Tags aufhält. Alphonsus Soon ist zwar mit seinem Nachen/ um ihn abzuholen/ dahin gefahren/ aber leer zuruck kommen/ weil der vorsichtige Priester sich ihm auf keine Weisz/ so treu als er es auch meynte/ anvertrauen wolte.

Den 30 Octobris liesse sich gegen Mitternacht die feindliche Flott sehen/ welche etwan in 70 kleinen Schiffen bestunde; solche gehörten denen Innwohneren beyder Insuln Guahan und Rota. Ihre Ankunfft verursachte bey der Besatzung so schwere Gedancken/ daß wir Missionarii den gefallenen Muth deren Soldaten wieder aufzurichten genug zu thun hatten. Diesen Abend erhielten wir allerhand böse Kundschaftten/ daß nehmlich P. Augustinus Strobach auf dem Eiland Tinian, P. Carolus Boranga aber auf der Insul Rota seyen umgebracht worden: wie nicht weniger/ daß der von Norden zuruck gekommene Hauptmann samt seiner Compagnie biß auf sechs Mann ersoffen/ und daß unser Obrist-Wachtmeister Herr von Quiroga auf der Insul Saypan mit weinen noch übrigen etwan 20. Mann von denen Rebellen dergestalt geängstiget werde/ daß er gleichsam samt seiner Schantz in den Zügen liege/ noch sich länger halten könnte.

In unserer Vestung sahen die Sachen eben so übel aus; dann fünff Philippinische Soldaten/ die sich bey der Nacht über die Mauer hinunter gelassen/ waren bereits zum Feind übergangen/ denen fast alle ihre Laands-Leuth bald zu folgen im Sinn hatten/ Es war also weder der Obriste seines Lebens/ noch die Vestung vor einer Verrätherey und Übergab an den Feind sicher. Die gantze Besatzung ware höchstens bestürzt und schwürig/ dasz wir samt denen Officieren uns kaum mehr zu rathen wusten. Inmassen aber die Erhaltung des Orts und der Christlichen Religion/ nächst GOTT/ hauptsächlich an des Obristen Leben hienge/ dieses hingegen dem gemeinen Mann nicht länger könnte anvertraut werden; als haben wir Jesuiter/ unter dem Vorwand denen armen Soldaten den schweren Last so vieler Wachten zu erringeren/ von nun an ihn zu verwachen über uns genommen/ und einander vor seinem Zimmer auf Kriegs-Manier ordentlich abgelöset.

Den 3 Novembris erhielten wir Brief von unserm Obrist-Wachtmeister Herrn von Quiroga, durch welche er uns verständiget/ daß er wider die Saypaner/ so ebenfals rebellirt hätten/ unterschiedliche nahmhafftige Sieg von Zeit zu Zeit erfechte/ mithin auf

selber Insul noch den Meister spiele. Dann es hatten so wohl die Tinianer als Saypaner/ nachdem sie zu End Julii 1684 alles/ was zu Agadna sich zugetragen hatte/ vernommen/ mit gesamter Hand wider die Spanier das Gewehr ergriffen. Die Tinianer zwar hatten auf ihrer Insul alle Dörffer und alle Schifflein ausgesucht; sie fanden nicht mehr als 17. Spanische theils Boots-Knecht/ theils Soldaten/ (welche sie grausamlich erwürgt) wie auch zwey unserige Schifflein/ welche sie durchschlagen und versenckt haben.

Die Saypaner thaten noch mehr; dann gleich den 6 Augusti wolten sie die auf ihrer Insul gelegene Schantz/ in welcher offt-gedachter Obrist-Wachtmeister commandirte/ mit List einnehmen; dann sie kamen in grosser Zahl/ doch zerstreut/ dahin/ und baten/ man mögte ihnen eine Menge Axt und Holtz-Hacken leihen/ mit welchen sie einen gewissen Wald aushacken wurden. Andere hingegen brachten ungemein viel EB-Waaren/ und beschenckten damit so wohl die Officier als gemeine Soldaten/ wodurch ihrer viel nach gewunnener Gunst-Gewogenheit deren Schildwachten inner die Pallisaden sich eingetrungen/ und den Heren de Quiroga, welchem die Sach sehr verdächtig vorkame/ veranlast haben/ denen Wächtern einen scharffen Verweiß zu geben/ seine Soldaten unter das Gewehr zu bringen/ und die Insulaner vor den Schlagbaum hinaus zu treiben. Mit dem allein liessen die Saypaner den Muth nicht sincken/ sondern es blieben ihrer etwan noch viertzig inner der Schantz hin und wieder ausgetheilt: die übrige verfügten sich zwar ausser des Umfangs zu ihren Gefährten/ welche in grosser Anzahl sich in einem Hinterhalt verborgen hatten/ auf daß/ wann die Soldaten ihrer Nothdurfft oder Geschäften halber solten hinaus kommen/ sie dieselbe umbrächten; da zu gleicher Zeit die in der Schantz noch übrige vierzig Marianer auf ein gewisses Zeichen den Obrist-Wachtmeister samt der Besatzung erwürgen solten. Gestaltsam nun auch diser Anschlag wegen Wachtbarkeit des Obrist-Wachtmeisters fehl schluge/ haben sie noch einen andern Streich versuchen wollen: indem sie den vornehmsten Marianer aus dem Dorff Opian zu ihm gesandt/ welcher vor wenig Tügen von demselben Befehl empfangen hatte seinen Sitz zu verändern/ und sich samt seinem Hauffen auf einem gewissen nahe an der Schantz gelegenem Platz häußlich niederzulassen. Dieser edle Indianer dann/ als er zu dem Don de Quiroga gekommen ist/ ersuchte ihn/ sich vor die Vestung hinaus zu bemühen/ und ihm einen Ort/ da er bauen solte/ selbst auszuzeichnen. Das heimliche Absehen solcher Bitt ware/ denselben/ so bald er sich mit einem kleinen Gefolg aus seinem Vorthail wurde hinaus begeben haben/ todt zu schlagen/ und hiernächst sich der Schantz zu bemächtigen. Allein er merckte den Possen alsobald/ und blibe ihnen zu gefallen für dißmal zu Hauß; doch liesse er sein gegen sie gefaßtes Mißtrauen äusserlich nicht viel mercken/ biß ein in der Arbeit nebst andern zuruck-gebliebener Marianer den Soldaten/ welcher über ihn und andere Fron-Leuth die Obsicht hatte/ mit einen Kolben vor den Kopff geschlagen hat: worüber in der Schantz Lärmen gemacht/ und zum Gewehr geruffen wurde. Aber die Verräther ergriffen die Flucht so geschwind/ daß man sich keines aus ihnen hat bemächtigen können.

Als dieses bey und in der Vestung geschahe seynd drey Spanische Kriegs-Leuth/ so Geschäfte halben auf das nächste Dorff verreiset waren/ von denen Rebellen getödtet worden. Da nun sie mit dergleichen Mordthaten und zum Theil mißlungenen An-

schlügen sich selbst verrathen/ und dem einheimischen Krieg einen Anfang gemacht hatten/ schriebe Herr von Quiroga dem nach denen Nord-Insuln mit 25. Mann abgefertigten Hauptmann/ und warnete ihn/ sich vor diesen gefährlichen Meutern wohl in acht zu nehmen; allein die Botten waren untreu/ und der Brief wurd ihm nicht zugestellt.

Den 8. Augusti nahme offit-gemeldeter Obrist-Wachtmeister Herr Quiroga zehen Kriegs-Knecht zu sich/ und gienge mit ihnen auf Kundschaft aus/ damit er/ wie es denen auf der nahe-gelegenen Insul Tinian befindlichen Spaniern ergehe/ erfahren mögte. Aber kaum hatte er die Schantz aus dem Gesicht verlohren/ als vier hundert Rebellen aus dem Wald ihn überfallen/ mit Wurff-Pfeilen und ausgeschleuderten Steinen tapffer angegeiffen/ doch nachdem er mit seiner kleinen Rott auf sie Feuer gegeben/ sich bald zuruck gezogen haben. Allein sie stellten sich zum drittenmal wieder ein/ wurden auch durch immer ankommende neue Schaaren gewaffneter Marianern also gestärckt/ daß/ nachdem er sie etlichemal in die Flucht geschlagen/ um nicht von der grossen Anzahl umzüngelt zu werden/ sich allgemach zuruck gezogen hat/ wozu es die gröste Zeit ware; dann der Feind kame denen Seinigen auch von Seiten des Meers/ auf dessen Ufer dieser Scharmützel geschah/ zu Hülf/ um ihn samt seinen zehen Mann in die Mitte zu bringen/ und von allen Seiten einzuschliessen. Nichts desto weniger wehrte er sich auf seinem Ruck-Marsch mit so wenig Leuthen gegen so viel dergestalt ritterlich/ daß er nach einem scharffen Gefecht von drey Stunden/ ohne Verletzung oder Verlust eines einzigen Manns/ bey denen Seinigen in der Schantz glücklich ankommen ist.

Den 10. Augusti langte auf dem Eiland Saypan ein dem Schein nach (das Hertz kennt GOtt allein) getreuer Marianer an/ und erzehlte dem Obrist-Wachtmeister nach der Länge/ wie daß der Obrist zu Agadna samt denen Jesuitem und der Besatzung biß auf etliche wenig Mann erschlagen: die Kirch nebst der Residentz/ Pflantz-Schul und andern Gebäuen in Brand gesteckt: alle Spanier auf der Insul Tinian hingerichtet/ und der gegen denen Nordischen Insuln verreisete Hauptmann samt seiner Compagnie seye ertränckt worden. Wie wohl dem Don de Quiroga bey so übel beschaffenen Sachen müsse gewesen seyn/ ist leicht zu erachten; dann er hatte unter seinem Befehl nicht mehr als 35 Mann/ auch diese grossen Theils wegen Kranckheiten zum Streit untauglich: er war mit Proviand schlecht versorgt/ Pulver und Bley aber waren schier aufgangen: kein Hülf hatte er nicht zu hoffen; ja er war nicht einmal mit einem Schiff verschen/ auf welchem er entweder sich mit denen Seinigen nach Agadna verfügen/ oder einigen Vorrath hätte einbringen können. Er befande sich also in mitten des Meers in einer von der übrigen Welt und aller menschlichen Gemeinschaft unendlich weit entlegenen Wildnuß/ zu Wasser und Land von blut-durstigen Barbarn gäntzlich umgeben.

Nichts desto minder liesse er seinen Muth nicht sincken/ sondern versammlete seine Soldaten: erzehlte ihnen selbst den gefährlichen Zustand/ in welchem er samt ihnen sich befande/ und sprach ihnen mit hertzbrechenden Worten zu/ sie wolten doch nunmehr als rechtgeschaffene Kriegs-Leuth/ da es ihnen an aller menschlichen Hülf fehlte/ ihre Augen gen Himmel erheben/ und den allmächtigen Herrn deren Heerschaaren um seinen unüberwindlichen Beystand anstehen/ als welchem eben so leicht wäre mit wenigen und gantz verlassenen/ als mit vielen und in allem wohl versehenen obzusiegen.

Sie solten erwegen/ daß sie weder wegen Reichthum/ noch zergänglicher Ehr halben/ sondern bloß allein um der Ehr GOTTes und deren Heyden Bekehrung willen sich entschlossen hätten/ auf diesen elenden Insuln ritterlich zu fechten und zu sterben; er versicherte sie/ den Feind/ so starck als er auch wäre/ durch kleine Partheyen nach und nach unfehlbar zu überwinden/ wann sie ihm nur treulich beystehen/ und seinem Behehl fleißig nachfolgen wurden. Unser ihm zugegebene Missionarius unterstützte seine Rede/ machte denen Soldaten einen Muth/ und brachte sie mit seiner eyferigen Beredsamkeit dahin/ daß sie alle Laster und Mißbräuch unter ihnen selbst abgeschafft/ dem innerlich und äusserlichen Gebett ohne Unterlaß abgewartet/ die heiligen Sacramenten öftters genossen/ und in allen Stücken Christlicher Gerechtigkeit sich dermassen auferbaulich aufgeführt haben/ daß die Schantz in Betrachtung ihres frommen Wandels mehr einem wohlbestellten Kloster als einer Haupt-Wacht gleich sahe.

Von der Zeit an thate Herr von Quiroga mit etlichen Soldaten alle Täg einen oder den andern Ausfall auf den Feind/ und came jedesmal siegreich in die Schantz zuruck/ ohne zu wissen/ wie es seinen Lands-Leuthen oder uns zu Agadna ergehe. Er und seine Leuth haben in mancherley Gefahren/ da sie zuweilen von dem Feind gantz umgeben waren/ den wunderthätigen Beystand des Göttlichen Bräutigams Josephi welchen sie zu ihrem Schutz-Patronen erwählt hatten/ gefühlet/ doch niemahls augenscheinlicher/ als in einem gewissen Treffen/ da die von dem Feind auf sie aus der Schlingen geworfene Stein/ und von dem Bogen loßgeschossene Pfeil in der Luft still gestanden/ und nach gebrochenem Gewalt vor ihren Füßen ohne Schaden zu Boden gefallen seynd.

Hingegen nahmen ihnen die Saypaner vestiglich vor/ die mit so wenig Mannschafft versehene Schantz entweder mit Gewalt oder mit Hunger einzunehmen. Zu solchem End/ nachdem sie schier alles Volck aus denen Insuln Saypan, Tinian, Agigum und zum Theil von Guahan an sich gezogen/ grieffen sie den Ort zu Land und Wasser mit gröster Ungestümme an. Sie schlugen ihr Lager theils gegen Mittag/ theils gegen Mitternacht; dann die Schantz hatte gegen Aufgang einen sumpffichten Morast/ auf welchem die Rebellen mit ihren Schifflein herum kreutzten.

Nach solchen Anstalten fiengen sie den 16. Augusti 1684 an den Ort mit unglaublicher Raserey zu stürmen: die Schleuderer machten den Anfang mit ihren Schlingen/ und warffen eine Menge Stein in den verdeckten Weeg: dieses ware nun die Losung zum Angriff/ auf welche das gantze feindliche Heer an die Pallisaden unsinnig anliesse/ mit einer unverzagten Zuversicht dieselbe zu übersteigen. Der Sturm währete sechs Stund lang/ nach welchem sie mit einem zimlichen Verlust durch deren unserigen stetes Feuer endlich seynd zuruck geschlagen worden/ auch unverrichteter Dingen die Flucht zwar für dißmahl ergriffen/ aber nach der Zeit zu unterschiedlichenmahlen noch zwey Stürm mit grösserer Ungestümme gewagt/ doch nicht das geringste gewonnen/ sondern mit mercklichem Verlust den Ruck-Weeg genommen haben.

Womit Herr de Quiroga sich so wenig vergnügte/ daß er die Schantz seinen krancken Soldaten zur Verwahrung öftters überlassen: mit zwölf bisz achtzehen gesunden aber mehrmahl auf die Feind ausgefallen: ihr mit beinernen und höltzernen Rechen/ mit Sturm-Pfeilen/ Pallisaden/ Graben und Brustwehr wohlverwahrtes Lager überstiegen:

drey biß vier hundert mit Schlingen/ Wurff-Pfeil und anderm Gewehr ausgerüstete Indianer geschlagen und geplündert: ein reiche Beute für seine krancke Soldaten/ die er mehr als ein Vatter seine Kinder liebte/ zuruck gebracht/ und niemahls einen einzigen Mann eingebüßt hat.

Er unterstunde sich noch eines mehreren/ da er durch ihr also zerstörtes Lager etliche Partheyen in das platte land nur mit zwölf/ fünffzehen oder höchstens achtzehen Mann in eigener Persohn gethan: die Felder und Früchten verherget: die Dörffer angezündet: den Feind aller Orten aufgesucht/ verwundet/ geschlagen/ gefangen und also geängstiget hat/ daß die Saypaner theils ihr Vatterland verlassen und in die Insul Tinian gezogen/ theils in die Klippen und Felsen ihrer eigenen Insul die Flucht genommen: letztlich aber/ nachdem der Aufstand drey Monath angehalten/ mit Demuth um Fried gebetten/ und solchen auch erlangt haben.

Er überschriebe unserm Obrist den gantzen Verlauff seines so glücklich geendigten Kriegs/ welcher ihm hierüber einen schriftlichen Befehl zugefertigt hat/ mit Hinterlassung alles Trostes/ samt seinen untergebenen Kriegsleuten uns unverzüglich zu Hülf zu kommen. Dieses ware leichter zu befehlen als in das Werck zu stellen; dann das Meer ware ungestümm/ der Weeg zimlich weit/ kein eigenes Schiff vorhanden/ denen Indianern aber auf keine Weise zu trauen; weil sie zusammen geschworen hatten/ den Obrist-Wachtmeister samt seinem Volck/ wann er sich ihrer Fahrzeugen bedienen sollte/ auf eben die Art/ wie neulich den Hauptmann und seine Compagnie/ zu erträncken. Nichts destoweniger kame er aus dieser Sach/ welche er so vorsichtig veranstaltete/ dasz ihn die Indianer zwar führen musten/ und dennoch nicht in das Wasser stürzen konten. Er stellte sich an/ als wolte er auf etliche Tage ihre Insul samt der Schantz verlassen/ damit er die gegen über gelegene Inwohner der Insul Tinian wegen ihres an denen Spaniern verübten Mords abstraffte: Beehrte also von seinen Saypanern die zu solcher Überfuhr gehörige Schiff. Er hatte sie niemals williger/ als dißmahl befunden: inmassen sie sich hefftig freueten/ daß er samt der Besatzung ihnen in dem Meer lebendig begraben werden. Aber er fuhre ihnen durch den Sinn und zernichtete ihre böse Anschläge. So bald die Soldaten zu drey bis sechs ihre Nachen bestiegen/ und von dem Land abgestossen hatten/ ergriffen sie ihr scharff-geladenes Gewehr: jagten denen Barbarischen Schiff-Leuten eine tödtliche Forcht ein/ und banden sie mit Stricken nicht an Händen oder Füßen/ damit ste steuern und rudern möchten/ sondern um die Weich an die Schiff/ daß sie kaum auffstehen/ vielweniger denen Kriegs-Leuthen/ so mit gespannten Hahnen auf sie wohl Acht gaben/ schaden konten. Da sie nun auf acht Schiffelein anfangs gegen die Küsten von Tinian fuhren/ wurden drey Kahnen mit 15 Soldaten von dem tobenden Meerschwall so gewaltig an das Land geschlagen/ daß sie erbärmlich untergangen seynd/ ohne/ daß ihnen andere Fahrzeug (wolten sie nicht ebenfalls Schiffbruch leiden) hätten dörffen zu Hülf kommen. Doch haben wir nachgehends vernommen/ daß alle Soldaten von denen Barbarn noch lebendig aus dem Wasser seyen aufgefischt worden/ und bey ihnen auf beyden Insuln Tinian und Saypan gefangen sitzen. Die übrige 5. Schiffelein seynd/ nachdem sie mit vielfältiger Gefahr eine Zeitlang mit denen Winden und Wellen gestritten/ den 23 Novembris 1684 bey uns zu Agadna

unverletzt ankommen/ nemlich Herr von Quiroga nebst einem Jesuiter und zwanzig Soldaten. Ihre Ankunfft haben wir denen armen Seelen im Feegfeuer zugeschrieben/ für welche so wohl wir Priester als auch der Obrist viel heilige Messen verlobet hatten: Dieser allein hat fünff hundert Thaler zu solchem End GOTT aufgeopffert. So bald die Inwohner der Haupt-Insul Guahan verstanden hatten/ daß der Obrist-wachtmeister zu Agadna glücklich angeländet habe/ überfiele sie ein solcher Schröcken/ daß sie ihre Dörffer verlassen/ und theils auf andere Insul/ theils in die Wälder und Berge die Flucht ergriffen haben. Mittler weil/ verstehe vom End Novembris 1684. bis in den May 1685. haben unsere Leuthe zu Wasser und Land unterschiedliche Partheyen/ so jederzeit gut ausgeschlagen/ auf den Feind gethan: wie lang aber diese Empörung noch anhalten werde/ stehet zu erwarten.

Den 24. Mertzen 1685. legte sich Sudwerts bey Agadna ein fremdes Schiff vor Ancker; wir glaubten anfangs/ es wäre uns von Maxili [sic] zu Hülff geschicket worden: allein es war ein Frantzösisches Schiff/ welches dem Obrist gegen Bezahlung um Lebens-Mittel/ Holtz und Wasser gebetten/ und nachdem es sich mit allem von neuem versehen hatte/ seinen Lauff nach Japonien fortgesetzt hat.

Allhier nimmt der Bericht Patris Matthiæ Cuculini ein End/ welchen er während der Belagerung der Vestung Agadnæ zu Papier gebracht und die Sachen/ wie er sie gesehen oder gehört/ nach Böhmen aufrichtig überschrieben hat. Gleichwie er aber dazumal keine vollständigen Wissenschaft von dem glorwürdigen Tod V. Patris Caroli Boranga haben konte/ also hat er auch solchen mit allen Umständen zu berichten auf eine andere Zeit verschoben.

Letzlich darff ich nicht ausser Acht setzen/ daß P. Matthias Cuculinus (obschon er aus geistlicher Demuth sich selbst nicht nennen will) derjenige tapffere Priester seye/ welcher mit Herrn de Quiroga die Schantz und Insul Saypan lange Zeit so heldenmüthig wider die Rebellen erhalten hat.

Translation, by P. H.

Short report of the events that occurred in the Mariana Islands between June 1684 and May 1685.

Described by Father Matias Cuculino.

After Major Don José de Quiroga, who had been appointed Commander of the garrison of the Mariana Islands by Governor Don Damian de Esplana, had once again pacified the three islands of Saypan, Tinian and Agiguan and subjected them to Spanish authority, he sent a Captain with 25 soldiers accompanied by our Missionary, Fr. Pedro Comano, to the other islands further north, which in the language of the Mariana Islanders are called the **Gani** Islands, to persuade their inhabitants to move from such remote areas to the large and fertile island of San Juan, which from here on I will call by its real name, Guahan, for short. They were welcomed on all these islands with great politeness, with the exception of one, where the Indians had opposed him and for

some time—to seek safety and also for the purpose of resistance—had hidden among the cliffs and rocks with which their region is well endowed. But these, too, were subjected after some resistance. Now, all inhabitants of these northern islands agree to have their children baptized, and most have followed the Commander's request and settled on the island of Guahan.

Just when everyone believed that the Mariana Islands had finally been placed in a happier state than had been thought possible earlier, Satan suddenly raised his ugly head to sow the seeds of discontent among these good crops by causing mutiny and bloody discord, which even at this hour has not come to an end. The affair took the following course.

The insurrection started in a village called Apurguan on Guahan, the main island of the Marianas, where the village and the fort of Agaña (the Governor's residence) are also located. Soon, two other populous villages, Ritigan [i.e. Ritidian] and Pago joined. The highest-ranking inhabitants had begun to dislike Christian education and Spanish order and tried to re-establish the old heathen freedom. To this end, they were determined to secretly enlist and attract not only other villages, but also the neighboring islands.

Some islanders disagreed with such a plan because they believed that rebellion (which had always spelled disaster previously) would lead to nothing but their own destruction, but also because they loved the Christian faith and the general state of well-being. However, the other group that favored rebellion was larger and was gaining the upper hand. They decided to drive all foreigners, clergy as well as laity, from their island once and for all. They did not have to wait long for a ring leader. A powerful and high-ranking Mariana Islander named **Antonio Juda** [sic]¹ placed himself at the head and persuaded the conspirators to take action and to implement what had been long planned, before the Spaniards would anticipate or discover their plot and miserably execute the perpetrators. He himself wanted to lead the Mariana army and give orders to everybody. He would not fear any danger but carry out the most daring strike himself, namely to kill the Governor.

Using such methods of agitation, he was unable to muster more than 60 men for the first attack. Yet he did not rest for a moment, but made careful preparations for a bloody tragedy, ensuring that the Spaniards would be unable to take a breath before he would put the knife to their throats. In the night from 22nd to 23rd of July 1684, he divided his rebellious team into certain platoons, giving each his detailed orders of what they were to do. Some were to ambush and instantly kill Spanish soldiers who were found outside the fort; others were to murder the guards in front of the Governor's house (for he lived outside the village), while others were to attack the fort itself, some of the Jesuits and their residence, church and school, which were also outside the fort. He (Antonio

¹ Ed. note: This is a misprint, or a Freudian slip. The correct name of this rebel was Antonio Yura, not Yuda, as this German transliteration might suggest.

Yuda) and three others planned to kill the Governor. Almost everything went according to his wishes. **It was only by the grace of God that we have not all been destroyed: *Misericordia Domini, qui non sumus consumpti.***¹

On Sunday, 23 July, said mutineers under the leadership of arch-villain Antonio Yuda came from the village of Apurguan to Agaña, where the fort and the village are located. They did not come openly as enemies (because so artfully had they hidden their weapons, which consisted of a cutlass, a dagger, and a bone-tipped spear, that no-one could see them), but glistening in the glow of Christian devotion. They attended mass and the rest of the service. When the service had ended, Antonio Yuda and his three companions walked straight toward the Governor, whom they met in the street alone and without any weapon, not suspecting anything. They pierced his body with many stab wounds and worked him over until they were interrupted by a child who began to scream loudly. Two Spanish soldiers came running. One ran Antonio Yuda through with a pike and the other killed him with a sword when he still defended himself on the ground. At the same time, a servant of the Governor arrived who stabbed another of the remaining three murderers. The other two fled in horror. The Governor, who lay bleeding in the street, half-dead, was picked up and carried to his house.

In the meantime, one of the mutineers ran into our house with his gang. They snorted and shouted as loudly as they could that the Governor had been killed. In an instant, all exits and stairs of our residence were occupied by them, and no-one could get in or out. Upon a signal, they did their thing and carried out their executioner's work against our missionaries. They began with the Most Reverend Fr. Gerardo Bouwens, the Vice-Provincial, who was standing under his open door talking with two loyal Mariana Islanders. He received two bloody wounds and was cut down by two blows with a club, one to the side and one to the hip bone. No doubt he would have been killed if a Brother, who fortunately was in his room, would not have closed the door and bolted it from the inside. Hearing the noise, Fr. Manuel de Solorzano, a very apostolic and well-deserving man, not knowing what was going on, came into the hall from his room. They carved him up so badly with knives, daggers, and clubs that he died the same evening. While several men were attacking the Most Reverend Fr. Bouwens and others Fr. Solorzano, a third group of murderers attacked Father Jacob, rather Diego, Zarzosa whom they gave a blow to the head with a club, but he escaped and ran to the Governor to take his confession. Others not only horribly wounded Brother Balthasar du Bois with blows and stabbings, but also shattered his skull with clubs, so that he gave up the ghost a few hours later. Some attacked Brother Pedro Pavon just as fiercely, but contrary to what everyone assumed, he survived. Others dealt a horrible beating to a dear and holy old man from the Philippine Islands, who had given himself in service to our Society without taking the vows. There are more of such men in both of the Indies; they have dedicated their lives to the Society and are therefore called *Donado* (or Oblate) Brothers. This was not the end of the butchery and murder. Every group of mur-

1 Ed. note: Latin phrase translated in the first part of this sentence.

derers was supposed to accomplish its task at the same time. Some were in the church, others in the streets, some inside houses, others around the fort, while others sought out Spanish soldiers in the field. Eighteen of those were seriously wounded and four were killed. Among the dead are two soldiers who had been on guard duty, one at the Governor's house and the other at the gate of the fort.

While this blood bath continued, Fr. Augustin Kerschbaumer, a brave man whom the Spaniards call Cerezo,¹ was celebrating holy mass inside the village church, which he had started right after the sermon, before the commotion began. He was warned in time to stop the mass because of the extreme danger in which he was, as were the most sacred things.² However, he did not allow himself to be disturbed in any way but continued his divine sacrifice with devotion and without the slightest distraction. He even gave communion to a soldier at his request. When a rabble of Indian conspirators entered the church with arms drawn, he walked toward them up to the middle of the church with the monstrance. So frightened were the murderers of this act of heroism that they withdrew from the house of God without harming anyone. Some even ran away, while others scattered. Soon after he held up his monstrance again and made another group of Indians who had approached him and his soldiers, stand as still as statues before him, without doing him any harm. In my opinion, this could not have happened without the secret intervention of divine omnipotence.

When the mutineers had satisfied their satanic lust and set fire to a house next to our residence, which did not burn down, however, they took flight and allowed our missionaries and soldiers enough time to move to the fort with their most prized possessions. They had hardly arrived there, when the guards announced that they had spotted a group of armed men directly approaching the fort in war formation. Everyone was alarmed at this news, anticipating another enemy attack. How glad we were when we saw, as this army approached, that it was our brave hero, Ignacio **Ineti**, a noble Mariana Islander experienced in warfare, who is always loyal to God and his King. He had brought his whole village [of Sinahaña] to help us. His intention was to protect the fort and the church, our house and the school against all enemy attacks, which he immediately offered to do to the Governor when he arrived. He also cried bitter tears over our sad situation.

In the meantime, the rebels had hardly arrived home when they lost no time in sending messengers to all villages on the main Island of Guahan, and then also to the Islands of Rota, Saypan and Tinian. These told the high-ranking Mariana Islanders in all those places what had happened in Agaña, weaving many lies into their victory. They claimed that they had wiped out the entire garrison at Agaña with all priests and the Governor, and that therefore the time of their former freedom would return if only they would all help to complete a matter that had seen such a fortunate beginning, for the good of their common fatherland. Many let themselves be persuaded, others re-

1 Ed. note: In either language, it means Cherry-Tree.

2 Ed. note: A reference to the sacred hosts on the altar.

sisted for a short while, but soon howled with the wolves. With few exceptions, almost all the inhabitants of all the islands took up arms against us and sided with the rebels.

The first ones to participate in the rebellion were the inhabitants of the village of Ri-tiyan [sic]. One man from that village, who had been present with the people from Apurguan at the blood bath in Agadña, told his fellow-villagers that all Spaniards, the clergy as well as the laity, had been wiped out. In this way he persuaded many to unite with the Apurguan people against the remaining Spaniards, and in particular to execute their pastor, Father Teófilo de Angelis, an Italian Jesuit. This godless task of murdering a priest was assigned to several single scoundrels of their village who on the same day hanged this man of God from the mast of a ship. He died during the night, and in the morning they threw his body into the sea.

Nevertheless, it was lucky for the Mariana Mission and for all Christians living here that due to divine intervention the rebels had chosen to carry out their mutiny on the very day when the Reverend Father Vice-Provincial had called all missionaries to a meeting in Agadña, partly for discussing certain items, partly for renewing their vows. For that reason, on 23 July, when our house still bore the stains of freshly-shed blood, Father Tomás Cardeñoso arrived at noon, and Fathers Basilio Le Roulx and Lorenzo Bustillo in the evening. However, Father Juan Ahumada and Juan Tilpe did not come, since they stayed with and believed the perfidious Indians whose protection they had sought. They did not realize that the Indians were only waiting for an opportune moment to assassinate them. However, Ignacio Ineti, the brave military leader, seeing that they were absent, had suspected what indeed turned out to be true. The next day he went to the villages with his group, escorted them out under armed guard and brought them to us in the fort.

Now that the [surviving] missionaries were in safety, the Governor [i.e. Esplana] and Fr. Vice-Provincial thought it advisable to send news of the present unrest to the Garrison Commander, [José] de Quiroga, together with an order to come here immediately with his 40 soldiers, with whom he was in a fort on the Island of Saypan, and also to bring with them 17 other soldiers who were on the Island of Tinian with two ships. However, the messenger did not keep his word, and he became stranded on the Island of Rota without daring to go further. We had sent another messenger to Rota, to Fathers Strobach and Boranga, asking them to come here to Agadña because they were in imminent danger, but it was in vain. After they had met and discussed the matter among themselves, they asked the islanders to give them protection if they would stay with them. They believed that it would be far better in the eyes of God if they were to remain as shepherds with their flock, but their flock turned against them, and the priests were murdered by islanders from Tinian and Saypan.

Father Augustin Strobach did board a canoe on 27 July with the intention of going to Agadña, but when he saw from the sea that our church and house as well as other buildings were either on fire or already in ashes, he thought we had perished and that the enemy had conquered our fort. He returned to his Island of Rota, where he found the Indian whom we had recently sent to Saypan with a letter (and who was stranded

on said Island of Rota), and he took said letter himself, intending to deliver it to Quiroga in Saypan. He had already arrived at the Island of Tinian, where he anchored. He sent a boatman ashore to explore the situation and to find out what the attitude of the Indians was. But while he was waiting for a reply aboard the boat, the Tinian Islanders came and pulled him from the boat. They took him to the highest-ranking Indian in the village, who tore his small crucifix from his neck and would have smashed it between two stones if a pious Mariana Islander would not have asked for it, promising to wear it around his neck. To explain why the crucifix was to be smashed, it was said that the Father was a Christian arch-sorcerer. Then his hands were bound, and he was led to the village of Marpu. The leader there was a certain villain, who had given up the Christian faith. When the good Father, who was suffering from unbearable thirst, asked for a drink of water, the man brusquely denied him his wish. He was taken to a third village, and those who took him there were given strict orders not to let him drink anything. Again he was presented to a high-ranking Indian who sent him to another equally barbarian nobleman named **Quiyao**, who asked his escorts what the priest had done on the way. They answered that without pause he had said some prayers by which the Christians invoke the true God. The brute said: **“Now we shall see how much all this is going to help you.”** The priest asked them why they wanted to kill him and what harm he had ever done them. The other did not know what to answer. But when the Father spoke again and said that he was not afraid to die because he always had God before his eyes, reflecting that eternal wisdom would decide what would be best for him, the Mariana Islander interrupted him and said: **“We do not acknowledge this God, but let us see whether He can help you.”** Then he lifted up a club which he was holding in his hand, and with a hard stroke hit the Father in the throat with all his might. Soon after, the Father died a holy death. All people who have known this late martyr in Spain, America and elsewhere praise him and say that he was a holy man. Below, at an appropriate place, we will write more about the pact between the Tinianese and the Saypanese, as well as about their rebellion, but now we wish to return to the stories in Guahan.

On 27 July 1684, the rebels came to Agadña again and set fire to our church, house, school and other buildings further east.¹ Ignacio Ineti resisted them for a while, but because the enemies were too numerous, he finally had to retreat to the fort, under the guns. When the fires were out, the enemy retreated and sent new messengers to all villages which had not yet agreed to join in the rebellion. Now, all have joined except for Sinahaña, which was Ignacio Ineti's village. Following his example, it has always remained loyal to the Church and to His Catholic Majesty.

Finally, on 9 August, the Guahan Islanders, who were now all in rebellion, moved to the front of the fort and began to intimidate us on all sides. They also went after those of our people who were scattered elsewhere, and they killed them all. With this, they would have made our garrison lose all courage, if it had not been for us mission-

1 Ed. note: By east, he means inland, away from the shore.

aries, who encouraged them with spiritual talk and ensured them of God's help. This time, the mutineers were driven away by our large and small firearms as well as by the brave resistance of Ignacio Ineti, who pursued them quite far.

But on 30 August they returned and prepared for a siege. Even a long time ago, when the fort of Agadña consisted only of poorly constructed earth walls surrounded by palisades, they were unable to defeat us with their bone-tipped spears and stone slingshots. So now, when the fort is surrounded on all sides by a masonry wall, we have no reason to fear that they will climb over it. If only our soldiers will not lose their courage or let themselves be intimidated easily.

Because they realized themselves that they could not win against us with their weapons, they took refuge in stratagems and treachery. First of all, they pleaded with Ignacio Ineti to help his own fatherland rather than those intolerable foreigners, promising him all kinds of honors and privileges. When he refused their offer and decided to live or die with us, they tried another trick, which almost worked for them. Since several Spaniards had Mariana Islanders as wives, and since a company of Filipino soldiers was garrisoned in the fort, they used all kinds of excuses to send us various women who were to persuade the Filipinos either to kill the Governor and to surrender the fort, or at least to cross the lines with weapons and gun-powder, promising that they would divide all property with them in brotherly fashion. An old woman whose daughter was married to a Filipino military officer urged her son-in-law to participate in this piece of treachery. But the son-in-law told the Governor about it without delay and warned him to beware of his own soldiers and to double the guards, so he would not be assassinated. The name of this Filipino is Francisco Masongsong.

Now the enemy had no other way to defeat us than to cut off our food supplies, to force us to surrender because of hunger. Since they were afraid that the Commander, Quiroga, would come to our aid with his men, who were at the fort on the Island of Saypan, they sent the Saypanese and the Tinianese there to fight him. They were told not to lay down their arms until they had destroyed him and his men, and that they themselves would do the same at Agadña, that is, not to lay down their arms until the Governor and all other Spaniards were completely wiped out, and that they would have to trust them to do so. To paint a brighter picture, the rebels added that the number of foreigners had been markedly reduced, first in Tinian, where only 17 were left, secondly in the northern islands where 20 were left, and in Agadña itself, where many were left, but where the power of the enemy had been greatly weakened, which was illustrated by the fact that the Spaniards could not dare to set foot outside their fort. Although reports have been written several times about the northern islands, it will not be held against me if I say a few words about the defeat suffered there.

Eight of the Mariana Islands are known by the following names: Anatahan, Sari-gan, Guguan, Alamagan, Pagon, Agrigan, Belean and Tinas.¹ After the above-named Captain² with his 25 soldiers in the company of Fr. Pedro Comano had visited these eight islands, he returned at the end of September, not knowing that in the meantime our islanders had staged a rebellion and had secretly corrupted his boat crew. Now, when he was not far from the Island of Saypan where he was about to disembark, the Indian boatmen gave one another the prearranged signal and threw the soldiers overboard without sparing the Captain, whom they threw into the water first. It was easy for them to accomplish this evil deed, since the Spaniards did not mistrust the Mariana Islanders whose uprising and treachery had been unknown to them, and they could not have foreseen such a deplorable incident. But **Alfonso Soón** brought one passenger here, and another boatman brought his two passengers here because the islanders had failed to reveal their evil secret to these two boatmen. Three other soldiers were also rescued while they struggled in the water. Thus only six soldiers survived, while the other 20, including the Captain, were all drowned. As soon as Fr. Pedro Comano realized the treachery of the boatmen, he left, playing the role of captain in his boat, and forcing his boatmen, whom he had thoroughly frightened, to take him to the Island of Alamagan, where he is still staying under the protection of a powerful and loyal Mariana Islander named **Antonio Ayihi**. When Alfonso Soón went there with his boat to pick him up, he came back empty because the wary priest would not trust him under any circumstances, no matter how honest his intentions were.

About midnight on 30 October, the enemy fleet appeared, which consisted of about 70 small boats belonging to the inhabitants of Guahan and Rota. Their arrival caused such gloom among the garrison that we missionaries had our hands full trying to lift up the soldiers' spirits again. That evening we had received plenty of bad news, namely that Fr. Augustin Strobach had been killed on the Island of Tinian and Fr. Carlos Boranga on the Island of Rota. We had also heard that the Captain and his company from the north had drowned with the exception of six men, and that our Commander, Quiroga, and his approximately 20 remaining men were threatened so badly on the Island of Saypan that he and his fort would not be able to hold out much longer.

In our fort, the situation was similar. Five Filipino soldiers, who had lowered themselves over the wall at night, had already crossed over to the enemy, and almost all their compatriots were planning to follow them. Thus neither the Governor nor the fort were safe from treason and surrender to the enemy. The entire garrison was extremely depressed and swore that neither we nor the officers knew a way out. Since the survival of the place and of Christian religion depended, apart from God, mainly on the life of the Governor, and since that life could no longer be entrusted to the common man, we Jesuits now undertook to guard him, telling the soldiers that we wanted to relieve them

1 Ed. note: The last two names are alternate names for Songson (or Asunción), and Maug.

2 Ed. note: His name is not given above. The leader of this northern expedition was a Filipino named Tapia.

of the heavy burden of so many watch duties. We therefore took turns in front of his door in the manner of regular soldiers.

On 3 November we received a letter from our Commander, Quiroga, from which we learned that he had won some major victories against the Saypanese, who had also rebelled, and that he was still the master of that island. As soon as the inhabitants of Tinian and Saypan had heard at the end of July 1684 what had happened in Agaña, they had all taken up arms against the Spaniards. The Tinianese had searched all villages and ships on their island, but found no more than 17 Spanish who were either sailors or soldiers (whom they cruelly killed) as well as our two ships, which they wrecked and sank.

The Saypanese did even more. On 6 August they hoped to use a trick to occupy the fort located on their island, where our Commander was in charge. They came there in large numbers, but in scattered groups, asking to borrow many axes and hatchets with which they wanted to clear a certain forest. Others brought large quantities of food which they gave to the officers and men. Thus the guards allowed many of them to gain entry through the palisades. This caused Quiroga to become very suspicious, and he gave a strict reprimand to the guards and ordered his soldiers to drive the islanders beyond the barricades. But the Saypanese did not lose heart. About 40 of them remained inside and scattered throughout the fort. The others went outside to join their comrades, who were hiding in large numbers behind some obstacles, planning to kill the soldiers when they came out to answer the call of nature. The 40 islanders remaining inside the fort were to wait for a signal and then to kill the Commander and the soldiers. When this plot failed due to the Commander's vigilance, they then tried another trick. They sent the highest-ranking islander from the village of Opian to him, who a few days before had been ordered by the Commander to move and to settle in a certain place near the fort. When this Indian came to Quiroga, he asked him to come outside the fort with him and to point out the place where he was to build his house. The secret purpose of this request was to kill the Commander as soon as he would venture outside the fort with a small escort, and then to take over the fort. But the Commander soon recognized that it was a trick, and he stayed home this time, but without letting the Indians know that he was suspecting them. Then a Mariana Islander who—along with others—had fallen behind in the work, beat the soldier who was supervising him and other slave laborers, in the head with a club. Now there was much commotion in the fort, and the alarm was sounded. However, the traitors escaped so quickly that not one of them could be captured.

As this happened in and around the fort, three Spanish soldiers, who had travelled to the nearest village on business, were killed by the rebels. With these murders, and with their partly failed assassination attempts, they had now revealed their intentions, and the war started in earnest. Quiroga wrote to the Captain who had been sent to the northern islands with 25 men, and warned him to beware of these dangerous mutineers, but the messengers were disloyal, and the letter was never delivered to him.

On 8 August, the above-mentioned Commander, Quiroga, took 10 soldiers with him and went out to reconnoiter and to discover the fate of the Spaniards on the nearby Island of Tinian. But no sooner had he lost sight of the fort than 400 rebels came out of the bush and fiercely ambushed him with spears and with stones thrown from slingshots. After he and his small group fired at them, they soon retreated. But they returned for the third time and were reinforced by ever new groups of armed islanders who arrived. After he drove them back several times, he gradually retreated himself, so as not to be surrounded by their large numbers, and it was high time that he did so, for now the enemy also came from the sea at whose shore this small battle took place, hoping to encircle him and his 10 men from all sides. Nevertheless, during his retreat, he defended himself so bravely with his few men against so many that after a heated battle lasting three hours, he returned to his people in the fort without injury and without the loss of a single man. On 10 August, a seemingly loyal Mariana Islander (God alone knows what is in their heart) arrived at the Island of Saypan and told the Commander at length how the Governor with all the Jesuits and the garrison had been killed at Agadña, and that only a few men were left, that the church, the residence, the school and other buildings had been burned, that all Spaniards on the Island of Tinian had been executed and the Captain and his company, who had travelled to the northern islands, had been drowned. It is easy to see how Quiroga must have felt when he heard such bad news, for he had fewer than 35 men under his command, and some were unable to fight because of illness. He was poorly supplied, and his gun-powder and shot were almost exhausted. He could hope for no help, and he did not even have a ship in which he and his men could have sailed to Agadña, or in which he could have gone for supplies. He was in the middle of the ocean in a wilderness, an infinite distance away from the rest of the world and from all human communities. He was completely surrounded by water and blood-thirsty barbarians.

Nevertheless he did not lose courage. He assembled his soldiers, told them in what dangerous situation they all were and spoke to them in heart-rending terms. He addressed them as brave soldiers and asked them, now that there was no sign of human help, to raise their eyes toward the heavens and to pray to God, the almighty lord of the heavenly hosts for His invincible help, with which it would be just as easy for a few completely lost men to win a victory as for many soldiers well supplied in everything. They should remember that they had decided to fight and die on these miserable islands not for riches or passing glory, but only to honor God and to convert the heathens. He assured them that the enemy, as strong as he might be, could be gradually beaten even by small parties, if only they would remain loyal to him and obey his orders. Our Missionary, who was with them,¹ supported his speech and gave the soldiers courage. Thanks to his great eloquence, he accomplished that they discarded all vices and improprieties among them, prayed openly and silently without pause, frequently partook of the holy sacraments, and conducted themselves in all things with such Christian piety

1 Ed. note: Father Cuculino himself.

that the fort soon had the character of a well-established monastery rather than that of a soldiers' camp.

From that time on, Quiroga and a handful of soldiers undertook one or more forays against the enemy every day, and every time he returned to the fort victorious, without knowing how his companions were or how we were in Agaña. In many kinds of danger, when they were sometimes completely encircled by the enemy, he and his men have felt the miraculous help of the divine bridegroom Joseph whom they had chosen as their patron saint, but never more obviously than in a certain battle where the stones which the enemy had hurled at them with their slingshots had stood still in the air, and when their power was broken, dropped to the ground in front of their feet without causing any harm.¹

On the other hand, the Saypanese were determined to take the fort with its small garrison either by force or by means of starvation. For this purpose, after they had attracted almost all people from the Islands of Saypan, Tinian, Agiguan and even some from Guahan, they fiercely attacked the fort from the land and from the water. They set up their camp sometimes at noon, sometimes at midnight because the fort had a swampy lagoon toward the east, in which the rebels cruised with their boats.²

After such preparations, they began charging the fort with incredible fury on 16 August 1684. The stone throwers came first with their slingshots, throwing a lot of stones into the covered road.³ This was their signal for the attack during which the entire enemy army fiercely charged the palisades, trying desperately to climb over it. The charge lasted six hours, after which they were finally beaten back, having suffered quite badly from our steadfast fire. They fled for now, but after a while they dared to try two other charges with even greater fury. However, they did not gain anything, but were forced to retreat with considerable losses.

Quiroga was not satisfied with that. He often left the fort in the care of his sick soldiers and took 12 to 18 men with him to attack the enemy. They overwhelmed their camp, which they had guarded well with their bone-tipped and wooden spears and darts, their palisades [complete with] ditches and parapets. They beat and plundered 300 to 400 Indians armed with slingshots, spears and other weapons, to bring back a rich booty for his sick soldiers whom he loved more than a father loves his children. He never lost a single man.

He became more daring. When the enemy camp was destroyed, he pursued a number of parties in the open country, always only with 12, 15, or at most 18 men. He laid waste their fields and destroyed their crops, burned their villages, and looked for enemies everywhere, wounding, killing, capturing and frightening them so much that some Saypanese were leaving their homeland, either moving to Tinian or hiding in the

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- 1 Ed. note: Another version of this story has it that spears were the weapons that broke in mid-air and fell to the ground.
 - 2 Ed. note: A reference to Lake Susupe, which must have been more extensive then.
 - 3 Ed. note: Or in the hidden trail? "verdeckten Weeg" in German. This does not make much sense, unless one imagines them throwing stones at the closed gate of the fort, or blindly over it.

cliffs and rocks of their own island. Finally, three months after the rebellion had begun, they came in humility to sue for peace, which was granted to them.

He wrote to our Governor, telling him everything about the war which had ended so well for him. The Governor sent him a written order to leave everything immediately and to come to our aid with the soldiers under his command. This was easier said than done, since the sea was stormy, and the distance quite far. The Commander had no ship of his own, and he could not trust the Indians in any way, since they had vowed that should the Commander and his people want to use their vessels, they would drown them in the same manner as they had recently drowned the Captain and his company. Nevertheless, he accomplished the task by organizing it so carefully that the Indians had to guide him without being able to throw him into the water. He pretended that he wished to leave their island and the fort for a few days to go and punish the inhabitants of the neighboring Island of Tinian for murdering the Spaniards and that he needed some suitable vessels for such a voyage from the Saypanese. He had never seen them more willing, for they were glad that he and the soldiers would soon be buried alive in the sea. But he read their mind and foiled their evil plans. As soon as the soldiers boarded their vessels, three to six at a time, and pushed off from shore, they reached for their loaded weapons and filled the barbarian boatmen with deadly fear; they tied them to the boats with ropes, not by their hands or feet, so that they could steer and row, but by their waist, so that they could hardly stand up, let alone harm the soldiers who were watching them with their finger on the trigger. As they approached the coast of Tinian aboard eight vessels, three of the boats carrying 15 soldiers were cast ashore so violently by the raging sea that they went to the bottom, and the other vessels could not come to their assistance for fear of being shipwrecked themselves. But we heard later that all soldiers were fished out of the sea alive by the barbarians who are now keeping them as prisoners on the Islands of Tinian and Saypan. The other five boats, after struggling for a while with the dangerous wind and waves, arrived safely here in Agaña on 23 November 1684, including Quiroga, one Jesuit and 20 soldiers. We dedicated their arrival to the poor souls in purgatory, for whom we priests as well as the Governor had vowed many holy masses. He alone has donated 500 pesos to God for this purpose. As soon as the inhabitants of the main island of Guahan realized that the Commander had arrived safely in Agaña, they were so shocked that they abandoned their villages and fled to other islands, or to their own forests and mountains. In the meantime, that is to say between the end of November 1684 and May 1685, our men have won many victories against various parties of the enemy on land and on water. It remains to be seen how long this rebellion will last.

On 24 March 1685, a foreign ship anchored [at a place] to the south of Agaña [i.e. at Umatac]; at first we believed that it had been sent from Maxili [rather Manila] to bring us aid, but it turned out to be a French [sic] ship which asked the Governor for food, wood and water for payment, and which, after it had taken on supplies, continued on its course for Japan.

This is where the report of Fr. Matías Cuculino ends, which he wrote during the siege of the fort of Agadña, and in which he faithfully reported to Bohemia what he had seen or heard. However, since at that time he could not have had complete knowledge of the glorious death of Father Carlos Boranga, he postponed such a report with all its details until later.

Finally, I must not forget to mention that Father Matías Cuculino (although he does not wish to identify himself due to his spiritual humility) was the brave priest who for a long time heroically helped Quiroga to hold the fort and the Island of Saypan against the rebels.

Document 1685K

Confidential report on the 1684 revolt

Letter from Fr. Bouwens to Fr. Francisco García, dated Guam 20 May 1685

Source: RAH Jesuit tomes, n° 9/3631 (formerly Tome 57), doc. n° 43; cited in B&R Bibl., pp. 308-309; also cited in S&D, p. 44, with wrong date of 26 May 1688.

Note: This Fr. García died at Madrid in 1685. He wrote the biographies of Fr. Sanvitores and Fr. Medina.

Original text in Spanish.

Mi Padre Francisco García.

Pax Christi.

Otra mía del año '76 por aber fallecido el Padre Gabriel Guillen tubo dicha de parar a manos de V.R^a. En ella, tan desgraciado como indigno superior (que lo era [yo] de esta S[an]ta y Apostolica Mission) di noticia de lo mucho que se abia padecido aquel año corriendo este gobierno politico y militar por cuenta (si es que se la pidieron jamas) de D. Damian Esplana, natural de la ciudad de Lima en el Peru.

Ahora vuelto 2^a vez teniendo a cuestras esta misma Cruz, cuya carga tan desigual a mis flacos hombros me ha hecho mas pesada el Gobierno, que asimismo 2^a vez ya tenía empuñado el dicho D. Damian en virtud de una provision, que el año 83 le abia despachado la Real Audiencia de Manila con deseo (el qual siempre es de estimar) se llevaba adelante en esta nueva Christiandad el servicio de ambas Magestades. Pero sí se aviendose frustrada del fruto, que a su santo zelo le prometia la persona proveida, no dejará de reconocer lo mucho que importa el que por sus obras se an encomendados los que en nuevas Christiandades se encargan del Gobierno. Porque si los tales no son para cumplir con lo a que los obliga el puesto, es irremediable su yerro.

Vaya, aunque de raiz, cifrada la historia para quales VR^a mejor enterada de un desastre tan desgraciado se compadesca de una desdicha, empeñando asi serlo suplicamos aca todos por las entrañas de JESU Xro ya todo el peso de la autoridad, que Dios

N. Señor le dio a VR^a tan estimada en esa Corte, y en especial de mi Señora la Duquesa de Aveiro, para remediar a tantas calamidades, co[mo]¹ son las cuales oy dia nos tienen tan oprimidos, siendo asi, que al entrar Esplana a gobernar esto (que fue a 5 de Noviembre '83)] halló a la mision con mas medios, que ubo jamas por extenderse a las islas, que como confiamos se abrán ya descubierto por la banda del Sur: Por la de Norte ya se avia inbido [sic] hasta las ultimas descubiertas con intento de irles disponiendo a sus moradores con suavidad, y agasajo, que dejando sus isletas tan tras-mano, para darles el pasto espiritual de que tanto necesitan se arranchassen en partes menos remotas, facilitandoles su salvacion, sin que se expongan los Ministros del S. Evangelio a riesgos evidentissimos de perder sus vidas, atravesando tantas y tan furiosas mares en embarcaciones tan debiles, como son las de esta tierra. Pero, vuelto a decirlo, vaya de raiz la historia.

Faltandonos año '83 el socorro, ubo aca necesidad de muchas cosas para pasar la vida con el desconsuelo, que se deja considerar. Acudió al remedio la divina Providencia quando menos se aguardaba, embiando de Manila, agenciandolo el Padre Antonio Xaramillo, al bajel que su Magestad nos avia mandado, mas ubo de 10 años: El mismo año Padre Xaramillo acompañado de otro Padre para asegurar al viage, vino embarcado con orden del Padre Provincial Francisco Salgado para visitar a esta misión: a la qual volvió a su Merced D. Josef de Quiroga estimando mas a los trabajos, que avia experimentado en Marianas los años 79 y 80, que no al descanso, y regalos, que los años 81 y 82 avia gozado en Manila, a donde pasó con meno[s suce]-eso suyo, y mas daño nuestro, el año 81, al entrar en este gobierno su Señoria el Maestre de Campo Don Antonio de Sarabia, el que por enfermo y mas de medio sullido necesitaba de su asistencia. La desgracia fue, que de Su Excelencia, no ubo alguna carta a cuya mas minima insinuacion por lo mucho que desea servirle a su Excelencia ubiase mudado de parecer ayudando aca y perficionando de todo punto lo que ya tanto avia adelantado con su valor, zelo, y muy exemplar vida.

Apenas salieron de Manila, quando la osadia de algunos marineros puso en cuidado al Padre Xaramillo recelandose su Pat[ernidad], y no sin bastante razones no se alcassen con el bajel. Avisado Su Señoria Don Juan de Vargas [H]urtado, Governador que lo era de Filipinas[,] en vez del Cabo y Piloto Pedro Gomez de la Cueva, de cuya virtud, y suavisimo natural abusaban los dichos marineros, encargó la nã [sic] al Sargento Mayor D. Damian de Esplana, a quien la Real Audiencia, no sé a cuya instancia, despachó su provision para que governasse a estas islas in casu mortis del Maestro de Campo [Saravia]: a qui ubo algun embolismo. Llegó el bajel a 23 de Agosto aquel mismo año '83 estando Su Señoria el Maestro de Campo en la isla de Rota con determinación de ir 2^a vez él mismo en persona a la conquista de la de Zaypan. Para mejor acierto en la empresa informada Su Señoria de las buenas partes que le hacian estimable a Don Josef, lo llamó a Rota y dandole el cargo de Sargento Mayor le nombró por su Teniente, y por tal con la solenidad acostumbra mandó lo reconociesse todos; lo

1 Ed. note: Sometimes words at the right-hand side of pages have been cut off.

qual hecho levóle consigo para Tinian, dandole el mando de uno de los dos barcos. No fue Dios servido que por entonces se lograsen tan santos intentos: porque llegando ya cerca de Tinian cargóles un temporal tan furioso que por poco les costó el perderse todos; y de hecho se hizieron pedaços algunas embarcaciones de la tierra ahogandose los que iban en ellas. Apartaronse los barcos uno de otro, arrivó Su Señoría a la isla de Rota donde llegó tambien el Sargento Mayor librando los N. Señor entrambos a dos con sus barcos despues de aver corrigo [sic] aquella tormenta tan brava, que nuestros superiores aca en Guahan los daban por perdidos.

[Shipwreck of the 1683 sloop from Manila]

*A esta desgracia se juntó otra de nuevo y fue que las mares tan enfurecidas hizieron astillas al bajel en el mismo puerto sin que 9 cables fueron bastantes para sujetarlo. Aqui no deja de tener Esplana alguna culpa, por averle los marineros avisado del peligro para que con tiempo mandase barrar al barco: Pero él como quien sin pedir ni tomar consejo, quiere en todo salir con la suya, no vinó en ello: como ni tampoco en que el Capitan Piloto saliasse alli cerca (y esto lo fue al mismo Esplana encargado del Sr. Governador de Philipinas) a otro paraje que se dijo y despues se halló muy seguro para el bajel: y asi fue “**causa saltem negativa**” de averse perdido. Mal aguero para peores sucesos, los quales, como a mi parecer se podiase, asi se debiesan aver atajado con tiempo. Recogió Esplana las ruinas; y con otros tantos palos empezó a entablar otro bajel para la vuelta.*

[Death of Governor Saravia]

Entretanto, desistiendo Su Señoría de la empresa, llegó a Guahan donde se pagó muchissimo de las buenas atenciones, y prendas del Padre visitador el Padre Antonio Xaramillo. Poco despues salió el buen cavallero a sondar aquellos parajes acompañado entre otros del Capitan Piloto: pero llegando a la parte del Oeste desta isla, se le reventó un aposthema que tenia en los pulmones, y al instante le des[s]hació de la vida. Aqui mostró el Capitan y Piloto lo mucho que, como criado de la lecha de la Compañía en el Colegio de San Josef en Manila nos queria y al bien desta mision, procuró a posta se llamasse el Padre Lorenzo Busti[ll]o por estar el mas cerca, y le pensado era secreto, lo que [a] favor de Esplana acerca deste gobierno, tenia dispuesto la [Real A]udiencia: y hablando ya de experiencia se compadecia de nosotros por lo que dixo ubieramos de padecer en caso de entrar Esplana a gobernar esto: y asi aconsejó al Padre que indispuse [sic] a Su Señoría a nombrar alguna persona que en caso de morirse él, tomasse este gobierno con titulo de Teniente ad interim; y que esta manera no le aprovecharia a Esplana su provision, que traía para ello. Nombrando pues Su S[ñe]oría al Sargento Mayor Don Josef 2^a vez mandó le reconocer como tal de todos alli presentes, y recibiendo despues los Santos Sacramentos murió Christianissima-mente, como exemplarmente abia vivido.

[The Jesuits disagree on who is the better Major]

Aqui se nos empeço nuestra desventura por razon de no aprovecharnos esa diligencia; inclinándose ambos los Superiores Padres Xaramillo, como visitador, y el Padre Solorzano como vice Provincial a que prevaleciese Esplana por no sé que faltas avian notado en D. Josef. Pero digo a V.R^a con ingenuidad mi Padre Francisco como quien mejor que nadie conocí a Esplana y muy de cerca, lo que jamas se vio en D. Josef, no llegó ni aun a la sombra de lo que ubo que padecer con Esplana los años atras 75 y 76: y eso con aber sido tan exorbitante que al oír el Provincial la resolución que avian en Manila año, no sé si 78, de querer el Governador alla enviar nos otra vez al dicho Esplana, respondió su R^a por el Padre Luis Pimentel, que a todos nosotros llamaria a la Provincia antes de venir en ello; no fue mas de un rasguño respeto de lo que este año 85 nos dió este caballero que padecer sin rastro ni traza de quanto se requiere en uno para gobernar.

Buen testigo es, y siempre lo sera el Padre Xaramillo mientras su R^a se acordare de mi grandissimo sentimiento, quando al oír lo que abia dispuesto la Real Audiencia en orden a este gobierno, dije a Su R^a lo que con bastante fundamento se me ofrecia para no entregarle a Esplana el gobierno despues de nombrado legitimamente por el Maestre de Campo quien le sucediese con titulo de Teniente interino, hasta que informada la Real Audiencia de la muerte de Su Señoria determinasse lo que juzgaria conducente al Servicio de ambas Magestades: Respondiome el mismo Padre Xaramillo que Esplana ya era muy otro: que alla avia ocupado de los mejores puestos con satisfacción, y buena cuenta de su persona. A otro de los Padres dijo Su R^a estos formales terminos: "Desengañemonos: para cosas grandes, y de valor no ay mas hombre que Esplana," y de verdad mi Padre: quien no conociere a ese caballero mas que por su boca ubiera de juzgar ser esto asi: pues cuenta de su valor cosas increíbles, como quiere revienta de valentia, pero soñada y chimerica, moviendo risa a quien lo conocieron por sus obras, que son pruebas irrefragables del desacierto que ya hecho se esta llorando (aunque tarde y sin remedio) a costa de tantas calamidades, siendo la peor dellas, el no poderlas remediar, quien por su descuydo inexcusable la a causado; ni permitir (quien tal creiera) que otro las remedie, por mas [que] se haya ofrecido para ello.

Ya que Esplana empuñó este gobierno contra mi corto parecer, apuntaré tan solamente con tres palabras lo que a mi se me ofrecia contra la provision que ya a gran pesar suyo, y aun mayor nuestro, alegó Esplana para salir con su intento; y digo con la buena licencia de ambos entonces [1683] nuestros Superiores el Padre Xaramillo por visitador, y el Padre Solorzano por V. Provincial que sin hablar con la independencia, y exempción del Maestro de Campo era este su Gobierno; y suponiendo que esa Real Audiencia tenia poder bastante para proveer este puesto, no favorecia, ni avia de favorecer a D. Damian su provision, sino en caso de aver fallecido Su Señoria antes de llegar aca el bajel; o quando mas, de fallecer despues de llegado, sin nombrar legitimamente al que siendo persona capaz, pudiese gobernar esto con titulo de Teniente ad interim; y a carga cerrada no ubiera yo admitido la dicha provision sin constarme de los mismos terminos la mente de Su A[lteza] para que a nosotros se nos echasse la culpa

del desacierto. La resolucion deste caso nos servira para no errar en adelante en otro lance de jurisdiccion contenciosa sobre este gobierno. Yo entretanto remití como súbdito, mi parecer a los que lo tuviesen mas bien fundado.

[Major Esplana “wins” the governorship]

Tomó por Esplana posesion de su gobierno con mas vnidad, que zelo; y sin atender al decoro de su persona; dejando aca a D. Josef, que con acierto manejaba las armas, prosiguió a entablar su bajel, como fuese sobrestante de la obra, pudiendo y debiendo la encargar a lo que mejor lo entendían, que no su Merced; como eran el Cap[ita]n Piloto, Contramaestre, Carpintero de la ribera, marineros, y grumetes; procurando el ya [dicho] Gobernador de la disciplina militar para con los soldados, y de la policia para con los Indios haziendose estimar de todos para temer obedecerle con respeto, que ya desde su primer gobierno se lo abia perdido estos Naturales. Acabado el bajel y hecho el matalotaje tomaron con él la vuelta para Manila los dos Padres a 23 de Febrero 84.

*Luego llegó el Gobernador a Agaña, donde sin perder tiempo trató de otras mecanicas, enderezando [sic] a otro barco de los dos que el Maestro de Campo [Saravia] dejó hechas ademas de una **fortaleza de piedra**, sin meterse en mas en delinear lo en papel dejando las obras correr por los que Su [Señoria] tenia señalado para ella, aunque no ubo sino un marinero, y dos albaniles para dirección de los otros.*

Y como el genio deste caballero mas es de Mayordomo que de Gobernador a un mismo tiempo de aderezar al barco se divirtió en cazar, ya puercos, ya vacas, como si de una vez quisiera agotar la casta; demontó asimismo mucha tierra para sementeras, destrozando árboles sin reparo de quejarse los naturales por ser frutales para su sustento[.] jamas hizo reseñas de la gente ni de sus armas sin enseñarles a manejar las para su defensa; y aun he oido, que a los soldados les permitió salir a los pueblos sin armas diciendo que ya pasaron los tiempos de ir con ellas cargados a cuestras. El estar su Merced acometan solamente le parecia sobrado para ahuyantar a los desta tierra agenes en castigo de tanta y tan presumida vanidad, se les iba creciendo con esto descuido su atrevimiento y osadia.

[Quiroga goes to the conquest of Saipan]

Hazia instancias el Padre [Vice] Provincial Manuel de Solorzano de que se le sumiese la jornada para Tinian y Zaypan: mostróse inclinado el Gov. Esplana de ir el mismo en persona a la conquista en compañía de su R^a el V. Provincial. Previnó para ello (intención digna de su Teniente que la general) muchos cascabeles diciendo que al ruido dellos colgados de su caballo, espantados los Indios se abian de huir a los montes confessando desta manera que no iba mas que a ahuyentar los con espantajos. Pero ni para escusando con achaque de estar cerca ya la Nao, y asi no intentó nada por si mismo: y como volvióla a instar el Padre V. Provincial en cargo y en esto, acertó la jornada a su Sargento Mayor Don Josef de Quiroga el qual, como tan zeloso del servicio de Dios y del Rey para el bien de estas almas tubo dicha de salir a la conquista, para la qual se provino como soldado exercitado ya, y experimentado en esta tierra, donde fué temido,

y respetado por sus hechos, no espantando, sino a costa de su trabajo, y sudor, sujetando a los que hallaba rebeldes con el castigo que merecian los desafueros de los que avian sido autores los años atras (que en su gobierno no ubo nada desto) otros de motines, y otros de las muertes, que avian dado a los venerables Padres Diego Luys de S. Vitores, Antonio Maria de S. Basilio, Sebastian de Monroy, y de otros compañeros soldados.

*Llegó a la isla de Rota, que dejó conquistada el año 80, y de alla passando a la de Tinian, dió fondo dentro de aquella barra antes de ser sentido. Estos isleños, y los de la Isla de Agiguan, dieronle la obediencia sin que fuese menester algun rigor ni de guerra, ni de justicia. Aqui creía nuestro Gobernador que fuesse menester le llamassen a él despues de la naõ, la qual aun estaba bien lejos, dando Esplana todo este tiempo a su Sargento Mayor para asegurarse contra los de Zaypan antes de haberles la guerra: Pero el Sargento Mayor, conquista[da] la de Tinian, embarcóse para Zaypan el día siguiente, y en dos horas, apoderandose del puesto donde halló resistencia sin dar al enemigo lugar, ni tiempo de embarazarle los caminos antes de 14 dias se hizo dueño de toda la isla. A la nueva desta conquista, que fué para nosotros de mucha alegria, ordenó el Gobernador la busçaza [sic] modo de sacar la artilleria que alli se quedaba desde aberse perdido en aquellas peñas año 38 la Não **Concepción**. Dióse tan buena maña D. Josef, que antes de llegar la nao Capitana remitió aca **tres colebrinas, y 14 pedreros**, prosiguiendo entretanto con las buenas diligencias hasta sacar a otras 17 colebrinas todas de bronce.*

A 8º de Junio 84 amanecio aca la nao y en ella D. Gabriel Curucelegi [sic] nuevo Gobernador de las Philipinas, que de parte de su Excelencia mi Señora la Duquesa nos promitió lo posible para adelantar a esta nueva Christiandad y en particular, que abia de continuar el trato inmediato destas islas con las Philipinas por medio de un bajel que abia de enviar todos los años: quiera su Majestad lo veamos quanto antes, con la mudanza deste gobierno, por estar en esto la esperanza de poderse conservar la mision para cuya seguridad nos hazia el nuevo Gobernador donación de los 14 pedreros diciendo que en Manila (como es verdad) no podian servir, y aca serian de mucha importancia, si aconteciera algun día, que estos pretendiesen de mutinarse. Acusó de recibirlas nuestro Esplana, cuyo genio caló el Gobernador de la razon que daba, y fue, que no abia que temer desta gente por averles dicho [que] no se alcarian mientras él los estaba gobernando. Esta respuesta se remite a la censura, de quien tubiera mejor policia. Preguntó Su Señoria que tal era este Cabo: y al oir que era buen Caballero pero muy llano (vano deviera decirse) encargóle que anduviesea atento, y con cuidado, por estar entre Indios, que se la pegarian a menos pensarlo. Aviso tan oportuno, como mal logrado. Porque ya se fraguó la conspiración antes de entrar yo en este triste oficio, que fue a 23 del dho mes de Junio 84 sin que me ayudaron ni razones, ni lagrimas para mi escusa.

[The beginning of the 1684 revolt]

Al recibir pues esta cruz, pronostiqué no sé que mala ventura segun para ella ya abia [pre-]disposiciones: La peor avran [sic] sido mis culpas. Las quales, si no han merecido

*tan gran castigo, es el sentir comun de todos, averse ocasionado del descuydo inescusable, que como ya lo diré, tubo nuestro Gobernador Esplana en y por todo lo que toca a la disciplina militar y manejo de las armas, sin guardar algun rastro de lo que introdujo el Maestro de Campo, y lo continuó D. Josef hasta salir a la conquista. **Hinc illæ lachrymæ.** Porque todo lo observaban los Indios por lo gran numero anfadados ya; y molidos de tan continuas faenas hasta tanto, que los solteros de un pueblo en este partido al mandarse el Gobernador que fuesen a cazar puercos, siendo así que harto tenían en que ocuparse con lo de nuestra casa, a cuyo servicio el mismo Gobernador los avia aplicado, se resolvieron de huyr al monte: No les permitió tal otro mozo diciendo que desta manera no avia de ganar nada y que el matarle al Governador era el unico medio para salir con su intento. No les diese cuydado que él, aunque solo, sin ayudarle otró alguno, le quitaria la vida. Juntaronse otros tres para la intentona; y hasta 40 eran los demas, que avian de acabar con los soldados y con nosotros dentro de nuestra casa.*

A 23 de Julio 84, acabada la misa de los Indios y u platica, por ser Domingo, pusieron por obra su mal intento, y para quitar la duda sobre quien aya dado la causa de tan funesta tragedia, el primero, a quien hicieron de muerte, fue el Gobernador Esplana: buscaronle aquellos quatro, y no hallandole en su casa (que buena guardia para un Gobernador) dieron con él en la calle solo, descuidado, y sin tener ni una punta de alfiler para su defensa: derribaronle en el suelo, donde cortada la cara por uno y otro carrillo, le cosian a puñaladas con mofa y escarnio diciendo en su lengua: "Tome Señor este lechón que te traemos asado," aludiendo a la caza de puercos, que les abia mandado. Es indubitable, que alli le dejassen muerto, sino fuese que a los gritos que viendolo, daba uno destos Marianillos, acudiendo dos soldados quitasen la vida al principal agresor con lo qual los otros se pusieron en huyda. Levantó la voz el uno destos, y era la señal, que aguardavan los que avian de acometer a nosotros, pero al vocear el malvado, no se quien le quitó la vida de un alfanjazo. Apoderóse el enemigo del cuerpo de guardia, donde mató a dos, dormido el uno, y al otro sin cuidado estando de centinela: indicio manifiesto de la desorden en esta milicia. El tercero se mató en el camino y de 18 heridas que ubo, espiró el uno por la mañana del dia siguiente: y asi fuera de las armas que llevo consigo el enemigo, mató a 4 soldados: y fue particular la Misericordia de Dios no aber muerto a todos en sus mismas viviendas dentro de la fuerza y fuera della: salira la desatención de la gente en todas partes. Del enemigo murieron dos en la refriega, y al tercero con engaño mataron los que guardaban lealtad a nuestro favor.

[Attack on the missionaries]

Muerto, como creian el Gobernador, saltaron a nosotros en nuestra casa, sin que nadie sospechasse cosa mala. Al ruido salí de mi aposanto, y cayendo en manos de los que descubrian por el quartof.] me hirieron aunque sin riesgo [de vida] en quatro partes: y como de milagro no me quitaron la vida, a la qual despues de Dios, la Virgen Santissima y mi Angel de guarda, me la guardó el Hermano Antonio de los Reyes, el qual sin saber como escapandose de entre las manos de los que ya lo tenían agarrado para ahogarle y partirle la cabeza con una cuchilla, me derribó a mi en el suelo, ya de empujones echando me dentro de mi aposanto, no pudo mas que emparegar la puerta, y al no entrar aquellos ya rebestidos de unas furias infernales, a ambos dos nos valió la vida.

Salió asimismo de su aposento el Padre Manuel de Solorzano oyendo lo que a mi me sucedia. Al instante cargaron sobre su R^a y acribillandole la cabeza a cuchilladas, al guarnezerla su R^a con la mano izquierda se la cortaron por la misma muñeca, y atra-vezandole un muchacho (a quien el buen padre mas abia querido y agasajado) la garganta, lo dejaron por muerto, y anegado en su misma sangre. Sobrevivió su R^a hasta la 8-1/2 de la noche empleando todo aquel tiempo en fervorosisimos actos de contrición, y amor de Dios despues de una y otra confesion general de toda su vida, y aviendo recibido la extrema uncion dió su bendita alma a Dios, dejandonos a todos, y a mi en particular, desconsoladisimos por la perdida de un sugeto de tan aventajadas prendas.

Murió asimismo a las 4 de aquella tarde el Hermano Balth. du Bois hecha pedazos la cabeza. Halléle mas de medio muerto, aunque en su acuerdo, y asi administréle los Santos Sacramentos con los demas heridos asi los nuestros, como los soldados, que todos se llevaron a la fortaleza.

*Nuestro Hermano Donado, antiguo compañero del Venerable Padre Diego Luys de S. Vitores, con quien de Manila vino a estas islas, hecho un mar de sangre se dejó por degollado, y por poco lo abian sacado un ojo: convalció de milagro; como tambien el Hermano Pedro Pabon, que rota la cabeza y por poco cortada una mano, y dos o tres dedos de la otra; atravezado de dos puñaladas mortales y molido de palos, no se entiende como escapó vivo de entre sus manos tan encarnizadas. Ambos estos Hermanos convalcieron y este las manos modo medio baldadas pasó a Manila, donde testigo abonado hara fée de lo que *ultra quam serviri potest* hemos padecido, por razon de aberse quedado con este gobierno, quien no era para ello. El no aberlo entregado a D. Josef, lo qual yo, y otros quiza algunos, deseaba tanto, fue causa de nuestra desdicha. Para remediarla, envio el Padre Diego de Zarzosa, que tambien, aunque sin riesgo, salió descalabrado, va Su R^a bien informada de todo lo sucedido, como quien fue testigo de vista; y como es persona de lindo talento para conversar y tiene eficacia, y entrada con algunas personas de cuenta, confiamos en Dios que en todo, y por todo sugeto a la disposición de nuestros alla superiores, sabrá desempeñarse para que conste de la verdad contra las patrañas, y embustes con que semejantes hombres, como lo es nuestro Gobernador, pretenden de encubrir sus desaciertos, mas que sea con manifiestas mentiras, lavandose ellos sus manos a costa de la inocencia agena. A mi Padre si yo me hallaba con la dicha de hablar, no mas de un rato, con Su Excelencia sobre estos dos gobiernos de Esplana, y sobre el de Don Josef de Quiroga año 80 aseguro a V.R^a que mostrara patentemente lo que va del uno al otro: ubo V.R^a como tan aficionado a esta Santa, ardua(?) y Apostolica mision con las noticias que le van en este despacho, se hara mejor velador, y como siempre por su mucho zelo y charidad a tomado por su empeño, solicitamos por medio de su Excelencia nuestro alivio, fiamos en Dios que V.R^a mas que nunca sera nuestro Abogado, para que la mucha piedad de Su Excelencia a cuyo amparo se mantiene esta Christiandad, tenga el merito cumplido de revantarse para nuevos aumentos, lo que de otra suerte esta a pique de perderse sin remedio. Pero volviendo al discurso.*

Repitamos la funesta historia, porque pasaron mas adelante nuevas desgracias. Al Padre Theophilo de Angelis, sugeto tan estimado de Su Excelencia y bien lo merecia su ilustrisima sangre, religiosi[s]ima virtud, ardentisimo zelo, y singular gracia, de que Su R^a fue dotado para convertir almas desamparadas, como lo han sido estos miserables, mataronlo sus mismos hijos, que tenia Su R^a engendrados en Christo.

En la isla de Rota mataron al Padre Carlos Boranga, y en la de Tinian al Padre Augustin Estrobak: Los desta isla aprovechandose del desastre sucedido en Guahan hizieron pedaços a los dos barcos y mataron a 7 marineros Españoles, dos soldados y otros 7 Philipinos, que estaban allá guardando al viento

para dar la vuelta a Guahan trayendo unas quantas de las 17 colebrinas. Al instante enviaron estos traydores a las ultimas islas quien solicitase la muerte de los 25 soldados que con el Padre Pedro Comano ya venian por aca. Sucedióles su intentona: porque como la gente venia embarcado de dos en dos ahogaron a 20 dellos echandolos a la mar, escapando el Padre con los otros cinco, se quedó desemparado con los tres en una de aquellas islas; y los otros dos llegaron a este Real de Guahan.

En Zaypan tenia al suyo el Sargento Mayor Don Josef de Quiroga presidiando con 40 hombres a tres islas recién conquistadas. Los Zaypanes sin saber su Merced lo que aca nos abia sobrevenido, andaban tan bien buscando por donde le pudieran pegar la suya; pero la seguridad del buen caballero no les dejo lugar para salir con ella. Quiso la mala suerte, que al descubrirse la intentona, estuviesen fuera [del presidio] seis soldados. Su Merced al punto envio quien los llamase para ponerse en cobro: pero los tres no alcançando al aviso fueron muertos a manos de la traycion. Rompióse guerra, y juntandose las 3 islas acometieron a los nuestros por dos meses y medio. Aqui se portó D. Josef, como quien es hombre de valor y virtud, con singular prudencia y esfuerzo, hasta traer al enemigo tan acossado [con] las continuas salidas, que hacia, ya con 10, ya con 15, y nunca mas que con 28 soldados, con los quales iba a buscarlo una y dos leguas en sus mismos pueblos, cautivando, hiriendo, y matandole siempre algunos sin que recibiesen los nuestros jamas daño alguno. Cansado ya el enemigo trató de componerse pidiendo paçes los Zaypanes. Concediólas el Sargento Mayor por entonces aguardando mejor ocasion para el ajuste de tal delito. Abasteció Su R^a [rather Merced] mas de por un año y halló maña de hazer un despacho para saber de cierto lo que pasaba por aca. Tubo feliz logro su buena diligencia; a la qual respondió nuestro Gobernador Esplana acorralado con su gente, ya iba por quatro meses, sin que instancias, ni ruegos fuesen jamas bastante por ningun motivo, a que hiziese alguna faccion contra un enemigo tan desigual en las armas, mandóle a D. Josef que desamparando aquello, dejase alla todos los trastos y se embarcase para aca con la gente. Obedició el Sargento Mayor atropellando con quantos peligros se le ofrecian, y de verdad eran evidentissimos, parte por los vientos recios, y mares que entonces casi son no navegables: parte por las trayciones que se podrian armar los barqueros, a los quales ni falta el animo, ni la sollicitacion de revolcar los en la mar al exemplo de los recién ahogados. Pero dejando ya a D. Josef hasta despues veamos, que tal se mostró nuestro Gobernador Esplana sucedido el fracasso, supuesto no avertido para cautelarlo.

Fuíle a ver en la fuerza a donde se abia retirado recién herido: y lo hallé tan lleno de sobresalto, y miedo que le pareció, ya no abia lugar, que le asegurase del enemigo. Todo se le iba en llorar su desventura echando a sus pecados la culpa de tanta desgracia con mil protestas de ser en adelante muy otro, si Dios le diese mas vida. Dejéle consolado y con buenas esperanzas. Bajaban aquella misma tarde unos 50 Indios de pelea capitaneandolos su Principal. Aqui le volvieron al Gobernador mortales ansias, temiendo le viniesen a matar donde estaba, sosiegose al oyr, que los tenía prontos para dar sobre el enemigo, y quemarle su pueblo en castigo de tan sacrilega alevosia: hazianle instancias los soldados, a que los permitiese ir en compañía destes leales para lograr al atayo [=el atajo] de maiores males antes de juntarse todas las islas, como lo acostumbrañ dejandose llevar de la corriente. Aqui mostró lo abatido de su corazon no condescendiendo con lo que le pedian dando ocasion al enemigo de echar voz, que todos estabamos ya desanimados y sin remedio de poder lo escapar. y asi solicitaron a los de Tinian, y de Zaypan acabasen asi mismo con los que alla abia[n].

Lo que mas riesgo corria era la fabrica de la iglesia y casa recién hecha con tanto gasto, y trabajo. Supliqué al Gobernador mandase a los pocos Indios amigos, que acudian, la destechase, por ser el techo

de paja y con esta diligencia se aseguraba del fuego, que lo pegaren aquel mismo día a no aberse lo estorbado un Indio principal, que con sus dos hijos anduvo muy leal. No lo pude conseguir teniendo los ocupados a todos en la fuerza mandandoles levantar algunas chozillas en los baluartes, por entonces no tan necesarias. No se acordó de avisar a su Sargento Mayor en Zaypan lo que aca pasaba para guardarse alla, no le sucedies a otro tanto. yo para no perderse tiempo suplile dos veces prometiendo al que llevaba la carta de darle quando me pidiera si la entregase. Pero no pudiendose lograr la diligencia por faltar el Indio a la lealdad, se originaron de nuevo los inconvenientes arriba dichos. Volvi, aunque en valde, a solicitar se destechasse la iglesia y nuestra vivienda: y así herido como [yo] estava con los demas Padres y otros muchachos, pusé en cobro las al[h]ajas mas importantes, ornamentos, y vasos consegrados, archivo, livros de los bautismos y matrimonios, vino y harina para misas, libreria, lo del sustento, etc. que nos valió la vida en este encerramiento.

Teniamos a 27 [July 1684], el quarto día despues de la desgracia, toda la ropa para sacarla quando el Gobernador nos envió una orden apretada por dos vezes que nos retirasemos a la fuerza. fue forzoso obedecer, dejando para despues de medio día lo que ya estava dispuesto para sacarse. Pero el enemigo, iritado aquella mañana con una bravada que sin reparar en los inconvenientes mandó hazer nuestro Governador, nos alejó la vuelta: porque a las 12-1/2 acometió a los pocos Indios amigos, que hasta 20 se ponian a defender la fabrica, y no pudiendo mas contra la muchedumbre del enemigo, pidieron les favoreciesen con algunas bocas de fuego; los soldados se ofrecian para ello con vivas ansias; Pero no solo no se lo concedió el Gobernador sino que les envió orden a los amigos de retirarse; y así se dió lugar al enemigo de quemar a nuestra vista la yglesia y casa, todo quando abia en ella sagrado y profano. Asimismo pegaron fuego a ambos a dos los [sic] Colegios; y al fin a todas las demas residencias que ubo en esta isla; la qual sin que faltasse ni un pueblo, se juntó a la guerra que duró por quatro meses teniendo a nuestro Gobernador con su gente tan acorralado dentro de su fortín, que jamas ni por si mismo, ni por instancias de los suyos, ni por nuestros ruegos, se resolvió a salir contra el enemigo para volver por su mismo credito vengando justisimamente de los agravios suyos, y nuestros con tan enorme injuria hecha a Dios, y el Rey: Pero su miedo (parece cosa increíble) no dió lugar para cumplir con la obligación, en que le pusó su puesto de Gobernador y Teniente de Capitan General, con lo qual al enemigo le ofreció su osadía en tan grado, que se desvergonzó con él sobre quanto se pudiera encarecer. dejó de referir los baldonas, mofas y escarnios, que de fuera lo dijeron en su cara, al oirlo se santiguaron los que estaban a su lado, viendo que nada le movia para castigar tales desacatos. siendo así que siempre y en todas partes revienta por la boca, de valentia hasta decir que él sabe debajo de las piernas mandar a exercitos enteros: que ni el Cid Campeador tiene que ver con él: que el Rey mas debe a su espada, que al de Cortés y otros cien pataratas deste juez. Con estos y semejantes disparates se acreditó en Manila de donde a titulo de valor finjido se nos encajó con una provision de la Real Audiencia sin que fuese bastante motivo para estorbar la noticia de lo mal que aca se habia portado el año 76, aunque con excesso notable lo hizo peor este año 84. dejando nos apenas la esperanza de poderse restaurar lo que sus descuydos fomentados de su vana presuncion echaron a perder. Si viviera oy día el Padre Manuel Solorzano, ó estuviera con nosotros el Padre Antonio Xaramillo, que presto, aunque tarde, mudaban de parecer diciendo conmigo que para echar a perder cosas grandes, y que otros se entregaron como prendas de su valor, no ay mas hombre que Esplana, a quien se debe todo quanto ya hecho menos esta mision: que son 5 Religiosos los Ministros del S. Evangelio fuera de otro sacerdote desamparado sin que me es posible socorrerle, si es que vive aun 45 entre soldados y marineros muertos, y otros 18 desamparados, ademas de 5 huydos

al enemigo fuera de otros dos que vien[ro]n consigo. Dos barcos que se destrocaron y yglesias y viviendas nuestras con robo de todas las alhajas sagradas y profanas sobre la perdida de tantas almas. Quien tal dijera que nuestra mision Mariana avia de parar en tal desgraciada tragedia por un Cabo puesto con acuerdo de una Real Audiencia!

[Governor Esplana's strategy included chemical warfare]

*No son para callar sus estratagemas poco militares. Dos apunto tan solamente; porque el tercero, fué fijar puyas para que el enemigo no se puse a tiro: tal era su miedo de verlo tan solamente. Mandó haser un cono (instrumento de carton para hablar al oido desde lejos)). Entrada ya la noche solia llamar al Padre Lorenzo Bustillos [sic], que por el instrumento hablasse a los que, de quando en quando, con 4 gritos tiraban otras tantas piedras: y lo que mandó decir, era: "ay desdichados de vosotros, que mañana dara el Gobernador sobre vosotros, y os matara a todos." Pero esa mañana hasta [a]hora no ha aun amanecido [amanecido], y ellos como ya desde años atras lo conocían, y mucho mas le cotaban en este caso su grandisimo miedo, le daban cantaleta riendose de sus fieros. Una embuscada dispusó, y otra se lo estorvo la publicidad, otra falta que tiene irremediable con demostracion patente de no ser para mando militar por mas que él a si mismo se persuada que no ay otro igual. Porque ni tiene ni quiere tener secreto, publicando a voces tres, y quatro días antes lo que sin aconsejarse y aun sin descubrir desea de intentar a bulto, y acrebatadamente [sic] de lo qual pudiera yo escribir un caso entre otros que me sucedió año 76 para sacarlo de un empeño si no aya sido con honra, fue con menos discretio[n]: Pero basta decir que en la presente desgracia 300 Indios estaban dispuestos para acometer (y quien ubieran muerto) a la 2ª embuscada de 30 hombres, si uno de los nuestros dandole a entender el peligro por la publicidad, no fuese causa de detenerse nuestra gente. Lo peor, que aya en estos casos es que nos eche a nosotros la culpa de que esto, y aquello no aya hecho. Intento tengo para no referir historias particulares en esta materia, de remitir a Su Excelencia mi Señora la Duquesa unos **dos papeles** (otro tercio no llegó a sus manos) que yo mismo concibi despues de examinados para mejor acierto, de los Padres si los entregue: iva asimismo una respuesta suya a entrambos de todo lo qual podra Su Excelencia iuzgar del sujeto, y ver lo que con su Merced hemos padecido sobre el aber nos echado a tan lamentable estado.*

*Pero baya el tercer estratagema tan de su lado que ni aun se estila de Christianos contra los Moros, ó Incas; quanto menos ubiera de servir en una nueva Christiandad contra Neophitos, aunque ubieran apostatado de la fe. Viendo pues que su miedo no le permitia acometer al enemigo saliendo de encercamientos y que cada día le venian desafiar ya a voces y gritos, ya a pedradas, creió aver discurrido [descubierto] un medio para matar a su salvo a quantos quisiera con inficionar a sus pozos y tinajas, donde beben. Dió a entender, no sé como, a uno de los nuestros este su pensamiento, no pidiendole consejo (pues dice presumiendo de sí, que donde él está, nadie puede hablar) sino encareciendole su intención. Advirtió su Rª la gravedad de la materia, y asi le respondió por interessar en ello la conciencia contra su credito, y aun no dejaba de sentirse que su Rª no se lo alabava, yo al oir lo referido, lo mandó el parecer de todos los Padres si a caso me preguntara su Merced, resolví de dar la vida antes aprobar como licito una cosa tan exorbitante, 1º porque en ninguna historia lo lee, que tal estratagema se permite en la guerra, 2º que ni se aya jamas oydo que por este medio se procuró la conservacion de la fe en parte alguna, ni tal mando Xro a los suyos, ni lo enseña el Evangelio, ni lo permite la justicia con tal manifesto peligro de tantos inocentes niños y mujeres; si bien este Caballero, como no professa ni la especulativa, ni la moral, a todos los tiene por merecedores de muerte: Los adultos por culpa **de presentí**: los pequeños por*

la de futuro: porque en llegando dice a maior edad, seran tan malos como sus Padres: de donde concluya que ahora præ occupative se pueden matar. Vea V.Rª Padre mio de mi alma, a quien se da la administracion de la justicia en estas partes, y mas en Christiandades nuevas. Que este Caballero aya sido Justicia Mayor de Zebu, vaya con Dios: que cerca está [ella de] la Real Audiencia para irle a la mano, y deshacer agravios. Pero en Marianas, donde ni oye, ni ve la Real Audiencia lo que pasa, y nosotros con este hombre en particular no podemos hablar, ni aun alla no nos atrebemos de informar para no exponernos a la calumnia de los que mal nos quieren; como es posible que aya acierto si el gobierno no se entriega al que fuera de buena consciencia; vida exemplar, prudente, justicioso, zeloso del divino y Real Servicio, desinteresadas estas y otras calidades para quien gobierna esto, no se hallan en D. Damian de Esplana, el qual sin hablar palabra, ni saber yo algo, [él] puso por obra lo del veneno, y aunque segun decian, se enfermaron algunos; que Dios servido, que ninguno muriese en señal manifiesta de no ser esta defensa; qual él temerariamente la abrá juzgado que dirian de nuestros Ministerios, los que con finjidas calumnias nos procuran de infamar, si este hombre para su excusa, pudiera alegar nuestro consentimiento de matar con veneno a los que se oponen a nuestra santa fe: y esto quando ubo ocasion de dar la vida por ella! No permita Dios que aya entre nosotros en esta Mision Mariana, quien en tanto estima el vivir, que tal piense.

Ya que tocamos algo de la justicia, veamos como nuestro Gobernador aca la aya administrado, pues él mismo confiesa que la disgracia presenta el castigo de no aver hecho justicia, 1º, de un Philipino alzosamente mató a uno destos naturales: pero las vezes del Gobernador suplió Dios, y en este mismo año; permitiendo, que el matador fuesa ahogado en la mano de otros Indios. 2º, uno de sus marineros, andando tras una India, hirió gravamente al que, diciendo ser su hermana, le quiso disuadir su mal intento. Dio sus quejas el Ministro: y la respuesta del Governador fue: que era mala gente soldados, y marineros: que lo deseaba remediado, que se bañara en agua rosada si los Padres mandasen sus Indios pegarles 200 azotes: que él a sangre fría no podia castigar: y desta manera respondiendole a todas las demas quejas, que le venian para que abajase los escandalos, que daba su gente. Yo al despedirme de la Isla de Rota, oyendo al Ministro del otro partido que lastimandome referia lo alla pasado, le pronostiqué que a no castigar su Merced a tales desordenes, veria a menos pensar la divina justicia sobre si. No pasaron dos meses, quando los marineros, y otros, que cuydaban de los dos barcos viviendo como gente desalmada en Tinian, dejaron sus vidas (y de sus almas sabe Dios lo que se ha hecho) a manos de aquellos isleños: y el Gobernador, asi que lo oyó, dijo que bien lo abian merecido: pero él hizo mal en no castigarlos para poner los en razon.

[Letter from a rebel soldier]

Otro [soldado] huyó del Real al enemigo: y despues de aber estado entre ellos metiendo no se que chismes contra los nuestros, volvió sin que le mandasse el Gobernador pegar ni un azote. Quiça[s] mas merecia, que en tiempo tan peligroso no es bueno disimular lo todo, quien de entre los enemigos sol[ic]itando a los del Real para huirse escribió esta carta:

“Compadre NN.

Me alegraré de que esta le halla a V. merced con la salud que le deseo en compañía de su esposa. El portador desta es NN. nuestro paysano: V. merced me lo despache luego con respuesta. Yo que en la mia le suplico, es, que salga de la fuerza y tambien mi compadre N, y algunos otros paisanos; porque les importa la vida. Todos los pueblos hazen escaleras para subir las murallas al quarto de prima, ó al de

alba: y así sera mejor el salir, quanto antes. No ay que rezelar de los Indios enemigos; porque todos en general dicen que quantos saliesen del fuerte, seran como hijos de la tierra. Encargo el secreto; porque a los dos nos importa la reputación.”

Fué tanto lo que al Caballero assustó entonces esta carta que no acertó hablar palabra hasta mostrarle yo que no tenía cosa (como era verdad) que antes no se avia sabido; pues era como respuesta a un recaudo, que él mismo avia mandado se enviase al tal combidandole que se llegasse hacia aca para irle a hablar a quien vino la carta. Pero assustado ni se acordó el buen Gobernador de lo por su mismo dispuesto; ni se supó aprovechar, como si fuese entendido en lo militar, desta ocasion para lograr un lindo lance, qual sin ser yo soldado, lo pinté a los nuestros, y así sucedió: porque 3 dias despues, pensando el enemigo, que los combidados avian de salir, se emboscaron unos 12 ó 14 a medio tiro de la fuerza para recibirlos. El Gobernador avia de haberlo combidado para ello aplazandoles, y señalandoles, pues tantos avian de venir, preveydo el caso una emboscada de 30, o mas hombres: y dejando entonces salir los ello combidados sin peligro los ubiera cogido a todos. Pero ya dije que Su merced no se aconseja, ni aun discurre; sino arrebatadamente envió a unos quantos para reconocer de donde venian los tiros que uno de los enemigos al 2º dia de su emboscada hecho dentro del fortín; y no sin riesgo por hallarse en improviso sobre los emboscados, cojieron a uno, a otro mataron; los demas se pusieron en cobro.

[The walls of the fort are raised]

Este fue el mejor sucesso que ubo en nuestra parte en todo el tiempo de la guerra: pero no fue bastante para sosiegarse su sobresalto; por tanto mandó levantar las cortinas y baluarte del fortín media braza mas en alto, a fin de no alcanzarles las escalas; y por mas que nosotros, por conocer ya el modo de pelear que tiene esta gente, le asegurabamos, que dello no avia que temer, y antes: tal cosa se avia de desear para aprovecharnos de la ocasion y lograr buen lance: ubo la gente de reventar con trabajos bien sensados en la circunstancia de hazer y deshazer garritas, y otras mas faenas sin mas sustento, que de un poco de maiz, faltandoles a menudo tiempo de cocinarlo para su comida o cena: tan molidos volvian del trabajo, a que salian con el estomago vacio, desde romperse el nombre por la mañana hasta las doze: y desde las dos, hasta puesto el sol y quien tanto cuydado tenia para que el enemigo no escalase su fuerte, y de quitase a él la vida, jamas ni por sí, ni por otros se indujó a que para defensa de toda su gente enseñase a sus soldados el modo de cargar una arma, o lograr un tiro.

Aburrída la gente de tan indispensable tarea empeçando a murmurar, daba indicios manifiestos de mutin: de suerte que yo y otros la oymo decir a las claras; que fuera mejor acabar con ellos de una vez, y no matarlos a puro trabajo y hambre: otros le amanezaban de huyr al enemigo, seguros de hallar mas descanso y mejor tratamiento. Yo acordando me que el año 75 por poco le abian muerto por razon del trabajo y maltratamiento de palabra, conspirando todos, como constó de un papel que llegó a mis manos; determiné con el parecer de los Padres hablarle para que se sirviese de moderar un poco la tarea. Lo hize con todo el tiempo posible: y él a voces me respondió; que solo JESU podra ir en la mano en lo del trabajo: que abian de trabajar los soldados mas que reventasen; pues avia[n] padres para enterrarlos; y si no lo quisieran decir un responso, no faltaria un Cabo de esquadra para echarles la tierra encima.

Quedéme helado al oír tales desatinos (si es licito hablarme así) rezelandome mucho, no desesperase la gente con tanta insensibilidad de lo que padecia: Pero bien presto hecho de ver, que mas avia que temer de los suyos a dentro, que de los enemigos: porque en una noche de sus mismos esclavos se le huyeron dos, con otros tres; y los mas de los Philipinos, como lo supimos despues, trataban de hazer otro tanto,

abiendo el uno dellos enviado adelante, a su misma mujer; la qual estando en el pueblo mas cercano aguardando a su marido, descubrio la trama a dos de sus camaradas; y ellas avisaron al mismo governador; dejandole por poco desconfiado de poder guardar a su pellejo; y mas por decirse que no faltó, quien a otro criado suyo le solicitó para que de noche le matase, y esa mas leal no bino en tanta impiedad; antes, sí, diciendo, que si fuera menester, abia de morir con su amo abajo tan horrenda maldad: Pero no por esto dejó el Governador de rezelarse mucho y lastimandose con nosotros, que no tenía de quien fiarse, ube con consulta de los Padres de tomar por nuestra cuenta, el hazer centinela nosotros de dos en dos en su mismo quartel mientras dormía de noche; y esto sobre aber nos al principio tan bien andado de ronda, y tomado las armas, como qualquier soldado, para animar al Governador no menos, que a su gente: Aunque nos lo pagó después tan mal, haziendonos vivos martyres con tantos desacatos, desaires y malos terminos: tratandonos con menos atencion, que a los Indios Philipinos, sin darnos siquiera, un Dios se lo pague, por averse asegurado la vida hasta la llegada de D. Josef; cuya atencion no permitia que no estando él aca, estuviésemos de centinela para guardar a su Governador el qual no sé si de corrido; esto sí sabemos todos, que contra la verdad, hablando sobre esto con su Sargento Mayor, le dixo no pudiendo negar el hecho, que sabiamos así disponer al reloj de suerte que a las 2 de la mañana diese las 10, y que entonces saliamos. De aqui es facil conjeturarlo, que dira en Manila para su excusa, si de qualquier modo nos pudiera pegar a nosotros la culpa de sus desaciertos. Pero no faltara por mi si la verdad no se descubiere a las claras, y sin embustes. como VR podra conocer de los papeles, que envio a Su Excelencia para que no ignore cosa alguna de las que aca acontecieron.*

Mejor cabida tuvieron los Philipinos con el D. Damian de Esplana, que no nosotros, porque seguro estaba que no tenía que temer de nosotros aviendose a de asegurar dellos, mas que fuese a costa de su mismo desdoro: y así llamó, ya a unos, ya a otros; y hablandolos en secreto les dijo: no le desamparasen que queriendo lo ellos, los enviaría, ó llevaria consigo a Philipinas: dissimulabales cosas de marca: porque desvergonzandose uno dellos, que siendo el año antes alguazil de los Marianos, por temerse del mas, que de otro alguno, ya le abia hecho Capitan y con otro, que tambien era Capitan de la Compañía Española, fuese al Governador el Philipino quejandose del otro, y le dijo, que si no lo remediaba (no sé si el termino no aya sido, si no le castigaba) le abia de matar y no solo le disimulaba el Governador sin reprehension tanto descubrimiento(?) en el hablar; sino tambien dió le hasta las mismas galas del Maestro de Campo; y asi trae a cuestras este Indio en los dias de Domingo el tahali mayor de Su Señoria con muy grandes, y hermosas laminas de filigrana; y no dudo sino que algun dia ira parar a otro por el juego de dados, y naipes: lo qual de verdad es contra de decoro debido a un Caballero que fue Governador, y Capitan General pour su Magestad.

Nosotros por ser religiosos fuimos deste hombre en todo, y por todo despreciados sin hazer caso de lo que continuamente padeciamos. El Governador de Philipinas su Capitan General que lo era, D. Juan de Bargas en una instruccion para estos Cabos su fecha en Manila 7 de Setiembre 80 mandó se aconsejen, y comuniquen con el Padre, que fuere Superior, en cosas de marca: pero este nos dijo sobre esto claramente, que si estuviera en Manila, abia al Governador una buena pesadumbre, por aver enviado aca a tales papelones.

Y vea VR de lo ya referido si tiene menester de aconsejarse; y en caso, que sí, con quien mejor de aconsejar se puede, que con el Padre, que fuere Superior; pues los demas, soldados, que consciencia tienen, que zelo, que ciencia? quien mejor le puede ayudar, y aun excusar sus yerros, y desaciertos, si aconsejando se errase con prudencia. Ya no fue que contra toda razon, consciencia y justicia se dejó decir*

en publico a los soldados, que las al[h]ajas que en esta revolucion abian los Indios tomado de los Padres, no se abian de restituir, y así que si llegasen a sus manos dellos de qualquier modo, pudieron quedarse con ellas sin volverlas; y la razon de su dicho tan malsonante fué, por que los Indios las abian adquirido en guerra viva. La ocasion de decir esto fue que volviendo al Real aquel que escribió la carta arriba dicha, con la qual solicitó a los otros la huyda (y eso se le pasó por alto sin castigo mas de estar 3 dias en una garita, y aun sin grillos comiendo y bebiendo sin trabajar; de día ni de noche hazer quarto) tenía este tal algunas al[h]ajas de cierta residencia en su caja, y el Padre cuyas eran se las cobró, no llevando lo bien al Gobernador de suerte que llamando a su R^a, le dijo, que no tenia razon para tal cobranza[.] yo, con el parecer de los Padres quisé desengañar a su Merced; pero él como es su modo desatento, echandolo a voces, dijo que no mirabamos mas, que nuestro interesse [sic]; que él sabia mejor estas cosas por aversele caido las muelas en ellas; y que nosotros no sabemos mas de lo que decian los libros. De suerte que aqui su dictamen práctico: el aversele caido las muelas en esto, o aquello, le parece infalible, y puede mas para dirigir le su conciencia, que si fuera una regla del derecho comun o definicion de S. Thomas.

*No refiero otro ruido, que tuvó por lo que el Padre Bustillo, siendo al parecer de cuya conversacion el mas gustaba, le queria intimar con su licencia para atajar los inconvenientes, que se pudieran originar de las hablillas, que con poco aprecio de su merced corrian entre los soldados, y los Indios, diciendole su R^a con otras cosas, que atribuyan a temor el no salir su Merced para acometerlos a ellos. **Quod cum andisset turbatus est, et omnis Jerosolyma cum illo**, y rebistiendose de unas furias mas que martiales, saltó de la cama como era a las 9 de la noche, y echando tacos y revezes de pura valentia llamaba las armas (todo era embuste) y como quien al instante ubiera de hazer una carnizeria tremenda de todos los enemigos, echo su corbata, que él solo los quemarian sus pueblos; y les sacaria a sus criados que ya como dije se le abian huydo. Pusó a unos de los nuestros en cuidado no hiziese algun disparate de noche, y así me vinieron avisar a toda priesa. Como si yo no lo oyan... pero yo acordandome de otra historia, que me abra sucedido con él año 75, no me meneaba por conocer esas patrañas: pero al fin ube de condescender; y se dejó al fin inducir quedando a su parecer con el credito de muy valiente, quando él mismo, los soldados, y algunos de los no oyeron, que el enemigo de fuera le llamaron a gritos de "gallina," de "mujer" y que ellos lo ubieran de ahorcar.*

Suplico mi Padre se me perdone el escribir tales cosas; porque el juicio comun que importa para servicio de ambas Magestades el que tales hombres no engañen pretendiendo, o recibiendo puestos sin tener caudal para ellos, viendo pues que no acertaba en cosa (aun su vanidad jamas diva tal) no veia la hora de llegar aca su Sargento Mayor D. Josef prometiendo de dar 500 pesos para misas a las animas, si Dios N. Señor, se lo traia con bien y en su compañía la gente.

Otro desacierto ubo aqui en su orden; y fue que ni se acordó de encargarse a D. Josef; no veniese antes de hazer toda su diligencia para traer consigo al Padre con los 3 soldados, que como dixé, quedaban desamparados en una de aquellas islas; y moralmente se les nuisibilitaba la vuelta quitase de en medio aquel presidio. Yo en dos cartas que fueron en el mismo despacho otra al Sargento Mayor y otra al Padre que su merced tenia consigo, los suplique quanto pudo, aunque en balde, prometiendo en paga de la diligencia, todo quanto deseava, quien hiziese la diligencia.

[Major Quiroga returns from Saipan to Guam]

Ya es tiempo de volvernos a referir lo que le sucedió al Sargento Mayor D. Josef de Quiroga al embarcarse por aca solo su desvelo, y acertada disposicion pudo alejar los peligros que se le ofrecian en la

jornada: así los suyos le ubiesen guardado las ordenes con la debida puntualidad, que él les abia dado muy por menudo. Tal fue el no acercarse a la tierra de Tinian por las corrientes que las ay alla furiosisimas. Ellos, él como no se sabe, lo hicieron al revez: por que arrebaatndo la reventazon a tres embarcaciones de las 8, en que venia la gente hasta 35 soldados, fuera de Su merced, el Padre, y un muchacho, se echaron pique las 3 embarcaciones [sic] naufragando en ellas 15 hombres: Ni fue posible al buen Caballero, socorrerlos por ser media noche, recios los vientos, enfurecidas las mares, y él mismo tener a su embarcacion llena de agua: y así fue forçoso proseguir su viage con las otra[s] 5 embarcaciones lastimandose y con razon, de la desgracia, que le abia causado el descuido de unos, que siempre andan desatentos. Pero parece que Dios N. Señor ayuda con especialidad al bueno de D. Josef en todas sus empresas, por obrar en todas ellas con motivos tan superiores sin jactarse, sin mirar otra cosa mas que la gloria de Dios, servicio del Rey, y la salvacion de estas miserables almas; pues a pocos dias de aber llegado a Guahan, tubo noticia de que estaban con vida todos los 15 que abian naufragado por averles favorecido el mismo enemigo, que oy dia contra toda humana esperanza los tiene consigo a otros en Tinian, y a otros en Zaypan.

*A la noticia de aver llegado aca el Sargento Mayor, que fue a 23 de Noviembre 84 se mejoraron luego nuestras cosas en tanta manera que al oyr lo el enemigo trató de desemparar no solo al cerco, sino a sus mismos pueblos, casas, y sementeras, que tenía llenas de rayzes para su ordinario sustento. Pensabamos todos, que se compliera al Sargento mayor la palavra, que en llegando le abia dado el Gobernador para que el corriese con el manejo de las armas, y restaurase lo perdido, como quien presto sosiegara toda esta isla: Pero por mas instancias, que le hazia, que le emplease en lo que convenia al servicio de Dios, y de su Magestad para el bien destos miserables, ya que le abia llamado a costa de tantos peligros, jamas le fue posible lograr su santo zelo: yo viendo al Gobernador tan sin determinacion (sabe Dios si la invidia no tuvo la culpa, y se la perdona) por interessar en ello el cargo de mi conciencia, con el parecer de los Padres roguete por escrito, por no quererse conferir de palabra (que esto para él es cosa de menos valor; à saber, aunque lo debiera hazer por muchos títulos) suplicando se sirviese de las armas segun era su obligacion, para poder nosotros salir con nuestros ministerios y dar el pasto espiritual a estas ovejas descarcadas reduciendolas otra vez a su rebaño; y en caso de no hallarse con disposicion de emprender por su misma persona lo que convenia obrar, encarguese la empressas a quien deseaba servirle para desempeñarse con honra. Pero “**Surdo cecini, cenicique [=cecinique?] ligato.**” Lo que mandó al Sargento Mayor despues de aver 4 años antes governado esta mision con tanto credito de valor, y acierto, no fue empeño de un Cabo de Esquadra, enviando le por escolta de los que traían [h]ojas de palma para techar unas garritas, o sacaban rayces para su sustento, o iban a cazar puercos. Era lo qual viendose ya libre a la columna del Sargento Mayor, de tantos sobresaltos, se ocupó él mismo en persona en tanta manera que uno de los nuestros le preguntó, y se le dió la razon dello en este epigramma: revocandole a la memoria la causa de su desgracia:*

Peccarunt Indi, parci plectuntur: ab ægro si quævis, stomacho sus [sic=suo] male digeritur.

A la repetidas instancias para que se hiziese algo, envió al Sargento Mayor de quando en quando, pero siempre con tal mala disposicion, como si intentaba o que no hiziese nada de provecho, o que le sucediese mal; por que dos y tres dias antes lo insinuaba a los Indios, y soldados, y estos avisaban a los que se buscaban de suerte que llegando el Sargento Mayor de ordinario no hallaba gente: hasta los caminos lo determinaba, y estos por ser publicos, quería declinar el Sargento Mayor, sin permitirselo el Gobernador para que fuese sentido. Si no volvía la gente a la hora determinada (lo qual a vezes no se pueda,

por los encuentros) se hallaba el Gobernador con ansias mortales, donde ni [=su?] sombra avia de temor. De todo echaba la culpa al Sargento Mayor, achazandole que no era para nada, siendo asi que D. Josef tiene en una mano, que Esplana en todo su cuerpo. Ni este, ni todos los demas Cabos juntos que yo conocí en 13 años, que son los que estoy en esta mision, han hecho tanto en todo aquel tiempo, como D. Josef solo en un año que gobernó y en los pocos días, que el año pasado hizo la conquista de las tres islas. El Gobernador Esplana, él, sí, que no es para nada, mas que para echarlo todo a perder como la experiencia misma lo ha enseñado, y para que se vea, que es esto asi, apunto este caso por otros muchos:

[Governor Esplana dares to be seen outside the fort on top of his horse]

Tenia una sementera de maiz pegada al Real, la qual, no permitiendo Dios, la sacasen los enemigos en mas [de] diez meses, nos dió la vida: porque dixó el Gobernador a las claras, que no abia de salir ni en busca de comer, pues abia que los perros, y 4 caballos de que echar mano de lá. Estando ya la sementera de sazón, se la iba el enemigo llevando a su vista del, y al avisarle desto un Padre, respondióle no era maiz lo que llevaban: Pero bien presto ubo de confessar, y asi en vez de 10, ó 12 muchachos que cada dia le solian a coger algo, se resolvió (grande hazaña) de ir él mismo en Compañía de 40 soldados, y otros Indios amigos. Encargó a los demas, que le vijasen si a caso se dejaba ver algun enemigo, y nosotros, que estabamos encargados de los baluartes, le abiamos de avisar. Se puso pues dos coletos, uno sobre otro guarniziendo a la cabeza de lo mismo, y montó a caballo.

Sucedio, que 8 muchachos colegiales volviendo con unas calabazas para nuestra comida, venian salomando: Asustóse tanto el valiente Caballero, que desamparando a su gente se vino volando a meterse en cobro, llenandlo todo de voces, que como no lo [a]vizaban. Respondieron los Padres que pues no abisaban, debia su merced entender no era cosa: que a ser enemigo ubieran cumplido su orden. A su exemplo se huyeron tambien los suyos desamparando la cargazon, que abian de traer para racionar a la gente. Combine quien quisiere estos hechos con las bravatas de su valor que hecha a cada rato haciendose ridiculo a todos. Pero lo que nos causa admiracion y dolor muy sensible, es que por salir él con el nombre de ser valiente, y Gran Capitan, las malas mañas que tiene para poner mal con todos a su Sargento mayor siendo así, que a él le debe las esperanzas de poder salir de aca con la vida; puede segun lo referido, y todo buen discurso de una, o otra parte se la ubieran quitado ora fuesen los alçados de fuera, ora los de dentro; que ya desto, si es verdad lo que hemos oido, trataban[.] mas debe aun a D. Josef, pues a su sombra del empeço a dar alguna vislumbre de animo; porque teniendo ya esperanza de que enviada la orden de desampar[ar] la nueva conquista vendría por aca, se le oyó decir, que en llegando su Sargento Mayor empeçaria a gobernar, por aber añadido, y respirar, porque a las primeras salidas, que le permitia hacer a los primeros pueblos; de donde los Indios amedrentados con la llegada del Sargento Mayor, se abian retirado, o oyendo que ya no se disparaba, se puso de caballo con 12 hombres, como la sombra, que sigue su objeto, y para alabarse de una grande hazaña mandó a los que a él le acompañaban, que pegasen fuego a 4 casas, y esto mismo no lo hazia sin desacierto; porque sin reparar, en que su gente necesitaba de sustento, echó a perder tanta comida amontanada alli en aquellas casas, que della, como él mismo lo decia, se pudieran aber llenado 20 embarcaciones; y traído al Real que no está lejos mas de un quarto de legua. Ni tubo disposicion para aprovecharse las sementeras, que pegadas a esas mismas casas tenian, segun dijeron testigos de vista, rayzes ya de sazón en tanta abundancia que se llenara della toda nuestra fortaleza permitiendo que se las llevasen los mismos enemigos aunque ya retirados. Destas y otras mas cosas no ay que tratar con él, ni el Sargento Mayor, nosotros, ni hombre alguno.

Seria nunca acabar, si prosiguiera lo que de este Caballero queda que escribir. Añado tan solamente lo que sucedió a los fines de Febrero deste mismo año.

[Esplana's new boat]

Ya dixé que su genio es de algun sobrestante de fabricas, o de algun mayordomo sin cuidar de lo que le toca por su puesto, y así en tiempo de averse de hacer empresas militares para reducir al enemigo, y castigar sus desafueros, empecé de trazar un barco: esto moralmente hablando no podía servir sino para descargar al tiempo de la nao lo que nos abia de traer para nuestro socorro: y para esta diligencia era el barco muy necesario, por no haber esperanza de otras embarcaciones. Solamente el empear la fabrica tan temprano, daba que sospechar, no fuese que el Gobernador como es hombre arrebatado, sin prudencia; y sin consejo, intentase por este medio al[g]una temeridad; ya que se sabia de cierto que arrepentido sobre manera de haber admitido este gobierno por la vanidad del titulo de Gobernador y Teniente de Capitan General, y aburrido con la desventura de tan mal sucesos[,] se dejaba decir a gritos, que mal aya al (perdone VR que ponga sus mismos terminos aunque sean tan poco religiosos) cornudo que le envió (no sé si dijo) que le trujó a Marianas siendo así, que en la navegacion abrió el pliego de la Real Audiencia (lo qual consta de testigos abonados) por saber si él venía proveido del Gobierno, del qual si hubiera querido, con facilidad se pudiera aberse eximido con el nombramiento, que del legitimamente abia hecho el Maestro de Campo D. Antonio de Sarabia en la persona de su Sargento Mayor D. Josef de Quiroga. Confirmabase esa sospecha con lo que Esplana decia, que esta era mala tierra, que de mejor gana en el barquillo se iria a descubrir otro mejor: informóse a si mismo de los rumbos preguntando a uno de los nuestros si tenia algunos instrumentos de marear. Juntóse a todo esto la obligacion, que pudo ser, tenia de dar cuenta a la Real Audiencia de lo aca obrado él con rezelo de poderle ir mal no preocupando a las noticias que de aca se abian de remitir para descubrir a la verdad. La gente como no es sin obligaciones, y sin conciencia pudieran facilitar el arrojó, otros para volver a su tierra aburridos de tantas calamidades, otros teniendo algun castigo por razon de su deslealdad. Ayudaban los vientos recios a popa para Manila, donde ya se nos abian ido dos barcos; y en este tercero, si a caso hiziese otro tanto, el mismo Gobernador abia confessaba [sic], que se nos perdian las esperanzas; pues, de 80 hombres se nos mallogra la maior y mejor parte con los mas de los pertrechos, armas y polvora: lo qual perdido ni podiamos lograr el socorro, y volviendo los enemigos a su intentona nos matarian todos sin remedio alguno. Sobre estas y otras razones me abia aconsejado con todos los Padres muy de antemano como, si se ofrecia el caso de quererse embarcar; se lo pudieramos desaconsejar? **Nemine discrepante** vinieron todos en ello que no se hubiera de perdonar a diligencia alguna con el modo mas suave, cortés, y amigable, que fuese practicable. y si ni de palabra, ni por escrito, rogando, y requiriendoselo, desistiere, se le amenaçase una censura. En este ultimo no pude venir, y así hallé otro medio menos ocasionado a inconvenientes, y a mi parecer mas eficaz, fundado en la instruccion para estos Cabos. la qual manda se de escolta al Superior, abiendo de salir para sus ministerios. Y resolví en caso de negarseme, que con mi breviario y rezando de la extrema unción me saldria solo a visitar los necesitados de algun medio necesario para su salvacion, persuadiendo me, que con esto desistiría de su temeraria intentona.*

A 22 de Febrero: llego el caso de embarcarse echando voz iria echar el enemigo de una isletilla y le era imposible, según todos lo decian, llegar a ella sin evidentissimos peligros, y sin esperanza de algun provecho. Hechas todas las diligencias conforme a lo resuelto en las consultas, ubo de venir a lo ultimo, y así me sali con protesta de que, si por falta de la escolta me sucediese algun desastre, abia él de dar la

cuenta a Dios y a los hombres. Sepase mi Padre los que aca estamos padeciendo, y no de los alçados tan solamente, y esto tambien es culpa deste Gobernador que lo pudo prevenir, antes que sucediese.

Eran las 5 de la tarde quando a su vista desacatrandose el barco me salia por la playa, y como lo cojió de improviso esta mi resolucion, tanta harmonia le hizo, que se volvió a tierra mas que de paso. Avia asegurado a los Padres que no me arriesgaria temerariamente, y volveria enbiando la firma de Su Merced y asi me quedé en el primer pueblo, que esta un quarto de legua de nuestro fortin en la misma playa, con determinacion de hazer noche en casa de nuestro gran amigo Maestro de Campo D. Antonio de Ayihi que en su tiempo que sucedió la desgracia se hallaba en la jornada con el padre por las islas del Norte, de donde despues de averse desamparados los demas, llegó aca con licencia de Su R^a, para ver en que abiamos parado nosotros, sin que hasta [a]hora le fue posible volver alla.

Administré a un mozo que ya murió; y en el entretanto vino el Sargento Mayor con alguna gente en busca mia, luego despues me vino el papel firmado del mismo Gobernador, en que me rogaba (haviendo de mandar, y requirir me, pero este fuese su maior yerro) en nombre del Rey, que me volviese: Asi lo hize y acompañando a la gente encontré a Su merced en camino: en tanto cuydado se vió sin que, ni para que, mas que para encubrir con estas mañas y patrañas sus desaciertos, y echar a nosotros la culpa que no le dejamos obrar(?) obras(?) mal finjidas porque Su merced no tiene rastro de sinceridad: y de verdad desde aquella noche, en que se ahogaron 4 destos Naturales en una embarcacion (tales eran las mares) soplaron por 3 semanas los vientos muy recios para Manila, donde si no ubiera pasado, oy dia podia aberse muerto a manos de los suyos, o de los Indios, o aberse ahogado.

[In praise of Quiroga]

Todos estos desastres y desdichas se ubieran evitado infaliblemente si a D. Josef de Quiroga se ubiera, segun yo con todo ahinco lo deseaba, encargado de este gobierno: pero esto ya no tiene mas remedio que del cielo por medio de las oraciones, que alla dirigen, y las diligencias, que se hazen ahora vivisimas para conseguirlo; sin que aya aquí entre nosotros, quien no lo juzgue, por el más proposito de quantos pudieren venir. y aunque el Padre Manuel de Solorzano halló en Su merced algunas faltas, que no abra dejado de comunicar las con VR^a, solicitando al remedio: puede VR^a estar cierto, que ninguna dellas toca en lo esencial de la mission, para cuya conservacion, y aumento tiene todas las prendas, que se juzgan necesarias en el que aca fuere Gobernador—vida Christiana, y exemplar aun para confundir a muchos religiosos, valor grande, y resolución para emprender qualquier conquista, felicidad presencia de animo, y destreza para salir con ella; zelo del divino, y Real servicio para la salvacion eterna destas almas; obedeciendo tenido, y respetado no menos de los sold[ad]os, que de los Indios; a unos y a otros sin disimulo de sus culpas administra justicia sin precipitacion y con cureteza [=certeza]; sin mira a intereses de cosa temporal, y con resolucion fermisima de no desamparar a esta Christiandad, como lo hazen otros sino, de consagrar a Dios su vida en ella; lo qual yo mas estimo; y juzgo delante de Dios, con todos los demas Padres que sin buscar a otro, se le ha de encargar este gobierno. Pues no sera fácil hallar a otro no digo mejor, ni aun tan bueno. Con todo no puedo venir en lo, que quatro padres juzgaron en consulta comun de todos, que se solicite para D. Josef este gobierno con las preminencias, que lo ha venido D. Antonio de Saravia, a quien Su magestad lo proveio absolutamente con título de Capitan General. Basta, que D. Josef tenga este gobierno, aunque sea sin título de Capitan General, sino tan solamente con el de Gobernador y Teniente de Capitan General y que se lo provea la Real Audiencia de Manila, ya que Su A[lteza] tomó la mano para proveerlo, abra para ello tenido facultad, y no es consulto irse la quitando, quando

no está bien esta dependencia, por si acaso necesitáramos en el tiempo de algun remedio, como del [que] necesitamos oy día para mudarse Esplana, ítem Su A[íteza] puede encargar a los Gobernadores que pasan por aca en las naos, tomen cuenta de lo que ubiere por aca, y siendo menester el requerimiento de la misión, entienden lo que estos gobernadores obrasen menos ajustadamente ó los muden segun bien pareciere para la Christiandad: todo lo qual se nos dificulta con nombrar ese gobernador inmediatamente por el Rey con independencia de la Real Audiencia, y con título de Capitan General. El qual *ut sic*,¹ ni se sujetara a la instruccion de la Real Audiencia, y mucho menos a la correccion de los que pasaren por Cabos en las naos. El gobernar esto [gobierno] D. Josef, basta para restaurar, conservar, y aumentar esto: y su buen y ajustado proceder para materia de alabarse segun sus meritos, sin que de aca, no siendo menester se pide otro, quien le mude, y deste modo se le asegura este gobierno, que no es tan apetecible ni en Manila, ni en Madrid; que aya miedo, lo soliciten otros. El sueldo, sí, confiamos se le alcanzara por medio de Su Excelencia, a quien, he oydo, escribió el Maestro de Campo, que [“]para los soldados que presidian a estas islas bastaria mucho menor cantidad de la que por las Reales Cédulas se les libra cada año en la Real caja de Mexico, al modo de los que presidian a Cinaloo [i.e. Sinaloa] en la Nueva España siendo asi, que oy día se sustentan a hasta 130 con lo que libraba para 40 tan solamente.[”] Por tanto suplico a VR^a en nombre de toda la misión, cuyo Agente y Abogado ha de ser VR^a para que por medio de Su Excelencia, sabiendo lo que ay en este particular, no se les quite nada a los pobres soldados de su situado. si Su Señoría no ubiera [escrito] desto, no se ha de tomar en boca.

Item que Su Excelencia a quien venera mucho (y lo debe) D. Josef de Quiroga, le escriba de su mano alguna, como instruccion, segun la qual se ha de portar para el acierto en este gobierno, si se lo dieran: y desta manera por modo de cautela para no caer en faltas, que en otros dañaron notablemente a esta miserable misión, ira él emendando las que otros superiores nuestros repararon en Su merced, y quizá de las avisaron a VR^a para el remedio, que abra mediante a buena correspondencia entre Su merced y el que fuere Superior de los nuestros. 1º le encargue Su Excelencia que en cosa de monta confiera la substancia, y modo para el acierto, llamando para ello el Superior, y no este a Su merced en quien se notó en su primer gobierno propiedad de juiz[i]o, pareciendola que el encomendarlo a Dios era bastante para ajustar su conciencia y le mande Su Excelencia le de cuenta de lo asi resuelto. 2º No pretendar en su gobierno tanta soberania, o despotiguez [sic], que ofenda. A estas dos cosas se reduce todo, y no sera difícil la emienda con esperanza de que a Dios a de lograr muchas almas en esta misión, para cuya permanencia suplicamos a VR^a en tantas calamidades, **Adiuba nos, si quid potes, misertus nostri.** A todo[s] tenemos afianzado[s] en la mucha charidad y S[anto] zelo de su R^a cuyos santos sacrificios mucho me encomiendo.

Guahan y fortaleza, mayo 20 de 1685.

[P.S.] Con los ornamentos que Su Excelencia envió, y llegaron aca el año pasado 84 vino un cajoncillo con cosas de devocion; y por no hacer mencion dello Su Excelencia, me parece que VR^a lo abra añadido: Por tanto doy le a VR^a las gracias en nombre de todos los Padres a los quales lo he repartido, y ruego a Dios N. Señor nos guarde a V.R^a como lo desea toda la misión, que tanto necesita de que VR^a le cuyda Padre y ampara suyo.

1 Ed. note: Latin words meaning: “consequently.”

[Doc. 1685K1]

Translation.

Dear Father Francisco García.

Peace of Christ.

Another letter of mine from the year 1676 ended up in the hands of Y.R., on account of the death of Father Gabriel Guillén.¹ In it, though it was as very unlucky and unworthy superior (which I was of this Holy Apostolic Mission), I gave notice of the great suffering that year, when this political and military government was the responsibility (if only he would ever be held accountable for same) of Don Damian Esplana, a native of the city of Lima in Peru.

Now then, he has returned a second time and I must bear the same cross again, a burden much too great for my skinny shoulders, and much bothersome, because the government is once again in the hands of said Don Damian, by virtue of a provision that was issued to him by the Royal Audiencia in Manila in the year 1683, in the interest (naturally) of fostering the service of both Majesties in this new Christian community. However, if indeed the fruit expected of the holy zeal of the appointed person was frustrated, one can nevertheless recognize the importance given to it by those who recommend it for anyone in charge of the government in new Christian communities, because if they fail at the task, they err irremediably.

I present the story in code, though in full, so that Y.R. may better be informed about such an unfortunate disaster and thus become compassionate toward this bad luck. Assuming that you will be compassionate, all of us here beg Y.R., through the entrails of JESUS Christ, to please use the whole weight of the authority that God our Lord gave Y.R. and that is so well appreciated in that Court, specially by our Lady the Duchess of Aveiro, in order to remedy so many calamities, such as those that afflict us at present. It is true that, when Esplana began to govern (which was on 5 November 1683), he found the mission with more means that it had ever had in order to extend to the islands that, we hoped, were to have been already discovered to the south. Toward the north, the means had already been sent as far as the last known islands, with the intention of continuing to prepare their inhabitants with mildness, and favors, to leave their small islands, such backwaters, in order to be able to give them the spiritual nourishment that they need so much, and make their settlements in places less remote, thus facilitating their salvation, without exposing the Ministers of the Holy Gospel to obvious

1 Ed. note: His Spanish was not yet good enough for him to have written the report (Doc. 1676A) himself, but he signed as superior, during his first term in that position, from 1675 to 1677; copies of the 1674-76 reports are also to be found in RAH Madrid. Fr. Guillén died at Madrid on 19 February 1675, according to his unpublished biography in the Schwartz Collection of the Lauinger Library, Georgetown University, Washington, D.C. As for the letter of Fr. García, it was burned with the Jesuit residence in Agaña in 1684.

risks of losing their lives in crossing so many and so furious seas aboard such weak canoes as the local ones. However, as I said, I am going to tell the full story.

As we failed to get the succor of the year 1683,¹ there was a need here for many necessities to maintain life, with the obvious disconsolateness that ensued. Divine Providence came to the rescue when it was least expected, by sending from Manila, through the good offices of Father Antonio Xaramillo, accompanied by another Father² to make the voyage safer. He came with a mandate from Father Provincial Francisco Salgado to carry out the official visit of this mission. His Grace, Don José de Quiroga returned to this mission, as he esteemed more the hardships that he had experienced in the Marianas in the years 1679 and 1680, than the rest, and comforts, of the years 1681 and 1682 that he enjoyed in Manila. Indeed, he had gone there in the year 1681, with few advantages(?) for him, and more disadvantages for us, upon the taking over of the government by His Lordship Master-of-camp Don Antonio de Saravia; the latter's needed his assistance, on account of his sickness and half-deafness(?). The bad luck was that not one letter came from Her Excellency;³ at the slightest insinuation, he would have changed his mind, as he very much wish to serve Her Excellency, and he would have helped out here, and put the finishing touch to the many things that he had already begun with his valor, zeal, and very exemplary conduct.

They had no sooner left Manila when the boldness of some seamen put Father Xaramillo on his guard, His Paternity being suspicious, and not without reasons, that they might abscond with the vessel. When His Lordship Don Juan de Vargas Hurtado, then-Governor of the Philippines, was advised, instead of the Commander and Pilot Pedro Gomez de la Cueva, whose virtue and very mild nature were being abused by said seamen, he entrusted the ship to Sergeant Major Don Damian de Esplana, to whom the Royal Audiencia, to whose request I don't know, issued a provision for him to become Governor of these Islands in case of death of the Master-of-camp [Saravia], who did die of an embolism. The vessel arrived on 23 August of that same year 1683 when His Lordship the Master-of-camp was at the Island of Rota and intending a second time to go in person to the conquest of the Island of Zaypan. To make the enterprise more certain, when His Lordship was informed of the good qualities of Don José that made him esteemed, he called him to Rota and giving him the position of Sergeant-Major, he appointed him as his Lieutenant, and he ordered everyone to recognize him as such with the usual ceremony. This done, he took him along to Tinian, giving him the command of one of the two boats. God was pleased not to let such holy intentions meet with success then, because, upon arriving close to Tinian, such a furious storm hit them that they hardly escaped complete destruction; in fact, some local canoes were blown to bits and those aboard drowned. The boats turned back, each one on its own. His Lordship arrived back at the Island of Rota where the Sergeant-Major also arrived.

1 Ed. note: True, there was no galleon in 1683, only the sloop from Manila.

2 Ed. note: Fr. Juan Adam Gerstl.

3 Ed. note: The Duchess, who had been instrumental in recruiting Quiroga in the first place.

Our Lord saved them both along with their boats, after they had ridden that storm, such a severe one that our superiors here in Guahan thought they were lost.¹

[Shipwreck of the 1683 sloop from Manila]

To this misfortune was added another, and it was that the seas, so full of fury, made splinters out of the vessel in the very port [of Umatac], and the 9 cables mooring it were not enough. Here Esplana cannot escape some blame, because the seamen had advised him of the danger and he could have ordered the bark beached in time. However, as he is someone who does not ask for advice, nor one to take it, and wants to have his own way always, he ignored this advice. He did not even let the Captain-Pilot [Gomez] go out to a nearby place (and this is what the Lord Governor of the Philippines had ordered him to do) where it was said, and later was found, to be safer for the vessel. So, it was "*causa saltem negativa*"² for its loss. A bad sign of worse things to come, things which, in my opinion, should have been stopped in time. Esplana surveyed the ruins and, with as many other boards began to build another vessel for the return trip [to Manila].

[Death of Governor Saravia]

In the meantime, His Lordship, desisting from the enterprise, arrived at Guahan where he became flattered very much by the attentions paid to him and the qualities of the Father Visitor, Fr. Antonio Xaramillo. Shortly thereafter the good gentleman left to survey the neighborhoods in the company of the Captain-Pilot, among others, but, upon arriving on the west side of this Island, he was brought down by an apostume that he had in his lungs, and his life was immediately in danger. Here the Captain-Pilot showed how well a creature of the Society he was, having been raised in the College of San José in Manila; he loved us and the good of this mission. He sent runners to call Father Lorenzo Bustillo, as he was the closest.³ Thinking that the favor issued by the Royal Audiencia to Esplana regarding this government was then a secret, he [i.e. Gomez] spoke already with experience when he said that he was sorry for us and what we would have to suffer in case Esplana became Governor. So, he advised the Father to recommend to His Lordship to appoint some person, in case of his own death, to take over this government with the title of interim Lieutenant [of Captain-General], so that Esplana would not be able to make use of the provision that he carried to that effect. His Lordship then appointed the Sergeant-Major, Don José, a second time and ordered everyone there present to recognize him as such. Then he received the Holy Sacraments and died in a most Christian manner, the same way that he had lived, in an exemplary way.

1 Ed. note: He refers to Visitor Xaramillo and Fr. Superior Solorzano.

2 Ed. note: Latin phrase meaning: "Anyhow a negative cause." In other words, an error of omission.

3 Ed. note: Fr. Bustillo may have been posted in Agat then.

[The Jesuits disagree on who is the better Major]

Here began our misadventure, due to our not having taken advantage of that proceeding. Both superiors, Father Xaramillo as Visitor, and Father Solorzano as Vice-Provincial, were of the opinion that Esplana should prevail, due to some faults unknown to me that they had noticed in Don José. But I will tell Y.R. with ingenuity, my dear Father Francisco, that I have known Esplana close up, more than anyone else, something that was never seen in Don José; the latter never came close, not even to the shadow of what we were made to suffer under Esplana during the past years of 1675 and 1676. Those excesses were so great that when the Provincial in Manila the determination of the Governor there to send us said Esplana again, in about 1678, His Reverence answered, through Father Luis Pimentel, that the Province would recall all of us before they would accept this. What happened in the past was but a clue of what this gentleman would make us suffer this year 1685. He has not the slightest trace or qualification for a position of command.

Father Xaramillo is a good witness, and His Reverence always will be, of how very sorry I was when I heard that the Royal Audiencia had arranged for this government. I told His Reverence what came to me, based on my sufficient experience, against turning over the government to Esplana, after the Master-of-camp had lawfully appointed someone [else] with the title of interim Lieutenant to succeed him, until the Royal Audiencia could be informed of the death of His Lordship and would decide what would be best in the interest of the service of both Majesties. Father Xaramillo himself answered me that Esplana was now another man, that overthere [in Manila] he had occupied some of the best posts in a satisfactory manner, and given a good account of himself. To another one of the Fathers, His Reverence gave this official reply: "Let us undeceive ourselves; for great and valorous deeds, there is no man better than Esplana." It is true, my dear Father, that anyone knowing that gentleman only through his own boasting would think him to be that way; indeed, he recounts incredible things about his own valor, painting himself as a person overflowing with bravery, but they are all things that he has dreamed of, and chimerical, things that bring a laugh to anyone who knows him through his deeds, and deeds are irrefutable proofs of the blunder that, once done, leads to tears (though too late and without remedy) at the cost of so many calamities. The worst part of it is that such blunders cannot be remedied by the person who has caused them by his inexcusable negligence, and (who would believe this possible?) does not even allow anyone else to remedy them, no matter how often they volunteer for it.

Inasmuch as Esplana grabbed this government against my short opinion, I will note here only with three words what occurred to me then against the provision that Esplana put forward to achieve his plan, much to his great sorrow, and even worse to ours; as I said, this happened with the connivance of those who were then [1683] our Superiors, Fr. Xaramillo as Visitor and Fr. Solorzano as Vice-Provincial. Setting asides the independence and exception of the Master-of-camp, this Government was his, and supposing that the Royal Audiencia has sufficient authority to provide for this post, their provision should not have favored Don Damian, except in case of His Lordship having

died before the vessel got here; hence, the more so if he were to die after the vessel got in, without having appointed as lawful successor an able person who could govern with the title of interim Lieutenant. I would not have resolved this close call without first testing the mind of Her Highness,¹ to make that we would not be blamed for the negligence. The outcome of this case will help us not to make a mistake in future when another jurisdictional crisis might happen regarding this government. In the meantime, I did my duty as a subject and gave my opinion on what I thought was the better solution.

[Major Esplana “wins” the governorship]

Esplana took possession of his government with more unity than zeal, and without attending to decorum, he simply left Don José, who was managing the arms with ability, in charge here, while he did begin the construction of his vessel, as if he were the superintendent of the project. It could and should have been entrusted to persons who could do it best, and that was not His Grace, but the Captain-Pilot, the Boatswain, the land-based carpenter, the seamen, and the ship's boys. The said Governor should have attended to the military discipline, to make sure the soldiers and police would make him feared by the Indians and therefore obeyed with respect; in fact, ever since his first term of office, these natives had lost this respect. Once this vessel was finished and the sea supplies laid in, the two Fathers left for Manila aboard it on 23 February 1684.

Then the Governor came to Agaña where he lost no time to deal with other mechanical things, such as repairing another boat, one of the two that the Master-of-camp had left, in addition to a **stone fort**, without his having done anything himself, besides the design of it on paper, leaving the project being run by those whom His Lordship had assigned to the task, although there were only one seaman and two masons to supervise the others.

And as the mind of this gentleman was more like that of a butler than that of a Governor, at the same time as the boat was being repaired, he amused himself in hunting, either pigs or cows, as if he wished to eliminate the breed once and for all. In addition, he cleared much land for crops, and in the process destroying trees that the natives complained were fruit trees for their sustenance. Never once did he carry out an inspection of his men or their weapons, or taught them how to handle them for their defence. I have even heard it being said, that he allowed the soldiers to go to the towns unarmed, saying that the times when it was necessary to carry them at all times were over. His Grace pretended that his presence alone was sufficient for the local people to flee for fear of punishment; such a great and presumed vanity, and negligence, had the effect that day by day their boldness and daring increased.

1 Ed. note: I think that in using the letter A, the author alludes to the Duchess of Aveiro, rather than His Excellency the Governor of the Philippines.

[Quiroga goes to the conquest of Saipan]

The Father [Vice] Provincial, Manuel de Solorzano, made requests for the resumption of the expedition to Tinian and Zaypan. Governor Esplana showed himself to be in favor of going in person to the conquest in the company of His Reverence the Vice-Provincial. For the purpose he collected many jingle bells (a task that he should have delegated to his Lieutenant), saying that at the noise made by the bells hanging from his horse, the Indians would be scared and flee into the bushes, confessing in this way that he did not go there for anything other than to make them flee with fright. However, he did nothing by himself, excusing himself with the pretext that the galleon was about to come in, but when the Father Vice-Provincial repeated his request, he decided to entrust this responsibility to his Sergeant-Major, Don José de Quiroga. The latter, being so zealous in the service of God and the King for the good of these souls, had the good luck of going out to the conquest. To this effect, he made ready, being an experienced soldier, one with experience in this country, where he was feared and respected for his deeds, not by spoofing, but at the cost of his labor, and sweat, by subjecting those he found to be rebellious with the punishment that their excesses deserved, those they had committed in years past (though nothing like that happened during his own term), some being guilty of mutinies, others of homicides upon the Venerable Fathers Diego Luis de San Vitores, Antonio María de San Basilio, Sebastián de Monroy, and upon others, his comrades-in-arms.

He got to the Island of Rota, which he had conquered in 1680, and from there went on to that of Tinian, where he anchored inside the bar before being detected. These islanders, and those of the Island of Agiguan, promised obedience without it being necessary to apply rigor, force, or compulsion. Here he was to stay, until the Governor could be called for, after the passage of the galleon, which was then quite far off still; Esplana had given this whole time to his Sergeant-Major to make the preparations against the people of Zaypan, before making war on them, but the Sergeant-Major, having conquered Tinian, embarked for Zaypan the next day, and took possession of the place where he met resistance, without giving them occasion or time to block the trails to him; within 14 days he made himself master of the whole island. To this new conquest, which was for us of much joy, the Governor ordered the search for a method of salvaging the cannon that were left there by the galleon **Concepción** when she was lost upon those reefs in the year 1638. Don José made such good efforts that, before the flagship had arrived, he remitted here **three culverins and 14 swivel-guns**, and he proceeded meanwhile with his good efforts until he had salvaged 17 more culverins, all of bronze.

On the morning of 8 June 1684, the galleon arrived here¹ with Don Gabriel Curuzeláegui, the new Governor of the Philippines, on board. On behalf of Her Excellency, my Lady the Duchess, he promised us what was possible for the progress of this new Christian community and, in particular, that the direct contact between these Islands

1 Ed. note: The flagship was the Santa Rosa, under the command of General Zalaeta. Her consort, the San Telmo, came by a week or two later.

and the Philippines was to be maintained by means of a vessel, that was to be sent every year. His Majesty, he said, wanted us to have it as quickly as possible, with a change of this government, given that any hope for the preservation of the mission lied in this. For its security, the new Governor made us a present of the 14 swivel-guns, saying that in Manila (as is true) they would be of no use, but here they would be of much importance, if some day it happened that some people tried an uprising. Our Esplana acknowledged the receipt thereof, but his temperament was seen through by the Governor, when he made a comment, and it was, that there was no reason to fear from these people because he had told them not to rise in rebellion as long as he was in charge. This answer is submitted to the censure of anyone who has superior polish. His Lordship asked who was this officer, and upon hearing that he was a good but very plain gentleman (vain would have been a better word), he entrusted him to be on his guard, and take care that, as long as he is among Indians, they might make him pay when he least expected it—a timely, but badly received advice. Indeed, the conspiracy was hatched even before I took over this sad job, on 23 June 1684, with arguments and tears on my part being of no use.

[The beginning of the 1684 revolt]

Having thus received this cross, I foresaw that it would be hard to bear, on account of pre-existing causes. The worst cause must have been my own sins. If they alone did not deserve such a great punishment, then everyone agrees that the next cause was the inexcusable negligence, as I have already mentioned, on the part of our Governor Esplana in everything touching on military discipline and the handling of arms; he did not carry on with the least procedure introduced by the Master-of-camp, and continued by Don José upon his setting out for the conquest. *Hinc illæ lachrymæ!*¹ Because the Indians observed it all, and many were already quite annoyed and tired of so many continuous tasks, so much so that the bachelors of a town in this district, upon being ordered by the Governor to go and hunt for pigs, in addition to the fact that they could hardly keep up with the service of our house, to which the Governor himself had assigned them, decided to flee to the bush; however, one other lad did not let them, saying that they would gain nothing by this method, but that killing the Governor was the only means of achieving their purpose. He warned them that he, though alone and without any help, would kill him. Three others joined him for the rash attempt; there were as many as 40 more who were to finish off the soldiers and us within our house.

On 23 July 1684, after the mass for the Indians and/or sermon, it being Sunday, they put into effect their evil project, and in order to leave no doubt as to who had caused such an ill-fated tragedy, their first action was to try and kill Governor Esplana. The four in question looked for him, and when they did not find him at home (what good

1 Ed. note: Latin phrase taken from Terentius, in *Andria* 1,1,99; imitated by Cicero in *Oratio pro M. Caelio* 25,61, and by Horatius in *Epistula* 1,19,41 (ref. C.T. Lewis' Latin Dictionary), and meaning: "Hence those tears..."

watch for a Governor), they found him on the street, unaware, and without even a pen-knife for his defence. They threw him down, where they cut up both sides of his face, and then were puncturing him with knives, adding insults to injury in their language, saying: "Take this piglet, Sir, that we have brought you well cooked," alluding to the pig hunt that he had ordered them to do. There is no doubt that they would have left him dead there, had it not been for the shouts given by one of these young Marianos who witnessed this; two soldiers ran up, and killed the main aggressor, thus making the others flee. One of them raised his voice, as a signal to the others who had been waiting for it before attacking us, but, when the evil-doer shouted, someone killed him with one blow with a long knife. The enemy took possession of the guard-house, where they killed two, one while he slept, the other being off his guard, though he was acting as a sentinel—an obvious proof of the lack of discipline among this militia. A third soldier was killed along the trail and, from the 18 wounds he received, he died the following morning. So, the outcome was, besides the weapons carried off by the enemy, 4 soldiers were killed, and it was by special providence from God that they did not all die in their own homes, inside and outside the fort; one can see the general negligence of the men everywhere. As far as the enemy were concerned, two of them died during the battle, and a third one was killed in ambush by those who had kept their loyalty toward us.

[Attack on the missionaries]

Having killed the Governor, or so they thought, they then attacked us in our house, without anyone having suspected anything bad beforehand. At the noise, I came out of my cell, and fell into the hands of those who were scouting through our quarters. They wounded me, though at no danger to my life, in four places. It was like a miracle that they did not kill me, and I am thankful, after God, the most holy Virgin and my guardian angel, to the help of Brother Antonio de los Reyes. He, after he somehow managed to escape from the hands of those who had grabbed him, intending to choke him and split his head with a large knife, made me fall to the ground, by shoving me back into my cell. He then could do nothing other than close the door tightly. This was enough to hinder those who had already turned into furious beasts, and it saved both of our lives.

Father Manuel de Solorzano also came out of his cell, upon hearing what was happening to me. They immediately attacked His Reverence, riddling his head with knife blows. When His Reverence fended the blows with his left hand, it was cut at the wrist, and a boy (whom the good Father had loved and cherished above all) cut his throat. They left him for dead, and bathing in his own blood. His Reverence survived until 8:30 in the evening, employing all of that time in very ardent acts of contrition, and love for God, after he made not one, but two general confessions of his whole life. After that he received the last rites and gave up his soul to God, leaving all of us, myself specially, very disconsolate for the loss of an individual with so many good qualities.

Another one who died, at 4 in the afternoon, was Brother Balthasar Dubois, from extensive head wounds. I found him half dead, though still conscious, and so, I admin-

istered the last rites, as well as to the other wounded, not only our people, but also the soldiers; they were all taken to the fort.¹

Our Oblate Brother, the old companion of the Venerable Father Diego Luis de San Vitores, with whom he had come to these Islands, was left in a sea of blood; they had cut his throat, and almost pulled one of his eyes out. It was a miracle that he recovered.² Another one who recovered was Brother Pedro Pabon, whose head had been broken, one hand almost cut off and two to three fingers cut off from the other hand. He had been pierced with two mortal wounds from a knife and beaten with sticks. One cannot understand how he escaped alive from hands that were so bloodied. Both of these Brothers recovered, but the latter, with his hands half crippled, went on to Manila, where he will give an eyewitness report of what we have suffered *ultra quam serviri potest*,³ because of one man who took over the government and was not up to it. The cause of our misfortune was not having delivered it to Don José, something which I, and perhaps some others, wished so much would happen. In order to remedy this situation, I am sending Father Diego de Zarzosa, who also, though without danger to his life, came out banged up. His Reverence goes well informed of everything that happened, as someone who was an eyewitness. And as he is a person with a pretty talent to make conversation and one who can gain effective access to some persons of importance, we trust in God that in everything, subject to the decision of our superiors there, he will know how to act to make the truth known, against the falsehoods and tricks, the likes of which are used by men such as our Governor, when they try to cover up their negligence, the more so when they use manifest lies, the better to wash their own hands at the cost of other people's innocence. If I were you, my dear Father, and had the chance of talking, even for a short while, with Her Excellency regarding these two governments of Esplana, and that of Don José in 1680, I assure Y.R. that it would show clearly the effect of one relative to the other. This, plus the news that accompany this despatch, will make you, as a person so fond of this Holy, arduous and Apostolic mission, a better watchman of its interests. As always, on account of her great zeal and charity, we beg our remedy through Her Excellency, and trust in God that Y.R. more than ever will act as our Advocate, so that the great piety of Her Excellency, under whose protection this Christian community is, will correctly decide to move heaven and earth to get new favors for it, as otherwise it is on the point of sinking without a remedy. But let us get back to our story.

Better say ill-fated story, because new misfortunes happened later on, for instance, to Father Teofilo de Angelis, an individual so much esteemed by Her Excellency and he deserved it so well for his most illustrious blood, very religious virtue, very ardent zeal, and singular grace, that adorned His Reverence the better to convert lost souls, as

1 Ed. note: This is an indication that the enclosure of 1677 had remained in use, even after the completion of the fort in 1683.

2 Ed. note: The name of this Filipino brother was Felipe Sonson.

3 Ed. note: Latin phrase meaning: "more than can be endured."

these miserable ones have been. The very children whom he had begot in Christ killed him.

In the Island of **Rota** they killed Father Carlos Boranga, and in that of **Tinian** Father Augustin Strobach. The people of the latter island, taking advantage of the disaster that happened in Guahan, broke to pieces the two boats, and they killed 7 Spanish seamen, 2 Spanish soldiers and 7 Filipino soldiers, who were there awaiting the right wind to return to Guahan, transporting a certain quantity from the 17 culverins. These traitors immediately sent someone to the last islands to solicit the death of the 25 soldiers who, with Father Pedro Comano, were already making their way back here. Their rash attempt succeeded, because as the men came two to each canoe, they drowned 20 of them by throwing them overboard. The Father escaped with the remaining 5; he has remained abandoned with three of them on one of those islands, but the two others have arrived at this Royal camp in Guahan.

In **Zaypan** Sergeant-Major, Don José de Quiroga, held his own over three recently-conquered islands, with a garrison of 40 men. His Grace did not know what had happened to us here, The Saypan people were also going about, looking for ways to do him in, but the security arrangements taken by the good gentleman did not give them a chance to succeed. Bad luck had it, that when the assassination plot was discovered, 6 soldiers happened to be outside [of the garrison].¹ His Grace sent someone immediately to tell them to seek a safe place, but three of them could not be reached and they were treacherously killed. War broke out, and the 3 islands joined to attack our men during two and a half months. Here Don José behaved as a man of valor and virtue, with singular prudence and effort, until he had the enemy so harrassed with the continuous sorties he made, sometimes with 10, sometimes with 15, and never more than 28 [rather 18] soldiers,² with whom he would go out one or two leagues looking for them in their own towns, capturing, wounding, and always killing a few of them, without our men ever receiving the least harm. Becoming tired of it all, the enemies tried to become friends again, and the Zaipanese asked for peace. The Sergeant-Major granted it to them then, while awaiting a better opportunity to punish such a crime. His Reverence [rather Grace] gathered supplies for more than one year and he found a stratagem for making a despatch in order to find out for sure what was happening overhere. His good efforts succeeded. Our Governor Esplana, who had been encircled with his men for four months by then, and never listening to requests or prayers, for any reason, for him to engage an enemy who was so unequal in their weapons, answered the despatch, ordering Don José to abandon the other business, to leave all the equipment behind and to embark for here with his men. The Sergeant-Major obeyed, putting up with as many dangers as came up, and in truth they were most obvious ones, partly on account of the stiff winds, and seas that were then almost not navigable, partly on account of the treacheries that could be triggered by the canoemen. The latter lack neither the spirit, nor

1 Ed. note: They were working in the rice field next to Lake Susupe.

2 Ed. note: So he says in Doc. 1685E.

the desire to overturn them all at sea, at the imitation of those recently-drowned. But let us now leave Don José until later, to check on our Governor Esplana and see how he acted after the coup, the one he had not foreseen and therefore had not guarded against.

I went to see him in the fort, where he had retreated right after being wounded. I found him so scared and so fearful that there was no longer any place left to him where he could be safe from the enemy. He blamed his whole misfortune on his sins and made a thousand promises to be a different man in future, if God let him live longer. I left him consoled and with good hopes. That same afternoon, some 50 warring Indians came down, led by their Chief. Now mortal worries returned to the Governor; he feared that they would come where he was to kill him, but he calmed down when he was told that they had come to give battle to the enemy, and burn their town in punishment of such a sacrilegious boldness.¹ The soldiers made requests to him, to get his permission to accompany these loyal men and put a stop to worse evils, before all the islands could join them, as they are accustomed to do, letting themselves be swept by the current. Here he showed how beaten his courage was, by not granting them what they were asking, and giving the enemy a reason for shouting that we were all disheartened already and had given up hope of escaping it all. So, they begged the peoples of Tinian and Zaypan to finish off those who were there as well.

What was most at risk was the building containing the church and residence recently-built at such expense, and labor. I begged the Governor to order the few friendly Indians to come together and remove its roofing materials, which was made of thatch and thus make it safe from fire with this effort, and it would have been burned down that same day, if an Indian chief, who with his two sons remained very loyal, had not prevented it. I could not obtain it from him; he kept everybody busy inside the fort, ordering them to build a few small huts on the bulwarks, something that was not so necessary at the time. He forgot to send an advice to his Sergeant-Major in Zaypan to tell him what was happening here, and to warn him to be on his guard overthere so as to prevent a similar incident. I, in order to save time, begged him twice to do so, and I promised to have the letter delivered if he asked me to deliver it. However, I could not obtain my request, for [fear that] the Indian might fail in his loyalty and the above-said disadvantages would happen again. Once again, but in vain, I begged him to have the roof of the church and our residence unthatched; and so, though wounded, with the rest of the Fathers and other boys I placed in safety the more important valuables, the ornaments, wine and flour for masses, the books, the food, etc. that saved our lives during this siege.

On the 27th [July 1684], the fourth day after the misfortune, we had all the clothing ready to take out, when the Governor sent us a specific order, twice, to retreat to the fort. It became necessary to obey, leaving until the afternoon the transport of what was ready to be moved. However, the enemy, irritated that morning by a sortie that our

¹ Ed. note: The word “came down” proves that Chief Ineti, or Hineti, lived in Siñahana, and that the men from that town attacked the rebels who mostly lived in Apurguan.

Governor had ordered that morning, without thinking about the disadvantages, prevented our return, because at 12:30 they attacked the few friendly Indians, perhaps as many as 20 of them who were defending the building, but when they could no longer resist the crowd of the enemies, they asked to be favored with a few firearms. The soldiers volunteered for this with much eagerness, but not only the Governor did not accede to it, but he sent an order to our friends to retreat. So, he gave the enemy a chance to burn down within our sight the church and house, everything that was in it, sacred and profane. In addition, they set fire to both Colleges, and finally to all the other residences that existed in this Island. In fact, all the towns of the Island, without one exception, joined to make war on us, that lasted for 4 months, keeping our Governor with his men cooped up within his small fort. In spite of requests made by his men, or prayers made by our people, he never decided to go out against the enemy, not even to regain his own credit, by avenging the harms done to himself, and ourselves at such an enormous injury done to God, and the King. Instead, his fear (it seems so incredible) did not let him comply with his duty, one in which his post as Governor and Lieutenant of Captain General had placed him. In this way, he gave an occasion to the enemy to increase in boldness, to such a degree that they had the nerve to call him by whatever name. I omit to repeat the insults, mockeries and scoffings that from outside they were shouting to his face. Upon hearing same, those by his side made the sign of the cross, seeing that nothing could move him to punish such contemptuous remarks. It was so because he was always and everywhere a man who would boast about his valor, going so far as to say that "he knew right down into his bone-marrow how to lead entire armies; that not even the Cid Campeador¹ was in his league; that the King owes more to his sword than to that of Cortés," and a hundred other stupid remarks of this caliber. With these and similar nonsensical remarks he gained credit in Manila, from where, by way of fake valor, he foisted upon us a provision of the Royal Audiencia, without the news of how badly he had behaved here in 1676 being enough to prevent it, although he has now made it worse, and noticeably so, this year 1684, leaving us with hardly the hope of being able to restore what his negligence, in addition to his vain-glory, has precipitated us into. If Father Manuel Solorzano were alive today, or if Father Antonio Xaramillo had been with us, they would have quickly, though too late, changed their mind, saying with me that "to lead great causes to disaster, causes that others took as proofs of his valor, there is no better man than Esplana;" for instance, to him goes the whole credit for having reduced this mission to what it has become, down to 5 Religious as Gospel ministers, excluding another priest [i.e. Fr. Coomans] who is abandoned, with no possibility for me to succor him, if he is still alive, next to the 45 dead soldiers and seamen, and 18 more who are abandoned, plus 5 others who have fled to the enemy, excluding two others who came back with them.² Add to this

- 1 Ed. note: The nickname of Rodrigo Díaz de Vivar, the roving knight famous for his bravery in fighting the Moors in Spain during the 11th century.
- 2 Ed. note: Came back from the northern islands, that is, and became virtual prisoners in the Ruchan villages, west of Agaña.

two boats that were destroyed and churches and our residences destroyed with the theft of all the sacred and profane valuables, on top of the loss of so many souls. Who could say that our Mariana Mission had to end up in such a disgraceful tragedy on account of an officer posted here with the agreement of a Royal Audiencia?

[Governor Esplana's strategy included chemical warfare]

His not very military stratagems should not be kept secret. I will only mention two of them, because the third one was to plant spikes to prevent the enemy from coming within firing range; such was the fear he had of just seeing them. He ordered the making of a cone (instrument made of cardboard to use as a loud speaker from afar). When the night had already fallen, he used to call Father Lorenzo Bustillo and have him speak through the instrument to those who, from time to time, would shout 4 words and throw as many stones. What he ordered said was: "You wretched people. Tomorrow the Governor will attack you and kill you all." However, the morning in question has not yet arisen, and they who had known him for many years already, and now judged him to be even more scared than ever, would simply make fun of him, laughing at his bluster. He arranged for an ambush, and another was foisted because of the publicity, another fault that he has and is an irrefutable proof of his not being fit for military command, no matter how he convinces himself that he has no equal. The man simply cannot keep anything secret, but publishes loudly 3 or 4 days ahead of time what he will do, without first taking counsel. Without reconnoitering, he wishes to attack by guess.

And it is incredible what I could write about a case among others that occurred to me in 1676 in order to dissuade him from an enterprise; if it was not honorable, it was much less discrete. Suffice to say that in the present misfortune 300 Indians were ready to attack the second "ambush" by 30 men, and many of them would have died, if one of ours had not let them know of the risk involved, on account of the publicity,¹ with the result that our men were detained. The worst thing is that in such cases as this, he throws the blame upon us for things that he has not done. My reason for not referring here to specific instances in this matter is that I intend to send to Her Excellency my Lady the Duchess **two papers** (the third one did not reach his hands) that I have myself conceived, after I had them reviewed by the Fathers, for me to find out if they should be delivered; there goes also one answer from him to both papers, from which Her Excellency will judge for herself who this individual is, and what we have suffered from His Grace as a result of his having brought us down to such a lamentable state.²

However, I will relate the third stratagem which is so much like him, but would not even be used by Christians against Moors, or Incas, and with more reasons should not be used in a new Christian community against neophytes, although they might have apostatized the faith. In fact, upon seeing that his fear did not let him attack the enemy

1 Ed. note: Given beforehand by the Governor's loudspeaker.

2 Ed. note: The two papers by Fr. Bouwens have been found among the Duchess' papers (see Doc. 1684K). Esplana's answer was not attached, and was probably suppressed by Fr. García.

by breaking out of encirclements and that every day they came to defy him, either with shouts or with stonings, he believed that he had found a safe way of killing as many as possible by infecting their wells and [water] jars, where they drink. I do not know how, but he told one of ours about his plan, not asking for advice (indeed, he says with conceit that wherever he is, nobody can speak up) but extolling his plan. His Reverence warned him about the gravity of the matter, and so, he told him that his conscience should not let him do it, but he was even sore that His Reverence did not applaud him. I, upon hearing the above, sent him the opinion of all the Fathers, in case His Grace should ask me about it, saying that I had decided to give up my life rather than approve as licit something that was so exorbitant: firstly, because I have never read in any history book that such a stratagem is used in war, and secondly, that one has never heard of this means being used anywhere for the preservation of the faith, nor has Christ ordered his people to do that, nor is it in the Gospel, nor is it permitted by law to cause such an obvious danger to so many innocent children and women. Now then, this Gentleman, as one who professes neither the speculative nor the moral [philosophy], judges everyone of them as deserving death: the adults, because of their fault *de presenti* [at present], the little ones, because of their fault *de futuro* [in future], because as he says, when they reach adulthood they will be as bad as their parents. Hence, he concludes that now *præ-occupative* [as a precautionary measure] they can be killed. Now, dear Father of my soul, you can see for yourself to whom they give the administration of justice in these parts, specially in new Christian communities. This is the man who has been Senior Justice in Cebu (God help you!) but overthere the Royal Audiencia was close at hand, to undo the harm done. But in the Marianas, where not even the Royal Audiencia hears or sees what is going on, and we, with this man in particular, cannot speak up; we do not even dare to complain overthere [i.e. to Manila] so as not to expose ourselves to the calumny of those who want to speak badly of us. How is it possible to have a prudent government if the governor they send has not a good conscience, an exemplary life, prudence, justice, zeal for the divine and Royal service? These are disintered and other qualities for someone to govern, but they are not found in Don Damian de Esplana. Now, without saying a word, and without my knowledge, this man put into effect the business of the poison, and although they say that a few got sick, God was pleased to have no-one died. The fact that no-one died was a sure sign that this was no means of defence. Imagine how a foolhardy person might judge this and what would be said about our ministries, by those who try to defame us with false calumnies, if this man were to try and excuse himself by alleging that we had agreed to killing with poison those who oppose our holy faith, and this had happened when there was an opportunity for us to give our lives for it! May God ever allow anyone to be found among our people in this Mariana Mission to think this way, in order to save his own life.

Inasmuch as we are talking about justice, let us see how our Governor here has administered it. In fact, he himself confesses that the present misfortune is punishment for not having carried out justice. Firstly, upon a Filipino who rose up and killed one of

these natives; in this case, God took the place of the Governor, and this year he has permitted that the killer be drowned at the hands of other Indians. Secondly, one of his seamen, going after an Indian woman, seriously wounded another, who said she was her sister, who tried to dissuade him from his evil intention. The parish priest complained to the Governor, but his answer was: "that the soldiers and seamen were bad men; that he wanted to remedy the situation; that he would bathe in rose-scented water if the Fathers ordered their Indians to give them 200 lashes; that he could not apply such punishment in cold blood." And by answering in the same manner to all the other complaints that came to him, he would put down the scandals created by his men. When I said goodbye to the Island of Rota, upon hearing the parish priest of the other district [i.e. Agusan] recall with sadness what had happened in the past, I predicted to him that, by not punishing such disorders, His Grace would call the divine justice upon himself, when he least expected it. Not two months went by before the seamen, and others, who were in charge of the two boats, living like soulless people in Tinian, lost their lives at the hands of those islanders (and God only knows what happened to their souls). As soon as the Governor heard about it, he said that they had deserved it. But he did wrong by not punishing them, in order to make them listen to reason.

[Letter from a rebel soldier]

Another [soldier] fled from the Royal camp to the enemy and, after he had been fomenting with them I don't know what tricks against our people, he came back, but the Governor did not order that he be given a single lash. One who deserved more, and it is not good to dissimulate everything in such dangerous times, was the man who, from among the enemies, incited those in the Royal camp to flee. He wrote the following letter:

"Dear friend xxx.

I will be happy if the present finds Your Grace, along with your wife, with the health that I wish. The bearer is our countryman xxx. Your Grace is to send him back to me with an answer. What I beg of you is to please leave the fort, and also my friend xxx, and some other countrymen, because life is important to them. All the towns are making ladders to climb over the walls during the first watch, or morning watch. So, it will be better to leave, as soon as possible. You have nothing to fear from the enemy Indians, because generally they all say that as many as can leave the fort will be received as local sons. I beg you to keep the secret, because both of us care for our reputation."

Our Gentleman was so shocked by this letter then that he could not find a word to say until I showed him that there was no reason to fear (and this was true), that this was nothing new; in fact, it was but an answer to a warning that he himself had ordered be sent to the man in question, inviting him to come over here to talk to the one who received the letter. But scared as he was, the good Governor did not remember what he had himself arranged. Neither did he know how to take advantage of this situation, as would have someone knowledgeable in military affairs, to strike a pretty blow. Even I, though I am not a soldier, mentioned it to our people, and so it happened. In fact, 3

days later, when the enemies thought that those they had invited would leave, about 12 or 13 of them placed themselves in ambush at half a firing range from the fort to welcome them. The Governor should have invited them in, by giving them a place and time; indeed, so many would have come. And he should have set up an ambush with 30, or more men; then, by letting those who had been invited leave, without danger to themselves, he could have captured them all. However, I have already said that His Grace does not take counsel, not even discuss any issue, but he recklessly sent a few men to reconnoiter from where came the shots that one of the enemies had fired into the small fort on the second day of their ambush. And it was not without risk, because they came unexpectedly upon the ambushed men, and captured one, killed another, but the others placed themselves in safety.

[The walls of the fort are raised]

This was the best success that happened on our part the whole time that the war lasted, but it was enough to calm down his fright. Nevertheless he ordered the walls of the ramparts and bulwark of the small fort raised by half a fathom, so that the ladders would not reach them. He did not pay attention to us, who know the manner of fighting of these peoples, when we assured him that he had nothing to fear from that; rather, such a thing was desirable, because the occasion could be taken advantage of and a good blow struck. The men were worked to death, very deplorable under the circumstances, in making and removing sentry boxes, and at many other tasks, without more food than a little corn, and they sometimes lacked even the time to cook it for their lunch or supper. They were so tired when they returned from work, where they would go in the first place with an empty stomach, right after the roll call until noon, and then from 2 o'clock until sunset. All his care was in preventing the enemy from scaling his fort, and taking his own life, but he could never be induced, in his own defence, and that of others, to teach his soldiers how to load a weapon, or become good shots.

The men became bored with such an indispensable task and they began to murmur, giving obvious signs of wanting to mutiny, so that I and others began to hear them say very clearly: "that it would be better to finish them off once and for all, and not to kill them with sheer work and hunger." Others threatened to flee to the enemy, being sure of finding more rest and better treatment. When I remembered that in the year 1675 they had almost killed him on account of the work and ill treatment in words, all of them conspiring, as could be seen in a paper that reached my hands, I decided, after consulting the Fathers, to speak to him to ask him to please moderate the task a little. I did it, taking as much time as possible, but he answered me by shouting: "that only JESUS could lend a hand in the matter of the work; that the soldiers had to work until they were bust; indeed, there were Fathers to bury them; and if they did not want to say a prayer [over their graves], there would be no lack of a Corporal to throw dirt on top of them."

I froze upon hearing such nonsense (as if it were permissible to talk to me like that) and I feared very much that the men would become desperate with so much insensi-

bility they suffered under. However, he soon realized that he had to fear more from his men within than from the enemies without; in fact, one night, two of his own slaves fled, along with three others, and the rest of the Filipinos, as was learned afterwards, were trying to do the same. One of them had even sent his own wife ahead, but this woman, while awaiting her husband in a nearby town, revealed the plot to two of her comrades. The latter advised the Governor himself, and left him a little distrustful of being able to save his own skin. And the more so when another person solicited another one of his servants to kill him at night, but this woman, more loyal, refused to commit such an impiety; rather, she said that, if necessary, she would die with her master to stop such a horrendous evil. This was not enough for the Governor to stop being wary and he used to complain to us that there was no-one he could trust. I consulted the Fathers as to our assuming the task of acting as sentinels within his own quarters, two at a time, while he slept. This was in addition to our having participated in making the rounds at the beginning, and taken up arms like any soldier, to animate the Governor, as much as his men. Although he repaid us generously afterwards, by turning us into real martyrs with his many incivilities, slights, and bad language. He treated us less well than the Filipino Indians, not even giving us a "God will repay you" in return for having made his life secure, until the arrival of Don José. The latter did not permit, as long as he was here, that we acted as sentinels to guard his Governor. The latter, perhaps in haste but we certainly all learned about it, said something against the truth, when he told his Sergeant Major that "he could not deny the fact that we knew how to fix the clock so that at 2 in the morning it struck 10, and then we went off." From this it is easy to conjecture what he will say in Manila in order to excuse himself, if he might not in some way be able to lay the blame on us for his misjudgments. However, I intend to make sure that the truth will come out clearly, and without any tricks, as Y.R. will be able to gauge from the papers that I send to Her Excellency, so that she may become aware of every single thing that has happened here.

The Filipinos had more influence over Don Damian de Esplana than we had, because he was sure that he had nothing to fear from us, but had to make sure of them, even if it be at the cost of his own disparagement. So, he would call in some, then some others, and would talk secretly to them, saying: "that they should not abandon him; that if they wished, he would send them, or take them along with him to the Philippines." The year before, when one of the Filipinos acted shamelessly as constable of the Marianos, he, fearing this man more than any other, made him Captain. This Filipino went to the Governor to complain against another Captain, who was the Captain of the Spanish Company, and told him: "that if he did not remedy the situation" (perhaps the words used were "if he did not punish him"), "he had to kill him." The Governor just dissembled and did not even reprehend this open manner of talking; rather, he

simply gave him the full dress of a Master-of-camp.¹ Thus, on Sundays, this Indian wears the senior baldric of His Lordship [i.e. the late Saravia] with very large, and beautiful silver plates, and I have no doubt that some day it will end up in the hands of someone else, on account of the game of dice, or cards. This proceeding is against the decorum due to a Gentleman who was Governor and Captain General officially appointed by His Majesty.

As for us, being Religious, we were overlooked in everything, and for everything, and no attention was paid to our continuous sufferings. When Don Juan de Vargas was Governor of the Philippines, in his capacity as Captain General, he issued an Instruction for these Officers, dated Manila 7 September 1680.² In it, he ordered them to take counsel, and kept in contact with the Father, acting as Superior, about things of importance, but this man told us clearly about this, “that if he were in Manila, he would make the Governor very sorry to have sent such posters overhere.”

Y.R. may judge, from what has already been said, if he needed to take counsel, and if so, with whom better to seek counsel than with the Father, acting as Superior; indeed, the others, all soldiers, what conscience do they have, what zeal, what expertise? Who could help him better, and even excuse his mistakes, and misdeeds, if by taking counsel he did err on the side of caution? For instance, what is not completely against all reason, conscience, and justice that he let himself say in public to the soldiers that the valuables that the Indians had taken from the Fathers during this revolution did not have to be restituted; so, if they ended up in their hands by whatever means they could retain them and not have to return them. The reason he used for this odious saying was because the Indians had acquired them during a live war. The occasion of his saying this was the return to the Royal camp of that man who wrote the above-quoted letter, in which he had solicited the others to escape (and he had that escapade left unpunished, except for being placed for 3 days inside a sentry box, eating and drinking without doing any work, but being on watch day and night). This man had in his chest some valuables from a certain residence, and the Father whose valuables they were recovered them. The Governor did not take it too well, so that he called His Reverence and told him that he had no reason for such a retrieval. I, with the opinion of the Fathers, tried to undeceive His Grace, but he used his regular discourteous manner, and shouted back, saying “that we did not look after any other interest but our own; that he knew these things better, as he had lost his molars to them; and that we did not know more than what is said in books.” Hence his practical dictum: to have lost his molars to this, or that, seems to him infallible, and he can direct his conscience by it, as if it were a rule of common law, or a definition from St. Thomas [Aquinas].

1 Ed. note: Surely Fr. Bouwens must be exaggerating. Major Esplana could not have promoted a Filipino captain to a rank higher than his own, unless it was an honorary rank restricted to the local Mariano militia, as this would then have been the same title that Saravia gave to the Chamorro Chiefs Hineti and Ayihi.

2 Ed. note: Doc. 1680Q.

I do not refer to another rumor that occurred, as a result of what Father Bustillo said to him, being it appears the one whose conversation he most enjoyed. He wished to beg his permission in order to put a stop to the disadvantages that could result from the small talk going on among the soldiers, and Indians, with little appreciation for His Grace; His Reverence told him, among other things, that they attributed to fear the fact that His Grace did not go out to attack them. *Quod cum andisset turbatus est, et omnis Jerosolyma cum illo.*¹ Girding himself with some furies more than martial, he jumped out of bed, as it was then 9 p.m., he cursed and shouted words of pure boast, calling to arms (everything was for show purposes) and, as someone ready to make a tremendous butchery of all the enemies, he put on his tie, saying: “that he alone would burn their towns, and take out his servants.” As I said, they had run away from him. He warned some of ours to take care not to do blunders at night, and so, they came quickly to advise me. As if I had not heard him... but I, remembering what he did to me in 1675, was not bestirring myself because I knew about his fake prowess; however, at the end I had to concede [that he was serious], and finally he let himself be convinced [to give up], remaining in his opinion with the credit of being very brave, even when he himself, the soldiers, and a few of those who did not understand [Chamorro], that the enemy called him names from outside, shouting “chicken,” “woman” and “that they would strangle him.”

I beg you, dear Father, to forgive me for writing about such things, because the common judgment that is important for the service of both Majesties is that such men should not cheat by pretending or receiving positions for which they do not hold the qualifications. Well then, when he saw that he could not prevail in anything (even his vanity never reached such a peak), he could hardly wait for the return of Don José; he promised to give 500 pesos toward having masses said for the souls [in purgatory], if God our Lord brought him and the men in his company back safely.

Another blunder happened in his order; it was that he forgot to ask Don José not to come before doing everything he could to bring along the Father with the 3 soldiers who, as I said, remained abandoned in one of those islands; morally, by abandoning the garrison that lied in-between, the Father’s return became hampered. I myself had prepared two letters to go in the same despatch, one to the Sergeant-Major and the other to the Father [i.e. Cuculino] who was with His Grace. I begged both of them to try, as much as possible, though in vain, to make the effort [to reach Fr. Coomans], and I promised to pay anyone making the effort whatever they wanted.

[Major Quiroga returns from Saipan to Guam]

The time has come to return to the narrative of what happened to Sergeant-Major Don José de Quiroga. When he embarked to come here, only his vigilance and determined nature could remove the dangers that offered themselves in the voyage. So, it

1 Ed. note: Latin phrase, seemingly from the Bible, meaning: “Whenever he went around in a disturbed state, the whole of Jerusalem was also disturbed.”

was up to his men to carry out his orders with exactness, as he had given them in great details. For example, he told them not to go near the shore of Tinian Island on account of the currents that are very furious there. They in turn, for reasons unknown to him, did the opposite, because the churning waters carried off three of the 8 canoes that transported up to 35 soldiers, besides His Grace, Father [Cuculino], and a boy. The 3 canoes sank, and the 15 men in them were shipwrecked. It was not possible for the good Gentleman to succor them, because it was the middle of the night, the winds were stiff, the seas choppy, and his own canoe was full of water. So, he had to pursue his voyage with the remaining 5 canoes, feeling sorry and with reason for the misfortune that had been caused by the carelessness of a few, who never pay attention. However, it seems that God our Lord gives special assistance to the good Don José in all his enterprises, because he acts in all of them with motivations that are so superior, without bragging, and without looking at anything else besides the glory of God, the service of the King, and the salvation of these miserable souls. Indeed, a few days after arriving at Guahan, he received news that all the 15 who had been shipwrecked were alive; they were favorably received ashore by the enemies themselves. Today they still hold them, some in Tinian, and others in Zaypan, much against all human hope.

The Sergeant-Major arrived here on 23 November 1684. When the news of his arrival spread, our affairs then improved to such a degree that the enemies abandoned their positions, not only around the enclosure but they even vacated their own towns, houses, and plantations that were full of root crops, their staples. We all thought that the Governor would comply with the word he had given to the Sergeant-Major when he arrived, to turn over the management of arms to him, and have him restore what had been lost, as someone who would quickly calm down the whole Island. However, no matter how many requests he made, to be employed in what was the service of God, and of His Majesty, for the good of these miserable ones, now that he had recalled him at the cost of so many dangers, he never could get what his holy zeal desired. As for myself, upon seeing the Governor so indecisive (God only knows if envy was the cause, and if so, may he be forgiven), I did what my conscience dictated me to do, and, after consultation of the Fathers, begged him in writing, as he did not want to confer verbally (in fact, a verbal report is something of lesser importance to him, even though he should accept one, for many reasons), and I begged him to use the arms in accordance with his obligation, so that we could go out to carry out our ministries and give the spiritual nourishment to these sheep outside their fold, and reduce them once more to their flock. And in case he found himself unable to personally undertake the appropriate task, he could entrust the enterprises to one who wished to serve him by discharging himself honorably. But *“surdo cecini, cenicique ligato.”*¹ What he ordered the Sergeant-Major, a man who had governed this mission 4 years before with so much

1 Ed. note: Latin phrase whose approximate rendering is: “While deaf I sang, and while bound I sang.” I suspect there is a misprint involved here, as the word “cenici” is not in dictionaries. This quote is probably from the Vulgate version of the Bible.

credit to his valor and decisiveness, to do then was not worthy of a Corporal. He sent him to escort those who were bringing in coconut branches to thatch the sentry boxes, or were gathering roots for their food, or went to hunt pigs. Matters were such that he, seeing himself freed from so many worries by the Sergeant-Major's troop, busied himself personally in such a way that one of ours asked him a question, and he was given a reason for it in the following epigram, thus reminding him of the cause of his misfortune:

*Peccarunt Indi, parci plectuntur: ab ægro si quævis, stomacho suo male digeritur.*¹

To repeated requests for him to do something, he sent the Sergeant-Major from time to time, but always with such a bad disposition, as if he tried, either to have nothing serious done, or to have it turn out badly, because two or three days beforehand he would insinuate to the Indians, and soldiers, and they in turn advised those they were after, so that upon getting there the Sergeant-Major would usually find no-one. He even predetermined the trails to be followed, but as such were public, the Sergeant-Major would decline to do; however, the Governor would insist, the better for the troop to be detected. If the men did not return at the predetermined time (which sometimes was not possible, on account of the encounters), the Governor was struck with mortal anxiety, and he was even afraid of his own shadow. He throws the blame for everything on the Sergeant-Major, accusing him of being a good-for-nothing. In fact, Don José had more in one hand than Esplana had in his whole body. As a matter of fact, when I consider not just this man, but all the other officers-in-charge whom I have known during the 13 years that I have been here, together they have done during that whole time period as much as Don José during the one year [1680-81] that he governed, and during the few days that he conquered the three Islands. As for Governor Esplana, indeed, he is a good-for-nothing, nothing other lose everything, as experience itself has taught us. To make this clear, I will mention the following case, among many others:

[Esplana dares to be seen outside the fort on top of his horse]

There was a corn plantation right next to the Royal camp. This plantation, thank God, was not destroyed by the enemies during more than 10 months, and it gave us life, because the Governor said very openly that he was not going out, not even to look for food, since there were only dogs and 4 horses that could get hold of it. When the time came for the crop to be ripe, the enemies began to carry it away, in plain sight of us, and when a Father advised the Governor, he answered that it was not corn that they were taking. But soon he had to confess that it was. So, instead of the 10 or 12 boys who usually went out every day to pick something, he decided (what great feat) to go himself with a company of 40 soldiers, and other friendly Indians. He ordered the others to watch out, in case any enemies appeared, and we, who were in charge of the

1 Ed. note: Latin phrase meaning: "The Indians have sinned, [therefore] a few must be punished: just because he could not stomach anyone."

bulwarks, had to signal to him. Then he put on two bull jackets, one on top of the other, put on a hat and mounted his horse.

It happened that 8 college boys were returning with a few gourds for our meal. They were singing psalms as they came. The valiant gentleman was so frightened by them that, abandoning his men, he came flying in to place himself in safety, filling the fort with his shouts, as to why he had not been warned. The Fathers answered that "well, if they did not signal, His Grace had to understand that there was no reason to; that if they had been enemies, they would have complied with his order." Following his example, his men also fled, abandoning the loads that they had to bring for use as ration for the men. Anyone can compare these facts with the boasts about his valor that he makes every chance he gets, making himself ridiculous in the process. However, what causes us some wonder and considerable sorrow is that, in order to end up with the reputation of being valorous, and Great Captain, he has the terrible habit of blaming everything upon his Sergeant-Major, when the truth is that he owes to him the hope of ever going out of here alive. In accordance with the above, and any discussion on the matter by the people inside and outside, it appears that either party would already have done away with him, if what we have heard is true, about plots being planned inside and by the rebels outside. He owes even more to Don José; in fact, it was in his shadow that he began to give some semblance of courage. For instance, after he has sent the order for the Sergeant-Major to abandon his new conquest and come overhere, he was heard to say that, when the Sergeant-Major had come, he would begin to govern, he had said, sighing. He first allowed him to make the first sorties to the nearby towns, which had been vacated by the Indians, frightened by the arrival of the Sergeant-Major. When he heard no shots being fired, he got on his horse and, with 12 men, like a shadow that follows its object, and in order to derive the glory from a great feat, he ordered those who accompanied him to set fire to 4 houses, and even this he did not do right, because he forgot that his men needed food; so much food had been stored inside those houses that, as he himself said, one could have filled 20 canoes and brought it to the Royal camp, which is just over a quarter of a league away from the place.¹ He did not make arrangements to take advantage of the plantations that were right next to those same houses, according to eyewitnesses, and contained root crops ready for the picking, in such abundance that they could have filled the whole of our fort; he let the enemies themselves come out of their retreats and help themselves. One cannot talk to him about such matters, and many others, not the Sergeant-Major, us, or any man. If I were to continue talking about this Gentleman, I could not put a stop to this writing. I will add only one more incident, that took place at the end of February of this year [1685].

¹ Ed. note: This place was probably in the direction of Apurguan (present-day Maite), rather than Anigua where the friendly Ayihi lived.

[Governor Esplana's new boat]

I have already said that his mind-set is that of a supervisor of works, or of some majordomo, and he does not pay attention to the decorum of his position. So, at the time of carrying out some military expeditions in order to reduce the enemies, and punish their waywardness, he began to design a boat. Morally-speaking, this boat could only be used for unloading purposes, during the period that the galleon was due to bring in our succor. The boat was very necessary for this effort, as there was no hope of getting other craft. However, by beginning its construction so soon, we were made to suspect that the Governor, as he is a reckless man, without prudence, one who does not take counsel, that he might attempt something foolhardy with this means, given that it was known for a fact that he was overly sorry to have accepted this government, just to get the title of Governor and Lieutenant of Captain General, and was bored with the misfortune of the bad outcome. He would be heard to shout (Y.R. will please pardon me for using his own words): "Curses on the cuckold who sent me to the Marianas!" He may have said "who brought/got me to the Marianas!" During the voyage, according to trustworthy eyewitnesses, he had opened the despatch from the Royal Audiencia, to find out if he was being appointed to this Government. If he had wanted to, he could easily have exempted himself from the appointment, which was lawfully turned over by the Master-of-camp, Don Antonio de Saravia, to the person of his Sergeant-Major, Don José de Quiroga. Our suspicion was confirmed by what Esplana said: "that this was a bad land; that he had a mind to go and look for a better one with the small boat." He asked for information on routes, asking one of ours if he had some navigation instruments. He added that there was perhaps the obligation of reporting to the Royal Audiencia on what he had done here. He did not seem to be preoccupied unduly by the news that would be sent from here and would uncover the truth. The men, as they are people without obligations, and without conscience, might have facilitated his rashness, as some were bored with so many calamities and wanted to go back home, while others might fear some punishment for their disloyalty. Furthermore, the stiff winds were favorable, blowing directly toward Manila, where two boats had already gone.¹ With this third boat, if perchance the same thing happened, the Governor himself admitted that we would lose all hopes. Indeed, out of 80 men, the majority and best of them would disappear with most of the equipment, weapons and powder; if this happened, we would not be able to receive our succor, and if the enemies renewed their rash attempt, they would kill us all without a remedy. Regarding these and other possibilities, I had already taken counsel from all the Fathers way ahead of time, in case he decided to sail away, in order for us to try and dissuade him. *Nemine discrepante*² they all agreed with the conclusion that we should put into practice all possible approaches, e.g. the sweetest, most courteous and friendly talk, etc. If he did not desist from a verbal

1 Ed. note: Fr. Gayoso had drifted with one in 1676, and another had been stolen by some Filipino soldiers in 1681.

2 Ed. note: Latin phrase meaning: "Without a single exception."

approach, he should be required in writing to desist, and even threatened with censure. As it turned out, I did not have to use this last measure, as I found a more efficient means, one with fewer possible disadvantages, and based on the Instruction for these Officers-in-charge, to wit, the regulation that orders them to give escorts to the Superior, when he had to go out on his ministries. And I made up my mind, if he should refuse, to go out alone with my breviary and reciting the prayers of the last rites, to visit the needy and give them whatever means was required for their salvation, as I was persuaded that in so doing, he would desist from his foolhardy and rash attempt.

On 22 February, he boarded his boat, shouting that he was on the way to expel the enemy from a small islet, even though all told him that he would expose himself to most obvious dangers just to get to it, and had no hope of achieving anything. After all the proceedings were used, in accordance with the decision taken during the consultations, the last measure had to be resorted to. So, I went out, protesting that if some disaster happened to me for lack of an escort, he would have to give an account to God and to men alike. By now, dear Father, you realize that those of us who are here suffer, not only from rebels, although this is also the fault of this Governor, who could have prevented it, before it happened.

It was 5 in the afternoon when I went out along the beach, in sight of him who was unmooring the boat. And as my resolution took him by surprise, it did him so much effect that he returned ashore very quickly. He had assured the Fathers that I would not dare risk myself so boldly, but would [be made to] return upon receiving the signature of His Grace. So, I remained in the first town, which is located a quarter of a league from our fort on the same beach,¹ intending to spend the night in the house of our great friend, Master-of-camp Don Antonio de Ayihi. When the misfortune occurred, he had been on the journey through the Northern Islands with the Father [Coomans], and had returned from there after the others were abandoned, coming here with the permission of His Reverence, to find out what had happened to us, but it had not yet been possible for him to go back overthere.

I administered the last rites to a youth, who has since died. In the meantime, the Sergeant-Major came with some men looking for me. Then, afterwards, came the paper signed by the Governor himself, in which he begged me (he should have ordered, and requested, me, but this might have been a greater mistake) in the name of His Majesty, to return. I did so, and accompanied by the men, I met with His Grace along the way; his show of care was nothing more than something he did to cover up his bad habits, hoaxes, and indecisions, yet throw the blame on us, who did not let him act—fake deeds, because His Grace did not have a trace of sincerity. In truth, that night 4 of these natives aboard a canoe were drowned (such were the seas, and for 3 weeks very stiff winds blew in the direction of Manila); if that had not come to pass, he might now be dead, either killed by his own men, or by the Indians, or from drowning.

1 Ed. note: This was the town of Anigua, west of Agaña.

[In praise of Quiroga]

All of these disasters and bad luck could have been avoided for sure, if Don José de Quiroga, in accordance with my most sincere desire, had been entrusted with this government, but this no longer has any remedy, except from Heaven by means of prayers, directed overthere, and the very lively efforts, now being made to obtain it. There is none among us here, who does not judge him more suitable than anyone else who could come. And although Father Manuel de Solorzano found some faults in His Grace, which he must surely have mentioned to Y.R., soliciting a remedy, Y.R. may be sure that none of them concerns anything essential to the mission, as he possesses all the qualifications for its preservation and improvement, that may be judged necessary in an eventual Governor: a Christian and exemplary life, one that even confounds some religious, a great valor, and resolve to undertake whatever conquest, a lucky presence of mind, and skill to pull it off, zeal for the divine and Royal service toward the eternal salvation of these souls; obeyed readily and respected by soldiers and Indians alike; he administers justice to one and all without dissembling their faults, without precipitation but with aplomb, without looking at material gain, and with a very firm resolution not to let down this Christian community, as others do, but to consecrate his whole life to it; that is what I admire the most, and I judge before God, with all the other Fathers, that he should be entrusted with this government, without the need to look for anyone else. Indeed, it will not be easy to find another man, I do not say better man, not even as good as man. Nevertheless, I cannot agree with the opinion of 4 Fathers expressed during a general meeting, that I should solicit this government for Don José, complete with the honorific titles that came with Don Antonio de Saravia, to whom His Majesty granted absolutely the title of Captain-General. It is sufficient for Don José to get this government, though it be without the title of Captain-General, but only with that of Governor and Lieutenant of Captain-General, and that it be issued by the Royal Audiencia of Manila, now that Her Highness has taken a hand in his coming here, she would have had authority to do so, and it is not advisable to take it away from her, when this dependency is not well, because, if we ever need her to remedy some situation, such as the one we find ourselves in today, in order to have Esplana transferred, Her Highness can ask the Governors [of the Philippines] who pass by here aboard the galleons to find out what is happening here and, if it be necessary for the good of the mission, they should encourage the local governors to act less severely, or should replace them, according to what would seem best for the Christian community. All of this is now difficult if the appointment comes directly from the King, independently of the Royal Audiencia, and with the title of Captain-General. That being the case, neither would he be subject to the Instruction from the Royal Audiencia, and much less to the corrective actions taken by the Commanders who pass by aboard galleons. If Don José becomes governor, this is enough to restore, preserve, and improve the situation; his good and just manner of proceeding gives us occasions to praise him in line with his merits. Thus it is not necessary for us here to ask for anyone else to take his place, and in this way this government will be his. In any case, it is not so sought after in Manila,

or in Madrid, but we fear that others will solicit the post. As far as the salary is concerned, indeed, we trust that he will get it, by means of Her Excellency, to whom, I have heard, the Master-of-camp wrote, saying that [“]for the soldiers posted to the garrison of these Islands, it would be sufficient to send a much smaller sum than that mentioned in the Royal decrees and coming from the Royal treasury in Mexico every year, at the same rate as received by those in the garrison of Cinaloo [i.e. Sinaloa] in New Spain. In fact, nowadays up to 130 men are maintained with what was released for 40 positions only.[”] That is why I beg Y.R., on behalf of the whole mission, whose Agent and Advocate Y.R. must be, so that through Her Excellency, knowing what is involved, not to take away anything out of the subsidy for the poor soldiers. If His Lordship has not written this, it should not be mentioned at all.¹

Also, please ask Her Excellency, whom Don José de Quiroga reveres very much (and he should), to write to him in her own hand, by way of an Instruction, telling him how he is to behave in this government, if he gets it; and in this manner, by way of a cautionary note, to prevent faults, similar to previous ones made by others that caused notable harm to this miserable mission, he will go on amending the faults that had been noticed by other superiors of ours in His Grace, and perhaps mentioned by them to Y.R., for a remedy to the situation concerning communication between His Grace and the eventual Superior of our people. Firstly, Her Excellency should entrust him to consult on the substance of matters of importance, and on measures to adopt, calling on the Superior for this, and His Grace should not keep his own counsel, as he did during his first term, when he seemed to think that recommending affairs to God was enough to have a clear conscience, and Her Excellency should order him to report on matters thus settled. Secondly, he should not be so pretentious in his administration, or despotic, which is offensive. The whole thing can be reduced to these two points, and it would not be too difficult for him to improve himself, with the hope that many souls in this mission will benefit. For such a permanent solution, we beg Y.R. among so many calamities. *Adjuba nos, si quid potes, misertus nostri.*”² We all place our trust in the great charity and holy zeal of Y.R., to whose holy sacrifices I very much commend myself.

Guahan, inside the fort, 20 May 1685.

[P.S.] With the ornaments that Her Excellency sent, and which arrived last year 1684, there came a small crate with devotional objects and, since Her Excellency did not make any mention of it, it seems that Y.R. did add it. Consequently, I give thanks to Y.R. on behalf of the Fathers among whom I have distributed its contents, and I beg God our Lord to keep Y.R. as the whole mission wishes, and we all need to have Y.R. act as its Father and protector.

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- 1 Ed. note: The two known letters written by Saravia to the Duchess did not mention the salary question.
 - 2 Ed. note: Latin phrase meaning: “Help us if you can, take pity on us.”

Documents 1685L

Some eulogies mostly written by Fr. Bouwens in May 1685

Sources for L1-L4: ARSI Phil. 20, fol. 338-342, 353-354; edited copies of three of these eulogies (L1, L2 and L4) are among the Ayer mss. Robles n° 9 (24 pages), Newberry Library, Chicago. Some Italian versions were published by Fr. Ortiz in his book Istorica (Naples, 1686) and are reproduced as L5 and L6 below.

Note: Not much new historical information is contained in these eulogies, which focus on the virtues of these Jesuit martyrs.

L1. Eulogy of Fr. Boranga

Letter to Fr. General de Noyelle about the death of Fr. Carlos Boranga

[Summary, translated from the Robles notes: Fr. Carlos sailed at high latitudes with little clothing... At Acapulco, he was designated interim mission superior; soon he got sick of a fever. He arrived in sight of the Mariana Islands after a 77-day voyage. He applied himself to learning the language, taking care of his flock, visiting them in their homes. He abstained from drinking chocolate, practiced flagellation and wore a hair shirt. Examples of his modesty, poverty and other virtues are given. He was transferred from Guam to Rota. As a result of a rebellion in Guam, communication was lost with Rota and this lack of news lasted throughout September and October 1684.]¹

L2. Eulogy of Brother Dubois

Letter to Fr. de Noyelle about the death of Br. Balthasar Dubois

[Summary, from the Robles notes: This brother was a French-speaking Belgian. Born on 15 March 1654. He joined the Society in Tournai in 1675. He arrived at the Marianas in 1679. He first served in Guam, then in Rota. His obedience and other

¹ Ed. note: See also Doc. 1685W1 for the Italian version.

virtues are described. Indian rebels inflicted many wounds to him and broke his skull on 23 July 1684.]

L3. Eulogy of Fr. de Angelis

Letter to Fr. de Noyelle about the death of Fr. Teófilo de Angelis

[See L6 below for the eulogy in Italian which was based on this letter, and an additional note written by Fr. Tilpe in 1700 (Doc. 1700F1).]

L4. Eulogy of Fr. Solorzano

Letter to Fr. de Noyelle about the death of Fr. Manuel de Solorzano

[Summary, from the Robles notes: His early life in Spain is described. He studied theology in the provincial cathedral. He longed to be a missionary in the Indies. He asked for permission to go. He left Cádiz with a group. He preached in Mexico until the last day.

On the ship taking him to the Marianas [in 1676], a mutiny arose pitting the ship of officers themselves against the General [Nieto]. The mutineers took over the ship. His work in the Marianas, after having studied the language, as well as his piety are described. He became Vice-Provincial before a rebellion took place on Guam. The work became very difficult. He improved the church at Agaña. He became the prefect of a school to accommodate at most 50 teenagers and normally 25 comfortably. Don Antonio de Saravia was the first authority in the islands [1681], Governor and Captain General and military chief. He went with 30 others to Tinian Island (where there were good prospects) and also to Saipan (also known as St. Joseph Island) where he was welcomed, although the women fled with the children into the bush.

A third expedition took place, with danger of shipwreck. The Father never feared peril at sea, as he put his faith in God's will. Examples of his observance of the rule are given, and his burning charity is mentioned. More examples of his virtues: poverty, obedience to his superiors, etc.

He had previously ministered in the Philippines, in the Tagalog and Visayan areas; this was before Fr. San Vitores opened the Mariana Mission.¹ During a 4-year period of intense missionary work in the Marianas, he travelled as far away as the northern islands, that was until he was crowned with glory when his death occurred at Apurguan [sic] on 23 July 1684. The Governor arrested 4 suspects who had wounded the Father.

1 Ed. note: Incorrect statement. I think that the author was thinking about Fr. Besco when he wrote this.

The culprit was Antonio Juda [rather Yura]. The soldiers went out and killed 4 and wounded 16 others. The 4 wounds proved to be fatal.]¹

L5. Brief eulogy of Fr. Solorzano and Br. Dubois, by Fr. Ortiz

Sources: Fr. Ambrosio Ortiz' Istoria (Naples, 1686), pp. 597-608; a partial translation, in French, is in the archives of the Southern Belgian Province of the Jesuits in Brussels (near St. Michael's College).

Original text published in Italian.

Breui Elogij del Ven. Padre Manuele di Solorzano, e del Ven. Fratello Baldassarre Duuois.

Nacque il V. P. Manuele di Solorzano in Frexenal della Prouincia d'Andaluzia da nobile lignaggio; e fu da suoi genitori allenato nella virtù, come alla loro pietà si conueniua. Imparò grammatica, e lettere humane nelle scuole del Coleggio della Compagnia; e con la communicatione de'nostri la sua ottima indole, & inclinatione alla pietà si mosse a chiedere con istanze l'esser'anche egli ammesso nella Compagnia. Si valse a ciò dell'autorità del P. Diego Serrano, huomo di singolar virtù, e dalla Prouincia tutta venerato come esemplare de Religiosi, & egli dopo hauer esaminata la vocatione del giouine, e trouato quella essere da Dio, gli ottenne facilmente la bramata licenza. Ma ciò che al nostro Manuele fu di straordinaria contentezza, fù parimente a suoi genitori d'altre tanto cordoglio: e tutto che fussero nostri amoreuoli, nondimeno il dolore di perder il figlio, & il solito pretesto di accertarsi della sua vocatione, fece che non tralasciassero diligenza veruna, per rimuouerlo datati pensieri. Il siglio però, veduto che i proprij genitori gli diuentauano nemici nel negotio principalissimo dell'eterna salute; ne volendo soggiacere à loro contrasti, se ne fuggi dalla casa paterna, & altroue stette nascosto; finche passata la burrasca, se gli spianasse al bramato intento la strada. Fra tanto gli suoi parenti, per altro timorati di Dio a cui non voleano far dispiacere, conosciuta la costanza del figlio, & assicuratisi della sua vocatione, diedero il loro consenso: onde il giouine hebbe l'ordine di conferirsi al noviziato di Seviglia: l'hebbe però insieme di passare dalla sua casa, ch'era per strada, e prendere da suoi genitori la beneditione. Ciò egli fece: mà fu ben da notarsi, che mentre suo Padre, e l'altri di sua casa gli dauan' l'vltimo a Dio con lacrime di tenerezza, egli senza punto commuonersi, anzi con faccia tutta ridente, come facendosi merauiglia delle loro lacrime, si licentiò, e proseguì il suo viaggio.

Gionto al nouitiato con allegrezza indicibile del suo spirito, cominciò subito ad imparare da conuittij l'esercitio d'ogni virtù; mà con tal'applicazione e riuscimento, che in breue fù a tutti esemplare di quelle. Fatti gli suoi voti passò allo studio di lettere humane, di Rettorica, e dopoi a quelli della Filosofia, e Teologia: ne'quali talmente attese a perfettionare l'intelletto, che non si scordaua d'auanzarsi ogni di nella perfettione della volontà. Per la viuacità del suo ingegno, e per l'indefessa applicatione, & ottimi suoi talenti ottenne egli li premij principali della Compagnia nelle lettere; e fù da tutti stimato degno d'occupare col tempo le prime lettore: mà egli a tutti questi applausi antipose l'apostoliche fatiche dell'Indie. Onde fatto sacerdote, e terminati gli suoi studij con la difesa publica della Teologia, vdendo

¹ Ed. note: See also Section L5 below for the Italian version of Fr. Solorzano's eulogy. He was not killed at Apurguan; that was the village where Antonio Yura lived. Apurguan was located east of Agaña, along Dongca Beach. Also, the 4 killed and 16 wounded were soldiers, not rebels.

l'heroiche imprese del V. P. Sanuitores nelle Mariane, e li frutti abbondantissimi che vi raccoglieua, chie-dette al P. Generale la licenza per passare alle medesime; e l'ottenne con l'efficacia delle sue ragioni; mà molto più con quella delle preghiere, che a tal sine porgeua incessantemente al Signore. Fu però conce-duta questa licenza a conditione, che i Superiori della Prouincia non ripugnassero, trouando ragioni in contrario: e qui fu doue il Padre Solorzano trouò le maggiori difficoltà. Perchiòche proposto a questi il suo passaggio all'Indie, mentre celebrauasi la Congregatione Provinciale in Seuiglia, tutti conchiusero, non essere conueniente, che la Prouincia si spogliasse d'un soggetto di tali speranze. Mà non perciò si perdetto d'animo il nostro pretendere: anzi raccogliendo le ragioni che gli si opponeuano, quali quanto erano più di sua stima, tanto alla sua vmità sembrauano men sussistenti, tutte le disfece con le sue ris-poste: e di nuouo scriuendo al P. Generale gli rappresentò il tutto; con tale spirito & efficacia, che sua Paternità, veduto essere quella vocatione di Dio, e facendosi scrupolo di non eseguirla, gli ratificò subi-to la licenza, ordinando a superiori della Prouincia, che non gli dessero impedimento.

Con questa licenza e consenso si portò subito a Seuiglia, doue radonauasi all'hora la Missione per l'Indie; & indi a Cadice, ad imbarcarsi nella Flotta per Messico. Mà con quanta allegrezza e generosità d'animo intraprendesse questo viaggio, lo fà egli vedere nella lettera, che a 6 di Luglio del 1675 scrisse da Cadice, ad vn suo stretto amico dimorante in Cordoua. Prego, dice, V. R. che mi conceda la sua bene-dittione: e con gli suoi sacrificij & orationi m'ottenga dal Signore, che questa mia buona intentione, quale egli feenza niun mio merito si degnò di concedermi, habbia il bramato riuscimento; che spero sarà di sua maggior gloria. Trè Sacerdoti, & California. Molti c'inuidiano la nostra forte: imperciòche hoggi la Mis-sione Mariana è la più gloriosa, che si possa pretendere, per il frutto, e per gli patimenti. Sono quell'Isole vicine al Giappone & alla Cina: onde fiamo anche in speranza, che se ci possano riaprire quelle porte; almeno l'habbiamo, di lasciar'in quest'impresa la vita. Iddio ci lo conceda, e V. R. ce lo supplichi.

Nel viaggio poi dette singolari esempij di feruore, di modestia & affabilità, con cui, cattinossi le vo-lontà tutte de passeggeri, de marinari e de'soldati. Gionto che fù in Messico aiutò assai il Procuratore delle Mariane a metter'in ordine li conti di quella MIssione, quali da alcuni anni adietro erano molto confusi; & anche ad allestire le cose da trasmettersi alle Mariane. Mà perche all'attività del suo zelo non era ciò sufficiente impiego, e la naue per il passaggio douena qualche tempo aspettarsi, egli vici dopoi alle Missioni per buona parte del Regno; & in quelle hebbe assai che fare, e non meno che patire. Spen-deua tutto il giorno in predicare, & insegnare la dottrina Christiana, & in vdire le confessioni, mattina e giorno; si che appena gli auanzaua il tempo preciso a dire l'vfficio, e le sue diuotioni, & a prender il cibo &c vn breuissimo sonno: il frutto però fù anche maggiore que le fatiche, e richiederebbe più distesa nar-ratione.

*Venne frà tanto la naue delle Filippine: onde richiamata il Padre Solorzano hebbe a partirsi subito con l'altri compagni ad Acapulco. Nel licentarsi però dall'Eccellentiss. Arciuescouo Vice-Rè, questi, per le notizie ch'haueua del suo zelo e talenti, gl'impose, ch'in quel viaggio fusse cappellano della naue no-mata **San Antonio**, e di tutti hauesse cura nello spirituale (tutto che conducesse la naue da 25 Religiosi dell'ordine di Monsignor Arciuescouo, e molti preti secolari, che pretendeuano quella carica) il Padre gli replicò, che donendo egli restarsi nelle Mariane, non poteua seruire quell'vfficio sin'alle Filippine, come sarebbe l'obbligo del cappellano: pure volle Monsignore, che in ogni conto egli facesse l'vfficio fin'alle Mariane; e nominò vn'altro per il rimanente del viaggio alle Filippine. Et io (dice egli in lettera de 25 Fe-braro de 1676) l'accettai in riguardo di Monsignor; & anche perche la Missione così pouera godesse la ratione, e gl'altri emolumenti del cappellano. E con tal zelo e vigilanza fece quest'vfficio, ch'a tutti fù di*

meraviglia ed esempio. Spesso spiegaua la dottrina Christiana alla gente rozza della naue: assisteua giorno e notte a gl'infermi, consolandogli, e ministrando loro i Santi Sacramenti, & anche medicine corporali, che con limosine faceua lor'hauere; senza risparmiare per ciò diligenza, ne fatica veruna. A i più trauagliati & abbandonati portaua egli il mangiare, e come madre amorosa con le proprie mani gli lo metteua in bocca: e con carità e talento singolare confortaua i moribondi al passaggio della morte. Anche a benestanti parlaua sempre di Dio; mà con tal piacquolezza, che s'insinuaua nell'animi di tutti. Con questa egli ottenne, che gli fusse scoperto il disegno perniciosissimo di certi banditi, quali per loro misfatti erano sulla naue trasportati dal Messico alle Filippine: costoro haueuano machinato d'uccider' il Comandante e gl'Vfficiali della naue, e poi con quella farsi corsati, in vece della relegatione: scopertasi però la congiura così pregiudiziale, facilmente suani col castigo de principali capi.

Gionto il Padre Solorzano alle Mariane nel Giugno del 1676; & applicossi subito ad imparare l'idioma del paese; con tal felicità, che in breue poté vdire le confessioni, assister'a moribondi, insegnar'a tutti la dottrina christiana, e predicar'anche in Chiesa: ciòche egli faceua con feruore e frutto straordinario, mercè gli suoi rari talenti; mà con non minore merauiglia de'nostri, attesa la breuità del tempo, in cui egli s'imparò quell'idioma. Non sapeua star'otioso, ne perdeua mai occasione, in cui potesse apportar qualche profitto alli suoi meschini Mariani: e per ottenere ciò non mica lo spauentauano i trauagli e pericoli de'viaggi col sole cuocente, ó con piogge, a piedi, e senza niuna commodità; ne meno i pericoli della morte, che più volte gli si presentò dauanti, mà non poté farlo tornar'in dietro. Quattro anni s'era esercitato in questi ministerij, quando da Superiori consapeuoli de suoi talenti fù fatto il Padre Solorzano Superiore e Vice-Prouinciale di quella Missione; con sodisfattione grande de'compagni tutti, mà con minor suo dispiacere; perche hauerebbe voluto soggiacer'a tutti, non sourastar'ad alcuno: gli conuenne nondimeno vbedire nell'istesso comandare; e prendendo l'vfficio trouó in quello la sola commodità di trauagli e fatiche maggiori. Perciòche subito attese a restituire quelle Missioni all'antico buono stato, deteriorato assai con le continue solleuationi e guerre dell'anni precedenti; anzi a promuouerle quanto poteua a stato migliore. A tal fine disegnó di ridurre l'Isola di Guan a sei grosse terre, oltre quella d'Agadgna, & in quelle far'altre tante Chiese, con lisuoi Missionarij che le coltiuassero: e conferito col Governatore Sarauia questo suo pensiero, amendue concordemente l'eseguirono, supetando le difficoltà, e con quel riuscimento, che al cap. 24 si disse.¹ Ne con minor efficacia diede forma a i due seminarj d'Agadgna: doue a spese del Rè Cattolico s'alleano nel vno 50 fanciulli, e nell' altro 25 fanciulle del paese, da quali si spera grandissimo bene nell'Isole.

Non peteua però il zelo di questo seruo del Signore restingersi a sola l'Isola di Guan: per ciò appena hebbe stabilite le Chiese el Residenze di questa, che s'applicó subito a far'altretanto nell'altre Isole conuiuine. Quella di Rota ó S. Anna la ridusse a due terre, con le loro Chiese & altrettanti Padri, ch'attenduano a coltuarle. Volle dopoi passar all'altre verso tramontana; e perciò da Antonio di Sarauia, primo Governatore e Generale nominato dal Rè, ottenne 30 soldati; e con quelli andó a Tinian, doue facilmente ristabilì le cose della fede, e de'costumi Christiani; e battezzó gli bambini, & anche gli vecchi & infermi che pericolauano. Passando però a quella di Saypan, quei barbari li più feroci, & anche più retivi al Santo Vangelo & alli costumi Christiani, prima ch'il Padre Solorzano scendesse in terra, haueuano già ritirato le donne & i fanciulli alle montague, acciò non gli morasse per battezzarli: anzi vedendo ch'il Padre non cestaua di far istanze, che gli conducessero i bambini al battesimo, prefero determinatione d'uccidere lui,

¹ Ed. note: This chapter dealt with the events of April 1684.

& anche li soldati: e l'hauerebbero facilmente eseguito, se vn'Indiano amico, che di ciò n'hebbe sentore, non haueste palefato il tutto al P. Solorzano: il quale, veduto che colà si perdeua tempo, col risico manifesto della vita sua e de'compagni tanto necessarij a quella Christianità, di notte tempo se ne partì con quelli alla volta di Guan.

Appena i barbari intesero che fuggiuu loro la preda, che subito con più camòe si misero a dar'a i nostri la seguita: e perche già s'eran'annicinati a tiro di moschetto, l'Alfiere che comandaua la nostra squadra, ordinò a i soldati che stessero pronti per dare al primo auviso la carica a nemici: mà il P. Solorzano frastornò quella determinatione, per lo dolore dell'eterna perditioue di quei nemici, che restauano morti; & anche a speranza, che in altra occasione quei meschini hauebbero riceuuta la sede, ch'ora perseguitauano: ciò che segui due anni doppo; e sarebbe prima seguito, se le burrasche di quel mare, il più tempestoso di tutti, non hauessero rispinto in dietro le nostre barche, che ciò tentarono ben per tre volte. I barbari però vedendo all'ora, che i nostri erano pronti alla difesa, prefero più sano consiglio di non più inoltrarsi, e se ne ritoruaron'alle proprie case: mà i nostri dopoi hebbero dal mare quel pericolo che non temeuan da nemici; perciòche si leuò tempesta così fiera, che tutti si stimauano già perduti. All'ora il Padre Solorzano alzati gl'occhi & il cuore al Cielo pregò istantemente il Signore, non per la propria vita, quale da molto prima gli haueua già offerta in sacrificio, mà per quella de'compagni così necessaria alla Christianità Mariana: e parue, ch'il Signore hauesse voluto esaudire le preghiere del suo seruo; perciòche poco appresso si racchettò la burrasca, & il mare diuenne tranquillo. Era però d'ammirarsi ciò che tanto in questo pericolo, come in molt'altri che souente gl'occorsero ne i viaggi, non mai perdette la serenità dell'animo, ne meno del volto; e la vista d'vna morte così formidabile, e così vicina non gli fece paura. Argomento de la purità della sua coscienza; & anche della sua rassegnatione al Diuino volere, senza del quale sapeua che nulla poteua succedergli di male; e che non deue paurentare la morte del corpo, chi hà confidenza ben fondata della vita dell'anima.

Et in vn'cuore, doue così pacificamente riposaua la gratia, non è melageuole a credersi, che le virtù tutte, quali accompagnano la medesima gratia, non trouassero grato ricetto. La magninimità e fortezza d'animo, oltre al già detto, la fece ben palese negl'altri trauagli, che mentre fù superiore & anche suddito, spesso gli occorreuano: perciòche i colpi della più contraria fortuna, che hauerebbono sgomentato ogni altro, egli li riceueua con quella tranquillità d'animo e serenità di volto, come hauerebbe potuto incontrare gl'auuenimenti più fauoreuoli. Ne palesò meno la sua prudenza nel gouernar'i sudditi. Sapeua con arte mirabile accoppiare alla strettezza e rigore dell'osseruanza la dolcezza e la condescenza; esigendo quella da sudditi, più che col rigore, col proprio esempio. E quando bisognaua il rigore, talmente lo raddolciuua, ch'a niuno sembrauano aspri, ne difficili gli suoi comandi; anzi erano tutti prontissimi ad eseguirli, vedendo la liberalità e prontezza, con cui egli all'incontro souueniu a tutti ne'loro bisogni. Perciòche non era mica sordido ne auaro, mà più tosto liberale in proueder'a tutti, con amore veramente paterno: mosto più all'ammalati, quali soleua dire, che doueuan esser'assistiti, etiandio con le delitie: & in vdiere, che tal'vno se la passaua men che bene in qualche Residenza, mandando in suo luogo vn'altro, lo faceua condurre in Agadgna, acciò fosse meglio assistito. A niuno negaua cosa che gli dimandasse, purché egli l'hauesse; e diceua, che egli solamente haueua le cose per darle. Ne solamente le daua a quei di casa; mà anche agl'esterni; e segnalatamente a i soldati del Presidio, quali sapeuano ch'il Padre Solorzano era il loro rifugio, in qualunque bisogno di citto, bestito, e d'altre cose. Anche con gl'inciani di Guan, e dell'altre Isole si mostraua liberalissimo; & a quei dell'Isole de Gani, che talora veniuano per

visitarlo, non solo faceuali trattar'a tauola con splendidezza trà l'angustie del paese; mà faceva loro d'altri regali; studiandosi d'affettionarli, etiandio con quelli alla Fede.

Chi così amaua gli prossimi è facile a discorressi con qual incendio di crità amaua Dio. E di ciò la più irrefragabile testimonianza s'è quella sua insatiabile sete di propagare la Fede, l'amore, e la gloria del suo Signore; la quale gli fece fare così lunghi e faticosi viaggi, sopportare tanti trauabili e pericoli, e per vltimo dare per lui la vita. Questo amore gli saceua parlare sempre di Dio, delle sue perfettioni e beneficij, e dell'oblighi ch'habbiamo d'amarlo. Nelli notamenti de'propositi, che s'haueua prescritto d'osseruare, v'era questo trà gl'altri. Per quanto mi sarà possibile mai non parlarò che di Dio, ouero di ciò che sarà conducente a promuovere la di lui gloria. Mà assai più manifesta questo suo amore, l'odio che portaua all'ossele del suo Signore: questo l'obligò afar vn voto, ammirato etiandio ne'Santi, di non fare mai peccato, anche veniale con auuerrenza; afinche l'amato non trouasse in lui cosa veruna, che gli fusse dispiaeuole. L'amore medesimo accendeua in lui quel desiderio di conuersare col suo amato nell'oratione; e l'oratione è tratto con Dio vicendeuolmente gl'accendeua l'amore. Mentre era studente non tralasciò mai, per qualunque impedimento, che gl'occortesse, l'oratione, e l'esami della coscienza, e l'altri esercitij consueti: e questa fedeltà nel poco Iddio gli la rimunerò largamente con l'illustrationi che gli daua nell'oratione, facendogli chiaramente conoscere (si come egli dopo asseriuu) che voleua seruirsi di lui nell'Indie per la couersione dell'infedeli; e ciò con gli medesimi argomenti, con quali egli conuinse dopo quei tutti, ch'erano di contraria opinione. Da che entrò nell'Indie aggiunse all'oratione ordinaria della mattina vn'altra hora la sera: e questa la faceua in camera mentre fù superiore, per trouarsi più pronto a i negotij occorrenti, & a sudditi che lo cercassero; finito però il governo la faceua sempre in Chiesa, auanti l'altare del Sacramento, o quello della Madonna.

Amaua tenerissimamente questa Signora come sua madre, & a lei con la confidanz di figlio ricorreua in qualunque bisogno. Oltre il Rosario le recitaua ogni dí altre diuotioni, che s'haueua prescritte: digiunaua le sue vigilie, e con altre mortificationi di cilicij, e discipline, anche publiche, si preparaua alle sue feste: quali celebraua, e faceua celebrare, col maggiore apparato, culto, e diuotione che fusse possibile. Al suo continuo parlare di Dio aggiungeua per ordinario le lodi, e le prerogatiue della sua Santissima madre; e non di rado quelle di S. Ignatio, di S. Francisco Xauerio, e d'altri Santi suoi diuoti: mà più che nelle parole mostraua la sua diuotione imitando l'opere di quelli nella conuersione dell'anime. Per rendere maggiormente sicura la castità, che haueua consecrata al Signore, ad ossequio & imitatione della Madonna, adoperaua vna rara modestia del volto, e custodia de'suoi sentimenti: & anche l'occupatione continua nei negotij, che moltissimi e graui teneua al suo carico; e se qualche tempo gl'auanzaua da quelli e dall'oratione, applicaualo allo studio, massimamente de casi di coscienza: onde lasciò manuscritte molte e dottissime risoluzioni di casi difficili, che occorrono in quei paesi. Non uscìua mai di casa, ne alla campagna ne alla marina per ricrearsi: nemenò dalla camera, fuorchè alla Chiesa, o à visitare gl'infermi, & a negotij predisi del suo vfficio.

Castigaua seuerissimamente il suo innocente corpo, con cilicij, e discipline quasi continue; mà queste così spietate, che si faceuano vdite da molti, tuttoche egli cercasse i luochi, e tempi più segreti per farle. Il sonno suo era a proportione del suo cibo; tutto assai poco: ne contento di ciò; a i digiuni comuni aggiungeua quelli del venerdì, che osseruaua inuiolabilmente per memoria della Passione del Signore. Et a dirla in vna parola era la sua mortificatione continua. Dache gionse in Messico, vsò nelle lettere l'aggiunger'alla firma trè Croci; l'vna sopra, e l'altre nel principio e fine di quella, in vece della rubrica, che vsaua prima: e ciò per desiderio di vedersi da per tutto attorniato di croci, e di patimenti; & anche ad imi-

tatione del Ven. Padre Sanvitores, che così il praticaua. Ne minor'assetto portaua alla santa pouertà; siche quanto era con altri più liberale, tanto fù con seco stesso più scarlo: contentauasi di pochissime cose, e quelle le più disprezzate. Mentre fù superiore inculcaua assai, che non si perdesse per trascuragine cosa veruna, che potesse seruire: e diceua, che in vna Missione così sproueduta delle cose necessarie, e tutta dependente da soccorsi tanto incerti, poteuasi più facilmente mancar'in ciò alla pouertà; onde bisognaua farne più scrupolo. Fù anche esattissimo nell'obbedienza: e di gran consolatione a superiori, per la prontezza che hauena, e gusto che mostraua in ogni cosa, quantunque fusse difficile. Mentre fù superiore non si partia punto dall'ordini che gli veniuano da Manila: anzi si fece venire le ordinationi, date da Prouinciali alle Missioni di Tagali e Bisaye nelle Filippine; & a ciò le Missioni Mariane fussero gouernate & animate dal medesimo spirito, compilù, e pose in pratica vn compendio di quelle, lodato assai & approuato dal Padre Antonio Mattia Xaramiglio Visitatore. Per vltimo (soggiunge il Padre Gio. Tilpe) può dirsi a ragione, che tanto nel temporale, come nello spirituale, doppo il Ven. Padre Sanvitores, a niuno è più tenuta la Missione Mariana, ch'al Padre Solorzano: il quale in quei quatro anni, che fù superiore e Vice-Provinciale, la distese sin'all'vltime Isole de Gani verso il Giappone; e con le sue fatiche, zelo, e direzione la promosse a quello stato d'economia, e di conuenienze per coltiuare quei indiani, quale mai non haueua hauuto.

Questo zelo, e queste virtù volle il Signore premiare nel suo seruo, chiamandolo a se, per mezzo d'vna morte, qual egli se l'haueua desiderata, ciò per mano de barbari: mentre quei congiurati d'Arpuguan il dì 23 di Luglio del 1684 credendosi d'hauere già vcciso il Gouernatore, corsero alla casa de'Padri, per farne di quelli altrettanto, e scuoter'in vn tratto il giogo della Christiana Fede, & il gouerno degli Spagnuoli. Al rumore delle ferite, che dettero al Padre Bouuens superiore, accorse il Ven. Padre Solorzano: & appena veduto da congiurati, subito gli furono sopra; e con quattro coltellate nel capo, & vn'altra che gli tagliò la mano sinistra, lo fecere cader'a terra mezzo morto, e tutto bagnato del proprio sangue, che versaua in gran copia. Corse dopoi vn'altro indiano, che seruiua attualmente a i nostri, e doueua venir'in aiuto del Padre Solorzano, da cui haueua ricevuti molti beneficij: mà l'ingrato e perfido, fattosi d'accordo con quei micidiali, con vn coltellaccio, che pochi giorni prima haueua ricevuto in dono dal medesimo Padre, gli diede vn'altra ferita nella gola, così profonda, che n'vsciua la respiratione. Dolce più al seruo di Dio questa ferita, perche gli veniu dal più beneficato: pure il suo risentimento fù il guardar'al Cielo, e chiedergli da Dio il perdono. E dopò alcune hore, che durò in atti heroici d'amore, e di conformità col Diuino volere; anzi di ringratiamento di forte così felice, sul tardi di quel dì, rese lo spirito al suo Signore.

[Eulogy of Brother Balthasar Dubois]

Poco dopoi fù da medesimi barbari vcciso il Ven. Fratello Baldassarre Duuois. Nacque egli a Torquay [i.e. Tournai] nella Fiandra, a 15 Marzo del 1654 da padri honorati, e fù da quelli alleuato ne i Christiani costumi; da quali, e dalla propria inclinatione alla pietà fù spinto a chiedere con istanze la Compagnia, doue fù receuuto a Tournay l'anno 1675 & in quello nouiziato diede singolari esempij delle sue virtù; e segnalatamente di prontezza grande a tutte l'occupationi dello stato suo. Imperciòche tutto il tempo che gl'auanzaua dall'oratione, e dall'altri esercitij spirituali, quali faceua con ogni esattezza, lo spendeua nell'altri corporali, di falegname, ch'era il suo mestiere, ouero nell'altri vssicij di casa, che gli veniuano imposti dall'vbbidienza. Finito il suo nouiziato, & intesele fatiche e trauagli, che tolerauano i nostri Missionarij nell'Indie, s'accese in desiderij di andarni anch'egli colà, & esserne partecipe più da

vicino. Li espose a suoi superiori: e questi dopo variesperienze, trouara la sua vocatione soda e costante, e ch'ogni di s'andaua più auanzando nelle virtù, gli concedettero la bramata licenza: onde egli, dopo hauer tolerato con pazienza, anzi con allegrezza, gli patimenti di viaggio così lungo, per mare e per terra, l'anno 1679 gionse alle Mariane; doue serui assai nell'vfficij di casa; mà molto più nella fabrica delle Chiese e Residenze, che si fecero poco appresso nell'Isola di Guan, & in quella di Rota. Imperciòche nell'intagli e sculture per l'altrari, e nella sodezza e bellezza dell'architettura, si studiò di far spiccare il zelo, ch'haueua del divino culto; e d'affettionar'alla Fede Christiana quei rozzi Isolani. Et a questo fine insieme col edificio materiale promoueuua anche lo spirituale de'tempj vini del Signore, edificando col esempio d'vna vita innocentissima quei indiani, ch l'aiutauano nella fabrica.

Nell'esercitij quotidiani dell'oratione, esami della coscienza, e lettione de'libri diuoti fù sempre esatissimo; ne mai gli tralasciaua, per più che fi trouasse affaccendato nelle fabbriche & occupationi esteriori; anzi mentre faceua queste, souente alzaua gli occhi & il cuore a Dio, ordinandole tutte a lui, con l'orationi iaculatorie. Il suo riposo nel tempo che gli auanzaua dalle fatiche, era l'insegnare la Dottrina Christiana all'indiani, che l'aiutauano; e faceua, che la tenessero à mente, dimandando loro conto di ciò ch'il giorno auanti gl'haueua insegnato: e doue si fossero scordati (ciò che spesso auuiene a i Mariani, quali per lo più sono di fiacca memoria) egli più e più volte inculcaua loro l'istessa lettione. Dopo ritirauasi in Chiesa, doue recitaua le sue diuotioni, e trà quelle il Rosario della Madonna, di cui era diuotissimo. Mà assai più spiccaua la sua diuotione nell'vdiere la Santa Messa; ciòche egli faceua con vna modestia e compostezza angelica del volto e del corpo, che in tutti euitaua diuotione consimile, con solamente guardarlo: e sopra tutto, mentre si preparaua per la Sacra Comunione, o faceua il rendimento di gratie. Era amantissimo della santa pouertà: così humile, e piaceuole nel tratta re e seruire con allegrezza a chiunque n'abbisognasse, che si rapiuua il Fratello Baldassarre l'affetto di tutti; e più che con le fatiche edificaua col modo di farle.

Oltre alle mortificationi communi d'vna vita Religiosa, massimamente così stentata, come è quella delle missioni Mariane, aggiungeua il Fratello Duuois di molt'altre, come custodia e sicurezza della sua purità. Di questa ne diede, trà l'altri, vn'esempio assai notato dalla rozzezza di quei isolani. Vno d'essi, fidatosi nella familiarità che haueua col fratello, e nella piaceuolezza che vedeua nel suo trattare, hebbe ardire d'interrogarlo, come gli piacena la bellezza di quelle sue paesane, e se amaua qualcheduna d'esse. Il fratello modestissimo, in vdiere ciò, arrossì di verginale vergogna e s'accese insirme di santa ira e sdegno contro quello sfacciato; è vò in mal ora, gli disse, vò scelerato; e non ti pigliare quest'ardire; ch'andarò subito dal Governatore, acciò ti dia il castigo, che ti meriti con cotesto tuo parlare. L'indiano atterrito si buttò subito a piedi suoi, chiedendogli perdono: e pregandolo che di ciò non parlasse al Governatore; perciòche mai più gl'vscirebbero da bocca somiglianti parole. La sua vbbidienza fù apunto quale la richiedono le nostre regole. Non solamente era pronto a quanto di lui volessero i Superiori; mà se trouauasi con occupatione sufficiente ad vn'altro, minore però di quella che hauerebbe voluto il suo feruore, andaua subito dal Superiore, per offerirsegli ad altri impieghi; anzi alle volte egli da persè si procuraua nuoue fatiche. Mentre in Messico attendeua l'arriu della naue per le Philippine, gli fù ordinato ch'accompagnasse mattina e giorno gli Padri, che vsciuaano a negotij per la Città: ciò gli parue poca occupatione; onde in ritornar' a casa, andaua subito a scopare gli corridori, e l'altre stanze communi, & all'altri vfficij più vmili: e ciò con vna allegrezza e serenità di volto, che ben daua a diuedere quella che haueua nell'anima.

Stagionato con queste virtù, e vita così religiosa lo trouó la morte, che gli fù data quel di 23 di Luglio del 1684 da barbari d'Apurguan, spaccandogli con piúcoltellate il capo, síche gli fecero saltare fuori il ceruello: onde frà breue spatio rese al Signore il suo fortunato spirito; poiche in cinque anni di Missione Mariana, gionse al porto della gloria, come possiamo sperare, hauendo egli sofferta da barbari la morte per sí buona causa.

Synoptic translation of the above text.

Father Manuel Solorzano was born the son of an illustrious lineage in Fregenal, a town in Andalusia. He studied humanities in Jesuit colleges. His taste for pious works and his relationship with the Jesuit fathers inspired him to make a request for admission to the Society of Jesus through Fr. Diego Serrano, a man held in great respect by the whole province. Although God-fearing, his parents strongly opposed his vocation under the ordinary pretext that it had to be tested. The courageous child fled his home and remained in hiding until the storm had blown over and he could execute his plan. The parents conceded in the end when faced with the constancy of their son. He in turn paid no attention to their tears and went to live inside the novitiate at Seville. There he became an excellent novice and later a distinguished student judged to have the potential of filling the top teaching posts one day. However, Manuel preferred missionary work in the Indies to any academic summit, excited as he was by the narrative of the heroic enterprises of the Venerable Fr. Sanvitores in the Mariana Islands.

After he was ordained priest and had publicly defended theses in theology, he requested permission from the Fr. General to go to the Marianas. Permission was granted him, on the condition that the superiors of the province agreed. However, that is where Fr. Solorzano found the greatest obstacle to his intentions. His request was submitted to the provincial chapter meeting in Seville;¹ all the Fathers were of the opinion that it was not at all convenient for the province to lose a subject with such great potential. Fr. Manuel did not lose courage and, the more reasons that they presented to him, the more his estimation was increased and the weaker they appeared to his humility. He wrote a second letter to Fr. General full of such good reasons and such effective prayers that His Paternity, no longer doubting that the vocation came from Heaven, ordered his provincial superiors to remove all obstacles.

With this permission in hand, he immediately left for Seville, where the missionaries for the Indies gather, and from there to Cádiz where he boarded the Mexican fleet in 1675. During the voyage, he gave special examples of fervor, kindness, humility and modesty, which gained him the heart of all the passengers, the seamen and, above all, the soldiers.

Upon arrival at Mexico, he lent a useful hand to the Procurator of the Mariana Islands in putting the accounts of those missions in order—they had suffered from neglect for many years—and to prepare the shipments for the islands. However, because such a job was not sufficient to satisfy his zeal, while waiting for the ship to sail, he pre-

¹ Ed. note: See Doc. 1674G.

ached a number of missions over a large area of the kingdom; there he found plenty to do and even more to suffer.

When the time of departure had arrived, he went to bid goodbye to the Archbishop-viceroy and was appointed to the post of ship chaplain for the duration of the crossing, on account of his virtue and talents. He fulfilled his functions with such zeal that he became a subject for wonder and edification.

He landed at the Mariana Islands in June 1676, and he learned the local language so fast that soon he began his apostolic work. Neither the hardships of the roads nor the dangers to his life, which he faced many times, could frighten his courage. After four years of labor, his rare talents were recognized and he was named superior of that mission, with the title of Vice-Provincial. This distinction was an affront to his humility; he nevertheless accepted the office which he considered a reason to work harder. First he applied himself to bring back these missions, deeply disorganized by wars, to their original prosperous state, and to make them still more prosperous. To this end, after having surmounted many difficulties, he divided the Island of Guan into 6 districts, each having its missionary and he founded two colleges at Agaña, which he maintained at the expense of the Catholic King, one having 50 native boys and the other 25 native girls.

The Island of Guan alone was far from sapping all of the zeal of Fr. Solorzano. He endeavored to bring the same kind of organization to the neighboring islands. In Rota, or St. Ann, Island he established two districts, each having their respective church and Father. He then resolved to go to the northern islands. For this purpose, Don Antonio de Saravia, the first governor and captain general appointed by the king, provided him with an escort of 30 soldiers with whom he went to Tinian. He restored the true faith from its ruins, baptized the small children and even the old people and the sick at risk of dying. From there, he went to Saipan, but the barbarians there were more ferocious than on other islands and more rebellious against the laws of the Gospel; they had already anticipated the arrival of the missionary by sending their women and children to the mountains of the interior, so that he would find no-one to baptize. When they saw that the Father did not stop pestering them in order to provide their children with the grace of baptism, they decided to kill him, together with the soldiers in his escort, and they would have done it, had not a friendly Indian divulged their evil project. Fr. Solorzano, persuaded that he was wasting his time and putting uselessly at risk his own life and that of his companions, so necessary for that Christian community, departed one night to return to the Island of Guan.

As soon as the barbarians realized that their prey was escaping, they grabbed their canoes and went in pursuit of the missionary; but when they saw the muskets that our soldiers were making ready to use, they changed their minds and turned around to go back to their huts. This first danger passed, another more terrible one arose before the Spaniards. A frightening storm suddenly occurred with such violence that all the people concerned thought themselves already lost, but the saintly missionary lifted his eyes to Heaven, prayed for the preservation of the soldiers' lives, so necessary for the Christian

community in the Marianas. The Lord accepted the prayers of his servant and made the sea calm. Everyone was amazed at Fr. Solorzano's great courage and serenity of soul that the danger of an imminent death could not alter. Was it not a proof of the purity of his conscience and his perfect resignation to the will of God?

Within his heart, where the peace of sanctifying grace lied, all the other virtues must have found their natural place; there shone the courage and greatness of soul amid hardships, prudence in administration, a constant thirst for the salvation of souls, the apostolic charity that led him to do good to his neighbors, and such a fear of offending God that he made a special vow, one to be admired by even the greatest of saints, never to commit a venial sin in a deliberate fashion.

Since he had entered the Indies, he had taken the habit of adding to the morning prayer a second hour in the evening. He severely chastised his innocent flesh by means of a hair shirt and cruel disciplines. His sleep was, like his meals, on the short side. While he was Superior, he recommended specifically never to let anything go to waste out of neglect, because, as he said, in a mission devoid of even necessities, one had to be more scrupulous than elsewhere in matters of poverty. He was also very faithful to obedience and a subject of consolation for his superiors on account of the promptitude and allegiance used when he obeyed their wishes, no matter how disagreeable. When he was Superior, he never deviated from his orders received from Manila. He asked for and received the regulations issued by the provincials of the Philippines, and in order to instill the government of the Marianas with this unity of spirit that is so desirable, he wrote and carried out a summary of those documents. This summary handbook attracted the congratulations of the visitor, Fr. Antonio Xaramillo [in 1683]. Finally, adds Fr. Tilpe, one could properly add that, on the material and the spiritual planes, the Mariana Mission was most indebted to Fr. Solorzano, after the Ven. Fr. Sanvitores. Indeed, during the four-year period [1680-84] in which he was Superior and Vice-Provincial, he extended it as far as the last of the Gani Islands toward Japan, and raised it to the flourishing state that it is today, thanks to his untiring activity, his skillful management and his spirit of wise economy.

In all his needs, he burned with a truly-filial piety toward the Virgin Mary, patroness and mother of the missions that bore her name. Besides the rosary, he practiced other devotions that he had decided for his daily routine. It was by fasting on the eve of feast-days, in wearing the hair shirt and in using the discipline in public that he prepared himself for the feasts of Mary, and he had them celebrated with all the ceremonies and devotion possible. In such a sensual country, he had placed his chastity under the protection of the Most Pure Mother, without neglecting the precaution of keeping his eyes down and watching over his other senses. His duty kept him constantly busy; but if perchance he had some spare time, he used it to study, above all the cases of conscience. Indeed, he has left written by his own hand a number of resolutions of tough cases, such as can be encountered in those countries.

So many virtues were crowned by a bloody death, the constant objective of his wishes. The rebels from Apurguan, believing that they had already killed the Spanish

Governor, ran to our residence to do the same with the Fathers and thus get rid of the Christian burden, and that of Spanish domination, once and for all. They covered Fr. Bouwens, who was then Superior [1684], with wounds. When Fr. Solorzano came forward to help him, as soon as they saw him they attacked him, hit him four times with a knife on the head, cut his left hand and made him fall upon the floor, where he remained covered in blood and hardly breathing. Suddenly, there came another Indian, a servant in our residence, who had a thousand obligations to Fr. Solorzano. Gratitude should have led him to defend his benefactor. The traitor did nothing of the sort; being an accomplice, he took a knife that he had a short time before received as a gift from the same Father, and made such a deep cut into his throat that it opened his wind-pipe. This last blow was the most sensitive to the good Father, because it had been given by a hand that he had favored so much. However, his whole vengeance was simply to look toward heaven and beg mercy for the ingrate one. After a few hours spent in acts of resignation to the divine will and in gratitude for such a happy death, he remitted his soul to God in the evening of 23 July of the year 1684.

[From *Istoria dell'isole Mariane*, part V, chap. 27]

L6. Eulogy of Fr. de Angelis, by Fr. Ortiz

Source: Fr. Ortiz' *Istoria*, pp. 609-634.

Original text published in Italian.

Breue notitia della vita del V. P. Teofilo de Angelis.

Nacque il Ven. Padre Teofilo d'Angelis da famiglia molto riguardeuole nella Toscana; è sù alleuato nelle lettere e virtù, conforme alla qualità de'suoi genitori si conueniua. Dopo auere studiato la Rettorica e Filosofia entrò nella Compagnia in Napoli a 7 di Nouembre del 1673 d'età d'anni 22 è già Subdiacono; con quel dissinganno e seruore, che fà ben palese, in ciò che per ordine de superiori lasciò egli scritto di suo pugno: "La mia vocatione (dice) hebbe origine dall'vdire le prediche di due Padri Missionanti della Compagnia. Ero solito di recitar'ogni giorno sette Pater & Ave in memoria delle 7 allegrezze di Maria Santiss. & astenermi della carne ogni mercoledì, pure in honor suo. Crebbi dopoi in me questa diuotione verso l'istessa V. M. recitando ogni giorno, oltre la Corona, il di lei Officio: & oltre al frequentare li SS. Sacramenti, è far celebrare messe in honor suo, vn'anno doppo me le consecrai con voto di castità, il giorno della sua gloriosissima Assuntione. M'applicai alla Compagnia in particolare, per il desiderio di propagare l'Euangelio, e procurare con ogni sforzo la gloria di Dio: sospirando di vedere per tutto inalberata la Santa Croce, è sottoscriuer'vna volta la Santa Fede col proprio sangue. Nel risolvermi non hebbi altra difficoltà, di quella, quale preuedeuo d'auer a prouare nell'esecutione, per la parte de'parenti, Vinsi però questa difficoltà, col raccomandare la mia causa alla Beatiss. Vergine, nel di cui aiuto feramente sperauo: onde trattai la mia vocatione con vn Padre della Compagnia, mio maestro e confessore insieme; & esso col mio consenso la trattò col Superiore immediato, acciòche mi proponesse al Padre Prouinciale. Tali però furono le difficoltà dalla parte de'parenti, repugnanti al mio ingresso, ch'il Prouinciale giudicò, non potersi adempire la mia vocatione nella Prouincia Romana. Má si come queste preuedute difficoltà, nel risolvermi, non furono bastanti a farmi tenere secreta la mia vocatione, cosí questa

prima esclusiua non hebbe forza di farmi desistere dall'incominciato: anzi in vece di cagionarmi tristezza, mi fece concepire vn'interna allegrezza, fondata nella speranza d'ottenere l'ingresso piú quieto, in parti piú remote da miei conoscenti; tal'era la confidenza ch'haueuo in quel Seggio di sapienza, che s'haueua presa la cura d'auuocare per me in questa causa. Presi per ispediente (col consiglio del mio Maestro e Confessore) di notificare la mia intentione al Padre Generale; il quale con benigno rescritto mi propose piú Prouincie, trà le quali io m'lessi questa di Napoli. Volle però il Padre Generale, che la mia partenza fusse segreta; acciò non mi venisse impedita l'accettatione, ne dopo l'ingresso hauessi nuovi disturbi: essendo io per ogni legge humana, e diuina, liuero di me in questo fatto. Mi partij dunque con ogni cautela, senza farlo sapere, ne meno a miei piú cari, perche mi poteuano esser'in ciò piú nemici. Et ora mi sento tanto animato (per pura gratia del Signore) a corrispondere, & acquistare la perfettione; che quantunque siano debolissime le mie forze, mi dichiaro del tutto inhabile ad esprimerlo." Così egli della sua vita nel secolo: mà di quella egli stesso ci douerà dire piú auanti cose maggiori; quando parleremo della sua vmiltà.

Nel suo nouitiato sí come auanzaua i connouitij nell'età e nella conoscenza, così parimente gl'auanzò nella diuotione e virtù. Da quei che piú da vicino lo trattarono, & ebbero l'incombenza di indrizzarlo nell'interno & esterno hà piú volte vdito, che frà tutti egli era, senza dubbio il piú esemplare, e feruoroso: e che quel feruore, che concepí fin dal principio, non mai lo lasciò, ne lo sminuí; anzi l'andò sempre accrescendo: è ciò per chi sà la perfettione di quel nouitiato, gli dourebbe bastar per elogio. Haueua gratia singolare nel parlar di Dio e della Madonna; onde nelle solite recreationi inferuoraua tutti, senza dar tedio a nessuno. Nemico sempre dell'otio, & auido delle fatiche; che perciò quando concorreuà con l'altri, voleua egli faticare piú di tutti, per alleggerire la fatica a i compagni. A quanto gli veniuà imposto da Superiori vbbidiua non solamente con prontezza, mà con allegrezza, è giouialità di volto. Prima di cominciare le cose comandate soleua riuolgere gl'occhi al Cielo; è dalle fattezze del volto si scorgeua, che facesse atti feruentissimi verso Iddio, a cui solo si studiava di piacer'in tutto, & il quale ristetteua, che gli parlaua nel superiore. Io (dice vno de'suoi connouitij) nel tempo che son vissuto nella Compagnia non hó veduto vbbidenza piú diuota della sua: e quando mi voglio figurare vn vbbediente appunto come il vuole il nostro P. S. Ignatio, mi pongo auanti gl'occhi il Padre Teofilo.

Portaua tenerissimo affetto al Redentore, massimamente alla sua Passione: è sin da ch'era secolare frequentaua in Siena la congregazione detta del chiodo, la quale è l'esempio di quella Città: & oh quanti motti (diceua) hó sofferto per frequentarla! Di quà veniuà in lui quella sete insatiabile di mortificationi e disprezzi, per imitar'il suo Signore. Soleua vestirsi vna veste lacera e disprezzuole, e così comparir'in publico; con sembiante tanto dimesso & vmiliato, che compungeua chiunque lo guardaua. Spesso ripeteua quel detto di S. Sauerio e di S. Ignatio: Vince te ipsum; e questa diceua essere la scorcijatoia alla perfettione; e che non v'è miglior fortuna in questa vita, ch'il patire per Christo. Nelle infermità, che patiuà frequentissime, d'etticia con sputo di sangue, e difficoltà grande nella respiratione, sempre rassegnatissimo nel diuino volere; si lagnaua solamente, ch'era di niun'vtile, anzi di peso alla Religione. E dopo quei suenimenti [rather scotimenti], che lo priuauano di senso, e poco men che della vita, soleua dir'ai compagni: ó fratelli miei, voi mi vedete così finito di forze: chi sà, se vn giorno mi vederete partire per l'Indie, è sentirete dopoi, ch'il Padre Teofilo è stato vcciso per Christo. Ne contento de'patimenti delle malattie aggiungeua molt'altri de cilicij, discipline, e mortificationi publiche. Mà quanto era piú rigido e spietato con se, tanto piú amoreuole si mostra us con gl'altri. Andando vna volta in pelegrinaggio s'ammalò vno de'compagni: & acciò non dormisse in terra, come d'altri, egli quella sera girò tutto

quel villaggio in cerca d'vn matarazzo. Vn'altra volta, ch'er in Casa professa & haueua cura de'suoi compagni, vno d'essi scappò in colera verso di lui; egli però si studiò di rassettarlo con piaceuolezza. Ritornando poi in Nouitiato, e douendo rendere conto al Superiore dell'accaduto, gli disse l'offensore, che voleua egli entrar'il primo ad accusare se stesso: del che n'hebbe gran piacere il nostro Teofilo, perche così sminuiuasi la penitenza del compagno.

Finito il suo nouitiato studiò due anni Teologia nel Collegio Napolitano: è tutto che venisse molestato dalle sue malattie, nel tempo che gli rimaneua, talmente cooperò con l'applicazione alla viuacità del suo ingegno, che sodisfece, con approbatione e ode più ch'ordinaria. Ne contento delle fatiche delli studij, e patimenti di malattie così penose, s'adossò anche l'incombenza di prouedere gl'hospiti del bisogneuole; e ciò faceua con tal carità, che più d'vna volta si spogliò fin'delle couerte del proprio letto, acciò nulla mancasse a suoi fratelli forastieri. Mà come che fin'dal nouitiato, & anche fin da secolare (come habbiamo veduto) nulla più gli caleua, ch'il suo passaggio all'Indie, e la conuersione dell'infedeli, fece sopra ciò replicate istanze al Padre Generale.¹ e quelle tanto efficaci, ch'alla fine ottennero la bramata licenza; purché li suoi acciacchi e malattie non gli vietassero questo passaggio; nel che riportauasi il Padre Generale al dettame de Superiori immediati. Et in vero da questi, e dalla Prouincia tutta, in vdire tale licenza, fù creduto, che non potesse hauere l'esecutione; anzi che fusse quasi tentar'Iddio l'esperre vn soggetto talmente indebolito & acciaccaro a viaggio così lungo e faticoso; mà dopoi udite e ponderati le sue ragioni, tutti connettero, che gli si douesse far buona la licenza: vedersi con chiarezza, ch'Iddio il voleua per l'Indie, ne questa essere la prima volta che si seruiua di stromenti deboli per cose grandi, acciò tutto si deua è s'attribuisca a lui; onde cessaua l'allegato ostacolo, che ciò sustentarlo.

*Partí dunque il Padre Teofilo per Roma, & ammesso al bacio del piede di Sua Santità n'ottenne quantità d'indulgenze e di priuilegij da seruirsene a pró dell'Indie, e dopo hauer visitato quei luoghi sacri, e di passaggio il Santuario di Loreto, doue ratificò li suoi voti alla Vergine nella sua Casa, gionse in Genoua, ad imbarcarsi con l'altri per Cadice. Et acciò si veda, ch'Iddio lo voleua e lo guidaua per l'Indie, trascruiuerò qui alcune clausole di lettera che a 3 di Giugno 1678 scrisse da Genoua ad vn suo confidente: "Per gratia (dice) del mio Signore Giesú Christo stó bene assai; e spero trà breue imbarcarmi con l'altri per Cadice. Giungero qui pochi giorni sono sei Padri, che s'aspettauau dalla Prouincia d'Austria, e da quella di Milano M. Caluanese non ancora sacerdote: l'altri noue da Boemia arriuarono prima di noi; e tutti partiremo nella settimana entrante. Raccomandatemi caldamente alle sacratissime piaghe di Giesú Crocefisso, alla dolcissima Signora nostra e madre amantissima Maria, e al suo gloriosissimo sposo S. Gioseppe; al mio gran protettore S. Michele Arcangelo, al nostro S. P. Ignatio, & al grand'Apostolo dell'Indie, Duce nostro, S. Francisco Sauerio: acciò mi ottengano vn vero spirito apostolico: di cui ripieno non cerchi mai altro, che *que Iesu Christi sunt*, & altrò, & altro non sospiri, che di sparger'il sangue per Christo, doppo mille sudori e stenti in aiuto dell'anime. Io per mare patisco grandi sconuolgimenti di stomaco; è potrà essere, ch'in esso io habbia a finire il numero de giorni miei, consternato da nausea, e da stenti: perciò il pericolo di morire pur troppo è manifesto, & il pensarui mi si rende, la Dio mercè, dolcissimo: hauendo occasioni di riofferirmi prontissimo sempre alla morte, & qualunque disastro; purché in me s'adempia il voler diuino. Dall'altra parte mi dice il cuore, che *non moriar*, almeno sí presto; mà che *viuam, & narrabo opera Domini*, sin'colà in quell'vltimi angoli del Mondo: onde sospirabilissimo mi si rende l'arriuar a faticar vn giorno in quell'Isole, per me fortunatissime, alle quali la Santa obe-*

¹ Ed. note: This request, or "indipete", is to be found in ARSI Ital. 173, fol. 96.

dienza m'inuia; e doppo mille sudori a pró dell'anime morir finalmente per Christo, sospeso a vn patibolo: mà *maior est hæc gratia, quam mihi vilissimo mancipio competat.* "Così egli; & io lascio al lettore le riflessioni da farsi sopra le sue parole: ne pretendo, che contengano profetia della sua morte nell'Indie; mà cerco s'è, che se l'hauere voluto profetizzare, non doueua dit'altrimente.

Gionse poi con li compagni a Cadice, vn giorno doppo che la flotta hauena fatto vela per l'Indie: onde tutti passarón'a Seuiglia, e furono spartiti in diuersi Collegij e ministerij, mentre s'offeriua vn'altro passaggio per Messico: il nostro Teofilo fù inuiato a Salamanca, a studiare ciò che gli restaua del corso della Teologia; & egli in quella si celebre Vniuersità diede nelle difese & ati publici mestre singolari del suo ingegno & applicatione; ne minori delle sue grandi virtù, con le quali rapiua e tiraua a se gli animi tutti de domestici & esterni. E perch'Iddio accrescendogli le fatiche gli accresceua parimente le forze, poté egli in questo tempo osservare le vigilie e le Quaresime intiere, con mancanza di pesce fresco, e con la diuersità d'cibi, a quali non era auuezzo; ciòche per le sue malattie non poteua far'in Italia. Ne contento dello studio scholastico, basteuole ad impiegare tutto l'huomo, etiamdico sano è robusto, egli ne'tempi interrotti (quali non perdeua mai) si fece vna gran prouisione di dottrina morale, e delle Bolle de'Pontefici, dalle quali raccolse ottime notitie ne i suoi notamenti. E perche sul fine delli studij il Padre Tirso Gonzalez intraprese in Salamanca, e ne i contorni, le solite Missioni, il nostro Teofilo (al di cui zelo nulla più si confaceua che il ministero così Apostolico, e che s'hauuea già imparato e parlaua assai bene l'idioma Castigliano) s'applicò anche a quelle; con straordinario feruore e frutto del'anime, mercè la sua eloquenza e talento nel pergamò, e l'indefessa applicatione al confessionario.

Ritornato poi a Seuiglia e Cadice, si preparò subito all'imbarco; con allegrezza straordinario del cuore, che si faceua veder'anche nel volto, nulla paventando la nausea e sconuolgimento, che haueua già sperimentato nel Mediterraneo, è doueua nell'Oceano temersi maggiore: perciòche quantunque ciò gli cagionasse angoscie di morte, gli se rendeuà però dolci il vedere che le patiua per l'amore del Crocefisso, e che per queste pene doueua gionger'al porto dell'Indie, e quiui cooperar'alla salute di quei meschini. S'imbarcò dunque con l'altri nella naue nomata il Nazareno: mà appena datosi il segno della partenza, vn'altra naue, che s'anticipò ad alzar vela, venne sopra la naue Nazareno; e questa per farle largo, volle scostarsi a man destra, & vrtò così gagliardamente nel diamante (scoglio sott'acqua in mezzo alla bocca del porto di Cadice) che si ruppe, e si fracassò, con rischio del naufragio di quanti vi erano sopra; sinche accorrendo alcune barche riceuettero i passeggeri, e trà essi il Padre Teofilo, che confortaua tutti alla tolleranza in questo disastro; e tutto che vedesse il pericolo di rimanersi altre due anni in Spagna, ciò egli l'offeriua al Signore, adorando le sue dispositioni, e rassegnandosi nel voler Diuino. Mà il Procuratore dell'Indie, a cui forte doleua questa perdita della Missione, e dimora di quei Missionarij, adoperò ogni diligenza per fargli passar'in quel viaggio: onde doppo la mezza notte imbarcatasi di bel nuouo i Missionarij sopra vn barco longo, nauigarono a tutta fretta per arriuare la flotta, e furono riceuuti in diuerse Naui.

Il Padre Teofilo sali in quella nominata S. Giacomo, con la sola provisione del Crocefisso, e del Breuiario; perchióche l'altra tutta era rimasta nella Naue Nazareno: mà ben tosto quei della naue S. Giacomo si auuidero della fortuna, ch'haueua recata loro l'infortunio dell'altra Naue; impercióche il nostro sbalzato passeggero cominciò subito a palesar'il suo feruore.

...

Gionto in Messico il Padre Teofilo chiedette & ottenne di passar'al Nouitiato di Tepotzotlan a far il terzo anno di prouatione, mentre veniua, e si spediua la Naue delle Filippine: & in quello santo otio egli

spandeva le vele all'oratione e communicatione con Dio, & all'esercitio d'ogni virtù: poiche ritornando ad essere nouitio non tralasciaua exercitio veruno de'nouitij. Con essi faceua matina e sera l'oratione nella Capella di Casa; andaua a tutte l'occupationi domestiche, di far' il refettorio, seruit'al cuoco, lauar'i piatti, e simili...

...
...Anche dell'essere già antiano e Sacerdote, & auuezzo ad altri ministerij, ch'il conuiuere con fanciulli e nouitij: egli però se hauesse voluto affecondare alla propria inclinatione, si sarebbe tutta la vita fermato in quei exercitij; ne i quali da Superiori veniua proposto per esempio a tutti, e da questi era così venerato & amato, che tutti a gara cercauano d'hauere qualche sua sottoscrizione, ó lettera per ricordo, quando hebbe a partirsi ad Acapulco, che fù poco prima della Pasca. E con l'opportunità di tempo si santo, la trouó anche il zelo del Padre Teofilo d'effortare spesso nella Fortezza, e nelle piazze li soldati, e li paesani, a fare con miglior dispositione e frutto il precetto della Confessione e Communione Paschale: e tutti l'vdiuano con tal'affetto, che cercauan'a gara di confessarsi con lui; celebrando appresso la propria sodisfattione, la quale à che si vedeua nel frutto. Fattosi poi alla vela sperimentó in quell'Oceano australe quei patimenti, che già hauua sperimentato nel Settentrionale, & anche nel Mediterraneo; mà insieme continuó gl'esemplij di sofferenza, di piacevolezza, e di seruire, con quali si cattiuó l'affetto di Monsignor di Troia, dell'Auditore Regio, e dell'altri Vfficiali, che passauano in quella naue a Manila.

Approdarono in Guan a 13 di Giugno del 1681 & il Padre Teofilo appena sceso in terra s'applicó subito ad impararsi l'idioma mariano, per rendersi habile alle fatiche apostoliche di quei paesi: & in breue talmente se lo rese proprio, e quasi connaturale, che potè vdire le confessioni, e predicare con proprietà, & anche con eleganza, & ammiratione de paesani, e de nostri; da i quali fù perciò stimato il piú habile ad esse maestro dell'idioma a i missionarij, che fossero giunti nell'auuenire. E di ciò ne rende testimonianza lo **Specchio della Confessione assai diffuso, ordinato, & elegante, ch'egli lasciò composto nell'idioma Mariano: & anche l'hauergli ordinato i Superiori, che coll'istesso metodo traducesse la spiegatione della Dottrina Christiana, al modo del Catechismo Romano; ciòche farebbe stato d'vtile grandissimo a quei paesi, se la morte troppo presta non se l'hauesse fato lasciar'imperfetto. Sul principio exercitó i ministerij nella Residenza d'Agadgna; mà dopo, riconosciuti li suoi talenti, hebbe la soprintendenza del distretto di **Ritidyán**: nè puó facilmente dirsi, con qual zelo & applicatione egli coltiuaua quei rozzi Indiani. Ogni dispiegaua loro due volte la Dottrina Christiana; mà con tal piacevolezza, e con esemplij tanto accomodati alla loro capacità, che confessauano, ad onta della propria rozzezza, che dalla dolcezza di parole del Padre Teofilo veniuano come affatturati, ne sapeuano come resistere acciò che proponeua loro, ó intorno alla Fede, ó intorno a i costumi. Et in vero l'amore che portaua, e beneficij che faceua loro, anche nel temporale, erano basteuoli a raddolcire, & affezionarsi anche quei barbari: perciòche facendosi tutto a tutti, giorno e notte ad altro non attendeua, che a souenire alle necessità delli suoi Indiani: non sapeua mangiar vn boccone, che non lo spartisse con essi; ne tralasciaua segno, ó effetto di amore paterno e suiscerato, che non lo praticasse con esso loro.**

Mà con special tenerezza amaua i fanciulli, ad oggetto d'introdutui la Fede, e formar Christo in ciascheduno d'essi. Insegnaua loro, & in essi a i piú grandi, l'orationi, e misterij Christiani; dopo il giorno appresso gli faceua render conto della lettione precedente, nelle dimande e risposte del Catechismo, che si faceuano l'vn'altro frà loro: finche le tenesser'a mente, e sapessero prontamente render ragione. E tutto che egli nell'altre occupationi sembrasse infermiccio, qual veramente l'era, mentre piú attendeua al Catechismo e ministerij della Dottrina, tanto piú s'inuigoriua, e n'acquittaua forze maggiori; e all'ora

solamente pareua che stesse sano. Disponeua i più grandi alla Confessione e Comunione; con fargli intendere l'efficacia e frutto di questi Sacramenti, e la necessaria, e douuta preparatione: dopoi con atti feruentissimi di ringratiamento e d'amore insegnaua loro il rendimento di gratie. Non sopportaua scandali, ne peccati publici nella sua terra, quali alle sue pecorelle potessero cagionare ruina: a coloro che per fragilità fussero caduti, gl'ammoniuua paternamente, sin'all'emendatione: & a più graui delinquenti, e condannati a morte, ó qualche pena graue, per i loro delitti, otteneua dal Governatore il perdono, ó almeno che mitigasse loro le pene. Mà, con assai maggiore vigilanz procuraua, che quei neofiti non ritornassero al'antichi e brutali loro costumi: e benche perciò gli facessero minaccie, che poi ridussero ad effeto nella di lui morte, egli non tralasció diligenza veruna per impedire l'offese del Signore; anzi col suo zelo e piaceuolezza ridusse alla gregia di Christo & alla sua Residenza, molti che da quella s'erano fugiti alle montagne, per amore dell'antica libertà, nè mai con l'armi e forza era riuscito il ridurli a viuire da Christiani.

...

Altre virtù di questo seruo di Dio, e sua gloriosa morte.

Chi sentiuua così bassamente di se stesso, non è già merauiglia che trattasse com'egli trattaua il suo corpo. Mangiaua pochissimo, e solamente la mattina, hauendosi leuata la cena col pretesto della debolezza del suo stomaco: e ciò in quel paese, doue il mangiar ordinario, così grossolano & insipido, può stimarsi penitenza. Dormiuua quattro hore al più; & il remanente della notte lo spendeua nell'oratione auanti il diuin Sacramento, ouero battendosi con asprissime discipline di catenelle di ferro. E spesso veniuua chiamato per assister'a moribondi, e confortarli all'ultimo passaggio: ciò che egli faceua con talento speciale, e con singular piaceuolezza & amore, chiedendo anche a i compagni suffragij per li già trapassati. Macerua continuamente il suo debole e delicato corpo con asprissimi cilicij di setole, e tal hora di ferro a foggia di grattugie. Le sue mallattie non lo lasciarono anche nell'Indie; e quantunque al suo feruore non gl'impedissero il faticar'assai, spesso lo tratragliauano li flati, e la mancanza di respiratione, che soleua lasciarlo come in agonia, e mezzo morto: ma egli accresceua tante e tali penitenze; perche diceua, queste malattie esser patimenti forzosi, benche egli con la toleranza e rassegnatione al volere diuino li rendeua voluntarij.

Ne con minor studio attendeua alla mortificatione continua delle passioni dell'anima. Era amantissimo della santa pouertà; e già l'habbiamo veduto passare dall'Europa all'Indie col solo Crocefisso e breuiario, ad imitatione del Sauerio. Diede di ciò altri esempij nella sua vita; mà io quí mi contenteró di riferirne solamente vno. Fin dal nouitiato fece donatione irrevocabile alla Beatissima Vergine di tutte le sue opere, indulgenze, e beni spirituali, de quali già; mai potesse egli disporre. E ciò oltre al dichiarare l'affetto suo tenerissimo verso la sua dolcissima madre, per rendersi (diceua) più pouero; spogliandosi anche di quei beni, a quali non si stendeua, il voto della pouertà: e rimanendo così senza cosa propria in questa vita, giàche di tutte n'era padrona la Vergine, in virtù della donatione.

Angelo fù nella purità, come nel nome; e fin'all'ultimo spirito si mantenne in quella illibato, per atestatione del Padre Tilpe, e di altri, che trattarono con lui. E perche sapeua ciò estere dono singolare del Signore, gli lo chiedeua spesso nell'oratione, per l'intercessione della madre de'vergini; e dalla parte sua concorreua con la maceratione del suo corpo, e continua mortificatione de'sensi. Mentre per vso & istrutione de'Mariani scriueua lo Specchio della Confessione, che habbiamo detto, venendo a trattar del sesto precepto premise quest'oratione: e volle che così si mettesse nel trattato per vso & ammaestramento de

1 Ed. note: The chapter describing the humility of Fr. Teofilo is here omitted.

Lettori: “Rè de’ vergini, & amatore della santa purità Christo Giesú, vi supplico posto inginocchioni, e con tutto il cuore a voi humiliato, che douendo al presente pensare, scriuere, e leggere cose tanto brutte e così sdruciolose, vogliate confortarmi con la rugiada della vostra santa benedizione; acciò premunito del vostro aiuto posta camminare per strada si lubrica senza pericolo, e parlare di tali brutezze senza punto macchiarmi. E voi, Vergine de vergini, Madre della verginità piú illibata, Regina nostra e di tutte le squadre celesti, Maria Santissima, tre volte ammirabile, assistetemi, vi prego, col vostro Sposo, vergine anch’egli purissimo, e con l’Angioli tutti, e celesti spiriti: e douendo io scriuere, ad ossequio di tutti voi trè, e per vtilità di queste vostre Isole Mariane, cose tanto brutte, che ad ogni penna religiosa recan’ orrore: degnateui, Vergine Maria, di infondermi altre tante scintille del vostro amore purissimo, quante saranno le parole, & anche i caratteri, che di questa fatta io douerò metter’in carta. *Fiat, fiat.*” *Ciò ben fá palese la purità della sua coscienza. Mà molto piú l’hauer egli fatto con licenza de’ superiori voto di non offender mai grauemente il Signore: e quella sollecitudine, con cui ogni dí, nel Sacramento della penitenza cercaua, mentre haueua commodità di Sacerdote, di nettare l’anima da i piú leggieri difetti.*

L’vbbidenza sua era a proportione della sua humiltà: questa gli faceua disprezzare il proprio parere, e seguire l’altrui, qualunque egli fosse; quanto piú quello de’ superiori? In riguardo alli suoi acciacchi e malattie posero i Superiori nel suo arbitrio l’andarsene, se volesse, a Manila; doue haurebbe maggior assistenza di regali e di medicine: mà egli, doppo hauer ciò raccomandato al Signore in lunga oratione auanti il Ven. Sacramento, rese a superiori moltissimi ringraziamenti per questa paterna carità; mà insieme rinunziando alla licenza pregolli, che si contentassero di lasciarlo nelle Mariane. Et allegaua perciò, che essendosi all’ora scuerto nuouo campo alle fatiche de’ Missionarij nell’Isole di Gani, non era di douere, che egli in tanta scarsezza d’operarij, per attender’ alla salute del corpo abbandonasse la spirituale di tant’anime, ne meno l’acerescer le fatiche a i compagni. Qualitutti restarono di ciò sommamente animati & edificati. Haueua egli grande amore, e quasi attaccamento alla Missione Mariana, perche la vedeua così abbondante di patimenti, e di frutti: mà ciò non potè punto scemar in lui l’indifferenza di vero vbbidente, con cui volle sempre dipendere dal colere de Superiori. Perciò retornando da Salamanca a Madrid, per passar’a Cadice ad imbarcarsi, e condotto a visitare l’Ecc. Duchessa d’Aueiro, gran protettrice della Missione Mariana; benche quella sauia Signora, conosciuti, nel primo raggiungere, li talenti del Padre Teofilo, de quali già n’haueua notitia, e volendolo per li suoi Mariani, l’inuitasse a quella Missione (alla quale non era ancora destinato) offerendosi d’impetrargli ordine del Rè, acciò da quella non venisse mai rimosso da Superiori: il modestissimo & vbbidentissimo Padre ringraziando assai quella Signora della benigna sua esibitione, l’espose insieme di non poter’egli accettare tal gratia, come contraria all’indifferenza necessaria ne i sudditi verso i loro Superiori; e molto piú nella perfettione d’vbbidenza, che professa la Compagnia: dal che ella tanto prudente assai sen’edificò, è restò sodisfatta.

La medesima vmiltà, sicome gli faceua credersi bisognoso del tutto, così in ogni punto e per ogni cosa lo faceua recorrer’al Signore per aiuto e soccorso. Andaua di continuo alla presenza di Dio (mezzo efficacissimo per acquistarsi la perfettione) e ben spesso gli parlaua con ardenti iaculatorie. A suoi tempi ritirauasi dall’occupationi a far l’esercitij di S. Ignatio; e quiui truaua le sue delitie: mà ogni dí oltre l’oratione della mattina, vn’altra volta la sera, e quante volte poteua frà il giorno oraua in camera, e per lo piú nella Chiesa; doue nella compostezza, anche del corpo, sembraua tutto rapito in Dio, & attaccaua diuotion a chi lo vedeua; massimamente mentre si preparaua alla santa Messa, o rendeu le gratie. Con la medesima diuotione recitaua l’officio diuino, il Rosario, e l’altre sue diuotioni, sempre ginocchione, se ciò gli permetteuano le malattie. Abbiamo veduto sopra la tenerezza del suo affetto al Crocifisso & alla Ma-

donna: non pensaua ad altro, ne d'altro parlaua che di propagar la gloria della Madre e del Figlio; studiandosi nelle prediche, e nelle conuersationi priuate d'imprimer'a tutti la loro diuotione, con addurre dell'esempj accomodati alla capacità di ciascuno.

S'era in Agadgna rafreddata & interrota la Congregatione de'soldati del Presidio, per le guerre dell'anni passati, e viaggi che faceuano di continuo ad altre Isole: mà il Padre Teofilo la ristoró, mentre visse in Agadgna la governó, e la promosse a grande feruore. E trà le diuotioni della Madonna insegnó a congregati suoi quella della corona delle cinque piaghe del Redentore; esortandoli a recitarla ogni dì, per memoria continua della sua Passione. Mà doue piú egli faceua vedere le fiamme del suo affetto, e la tenerezza della sua diuotione, era nel santo Sacrificio della Messa; quiui veniua quasi alle strette con Dio, per ottenere da lui quanto volesse. Sapeua molto bene le cerimonie, & era esattissimo nell'osseruarle. Mentre hebbe cura della Residencia di Ritidyán, l'hebbe ancora, che la sua Chiesa si mantenesse con la nettezza & abbellimento conueniente alla casa di Dio: & a tal fine con pitture, e parati decenti, giàche non poteuan'esser pretiosi, la ridusse con la propria diligenza e sollecitudine a stato tale, che frà l'altre Chiese quella di S. Michele ne riportaua gran lode: alche egli tanto maggiormente s'appliuaua con gusto, vedendo che dall'abbellimento delle Chiese ne ritraheuano quei Indiani stima & amore de'Misterij diuini, e delle cose della Fede.

Nell'oratione egli via piú accendeua la carità verso Iddio; e da quella deriuaua la carità con cui amaua i suoi prossimi per l'istesso Dio. L'vna e l'altra erano nel Padre Teofilo apostoliche, e però ardentissime: ne minore la brama, ch'haueua, di dar a tutti notitia del suo amato, e dilatare per tutti modi la di lui gloria. "Se egli (dice el Padre Tilpe) hauesse goduto perfetta salute, questo campo così vasto sarebbe stato stretto assai al suo zelo e feruore: poiche per isperienza habbiamo conosciuto quei che l'habbiamo trattato, he egli non mai fatto di queste fatiche si lusingaua, considerando che le Mariane gli potessero esser'alcun di passaggio al Giappone." Vidimo sopra, con qual carità egli amaua, e con qual piaceuolezza trattaua quei Indiani meschini: hora deuo que aggiungere quella che portaua a i nostri, e suoi compagni nella coltura di quella vigna. Di cialcheduno d'essi, e delle loro fatiche n'haueua tanto maggior stima, quanto era maggior il disprezzo ch'haueua di se, e di tutto ciò uolezza, & ossequij, con quali si studiauua di seruir'a tutti. E perche Ritidyán abbonda di pescaggione, e di porci, che multiplican' assai in quei contorni, spesso mandaua a regalare del pesce, e di carne fresca quei compagni, che altroue penuriauano di tutto, massimamente nell'altre Isole. Questa sua carità si stendeua anche a i defonti; a quali souueniua con penitenze, con sacrificij, e con l'indulgenze: altre tanto procuraua, che facessero l'altri; & a tal fine distribuiua le medaglie ottenute da Sua Santità con l'indulgenze: & appesa in publico nella Chiesa la lista di quelle, in seganua a tutti li giorni & il modo di guadagnarle, & anche d'applicarle per l'anime de defonti. In somma tutte le sue opere, viaggi, e patimenti furono effetti e proua del suo amore verso de'prossimi; e questo insieme argomento irrefragabile di quello che portaua a Dio: mà di ciò ne diede anche testimonianza maggiore nella sua morte.

Perciòche volendo il Signore premiar le sue virtù, e l'opere eroiche, delle quali haueua intessuta la sua vita, nell'istessa sua Residenza di S. Michele di Ritidyán gli preparó la corona, per mano di quei barbari, a quali con sudori e stenti egli haueua cercato di procacciare la vita dell'anima. Seppe il Padre Teofilo da giouani conuittori fuggiti dal Seminario d'Agadgna la tragedia del giorno 23 di Luglio, quale essi accresceuano con la aggiunta della morte del Governatore, de' Patri, e de'soldati tutti: ciò sapuro pensó di portarsi la mattina seguente a Rota, per dare l'infausta nuoua e saluare la vita a quei Padri, che iui dimorauano; & hauuta da vn Indiano fedele la canóa, la mattina del giorno 24 di Luglio del 1684 si mise

in quella ben pertempo; mà prima di far vela volle il matinaro ritornar'a casa, non só con qual pretesto, vero, ó finto; & il Padre si remase aspettandolo nella barca. V'era vn'Indiano principale, il quale secondo le loro antiche vsanze (tutto che fosse gia Christiano) haueua data, quasi dissi in assitto, la sua figlia ad vno dell'Vrritai, per l'infame guadagno che ne ritraeua: non potè il Seruo di Dio tollerare nelle sue pecorelle somigliante vergogna; ne si fermò il suo zelo, sin che impedí lo concubinato; ne l'indiano potè resentirsi contro il Padre, per paura del Governatore; mà sin dal hora se la teneua segnata.

Trouossi costui il giorno auanti nella congiura d'Agadgna: e lieto assai per l'opportunità di cacciar vna volta li Guirraghi, e la Fede, & inseime vindicarsi del P. Teofilo, subito se ne ritornò a Retidyan; e quella sera istigò li suoi paesani, che vccidessero il lor Missionario, e si solleuassero ad esempio di quei d'Agadgna. Sul principio trouò gagliarda resistenza, non volendo quei barbari pagare cosí li beneficij riceuuti dal Seruo di Dio: onde l'empio si studiò di indurre al misfatto alcuni suoi partiali; e con l'autorità che haueua di principale, con promesse, e con minacce gli riuscì la sua rea intentione. Seppe dunque la mattina (non só se dal marinaro, o da altri) la diligenza del Seruo di Dio per portarsi all'Isola di Rota o Zarpana: per tema che no gli suggisse la preda mandò subito due dell'Vrritai (anch'essi risentiti per la medesima causa) quali gionsero alla barca prima del ritorno del marinaro. Costoro gli posero subito vna fune alla gola, e lo sospesero dall'albero della barca: vedendo però che non finiuu cosí presto tal forte di morte, tagliarono la fune, trattolo alla spiaggia lo finirono a bastonate. Ma il Seruo di Dio, mentre potè parlare, rinfacciò loro la propria sconoscenza de beneficij, che eglino in particolare haueuano riceuuti; la legge & il timor di Dio, che ciò vietaua, & hauerebbe dato loro il meritato castigo; benche per quanto toccaua a lui doueua ringratiarli del beneficio, e di tutto cuore chiedeu a Signore, che concedesse lor' il perdono: con queste parole, e tra tali patimenti rese a Dio il suo fortunato spirito. Il corpo fù subito spogliato da barbari, e lasciato tutto quel dí sù l'arena: il giorno appresso lo gittarono con vn sasso al mare. E benche di cio non s'è presa sin ora informatione giuridica, s'hà non dimeno come certo, per relatione d'alcuni, che all'ora si trouarono a Ritidian.

Translation of the above text.

Brief notice of the life of the Ven. Fr. Teofilo de Angelis.

The Ven. Father Teofilo d'Angelis was born in a very well regarded family in Tuscany; and his education in letters and virtue was adequate, considering the quality of his parents. After having studied Rhetorics and Philosophy, he joined the Society in Naples on 7 November 1673 at the age of 22 and already a sub-deacon; with such a detachment and fervor, which is very evident; when, by order of the superiors, he wrote the following with his own hand: "My vocation (says he) comes from my having heard the preaching of two missionary Fathers of the Society. I used to recite every day seven Our Fathers and Hail Marys in honor of the 7 joys of the Blessed Virgin Mary and to abstain from meat every Wednesday, also in her honor. I have since grown in my devotion toward this Blessed Virgin by reciting every day, either the Rosary, that of the Mass, or else by attending the Blessed Sacraments, and have masses said in her honor, one year after I consecrated myself with the vow of chastity, on the day of her very glorious Assumption. I applied to the Society in particular, on account of my desire to propagate the Gospel, and procure the glory of God with every effort; hoping to see the holy Cross raised by everyone, and once to underwrite the Holy Faith with my own

blood. I determined that there was no difficulty in carrying out my plan, other than having to persuade my parents. However, I overcame this difficulty by recommending my cause to the Blessed Virgin, in whose help I firmly trusted. Therefore, I discussed my vocation with a Father of the Society, who was my teacher and also my confessor. He, in turn, with my agreement, discussed it with his immediate Superior, and added that he would recommend me to the Father Provincial. However, such were the difficulties on the part of my parents, opposed to my admittance, that the Provincial decided that my vocation could not be attained in the Roman Province. But, in spite of the foreseen difficulties, I decided that they were not enough to make me keep my vocation secret, so that this first refusal did not have the force to make me desist from the undertaking. To the contrary, instead of bringing me sadness, it made me conceive an internal happiness, based upon the hope to obtain admittance more quietly, in parts more remote from my acquaintances. Such was the trust that I had in that Seat of wisdom, which was taking care of pleading on my behalf in this case. I took it to be necessary (upon the advice of my Teacher and Confessor) to notify the Father General of my intention; in a benign rescript, he suggested to me other Provinces, among which he mentioned that of Naples; however, the Father General wished that my departure be secret. He added that no impediment be made to my admittance, so that there would be no problems after my admittance, since I was free to act in this matter, in accordance with every human, and divine, law. Therefore, I left with every precaution, without telling anyone, not even my dearest ones, because they could have been my worst enemies in this matter. Now, I feel so motivated (through the grace of the Lord) to respond, and to acquire perfection, which, though my efforts be very weak, I declare that I am completely unable to express it." Such was his private life, but, he will himself have more to say about it later on when we will talk about his humility.

During his novitiate, though he was advancing like his companion novices in age and in knowledge, he was advancing just as steadily in devotion and virtue, so that the closer they dealt with him, and had the commission of educating him inside and outside, the more it could be heard that among everyone he was, undoubtedly, the most exemplary, and fervent. This fervor, which he conceived as a goal from the beginning, never left him, nor diminished in him; rather, it went on increasing. And this, for one who knows the perfection of such a novitiate, should suffice as a eulogy. He had a special talent in talking about God and the Virgin; hence, he animated everyone with fervor during the usual recreations, leaving no-one untouched. He was always an enemy of leisure, and was always looking for work. That is why, when he was competing with others, he wished to work more than everyone, in order to reduce the labor of his companions. Whenever he received an order from the Superiors, he obeyed not only with speed, but with joy, and with a jovial face. Before proceeding with the things ordered, he would cast his eyes toward heaven, and from his facial expressions, one could see that he was doing very fervent acts toward God, whom he wished to please in everything, and whom he respected, as speaking through the superior. "I (says one of his companion novices at the time that they lived in the Society), have not seen obedience

more devoted than his; and when I want to imagine an obedient person, such as our Father St. Ignatius wants us to do, I place before my eyes Fr. Teofilo.”

He bore a very tender affection for the Redeemer, specially for his Passion; and from the time he was a civilian, he attended in Sienna the Sodality called “of the Nail”, which is the best one in that City. “O how many efforts (says he) I made in order to be part of it!” From this came upon him that insatiable thirst for mortification and disdain, to imitate his Lord. He used to dress himself with a torn and disdainful cassock, and similar things in public; his appearance was so submissive and humble that it touched whomever looked at him. He often repeated that saying of St. [Francis] Xavier and of St. Ignatius: “Vince te ipsum.”¹ This, he would say, is to the way to perfection, and there is no better luck in this life than to suffer for Christ. In sickness, which he suffered very often, of phthisis with coughing of blood, and a great difficulty in breathing, he was always very resigned to the divine will. He complained only of not being useful for anything; rather, of being a burden on the Order. And since the spasms which deprived him of his senses, and almost of life, he used to say to his companions: “O my brothers, you see me so devoid of strength; perhaps, one day you will see me leave for the Indies, and you will feel afterwards that Father Teofilo was killed for Christ.” Not content with the sufferings of the illnesses, he added many others: those of the hair shirt, disciplines, and public mortifications. However, if he was more severe and insensible toward himself, he would show himself more loving toward others. Once during a pilgrimage, one of his companions took ill; so that he would not sleep on the ground, like the others, that night he went about the whole village in search of a mattress. At another time, which was in the Professors’ House, he was in charge of his companions; one of them burst in anger against him. He, however, tried his best to arrange it with good-will. Going back then to the Novitiate, and having to report the incident to the Superior, he declared himself to have been the offender, wishing to be first to accuse himself; our Teofilo did not get much pleasure out of that, because thus he diverted upon himself the punishment of his companion.

Once his novitiate was over, he studied Theology for two years in the College of Naples. In spite of being bothered by illnesses, at the time that he remained there, he managed to apply his genius so much, that he graduated, with honor and with above average praise. Not content with the labor of his studies, and the suffering from his illnesses, so painful, he took upon himself the burden of working as a volunteer in hospitals. He did this with so much charity that more than once he deprived himself of the blanket from his own bed, so that his foreign brothers would not be without. But, as at the end of the novitiate, and also at the end of the secular life (as we have seen) no-one more than he cared that his passage to the Indies, and the conversion of the heathens, would happen in accordance with the letter of the Father General, and that it would be efficient enough to finally get him the desired licence, as long as his attacks from the illnesses did not make him unfit for such a passage; nor even if the Father General had addressed

1 Ed. note: Latin phrase meaning: “Conquer thyself.”

it to his immediate Superior. True it was, that upon learning of such a licence, the whole Province believed that its execution would be impossible; rather, that it was almost like defying God to hope that a subject, so weakened and attacked by a rather long and tiring journey; however, later on, after thinking about his reasons, everyone will recognize, that he had to carry out the licence: to see himself with the calling, that God wanted him for the Indies, was not the first time that He would use a weak instrument for great things, so that everything had to be attributed to Him. Therefore, the alleged obstacle ceased, and that sustained him.

Father Teofilo then left for Rome, and went to the feet of His Holiness to obtain a quantity of indulgences and useful privileges sought on behalf of the Indies, and often his visit to the holy places there, and a trip to the Shrine of Loreto, where he ratified his vows to the Virgin in her own House, he went on to Genoa, to embark with the others for Cadiz. And so that it can be seen, that God wanted him and guided him to the Indies, I will transcribe some sentences from the letter, which he wrote from Genoa, on 3 June 1678, to one of his trusted friends.

[Letter of Fr. d'Angelis, dated Genoa 3 June 1678]

“Through the grace of my Lord Jesus Christ (says he), I am very well, and I hope soon to embark with others for Cadiz. In a few days, I will join six Fathers, who are expected from the Province of Austria, and, from that of Milan, M. Calvanese, who is not yet a priest. Nine others from the Province of Bohemia arrived ahead of us; and all of us will leave next week. Please recommend me warmly to the most holy sorrows of Jesus Crucified, to the most sweet and loving Mary, our Lady and mother, and to her most glorious husband, St. Joseph, to my great protector, the Archangel St. Michael, to our Father St. Ignatius, and to the great Apostle of the Indies, our Guide, St. Francis Xavier: in order for me to obtain a truly apostolic spirit, with which I hope to be filled with nothing other than the one that animated Jesus Christ, I wish nothing else than to shed my blood for Christ, after a thousand sweats and privations to help the souls. At sea, I suffer greatly from stomach upsets; it could be that I am to finish my days in this, consternated with nausea, and from the privations, so that the risk of dying from the excess is obvious, and just to think of it makes me very happy, thank God; having the opportunity to re-offer myself, most ready as always to die, and in whatever disaster, so long as God's will is achieved in me. On the other hand, my heart says “do not die”, at least not so soon, but “live to tell the marvels of the Lord”, yet unknown in the faraway corners of the World. Therefore, it is very desirable for me to get to work one day in those Islands, so fortunate for me, to which holy obedience sends me. Then, after a thousand sweats for the souls, to finally die for Christ, hanging from a gibbet. However, *maior est hæ gratia, quam mihi vilissimo mancipio competat.*”¹ Such are his words, and I leave it to the reader to reflect upon his words. I do not pretend that they

1 Ed. note: Latin phrase meaning: “His grace is greater than would correspond to me, the most vile among his slaves.”

should be taken as a prophecy of his death in the Indies, but surely, had he wished to make such a prophecy, he could not have done it better.

He then arrived at Cadiz with his companions, one day after the fleet had sailed for the Indies. So, they all went to Seville, and were distributed among various Colleges and ministries, until another passage to Mexico became available. Our Teofilo was invited to go to Salamanca, to study what remained of the course of Theology. In the famous University there, he gave his defence and publicly demonstrated his genius and application, not to mention the great virtue, with which he captivated and drew to himself the souls of everyone inside and outside of the residence. Because God was increasing his labors as well as his strength, he was able at that time to observe the vigils and the whole Lent, with the lack of fresh fish, and with the diversity of foods, which he was not used to, something which he could not do in Italy, on account of his illnesses. Not content with scholastic study, he was satisfied with the use of the whole man, yet healthy and robust, he, in the intervening time (which he never wasted) made for himself a great provision of moral doctrine, and of Papal Bulls, which he collected by transcribing them with his own hand. Because at the end of his studies Father Tirso Gonzalez undertook in Salamanca and in its vicinity, to carry out missions, our Teofilo (to whose zeal nothing was more appropriate than a ministry so apostolic, and who had already learned how to speak Spanish well enough) applied himself to the work, with extraordinary fervor and fruit of the souls, thanks to his eloquence and talent in the [professor's] chair, and an untiring application in the confessional.

After he returned to Seville and Cadiz, he prepared himself for boarding, with an extraordinary joy in his heart, that was seen in his face, not fearing the nausea and upset that he had already experienced in the Mediterranean, and had to fear would be greater in the Ocean. That is why, though that made him feel a deadly anguish, he was nevertheless pleased to see that he was suffering that for the love of the Crucified One, and that such a pain would take him to the door of the Indies, and where he would collaborate to the salvation of the meek. Therefore, he embarked with the others aboard the ship named **Nazareno**. However, no sooner had the signal of departure been given, that another ship, that had raised its sails in advance, headed for the ship Nazareno and, in order to avoid a collision with it, steered to starboard, and hit so vigorously on the Diamante (an underwater shoal in the middle of the mouth of the port of Cadiz) that it broke up, at the risk of shipwreck for all those aboard, except that some launch came up to pick up the passengers, and among them Father Teofilo who was comforting everyone to tolerance in that disaster, in the face of running the risk of remaining in Spain for two more years; that, he offered to the Lord, worshipping His decisions, and resigning himself to the Divine will. However, the Procurator of the Indies, who was very sorry for this loss of the Mission, and delay for the Missionaries, used every means at his disposal to make him go in that voyage; hence, in the middle of the night,

the Missionaries once more boarded a long boat and they sailed as fast as they could to catch up with the fleet, and they were received aboard various ships.¹

Father Teofilo climbed aboard the one named **Santiago**, supplied with only a Crucifix and a Breviary, since everything else had remained aboard the ship Nazareno. However, for those aboard the ship Santiago it was better to have this good luck than the bad luck that the other ship had brought them, inasmuch as our sick passenger began to demonstrate his fervor at once.

...

Upon arrival at Mexico, Father Teofilo asked for and got permission to go to the Novitiate of Tepotztlan to do his third year of probation, while awaiting the arrival and the despatch of the Philippine galleon. During that holy leisure, he spent it well in prayers and contact with God, and in the exercise of every virtue, given that upon becoming a novice once more, he did not omit any of the exercises for novices. He would join them for prayers morning and evening in the Chapel of the House. He joined in the domestic duties, such as setting up the tables in the refectory, helping the cook, washing dishes, etc.

...

Although he was already older and a priest, and used to other ministries, he lived with the boys and novices; however, if he had wished to follow his own inclination, he might have spent his whole life with those exercises. In this, the Superior was proposing him as an example to everyone, and he was so venerated and loved by them that everyone vied with the others to get a sample of his handwriting, or a letter, as a souvenir, when he was about to leave for Acapulco, which took place a little before Easter. And on the occasion of so saintly a person, the zeal of Father Teofilo was often exercised in the fortress there, and in the public places, with the soldiers, and the country folk, the better to prepare them for the obligatory Easter confession and communion; everyone listened to him with such affection that they vied with one another to confess themselves with him. He next celebrated his own obligation, given that the fruit was owed to that. Having set sail, he experienced in the South Sea the sufferings that he had already experienced in the North Sea, and also in the Mediterranean; however, he continued to show together examples of suffering, of good-will, and of fervor, with which he caught the affection of the Bishop of Troya [rather Sinopolis], the member of the Royal Audiencia, and other officials who were going to Manila aboard that ship.

They arrived at Guan on 13 June 1681, and Father Teofilo had hardly stepped ashore that he immediately applied himself to learn the Mariano language, in order to make himself able for the apostolic labors in that country, and soon he spoke it as his own, and almost naturally, so that he was able to hear confessions, and to preach with assuredness, and also with elegance, to the wonder of the local peoples and our own people; hence, he was esteemed able enough to teach the language to the missionaries

1 Ed. note: Some of the missionaries, e.g. Fr. Kino, were unable to find alternate accommodations in any other ship in the fleet.

who had arrived together with him. A good proof of this is the **Mirror of the Confession**, which is composed in the Mariano language, well organized and elegantly worded. In addition, he was ordered by the Superior to use the same method to translate the explanation of the Christian Doctrine, according to the Roman Catechism; it would have been of very great utility in that country, if death had not come so soon that it was left unfinished. At the beginning, he exercised his ministry at the residence of Agadña, but later one, his talents being recognized, he was given the supervision of the district of **Ritidian**. One cannot easily say, with what zeal and application he cultivated those rough Indians. To everyone he explained the Christian Doctrine twice, but with such willingness, and with examples so appropriate to their capacity, that they confessed, in spite of their own roughness, that the very sweetness of the words used by Father Teofilo were captivating them, they did not know how to resist what he was proposing to them, either concerning the Faith, or concerning their customs. Indeed, the love he had for them and the favors he did to them, also in material things, were sufficient to soften them up, and make those barbarians love him as well. That is why he made himself available to everyone, day and night, not caring for anything other than supplying the need of his Indians. He did not know how to eat a mouthful, without sharing it with them. There was no sign, or effect of paternal and deep love, that he did not practice upon them.

However, he loved children with special tenderness, for the purpose of introducing the Faith and forming Christ in everyone of them. He would teach them, the older ones, the Christian prayers and mysteries; then the next day, he would make them report on the preceding lesson, the questions and answers of the Catechism that they were making to one another, until they knew it by heart, and knew how to respond quickly. And everything that he, among other occupations, seemed sickly, which was indeed so, well, the more he took care of Catechism and the ministries of the Doctrine, the more he gained vigor and acquired more strength; only then did he appear healthy himself. He would prepare the older ones for Confession and Communion, making them understand the efficacy and the fruit of those Sacraments and the necessity of preparing for them; then, with very fervent acts of thanksgiving and love, he showed them how to say thanks. He did not tolerate scandals, nor the public sins of their land, which could cause ruin to his flock, to such an extent that, should one fall back, out of weakness, he would admonish him in a fatherly manner, without [some] amendment. For more serious crimes, and those condemned to death, or whatever serious punishments, for their crimes, he would either obtain the pardon of the Governor, or at least a reduction in the punishment. However, by exerting enough vigilance, he tried to prevent the neophytes from going back to their old and brutal customs, in spite of the threats he received for that, even death threats, and he did not omit any effort to prevent the offence to the Lord. Thus, with his zeal and goodwill he reduced to the flock of Christ and to

his Residency, many of those who had fled to the bush, for the sake of their freedom, succeeding where the army and force had not, in reducing them to live like Christians.

...

The other virtues of the servant of God, and his glorious death.

He felt so lowly about himself, that it was no wonder already how he treated his own body. He ate very little, and only in the morning, having skipped supper under the pretext of weakness of stomach. This he did in a country where the ordinary food is so coarse and tasteless, and can be considered a penance. He slept at most four hours, and the rest of the night he spent in prayers before the Blessed Sacrament. He would beat himself with the very sharp whip made up of a small iron chain. He was often called to assist the dying, and to comfort them at the final passage; this he did with special talent, and with particular goodwill and love, in addition to asking his companions to offer sacrifices for those already deceased. He continually mortified his weak and delicate body with the very rough cilice [hair shirt] of [pig] hair, and sometimes of scraper-like iron. His illness did not leave him either in the Indies: whenever his fervor would not prevent him from getting tired enough, the spasms often bothered him, and the lack of breathing, which used to leave him as if in agony, and half dead; however, he increased his penance so much this way, because he said that this illness was compulsory suffering, although he would turn them into voluntary suffering simply by tolerating it and being resigned to the divine will.

He took care of mortifying the passions of his nature with no less study. He was very fond of holy **poverty**. Already we have seen him pass from Europe to the Indies with only a Crucifix and a breviary, at the imitation of [St. Francis] Xavier. He gave another example of that in his life, but I will content myself with referring to only one. At the end of his novitiate, he made the irrevocable donation to the Blessed Virgin of all of his works, indulgences, and spiritual property, which he had already, never being able to dispose of them. This was beyond the declaration of his very tender affection toward his very sweet mother, in order to make himself (as he said) poorer. He also got rid of those possessions not covered by the vow of poverty, so that he was left without anything personal in this life, since the Virgin was the owner of it all, by virtue of his donation.

In **chastity**, he was an angel, literally. Until the end he maintained himself in that pure [state], according to the assertion of Father Tilpe, and others, who dealt with him.² Because he knew this to be a particular gift from the Lord, he would ask for it often in prayer, through the intercession of the mother of virgins. For his part, he would correspond by mortifying his body, and continuously mortifying his senses. Whereas for the use and instruction of the Marianos, he wrote the **Mirror of the Confession**, as we have said, coming to treat of the sixth precept, which touches upon prayer, he wanted

1 Ed. note: The chapter describing the humility of Fr. Teofilo is here omitted.

2 Ed. note: Fr. Tilpe had travelled with him from Genoa, Italy, to Cadiz, and then all the way to the Marianas.

to show how it is done for the use and guidance of the readers thus: “King of virgins, and lover of holy chastity, Christ Jesus, I humly beg you on my knees, and with all my heart, since I now have to think, write, and read things so tough and thus slippery, to please comfort me with the dew of your holy blessing, so that, provided with your holy help, I may walk along the slippery paths without danger, and talk of such rough things without soiling myself. And you, Virgin of virgins, Mother of the purest virginity, our Queen and that of the whole heavenly squadron, most Holy Mary three times admirable, help me, I beg of you, with your Spouse, also a very pure virgin, and with all the Angels, and heavenly spirits. Since I have to write, in respect of all three of you, and for the use of these, your Mariana Islands, things so tough, that it caused horror for every religious pen, deign, Virgin Mary, to infuse me with so many sparks from your purest love, so that my words will be many, and also the characters, that I will have to use concerning these facts in a letter. Amen, amen.”¹ This makes the purity of his conscience very evident. However, much more so, by his having done it with permission from the superiors the vow of never offending the Lord seriously; that concern of his, every day, to receive the Sacrament of penance, whenever there was a priest handy, of cleaning his soul from the lightest faults.

His **obedience** was in line with his humility, which made him disdain his own opinion, and to follow others, in whatever he did, the more so when the superiors were involved. With respect to his attacks and illnesses, the Superiors gave him the possibility of going, if he wished, to Manila, where he would receive greater attention of comfort and medicine, but he, after having consulted the matter with the Lord in a long prayer before the Blessed Sacrament, gave his Superiors many thanks for their fatherly charity, but added that he refused the permission being offered, and that he would be content to apply it to the Marianas. The reason for this, he alleged, was that a new field for the labor of the Missionaries has just then been opened up in the **Gani Islands**, and that he should not, given the scarcity of workers, in order to attend to the health of the body abandon that of so many souls, not at the cost of increasing the labor of his companions. Every one of them was completely affected and edified by this. He had great love, and almost an attachment to the Mariana Mission, because he saw in it an abundant source of sufferings, and of fruits, but that could not at all lessen in him the indifference of the true obedience, with which he always wanted to depend upon the wishes of the Superiors. For instance, when returning from Salamanca to Madrid, in order to go on to Cadiz and board ship, he was presented to Her Excellency the Duchess of Aveiro, the great protectress of the Mariana Mission. Although this wise lady, recognized, in the first interview the talents of Father Teofilo, whom she did not yet know, and wanting him for her Marianas, invited him to [join] that Mission (to which he was not yet assigned) offering to obtain for him the order from the King, so that there would be no

1 Ed. note: If the original of this prayer was in Chamorro, Fr. Bouwens or Fr. Tilpe, must have translated it into Latin, then Fr. Ortiz into Italian for his book, and I into English; hence, the flavor of the original is gone from it.

objection from the Superiors. The very modest and obedient Father, thanking that Lady enough for her kind offer, explained to her that he could not accept such a favor, as it was contrary to the indifference necessary in subjects toward their Superiors, the more so, in the perfection of obedience that the Society professes. She, who was so prudent, was rather edified by this, and remained satisfied.

With the same humility, he was making it appear as if he lacked in everything, so that in every point and for everything he did he would have recourse to the Lord for help and succor. He continuously lived in the presence of God (a very efficient means of acquiring perfection) and very often spoke [to Him] with warm expressions. At times, he would retire from his occupations to do the exercises of St. Ignatius, in which he relished, but every other day the prayer in the morning, another time at night, and as many times as he could during the day he prayed in private, and more often in the church, where, from his composure, as well as posture, he seemed completely enraptured in God, and brought devotion in one who saw him, the more so when he was preparing himself to say the holy Mass, or giving thanks. With the same devotion he recited the divine office, the Rosary, and his other devotions, always kneeling, when his illnesses allowed him to do so. We have seen above the tenderness of his affection for the Crucifix and the Madonna; he did not think, or speak, of anything other than propagating the glory of the Mother and Child. He would endeavor when preaching, and in private conversations, to impress in everyone a devotion toward them, by giving examples adjusted to the capacity of everyone of them.

It was in Agaña that the Sodality of the soldiers of the Garrison had cooled and been interrupted, on account of the wars of the past years, and the voyages they continually made to other islands, but Father Teofilo restored it; while he lived in Agaña, he supervised it and promoted it to great fervor. Besides the devotions to the Madonna he taught to his sodality that devotion to the five wounds of the Redeemer; he would exhort them to recite it every day, to be continuously reminded of His passion. However, where he showed the flame of his affection the most, and the tenderness of his devotion, was at the holy Sacrifice of the Mass; here, he seemed to deal directly with God, to obtain from Him whatever he wished. He knew the rites very well, and was very particular in his observance of them. While he was in charge of the Residence of **Ritidian**, he also made sure that his church was maintained as clean and as beautiful as possible as the house of God, and to that effect [he decorated it] with paintings and decent adornments; those that were not already precious, he made them with his own diligence and care so precious that the other churches did not rate as much praise as that of St. Michael. He applied himself with so much pleasure at this [task], given that the adornment of churches brought with it esteem and love of the divine mysteries, and the things of the Faith, on the part of the Indians.

In prayers, he increased his charity toward God, hence he derived the charity with which he loved his neighbors through this God. Both types of charity in Father Teofilo were apostolic, and very intense; not less so was the lively desire that he had, of letting everyone know of His love, and of propagating His glory by every means. "If he

had enjoyed perfect health (says Father Tilpe), in such a vast field his zeal and fervor would have been rather constrained, since through experience we have learned, those of us who have known him, that he was never satisfied with the labor, considering that the Marianas might have led him to travel as far as Japan." We see from the above, with what charity he loved, and with what goodwill he treated those mean Indians. Now I must add that which he bore toward our own people, and his companions in the care of that vineyard. Of any one of them, and of their labor he had as much esteem as he had disdain for his own efforts, and of all this goodwill, and praises, with which he endeavored to serve all of them. Because Ritidian abounded with fish, and pigs, which multiplied rather well in that neighborhood, he often sent gifts of fish, and of fresh meat to the companions, who elsewhere lacked everything, specially in the other Islands. This charity of his also extended to the deceased, whom he remembered with penance, with sacrifices, and with indulgences. He tried to do for others, what the others should do; therefore, he distributed the medals obtained from His Holiness with indulgences, and hardly had he made public in the church the list of them, revealing all the days and manner of earning them, and also how to apply them to the souls of the deceased. In summary, all his [good] works, voyages, and sufferings were as a result and a proof of his love for his neighbors, and this is, in turn, an irrefutable argument of that love he bore for God, but he was also to give a greater proof of that by his death.

Given that the Lord wished to reward his virtues, and his heroic works, with which he had woven his life, in the said Residence of St. Michael of Ritidian, he prepared the crown, through the hand of those barbarians, for whom with sweat and privations he had tried to procure the life of the soul. Father Teofilo learned from the young interns who had fled from the Seminary of Agaña the tragedy of the 23rd of July, to which they added the deaths of the Governor, of the Fathers, and all the soldiers. This being known, he thought of travelling the next morning to Rota, to give the sad news and to save the life of the Fathers who lived there. Having gotten a canoe from a faithful Indian, on the morning of **24 July 1684**, he boarded it early enough, but, before he sailed, the sailor wished to return home, I do not know under what pretext, true or contrived, and the Father remained on board the boat waiting for him. There was an Indian chief who, according to their old custom (though he was already Christian) had given, almost like an asset, his daughter to one of the *Urritao* [i.e. bachelors], for the infamous gain that was drawn from it. The Servant of God could not tolerate such shameful acts among his flock; neither did his zeal stop, until he had stopped the concubinage, nor could the Indian [openly] resent the Father, for fear of the Governor; however, the time for revenge had arrived.

He had been present the previous day during the conspiracy of Agaña, and rather glad of the opportunity to kill at once the *Guirrago* [i.e. foreigners], and the Faith, and at the same time take revenge against Fr. Teofilo, he immediately returned to Ritidian, and that night he instigated his own countrymen to kill their own Missionary, and to rise up like those of Agaña. At the beginning, he found valiant resistance, these barbarians not willing to pay that price for the benefits received from the Servant of God.

Thereafter, the impious man did his best to incite those of his district to do the misdeed, and with the authority which he had as a chief, with promises, and with threats he succeeded in his criminal intention. He then learned in the morning (I do not know if it was from the sailor, or some others) the intent of the Servant of God to travel to the Island of Rota or Zarpana. Fearing that the prey might slip(?) away, he immediately ordered two of the *Urritao* (who were also resentful in the same cause) to go to the boat before the return of the sailor. They immediately placed a rope around his neck, and they hanged him from the mast of the boat. Seeing, however, that such treatment did not make him die quickly enough, they cut the rope, dragged him to the beach and finished him off by beating him with sticks, as he reproached their own ungratefulness for the benefits that they had received, in particular, the law and the fear of God, which forbids this, and he had given them the punishment deserved, although, as far as he was concerned, he thanked the Lord to grant them pardon. With these words, and after such sufferings he gave up his fortunate soul to God. His body was immediately undressed by the barbarians, and left on the sand for the rest of that day. The next day, they threw it into the sea with a stone [attached to it]. Although this has not been ascertained so far by a legal inquiry, it is no less taken as true, through the reports given by some people who were then present at Rididian.

L7. Announcing the death of Fr. Solorzano to the Duchess of Aveiro

Source: Present location unknown; 7-page ms. offered for sale by Maggs Bros. of London in 1923 for 25 pounds (Cat. N° 442, n° 1915).

Extract in the Maggs Catalog.

On Sunday, 23rd July of last year 1684, God saw fit to compensate the labors and virtues of the Venerable Father and Martyr (for so we can style him) Manuel de Solorzano. It would need a worthier pen than mine to describe his holy and religious life, made resplendent by his heroism, but the limited scope of a letter does not permit one to dilate upon the much that could be said of so notable and apostolic a missionary, and I must therefore reduce the story to a brief relation of the facts.

Not only did men conspire to compass his death, but the fiends of hell, too, who were envious of the glory he had dedicated to God and the many souls he has saved for the Church during his term of office in these Islands. The Venerable Father Solorzano governed here for four years [1680-84], and in that time it is impossible to gauge the value of the spiritual and temporal progress of this Island of San Juan, and the neighboring Islands, and the last ones to the North, which are in the same group as Japan [sic]. To him they owe their first vision of the Gospel's Light; and, this Christian community being established, with churches erected; the inhabitants induced to live in large towns; everything running smoothly with greater happiness than this Mission had ever experienced.

[Antonio Yura, leader of the 1684 uprising]

The Devil, envious of the glory of the Lord and the salvation of so many souls (who, by means of baptism and other sacraments were on the path that leads to Heaven), incited **an Indian from the town of Apurguan, named Antonio Zura** [rather Yura] to deal him the treacherous blow, which had already been premeditated, by engineering the native rebellion in these Islands.

He communicated his plan to sixty other men, who were all sworn to secrecy. The motive was the usual one of liberty, and the revolt against Spanish dominion. Resolved, therefore, to carry out their foul intention, they appeared one Sunday at mass, and, separating into two parties, one proceeded to the Governor's residence, and finding he was not there, went out into the street in search of him, where they came upon him walking, unprotected and off his guard. They stabbed him, leaving him with 10 or 12 dagger wounds.

The others attacked the Venerable Father Manuel de Solorzano, who had just finished an earnest sermon, and, inflicting many wounds upon him with cutlasses and sabres, thus killed him—his soul rising to Heaven, there to rejoice in its Martyr's crown, precious gift with which the Almighty recompensed his virtuous and heroic life.

[Short biography of Fr. Solorzano]

The Venerable Father Solorzano was a native of the town of Fregenal [in Andalusia], the son of illustrious parents. He received his earliest training at our Schools, where he learned to appreciate the perfection of our institution, the virtue of our Order, and in particular, that of the Venerable Father Diego Serrano, one of the greatest notabilities in Holy Orders. To this illustrious man did Father Manuel confide his intention of joining the Society, and, realizing it to be a Godly vocation, he obtained admission, much to the joy of our beloved Martyr, but to his parents' grief—who, although greatly appreciating the worth of our Company, did their utmost to dissuade their son from joining, for private reasons.

Knowing this, the Venerable Father kept his secret until the moment arrived for the execution of his holy plans. His father, notified that he was now leaving, to begin the novitiate at Seville, and that he would be passing by his house, went out to the door to see him pass, and recognizing his son's vocation to have been one of divinity, he approached him, with tears in his eyes, and gave him his blessing, unable to utter even a few broken words of farewell to so beloved a son, in whom he had centred his worldly hopes.

Etc.

Relación de lo sucedido en Mariana el año pasado de 1684 hasta principios de mayo de 1685.

En una doce quinta WR del territorio estado, y levantamiento general de las Islas Marianas. Entró la luz del Evangelio en ellas el año de 1668, por medio del V. P. Fr. Sebastián de la Cruz, y Fr. Diego Luis de San Vitores, P. y Fundador de esta misión apostólica. Hicieron un gran número de convertidos, sin discurrir los ánimos de los Padres, y de los Indios, concuriendo de algunas partes de China y excelentes calidades, que facilitaron en parte el progreso, y conversione una singular grande, de la gente que no reconocía culto de los falsos Dioses, de tanto que otras naciones en sus bárbaros abusos, ni menor efecto con respecto a esta gente, con la combia que, ni otras detestables vicios ignorantes. Et de las cosas necesarias de la vida, y de la salud de la gente, se ha formado de los de su naturaleza tan dócil y susceptible. Preguntado por una parte el V. P. Fr. Diego Luis de San Vitores de semejantes calidades, con apropiado premio de la verdad de la verdad, y lo mismo por otra, de que tanto, y los otros efectos de la gente se halla en la tierra de la ignorancia, y de tanto que la empresa del Sr. D. Juan de la Cruz, y de las gentes, totalmente ignorantes de la noticia de la verdad. No obstante que acompañan el confidencioso, que pasando todos los años por entre estas islas los navios de las Filipinas, y de las Indias Occidentales, no abiese pensado en ellas un rayo de aquel, y de que se ha que el que que illuminat omnem hominem venientem in hunc mundum que comprende fundam. y sus hijos, me acuerdo, con respecto al V. P. Fr. Sebastián de la Cruz y de la empresa. Llegó a ellas el año de 1684 donde se halla con mucho apuro de la vida, y con nombramiento de su alma, con institución de la primera

Documents 1685M

Jesuit annual report for 1684-1685, by Fr. Gerard Bouwens, dated 30/31 May 1685

Sources: ARSI Phil. 13, fol. 276-292; also in AGI Fil. 12-7/8?; also a 12-page ms. in RAH; also in TNL Manila, Rare Books Division (See Medina's inventory, item #592); copy in Colección Pastells, Fil. 18, fol. 31v et seq.

Notes: This (published) report is a sanitized version of Fr. Bouwens' letter to Fr. García (Doc. 1685K). The original of this version was in Latin, but a Spanish version was also made and sent to the Governor of the Philippines; it is the latter version that was edited by Fr. Morales. Copies of the printed pamphlet are in: 1) ARSI Phil. 13, fol. 280-292; 2) RAH 9/3779; and 3) AHN Clero Jesuitas, Legajo 93, n° 2. This report was partly translated into English by Fr. Repetti, and published in the Guam Recorder, June & July 1941. It was fully translated and published by Domingo Abella in his "Vignettes", the text of which was reprinted in the Pacific Profile, March-June 1964. The illustrations reproduced within the text below are taken from the latter magazine.

Domingo Abella obtained his manuscript, transcribed here, from a Madrid book dealer in 1960. When I was in Manila in 1983 and did some research in the Abella Collection inside the PSIC, this manuscript could no longer be found. His widow did not know anything about it; neither did the past caretaker of the Philippine National Archives. Abella's copy could now be the same as that located in TNL.

An account of what that took place in the Marianas during the past year of 1684 up to 1 May 1685

Herein is reported the deplorable situation in which these Mariana islands are found and the general uprising which took place there. The light of the Gospel shone upon them in the year 1668 through the Reverend Father and glorious martyr, Diego Luis de San Vitores, the father and founder of this apostolic mission. This noble gentleman found these islanders spiritually-prepared to receive the Catholic faith, endowed with

(Facing page) **First page of the version of this report edited by Fr. Luis de Morales.** (From Domingo Abella's Vignettes of Philippines-Marianas Colonial History, Manila, 1962, p. 8).

many excellent qualities which facilitated their conversion. It is noteworthy that they are a people who have never indulged in the worship of any false god of the many deities which other peoples have adored; neither are these natives corrupted by drunkenness or other abominable vices common to other peoples such as those found in America and the Orient. The islanders happen to be gifted with a natural gentleness and meekness. While the Reverend Father Diego Luis de San Vitores was encouraged by such qualities befitting the reception of the Catholic faith, he, however, bewailed the fact that so many centuries had gone by during which this people had been blinded in the darkness of ignorance; he, therefore, decided (foregoing the missionary endeavor in Japan) to bring light to these natives that they might know their Creator. He was greatly moved to compassion by the realization that in the course of all these years the vessels going to the Philippines, fully loaded as they were with ministers of the Gospel, passed through these islands without leaving a glimmer concerning that Lord who, according to St. John, "*Quæ illuminat omnem hominem venientem in hunc mundum*" ["enlighteneth every man who cometh into this world."]. It is a general belief, based on miraculous events, that the Reverend Father received bountiful graces from Heaven for this lofty enterprise. He arrived in these islands in the year 1668 where he was received with great friendliness by these islanders with profit to their souls; in the first sermon that he preached he converted 1,500 of them.

Encouraged by such an auspicious beginning, the Reverend Father continued preaching the Gospel with great success until the happy end of his existence which was crowned by martyrdom. Many other gentlemen, possessing his spirit, followed the Reverend Father and worked untiringly in the vineyard of the Lord until the year 1676 when these islanders, wishing to attain freedom, staged an uprising; but failing in their purpose, they felt chastised by the havoc suffered by their persons and properties from the Spanish weapons. These wars were concluded in the year 1676, and the natives, considering that they could not prevail against the Spanish garrison, asked with apparent sincerity to receive baptism which they did (although since the beginning there had been many good Christians), embracing with much love and willingness the Catholic faith and the evangelical preaching. On the advice of the Fathers they agreed to live in assigned districts and thus be more accessible to their instructors on the things of our holy faith; with the great zeal of each minister, the light of the Gospel was spread in a miraculous manner from the year 1676 until last year of 1684, its rays embracing not only this Island of Guahan (or San Juan) but reaching up to the last island of the north. Thus, in such a satisfactory and most felicitous state as one could possibly desire was this Christian community found at the time of the death of Señor Don Antonio de Saravia, first Governor and Captain-General of the Marianas. This was a loss which was felt by all; we were to miss a gentleman endowed with so much virtue, zeal and valor; but God had remedied this loss with the coming of the sloop two months before his death.¹ Arriving in it was Don Damian de Esplana, Creole of Peru, and Don Josef de

¹ Ed. note: This sloop from Manila also brought back Fr. Xaramillo as Visitor.

Quiroga Losada, gentleman from Galicia, the former as Governor and deputy Captain-General, and the latter as Sergeant-Major of the Marianas, both gentlemen having been governors of these islands in previous years. The sloop had been despatched by the Governor of the Philippines, Don Juan de Vargas Hurtado, Knight of the Order of Santiago; with its arrival the welfare of this Christian community was greatly boosted because the Spanish garrison was reinforced with a number of soldiers, and much needed clothing was distributed among the people, in addition to such other sundries which the said sloop had brought in, from all of which these natives derived much benefit. The sloop returned to Manila, at first due south, to discover the islands lying therein which might enable this Christian community of the Marianas to expand its radius of missionary action, and which might serve as stepping stones for trade with Manila along with other significant advantages to the crown of his Majesty.

[Quiroga and the conquest of Saypan, Tinian, and the northern islands]

Upon the sloop's departure [in February 1684] the Governor dedicated all his efforts to the conquest of the Islands of Tinian, Saypan, and those lying to the north, because, although in all of them in years past the Gospel had been preached, it was time that once and for all the faith be firmly established therein and new residential centers organized, there being now sufficient number of ministers for its teaching and soldiers for the establishment of garrisons. The Governor, Don Damian de Esplana, despatched for this campaign the Sergeant-Major Don Josef de Quiroga, a gentleman in whom the great qualities of virtue and bravery were evident in equal degrees. He set off for Tinian in two boats with Fathers Pedro Comano and Mathias Cuculino together with 76 able-bodied soldiers, well-trained in the use of weapons. The Sergeant-Major arrived in Tinian and conquered it without firing a shot owing to the fear of fire-arms held by its inhabitants. From Tinian he proceeded to Saypan whose islanders, ever recalcitrant and obstinate, had refused to submit themselves to the crown of Spain and receive the mild yoke of the evangelical law. Upon approach to this island he was met by many war canoes, but he dispersed them in short order, scared out their wits by his artillery fire; having daringly landed on the shore, he faced some native warriors who strongly resisted his advance; several of their number were slain and the rest fled in terror; he then took possession of the whole island which is quite a big one, requiring its inhabitants to erect a church and a house for the Fathers, together with quarters for the military personnel of the garrison.

This undertaking having been happily concluded, the said Sergeant-Major, in compliance with orders of his Governor, despatched 29 soldiers¹ to the islands further north to require their inhabitants to submit themselves to the king of Spain and to recognize the Roman Pontiff as the supreme head of the Church. Accompanying the expedition was Father Pedro Comano, a notable missionary of these islands, one of the oldest of them. In the north they were received peacefully and without resistance by the natives;

1 Ed. note: Typographical error; the number mentioned below is 25, not 29.

thus the said Father had the opportunity to preach the law of God and to baptize many of the islanders; it was not difficult for these to receive holy baptism because Father Thomas Cardeñoso had lived among them for a period of two fruitful years at the beginning of the introduction of the faith in these islands. It was, therefore, seen that the harvest was ripe for the reception of the truths of our holy faith. But it had become necessary for Father Thomas Cardeñoso to return to this Island of Guahan by order of his superior after two years of missionary labor owing to the wars which at the time were being waged and to the fact that the Saypan islanders had killed the Reverend Father Luis de Medina.

All the northern islands so far discovered having thus been conquered, and this Christian community being in such a flourishing state, so well taken care of, filled with many and excellent Christians who could be placed as exemplars for the old Christians of Europe, a most deplorable tragedy occurred, the most painful misfortune that can ever happen, fit to be wept over by its missionaries with tears of blood, for it meant the loss in a single moment of what had been paid for with so much sweat in the course of so many years.

[Native uprising in Guahan]

The event happened in the following manner. Although, as we have already stated in the preceding paragraphs, this Christian community was known to be full of excellent Christians, it is an ordinary thing of nature that from among so many good ones there should be some bad ones, an indispensable evil in all the communities of the universe. There were in this island of Guahan (or San Juan) some bad Christians addicted to their old freedom of whom the devil made use as his instruments for the better execution of his designs. This common enemy of mankind was envious of the worship and veneration which were given to God in these islands; he was sadly dejected at the sight of the extensive progress obtained by the banner of the faith in places inhabited from the beginning of the world up to our times by a people who had not received the slightest notion about their Creator. So much fervor towards God was not to his liking; fearing that the new achievements and conversions which in the discovery of the southern islands would be reaped by His Majesty, the devil incited an Indian named **Antonio Yura of the town of Apurguan**, a soulless individual, to cause disorder in some towns on the pretext of freedom and to incite a general uprising in order to destroy this flourishing Christian community. This Indian began plotting with some of his closest associates, confiding to them the secret which with inviolable determination they kept to themselves. He likewise enlisted the towns of Ritiyan and Pago, and having contrived on treachery, they all determined to execute their plans when one-half of the forces in the garrison shall have gone out on the conquest of Saypan. Determined to carry out their resolution but fearing the discovery of the secret, they rushed its execution; thus on 23 July 1684 they came to hear Mass at the end of which some 40 armed men gathered together and awaited the return of the people to their towns unaware of their plan; they split into two groups, one-half going to the house of the Governor where

they killed the unsuspecting sentry; meeting in the street a servant of the Governor who was likewise unaware and unarmed, 4 of them attacked him,¹ inflicting upon him 9 dagger wounds, leaving him for dead; however, a Spanish aide and a Filipino trooper rushing in answer to his outcry for help, slew Antonio Yura, the initiator of the whole uprising and tragedy. Having wounded the Governor, the Indians ran to give the news to the others who had gone to the house of the Fathers, and there killed with cutlasses and Indian sabres the Reverend Father Manuel de Solorzano, who was then the [former] Mission Superior of these islands, a very exemplary person whose piety, zeal and virtues deserve great and extensive praises; also killed was Reverend [Brother] Baltazar Duvois, Flemish [sic], a man of an angelic nature. Moreover, they wounded Fathers Gerardo Bouvens, the [present] Superior of this Mission, and Diego de Zarzosa together with the Reverend [Brother] Pedro Pabón and Felipe Loón [rather Sonson], the latter a lay Brother and a Filipino by birth, 80 years of age, a very holy man, companion of the Reverend Father Diego Luis de San Vitores of whom he had nothing but words of praise for his virtues every time that he talked of him.² At this time there arrived a servant of the Governor crying out the name of Father Diego de Zarzosa that he might receive the confession of the Governor; the yelling drove the Indians away believing that soldiers from the garrison were on the way to the relief of the Fathers; this gave the chance to Father Diego de Zarzosa (although with some difficulty) to go to the house of the Governor and receive his confession. The Indians returned later to the house of the Fathers to find out if soldiers had come; they caught by surprise two soldiers whom they wounded to death. They searched stealthily all the houses of Spaniards and Filipinos married in these islands who, however, aware of their treachery, had no difficulty in driving the insurgents away. In this turmoil and confusion there happened something amazing which was a patent and evident miracle of Christ in the Sacrament of the Eucharist. Father Antonio Cereso was saying mass when he was notified of what was going on; he refused to interrupt it and continued with the ceremony until the end. At this time a soldier asked him to give him communion; having done so, the Father retired carrying the Holy Eucharist; he was halfway in the church



1 Ed. note: Error in the edition or in the translation; they attacked the Governor, not his servant.

2 Ed. note: Error made by Fr. Morales: neither Br. Pabón nor the old devotee Sonson died in 1684; they were wounded but survived.

when a group of armed men entered and, upon seeing the monstrosity, became immobile for the period which the prayer "I believe in God" lasts; they turned their backs without uttering a word leaving the good Father unharmed. Father Cereso was able to go to the garrison to administer the Sacrament to some of the wounded who were dying and to others who were not in imminent danger of death.

All the soldiers having been gathered into the garrison and weapons having been distributed for its defence, some 50 men armed with lances made their appearance on the mountain which overlooks the town of Sinahania; leading them was Don Ignacio de Hineti, Sergeant-Major for Indians in the Marianas, an excellent Christian who, for his many services, had been awarded that position by the Governor and Captain-General D. Antonio de Saravia. Upon the discovery by our sentinels of the presence of these 50 men, suspecting that they were in league with the people of the town of Apurguan, the sentinels apprised the Governor thereof that he might give the necessary orders. The Governor ordered that the enemy be challenged within firing distance. The Indians then descending from the mountains reached the church and the house of the Fathers, encircled them and gave signals to those in the garrison that they had come to defend the church and to join the defenders of the garrison against the attacks of the rebels, and to assure us of this the said Sergeant-Major Don Ignacio stepped forward and, shedding copious tears, said that he had come to apologize to the Governor and to the Fathers for the lamentable incident and to offer himself and all the people of his town to the service of both majesties.

At the garrison he was sincerely thanked for this singular show of loyalty at such a critical circumstance; and taking leave, he went to the church in order that his men might gather all the holy statues, ornaments, and jewels pertaining to the divine worship, and from Sunday, 23 July until Thursday, 27, they did nothing else but gather as many of the properties as were found in the house of the Fathers to protect them from the conflagration which did happen later; however, although they had put all their efforts along this line, they were not able to save everything, as we shall see further down. In this occasion, his men who had been students of the college for boys, displayed a conduct which was far different from that of the others. In view of the treachery of their fellow Indians, they had gone home and taking hold of their cutlasses and shields, had come to fight the rebels; their presence was so timely that had it not been for three of them the rebels might have killed one of our men. After the Fathers and the Spanish soldiers had gathered themselves in preparation for the defence of the garrison and be in readiness against the general uprising which was a necessary offshoot of these beginnings, the rebels organized themselves in their town of Apurguan, and sent messages to the other towns of the islands with a view to making the clamor for freedom a widespread one. In the encounter that ensued, an Indian of the town of Ritiyan was captured; he was one of the principal instigators of the tragic movement, who, in order to enlist all the people of Ritiyan had told the natives that the Governor, the Fathers, and the Spanish soldiers (in Guahan) had been killed; thus, he incited them to the killing of the Reverend Father Theofilo de Angelis, a remarkable person, one of the most exem-

plary missionaries whom this apostolic mission has had; the Father had intended to sail to Zarpana Island and from there to Saypan to notify the Sergeant-Major Don Josef de Quiroga about the uprising of this Island of Guahan, but the natives had shadowed and caught up with him as he was about to embark and this sacrilegious native chieftain had ordered two Indians to execute him. This was done early in the morning while the Reverend Father was preaching to them bravely holding aloft a crucifix; having consummated the act, they stripped him of his garments on the beach, and threw his naked body into the sea. There are strong foundations for the belief that this Indian had ordered him slain in rage against our holy faith, because the Reverend Father Theofilo had prevented a daughter of his from becoming a concubine. Having killed the Reverend Father Theofilo, the Indian of Ritiyan despatched a boat-load of men to the Island of Saypan to instigate its inhabitants to murder Father Agustín de Cristobal [rather Strobach] and Carlos Boranga saying that all the defenders of the Spanish garrison of this island [of Guahan] had already been killed. Such perverse men were making use of lies of this nature to facilitate the killing of the Fathers and to extinguish hereabouts the rule of foreigners; however, those of the Island of Saypan did not subscribe to the plans brought out to them, either because of their being more docile by nature and as such they were not inclined towards such a great crime, or because they were in good terms with the Fathers, as in fact they were, or maybe, and this appears to be the most probable reason, because of the fear which they had of the garrison of Saypan and of its Sergeant-Major Don Josef de Quiroga, who in former years had conquered them and had wrought upon them unforgettable distress; but this attitude did not last long, as it will be related in the course of this report. On the same day of the uprising there happened another signal providence of God which spared the lives of the other missionaries who were scattered in this island; it so happened that the Fathers had been summoned for that same Sunday to the regular annual meeting by Father Superior; thus on that day at about 11 o'clock Father Thomas Cardeñoso arrived, he who had been a companion of the Reverend Father Diego Luis de San Vitores, accompanied by people of the town of Asan; at 8 o'clock at night Fathers Basilio le Roulx and Lorenzo de Badillo [rather Bustillo] came in; on Monday 24, at about the time of prayer, Fathers Juan Tilpe and Juan de Ahumada came, conveyed by Sergeant-Major Don Ignacio de Hineti who had gone to the district of the town of Pago for this purpose. He had arrived at an opportune time with his companions, because had he been delayed for some two hours, the Fathers would have been killed, because the Indians of that district were already in conference as to whether to kill them or not.

Thus all the Fathers of this island having thus been gathered in the garrison, and the Governor having been relieved of this care, this official dedicated all his efforts to notifying the Sergeant-Major Don Josef de Quiroga of what was happening in Guahan; and considering that the effectiveness of this mission depended upon its urgency, he summoned the Fiscal of Asan on Tuesday 2 July; and commanded him to sail for Saypan at that very moment, instructing him not to touch at the Island of Zarpana nor that of Tinian on his way-out; he gave him a letter for the Sergeant-Major Don Josef

de Quiroga wherein he ordered the latter to evacuate Saypan right away and abandon the conquest of the islands of the north, to embark all the soldiers on the two boats, bound for Guahan, so that with the forces thus gathered the general uprising might be crushed and the malefactors punished. The Fiscal of Asan sailed for Saypan and on the following day Father Gerard Bouvens, the Reverend Superior of this mission, despatched another Indian to Saypan, ordering Fathers Carlos Boranga and Agustín de Strobac[h] that upon reading his letter they should come to this island. Having received the letter, the two Reverend Fathers talked to each other on what to do, prudently fearful of the dangers which beset them in the sea which was plagued with enemy boats. The Reverend Father Carlos preferred to stay, not only because of the pleadings of his parishioners who assured him that his person ran no risk, but also because of the great dangers to which he would be exposing himself if he did sail. The Reverend Father Agustín de Strobac[h] decided to venture out to sea and, arriving one hour before daybreak at the dock of the port of Agaña, he saw the smoldering ruins of the college for boys and that for girls, and the house of the Fathers; taking stock of this, he judged, as sure things, that the garrison and the barracks had been captured by the enemy; a similar conclusion was arrived at by the Indian who had brought him in, one of his loyal parishioners; fearful, both re-embarked, directing their prow to Zarpana. At daybreak they were spotted by the rebels in the town of Apurguan who promptly took out their canoes to sea in pursuit, but Fr. Strobac[h] and his guide were so much ahead of their pursuers that they easily managed to save themselves and reached the Island of Zarpana. There the Reverend Father Agustín found the Fiscal of Asan, the Governor's emissary to Saypan. The Fiscal gave him the letter which was addressed to the Sergeant-Major Don Josef de Quiroga, saying that he dared not go any further. We have not been able to investigate, owing to the fact that all the Indians had joined the uprising, if this Fiscal of Asan had been threatened by the two perverse men who had accompanied him into disembarking in Zarpana and desisting from his purpose of going to Saypan, or if the people of Zarpana had detained him in order to plot more safely with those of Tinian and Saypan the treachery which later they executed; anyhow, the fact that the Governor's letter was not received by the Sergeant-Major Don Josef de Quiroga was the cause of so many tragedies which we now lament; otherwise, neither the revolt would have included the whole island [of Guahan], nor so many calamities would have happened in the islands of the north, as we shall relate further down.

Leaving, for the time being, the happenings in Saypan and the other islands to the north hereafter to be related, and returning to those which in Guahan we had begun to narrate, on 27 July the rebels from the town of Apurguan attacked us in great numbers; they burned the church and house [of the Fathers]; the Sergeant-Major Don Ignacio de Hineti, together with the men of his district were there to defend them; he stood off the first assault of the enemy with great valor, making the attackers retreat twice; however, the numerical superiority of the rebels forced him to seek the cover of our artillery which with one shot killed one of our opponents and would have rendered a better account of itself if the thickly-forested surroundings had not been in the way. At this time the

enemy flung a lighted torch upon the house [of the fathers] which, being roofed with thatch and the rest made of wood, quickly caught fire and the flames spread with great velocity; before our very eyes we watched the best house we had in these islands reduced to ashes without being able to help it. With the house gone, the enemy occupied the plaza to deal us therefrom another blow; to parry the assault the said Sergeant-Major Don Ignacio sallied forth once more with the men from the district of Anigua who had joined him, men of great valor and loyalty, whose grit we had witnessed in previous engagements. All together they attacked the enemy who resisted for some time but, fearing the closeness to the battery more than the effects of our artillery, withdrew to his town. The first encounter thus ended, the effort of our adversaries was directed to launching canoes to the sea with a view to going around the islands, exciting its inhabitants to a general uprising, and persuading them vividly to crush once and for all the Spanish domination which was to them so heavy and oppressive; many at the beginning hesitated to join in calling the debacles of past wars, the failure of their projects, the numerous Indians who had died, and the few of them if any who had been spared by the Spanish reprisals; but easily they changed their opinions in view of the confused news which ran by word of mouth that those of the Islands of Tinian, Saypan, and other islands to the north had treacherously killed all the Spanish soldiers who were found therein.

Encouraged in this manner, and hoping to annihilate us totally, judging us to be so few, and aware of the existence of so many of us on the sick and wounded list, they decided to band together and have us all done with for good; thus, from 27 July until 18 August, now in some towns, now in others, day and night, they harrassed us without letup; but their fire was always returned with singular valor by our troops. On 19 August the whole island came upon us attacking us on all four sides; the Sergeant-Major, Don Ignacio de Hineti, with all his people, faced the enemy in combat. Those who were in the garrison rushed to their positions and manned the artillery and firearms; they made the enemy retreat hurriedly away from the stockade leaving some of his wounded; the men of Don Ignacio, rejoicing at the effective manner in which they had repelled the impetus of the enemy, and seeing themselves spared from such a thick rain of spears as poured over them, considered it miraculous that not many of them were wounded and killed; it was the cause they defended which was so pleasing to God, and the intercession of some saints whose statues were placed on the bulwarks, that delivered them from such a peril.

After this first attack the rebels redoubled their efforts to enlist the whole island in another stronger attack, and to shatter the morale of those within the stockade thus facilitating their intent to exterminate us they would yell that the [Spanish] soldiers of Saypan had been killed. This did somehow dishearten and afflict some of our people. But the Fathers, to encourage our soldiers to do their duty, themselves took up arms while they preached to them about the honor and glory of God, their Christian responsibilities, the service that they would be doing to the King our Lord in fighting as brave Spaniards, recalling the numerous remarkable triumphs which had been obtained by

Spanish arms with so few against the enemies of our holy faith, citing as an example the memorable prowess of Don Fernando Cortés, Marquis del Valle, and other illustrious captains.

It goes without saying that from such reasons and examples the few who were inside the garrison derived much needed encouragement; everyone took up arms and avidly desired that the enemy would attack to show the valor and zeal with which he would defend and maintain the Catholic religion; and for the success of their mission, the soldiers took for their patrons our Lady, patroness of the Marianas, the glorious St. Michael, the guardian angels, our father St. Ignatius, St. Dominic, and St. Rose, whose statues were enshrined in the four bulwarks of our stockade. At this time they received with frequency the sacraments of confession and communion that they might be fortified against the assaults of the visible and invisible enemy.

For the second time the enemy showed up and stood within firing distance among the trees, but soon became so dispirited at the sight of our rampart surmounted with people eager to fight and confident in their holy patrons, that he did not have the courage to assault us during the whole of that day. We fired an artillery piece to provoke a fight, but the rebels, timorous by nature, abandoned the field and returned to their towns. It must be said that, disappointed over the failure of their plans, they resorted to the use of innumerable stratagems to attain their purpose, and to eradicate from their islands the Spanish rule. They made use of (and this we hold as certain for many reasons in our favor) our friend the Sergeant-Major Don Ignacio de Hineti by sending him Indians as emissaries of peace to signify to him how he had offended those of his race with his siding with the Spaniards; that they asked him to consider that the Spaniards could not by any means maintain themselves in the islands, and that it would not be long before they would all have to die, on the one hand for lack of sustenance and on the other because the neighboring islands were in readiness to join in the revolt and finish the Spaniards once and for all. They tried hard to persuade him that now was the time to return to the good graces of his kin and unmake with one notable service the harm which he had caused upon those of his race during the past wars by helping the foreigners; for all these they asked him in the name of all his countrymen to look for an opportune moment to kill the Governor and deliver to them his head; otherwise, he was told, such a fate would befall upon his person as penalty for his disloyalty.

The said Sergeant-Major Don Ignacio replied with intrepid valor to all these embassies from the islanders that he was a Catholic and was proud of it, and that even if he had to lose his life one thousand times he would not do such an act so unworthy of the Christian spirit nor would he ever be ungrateful for so many favors which he had received from the king of Spain through his officials; that he had faith that God would favor the Spaniards and punish the rebellion which they [the insurgents] had committed against the Divine Majesty and against the king. With these words he dismissed them [the emissaries] who appeared confused and afflicted; failing in this they [the rebels] made use of many other tricks without leaving a stone unturned to carry into effect their evil intents. The natives were aware of the great crime that they had committed.

They saw the death of so many ministers of the Gospel, so many burned temples, so many soldiers killed through treachery, for which, despairing to obtain pardon, they reached the last stages of desperation; they determined resolutely to finish with us even if they all had to die in the process. To that purpose they made use of a trick (which, in these isolated places, God not helping us with a special favor, would mean our total annihilation), the most diabolical imaginable. This consisted in sending some women carrying fruits of the land as gifts to some Filipino soldiers who were married to their daughters, and through this manner attempt to lure and/or induce those within the garrison to kill the Governor, or if they could not do so for fear of the Spaniards, to persuade those of their race to conspire and desert the stockade at night while the others were resting, with that assurance that all of them, being Indians, would have their lives spared; in fact, the [Filipino] soldiers were told, their own people in the Philippines were likewise being held in subjection by Spanish arms.

This trick, so diabolical, would have been effective had it not been discovered on time by Adjutant Francisco Masongsong, native of the Visayas in the Philippines, one of the most loyal vassals whom the king our lord has ever had in these islands and from whom the Padres had previously received singular favors; this adjutant was a man of great valor and because of it the Marianas islanders first addressed to him their mission, so that he might more easily persuade his countrymen to join the treachery which was planned. The said Adjutant listened to the proposition of the islanders of the Marianas, brought by his mother-in-law and making her believe that he was agreeable to it, dismissed her; however, no sooner had she left than he presented himself at the quarters of the Governor and bared to him the whole plan, offering his own person and life to the service of both Majesties; he advised the Governor to double his body-guards, to trust only in the Spaniards, and to be very careful in everything he did. His loyalty was given by the Governor, the Fathers, and soldiers due recognition; they agreed that if his mother-in-law should come again she was to be apprehended in order that the Marianas islanders, seeing their intent discovered, should not henceforth resort to such diabolical tricks. The order was carried out accordingly and in this manner the evil plans of these people were quashed.

The danger in this respect from the internal enemy having been dispelled, the Governor and the missionary Fathers bent all their energies to look for means by which we could inform the Sergeant-Major Don José de Quiroga of our plight which he was not aware of. Several ways were discussed but all to no avail either because all the Indians were in the uprising or because there were no boats available to us, and even if we had them they would be useless for our purpose because the men of the Sergeant-Major Don Ignacio, being men who had been reared in the mountains and therefore not accustomed to sail had no knowledge of seamanship. God must have wished to try our faith and confidence in His Majesty by giving us new occasions for suffering to better test the limit of our patience. While we were at this sad juncture (although everyone was strong in spirit and valor), God gave us another moment of great crisis. At about 2 o'clock in the afternoon we discovered many canoes coming from the north sailing

towards this port of Agaña where the garrison is located. The sight elated us at the beginning because we thought that the Sergeant-Major Don Josef de Quiroga had come with canoes and that he had brought with him all those of this island who had accompanied him to the conquest of Saypan; as they approached our joy increased for we seemed to have sighted through our binoculars men wearing clothes in the boat which to us were soldiers distributed among the Indians; but as they came nearer we saw that they turned their prows towards the other towns of these shores; it was at that moment that we were finally disappointed; the hats and clothing seen by us made us suspect that some grave mishap must have befallen upon the Sergeant-Major Don Josef de Quiroga and all his men. Feeling suspicious and fearful, we asked two volunteers from the most trusty Indians who were faithfully with us in the garrison to go to the town of Asan and find out who were the new arrivals and what news they brought about our soldiers [in Saypan]. Two of them did volunteer to do as commanded by the Governor and expose themselves to the great danger of being killed, although it is the policy of these barbarians to admit in peace those who with signs of peace wished to talk to them. They reached Asan and returned at dusk; they brought the news that the men of the canoes were on their way to this Island of Guahan and had been detained in that of Tinian by a storm and that, having spread themselves in various towns, they were all killed treacherously. Our emissaries said further that the 25 soldiers who had gone to the northern islands towards Japan had been thrown overboard on their way back here from Saypan [sic]; that having distributed them in different canoes, one Spaniard to each, the rebels before leaving Saypan had contrived to play them this foul trick; that the signal for it was the raising up of one oar; that the Indians upon such a signal, snatched the Spaniards by surprise who had not the least suspicion of such villainy, ignorant of what was happening in the Island of Guahan. Saved from this massacre was Father Pedro Comano who, learning of such an outrage, compelled the Indian who was carrying him to put him ashore; he was landed in the Island of Alamagan, and was treated with much courtesy by an Indian chieftain. Three soldiers gained land by swimming, and were likewise well received by those of the northern islands; three others were saved by a good Christian of Guahan, a very good friend of ours, who brought them here. Our informants added that the Sergeant-Major Don Josef de Quiroga was in the Island of Saypan with 36 men without any knowledge of all our misfortunes, and that it was possible that he had already died with all his men because those of Tinian, Saypan and Agiguan were out to annihilate them treacherously.

The Governor, the Father and the soldiers listened to this mournful news; the demoralization among them was great, but in the midst of such an affliction, our Lord deigned to give us great valor and fortitude to bear a blow so terrible, not alone on account of the loss of so many dear companions and soldiers, men so brave and so experienced in the use of weapons (a loss worth deploring), but also because of the destruction of a Christian community so flourishing. At this juncture the Governor gathered the soldiers and exhorted them to put all their trust in God, and that just as His Majesty had saved us from so many dangers up to now, if we continued relying on his

mercy he would deliver us from the others to come. The same exhortation was given by all the Fathers who on that night held a consultation for the purpose of advising the Governor on what was convenient to do and command in such a tight situation.

After having discussed various ways to save ourselves until the arrival of help from the Philippines which was expected nine months hence, everyone agreed that, there being enough store of gunpowder and bullets, we did not have to fear the enemy even if all the islanders banded together against us, their weapons not being comparable with ours. Everyone likewise agreed to unburden the garrison of so many young students who had taken refuge with us, who, useless in combat, would only help consume the provisions that we had in stock. This decision having been put into execution and the students sent home in the meantime that the help from the Philippines had not come, all our care was to get information as to the fate of the Sergeant-Major Don Josef de Quiroga and his companions [in Saypan]; but we had neither the boats nor the men for that purpose; this circumstance was painful to us, fearful as we were that the same fate as had befallen the others was suffered by them. At this time there came to this island an Indian from Zarpana who brought the news to the friendly Indians who were with us of how the Reverend Father Agustín de Strobac[h], carried by his great zeal and charity had sailed for Tinian and Saypan to notify his comrades there of the uprising in this island of Guahan. This news gave us a much needed boost because upon the mission of this Reverend Father we pinned all our hopes for salvation; but we were due to be disappointed, as will be seen further down.

[The uprising spreads to other Islands]

The Reverend Father did reach Tinian, but the Indians apprehended him upon his arrival and gave him death; they then went to Zarpana and there killed the Venerable Father Carlos Boranga, both Fathers being zealous apostles worthy of superior praises for what they had labored in this apostolic mission as well as for their relevant virtues.

With such sorrowful news it seemed that God wanted to tighten the noose around our necks so that, in the light of so many misfortunes, His mercy might better shine. The news of the departure of the Venerable Father Agustín de Strobac[h] for Saypan had elated us, it being the only hope which we had for the garrison of that island to learn of our plight, and for it to be alerted against the enemy; but as we later learned of the death of this apostolic gentleman, we feared its annihilation. However, in the midst of our desperation, God lent us a helping hand, taking pity on us for so many miseries and travails as we had endured. The soldiers of the island of Tinian and those of the islands further north having been killed, the Indians of Tinian, those of Zarpana and Agiguan joined those of Saypan to finish with the Sergeant-Major Don Josef de Quiroga and his companions. They arrived in Saypan on Sunday 6 August, fully armed with cutlasses and spears, alleging that they were to work in the rice fields and in the construction of the garrison; the Sergeant-Major and Father Mathias Cuculino saw the multitude of people coming, how fully armed they were, and noted their interest in going to work on a holiday. These circumstances made them suspicious of some



treachery. At this same time, there arrived a Filipino soldier yelling that the Indians had attacked him with sticks in the rice fields; this, together with the fact that the multitude had come in a jubilant mood, fully convinced the Sergeant-Major that they had a hidden motive; consequently, he ordered the sentries doubled in all the gates with express orders not to allow any Indian in, and that everyone should be on the alert with the firearms in readiness.

The Indians, seeing the arrival of the said Filipino soldier and the precautionary measures ordered by the Sergeant-Major, considered their treacherous plan discovered and departed raising an outcry from afar. Forthwith the Sergeant-Major despatched some troops to notify three soldiers who were in the town of Tumhun; but seeing the multitude of armed Indians and fearing ambushes in the mountains,

the troopers returned to the garrison; however, on their way back they met a friendly Indian who gave them the news that of the three soldiers whom they had gone out to contact two were dead and the third one was missing; he likewise gave the news that with the exception of three towns the whole island had risen up together with many people from the other islands, and that they were only waiting for the soldiers to go out to their rice fields to strike upon and overwhelm them; another group of people would attack the garrison, set the gun-powder on fire and massacre all those found within.

[The exploits of Quiroga, the Hernán Cortés of the Northern Marianas]

Upon receipt of this news in the garrison, the alarm was ordered sounded by the Sergeant-Major Don Josef de Quiroga. This gentleman is worthy of praise and to him all those of us in these islands who are alive owe our lives and the conservation of the faith hereabouts. Permit me that in synthesis I herein make a brief relation of his excellent qualities all of which are pertinent to what will be said further down. This gentleman is a native of Galicia coming from one of the most illustrious families of that region, related to the best people of Spain, nephew of the eminent Cardinal Don Gaspar de Quiroga who was Archbishop of Toledo, and second cousin of the most illustrious Archbishop of Santiago and Mexico [sic], both being the incumbent prelates of the said cathedrals; he served in Flanders as Lieutenant of Spanish Infantry with creditable valor, and had well-founded hopes of promotion to a higher position when peace between Spain and France was declared, which made it necessary for him to return to his

country; he then repaired to Salamanca where at the time his cousin, the present Archbishop of Santiago, was the Archbishop; his Lordship detained him for some days in that city during which he [Don Josef de Quiroga] communicated with Father Tirso Gonzales of our Society; he told him how disappointed he was with the things of the world and that he wanted to retire to serve God. Father Tirso Gonzales, appraised of his reasons, told him that if he wanted to make a great sacrifice for the Lord he should embark without delay and come to the Marianas where he could very well serve God owing to the fact that these islands are located at the extreme end of the earth and in it he could greatly help in the propagation of Christianity. The advice of Father Tirso Gonzales fitted well in the purpose of this gentleman; he then generously resolved to leave the world and come here to help in the conversion of these islanders. He arrived in these islands in the year 1679 where he lived a most exemplary life from the beginning up to this time, frequenting twice a week the sacraments of confession and communion; finally, to cut a long story short, this gentleman possesses such a remarkable goodness that, everyone agrees, he would not knowingly commit a venial sin for all the lures of the world.

In the year 1680 the missionary Fathers, considering how fitted he was for the position of commander of this garrison, obtained from the General of the Philippines this title for him; although he hesitated long, owing to his humility, he was finally prevailed upon to accept it on the consideration that in that manner he would be of better service to God and to the king our Lord; his acceptance was welcomed by all; it was to the benefit of these islands where until the year 1681 he made wonders and gave particular signs of his great bravery in the conquest of the island of Zarpana (climbing over steep mountains against a big number of barbarians who, astounded at his valor, had surrendered to him) as well as in other pitched combats which he sustained against some traitors of this Island of Guahan. He ran the government during the whole year of 1681 until Don Antonio de Saravia came to these islands as Governor and Captain-General thereof; the excellent qualities of this virtuous gentleman were made much of by the Governor; then came the time when it became necessary for him to go to Manila for the transaction of certain official matters at the end of which he came back to Marianas, the object of his cares. Upon his return the Governor and Captain-General gave him the title of Sergeant-Major of these islands; after this he received the order to accompany the Governor in the conquest of Saypan. They then embarked in different boats and, having met a fearful typhoon, one boat disappeared from sight of the other; in the midst of the storm the Sergeant-Major refused to seek shelter in any of the islands before making a search for his Captain-General; thus he spent two days and nights riding the waves of these seas until he felt that it was already a temerity to resist the typhoon; and fearing to continue sailing and perhaps be driven to Manila, he withdrew to the island of Zarpana where his bravery was extolled by Don Antonio de Saravia. The conquest could not be carried out in that year of 1683, and it was thus reserved for the year 1684 in which, as we have already pointed out, early in the year the said Sergeant-Major took up this enterprise again and carried it to a successful conclusion.



It has not been possible for me to excuse myself from dwelling briefly on the qualities of this gentleman and I feel that it would have been a great ingratitude on our part to delete this brief mention of his virtues because all of us feel indebted to his valor. This was particularly shown when he ordered the sounding of the alert against the rebel Indians who are men endowed with great strength and gigantic stature. He gathered 18 men, leaving the others most of whom were sick in the garrison; he went out with so few men to give battle to an enemy numbering 800, without counting those who were in the bush, who had come to attack him; he engaged them with singular bravery invoking the sweetest names of Jesus and Mary, exhorting his soldiers that with such patrons they should not fear the numerical superiority of those barba-

rians who were gigantic in body but cowardly in heart and spirit. He reminded them of the honor of God and the prestige of the Spanish arms; encouraged with his appeal, his few and brave soldiers attacked the enemy, inflicting upon the latter well-aimed discharges of their arquebuses and muskets, wounding many and killing some; the Indians withdrew for a while not so much for fear as for amazement at the valor and resoluteness of so few; but the rebels, many of whom came out from the bushes as others launched boats into the sea, surrounded the Sergeant-Major by land and sea throwing at him by means of slings a rain of stones and wooden poisoned spears which they hurled with great dexterity. The Sergeant-Major and all his men found themselves on that day in great peril of death; but then realizing that the numerically superior enemy troops would slowly be approaching **the stockade whose fence was made up of tree trunks at a man's height**, and fearful of the danger in which those who were with him would be, our defenders began retreating orderly little by little as befitted disciplined soldiers in the face of enemy attack.

Our men finally retreated into the stockade and all together presented a strong resistance against the enemy inflicting casualties in his ranks. This first battle lasted until the latter part of the day, and it ended with the withdrawal of the attackers; then the Sergeant-Major addressed his attention to the repair of arms and to encourage the soldiers to the execution of their duty, exhorting them to trust in God whose mercy would allow them to obtain many and signal victories; and to impose more on His Divine Ma-

jesty, he readied an agreement with his men to the effect that every time that they went out to battle they would go to confession and receive the sacrament of the Holy Eucharist, which everyone approved willingly; it goes without saying that, as everyone later attested, they all felt so eager to attack in the thought that our Lord, who is God of all armies, was with them.

On the following day the Sergeant-Major sallied forth with 15 men and engaged the Indians on the side of *Ruchan* (this is the name given by them to the west, and *Catan* to the east.)¹ and, having sent them squalling to the woods attacked on the *Catan* side² with such a great push that the insurgents withdrew towards the mountain so aghast and in terror that they did so in a disorderly fashion. The islanders feeling weary, summoned with great insistence all the inhabitants of the neighboring islands who had come in several waves in numerous canoes and surrounded our soldiers by sea and land without giving them respite by day and night; yelling that all those [Spaniards] in the Island of Guahan had been killed, they expected to demoralize the soldiers [in the garrison] and to attain success in their purpose; but all these stratagems came to naught in the face of the incomparable bravery of the Sergeant-Major Don Josef de Quiroga who on this date was qualified by the Fathers as well as the soldiers as one of the stoutest, and most courageous warriors that ever belonged to the Spanish forces, a criterion arrived at impartially and made obvious in the light of present events; as a matter of fact, being as he was in one extreme of the world, without any hope of help either from the king our lord or from so many high ranking officials as are employed in the Indies, with scarce supply of ammunition, his garrison full of the sick and dying; the soldiers of Tinian and of the North in the knowledge (although from false rumors) that in Guahan the garrison had been annihilated, isolated in an island which is by-passed by the galleons from the Philippines, without boats with which to intercept the galleon in time, attacked by a great multitude of barbarians, lacking in sustenance, in short, in the midst of so many calamities and surrounded by so many odds which naturally assured his ruin, the great heart of this warrior was not dismayed; he had the courage to bear so much distress and to attack so many and so obstinate adversaries that we cannot help saying that God had endowed him with a great heart capable of greater difficulties, if there could be any greater than those which we have just pointed out, let him who is of a stronger spirit, who might read this paper, consider the circumstances referred to, and see if they might not discourage the most courageous and gallant warrior.

Upon hearing the news that all his companions had been killed (although this was not true in so far as those of Guahan were concerned), the Sergeant-Major roaring in anger like a lion, encouraged his soldiers with greater vigor that with the sword they might avenge so many sacrileges committed against God in the death of His ministers and so many affronts against the Royal Majesty and the prestige of his arms. On this

1 Ed. note: This comment applies only to Agaña. In general, "ruchan" meant downwind along the coast, so that in Saipan, that direction would have been southward toward Agingan Point (see Doc. 1671Q).

2 Ed. note: Upwind, towards Garapan today.

occasion he took the glorious St. Joseph as his patron who was at the same time the patron of the Island of Saypan. For the third time he charged on the side of *Ruchan*; the enemy despairing to resist him withdrew from the island towards the neighboring islands. Freed from the enemy on this side, he again fell upon him on the *Catan* or [north]-east side to compel him to do likewise there; in the assault many rebels were slain, several were captured and, of the numerous wounded, some took to flight while others were maimed by the fire power; moved to compassion, he spared the lives of these to see if they could be Christianized and made to survive. In this skirmish he burned many towns, captured several canoes, laid waste to the grain fields, brought provisions enough for two years, which he ordered carried on the men's back into the garrison; with these and the plentiful supply of fish which the soldiers had been catching with nets from the part of the block-house which juts into the sea, the rejoicing of the beleaguered was untold. I am not going to refer in detail to the many battles which, for a period of two months and a half,¹ he gave the enemy from the discovery of the uprising until the arrival of reinforcements, because they were countless and because I wish to shorten as much as possible this narration; I wish only to say that in all these battles he charged at one time with 10, at others with 14 and at most with 18 men, in which skirmishes many truly miraculous things happened, God delivering them from evident hazards, from numerous ambushes and treacheries; at one time they found themselves surrounded by a great multitude of barbarians who, at a distance of a mere 20 paces, rained spears and stones upon our soldiers; the Sergeant-Major and his companions relate that clearly and distinctly they saw the spears break up in mid-air as they fell down at their feet without causing them any harm; it was indeed miraculous that none of our men came out wounded from all these skirmishes.

[Precarious situation of the Spaniards in Guahan]

As all these feats were being achieved by the Sergeant-Major in Saypan, no news of them came to us in this island of Guahan; on the contrary, we had been afraid that he, together with his companions, had been treacherously killed. Those fears were augmented because the Indians, making use of their stratagems, had those of the Island of Zarpana come to this island in 60 canoes to fight us in order to make us understand that having annihilated our men in Saypan, they were here to do the same with us. We were, therefore, greatly afflicted at the certainty which we held of the destruction of our companions. We were, however, very careful with some Filipinos who were with us in our camp. Of these people, there were 20 men, some very loyal and others known to be treacherous. They very frequently complained against the blockade we were in; it seemed to be hard for them to be beleaguered by the enemy for the whole year; it was arduous for them to undergo the hardship inseparable from such a situation; everything was complaint against the work which they had to undertake, they gave away many signs of the treachery which they were hatching up, in such a manner that when-

1 Ed. note: August-November 1684.

ever the Spanish troops were gathered together, they appeared to be the most dejected people in the world; they became more insolent when the news of the loss of our comrades [of Saypan] arrived, and their desire to join their fellow-Indians increased. But the Governor had need of them for the building of a boat, and for this and other reasons he tolerated them more than he ought to have done. The Fathers felt very bad over the leniency of the Governor, which only increased daily their insolence and arrogance. The Spaniards unaccustomed to suffer such indignities were sore at the Governor who could very well punish so much evil which discredited his person and the Spanish nation. He was aware of our grievances, yet he tolerated the said Filipinos in many things, and he treated them so kindly that instead of obtaining their gratitude, his conduct caused them to have low regard for his person, to the extent that five of them passed over to the enemy at night and seven others attempted against his life. Discouraging rumors were rampant over the stockade; it was not possible to make the Governor recognize with counsels and advices the danger in which he was so as to make him brave enough to punish the transgressions which, if not remedied, could become of the kind which gives origin to big mutinies and disorders, particularly in such a far-flung place as ours where help could not be so quickly received. There was a sufficient number of Spanish soldiers with whom one could apply the remedy to all these anomalies, but the lack of courage of the Governor made him fail to do what was good for him. Because of this, all of us Fathers, felt obliged to guard him at night relieving ourselves every hour until Our Lord deigned to bring to us the Sergeant-Major D. Josef de Quiroga.

[Quiroga learns of the plight of the Guahan garrison]

Meanwhile, this officer, at the sight of the confusion existing in his garrison [at Saypan] and to give example to all his soldiers as well as to teach them how to execute the military laws, performed an act worthy of his Christian beliefs and valor.

There was in the garrison of Saypan a very brave but carefree Spaniard, who, with a customary insolence, had previously attempted on several occasions to kill the Governor and Captain-General Don Antonio de Saravia; in Saypan he had committed many a breach of discipline and had disobeyed military orders; because of the cares of the war, the Sergeant-Major did not have occasion to punish him; but seeing that his conduct caused scandal and that greater evils might come therefrom, he decided to arrest him and the following day, after having prepared him to die, had him executed by musketry to the amazement of the Indians as well as the soldiers; neither the smallness of their number nor their state of being beleaguered by a numerous enemy caused him to desist from his decision; the execution having been done, the Sergeant-Major gathered all his soldiers and gave them the following brief talk: *My brothers and comrades: God has brought us here to defend His religion and shed our blood in its behalf; there is nothing in this life that I am afraid of, except the offence to God, not death. On the basis of this, let everyone observe the military laws, and above all refrain from offending God, because whoever might transgress the one and the other I shall deprive him of life even if I should be left alone to give battle to the enemies of the Faith.*

With these words everyone felt not alone admiration for his valor but reassertion in each one's Christian religion as all together offered him their persons and lives that he might carry them wherever he wished. At the end of this talk there arrived an Indian woman in the stockade bringing some gifts for the soldiers; the Sergeant-Major arrested her to make use of her as a guide for his plan to go to her town and arrest some of the chieftains there, so that while these were detained and in confinement as hostages, he might send one of them to this island of Guahan and bring him news of what was going on here.

Forthwith, the Sergeant-Major departed late at night with the Indian woman as guide; he arrived at her town¹ which was two leagues distant from the garrison and found its inhabitants all asleep. He threatened the Indian woman against making any noise but she started yelling that the soldiers had come; the Sergeant-Major caused havoc among the Indians killing more than 200 men, who, notwithstanding the vociferation of his guide, did not wake up; however, moved to pity and wishing to carry into effect his primary object, he pardoned the rest as he reached the house of a chieftain whom he arrested together with five others; then he wrote a letter to the Governor reporting everything that had happened, and requesting him for orders on what he had to do; this letter he kept until he had the occasion to send it safely.

Meanwhile [in Guahan] boats arrived coming from the island of Zarpana with men in league with the rebels of Guahan; they brought the news of how the Sergeant-Major was preparing to bring people from Saypan; this news was given to us by one of the loyal Indians who were in our service. It goes without saying that we were much elated at the thought that through the Sergeant-Major we were going to restore once again the lost Christian religion. Parallel with our unbounded joy was the notable fright and terror felt by these islanders of Guahan who in previous years had experienced the bravery of the said gentleman; hearing of this news they foresaw their annihilation.

The Sergeant-Major in the meantime, having written the letter, gave it to the chieftain Indian whom he had arrested, and told him that in all secrecy he should transmit it; that if, because of his fault, it got lost, or if he came back without an answer to it, the lives of the five hostages who belonged to his immediate family, would be forfeited; in addition, all the people of Saypan would be annihilated. The Indian promised to carry the letter faithfully; he sailed at a late hour of the night and arrived in Guahan at the house of a Marianas Indian, a very close friend of his, and a very fine Christian who in the year 1683 had come from Manila aboard the sloop which was sent by the Governor Don Juan de Vargas. This Indian was very close to the missionary Fathers and in this uprising he had exposed himself to the danger of being killed (there had been attempts against his life) by informing us of the plans of the enemy. Our good luck consisted in that the Indian who came from Saypan had as a comrade this very fine Christian; otherwise, under the present circumstances, the letter would not have reached us, nor the ones would have learned of the others, and many treacheries would have

1 Ed. note: This town was Obyan on the south coast of Saipan.

been cooked up which we reasonably feared; but God pitying us for so many calamities as had been suffered by this Christian community, disposed in his lofty providence that one of our greatest enemies should bring us the remedy, and deliver the letter to one who, being a fine Christian, was living among them reservedly, and had perilously come without any other object than that of informing us of all the stratagems which the rebels were plotting.

Upon receiving the letter this good Indian left the town at an unholy hour of the night and came to the garrison; he arrived at 2 o'clock in the morning and within range of the arquebuses started yelling, invoking the Holy Eucharist which was the password which he had given us that we might recognize him every time that he came over. He entered the garrison and delivered the letter to the Governor who, in the presence of all, read it with so great elation to our hearts that no amount of rhetoric nor eloquence would be sufficient to explain it. The Governor answered it thanking the Sergeant-Major for the good work which he had done in the service of both majesties. He ordered him that at the first available opportunity he should take to the canoes which he had captured from the enemy and come with all the people of his garrison to this island of Guahan that he might help crush the rebels and punish the guilty. The Indian returned to Saypan and delivered the letter which was happily received by the Sergeant-Major and all his men because of the news that those whom they had given up for dead were still alive.

[Quiroga in succor of Guahan]

The Sergeant-Major did his best to comply with the order which he had received. He charged the rebels several times, captured many of them, and, pretending to leave for the neighboring islands to punish the rebels there, ordered 8 canoes to be launched to the sea, assigning an Indian in each with his body tied up and arms free to handle the helm. Then he ordered one of his Spanish aides to go out at night with some troopers and fire a small piece in the mountain in order that, putting the Indians on the alert, he might better manage to conceal his departure. This done, the men assembled at the garrison, and in the middle of the night 35 men took to sea in 8 canoes. While sailing within range of an arquebus from the port, the Indians released sails with the intent of themselves jumping into the water, so that the [Spanish] soldiers, not knowing how to man the canoes, might die in the sea; but our men, having been forewarned of it, cutlass on hand, threatened the Indians with death; this precaution notwithstanding, one of the Indians, cutting the rope with which he was tied up, jumped into the sea; but immediately Father Mathias Cuculino substituted him with an extra Indian he was carrying in his canoe. Finally, they left behind the sand bank of the port and took to the high seas; but three canoes which carried 15 soldiers, sailing close to the beach, became unmanageable on account of the strong current, and found themselves in a very perilous situation indeed. It became necessary (not without regret) to leave them behind; the men were yelling for help, but the others were fearful of falling into the same peril; and seeing the hopelessness of any rescue work the rest of the party sailed away; and

after two days and nights at sea, on 23 November of the year 1684, at about 3 o'clock in the morning, the date in which the uprising reached its fourth month, the Sergeant-Major arrived at the bar of the port of Agana in 5 canoes and with 20 men. A soldier disembarked and on reaching near the garrison bellowed to the sentinel thus: *"Please tell the Governor that the Sergeant-Major Don Josef de Quiroga is requesting permission to disembark."* Upon hearing such a happy and welcome news, the Governor ordered that everyone take up arms to meet the new arrivals. We all did so and received the Sergeant-Major and all his men with tears of joy; wild with exultation, we were bewildered. While we deplored at the time the loss of the 15 comrades left behind, we however learned some days later that they had not capsized but that they had reached Tinian where the Indians, afraid of seeing additional [Spanish] forces and having previously learned of the construction of a new boat, and of our expectation of the imminent arrival of the galleon from the Philippines with its reinforcement of men, had welcomed them into the island and thus be spared from reprisals. Likewise, we had the news that Father Pedro Comano was alive in the island of Alamagan towards Japan (with 3 other [Spanish] soldiers who had escaped by swimming) in the care of a chieftain to whom they had been recommended by the Master-of-Camp Don Antonio de Ay[i]hi, one of the best Christians and about the finest Indian ever had by these islands, whose loyalty could be placed as an example to all the nations of the world. A separate list could be made of the many fine services which had been performed by this islander of the Marianas to the Catholic religion and to the king our lord, for which the Governor and Captain-General Don Antonio de Saravia had rewarded him with the rank of Master-of-Camp. But now I omit the narration of his deeds in order not to lose the trend of this report.

[Guahan rebellion crushed]

The arrival of the Sergeant-Major Don Josef de Quiroga struck such terror and consternation upon the spirit of the natives that these considered themselves lost; thus, large troupes of them left this island of Guahan taking refuge in the neighboring islands, regretting that they did not compel the Indians of Saypan to come over and help them in their travails. The said Sergeant-Major conferred with the Governor as to the necessary measures to undertake for restoring what had been lost and to punish the culprits in this general uprising. Finally, to shorten this narrative, the said Sergeant-Major went out of the garrison several times and each time he ordered the burning of the towns of the rebels and killed many Indians; he caused such panic upon those living on the beaches that they evacuated their habitations: the number of those who remained on the mountains became very small; all feared their total ruin and extermination.

We pray to God that with the coming of the galleon this Christian community shall return to the old and flourishing state which it enjoyed formerly; in years past, blessed be God, one enjoyed the sight of the frequency with which they received the sacraments, the piety and fervor with which these natives attended the things referring to the divine worship; for this reason we pitied them for their misfortune much more so because they

are endorsed with many excellent qualities rarely seen in the rest of the barbarian groups of America and the Orient; they are above all a charitable and obliging people. Their charity is seen in the assistance of the sick whom they attend night and day without leaving their bedside even for a moment. The natives are gentle, docile and liberal, distributing among their kin what they receive without having any qualm in asking for them. In this uprising many of them had helped us, particularly the youthful collegians, some with such earnestness that had it not been for them many of the sick would have died and those of us who were healthy would have had nothing to eat had they not looked for food either in the mountains in the form of pigs or in the sea fishing with their nets; such was the loyalty of these young boys that at one time, while fishing, they were arrested by the natives of Apurguan, but they escaped at midnight and came back to us telling us that they did not relish to live among barbarians. An Indian asked these boys why they did not return to their towns where they would be safe among their kin because among the Spaniards they were in peril of death should the garrison be assaulted; they answered him that "here we are going to stay, and if they kill us we will die as martyrs."

I would be extending too much this narrative if I were to refer to the many gifts with which Heaven has endowed these natives who, if educated and subjected under arms will once again form a very flourishing Christian community; if the Governor would have our soldiers well trained in the use of arms and in the observance of military laws the natives would never prevail upon us; as a matter of fact, because of their failure in the observance of those duties the general uprising referred to has taken place. We trust in divine mercy that so many innocent and good Christians as are exiled without any guilt (fearing the punishment which the guilty deserve) will be spared and will return to the fold of our Mother the Catholic Church. We have a firm hope that the king our lord whom God keep for many and happy years will continue with the piety which he has inherited from so many Catholic monarchs to give favors to these poor Mariana islanders, of whom the Catholic father and our Lord King Philip IV the Great, whom God may have in His blessed glory, had said that in exchange for the conversion of one of these Indians he would not hesitate to spend all the treasures of his Royal Crown, a piety worthy of a Spanish monarch. We are likewise firmly hopeful that His Excellency Don Thomás Antonio Lorenzo Manuel de la Cerda, Count of Paredes, Viceroy of New Spain, worthy vassal of such a great prince and so zealous in the service of his Majesty, will favor a cause so pious by sending people and armaments with which to facilitate the reduction of these natives, being His Excellency and the most Illustrious Don Gabriel de Cruzeláegui, Governor and Captain-General of the Philippines, the instrument for the return of this Christian community to its old luster and splendor for the greater glory of God Our Lord and benefit of these souls, the expansion of the Faith, and to the credit of the piety of our Catholic Monarch.

Documents 1685N

Report from Fr. Bouwens to the Duchess of Aveiro, dated Marianas 30 May 1685

N1. Letter of transmittal from Fr. Balthasar de Mansilla, dated Mexico 4 April 1686

Source: Present location unknown; 2-page ms. offered for sale by Maggs Bros. of London in 1923 for 35 pounds (Cat. N° 442, n° 1940, p. 207).

Extract in the Maggs Catalog.

...
I have already written to you, through a gentleman of Asturias, who is returning to the Court of Spain, giving you information regarding the Marianas, together with the Gazette [sic], which was sent to me by Father Gerardo Bouwens of New Mexico, China and the Philippines, with the most authentic news that I have been able to obtain, as also news of California, quoting that which is given by Father Eusebio Kino...

I convey my respectful homage, through Don Antonio de Figueredo, who, having arrived with the advice boat [from Spain] two months ago with the letters, now returns with the correspondence from here.

...

N2. Extracts in the Maggs Catalog

Source: Present location unknown; 14-page ms. offered for sale by Maggs Bros. of London in 1923 for 52 pounds (Cat. N° 442, n° 1912, pp. 188-189) and again in 1927 (Cat. N° 491, n° 53, pp. 47-49).

Synopsis.

Regarding the troubles due to the new Governor Esplana, a creole from Peru who arrived on 23 August 1683. Former Governor Saravia died on 3 November 1683. Assassination of 3 missionaries as early as 1675. The troubles of 1680. Fr. Solorzano had

re-organized the Mission into 7 districts. Fine new churches and residences were built during his term as Superior. Quiroga re-conquered Rota and punished the murderers of Fathers Sanvitores, San Basilio, and Monroy. Fr. Xaramillo came as Visitor (1683-84). In 1684, Quiroga led an expedition to Aguijan, Tinian and Saipan, and salvaged the cannon from the 1638 **Concepción** shipwreck. He left a garrison stationed on Saipan. Expedition to the northern Marianas in June 1684, with Fr. Coomans as chaplain. Rebellion on Guam began on 23 July 1684. Deaths of Fathers Solorzano, de Angelis. The natives of Tinian killed 2 [Spanish] soldiers, 7 [Spanish] sailors, and 7 Filipinos, and they destroyed 2 boats.

The extracts themselves.

...
As the head of this Christian community in the Marianas, it is my duty to acquaint you with the news of the disasters which have befallen this Mission...

The vessel under Major Don Damian de Esplana, a creole from Peru, arrived from Manila in this Island of San Juan or Guam, on 23 August 1683. On board were Fathers Antonio Xaramillo and Juan Adan, and Captain Joseph de Quiroga who, as you are aware, was political Governor and in command of the Garrison in these Islands during 1680, until the appointment approved by His Majesty, of Don Antonio de Sarabia in 1681; who—being near unto death—had nominated the said Quiroga to be Acting Governor and Commander-in-Chief of the Islands in succession to himself.

The failure to carry out this appointment has been the cause of much of our trouble. As expected, the Governor's death occurred on 3 November 1683, whereupon Major Damian de Esplana presented a provisional document from the Royal Court and Chancellery [i.e. Audiencia] of Manila, which, in consideration of his services, gave him the right to claim the position of Acting Governor and Commander-in-Chief of these Islands.

I cannot express to you my grief on learning of this appointment in favor of Esplana, knowing him and his deeds as I do. On my return from Manila (where, in 1673 my superiors here had sent me, to negotiate in the interests of this Mission) in 1675, I found this Major de Esplana already installed as Governor and Commander-in-Chief of these Islands,¹ of which I had been appointed the spiritual head...

He left the Island in June 1676 in a very perturbed state over the death of 2 missionaries and 4 soldiers at the hands of the natives and in the same year, after his departure, they murdered another priest and 7 more soldiers, and burned 4 churches and our lodgings, and the Indians made war on us... but the rising was finally quelled, although we were unable to live among them with any certainty of safety, until in 1680, Don Joseph Quiroga, taking up the reins of government, began by subduing the entire Island of Guam and restoring order to such an extent that Father Manuel de Solorzano, then our Superior, divided the Island into 7 districts, and built 5 churches and dwellings

1 Ed. note: He was then a Captain.

(apart from the existing ones in Agaña) and the Missionaries were able to continue their work without peril.

Within a year of his appointment to the Governorship, Don Joseph had conquered the Island of Rota and [rather or] Santa Ana, where lived the instigators of the previous risings and murders, which with sacrilegious daring had been committed against the Venerable Father [San] Vitores, Fathers Antonio Maria de San Basilio and Sebastian de Monroy. He promptly executed judgment on them, as their atrocities merited, thereby gaining a reputation among the soldiers for righteousness and courage, and among the islanders, great respect and awe which are necessary to the maintenance of loyalty and obedience to God and His Majesty.

Knowing therefore, by experience, the difference in the qualifications of the one and the other... without wishing to contravene the authority of the provisional document issued by the Royal Court of Manila... at the same time, in view of the fact that the Governor [Don Antonio de Saravia] had himself nominated Quiroga at his temporary successor in the event of his own death, which took place shortly after his arrival—and in view of Quiroga's singularly appropriate qualifications and abilities for the post... his authority with the soldiers and the Indians, experience in these Islands, sagacity and courage... being above all others worthy of becoming, not only the acting Governor, but permanently in control, it was a bitter disappointment to learn of the appointment of Damian de Esplana.

But our superiors here, Father Xaramillo, the Visitor, and Father Solorzano, the [Vice-] Provincial, held high hopes of Esplana—not knowing anything of him beyond what he himself said.

On his entry into Office, we speedily began to realize the dangers that would soon threaten... Our Governor's self-confidence increased with the diminution of his prudence, particularly in regard to discipline and the military organization so ably built up by Quiroga, who with customary zeal, had undertaken to conquer the Islands situated towards the north... and setting forth from Guam on 23 March 1684, via the island of Rota, succeeded by the middle of April, in conquering the Islands of Agiguan, Tinian, and Zaypan so skilfully, that he lost not one of the 60 soldiers he had taken with him... Meanwhile, Quiroga was ordered to reconnoiter for **the artillery of the Concepción which had been lost in the year 1638**, and to find any possible means of salving it... Well, with the assistance of his men and some natives, he did, in a short time, retrieve it all. **There were 20 culverins, 14 swivel-guns, all of bronze...** and he stationed his troops in the Island of Zaypan, that being the most convenient for further explorations among the other northern islands.

These orders executed, our Governor chose 25 soldiers, 20 from the garrison at Zaypan and 5 others whom he sent out to join them, and sent them to the northern islands; and I, as spiritual head of this Mission (to which I was appointed on 13 June 1685 [rather 1684]), sent Father Pedro Comano, one of the earliest Missionaries, who was well-versed in the ways of the islanders and the native language, to accompany them, to administer the Sacraments if necessary during their perilous exploits...

While all this was happening as we desired, and our people were expected to return to Guam accompanied by some families from those islands, the Lord permitted the Devil to tempt some of those of evil inclination in this island of Guam, finding the door open... while Quiroga guarded the recently-conquered islands, and the vigilance here was somewhat relaxed... a dangerous state of affairs for those whose nature is unable to continue upon the right path, and aggravated by the Governor's misplaced confidence in their integrity... desiring their savage liberty, they carried out on Sunday, 23 July 1684, after Mass, the conspiracy which they had begun in May or June of that year.

The first one on whom they vented their fierce energy was the Governor himself. Four young impudent, boisterous ruffians went to his house to fetch him out, but discovered he was not there, and, eventually meeting him in the street, alone, unsuspecting, entirely unarmed, they attacked him savagely, threw him down, cut open his face, and stabbed him several times whilst they jeered and scoffed... They would surely have killed him outright, had not two soldiers run to his assistance in answer to the loud screams of a Mariano boy, and slew the ringleader whereat the other three promptly took to their heels and fled.

The Governor badly wounded, and the enemy thinking him dead, they proceeded to attack us Religious in our houses... Scarcely a soldier was able to offer us any protection, owing to the mismanagement in the issue of arms... Thus, the conspirators wounded 6 of our people, 4 of whom died of their wounds that same evening—one of them being our zealous Father [formerly Vice-] Provincial, Manuel de Solorzano. Another, Father Theophilo de Angelis whom you knew as a man of excellent character and truly Apostolic spirit... They who killed him were of his own congregation... while a third Father [i.e. Strobach] was murdered in the Island of Tinian, and a fourth [i.e. Boranga] in the Island of Rota... Likewise, the natives of Tinian, acting upon the false rumor that all our people at Guam had been done to death, killed 2 soldiers, 7 sailors and 7 Filipinos, and destroyed two of our ships loaded with artillery, which were awaiting favorable winds to make the return journey to Guam.

...

N3. Anonymous and undated note regarding the duties of governors recommended by the missionaries

Source: RAH 9/2676 doc. n° 21.

Note: This note could have been penned by Fr. Bouwens and may have been originally appended to Doc. 1685K, although the matter of the government store and a "residencia" for the Governor of the Marianas were issues that came to a head much later.

Original text in Spanish.

Puntos para Suplica al Consejo de Indias en nombre de la Mission de la Compañia de Jesus en las Islas Marianas.

Por averse experimentado graves inconvenientes en deservicio de la Magestad real y daño de la Christiandad y milicia de las Islas Marianas en ser su Gobernador tan ab-

soluto, que sin dependencia de Asessor, ni otra persona ninguna todo gobierne y determine por solo su proprio parecer y albedrio [=arbitrio]; se suplique al Rey Nuestro Señor en su Consejo de Indias, en nombre de la Mission de Marianas para que se sirva de dar Providencia, que ataje en adelante estos deservicios y daños.

1º Tenga la Audiencia de Manila poder y autoridad convenir al que gobernare dichas Islas hasta suspenderle del exercicio de su puesto substituyendo Interino en faltando a su obligacion en cosas graves, como son 1º reducir a los naturales alzados a la obediencia debida a ambas Magestades, ni adelantar las conquistas Islas [no] sujetadas, teniendo medios para ello. 2º administrando [el situ]--ado real convirtiendolo a sus propios intereses contra [hole] y con daño grave de la infanteria que aqui assiste. 3º [hole] a los Yndios con exesivos trabajos, sin pagarles su devido jo[rnada] imponiendoles tributos contra la merced real, que por cedula propria les hizo su Magestad.

2º Por ofrecerse en el gobierno muchos casos, en cuya terminacion y execucion peligra la conciencia, por intervenir ya el derecho eclesiastico, ya el daño de tercero, aya Providencia, que supla aqui la falta de Asessor y letrados. Paresce sea obligado el Governador de Marianas antes de determinar, o de emprender cosa de monta, assi en lo politico, como militar, consultarlo primero con el que fuere Superior de los Religiosos misioneros, y con el Sargento mayor que ubiere, para el acierto en la resolucion, asegurando con esse el servicio real, bien de essa Christiandad, y conciencia propia del que gobernare.

3º Para le buen manejo del Situado real que por cuenta de la infanteria de las Marianas se cobra en las cajas reales de Mexico, aya un Teniente de oficiales reales, por cuya mano socorra el Governador a la infanteria; y haga y remita las listas de los generos de comer y vestido que se han de pedir assi de Mexico como de Manila. Interviniendo en todas estas cosas tambien el sargento mayor y alguno o algunos cabos de dicha infanteria. Lo que el Governador, sin intervencion de dichas personas dispusiere tocante al situado real, sea invalido y nulo con obligacion de restituir.

4º Mandese al Governador so pena competente, no poner tienda de qualesquiera generos aora sean de comer, aora de vestir, ni en nombre de o[tros] terceros, ni en el suyo propio. Pues es contra las leyes, y en daño manifiesto de la infanteria, y otros habitantes en estas Islas.

5º Al salir del gobierno sea residenciado el Governador de Marianas segun el estilo de otros gobiernos.

6º Ordenese al que fuere Superior de los Religiosos misioneros, y al Sargento mayor, para que cada año den cuenta al Consejo de Indias de la observancia de lo ordenado.

Translation.

Points for a Request to the Council of the Indies on behalf of the mission of the Society of Jesus in the Mariana Islands.

Whereas serious disadvantages have been experienced against the service of the royal Majesty and resulted in harm to the Christian community and the militia of the Mariana Islands, because their Governor administers absolutely, without consulting with an

Adviser, or any other person, and decides everything in accordance with his own opinion and judgment: the King our Lord, in his Council of the Indies, is requested, on behalf of the Mariana Mission to please give a Provision to prevent such disservices and harms from occurring in future:

1° That the Audiencia of Manila have the power and authority to agree on a man to govern said Islands, including suspending him from the exercise of his functions, by substituting an Interim governor, in case of gross negligence, such as 1° failing to reduce natives rebelling against the obedience due to both Majesties, failing to promote conquests in Islands [not yet] subjected, when he had the means for it; 2° in the administration of the royal subsidy, converting it to his own interests against [...hole] and with serious damage to the infantry posted here; 3° [...hole] the Indians with excessive labors, without paying them their due wages, imposing tributes to them, against the royal exception granted by a decree of His Majesty.

2° Inasmuch as the government offers many cases, whose definition and execution involve a risk to conscience, because they involve either canon law or third parties, there should be a provision to make up for the lack of a legal adviser and lawyers here. It seems appropriate that the Governor of the Marianas be obligated, before determining or undertaking anything of importance, in the political as well as military areas, to consult first with whomever is Superior of the Religious missionaries, and with whomever is Sergeant-Major, in order to make the right decision, thus ensuring the royal service, the good of that Christian community, and the conscience itself of the Governor.

3° For the good handling of the Royal subsidy that is paid out of the royal treasury of Mexico to the account of the Mariana infantry, let there be a Lieutenant of royal officers, through whose hands the Governor would succor the infantry; he would make up and remit the lists of the supplies (food, clothing) required not just from Mexico but also from Manila. The Sergeant-Major, and one or some officers of said infantry, should also have a hand in all these things. What the Governor might dispose concerning the royal subsidy, without the intervention of said persons, would become null and void, and he should be obliged to make restitution.

4° The Governor should be ordered, under an appropriate penalty, not to open a store selling any wares whatever, either food or clothing, not on behalf of third parties, and not on his own behalf. Indeed, it is against the law, and in obvious damage to the infantry, and others residing in these Islands.

5° At the end of his term of office, the Governor of the Marianas should be submitted to an administrative inquiry, as is the custom in other governments.

6° The Superior of the Religious missionaries, and the Sergeant-Major should be ordered to submit yearly reports to the Council of the Indies on the observance of the orders.

Document 16850

Excerpt from an anonymous report on the events at Manila for 1684-1685

Source: RAH 9/2668 doc. 107.

Curious events that occurred in the City of Manila since the arrival of the galleons of 1684

...
On 9 July, the bells were rung for the galleon **Santa Rosa**, when a confirmed report that she was before Baco [in Mindoro], and brought the new Governor, Admiral Don Gabriel de Cruzeláegui y Arriola, who, on account of the fury of the weather was unable to enter this City until 22 August...

[He gives details of the *residencia* of Governor Juan de Vargas Hurtado, etc.]

The Christian community of the Marianas continues to increase very much every day. The going there of the sloop, some two years ago, caused fear among all those Indians, and was a complete remedy to the shameful situation of not sending a vessel from here. They were even more impressed when they heard **their very own countrymen—some of which were aboard the sloop**—tell them how many days the voyage had lasted. With the arrival of the said vessel, a few military sorties took place, specially to the Island of Seypan, the receptacle of miscreants; they burned many [villages], or most of those of the said Island. Consequently, they came with joined hands to swear allegiance to God, and the King.

It was in February that General Don Juan de Morales went to Burney [i.e. Borneo]...

...
Manila, 8 June 1685. Etc.

Documents 1685P

Report and letters sent by Governor Esplana to Manila in May 1685

P1. Covering letter to General García, dated 31 May 1685

Sources: AGI Fil. 13-1-9, pp. 155-156; copy in AGI Ultramar 562.

*Note: As stated in the last document of this chapter, this García was García del Fresno, a former gal-
leon commander who was already commander of the artillery in Manila some 17 years earlier.*

Original text in Spanish.

Señor

*De que Vss^a aya llegado a esas Islas Filipinas con salud me halgare en el alma la qual
aumente nuestro Señor por muchos años para serbicio de anbas Magestad[es].*

*Doy parte a Vss^a por una Relaçion que ba con esta de todo lo sucedido en ellas que
arto siente de que sean las nuebas malas y no a gusto de Vss^a pero como quiere que no
se da nobedad en Vss^a como tan experimentado en las cosas de la guerra los sucesos
que cada día suceden y en particular entre estas naçiones con tanto ardid y dicimulo
como obran y como quiera que Dios le permite al Demonio algunas assi se vale de fra-
guar tales traïçiones contra el fomento de christiandades nuevas, pues **el Demonio solo
pudo fraguar tales traïçiones por mano de un criado de los Padres que lo havian
criado desde criatura una traïcion y lebantamiento de estas Islas pues este que refier-
ro con otros criados de los dhos Padres de un pueblo que le asistian a si en la cassa que
estavan fabricando como otros que asistian en el Collegio los quales fueron vastantes
como gastos de cassa a fraguar la traïcion sin ser sentidos y no haviendo en la Isla pue-
blo ninguno que tal traicion supieze hasta el dia del suceso pues ellos mismos lo publi-
caban y como es nacion tan nobelera y la lirbertad [sic] es amable corriendo la vos entre
ellos de que ya me avian muerto y a todos los demas soldados no tardaron en aunarse
todos aver si podian sacudir la carga y quedar en su libertad pero como Dios es piado-
so no quizo permitir mas al Demonio que lo que avian obrado ya [y a] mi dar me fuer-
zas aunque lleno de heridas para poder defender el que no se perdiera esta christiandad***

del todo pues estando con dies y [o?] dose heridas en particular quatro penetrantes de mucho peligro no me dieron lugar a curarmelas sino es em pie acudiendo de dia y de noche a todas partes de la muralla por las pocas fuerzas que tenia y ser la poca gente que avia visofia que lo[s] mas no sabian aun disparar por aver acabado desde serbarcarze [=de desembarcarse] de la Nueva España ya y gracias a Dios a la fecha de esta he ido reduçiendo algunos pueblos de estas Islas, y confio en Dios que con su ayuda se bolvera a reducir todo.

Y a Vss^a me le guarde Dios muchos años con la prosperidad que este su maior servidor le desea.

Fecha en esta Isla de San Juan en postrero de mayo de mill seis cientos ochenta y cinco años.

Beso la mano de Vss^a

Damian de Esplana

Translation.

Sir:

It will make my heart glad to hear that Your Lordship has arrived to those Philippine Islands in good health. May our Lord increase it for many years for the service of both Majesties.

I submit the enclosed report to Your Lordship about everything that has happened here. I am truly sorry for the bad news that it contains and that may not be to Your Lordship's liking, but they should come as no surprise to Your Lordship who has experienced wars and knows what can happen every day, specially so among these nations that behave with so much trickery and dissembling, and how God permits the Devil some leeway, so he does foster such treasons against the development of new Christian communities. In fact, **the Devil was only able to foment a treason and uprising through a man reared from infancy by the Fathers**; indeed, said person along with other servants from his town who cater to said Fathers in their own house were plotting with others who reside in the College, and live as dependents of the house. The treachery they were plotting was not discovered and, in fact, no-one in the Island knew of it until the day of the event, when they themselves published it. And as they are a haughty and freedom-loving nation, as soon as the false news spread among them that they had already killed me and all the other soldiers, they all lost no time in coming together to see if they could shake off the yoke and regain their freedom. However, God who is merciful did not wish to let the Devil do more harm that they had already done and to give me strength, though covered with wounds, to be able to prevent this Christian community from disappearing completely; in fact, I had received 10 to 12 wounds, in particular 4 penetrating wounds that were life-threatening, but I had no time to nurse them, because I was up and running day and night on top of the walls, because of the few soldiers I had and the majority of them being inexperienced young recruits who did not even know how to fire a weapon, because they were already that way when they arrived from New Spain. Thank God that to date I have reduced a few

towns of these Islands, and I trust in God that with His help the whole of it will once again be reduced. May God keep Your Lordship for many years with the prosperity that this your greatest servant wishes.

Made at this Island of San Juan, on the last day of May 1685.

I kiss the hand of Your Lordship,

Damian de Esplana

P2. Official report from the Governor of the Marianas for the year 1684-1685

Sources: AGI Fil. 13-1-9, pp. 156-168; copy in AGI Ultramar 562; there is also a transcript among Phil. mss. II in the Lilly Library, Bloomington, Indiana.

Note: Major Esplana appears to have made use of a missionary report, perhaps one loaned to him by the Jesuit least unfriendly to him, Fr. Bustillo.

Original text in Spanish.

Relación de lo sucedido en estas Islas Marianas desde el mes de Junio del año de 1684, hasta el mes de Mayo de 1685.

Estando estas Islas de Guajan la de Rotta la Isla de Tinian y la de Seypan y reducidos a la ley de Dios y servicio de su Magestad los naturales de ellas y en particular los de esta Isla de Guajan tan metidos ya en la cristiandad pues la quaresma del año pasado de ochenta y quatro no quedo ningun hombre ni muger que todos cumplieron con la Iglesia y en la Semana Santa hubo muchos que hacian grandes penitencias derramando mucha sangre por las calles y como el demonio se le hazia grandisimo agravio en quitarle lo que tan agrado tenia procuro hazer sus diligencias pues Dios se las permite. Y assi ira razon abajo de lo sucedido en dichas Islas.

*Habiendo passado la nao **San Telmo** a veinte de Junio luego secutivamente despacho el Governador de dhas Islas los barcos que abia hecho en esta Isla de Guajan a la Isla de Seypan en donde tenia el Sargento Mayor D. Joseph de Quiroga con sesenta soldados para la quietud de aquellas Islas del norte y para poder conduzir la artilleria que tenia ya sacada en tierra a esta Isla de Guajan[.] En este mismo tiempo llego un principal con otros Indios de las Islas de Gane que corren hasta veinte grados a presencia de dho Governador en dha Isla de Guajan[.] estos vinieron pidiendo pases por ber que ya los Españoles daban serca de sus Islas y por tener al dho Sargento Mayor con dhos soldados en la Isla de Seypan y visto tambien por los Padres que aquellos Indios venian pidiendo pases se determinaron a que pasase uno de sus Reverencias a las dhas Islas de Gane para baptisar y reducir a la ley de Dios a los naturales de ellas y assi pidieron al dho Governador escolta de soldados y assi hubo de darles cinco soldados, de los que asistian en el presidio de dha Isla de Guajan y ordeno al Sargento Mayor que de la Isla de Seypan de los sesenta que tenia diese veinte que hazen el numero veinte y cinco hombres con el Cavo que era el Capitan Joseph de Tapia y habiendo salido con veinte embarcaciones y en ellas todos principales de esta Isla de Guajan llegaron a todas las Yslas del norte a donde supo dho Governador fueron vien recibidos de los naturales de ellas y baptisandose muchas criaturas mas como el demonio que siempre esta vigilante bia que le quitaban la pressa que tan agarrada tenia[,] aprieto [apretó?] en grande manera ensistiendo a los naturales de esta a Isla de Guajan a que obsercen [obrasen] tan gran maldad y traicion como obraron **Domingo veinte y tres de Jullio** del año passado de ochenta y quatro como a la dies*

del día[.] aviendo el Governador salido de oír missa de la Iglesia que esta en el presidio de Adgaña [rather Agaña] y aviendo entrado despues todo los Indios comarcanos a oír su missa y platica como se acostumbraba[.] en este interin salio el Governador de su cassa a un huerto que estava a la orilla del Rio serca de dha casa con un muchacho que le acompañaba tan solamente sin armas ningunas por estar entre las casas de los soldados cassados que vivian fuera de la fuerza y a essa misma ora saliendo los dhos Indios de oír su missa y platica se fueron desparciendo para sus pueblos quedando tan solamente los que tenian ya fraguada la maldad que el demonio les avia ensistido y divididos en bandas escondidos unos entre las cassas de dhos soldados cassados y otros en la cassa de los Padres como criados que les asistian y a esta sazón tocando la campana para sermon que se acostumbraba los Domingos a que asistia la Infanteria[.] sucedio que estando los soldados los mas en la yglecia y otros que yban para ella a dha sermon[.] viendo los Indios la ocazion que buscaban salieron por detras de las casas donde estava dho Governador en el huerto sin ser sentidos de su perssona caieron sobre dho Governador dandole de puñaladas por detras unos con carniseros y otros con machetes de suerte que de los primeros golpes dieron con dho Governador en tierra y lebandandose aunque sin armas se defendio como pudo con las manos hasta que permitio Dios que a los gritos del muchacho que le acompañaba salio el Capitan Joseph de la Cruz con una lanza en las manos y hallando a dho Governador forseando con los dhos Indios a el uno de ellos que era el caudillo de la maldad y el que los insistio para la traicion le metio la lanza dho Capitan por el cuerpo que no pudo huir por estar dho Governador assido con el y los otros se esparsieron luego a huir[.] este dho Indio quedo muerto alli a los pies del Governador y de los otros que huieron alcanso a uno de ellos un esclavo del dho Governador y a machetas le matof.] despues cojiendo el Governador la lansa que llevaba dho Capitan camino con ella en las manos llamando a los soldados aunque herido con nueve o dies heridas penetrantes y por ellas derramando mucha sangre[.] a este mesmo tiempo los demas Indios que estavan repartidos assi en el convento como en la Iglecia dieron sobre los Padres y sobre los soldados que estavan en dha Iglesia[.] en el convento mataron a un Padre sacerdote y a un hermano[.] tambien al Padre Vize provincial y otro sacerdote les dieron dos heridas a cada uno[.] otros dos hermanos se escaparon con muchas puñaladas[.] de entro de la Iglecia mataron dos soldados y en el cuerpo de guardia de Governador mataron la sentinela y fuera del campo a otro soldado.

Mas viendo dho Governador el alborroto y traizion tan grandef.] no teniendo soldado con soldado [consolado?] los quales no andubiezen alborrotados cargados de miedo por estar todos los demas heridos y maltratados[.] mando tocar a recoger toda la gente a la fuerza y de la mesma manera a todos los Padres para poder asegurarse en ella y poserse defender.

Los Padres de los otras residencias que estavian llamados para aquel mesmo día a junta de sus Reverencias[.] quiso Dios que estuviesen en camino y llegaron a dha fuerza ya que el enemigo se avia retirado a prevenirse y juntar mas gente para ber si podian acabar con todo[.] **Jueves a veinte y siete del mesmo mes y año** se junto toda la ysia y vinieron a dar abanze a dha fuerza y hallando en ella la resistencia[.] quemaron la yglesia la cassa de los Padres[.] el colegio de los muchachos y el de las muchachas[.] retirandose quedando muerto el que los ensistia y animaba y otros heridos abalassos [a balazos] que de la fuerza se les tiraron[.] despues se estuvieron recojiendo y juntando algunos días para bolver con mas fuerzas a acometer y assi bolvieron **sabado a veinte y nueve de Agosto [sic]** con grande resolucion y fuerza acometiendo portada para dha fuerza y haciendo muchas diligencias para ber si podian entrar dentro[.] matose al caudillo y otros muchos heridos abalassos [sic.] viendo que no podian salir con su intento se rretiraron.

*En la Residencia de la punta del norte que llaman **Ritidian** mataron al Padre que les administrava por no aver venido aquel día en que fue llamado por ser engañado de dho enemigo por la vos y fama que hecharon que ia avian acabado y muerto al Governador[,] a los Padres y a todos los soldados en aquel dho día veinte y tres de Jullio.*

Luego al punto que sucedió el dho fracasso despacho el enemigo embarcaciones a todas las otras Islas avisando como ya avian acabado con todos en esta cavezera de Guajan y assi que hiçieran lo mesmo con los que estaban en ellas que con esso quedarian a su livertad.

*Luego la nueba de parte del enemigo a la Isla que llaman de Buena Vista [i.e. Tinian] **estando los dos varcos cargados con dies piasas de artilleria** de las que avian sacado en la Isla de Seypan esperando tiempo para atravezar a esta Isla de Guajan y cogiendo descuidados a los marineros y a los soldados los mataron a todos y quebraron los varcos que estaban a orillas de la plaia a donde quedo dha artilleria. A este mesmo tiempo aviendo corrido dha nueva por parte del enemigo en la Ysla mas cercana de esta de Guajan nombrada **Rotta** aunque fueron ensistidos los naturales de ella para que matasen a dos Padres que los administraban no quicieron hazerlof.] el uno de dhos Padres se envarco con intento de pasar a donde estaba dha Sargento Mayor en la Isla de Seipan con la nueba que avia despachado el Governador a el dho Sargento Mayor para que se asegurase y que estubiese avisado de lo sucedido en esta Isla de Guajan y llegando a la Isla de Buena Vista el dho Padre como ya estaban encarminados con las muertes de los marineros y soldados y quiebras de los varcos mataron a el dho Padre assi que lleo a tierra[.] tambien hubo despues noticia de que avian muerto a el otro Padre [que] quedava en dha Isla de Rotta[.] A la mesmo ocacion paso la nueba tambien de parte de dho enemigo a la Isla de **Seipan a donde estaba dho Sargento Mayor[,] quarenta hombres en un fuerte de palos** y juntandose todos los Yndios de la dha Isla y los de la Isla de Buena Vista le acometieron aviendo fraguado primero por engaño de amistad el ber se los podian acabar[.] quiso Dios que el dho Sargento Mayor reconociere el daño y traicion por el acometimiento que hiçieron a un soldado que esta[ba] fuera de la fuerza a donde le mataron otros tres soldados que avian ydo a un pueblo y viendose ya descubiertos le acomitieron por todas partes a donde le tubieron sercado algunos dias[.] defendiendose y matando a algunos del enemigo y otros heriendo. En esta sason y tiempo despacho tambien dho enemigo embarcacion a las Islas de Gane avisando a los principales de la de San Juan que avian ydo con los soldados y el Padre diciendoles que los matasen a todos porque ya avian acabado con todos los que estaban en dha Isla de Guajan y tambien con todos los que avian quedado en la Isla de Seipan y sabido ellos esto lo callaron como traidores sin aver ninguno de dhos principales que dieze aviso de dha maldad aguardando ocasion para efectuarla[.] dentro de pocos dias que estaban ya para retirarse a esta Isla de San Juan aviendo ya concluido prosperamente con todo el ministerio que fueron [a] hazer quedando toda la gente de aquella tierra muy pacifica y obediente[.] saliendo a la mar ya de vuelta y siempre dhos principales con su mal intento y traicion y los soldados descuidados por ir embarcados con los dhos que monstraban fidelidad y amistad halando la ocasion enpesaron de los embarcaciones à arrojar a los soldados a la mar en donde perdieron la vida excepto seis[.] tres que salieron a las Islas a nado y los otros tres que llevaron a la Isla de Guajan como a manera de esclavos para servirse de ellos[.] tambien ubo noticia de que el Padre [Coomans] que avia ydo con los soldados a dhas Islas de Gane en [sic] el Indio que lo llevaba en su banca no lo quiso matar sino que lo hecho en tierra de que ay noticias que estava vivo en dhas Islas de Gane.*

[Former Chamorro tourist now a traitor]

*Domingo ocho de octubre estandose selebrando misa dentro de la fuerza de la Isla de Guajan se toco arma del enemigo y saliendo a la muralla estaba dho enemigo a tiro de arcabus metido en unas casas que avian quedado vasias y medio derribadas arcabuscando a las sentinelas de dha fuerza a donde obligo al Governador a hechar gente fuera de la fuerza para a[h]uyentarlos y con esta salida **apriciono dho Governador al caudillo que los acaudillaba que era un gran principal criado entre los Padres y aber estado en Manila y en la Nueva España al qual vistio el Señor Virrey D. Fray Payof.**] este era uno de los grandes cof[r]sarios que animaban los Indios y los enseñaba a tirar arcabucas con las armas de los soldados que avian muerto en la Isla de Buena Vista y en las Islas de Gane[.] otro Indio de los que le acompañaban cayo muerto a machetas y los demas huyeron y como avian traído las armas[,] polvora y valas que tenían en los barcos, y la que llevaban de respecto en las embarcaciones en que passaron a las Islas de Gane con ellas mesma estaban arcabussando de dia y de noche teniendo a todos sercados por ber si hallaban ocazion de lograr su mal intento y de los soldados que mataron en las Islas de Gane los tres que trujeron vivos los tenían en sus pueblos enseñandose con ellos a disparar[.] entre estos tres avia uno de mal inclinacion el qual no solamente los enseñaba a las armas sino tambien dandoles industrias de como podían acabar con todo sus diligencias eran muchas juntandose toda la gente de la dha Isla grande de Guajan y los de la Isla de Rotta y poniendo serco a la fuerza por todo el monte que esta a tiro de mosquete el qual avia desmontado [=cleared of bush] dho Governador aquel mes antes para hazer sementeras de mais para el sustento de la Infanteria[.]*

[Psychological warfare]

*Y visto el enemigo que por ninguna parte podía hazer daño sino ante recibio mucho mal, les puso en la cabeza el demonio por industria de los soldados que estaban entre ellos el hechar vos y fama que estos no querian matar a los soldados mas quenta solamente a él Governador y a los Padres y haviendo algunos soldados de mal inclinacion y cobardes y por verse sercados del enemigo en particular los Indios Filipinos que le tira la inclinacion contra el Español[.] **sabado veinte y ocho de octubre** de dho año como cosa de los dies de la noche estando en un cubo de guardia un soldado Filipino[.] el dho soldado[,] dos criados del Governador y dos criados dos [sic] Padres se descolgaron de la muralla y se fueron a el enemigo[,] los cuales dieron mucho perjuicio por las malas se[c]tas que metian al enemigo contra los Españoles y Padres ensistiendoles a que prosiguiezen la guerra y no dexar salir a buscar que comer[.] ni por esso dejaba de salir dho Governador con su gente metiendo vastimiento vastantes en dha fuerza porque eran grandes las sementeras de mais que tenia hechas.*

En todo este tiempo no pudo dho Governador tener noticias del Sargento Mayor que asistia en la Isla de Seipan de el estado en que se hallaba porque eran tantas las palabras que corrian entre dho enemigo que publicaban a voses como ia avian acabado con todos los soldados y Padres de las Islas del norte y de la misma manera publicaban en las del norte que ya avian acabado con toda la gente de esta cavesera de Guajan y assi andaba todo en confucion hasta que quiso Dios que aviendo a las manos el Sargento Mayor a un Indio principal de los pueblos que mas sercanos tenia se obligo un pariente suyo a traer al dho Governador una carta avisando del estado en que se hallaba dho Sargento Mayor[.] esta carta llevo escondida a manos del Governador a mas de media noche escrita por el dho Sargento Mayor en la Isla de Seipan con un Indio que escondiendose del enemigo por salvar a su pariente y principal la trujo arresgandose a que solo sabia el enemigo le matarian a el y teniendo noticia el dho Governador del

estado en que se hallava dho Sargento Mayor bolvio hazer despacho en aquella mesma ora con el mesmo Indio portador ordenando a dho Sargento Mayor que procurase agarrar algunas embarcaciones de los Indios y del mesma manera algunos Indios que las governazen y asigurandoles se embarcase con la mayor seguridad que pudiere y atrabesase a esta Isla de San Juan a incorporarse para poder castigar a este enemigo[.] hizolo assi dho Sargento Mayor y habiendo salido a veinte de Noviembre de dho año de la Isla de Seipan para esta de Guajan en ocho embarcaciones con los soldados y Padre Ilego Jueves veinte y tres de dho mes con cinco embarcaciones a esta Isla de Guajan con mucho riesgo del tiempo que les cogio en la mar quedando tres embarcaciones con dies y nueve soldados no sabiendo si se los trago la mar o caieron en manos del enemigo y habiendo sentido el enemigo de esta Isla de Guajan la llegada del Sargento Mayor con la gente[.] enpeso a retirrarse lo mas largo que pudieron a prebenir sus embarcaciones para ponerse en huida con esta ocasion[.] Visto el dho Governador al enemigo tan amedrentado y puesto en huida les conbido con la pas reservando solamente a los que fueron cabezas del alsamiento y a los que devian muertes porque se aquietasen y se bolviesen a sus pueblos haciendoles todo el agasajo posible y no fue vastante por grandes diligencias que hizo el dho Governador[.] Y assi procuro hazer algunas salidas [por] parajes donde sabia que havia gente por ber si cojiendo algunos se reduçian los demas y ni estas ni otras diligencias fueron posibles para poder conseguir el que se aquietasen y se bolviesen a sus pueblos hasta que viendo dho Governador la huida del enemigo con tanta fuerça y enpeño[.] trato de hazer un barco y sementeras para el sustento de la Infanteria y a quinze de Febrero del año de ochenta y cinco se acabo dho varco de veinte y cinco codos de quilla y acabando el dho varco trato dho Governador assi por mar como por tierra a atajarles los pasos a los enemigos y quebrarles las embarcaciones y aun que hizo assi quebrandoles algunas que se pudieron cojer a manos como es tanta la cantidad de embarcaciones que tienen y ser tan ligeras se ponian en huida sin poder atajarlos y se passaban a las Islas del norte menos los que tenian poblaciones en los montes que como no eran marineros se pudieron atajar y bolver a reducir y aun de este genero de gente los cargaban por fuerza y los enbarcaban por dejar esta Isla de San Juan despoblada y huir de la carga que tenian a cuestas[.] no obstante hizo dho Governador muchas diligencias assi por bien como por las armas de reducir todo lo que pudo que seran hasta cantidad de doscientos hombres [Indios?] poco mas o menos y sus familias[.]

[English pirates visit Guam]

*Andando en este tiempo dho Governador reduciendo la gente que abia por los montes tubo nuevas que por la parte del este de la Isla andaba una nao y aperciendo el varco con la guarnicion que pudo salio el dho Governador a reconocer dha nao y aviendo llegado a la punta del sur a **veinte y cinco de março** se aparecio dha nao y que benia bolteando la Isla enderesandose para el puerto de Humatac y reconociendo dho Governador que no era nao Española sino estrangera[.] visto el Governador las pocas fuerzas que llevaba en dho varco se retiro al puerto de Humatac y reconociendo tambien que donde alli se benia el designio que traia dha nao salto en tierra con su gente y cojiendo una embarcacion de la tierra con dos Pampangos de entro despacho el Governador a la nao a reconocerle y bolviendo la dha embarcacion diciendo que era nao francesa[.] carta escrita en françes preguntandoles a los que benian en dha nao que buscaban en los puertos del Rey de España y respondió el Capitan de dha nao por otra carta que tienen dho Governador en su poder diciendo que herran enbiados por la Compania de Francia a descubrir nuebo mundo y que eran christianos y amigos del Rey de España y que no venian a hazer mal que assi les diese lizencia en nombre del Rey nuestro Señor para poder cojer un poco de agua y leña de*

que benian muy faltos y havi-endo visto el dho Governador la respuesta bolvio a despachar dha embarcacion embiandole a decir al dho Capitan de la nao que saltase en tierra su persona y y viniese a verse con dho Governador a que lo cumplio dho Capitan y abiendo llegado en su falua [=launch] con quince o veinte hombres se puso en la mar a tiro de escopeta sin querer llegar a tierra temiendo por ber a dho Governador en la playa con quarenta hombres y desde alli bolbio a referir al dho Governador como eran christianos y amigos del Rey de España y que eran embiados por el parlamento de françia a descubrir nuebo mundo y que venian por el oriente[,] proseguian[do] su viage al norte asia el Japon y pediendole lizençia al dho Governador para poder coger un poco de agua y leña de que venian muy necesitados[,] concidiendoles la lizençia el dho Governador y aviendo dhos franzes tenido noticia por un soldado fugitivo que avia llegado antes a la nao de como estaba todo el enemigo en guerra se ofrecio dho Capitan al Governador de que si queria le ayudaria en la guerra contra dho enemigo[,] a que respondió el Governador que lo estimaba pero que no avia menester ayuda para tal enemigo que tenia fuerzas vastantes.

Andubo tan bisarro y tan liberal el Capitan de la nao con el dho Governador que le rremitio de la nao quatro varriles de polvora rica fina[,] y ocho escopetas de piedra muy buenas y le embio a decir al dho Señor Governador que si necesitaba de alguna artilleria pequena que se la embiaria tambien a que le respondió el Governador que estimaba todo en mucho y quien quanto a la artilleria antes la tenia de sobra[,] en este tiempo hizo dho frances su aguada y leña adelante del puerto de Humatac estando dho Governador en el passo por lo que pudiese resultar y estando dho frances haciendo dha aguada y leña trato el enemigo de la tierra de ber si podía dar sobre dho frances mas con el aviso que le avia dado el Governador de que estubiecen con cuidado del enemigo de la tierra los cogio el dho enemigo bien prebenidos de manera que mataron mas de veinte Yndios y los demas cojieron sus embarcaciones y passandose a las Islas del norte[.]

Habiendo acabado dho frances de cojer su refresco embio al Governador a pedir lizençia para proseguir su viage y aviendose la concedido se hizo a la vela y poniendose en frente de la fuerza hizo su salva Real y se tiro la buelta del norte prosiguiendo su viage.

Y haviendose ido dha nao salio el dho Governador para la punta del sur a reducir algunos Indios [hombres?] que abia[n] por el monte los quales an ydo saliendo a dar la obedençia como de antes la tenian[.]

Esto es lo que a susedido hasta fines de Mayo del año de mill seiscientos ochenta y cinco.

Translation of a report made by the Governor of the Mariana Islands¹

Account of what happened in these Mariana Islands from the month of June 1684 until the month of May² 1685.

Being these islands of Guajan, of Rota, of Tinian and of Seypan, their natives having been reduced to God's law and to his Majesty's service, in particular those of this island of Guajan so involved with Christianity, to wit during Lent of last year 1684, there was not one man nor woman who did not attend church and during holy week there were many who did great penance by spilling their blood in the streets,³ and given that very serious offence was being done to the Devil in taking from him what he held so tightly, he tried to take steps inasmuch as God allows him to do; hence the account below of what happened at the said islands.—

The galleon **San Telmo** having passed on 20 June, then the Governor of the said Islands at once sent the boats he had built at this island of Guajan to the island of Seypan where he kept Major José de Quiroga with 60 soldiers to keep the northern islands calm, and in order to bring over to this island of Guajan the cannon that had been taken ashore already. At that same time, there arrived a Chief with other Indians from the **Gane Islands**⁴ which run as far as 20 degrees [lat. N.] to present himself to the said Governor in the said Island of Guajan. They came to ask for peace because they saw that the Spanish were already getting near their islands and that the said Major with the said soldiers were at the Island of Seypan, and the Fathers having seen also that those Indians came to ask for peace, decided to send one of their Reverences⁵ to the said Gane Islands to baptize and reduce their natives to God's law. Thus, they asked the said Governor for an escort of soldiers and thus there was reason for him to give them 5 soldiers from those posted in the garrison of the said island of Guajan, and to order the Major at the island of Seypan to give 20 out of the 60 he had in order to make a total of 25 men with the officer who was Captain José de Tapia.

Having departed with 20 canoes, all carrying leading men of this Island of Guajan,⁶ they touched at all the northern islands where, as the said Governor learned, they were well received by their inhabitants. Many children were baptized, but, as the Devil, who is always vigilant, saw that they were taking away the prey that he held so tightly, he pressured in a great manner the natives of this Island of Guajan, inciting them to perpetrate the great evil and treason which they did perpetrate on **Sunday 23 July of last**

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- 1 Ed. note: Major Esplana was then serving his second term as Governor (1683-88). He went on to serve a third term (1690-94). He appears to refer to himself in the third person in this formal report, only because it is copied from the report of a missionary.
 - 2 Ed. note: The copy in AGI Ultramar 562 says August in error.
 - 3 Ed. note: That is, from self-inflicted flagellations, a practice still current in the Philippines.
 - 4 Ed. note: The Gane, or Gani, Islands were the Mariana Islands north of Saipan.
 - 5 Ed. note: This was Fr. Coomans.
 - 6 Ed. note: These native leaders, as it appears from other documents, were from Agaña and other villages west of it (Anigua, Asan, etc.) and were probably the owners of the canoes in question.

year of 1684. At about 10 in the morning, the Governor having gone to hear mass at the church located in the town of Adgaña [rather Agadña], and all the Indians of the vicinity having later entered to hear their mass and sermon as they used to do; meanwhile, the Governor left his house to go to a garden located at the edge of the river near the said house with a boy accompanying him, all alone without any weapon at all, on account of being among the houses of the married soldiers who lived outside the main camp, and at that same hour when the said Indians were leaving the church after hearing mass and sermon; they dispersed toward their villages, remaining behind only those who had already conspired to do the evil thing that the Devil had incited them to do, having divided themselves into hidden bands, some among the houses of the said married soldiers, and others in the residence of the Fathers as the servants who assisted them, and at this moment the bell was ringing for the sermon [in Spanish] that the Infantry was accustomed to attend on Sundays, it happened that, most of the soldiers being inside the church with others who went for the said sermon, the Indians, seeing the opportunity they were waiting for, came out from behind the houses to where the said Governor was in the garden, without being perceived by his person, they fell upon the said Governor giving him knife blows from behind, some with butcher knives, others with machetes, in such a way that the first blows brought the said Governor to the ground, and he got up, although he was unarmed, to defend himself as he could with his hands, until such time as God allowed. As a result of the shouts of the boy who accompanied him, Captain José de la Cruz¹ to come out with a lance in his hands and finding the said Governor struggling with the said Indians, to one of them who was the leader of the wickedness and who had incited them to treason the said Captain transpierced him with his lance. He had not been able to flee as the said Governor was with him, but the others then dispersed, fleeing. This said Indian fell dead there at the feet of the Governor. A slave of the said Governor caught up with one of those fleeing and killed him with a machete. Afterwards, the Governor grabbed the lance brought by the said Captain and, with it in the hands, calling the soldiers, even though he was wounded with 9 or 10 penetrating wounds, and spilling much blood from them.

At this same time the other Indians, who had distributed themselves in the convent as well as in the church, fell upon the Fathers and upon the soldiers who were in the said church. In the convent they killed one priestly Father and one Brother, and also they gave two wounds each to the Father Vice Provincial [i.e. Bouwens] and to another priest; two other Brothers escaped with many knife wounds.² Inside the church they killed two soldiers, and at the Governor's guard-house they killed the sentinel, and another soldier outside the camp. However, the said Governor, seeing such a great riot and treason, not having [enough] soldiers, the [remaining] soldiers were not part of any mutiny but walked in fear because all the others were wounded and in a bad way. So,

1 Ed. note: A Filipino, no doubt, as this name is a typical Filipino name, one that is used, in fact, as John Bull is for an Englishman, etc.

2 Ed. note: Those killed that day there were Father Solorzano and Br. Dubois.

he ordered the alarm to be given to gather the people inside the fort, and the same way all the Fathers in order to fortify ourselves in it, and be able to defend ourselves. The Fathers of the other residences, who had been called for a church meeting, God willed them to be on their way and they arrived at the said fort when the enemy had already retired to call on more people to join them and see if they could finish it all.

On **Thursday, 27th of the same month and year**, the whole island gathered together and they came to charge the said fort. Finding resistance, they burned the church, the Fathers' residence, the boys' college, and the girls' college, and they retired leaving dead the one who incited and encouraged them, and others wounded by the bullets fired upon them from the said fort. Later on, they were gathering and regrouping for a few days in order to return with more forces to attack. Thus, they returned on **Saturday, 29 August** [sic]¹ with a great resolve and strength attacking the said fort on all sides and making many efforts to see if they could get in. Their leader was killed and many other wounded with gunshots. Seeing that they could not succeed in their intention, they retired to the [Jesuit] residence at the northern point they call **Ritidian**, where they killed the Father who ministered there [i.e. Fr. de Angelis], as he had not come that day when he had been called; he had been fooled by the said enemy on account of their boasting about having finished with and killed the Governor, the Fathers and all the soldiers that said day, 23rd of July.

Then, from the point where the said disaster occurred, the enemy despatched canoes to all the other islands to notify them that they had already finished with all those at this main island of Guajan, and thus that they should do the same with those who were in them, and with this they would become free.

The news from the enemy arrived at the Island called Buenavista [Tinian] when the **two boats, loaded with 10 pieces of artillery** out of those they had recovered at the Island of Seypan, were awaiting the weather to cross to this island of Guajan. Catching the sailors and the soldiers off guard, they killed them all and destroyed the boats that were near the beach where the said cannon were left.

At the same time, the said news having been spread by the enemy to the island neighboring Guajan called Rota, even though the natives there were incited to kill two Fathers [there. One of them had] embarked with the intention to go where the Major was in the Island of Seypan to carry the news of what had happened to the Governor to the said Major, so that he would find out what happened at the Island of Guajan. The said Father [Strobach] arrived at the Island of Buenavista, but as they were already bloody with the deaths of the sailors and soldiers, and the damage to the boats, they killed the said Father, as he stepped ashore; later, it was also learned that they had also killed the other Father who had remained at the Island of Rota.² By the same occasion the news

1 Ed. note: He means July, 2 days later, because the 29th of August was not a Saturday that year.

2 Ed. note: Fr. Boranga, killed at the Agusan mission, in October.

was also carried by the enemy to the Island of **Seypan where the said Major was with 40 men in a wooden fort.**¹ All the Indians of the said island joined those from the Island of Buenavista and attacked it, after first having plotted to see if they could finish them by pretending friendship. God willed that the said Major recognized harm and treason on account of an attack they made upon a [lone] soldier who was outside the fort where they killed him. Three other soldiers who had gone to a village, seeing themselves already discovered, and attacked from all sides, were kept surrounded there for a few days, defending themselves and killing a few enemies and wounding others.

At the same time and period, the said enemy also despatched canoes to the Gane Islands to notify the leading men from the Island of San Juan, who had gone there with the soldiers and the Father, telling them to kill them all, because they had finished off those who were in the said Island of Guajan, and also with those who had remained at the Island of Seypan. Having learned of this, the said leading men kept it quiet as traitors would, without any one of them giving notice of the said wickedness, awaiting an opportunity to carry it out. Within a few days, as they were at the point of returning to this Island of San Juan, having successfully completed the ministry and left all the people of the said country very peaceful and obedient, having gone to sea and already on the return voyage, the leading men were keeping their evil intention and treason, and the soldiers off their guard as they came embarked with those who showed fidelity and friendship. Finding an opportunity, they began to throw the soldiers off the canoes into the sea where they all lost their life except six, three of whom by swimming to the island [Alamagan?] and the other three who made it to the Island of Guajan in the quality of slaves to serve them. It was also heard that the Father [Coomans] who had gone with the soldiers to the said Gane Islands, [was safe as] the Indian who was bringing him in his canoe did not want to kill him but put him ashore; he is alive in the said Gane Islands.²

[Former Chamorro tourist now a traitor]

On **Sunday, 8 October** [1684], as mass was being celebrated inside the fort of this Island of Guajan, fire from the enemy was heard, and upon going to the rampart, the said enemy was seen within range of an arquebus, occupying some houses that had been left empty and half fallen down, and shooting at the sentinels of the fort with arquebus. This forced the Governor to go out of the fort to chase them off and with this sortie **the said Governor captured the leader who was leading them, and who was**

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- 1 Ed. note: This fort was located at, or near, Susupe Point. Twenty of the 60 soldiers (original number) had been sent to the Gani Islands with Fr. Coomans. There were about 35 men left, as a few had been killed in accidents and in fighting.
 - 2 Ed. note: True, Fr. Coomans was still alive when this report was written in May 1685, but he was killed in Saipan two months later.

a prominent man who had been raised by the Fathers and had been to Manila and New Spain and been received by the Viceroy Fray Payo.¹ That man was one of the great pirates who excited the Indians and taught them how to shoot with the arquebus, with the weapons they had taken from the soldiers killed at Buenavista and at the Gane Islands. Another Indian from among those accompanying him fell dead from machete blows and the others fled. As they had brought the weapons, powder and balls they had in the canoes that took them to the Gane Islands, they used them all to take potshots day and night, keeping [us] completely surrounded while awaiting an opportunity to carry out their evil intention. Out of the soldiers they killed at the Gane Islands, they used the three who had survived and brought to their villages to teach them how to shoot. One of them was badly disposed;² he not only showed them how to use the weapons but also gave them instructions on how they could finish us off. The steps he took were many; he gathered all the people of this big Island of Guajan and those of the Island of Rota and put up a fence around the fort all over the bush at musket range. One month before, the said Governor had dismantled this fence in order to make a corn field for the sustenance of the infantry.

[Psychological warfare]

The enemy, seeing that in no way they could do harm without their receiving much harm in return, was inspired by the Devil, at the suggestion of the soldiers who were among them, to shout that they did not want to kill the soldiers [inside the fort] but only the said Governor and the Fathers. There being a few such badly inclined and coward soldiers, on account of seeing themselves surrounded by the enemy, particularly Filipino Indians who tried to influence them against the Spanish.

On **Saturday, 28 October** of the said year, at about 10 o'clock at night, there being on guard duty one Filipino soldier, two servants of the Governor and two of the Fathers, they came down the wall and fled to the enemy. The said people did much prejudice by the many bristles they implanted into the enemy against the Spanish and Fathers, inciting them to pursue the war and not to let [us] go out to look for food. The said Governor nevertheless did not stop making sorties with his people gathering enough provisions inside the fort because the corn fields he had made were extensive.

In all this time, the said Governor had not heard from the Major who served on the Island of Seypan about the [real] state he was in, because there were great rumors running among the said enemy to the effect that they had finished off all the soldiers and Fathers in the northern islands, and at the same time in the northern islands that they had finished off all the people in this main Island of Guajan. Thus the situation was completely confused, until God willed that the Major got hold of an Indian chief from a neighboring village; a relative of his was obliged to bring to the said Governor a

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- 1 Ed. note: Fray Payo Enriquez de Ribera (1673-80). Fr. Bouwens knew the traitor intimately, because he had taken him from Mexico back to Guam in 1675. His name was either Ignacio Osi or Matias Yay.
- 2 Ed. note: That is, he was a willing accomplice, or traitor.

letter notifying him about the condition in which the said Major was. This letter, written by the said Major in the island of Seypan, arrived secretly in the hand of the Governor after midnight through an Indian who, by hiding himself from the enemy in order to save his relative the chief, brought it, because he knew he [i.e. chief] would be killed. The said Governor, having been informed about the condition in which the said Major found himself, responded within the hour with a despatch sent through the same Indian messenger, ordering the said Major to try and capture a few canoes and Indians to sail them, thus making sure to embark with as much safety as possible to cross over to this island of San Juan to incorporate himself in order to be able to punish this enemy.¹ The said Major did as ordered and, having left the Island of Seipan for this Island of Guajan on the 20th of November of the said year, aboard 8 canoes with the soldiers and the Father [Cuculino, i.e. Kuklein]. He arrived on Thursday 23rd of the said month with five canoes at his island of Guajan, with much risk from the weather which hit them at sea, without three canoes carrying 19 soldiers either swallowed up by the sea or fallen into enemy hands.

The enemy at this Island of Guajan, having felt the arrival of the Major and his people, began to retreat as far away as they could to make their canoes ready to flee. At this opportunity, the said Governor, seeing the enemy so scared and fleeing, granted them peace—except to those who were at the head of the rebellion and had to die—for them to become calm and return to their villages, by showing them all the kindness possible, but, even though the said Governor tried his best, it was not enough. Thus, he tried to carry out a few sorties to some areas where it was known that there were people, to see if, by grabbing a few, the others would be reduced, but neither these nor the other steps were enough to achieve that they become calm and return to their villages, until the time the enemy fled and the said Governor, with great effort and endeavor tried to build a boat and to sow fields for the sustenance of the infantry.

On 15 February 1685, the said boat, of 25 cubits in keel length, was finished. Once the said boat was finished, the said Governor tried by sea as well as by land to intercept the enemy and destroy their canoes and, although this was done and as many canoes destroyed as was possible to grab, as the number of the canoes they have is so great and they are so light, they flee without us being able to grab them, and they pass to the northern islands, except for those who live in the villages in the interior because they are not sailors and could be grabbed and be again subjected. Even the latter type of people were being forced to embark in order to leave this Island of San Juan depopulated and thus flee the duty they held as a burden, in spite of the many steps taken by the said Governor to reduce them by good [deeds] as well as by [force of] arms, all he was able to get [were] upwards of 200 Indians more or less and their families.

1 Ed. note: The idea of capturing enough canoes and Indians to man them was not Esplana's idea, but that of Quiroga himself.

[English pirates visit Guam]

While the said Governor was walking through the interior reducing the people there, there came news that a galleon had been seen from the eastern part of the island, and making the boat ready with the garrison that he could, he went out to reconnoiter the said galleon. When the said Governor arrived at the southern point on the **25th of March**, the said galleon came into view and she was beating off the island trying to make the port of Humatac. When the said Governor recognized that she was not a Spanish galleon but a foreign one,¹ seeing that he had only a small force with him in the said boat, he retreated to the port of Humatac and, recognizing also that from there he would watch and see what the said galleon planned to do, he jumped ashore with his people and grabbing a local canoe, with two Pampango [soldiers] in it, the Governor despatched it to the galleon to reconnoiter her. The said canoe returned to say that she was a French [sic] galleon. The said Governor sent the canoe back with a letter in French asking those who were aboard the galleon what they were looking for in the ports of the King of Spain. The Captain of the said galleon answered by another letter that the said Governor has in his possession that they had been sent by the Company of France to discover a new world, and that they were Christians and friends of the King of Spain, did not come to do bad things, thus they asked to collect some water and firewood they were much in need of. The said Governor, having seen the answer, despatched the said canoe again to tell the said Captain of the galleon to come ashore in person and come and visit the said Governor. The said Captain complied and, having arrived with an escort of 15 or 20 men, he remained offshore at shotgun range, refusing to come ashore for fear of the said Governor on the beach with 40 men. From there, he again told the said Governor how they were Christians and friends of the King of Spain, that they were sent by the Parliament of France to discover a new world, and that they came by the eastward passage and were on their way north toward Japan, and asking the said Governor for permission to be able to collect a little water and firewood which they needed very much. The said Governor gave them permission. The said Frenchman, having heard, through a fugitive soldier who had reached the galleon beforehand, how the enemy was up in arms, the said Captain offered to the Governor to help in the war against the enemy if he wished, to which the Governor answered that he was thankful but that help was not necessary for such an enemy, that he had enough strength.

The Captain of the galleon behaved so magnanimously, so liberally with the said Governor that he sent him from the galleon 4 barrels of very fine powder and 8 very good stone shotguns² and he again sent a message to the said Governor offering to send some small artillery pieces also, if necessary. The Governor answered that he thanked him very much, and as far as the artillery was concerned, he had more than enough. At

1 Ed. note: This was Captain Eaton, the English pirate, with the ship **Nicholas** (see Cowley's narrative, Doc. 1685Z).

2 Ed. note: Literal translation of "escopetas de piedra". They were heavy muskets, of a type that could shoot small balls. The English refer to this gift as "6 small guns" (see Doc. 1685Z).

the same time as the said Frenchman was taking on his water and wood in front of the port of Humatac, the said Governor was considering what steps to take and, while the said Frenchman was taking on water and wood, the enemy ashore tried to see if he could attack the said Frenchman, but as the Governor had notified him about the enemy ashore, he caught the said enemy well prepared so that they killed more than 20 Indians and the rest fled grabbing their canoes and crossing to the northern islands. The said Frenchman, having finished collecting his refreshments, sent to the Governor for permission to pursue his voyage, and having been granted permission, made sail and, placing himself in front of the fort,¹ fired a royal salute and veered north to pursue his voyage.

With the said galleon gone, the said Governor went out to the southern point to reduce a few Indians who were inland and who have been coming out to give obedience as they did before.²

This is what has happened until the end of May of the year 1685.

P3. Letter to Major Urquiza, dated 31 May 1685

Source: AGI Fil. 13-1-9, pp. 152-153.

Note: Major Lucas Mateo Urquiza was a resident of Manila. He had passed by Guam aboard the galleon one year before, 1684. He took part in the residencia of Gov. Vargas that year. Gov. Curuzeláegui appointed him commander of the galleon Santo Niño in 1686, but the voyage to Acapulco was later suspended on account of the presence of Dutch pirates. He sailed in 1687 but was forced back by storms. Finally, in 1688 he made it to Acapulco in command of the galleon Santo Cristo de Burgos. However, his place was forcibly taken over by Gabriel de Arnedo y Escudero, a gentleman of the vice-regal court illegally-appointed by the Viceroy.

Original text in Spanish.

Señor Sargento Mayor Mateo Urquiza

No poder ponderar los trabajos que despues que Vuestra Merced passo he passado yo en estas Islas con el alsamiento tan grande que tube de estos Indios naturales de estas Islas y mas quando me postraron con tanta fuerza de heridas como bera V. Merced por una Relaçion que despacho al General Garçia al qual le ruego que se la manifieste a V. Merced para que por ella vea los trabajos que a passado que no en valde me tirava el corazon el año passado a salir de estas Islas y assi V. Merced en lo que pudiere procure mi salida.

Remito al General Garçia con el Capitan y Maestre de esta nao como consta de recibo incluso para el socorro de estas Islas y por casso de que Dios se lo lleve V. Merced como quien tiene el poder[,] podra por esta y con el poder recibir dha cantidad y despachar el socorro de estas Islas y tambien le suplico no heche en el olvido mi pobresa

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- 1 Ed. note: Presumably Fort Santa Maria de Guadalupe in Agaña, after seeing the Governor return there in his faster sail boat.
 - 2 Ed. note: This report was carried to Manila by Major Quiroga aboard the galleon **Santo Niño**, commanded by General Antonio Nieto, in June 1685.

en fomentar la para en queriendo Dios sacarme de aqui tener que comer[.] A mi comadre ya su suegra de V. Merced me encomiendo mucho y a V. Merced le guarde Dios felizes años.

Fecha en esta Isla de San Juan en postrero de mayo de mill seisçientos ochenta y cinco años.

*De V. Merced amigo y compadre que su mano besa,
Damian de Esplana*

Translation.

Sergeant-Major Mateo Urquiza

I cannot omit to mention to Your Grace the hardships that affected me after you passed by these Islands, on the occasion of an uprising so great that these Indians, native to these Islands, the more so when they prostrated me under the weight of so many wounds, as Your Grace will see from a Report that I am despatching to General García, whom I beg to show it to Your Grace, so that you may appreciate the hardships I have gone through, and which were tempting me last year to leave these Islands, and so tempt me now to beg Your Grace to please try and obtain my transfer.

I remit to General García with the Captain and Master of this galleon a receipt acknowledging the succor of these Islands and since God may channel it through Your Grace, as the man holding my power-of-attorney, your might through this receipt and the power-of-attorney, receive said sum and despatch the succor of these Islands. Also I beg you not to forget my poverty, while doing so, so that when I get out of here, God willing, I may have something to eat. To my “comadre”, the mother-in-law of Your Grace, I commend myself very much, and may God keep Your Grace for happy years.¹

Made at this Island of San Juan on the last day of May 1685.

Your Grace’s friend and “compadre” who kisses your hand,
Damian de Esplana

P4. Power of attorney, dated 8 June 1684

Source: AGI Fil. 13-1-9, pp. 151-152.

Original text in Spanish.

*A bordo del Galeon Capitana **Santa Rosa** del cargo del General D. Juan de Zelaeta en ocho dias del mes de Junio de mill seisçientos ochenta y quatro años, ante mi el escrivano de dho galeon y testigos el Sargento Mayor Damian de Esplana Governador en interin de las Islas Marianas a quien doi fee como se otorgo por la pressente que en la mejor forma que puede y deve: Da su poder cumplido vastante el que de derecho se requiere y es necessario generalmente al Sargento Mayor Lucas Mateo de Urquiza, vezino de la Ciudad de Manila en las Islas Philipinas, para en todos los negoçios que a*

¹ Ed. note: Urquiza’s family lived in Manila, and Esplana was the godfather of Urquiza’s child.

dhas Islas Marianas ó a qualquiera parte de ellas pertenesca sin reservar cossa alguna y para que por el otorgante en su nombre y representando su propia perssona parezca ante qualesquier juezes y justicias de su Magestad, ecclesiasticas o seculares que con derecho pueda y deva pida aya reciva y cobre todo quanto le puede perteneçer al otorgante, venda esclavos, otorgue escrituras y haga de todo lo que assi cobrare y vendiere lo que le tiene comunicado y puede assimismo vender todos quales quien sus vienes muebles y otros quales quiera y por postre haga todo lo que el otorgante hiciera pressente siendo de demandar, dando o defendiendo y todo quanto se ofresca aunque aqui no vaya expressado ni declarado porque es voluntad del otorgante que se estienda este poder para quanto ofreserse le pueda tocante a su perssona o a dhas Islas Marianas del qual dho poder a de usar el dho Sargento Mayor Lucas Matheo de Urquiza por falta del General Francisco Garcia del Fresno el qual le da con libre y general administracion y con facultad de sustituirlo y al cumplimiento de lo dho obligo sus vienes y rentas el otorgante avidos y por aver con renunciacion de leyes en forma y lo firmo siendo testigos el Capitan Bernave Muñoz de Hoses y el Sargento Alonso Estevan Mansanilla y de pedimiento de la parte no quedo rex^o va en este papel por que no le ai sellado y vale por auto de dho general.

Damian de Esplana

*Ante mi y lo firmo en testimonio de verdad: Francisco de Silva Enrriques escrivano del galeon.*¹

Translation.

On board the flagship galleon **Santa Rosa** under the command of General Don Juan de Zelaeta, on the 8th day of the month of June 1684, before me the notary of said galleon and witnesses:

I certify that Sergeant-Major Damian de Esplana, interim Governor of the Mariana Islands, by the present and in the best possible form that he can and must use, as required by law and is generally used, grants his power-of-attorney to Sergeant-Major Lucas Mateo de Urquiza, resident of the City of Manila in the Philippine Islands, in all business concerning said Mariana Islands, directly or indirectly, without one exception, in order for the executor to act in his name and represent his person before any judges and justices of His Majesty, be they ecclesiastic or secular. The executor may act before the law, give and receive payments, in all matters pertaining to the grantee, such as sale of slaves, and may make written agreements with respect to any purchase or sale that he has been asked to do, or may in future be asked to do, for instance, for the sale of his chattels and whatever else he wishes, and finally the executor may sue, or defend, in whatever cause, although not specified or restricted here, because it is the will of the grantee that this power-of-attorney not be limited for anything regarding his personal affairs or those of the Mariana Islands. Sergeant-Major Lucas Mateo de Urquiza must

1 En margen esta una nota del tenor siguiente: "Esta vastante. Manila y febrero veinte y uno de mill seisçientos ochenta y cinco años. Licenciado Herrera."

use this power in the absence of General Francisco García del Fresno in matters concerning the general administration, and with the authority to substitute for him. As a guarantee of compliance whereof, the executor pledges his property and income, possessed by or owed to him, renouncing his legal rights to same.

In the presence of Captain Bernabe Muñoz de Hozes and Sergeant Alonso Estevan Manzanilla acting as witnesses, and at the request of the party and with the approval of said general, there being no official paper available, this parchment was used instead, and I sign my name:

Damian de Esplana

Before me, in faith whereof: Francisco de Silva Enriquez, notary of the galleon.¹

1 There is a note in margin that says: "This is sufficient. Manila, 21 February 1685. Licentiate Herrera."

Document 1685Q

Letter from Fr. Bouwens to the Governor of the Philippines, dated Guam 31 May 1685

Sources: AGI Fil. 13-1-9, fol. 14v-19, pp. 168-177; copy in Ultramar 562.

Original text in Spanish.

Señor

Lo bien que aca se yba aviendo nos prometio una Relacion muy complida de los mejores nuevas que jamas avian pasado a Manila, pero Dios Nuestro Señor cuya providencia no querra en sus altisimas dispoçiones fue servido de permitir que nuestras esperanzas se trocassen en una necesidad inescusable de lamentar a las muchas desgracias que son el dia de oy, quales nunca nos tubieron tan oprimidos despues de averse fundado la Christiandad Mariana, el consuelo es si en tanta calamidad se nos pueda alguno que la divina providencia nos depositó el remedio en la mucha piedad y catolico celo de que el cielo doto a Vss^a y tan apto nos lo trujo a estas partes [tierras], para que remediando Vss^a a nuestros males dieze desde el principio de su feliz Gobierno mayores reales a su generalidad con un empeño tan del servicio de ambas Magestades como lo es el conservar a nuestra Santa Fee entre estos recien convertidos para lograrse en sus almas la sangre preçiosissima que por ellos no menos que por las nuestras ha derramado el mismo hijo de Dios.

El concurrir Vss^a tan inmediatamente a obra tan santa será el timbre mas ilustre de quantas haran que la memoria de Vss^a se quede en vendiçion delante de Dios para eternizarla en su gloria y entre los hombres para que su Magestad informado de tan leal servicio premie a Vss^a su mucha christiandad con mill adelantados aumentos para mayor lustre de su esclarecida casa.

No cansare a Vss^a con referirle a la larga nuestro[s] desastre[s] solo hare de ellos un breve resumen remitiendome en lo demas a las notiçias que muy cumplidas de todo lo

sucedido dará el Padre Diego de Zarzosa en cuya perssona tiene Vss^a a sus plantas toda esta afligida mision, y a mi como a Superior en [de] ella, mas congojado¹ que otro ninguno nos tienef[,] Digo Vss^a[,] a sus plantas no tan[to] para solicitar, si bien solicito mas [solicitamos?] con lagrimas al remedio de que neceçitan nuestras calamidades como para dar a Vss^a anticipadamente las graçias de los medios que Vss^a al passar por aca tenia discurridos y llegado felismente assi confiamos y muy encarecidamente en repetidos sacrificios se lo hemos suplicado a Dios Nuestro Señor los tendra su zelo asistido de su mucha eficazia, ya dispuestos para que esta christiandad sacandola Vss^a de las contradiciones que se suelen seguir a semejantes trabajos vaya aun en nuevos aumentos.

A veinte y tres de Julio de ochenta y quatro aconteçio que estos naturales se alseron[,] poniendo por obra la traicion que formaron entre sí los de tres partidos poco antes de ternos la dha[,] si bien a mi no me cupo tan buena suerte de besarlo a Vss^a la mano, parece que Dios reveló á Vss^a lo que nos amenasaba el infierno quando de Vss^a por atajar un daño en que interesado la salvacion eterna de tantas almas a Vss^a aviso a su teniente nuestro Governador que lo es D. Damian de Esplana que andubieze atento y con cautela por estar su Merced entre Indios y no aver que fiarze de ellos: aviso tan oportuno como mal aprovechado y assi sucediendo la desgracia fue su Merced el primero a quien hirieron de muerte[,] el matarlo fue su intento y lo ubieran executado infaliblemente, a no averseles atajado un ayudante y otro Filipino los quales acudiendo a los gritos que dava un de estos Marianillos. Mataron al principal agresor de los quatro que no hallandole a su Merced en cassa dieron con el en la calle solo desprevenido y sin defenza cojiendole a puñaladas[,] muerto aquelf[,] los otros tres se puçieron en huida[,] el enemigo apoderandose del cuerpo de guardia mato al que sin cuidado estaba de sentinella y a otro que hallo dormido[,] otro tercero murio en la playa[,] salieron otros heridos hasta dies y ocho y de estos por la mañanita espiró el quarto[,] fue particular providencia de Dios el no matar a todos en sus mismas viviendas dentro de la fortaleza y fuera de ella[,] tal era la desatençion de la gente en todas partes.

Muerto como creian el Governador se abalansaron enfureçidos a nuestra cassa donde sin que ubo quien tal pensase hirieron a seis[,] de muerte los quatro y de estos aquella misma tarde espiraron los dos[,] el uno hermano lego y el otro quien como Superior entonces que lo ha çido quatro años besole a Vss^a la manof[,] mataron assimismo en esta Isla de Guahan otro Padre los de su partido[,] en la de Rota mataron al tercero Padre y al quarto en la de Tenian donde con la desastrada nueba de averlos de aca acabado con todo[,] murieron hasta dies y siete entre Filipinos y Españoles a manos de aquellos isleños los quales con la misma alevoçia nos destrozaron a dos barcos que alli estaban para cargar otras dies y siete culebrinas, las quales por orden de nuestro Governador tenia sacadas su Sargento Mayor D. Joseph de Quiroga y Losada.

Los matadores embiaron al instante quien solisitaze a traicion la muerte de otros veinte y seis soldados que con un Padre bolvian de las ultimas Islas en esta cordillera

1 Ed. note: One copy wrongly says "consolado."

hacia el Norte a donde por horden de su Governador avian ydo a disponer aquella gente para atraerla aca[.] sucedioles a los alevosos su traición ahogando a veinte de los veinte y seis que venian embarcados de dos en dos[.] escapo el Padre con los otros seis y aun oy dia esta desamparado con los tres de ellos en una de aquellas Islas.

Nuestro Iglesia y vivienda con anbos a dos los [sic] colegios en que se criaba esta juventud con algunas cassas de cassados[.] asi Filipinos como naturales de esta tierra[.] se quemaron primero en este partido de Agaña[.] siguiose despues la quema de las demas en otros seis partidos con el robo de todo lo sagrado y profano[.] juntose toda esta Isla rompiendo guerra que duro quatro mezes[.] en todo este tiempo tubieron a nuestro Governador encerrado con toda su gente dentro de su fortaleza.

Asimismo los de Zaypan donde por ser la mayor de las tres Islas que por Abril ochenta y quatro sin perder ni uno de sus sesenta soldados conquisto y ya la presidiava con quarenta el Sargento Mayor D. Joseph de Quiroga[.] formaron su traición[.] descubriosela como quien es sagas el dho Sargento Mayor[.] si bien su diligencia no pudo prebenir la muerte que los enemigos dieron a tres de los seis que estando fuera del Real[.] no alcanzaron a tiempo su aviso[.] rompiendo guerra se juntaron las tres Islas para acometer los nuestros[.] Duro la guerra dos y medio mezes sin que el enemigo jamas pudo dañar al Sargento Mayor ni a su gente[.] antes su Merced traia tan acosados a ellos con sus continuas salidas llevando en su compania ya dies ya quinze y nunca mas de dies y ocho hombres[.] alejandose hasta media[.] una y dos leguas cautivando[.] hiiriendo y matandoles siempre algunos que les fue forzoso a los de Saypan pedir pazes[.] consediendoles el Sargento Mayor hasta que con otra ocasion se les hiçieze el ajuste de sus delitos.

Abasteçido su Real mas por un año se dio tan buena maña el Sargento Mayor que haziendo un despacho para aca dio parte a su Governador Don Damian de Esplana de lo vien que a pezar del enemigo avia prebaleçido[.] nosotros estabamos todavia bien apretados y por tanto embiole orden el Governador de retirar[se] con su gente[.] dejando alla todo lo demas[.] obedecio su Merced sin reparar ni en el desamparo de la conquista ni en el peligro de una navegacion en estas circunstançias de mares[.] vientos y conparaçiones tan arriesgada que el escaparze pudiera parecer cassi de milagro[.] solo el desvelo del Sargento Mayor con su asentado discurso y mucha atencion pudo cauterlar los peligros que le amenasaba la maldad y aun los que se le reselavan de la mar si con la devida puntualidad observazen los suyos las ordenes que muy por menudo les avia encargado[.] fue entre otras de no acercarse a la ysla de Tinian por razon de las corrientes que alli las ay furiosisimas[.] ellos se metieron dentro de la misma rebentazon y sin ser poçible que fuezen socorridos[.] de ocho bancas naufragaron las tres con quinze hombres embarcados en ellas[.] lo bueno que hubo en este casso tan desastrado fue que acudiendo el mismo enemigo los recogio a todos y aun oy dia los tiene con vida y fuera de lo que se podia esperar los trata bien parte en Tinian y parte en Zaypan, favoreçiendo Dios a los santos intentos y puriçimo celo con que procede el Sargento Mayor en todas sus empresas.

Su llegada aca fue a veinte y tres de Novienbre con otros veinte hombres en cinco embarcaciones[.] al instante se nos mejoraron las cosas en tanta manera que sin referirlo se rretiro el enemigo [desesperado] desamparado hasta sus mismos pueblos[.] casas y sementerias llenas de rayses que son su sustento tan amedrentados les tenia la notiçia de aver llegado el Sargento Mayor con valor y asertado Gobierno experimentaron el año [de] ochenta quando esto corria por su quenta.

Pero ni lo vien entonces obrado en esta Isla que acabo de conquistar el año de ochenta y la reduzio al ser en que Vss^a la vio[.] asimismo conquisto aquel mismo año a la de Rotta y nuebamente a las tres de Agiguan[.] Tinian y Zaypan, ni por esto Digo pudo recabar con nuestro Governador D. Damian de Esplana ya que su Merced no se resolvía de salir en perssona le mandase a el lo que fue para el servicio de ambas Magestades pues le avia llamado a costa de tantos riesgos y el de su parte no rehusaba cossa de quantas fuesen necessarias para restaurar lo perdido.

Yo viendo al Governador sin resolucion aunque con bastantes medios [fuerzas][.] me halle obligado de suplicarle por intereser en ello la salvaçion de tantos se sirvieze de las armas bolviendo por la onrra de Dios[.] serviçio del Rey y su mismo credito[.] sali me aviendo cumplido con mi conçiencia pero sin mas consuelo del que todos hemos de hallar en la mucha piedad y mui catolico celo de Vss^a.

A Vss^a pues nos acogemos rogandole con lagrimas y de rrodillos si asi Vss^a nos lo permite que doliendose Vss^a de lo que sobre todo encarricimiento emos padeçido este año se sirva enjugar nuestras lagrimas[.] ojos con el remedio de tantos males[.] lo que mas se necesita y lo desea con ançias D. Damian de Esplana nuestro Governador es que le benga en este Galeon la licencia de poderse bolver a Manila[.] Yo con todos los Padres que al pressente nos hallamos en esta fortaleza queremos ayudarle a su Merced para conseguir su intento aunque fueze a costa de ponernos licitamente en qualquier empeño por ser asi combeniente y necessario para la restauracion[.] subsistencia y aumento de esta christiandad[.] y en casso de no lograr su Merced en esta ocazion sus esperanzas suplicamos todos a su Alteza y a Vss^a como a preçidente de esta Real chancilleria se sirva de consedersela en la primera ocazion[.] la qual fiados en la divina bondad y sancto celo que Vss^a como tan catolico tiene de que se logren para el cielo estas almas[.] aguardamos por oras con la balandra cuyo avio y despacho afianzados nos tiene la promesa que fue Vss^a servido de hazer nos al pasar por estas nuestra Isla de Guajan.

Asimismo suplicamos nos haga Vss^a merced de aquellos quince pedreros los quales contra el parezer tan asertado de Vss^a re[h]usso de recibir nuestro Governador para defenza de este fortin[.] prometiendose que estos naturales no se avian de alzar mientras su Merced los Governase, el vagel podra de buelta llevar otra dies y siete culebrinas dejandonos por orden de Vss^a los pedreros.

Y pues el Sargento Mayor D. Joseph de Quiroga es Cavallero de mucha virtud[.] y exemplar vida[.] valor[.] celoso del serviçio de Dios y de su Magestad con la esperiençia necessaria[.] estima y venerazion entre los soldados y Indios para el buen asierto de este Gobierno[.] suplicamos sea su Alteza servido y Vss^a como Presidente de condeco-

rar a sus muchos meritos con la permanencia [preeminencia] de este Gobierno en la forma que lo a tenido D. Damian de Esplana[.] en esto recibiendo favor quedaremos todos con obligacion de rogar a Dios guarde a Vss^a para paz[,] sosiego y felis Govierno de essas Islas.

Guajan y Maio treinta y uno de mill seisçientos ochenta y cinco.

Besa la mano de Vss^a su mas indigno capellan y sierbo,

Gerardo Bovens

Translation.

Sir:

With the good that was happening here we had promised ourselves a very full Report with the best news that have ever been sent to Manila, but God our Lord, whose providence prevented it in His unfathomable wisdom, was pleased to allow our hopes to be exchanged for a need that we must unavoidably lament on account of the many misfortunes of our present situation. We have never been so oppressed by them since the Mariana Christian community was founded. In the midst of so much calamity, the only remedy that divine providence has placed before us is the great mercy and Catholic zeal with which Heaven has endowed Your Lordship, and it has brought Your Lordship to these parts to give a remedy to our ills, as you generously gave from the beginning of your lucky term of office more pesos, for an enterprise that is so much to the service of both Majesties, such as the preservation of our Holy Faith among these recently-converted people, in order for their souls to benefit from the most precious blood that the Son of God himself spilled for them, no less than for our souls.

The timely contribution of Your Lordship to such a pious work will be the most illustrious deed of glory that will make the memory of Your Lordship blessed before God for eternity and among men, so that His Majesty, upon learning of such a loyal service, may reward the great Christian spirit of Your Lordship with a thousand advantageous increases for the greatest fame of your illustrious house.

I will not bore Your Lordship with a long narrative of our disaster. I will only give a brief summary, as I count on Father Diego de Zarzosa, whose person Your Lordship now see at your feet, to give your very detailed news of everything that happened, and to represent the whole of this afflicted mission, including me as its Superior, and more anguished than anyone else. Your Lordship, I say at your feet, not so much to solicit, although I/we solicit with tears the remedy that our calamities need, but to give in advance to Your Lordship thanks for the means that Your Lordship had talked about when passing by here. Now that you have happily arrived, we trust, and we have so dearly solicited from God our Lord in repeated sacrifices, that He would effectively support your zeal, and that Your Lordship has already made arrangements to take this Christian community out of the contradictions that usually follow similar hardships and make it prosper again.

On 23 July 1684, it happened that these natives rose in rebellion, the people of three districts putting into effect the treachery that they had planned among themselves, a

short time before the event in question. Though I did not have the good luck of kissing the hand of Your Lordship,¹ it seems that God revealed to Your Lordship the outcome that Hell threatened upon us, on account of this being in the interest of the eternal salvation of so many souls; indeed, Your Lordship advised your Lieutenant, our Governor, who is Don Damian de Esplana, to be careful and act with prudence, as His Grace lived among Indians, and one should not trust them. This timely advice was badly taken. So, when the misfortune happened, His Grace was the first one whom they mortally wounded. They tried to kill him and they would undoubtedly have succeeded, had not an Adjutant and another Filipino soldier run up, upon hearing the shouts given by one of these young Marianos. They killed the main aggressor of the four who had first looked for His Grace at home, but found him on the street, alone, unaware and defenceless. They gave him some knife wounds. With that one dead, the other three fled. The enemies, overpowering the guard-house, killed the careless man who was on guard duty, and another who had been sleeping. A third one was killed on the beach. All in all, they wounded as many as 18, and one of these expired—the fourth one to die. It was a special providence of God that they were not all killed in their own homes inside and outside the fort, as such was the carelessness of the men everywhere.

After the Governor was dead, or so they thought, they rushed to our house where, without any of us realizing what was happening, they wounded 6, 4 of them mortally, and 2 of these expired that same afternoon; one was a lay brother [i.e. Br. Dubois] and the other was the man who had been our Superior for 4 years already when he kissed the hand of Your Lordship. In addition, another Father was killed in this Island of Guahan by the people of his own district. In that of Rota they killed a third Father. In the fourth, that of Tinian, where they took the disastrous news of their having finished us all, those islanders killed up to 17 men, Filipinos and Spanish. With the same boldness they destroyed our two boats that were there to transport 17 more culverins; the latter had been salvaged by Sergeant-Major Don José de Quiroga y Losada, at the order of our Governor.

The killers immediately sent someone to solicit the death by treacherous means of 26 other soldiers who were with a Father returning from the Northern Islands of this chain, where by order of their Governor they had gone to prepare those people and attract them overhere. The treachery of the rebels succeeded; they drowned 20 of the 26 who were travelling two to a canoe. The Father [i.e. Coomans] escaped along with the other six, and until now he is abandoned with three of them at one of those Islands.

Our church and residence, with both colleges where this youth was being educated, along with some living quarters, belonging not only to married Filipinos but also to local natives, were burned, firstly in this district of Agaña. There followed the burning of the others in six other districts with the theft of everything sacred and profane. The whole Island arose together, and war broke out. It lasted for four months. During this whole time they kept our Governor under siege with all of his men inside the fort.

¹ Ed. note: He alludes to the Governor's visit in June 1684, and his having remained ashore.

In addition, in Zaypan, which is the largest of the three Islands conquered in April 1684 by the Sergeant-Major, Don José de Quiroga, with his 60 soldiers and now had it garrisoned with 40, the people there plotted their treachery. Said Sergeant-Major, who is a sagacious person, discovered it, but the quick efforts he made to warn six of his men who were outside the Royal camp could not prevent the enemies from killing three of them. War broke out and the three Islands came together to attack our men. The war lasted two and a half months without the enemies ever being able to harm the Sergeant-Major or his men; rather, His Grace had them so harassed with his continuous sorties with either 10, or 15 but never more than 18 men, over a distance of 1/2, 1 or 2 leagues, always capturing, wounding and killing a few of them, that those of Saypan were forced to sue for peace. The Sergeant-Major granted it to them, until he gets another opportunity to settle the score with them for their crimes.

Once he had filled his Royal camp with more than one year of food supplies, the Sergeant-Major managed so well that, in sending a despatch overhere, he reported to his Governor, Don Damian de Esplana, about the good that had prevailed, in spite of the enemy. We were still under siege and consequently the Governor sent him an order to withdraw with his men, abandoning everything else behind. His Grace obeyed, without paying attention to the abandonment of things conquered, or to the danger of a sea voyage under bad conditions of the seas and winds, relatively speaking, and so risky that it would almost be a miracle if he could escape safely. It was only with clear-sightedness, calm consideration and great attention to details that the Sergeant-Major was able to avoid the dangers from the bad weather that threatened him, even those that he feared from the sea, if only his men were to observe carefully the detailed orders that he had given them. One order was for them not to go near the Island of Tinian, because the currents there were very furious, but they went ahead right through the choppy area itself and it was not possible for them to be saved. Out of 8 canoes, 3 of them were shipwrecked with the 15 men aboard them. The good thing that came out of this disaster was that the enemies themselves picked them all up and, even today, they are alive among them. Out of all expectations, they are being treated well, some in Tinian and some in Zaypan. God looks favorably on the holy intentions and very pure zeal that the Sergeant-Major brings to all his enterprises.

His arrival here happened on the 23rd of November with 20 men in 5 canoes. Our affairs improved immediately, in such a manner that the enemies, without reporting it, abandoned even their own towns, houses and plantations full of root crops that are the very staples of their regular diet, so frightened were they at the news of the arrival of the Sergeant-Major whose valor and righteous administration they had experienced in 1680 when he was in command.

However, neither the good work he had done then in this Island whose conquest he had completed in 1680 and reduced it to what Your Lordship saw, nor that done in the conquest of the Island of Rota that same year and that done more recently in the three Islands of Agiguan, Tinian and Zaypan, none of it, I say, could have been obtained from our Governor, Don Damian de Esplana. Indeed, when His Grace could not make

up his mind to go out in person, Quiroga pleaded to be sent for the service of both Majesties, because he had been recalled at the cost of so many dangers and he, for his part, looked forward to any operation that might restore what had been lost.

As for myself, when I saw the Governor hesitate, although he had sufficient means at his disposal, I found myself obliged to beg him, as the salvation of so many was involved, to please use weapons to avenge the honor of God, the service of the King and his own credit. I left him, having complied with my conscience, but with the only consoling thought that we have to rely upon Your Lordship's great mercy and very Catholic zeal.

Therefore, we turn to Your Lordship, begging you, with tears and on our knees, if Your Lordship gives us permission to do so, to please condolese with what we have suffered this year beyond measure and to wipe away the tears from our eyes with the remedy to so many evils. What is needed most, and is desired most by Don Damian de Esplana, our Governor, is for a permission for his return to Manila to come with this galleon. I, along with all the Fathers who are present in this fort, wish to help him to achieve his plan, though it be at the cost of placing ourselves legally in any endeavor, because we consider it to be so appropriate and necessary for the restoration, maintenance and progress of this Christian community. And in case His Grace does not get what he wishes on this occasion, we all beg Your Highness and Lordship, as President of this Royal Chancellery, to please grant it to him at the first opportunity. We trust in divine goodness and the holy zeal of Your Lordship, who has it so Catholic, that these souls will get to Heaven. We are awaiting the arrival at any time now, of the sloop whose outfitting and despatch we have been firmly promised by Your Lordship when you passed by this Island of Guajan.

In addition we beg Your Lordship to please let us have the 15 swivel-guns, that our Governor refused to accept for the defence of this fort, against the so-righteous opinion of Your Lordship, when he stated that these natives would not rise in rebellion as long as His Grace was Governor. The vessel could, upon returning, carry away the other 17 culverins, but leave us the swivel-guns by order of Your Lordship.

And, because the Sergeant-Major, Don José de Quiroga, is a gentleman of great virtue, lives an exemplary life, is valorous and zealous for the service of God and of His Majesty, has the necessary experience, is esteemed and revered by the soldiers and Indians alike for a righteous administration, we beg Your Highness and your Lordship, as President, to please reward his great merits by appointing him as Governor, in the form used for Don Damian de Esplana. Hoping to receive this favor, we all remain with the obligation to pray God to save Your Lordship, for the peace, calm and the happy government of these Islands.

Guajan, 31 May 1685.

Your Lordship's most unworthy chaplain and servant, who kisses your hand,
Gerardo Bovens

Documents 1685R

Letters from Governor Curuzeláegui to the King, dated Manila 1685

R1. Letter dated 20 May 1685, about galleons

Source: AGI Fil. 12-1-7, pp. 1-4.

Note: This letter was received in Spain on 2 October 1686 aboard the ship Santa Theresa that arrived with galleons. This letter was examined in the Council of the Indies on 5 February 1686 when it was referred to the Fiscal, or Inspector of Finance.

Original text in Spanish.

Del Governor de Philipinas

48. Da quenta a V.M., de como de quatro Galeones que havia en aquellas Yslas, los dos se excluieron de hazer viaje y de adrezo, y como queda disponiendo la fabrica de otro, remite dos testimonios a 35.

Señor

*Al tiempo que llegue a estas hislas havia en ellas dos Galeones de los que hazen Viajes a la Nueva España. Uno nuevamente fabricado a disposicion de mi antecessor llamado el **Sancto Niño** encuentre en el enbocadero y salia para dho Reyno a cargo del general Don Francisco Guerrero de Ardila y esperamos oy; y otro **San Antonio** varado en el puerto de Cavite y los dos **San Telmo** y **Santa Rossa** que volvieron del, el año passado y en qual vine que son quatro de los quales los dos **San Antonio** y **San Telmo** quedan excluidos de bolver hazer viaxe por hallarsse el dho del **San Telmo** por viexo con las maderas podriendo y sin costado para recibir clavazon alguna por cuiá caussa por Junta que hize selebrar a dos de septiembre de dicho año passado de mill seissientos ochenta y quatro con los Maestros Mayores de fabricas y galafatería y capitan de la punta y rivera de Cavite que son los de ynteligencia. Y el voto en este arte ademas de la experiencia que tengo y me han [dan]do a entender las ocupaciones que he tenido de este exerciçio en serviçio a V.M. que son notorias y con uno y otro se declaro assi y por incapaz de adrezo alguno: como asimismo dho Galeon **San Antonio** varado por ser mas viejo y hallarse de la propria calidad y todo abierto segun consto por declaraciones judiciales fechas en dicho puerto por los referidos ante Don Juan Fermin de la Ortiga thes-*

*sorero Juez oficial de la Real Caxa a quien cometi esta diligencia y la vista de ojos de dicho Galeon como uno y otro constara por los dos testimonios que con la presente remito a esse supremo y Real Consejo de que doy cuenta a V.M. para que se sirva de tenerlo ha bien por haver ssido forsosso, como lo ha sido en mi obligacion el poner los medios y eficacia posible para que se aproveche de ellos el yerro y peltrechos que pudiesen servir; en que quedo entendiendo y a un tiempo he dispuesto que en proprio paraje donde se desguaza dho galeon **San Telmo** llamado Solsogon en la entrada del embocadero destas Yslas se proçeda al corte de todas las maderas que fueren nesasarias para la fabrica de otro nuevo porque el de **Sancta Rossa** se duda puede hazer otro viaje que el presente, y tengo por sierto que por haverze de fabricar en dho paraje se hara con mas aorro de la Real Hazienda que otros se han hecho de cuia diferencia queda encargado mi cuidado y dare cuenta a V.M. a su tiempo cuia C., y R., M. guarde Dios nuestro Señor como tan dilatada Monarquia ha menester.*

Manila y Maio 20 de 1685 años.

G. de Curuzelaegui y Arriola

Translation.

From the Governor of the Philippines.

Nº 48. He reports to Y.M. that, out of 4 galleons existing in those Islands, 2 were condemned as unable to make the voyage and not repairable, and that he was making arrangements to build another one. He remits two records of proceedings, under Nº 35.

Sire:

At the time I arrived at these Islands, there were two galleons here, of the type that make voyages to New Spain. One is named the **Santo Niño**, newly-built by order of my predecessor; I met with her in the mouth of the Strait of San Bernardino as she was bound for said Kingdom under the command of Don Francisco Guerrero de Ardila, and we are now awaiting her return. The other, the **San Antonio**, was beached in the port of Cavite. With the two galleons that returned last year, the **San Telmo** and the **Santa Rosa** aboard which I came, that makes four, but two of them, the **San Antonio** and the **San Telmo** have been condemned as unable to make the voyage; said **San Telmo** is old with rotten timbers on her sides that cannot receive any spikes. This was the finding of an Inquiry that took place on 2 September 1684, carried out by the Senior Masters in carpentry and caulking of the point and shore of Cavite, who are the experts. And the common decision of these experts, in addition to the experience that I have, that I gained during the occupations that I have held in this field while in the service of Y.M., and are well known, was for both ships to be so declared, and unable of being repaired. As for the said galleon **San Antonio**, beached in said port for being too old, in a similar state and all open at the seams, as can be seen in the legal declarations made by said experts before Don Juan Fermin de la Ortiga, treasurer and official justice of the Royal treasury, whom I entrusted with this proceeding, and from a simple look at said galleon; statements as to the conditions of both are enclosed with the present despatch to that supreme and Royal Council. I report same to Y.M. so that you

may be pleased to accept it as having been a necessary measure, given that it was my duty to take whatever means and efficiency possible to recover anything that was salvageable from them, such as the iron and rigging, as I understand. At the same time I made arrangements for said galleon **San Telmo** to be taken apart at a place called Solsogon at the mouth of the entrance channel to these Islands, where they are proceeding with the cutting of all the timber that may be necessary for the construction of a new one, because it is doubtful that the **Santa Rosa** can make another voyage after the present one.¹ I am sure that its construction in said neighborhood will save more money to the Royal treasury than at other places where galleons have been built, and I will personally take care of the difference, and will send a report about it to Y.M. in due course. May God our Lord save the Catholic and Royal person of Y.M., as such a vast monarchy requires.

Manila, 20 May 1685.

G. de Cruzelaegui y Arriola²

R2. Letter of 30 May 1685, about Lazcano

Source: AGI Fil. 12-1-23, pp. 1-4.

Note: This letter is an answer to Doc. 1683B. It was also received in Spain on 2 October 1686. It was examined in the Council on 5 October. The case was also referred to the Fiscal.

Original text in Spanish.

Del Governador de Philipinas

30. Da quenta a V.M. del estado de la causa de Francisco Lezcano piloto y de las adiciones puestos a lo gastado en el viaje de Marianas, y el efecto que se hizo para ellas y remite testimonio en 20.

Señor

Por Real Cedula de 26 de Henero de 1683 me manda V.M. que en casso que el Maestro de Campo Don Juan de Vargas mi antecessor no aya feneçido la caussa que fulmino contra Francisco Lescano Piloto que llevo a su cargo la Valandra que se fabrico para comunicacion de las islas Marianas por haver arribado al cavo de cinco meses de el Viaje que hizo el año de 1681, la prosiguiese y determinasse conforme a derecho otorgado apelacion a la parte que la pidiesse pare esse supremo, y Real Consejo, y que hallandola fenesida en caso de no haverse executado la sentençia la executasse.

Y que asimismo diese quenta a V.M. de lo que resultase de las adiciones puestas por el fiscal de V.M. a los oficiales reales de esta Ciudad aserca de 3,052 pesos 1 real 6 granos que se gastaron en el apresto de dha Valandra o Vajel para dho viaje concurren-

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- 1 Ed. note: This was indeed her last voyage. She grounded upon a shoal, now bearing her name, south of Guam in 1686. The galleon that was built in Sorsogon was later named the Nuestra Señora de Guía.
 - 2 Ed. note: The Fiscal recommended, on 13 January 1687, that the planned expenditures be approved. The Council concurred on 5 May 1687.

do para ello el Licenciado Don Diego Antonio de Viga que por entonces hizo el dho oficio de fiscal de V.M. en cuyo cumplimiento inquiriendo los autos de dha caussa por lo que toca, al primero punto, la halle feneçida por sentençia de mi antesor pronunçiada declarando haver sido compelidos de bientos y temporales contrarios que le sobre vinieron y asimesmo le absolvió de otro que se le havia hecho por el mal tratamiento de oficiales y marineros, condenandole solo en las costas proçesales, mandandole restituir lo que solo avra embargado, y dandole por libre de la prision, en que estava en la qual se mando despues detener hasta tanto que satisfasiese una resulta de 353 pesos 6 reales 3 granos que sacaron los oficiales reales, del socorro, que se le avia dado, para yda y buelta de dho viaje y en este estado por no constar de la paga de dha resulta, segui dhos autos hasta que se pagassef.] con cuyas diligencias presento certificacion de haverlo executado en dho tiempo, desde el qual la avia retenido en su poder dho Lescano sin presentar.

Con que en esta parte lo que (como V.M. manda) se me ofresse, desta es, que dho piloto es muy inteligente y cuidadoso en su exercisio versado en el mar del Norte y por tal muy nesesario, y provechosso en estas hislas. Y por lo que toca al segundo punto de dhas adiciones de dhos 3,052 pesos 1 real 6 granos hechas las diligencias nesesarias para su resoluçion consto, por certificassion del contador de quantas, y resultas de la Real Hacienda de 9 de febrero del presente: y es caito [sic] del dho Licenciado Don Diego Antonio de Viga oydor de esta Real Audiencia, el que esta partida se hallava determinado por Junta de quenta, f[ec]ha en dho año de 81. Y los Juezes oficiales Reales absueltos de dhas adiciones de ella por haverse reconisido que quando por dho fiscal y contador se pusieron no constava de la Cedula Real que el dho Maestro de Campo tuvo de V.M. para hazer dho gasto, por cuiã rason y con vista de ella se concludio dha adición. Sobre lo qual, y para que V.M. reconozca todo lo que se ha hecho de costa, con dha Valandra, sus viajes y aderesos; en conformidad de lo pedido por dho Licenciado Don Diego Antonio de Viga, lo ize dar a los ofiçiales reales çertificazion por donde consta haverse hecho de costa en ellos hasta en cantidad de 8,307 pesos 6 reales 9 granos. Y todo lo referido del testimonio adjunto sacado de dhos autos, y desde la dha sentençia, para que sobre ello se sirva V.M. de mandar lo que mas convenga Ch. y R. M. guarde Dios muchos años como la Christiandad ha menester.

Manila y Mayo 30 de 1685 años.

G. de Cruzelaegui y Arriola

Translation.

From the Governor of the Philippines.

Nº 30. He reports to Y.M. on the status of the case of Francisco Lezcano, pilot, and of the additional expenses made on the voyage to the Marianas, and the effect that they had for them. He encloses the record of proceedings, under Nº 20.

Sire:

By Royal decree dated 26 January 1683, Y.M. orders me, in case the Master-of-camp Don Juan de Vargas, my predecessor, did not finish the case that he undertook against

Francisco Lescano, pilot, who had the command of the sloop that was built to establish communications with the Mariana Islands, for having turned back at the end of a voyage of five months carried out in 1681, I was then to proceed with it and determine it in accordance with law, and if anyone asked for an appeal, it was to be referred to that supreme and Royal Council. And, if it was finished, but the sentence not yet carried out, I was to carry it out.

And, in addition I was to report to Y.M. on the decisions made with respect to the additional expenses charged by the Fiscal of Y.M. to the royal officials of this City, concerning the 3,052 pesos 1 real and 6 grains that were spent on making said sloop or vessel ready for said voyage, with the concurrence of Licentiate Don Diego Antonio de Viga, who was then acting as Fiscal of Y.M. To this effect, after consulting the case file, with regards to the first point, I found it completed, by final decision of my predecessor, as recorded: he declared him to have been compelled by contrary and stormy winds that occurred. Similarly, he absolved him of another charge of mistreatment of the officers and crew, and fined him only for the court costs, and ordered that his property that had been seized be given back to him, and that he be released from jail, where he was then. Later on, the retention of 353 pesos 6 reals and 3 grains was ordered, and taken by the royal officials out of the succor that he had been given, for the return voyage in question; since the pay due him did not allow for same, there followed other legal papers dealing with the efforts made for recovery of said moneys. With the records of said efforts, I remit a certification that the fine was in fact paid at the time; said Lescano had retained the document in question in his possession ever since, without returning it.

Consequently, my opinion as to what to do (as ordered by Y.M.) is as follows: said pilot is very knowledgeable and careful in the exercise of his profession, trained in the Northern Sea [i.e. Atlantic], and as such, he is very necessary and useful in these Islands. And, with regard to the second point of said additional charges of 3,052 pesos 1 real and 6 grains, after necessary efforts were made to resolve the matter, it appears in a certificate issued by the Royal Accountant, and in the accounts of the Royal Treasury, dated 9 February of the present year; and it is by decision(?) of said Licentiate Don Diego Antonio de Viga, member of this royal Audiencia, that this entry was decided by the Meeting of accounts, dated in said year 1681. And the Royal officials were absolved of having to repay said additional expenses, because it was recognized that when the entry was made by said Fiscal and Accountant, a copy of the Royal decree of Y.M. authorizing said Master-of-camp to make said expense was not available; consequently, there was a sufficient reason to record these additional expenses. In this wise, and in order for Y.M. to see every expense that was made with respect to said sloop, its voyages and outfittings, in accordance with the request made by said Licentiate Don Diego Antonio de Viga, I ordered that certificates be given to the royal officials, in which it is stated that the total sum spent in those, amounts to 8,307 pesos 6 reals and 9 grains. And I enclose the above-mentioned copy of the records of proceedings, in-

cluding the judgment, so that Y.M. will be pleased to order what is proper. May God save the Catholic and Royal person of Y.M. for many years, as Christendom needs.

Manila, 30 May 1685.

G. de Curuzelaegui y Arriola¹

Note: There supposedly exists a letter from Governor Curuzeláegui to the Duchess of Aveiro, dated Manila 9 June 1685.

Source: Present location of this 3-page ms. is unknown; it is cited by S&D 21: 53.

Note: It is supposedly about the difficult and dangerous position of the Jesuit mission in the Marianas; it is said to be in the middle of an uprising by the natives. The date of this document must be incorrect; how could the Governor have known about the uprising when the galleon bearing the news was still in Guam?

[May be reproduced in the supplementary volume, if found.]

¹ Ed. note: The Fiscal, considering that the case had already been judged by the Audiencia of Manila, recommended that the Governor be ordered not to re-open the case. The Council concurred on 5 May 1687.

Document 1685S

Report on a visit to Guam in 1685, by an Austrian Jesuit

Source: ARSI Germ. Sup. 77: hist. 1683-87, document N° IX; cited in Phil. 13, fol. 266a.

Notes: The report is written mostly in German, in hard-to-decipher Gothic handwriting, on 4 folios. Regardless of what is said in the index of this file, the report is a different one from that by Fr. Kuklein published in Neue Welt-Bott (Doc. 1685J). Text begins with: "Rursus bonisque".

Letter from Fr. John Baptist Grusel(?), dated Bohol Island, Visayas, 27 April 1686

Synopsis.

[The author left Genoa in 1684 bound for the Philippines. He met Fr. Kuklein in Guam and retells the 1683-85 news from him. Fr. Kuklein has participated in an expedition to Tenian [sic] and Seypan [sic] in 1683. He makes mention of Fr. Zarzosa and Pedro Pavon, who boarded the galleon for Manila. José de Quiroga y Losada is also mentioned.¹ So is an expedition to the Gani Islands. Other recognizable names, etc. are as follows, in the order in which they appear: Governor Damian Esplana, Captain José Tapia, Fr. Pedro Cumáno [sic], the 1684 conspiracy in Apurguan, Agádna, Ritiyan and Pago; the events of 23 July 1684; Fr. Vice-Provincial Gerardo Bouwens; Br. Antonio de Reyes; Fr. Manuel Solorzano, the former Vice-Provincial; Fr. Diego Zorzosa; Br. Balthazar Dubois; Pedro Pavon; the Filipino Felipe Sohon [sic= Sonson]; Fr. Antonio Cereso (i.e. Antonius Kerschbaumer, from Tyrol); the Chamorro Ignacio Ineti of Sinahana; Apurguan, Ritiyan; Fr. Theophilus de Angelis from the province of Naples; Piccolomini; Fr. Thomas Cardeñoso; Fr. Basilius Reuex [sic= LeRoux]; Fr. Laurentius Bustillo; Fr. Joannes de Ahumada; Fr. Joannes Tilpe from the Bohemian Province; Ignacio Ineti; José de Quiroga; Fr. Carol Boranga and Fr. Augustin Strobach in Rota; 27 July; Soncharon [sic]; Sinahaña, Ignacio Ineti in August 1684; Archangel Michael and San Juan Bautista; Francisco Masongsong; Quiroga to Tinian and back

¹ Ed. note: He too left the Marianas in 1685.

to Agadna; Joseph Tapia in Gani Is. with Fr. Coomans; conspiracy in Seypan; Ildefonso Soon; Antonio Ayihi; 23 November in Saipan; Strobach killed in Tinian, Boranga in Rota; Quiroga mentioned many times; town of Tumhun in Saipan; Fr. Mathias Cuculinus; December 1684-May 1685; Vice-Provincial 20 May 1685; Cuculinus, Boranga, Strobach, de Angelis (alias Picolomini); Solorzano.]

Ends with one phrase in Latin: "Sed non omnes sabios abstulit una dies." Written in the Philippine Islands in Bisaia in the town of Bohol or Bool, on 27 April 1686.

Joannes Bliem(?) Grusal(?)¹

1 Ed. note: This Austrian Jesuit, whose correct name is hard to decipher, must have been the man who forwarded Fr. Kuklein's report (Doc. 1685J) to the Austrian province, where it was eventually published in *Neue Welt-Bott*.

Document 1685T

Letter from Fr. Bouwens to Fr. de Pape, dated Agaña 10 June 1685

Source: AGR 2: 162-163v.

Original text in Latin.

Reverende in Christo Pater

P. E.

Ne continuatum hactenus e R. P. Petro Comano litterarum commercium interrumpatur hoc pessimum anno, quo alius non fuit malorum fertilior, illius ego, boni consulat R. V^a nunc vices suppleo Deum precatus ut apostolicum virum post annuam prope summa cum rerum omnium penuria, nec minori vita in dies amittendæ periculo inter Barbaros detentionem, huc tandem reducit imo cuius Misericordiæ ingens est argumentum quod ad unum omnes non simus consumpti. Tragædiam exhibeo.

Debest alis mense Aprilis 1684 Deoque ac Regi feliciter e militum Præfecto D. Josepho de Quiroga subrectis insulis Agiguan, Tinian et Zaypan, mense Julio deinde sequenti ex mandato Prætoris D. Damian de Esplana ad insulas aquilonares e militibus 25 selectiores cum suo Duce, et comite P. Petro Comano fuere directi eo consilio ut earum incolas, quod citra uter descimen ad eos non possint qua munusculis, qua blanditijs allectos secum abducerent, si fieri posset, meliori cælo, soloque donandos ubi commodius fidei misteria docevi possent. Pacificè illos ubique incepere; donec quidam inviis præruptisque umpium scopulis confisi Ducem admittere hostiliter recusarunt sed mox subacti, quem inconsulti reciccerant, admisere vel inviti: ac re deinde melius perpensa parvulos suos sacro fonte ablutos volentes lubentes que dedere quin ex adultis non pauci quo melius moribus imbuerentur fide dignis, ultro ad alio commigo andum nostris sese comites obtulere.

Zelo adeo optatoque rerum exordio inbedit infirmus(?); eamque Deo, cuius Providentia in sua dispositione non fallitur, ita permittente, per se suosque tempestatem comitavit, ut non modo vicens inchoata in insulis Borealibus; sed etiam hac in insula S. Jo[ann]is eique proxima, quæ Rota olim, nunc a S[anct]a Anna nuncupatur, ubi pacifice per aliquot annos continuabantur magno fervore progressuque religiosis exercitia uno impetu funditus pene extirpaverit. Rem accipe eo fere quo successit ordine.

Quidam Xrum [=Christianum] mentiti haud infunæ inter suos notæ atque auctòritatis, morum, ut est suspicio, christianorum pertæsi, et magis dominij externorum barbaram effrenemque vitæ auteactæ libidinem perobtabant: Hanc quidem quo facilius consequerentur conjurationem in Prætorem Milites, ip-

... sosque Sacri Evangelij Ministros exorsi aliquot e tribus inter se distinctis pagis rem Christianam radicibus extirpandam decrevere. Verum cum ipsi de modo ac tempore non satis convenirent inter se; quidam cui nomen Antonio Ynete [sic]¹ moræ ulterioris impatiens, sibique si res Prætoris inmotesceret male metuens cæteros ægregie adhortatus canclationi finem imposint parte magis ardua, periculosaque Prætoris interficiendi in se suscepta. Attractis itaque in suam sententiam 40 plus minus ex conjuratis nocte quæ 23 Julij præcidebat 1684 commilitonibus suis Dux ipse provincias distribuit: His intra arcem milites in suis ipsorum ædibus obruncundi: illis interficiendi excubias ad fores Prætoris: istis arcem fraudulenter occupandi: Reliquis excarnificandi Religiosos curam commissis: sibi ut dixi una cum tribus sociis Prætorum perimendi munera reservato.

His ita dispositis ad sacrum (erat namque Dominica) concionemque Agadniæ de more conveniunt frameis pugionibus cultrisque oblongis cum [scutum?] perbene armati. Finito sacro, ac dismissa concione Antonius Ynete suis stipatus adsudit Prætoris. Aberat hic: at mox in Plasa hominem offendunt solum sine armis, sine comite eumque cum ludibrio arreptum multis luculentisque vulneribus perfodiunt confodiuntque haud dubice, nisi ad tumultuariam parvuli ex his Marianulis vociferationem duo ex militibus ex templo accurris scutopem(?) misero allaturo; eorum alter conjuratorum corraphero(?) hastam in viscera adigit: Alter vero reluctantem adhuc framea prope dissecando vita privabit. Fugam socij confestim arripiunt at illos unum Prætoris famulus asseculus [h]jacinace capite minuit hærumque iam fere exanimem exilio eripuit.

Sublato ad hæc clamore domum nostram convolant parricider. Ambulacra, sillas, portas, aditus denique omnes occupare, nequis nostrum claberetur. Lanienam ex conducto aggrediuntur tanto sacrilegio designatur esse [ette?] primum ad cubiculis eimen(?) repetito vulnere, fusteque prægranda in latus ac femur impacto prostratum certo conficiunt nisi ex coadjutoribus nostris non nemo et ipse certo ereptus exilio, me intra cubiculum protensisset. Id sane mirum quod inclinato dumtaxat ostio, conulavi abstinerint furibundi, nec inermes oble-caverint. Ad tumultum exstatus(?) R. P. Emanuel de Solorzano vir ægregie apostolicus deque missione hac Mariana (cui summa cum laude per quadriennium præfuerat) quam optime meritis. Illico bonum Patrem pugionibus, en chris(?) ac sudibus comminuto capite ac sinistra[m] qua illud protegebat, procida graviter adeo sauciant præsertim in gutture, ut eo ipso die sacramentis rite munitus sub vespertinam, spiritum Deo placidissime piissimeque reddideris sin memorensque adultum habitum. Deinde P. Didacus de Zarzosa non citra sanguinem manus sanguinarias effugit fuste in caput at citra periculum impacto. Haud ita feliciter res accidit fui nostro Balthazar du Boys [=Dubois] Gallo Belgæ, quem incautam eliso cerebro tot tantisque vulneribus prostavere, ut percepto sacramentalis absolute oleoque extremo inuncto non ita post, vibis excepserit. Fr. Petrus Pavon et ipse coadjutor cæsim punctimque inflictis per totum fere corpus vulneribus citra mortem curinfirmum manus evasit, convaluitque mira Dei misericordia tertio denique e fratribus (Donados vulgo nuncupant) guttur ut illi quidem existimebant præciderant. Et hic quodque vitam retinuit convaluitque natione Indus Philippinus octogenario major, vir apprime sanctus. E militibus 4 desederati sunt, aliique 18 graviter læsi incurriæ suæ pænas dedere.

Dum hæc ita gerebantur ad aram faciebat Antonius Cerezus natione Bavarus. Hic licet de periculo admoneretur, sacrificium peragebat militique in tanta rerum perturbatione se synaxim petenti interpidus impartiebat. Cum ecce Indi tumultuantes, militesque turmatim in templum sese infundunt. Sacerdos

1 Ed. note: Also written Eneti by Bouwens himself, and Ifiete or Hineti by other writers.

ut erat sacris vestibus indulus sacras particulas unas cum pixi de manu arripit, erectaque in Deum fiducia furibundis ad templum valvas obviam procedens patria illis lingua sacrilegum exprobat. Res miraculo proximæ. conspecto sacerdote furoris sinque obliti qua venerant via pars revertuntur, pars alio diffugiunt, Deum, ut fas est credere, ultorem reveriti, quem eorum intuebantur. Affirmat idem sacerdos nonnullos, ac si obriguerant ita immobilites substitisse. Interea domnuculæ ædibus nostris contiguæ flammæ subjiciunt inimicis simulque an fuginus: quo factum ut periculo subduxerint sese qui intus fuerant promorsuis destituti.

Armata 50 Indorum furma sese in conspectum dedit haud ita post. Trepidatum est aliquantum ad rei inopinatæ rumorem. At ubi innotuit ex amicis Christianis esse Ignatium Enèti qui inter suos præcipuus nobis veniebat auxilio hominem ad se accersivit Prætor: ille arcem ingressus profusis ubertim lachrymis Deum hominesque obtestabatur se impium scetus, si quidem id sibi licitum fuerit, ulcisci vellæ. Ab Prætor detinuit templi ædinumque(?) nostrarum custodia illi demandata. Interea conjurati domum reversi ad præcipuæ Insulæ capita nuntios terra, marique ablegant. Tum ad alias quoque insulas expediunt qui vera falces immiscendo in sceleris societates omnes alliciant. Illi itaque Prætorem Patres, militesque (paucis, ad modum exceptis) obruncatos mentiti, omniaque flammis absumpta id efferere ut de nece religens(?) ubique inferenda isti quoque haud difficulter consenserint. Primi quidem de sectere perficiendo paciscuntur Ritiyani Pagus est hujus insulæ septemtrionem versus, namex [numer?] præcipuis viri accolis non nemo qui forte fortuna Agadniæ aderat dum nefario illic tumultu omnia complerentur, ad suos eodem dice reversus mendacio divulgato citra difficultatem suos induxit, ut comuratorum partes sequendo R. Pm. Theophilum de Angelis, alias Piccolomini, qui zelo atque industria mirabilis fidem illos edocebat, exilio darent. Duo fratres projectæ audaciæ virum re magis quam nomine Angelum, ubi navicula Rotam parabat trajicere, ex improvise arripiunt funeque ad collum alligato, ut rumor subit, ex cymbæ malo ferventissime ad plures, qui eo confluerant, verbæ de Xro. Domino, cujus e cruce pendentis efficerem manu præferebat faciculum suspendunt primum ac deinde vivum adhuc, spirantemque projiciunt in littus, ubi fustibus in pectus ad actis impii carui fines Religiosissimo Patri gloriosam animam eliciunt, sacris exuviis die proxime subsequenti in altum demersis.

Non sine peculiari Numinis Providentia id factum videtur, quod conjurati palvando sacrilegio cum diem potissimum elegerint, quo Patres omnes erant Agadniæ in more congregandi. Namquam ita post intentatum facinus eo ipso die 23 Julii sub vesperam advenere P. Th. Cardeñoso, P. Basilius le Roulx Gallo Belga, P. Laur[entius] Bustillo, Pm. Vero Joannem de Ahumada quique ad eum deverterat, Pm. Joannem Tilpe Bohemum Pagenses sui specie quidem re autem verbo ad mortem utrique inferendam ea nocte secum detinere. At Indorum Tribunus Ignatius Eneti qui in omni hac rerum revolutione se nobis fidelissimum semper exhibuit, litteras, ut fidem Patribus faceret, a superiore allatis, postridie Pago (hoc vico est nomen) Agadniam incolumes perduxit.

Nostris itaque qui hac in insula supererant, in tutum receptis id sedulo actum ut D. Josephus de Quiroga periculum edoctus huc quamprimum advolaret præsiariis, quos 40 numerabat in insula Zaypana [sic] utrique nostro navigio quo illic aderant, impositis. At magno nostro infortunio fidem (quæ nulla est Indis) fefellit qui litteras deferebat, etiam omnium indicio haberetur amicissimus. Substilis ille in proxima hanc insula ulterius progredi recusans. Aliis item litteris certiores illic facti P. Carolus Boranga Austriacus, et P. Augustinus Strobah [sic] Bohemus quid hic rerum ageretur apud nos, imbebatur nulla interposita mora periculo se subducere. P. Carolo salius visum illic subsistere inter suos, quod id ipsum obuire, rogarent omnem illi securitatem polliciti. Verum hic illis animus hund din(?) substilit. Nam post

aliquot hebdomadas ab insularis nostris sive ipsios sive Tiniani (incolarum) instigati, ferro lignove, necdum innotuit, fortem Christi Athletam omnique superiorem elogio, peremerunt. P. Vero Augustinus litoribus nostris iam vacimus dum busta templi tectaque etiam num fumantia eminus(?) e cymba, qua vehebatur, conspireret, artum conclametumque ratus de nobis omnibus, arcemque ac littus ab hoste tenevi, Rotam, quam insulam una cum Pe. Carolo excolebat reperiit; ubi ab Indo, qui iter prosequi recusabat litteras acceptas bonus Pater, ne incautis deterus aliquid contigeret, ipsemet laturus(?) naviculam conscendit. Tinian Insulam iam attigerat, eamque nobis de more amicam ratus statione in littore facta nautam, quid [162v] rerum istic quid in Zaypan ageretur exploraturum dimisit. Interea Patri in navicula reducem præstolanti absunt Tinian virumque in terram abripiunt, ac vinctum ex uno viro malium pertrahunt, nec silibundo haustum frigidæ impartiunt. Ubi denique in Marpus (vicus est) perveniunt a quodam illic præcipuo dum de Deo ad illos loquebatur precabaturque ut crimen illis ignosceret, crudeliter at gloriose peremptus fuste in fauces eliso peremptus interiit. Virum hunc quoquoque usquam in Hispania quotquot in America noverant sanctum constantissime depredicabans. At res in Guahan gestas prosequamur.

27 Julij nobis conjuratorum copiis aucti rebelles sub primam meridianam advolarunt, ut intacta hactenus templum domumque igne sacrilego abolerent. Impietatem non laturus se suosque hosti fortiter objecit Ignatius Enite [sic], cumque semel atque iterum pedem referre coegit. Verum accurrentium multitudini impar auxiliares aliquot sibi milites a Prætoe postulat submitti. At contra accidit: Nam prætoris jussu revocatus ipse voracibus flammis involui omnia lachrymabundus aspexit. At ne in ultus tantam pateretur injuriam adversariorum antesignano una cum capite vitam abstulit, ne hostis victoriam caneret sine sanguine. At hictus quaquaversus submissis in belli sortem, quæ vi, quæ precibus fere omnes attraxit.¹

19 Augusti turmatim undique accurrere atque arci nostræ iam imminentes omni ex parte acerrime illam impugnarunt. Hic rursus laudata iam sæpius Ignatij Eneti aliorumque quos secum habebat, fides ac fortitudo cuituit[.] Nam armis nostris ex arce utcumque protecticum hoste cominus confligendo densissimum felorum imbrem cælo ipsis bene propitio illæ si excepere; donec adversarij fuga sibi consulentes cusecuti clam de non contemnenda affecerint.

Hinc inimici si non fracti aliquantum certe depressint animos nobis adunerent, rumores sparsere, quoque facilius fraudem celarent falsa veris assuerunt. Aubant itaque nostris confractis navigiis ad unum omnes prouesse(?) in insula Tinian. Verum id quidem. Mendacium erat quod illi attexebant: Tribunal cum suis intersectum a Zaypanis submersos item qui ab aquilone reditum instituerant. Tanta his auditis animorum consternatio suborta est inter militis, ut nisi Patrum exhorbatu fuissent utcumque erecti, rem desperabundi destituissent. Spe itaque fiduciaque in Deum confirmatos frequentior ex homologesis ac sacra synaxis roboravere. Et quo alacrius fidentiusque religionis ac fidei causam defendendam suscipere ad conspectum hostem ipsimet sacerdotes stationibus suis sedulo invigilabant, nocturnasque agebant excubias: Nec deerat qui sublata Xrum [Christum] a cruce pendentis effigie mænia incuncursaret ut animos præbeantibus adderet. Quo factum ut 30 Augusti quo die conjunctis viribus belli aleam hostis tentare decreverat, tantus repente terror omnes invaserit, ut propius accedere non fuerint ansi.

Hic demum aperto Marte nihil se effecturos esse agnovere rebelles numero licet insolentiaque præstarent. Ad fraudes itaque, quarum ægregij sunt artifices consilia conversunt. Primum subornant qui In-

¹ Ed. note: Many historical documents were thus destroyed by Guamanian rebels.

dorum Tribunuum Ignatium Eneti constantissime nobis adhærentem in illorum partes, acriter animum illius appugnando, attraherent. At ille fidei memor quam Deo ac Regi dederat, ad omnia stelis immotus. Repulsam itaque passi submitunt mulieres quæ anivirtis(?) consanguinitatisve specie animos tentens eorum qui contracto cum indigenis matrimonio domicilio fixerant inter milites, et ipsi quamvis ex insulis Philippinis oriundi Regi militabant in Marianis. His itaque per vetutum quamdam suadebans ut necato Prætore fugam prius acciperent quam fame conficerentur. Quod se vero Prætorem cautum viderent suis, se saltem noctu clam subducere ne dubitarent vita ab hoste comeatuque donandos sed et hæc illos spes fefellit nanquem sibi propitium fore existimaverant, is totam rei serum Prætori aperuit hominemque rogavit, ut adhibitæ corpori suo custodia etiam atque sibi caveret a suis. Hac ratione omnis istius conjurationis machina corrui. Denique initis rursus consiliis omnes victus in arcem inferendi aditus inter eludunt fame ut certo sibi spondebant additionem nos coacturum. Quia vero metuebantur militum [nihilum?] Præfectus qui Zaypano præerat præsidio, deserta ea insula nobis adesset subsidio, omni id conatu impediturum Zaypanos Tinianosque conabantur inducere ut collatis in unum viribus nostros istic opprimerant, nec prius dimitterent arina quam internicione fuerint omnes deleti sedantumdem hic affecturos esse pollicebantur. Et hoc quidem sibi ex voto successurum sperabant nam Prætor sibi suisque diffisus, quos secum habebat in arce, vix aut ne vix quidem periculo audebat afferre.

At conjurationis in eos qui redibant ab aquilone, serum hic referamus. Qui expeditioni præerat perillustratis insulas borealibus navigationem iam redux una cum P. Petro [Comano] inchoaverat ignarus omnino, quid hic, quid item alibi nobis evenerat ne[c]dum ipsa ei ipsorum, qui se suosque vehebant, suboluerat conspiratio. Iam in altum provecti navigabant milites sin omnino securi, quando remo in aeræ sublato (conjurationis hæc erat exequendæ tessara) Ducem primo, D. Josephum de Tapia natione Philippinum deinde certatim omnes in mare deturbant. Unus dumtaxat ex iis, qui nostros vehebant seu memor beneficiorum quæ a nobis acceperat, seu sceleris atrocitatem abominatus --cum, quem ipse vehebat, binos item alius; qui illius sequebatur exemplum huc vivos reduxere: Aquilonaresi -ro incolæ alios tres, qui natando cum morte luctabantur suis in cymbas, excipere reliquis in profundum demersis. A mortis sibi imminenti periculo animos sumpsit P. Comanus victoresque suos tum nimis tum pollicitationibus induxit ut in insulam Alamagan ipsum exponerent ne illius quidem se fidei committens, qui Sancte pollicebatur fore ut huc cum deportaret, serbaretque incolumem. Alamagan itaque repetiit Pater ubi etiamnum inter vivos cum esse asservis amicorum semper fidelissimus meritoque a fervore et constantia laudandus D. Antonius Ayihi quem Patris Petro in ea expeditione adhærentem reliqui (quod pro viribus cum conjurationi restitutum non ignorarent) fraude circumvenerant destituerantque in terra. At ille coempta navicula ubi Patrem Alamagansum sibi amicissimo commendaverat, huc demum appulit **23 Novembris** quo loco res essent exploraturus. Iteratis conjunctus reditum bono Patris sociisque militibus nequidquam procuravimus litteris minime in Alamagan perlatis.¹

30 Octobris hostium classis nobis adfuit (70 naviculas numerabat) novisque terroribus pene omnes exanimavit. Suspicio namque erat me deleto penitus Insulæ Zaypanæ præsidio suppelias hosti afferent illius incolæ. Ab certius laudem aliquid magno omnium dolore innobuit de interemptis in Insula Tiniana aliisque in mari submersis de vita PP. Carolo et Augustino adempta: addebatur premia Zaypanis D. Josephum ac forte subactum. Mirum dictu quantus ubique pavor quanta consternatio animorum. Nec

1 Ed. note: Fr. Bouwens did not know, at the time he wrote this report, that Fr. Coomans was about to leave Alamagan for Saipan, and martyrdom.

domesticæ conjurationi aberat periculum: nam biduo ante a nobis ad hostem quinque defererant, et plures non incerto rumore defectionem moliebantur: quin et ipsi Prætori, quem iam exosum habebant precem ferebantur machinari. Patres itaque, quo hominem periculo liberarent, noctu excubias agere non recusarunt, donec post mensem alius illius cus[to]diam tuto susceperit.

3 Novembri litteræ nobis deferebantur a Tribuno D. Josepho de Quiroga, qui illis frustratam se Zaypanorum conjurationes relatamque ex hoste victoriam denuntiabat. Hic respicere nostri, et ad saniora reverti gratus Deo privatim ac publice persolutis pro feliciore successu, quem hic subijcio. Tiniani Zaypanque ubi infortuni nostra inaudierant eaque ultra fidem (ut fama enudo creverat) mendaciis aucta, collalis inter se capitibus decrevere, ut ab Zaypani nostros illic. Præsidiarios fraude circumvenirent. 6^a itaque Augusti bene mane verus e vicis confluunt ne uti quam a Tribuno evocati vicinam (ut aubant sylvam excisurum[]). Adunt deinde aliunde alij, qui incautis excubiis intra septa admissi: munusentis milites deliniant divertantque. Sinistri aliquid ex rei novitate subadoratus qui Præsidio præerat incubia vigilum increpata Indos omnes ex esse jussit extemp---, militibus arma distribuit; septi aditus portasque custodiri mandavit. Machinationes suas detectas animadvertere conjuratio ad alios itaque, quorum ingens numerus nostris non ita procul insidiabatur, paulatim se recipiunt ea spe ut ubi de more ad opus exirent Præsidiariorum, ex latibulis illos obvuerent reliquos qui remanebant ad sarcinas facile appressuri intra septa. Et tribum vigilantia spem illis omnem præcidit. Ab aliud itaque stratagema confugiunt. Hominem ex iis qui inter ipsos labentur præcipui, clam submitunt, quod scirent a Tribuno illi mandatum ut alio una cum suis transferret domicilia, id unum procurabant, ut Tribunalium aut solum, aut paucis cum comitantibus domo suo evocatum, ut constuendo pago locum designares, clam ex insidiis obruerent. Verum re in aliud tempus reiecta fraudem ventum ad arma, quorum vim cum hostis sustinere non posset in caput impedit conjuratorum nescio quis. Tum gerebantur, tres ad nostris Præsidio aberant, qui ubi conjurationis ignari domum redibant in hostem illapsi, eorumque furore e vivis sublatis sociorum animos non parum commovere.

[163] *Plurimum laborabat Tribunus (nam eorum, quæ alibi acciderant, nihil etiam num inaudierat, ut nostros ubique admoneret de periculo. At nullatenus id assequi potuit. Spe itaque sua frustratus ad se suosque servandos animum convertit.*

8 Augusti exiguo 10 militum manipulo secum assumpto in vicum (Tumhum vocant) divertit ut quid nostri, quid inimici ugisarent [sic], indagaret. Hic ex improvviso 400 eoque plures lances fundisque probe instructos offendit; qui illico paucitate nostrorum contempta barbarum vociferantes arma expediunt. Verum ad omne periculum impavidus Præfecti animus non modo sustinuit hostium impetum, sed hostem ipsum bis ac tertis pedem referre coegit. Quia tamen novæ ex condensis arborum latebris auxiliares copię identidem prorumpibant; aliæque cymbis ad vehebantur (ad littus namque conflictum inierant paulatim retro se recipiebat; ac demum post trium horarum prælium ne reditu a hauta [=hausta?] barbarorum multitudine intercluso lapidum ac telarum imbre obtueretur, nullo penitus e suis læso, nidum desiderato domum tenuit.

Biduo post amicum se simulans, nescio quis, botam(?) malorum quæ acciderant; illidem militum Præfecto aperuit. Angi ad hac vivi animus: omni quippe spe, omni auxilio destitutus neque in eo orbis angulo subsistere poterat, neque alio abere sine navigio, sine bellico apparatu, sine comeatu. Milites numerabat non plures 37. Horum pars major morbis impedita armis tractandis plane inutilis inter ingentem hostium multitudinem et suapte natura, et tot sociorum eæde insolentem curas sollicitudinesque angebat. Ad non id circo spem omnem abiceit divino fretus auxilio. Convocatis itaque sociis quid clam ab Indo sibi rela-

tum, illis palam fecit; eosque ad tantam malorum congeriem solatus: ego inquit certissime mihi vobisque polliceor fore ut Deo bene propitio insignes ex hoste sacrilego refiramus victorias. Neque enim divitias, at animas cælo lucraturi huc advenimus: Non pro vana nominis umbra, sed pro amplificanda Numinis gloriæ nec pro argento auroque effodiendo sed pro Dei cultu inter barbaros stabiliendo propagandaque decertabimus. His non dissimilia subdebat, qui militibus e nostris aderat P. Mathias Cuculino Bohemus; qui ne quid spem divinam remoravetur, frequentius expiatis sacra sytraxi refaciebat præscriptis insuper; quibus virginem sine labe conceptam cælitesque sibi propitios exorarent. Utriusque hortatu confirmati militum animi usque adeo, ut omni timore prorsus excussos, nihil æque postularent, ac lacessito hoste prosilire in campum manusque(?) cum illo conserere. Proscripta omni verborum morumque licentia in obeundis sacramentis, adeo erant frequentes, ut prope excederent: in orationibus jejuniisque freno erant cohibendi; adeo ut sancte asseveret sacerdos noster sibi potius Religiosorum cænitium, quam militum præsidium maximo suo solatio visum fuisse Zaypanensem cohortem. Numquam ad hostem invadendum egrediebantur nisi solemnî ritu præmissa invocatione tum Deiparentis virginis, tum D. Josephi, tum D. Michaelis, qui militæ cælestis obtinet principalum. Et sane D. Josephi manifestam sæpius opem fuere experti. Eo enim die, quo sacerdotis nostri hortatu illum sibi Patronum adserverant pars exigua militum a permagna hostium multitudine circum septa citra damnum illis in fugam conversis tuto se ad suos recepit: duas item insignes victorias eidem SSmo. Virginis sponso adscribunt, uti et hoc illi acceptum referunt, quod hostes desertis castris obsidionem solverint, quin et panico timore correpti ipsa excesserint insula. Hoc imprimis rarum Tribunus militesque affirmant cum contra Barbarorum circumfusam multitudinem se defenderent, tela hostilia ipso in aera occulta vi confracta ad pedes suos citra damnum concidisse. Nunc bellum ipsum perstringamus.

Suorum multitudine elati rebelles præsidium cinxerant ab ipso fere conjurationis exordio divisis copus castrisque hinc ab aquilone inde ab austro dispositis. Ab ortu palludes ab occasu ipse oceanus coarctabatis: fame aut vi deditionem certo sibi sponponderant. Advolabant e tribus insulis evocati; nec deerant ex hac nostra, qui numerum illis et animos angebant, ut collatis terra marique viribus magno impetu, majorique vociferatione septi impugnationem aggredierentur. Pugnae initum dedere fundibularij injecto in ipsam præsidii arcam ingenti lapidum acervo: tum facta vi irruptionem tentant; sed hostrorum bombardis excepti ac post 6 horarum pugnam rejecti fugatique retrocessere. Semel deinde iterumque majori etiam apparatu conatuque collectis undique copiis convenere universi septum ligneum funditus, ut quidem sperabant, versuri. At iterum suorum clade nulloque nostrorum detrimento abiire. Hac impudenti rebellium insolantia bilem movit Tribuno, adeo ut hostem continuis excursionibus coercere decreverit. Selectis itaque meliorum virium militibus (debiliores ad septi custodiam disponebat) iam in hæc iam in isthæc hostium castris sepibus licet fossisque, ac inumeris pene intoxicatis ossium humanorum lignorumque cuspidibus munita, ac 400 insuper, eoque plurium armatorum hastis fundisque propugnata invasit uno impetu, atque perrupit. Hostiles deinde segetes populatus vicos domosque flammis ultricibus abolevit: ac tandem non plures 12, 15, aut 18 ad summum e suis stipulus hostem quaquaversus indagabat, cupiebat, sauciabat, inactabat nulla ei quietis parte concessa, donec fatigatu fractique partim insulam destituerint, partim perquam altissima montium cacumina maccessaque rupium cutra petierint; partim etiam supplicabundi, post trimestrem fere conjurationem ab ipso pacem accipere æqui bonique consuluerint.

Fædere itaque cum hoste sauci[a]to huc e captivis nonnullum ablegavit. Tribunus mortem illum natus quem obsidis loco detinebat nisi a Prætore responsum ferret tabellarius. Singulares iterum hac in rei Dei

*ergo nos illuxit Providentia, quod ille milleretur nuntius quicum Indo hic nobis fidelissimo haberet commercium, eique (nam ipsum arcebat metus) litteras ad Prætorem deferendas commiserit. Nam si alleri demandata, finisset provincia aut si qui ablegebatur, in alium incidisset, haud dubium quin suppresso fasciento(?) ignoratisque hinc inde successibus majora nos excepissent rerum discrimina. Tribunum omnibus istis relictis impedimentis huc responso suo evocabit Prætor. Periculum erat ne tam copiosus hostis, si rem suboleret, nostris abiturum inter eluderet. Dissimulato itaque Prætoris mandato Tinianos belli conjurationisque illic auctores se persequi velle simul Profectus: quare naviculas posulata Zaypanis quibus fretum trajiciat. Eas sibi offerunt nec inviti ea spe, ut incautos Neptuno devoveant: id enim iam priorem pacti fuerant inter se. Sed D. de Quiroga pro sua perspicacitate proditorem, quæ etiam aliunde illi innoluerat, facile assequatur. Nec illa tamen, nec maris nimborumque discrimina nec numerosissime hostium elapsis, in quam pronumerat incidere, a navigatione hominem deterrebat, quo jussa exequeretur. Dispositis itaque ac minutim rebus omnibus ordinatis et imprimis ita belle victoribus fere(?) per medium corpus alligatis, ut et naviculas sive impedimento regere, nec tamen proditorem ullam motivi possent noctu **21 Novembris** insula item relicta nostris octo naviculis impositi portu solvunt. Vix in altum ingressi continuo tantos, tamque concitatos tumultuantis oceani fluctus experiebantur ut periculum pereundi manifestissimum omnes adierint: quin et tres naviculæ, quæ insto propius ad insulam Tinianam accisserant, et in illis 15 milites ferere naufragium. Nec illis auxilio esse alii paterant eodem exilio certissime involvendi. Id tamen rescitum fuit naufragos omnes periculo ereptos vitam etiamnum degere inter hostes. Reliqui confecta navigatione elusisque conjuratorum machinationibus huc incolumes pervenire una cum suo Tribuno ac P[atr]e Mathia qui eos comitabatur.*

Tribuni adventus vix innotuerat conjuratio nostris hac in insula, quando tantus e vestigio illos metus [163v] incessit exanimavitque rerum suarum desperatio, ut vicis ædibusque nulla interposita moræ delectis quæ præcipites arripuerint alias in insulas deportandi. Quibus vera insueta erat navigatio, in densissimas feras, rupesque præruptas petiere. At expeditionibus in illos susceptis antra latibulaque deferere non pauci nullos nostrorum damno, eorumque emolumento per quam maximo.

*Narrationis compendio coronidem imponat adventus navis cujusdam bellico, quam **24 Martij** currentis anni **1685** ex australis hujus insulæ plaga huc appulsam alij ex Philippinis insulis amicam atque adeo Missioni nostræ ex promisso a Gubernatore Manilano submissam. Alii vero at citra fundamentum onerarias hac Manilam ex America reducem arbitrabantur. Ab ipsa se Gallicam esse (quamvis Anglicana potius videretur) detexit.¹ Burdelale solverata sesqui anno; et huc ut aiebat præter, spem allapsa comeatum (cujus penuria laboreverat) æquo sibi pretio vendi postulabat. Porcis terræque frugibus a Gubernatore donati vectores prope 80 conquisitis lignis et aqua recenti abunde refecti boream versus vela fecere Japoniam 300 hicæve [=hinc] leucis dissitan adituris ut ipsi quidem affirmabant.*

Ex velatis miserrurum missionis nostræ statium facile erat colligere. Deus nobis solatio sit atque remedio; quod in uno hoc consistit ut amoto Gubernatore Provinciam hanc suscipiat Militum Præfectum D. Josephus de Quiroga, vir appime pius ac strenuus. Hæc cum amicis ac nobis per Provinciam communicanda transmittito, rogoque V. Ram. ex animo ut salute a me ac R. P. Petro Comano amplissimis DD. Parentibus, ac Fratris amplissimmo D. Petro impartita SS. suis sacrificiis nos habeat per quam commendatos.

1 Ed. note: It was in fact an English pirate ship, the Nicholas, Captain Eaton, who claimed, in French, to have come from Bordeaux.

Ex insula S. Joannis alias Guahan 10 Junii 1685.

R. Væ. servus in Christo.

Gerardus Bouwens.

[P.S.] *Salutem cum obsequio amatissimam bona Ræ Væ venia adscribo R. P. Provincialis, RRis. PPbus. olim Professoribus nostris, Patri Nutzen, Pri. Verachtere, etc.*

[Address:] *Reverendo Patri in Christo P. Liberto de Pape Soctis. JESU, Rectori Collegij Mechliniensis. In casu mortis, Rdo. Patri in Christo Petro Verachtere, aut R. P. Joanni Nutzen ejusdem Soctis.*

Comments.

This report is but a repeat, in Latin, of other reports written by Fr. Bouwens in 1685. It is over 90% similar to them, and for this reason, it is not translated here. Some of the “new” pieces of information are as follows:

1. The name of the priest who was saying mass when he was attacked inside the church on the first day of the revolt of July 1684 was Fr. Cerezo, alias Kerschpämer.

2. The Filipino oblate brother [Felipe Sonson] survived his wounds. He is said here to have been over 80 years old; in fact, he was then 73 (see his eulogy, Doc. 1686H).

3. The missionaries who escaped being wounded or killed were in fact absent from Agaña on the morning of Sunday 23 July. They had been called to a meeting, but arrived from their parishes only in the afternoon: Fathers Cardeñoso, LeRoulx, Bustillo, Ahumada, and Tilpe. The latter two were fetched from Pago by some friendly Indians.

4. Fr. de Angelis stayed at Ritidian and was killed. His alias, or true family name, was Piccolomini. Fr. Boranga stayed at Rota and was killed later. Fr. Strobach went to Tinian and was killed. Fr. Cuculino was with Quiroga in Saipan and survived. Fr. Coomans was marooned on Alamagan Island, and was later killed in Saipan.

5. Captain José de Tapia, the mercenary who had come from Manila aboard the sloop, was a Filipino by nationality. He was criminally drowned near Alamagan Island.

6. On 8 August 1684, Major Quiroga took 10 soldiers out of his wooden fort in Saipan and went north to attack the town of Tumhun. They were engaged from ambush by 400 natives with spears and stones, but received no casualty.

7. The galleon of 1685 approached Guam from the south side of the island.

8. The earlier visit of an English ship, pretending to be a French ship from Bordeaux, is also mentioned.

Document 1685U

Letter from Fr. Xaramillo to the Duchess, dated Manila 12 June 1685

Source: Present location unknown; 6-page ms. offered for sale by Maggs Bros. of London in 1923 for 31 pounds (Cat. N° 442, p. 184).

Note: As of the date of this letter, the galleon had not yet arrived at Manila. That is why the 1684 revolt in the Marianas is not mentioned.

Extract in the Maggs Catalog

...

Last year 1684, and about January 1685, by the ship that goes to Acapulco and the vessels that call at Madras, and other parts of the Coast, whence letters are transmitted to Europe, I wrote you a private report, regarding the happy state of the Mariana Mission, a copy of which also goes to the Imperial College to confirm the news; and as the available vessel, the galleon **Santa Rosa**, is due before the other one makes the return journey, there is no further news to add to that which I wrote, as I have stated above. Should, however, the vessel arrive in time, and there be any further news to communicate, I shall not fail to avail myself of the opportunity of sending the fullest particulars.

The Key which will assuredly open one door is the vessel, allotted for the purpose, which shall be bound for the Marianas from the Philippines, with definite orders to make for the South (either on the outward or return journey) to discover those Islands of whose existence there is so much evidence—as when on various occasions, there have been travellers from those Islands who, having been blown out of their course by the winds, have arrived in the Philippines; and **at present there is one [Carolinian] here who states that there are more than 40 islands, all thickly populated.**

This vessel is so necessary for the preservation of the Marianas, its organization, and the discovery of new Islands in the vicinity, in which to introduce the Faith, that,

failing its grant by the King, the best course, and the greatest service to God would be to realize in money, sufficient of what you notified me Don Pedro Aragon[a]¹ had left for the benefit of the Mariana Missions, and acquire the vessel, even if it came to re-writing the deeds; because for the present, **hospitals are not an urgent necessity in the Marianas**, since the Indians live close to the church and, when ailing, are medically treated in their own homes. We could also omit a college for the boys, and another for ourselves, which are both provided for under the said clause. Indeed, what we have is sufficient for the present, and we should turn the remainder of our resources to the building of the vessel, the pilot's wages, a crew of at least 12 sailors, and stores and provisions for a chaplain. On such a voyage, of course, no lay passengers should be taken—or strangers—only Spaniards assisted by Philippine Indians, and thus avoid the danger of treachery and disaster as we encountered on the sloop.

[The writer suggests that this and other Decrees should be issued in duplicate, and a copy posted to the Father Provincial, so that, armed with this authority, he might induce the Governor to act more speedily in the interests of the Mariana Mission; “otherwise,” he fears, “he will conceal the documents, or make any excuse he pleases, to evade any work on behalf of the Marianas.” He complains of the petty intrigues practiced by other Diplomats, when Don Juan de Vargas denied the existence of certain Royal Decrees.]

He said he had never received them, or had had a single word on the subject from the Duke of Medina[-celi]; but as you wrote, he would certainly have received his instructions in due course—but, not feeling inclined to help the Marianas, he found it simpler to repudiate his orders... I can assure you if the gentleman imagined he had fooled me, he has more truly deceived himself, for I am fully aware of all the King's instructions that were issued to him on the point... and therefore the value of the Royal Decrees issued in duplicate can be realized when, on the arrival of the vessel from Acapulco, the Governor and the Father Provincial will be able to confer together and issue the necessary instructions, each in his own sphere, for the execution of our plans.

Of further importance is the fact that, at the time the vessel is due, the Marianas will possess an abundance of everything—there will be more soldiers, more firearms and gun-powder, supplies, clothes, and more fear among the Indians—consequently I say, if we are to launch our enterprise, why not then, instead of at any other time?

Etc.

1 Ed. note: See Doc. 1680B.

Documents 1685V

The 1685 memorials of Fr. Morales on behalf of the Mariana Island Mission

V1. First memorial, August 1685

Sources: AGI Fil. 3-3-132 (formerly 67-6-3); AGI Ultramar 562, col. Simancas, fol. 36-37 & copy in fol. 74-77; copy in Colección Pastells, Fil. 2, pp. 436-442, and also in Fil. 17, fol. 352 et seq., and again in Fil. 18, fol. 1 et seq.

Original text in Spanish.

Luis de Morales, Procurador de la Compañía de Jesus en Filipinas, y de la Santa Mision de las Yslas Marianas, pone á la consideracion de V.M. los puntos siguientes, para el mejor logro, y aumento de dicha mision tan del servicio de Dios, y gusto del piadoso celo de V.M.

*1º C[apitulo]. Suplica á V.M. sea servido de mandar que sobre la real cédula de 31 de Marzo de 83 que llevó el Gobernador de Filipinas D. Gabriel de Curuzelaegui, en órden á la **embarcacion y comunicacion de Manila con las Marianas**, se espresese **el que halla [=aya] de ir todos los años sin falta por los dichos meses de Abril y Mayo**, señalando pena por la omision en el tiempo, como en despacho de cada un año haciendo Capitulo de residencia á los Gobernadores que no lo ejecutasen.*

*2º C. Asi mismo en prosecucion del buen logro que se ha experimentado en el cumplimiento de Vuestra Real Cédula de 13 de Marzo de 676 para que no se lleven de Nueva España, personas de menos buenas costumbres, ni los generales de las Naos de Filipinas las dexen; se ha de servir V.M. mandar que **los Gobernadores de Filipinas no embien ningun vecino, ni soldado desterrado á las Yslas Marianas**, pues con ocasion de haber embiado el año de 81 al general Sebastian Rayo, vecino de Manila, se entibiaron los ánimos de los que de aquella republica solian socorrer con algunas limosnas á dicha Mision, a quien desde entonces comenzaron á mirar como pesada, y cargosa viendo que en Yslas tan desacomodadas y distantes se les habia la puerta á un desterradero, y asi mismo se ha de servir V.M. de mandar que en caso de embiar dichos Gobernadores á alguno á las Marianas desterrado, ó por fuerza, el Gobernador ó Cavo que estubiere alli no lo reciba.*

3° C. Aunque en cumplimiento de las Reales cédulas de 24 de Octubre de 71 y 28 de Enero de 83 han dado los Virreyes de Nueva España ordenes apretadas, para que sin derechos, ni costos algunos se embarguen de cuenta de V.M. los socorros y cosas necesarias, que cada año embia el Procurador que está en Mexico á dichas Marianas, no se ha dado entero cumplimiento en el Puerto de Acapulco, ocasionando escesivos gastos á dicha Mision: para cuyo remedio se ha de servir V.M. de mandar se notifique por el Castellano, y Oficiales de Acapulco, con apremio de dos mil ducados, ó lo que V.M. fuere servido, asi á dichos Generales como á los maestros de las Naos de Filipinas, para que sin escusas, ni dilaciones, den en cada un año el buque y camarote competente, y separado para que sin peligro de confusion ó extravio se puedan dejar los vastimentos y socorros que de la Nueva España se embarcaren á dichas Yslas, con obligacion de entregar al Maestre de la Nao, y que la omision en este punto sea uno de los motivos ó capitulos de la residencia que de vuelta de viage se los toma en Manila á dicho general y oficiales de las Naos.

4° C. Y por que asi mismo para la siembra del algodon, entablar telares, y buscar maestros que enseñen á fabricarle y la ropa necesita de algun tiempo, y para que los recién convertidos puedan cubrir su total desnudez, sin que con el tributo se les haga pesado el suave yugo del Santo Evangelio, se ha de servir V.M. de concederles el alivio que á otras nuevas combersiones aventajando y mejorando su estremada pobreza con **la reserva de tributo por espacio de 40 años á los adultos convertidos**, y que á los demas no se les cobre, aunque esten casados, hasta haber cumplido la edad de 20 años, y que á los ancianos se les reserve de dicho tributo en llegando á la edad de 50 años.

5° C. Para la mayor seguridad, conservacion y aumento, asi de las Yslas conquistadas, como de las que se fueren conquistando se ha de servir V.M. de mandar que se **aumente el numero de los soldados del Presidio, y asi mismo de los Misioneros con el Situado**, y limosna competente á la que al presente tienen en las Reales Caxas de Mexico, los demas soldados y misioneros que hoy asisten en dichas Yslas y que los Misioneros que hubieren de quedarse en las Marianas vayan socorridos con la limosna de un año segun la Certificacion que diere en Mexico el Procurador Comisario; ó Superior á cuyo cargo fuere dicha Mision, sin que de el socorro que se diere adelantado sea necesario dar fianzas.

6° C. Asi mismo se ha de servir V.M. de que en conformidad de el estilo de otras nuevas Cristiandades de Yndios, se de a cada nueva iglesia, **un ornamento y campana por cuenta de V.M.** las que al presente hay en dichas Yslas son doce iglesias. Asi mismo se ha de servir V.M. de mandar se de en la Real Caxa de Mexico, una limosna **de trigo para sembrar, y tambien de lienzo y ropa basta para repartir**, asi á los adultos pobres como á los niños, y niñas de los dos colegios de las Yslas de S. Juan, y que el numero de cada uno de dichos colegios se aumente hasta 100, con la dotacion competente á la que al presente gozan los niños de dichos colegios por el mucho fruto que de la enseñanza de estas tiernas plantas se espera en los adultos, y niños de las demas Yslas, y asi mismo alguna limosna de herramientas y hierro para la fabrica de las iglesias y colegios de niños.

7. *I[tem]. Asi mismo por lo que toca á la gratificacion, y premio de los que en los primeros años mas trabajosos, asistieron y arriesgaron sus vidas con el Venerable Mar-tír Diego Luis de San Vitores, pongo á la piadosa memoria de V.M. al Capitan D. Juan de la Cruz, Indio principal de la nacion Tagala, que con su familia pasó desde Manila á dichas Yslas, siendo uno de los primeros conquistadores, y por haber muerto, se ha de servir V.M. logren el premio tres sobrinos huérfanos cuyos nombres son D. Ignacio Pagtacotan, D. Julian (N.) y D. Juan de la Cruz, que dexó, y al presente asisten en las Yslas Filipinas, mandando V.M. se les de reserva de tributos, polos, y demas servicios personales, honrrandoles con su Real Cédula, y la insignia de los Cavalleros de la medalla, á cada uno de los tres dichos.*

8. *I. Asi mismo entró en la primera conquista el Alferez Andrés de la Cruz, Indio principal de nacion Pampanga, que despues de siete años de servicio en dichas Misiones pasó á las Yslas Filipinas donde al presente se halla pobre y necesitado se ha de servir V.M. de premiarle con el baston de Maestre de Campo, ó con el de Sargento Mayor en sueldo de su nacion, en el Puerto de Cavite, dandole asi mismo la reserva de tributo, polos, y servicios personales para sus hijos, y para sus hermanas Doña Maria Petrona, y D^a Maria Teresa, y los hijos de estas, y á dicho Alferez la honrra de Cavallero de la medalla, con mas Vuestra Real Cédula de agradecimiento y recomendacion por sus servicios.*

9. *I. Asi mismo se ha de servir V.M. de honrrar á Don Antonio de Ayihi, Indio principal de la Ysla de San Juan en las Marianas, haviendole asi al dicho como á sus descendientes Cavalleros de la medalla por haber dicho D. Antonio sido el que en la primera entrada del Venerable Diego Luis de San Vitores asistió y defendió en la conquista con muchos y continuos riesgos de su vida por cuya causa el Gobernador D. Antonio de Saravia le honrró con el baston y titulo de Teniente de Capitan general de los Indios naturales de dichas Yslas Marianas, y V.M. se ha de servir en confirmarle en los honores de dicho puesto, y que en los actos publicos se le honrra con asiento preminente, gratificando su lealtad con Real cedula, y los honores dichos de Cavallero de la medalla.*

10. *I. Asi mismo sirvirá de aliento á aquellas nuevas Cristiandades que V.M. mande repartir entre los que se hallaren mas veneméritos algunas insignias de la medalla, á los principales de dichas Yslas que mas se hubieren señalado en la lealtad, y cristiano celo, á juicio del Gobernador y Misioneros de dichas Islas.*

11. *C. Asi mismo se ha de servir V.M. de honrrar con el titulo de Ciudad, al primero y principal pueblo de dichas Yslas por nombre S. Ygnacio de Agatfia, que es donde al presente asiste el Gobernador y presidio, y para que participen las demas Yslas, del favor de V.M. sirva combeniente en que en cada Isla se hiciese Villa al pueblo mas principal.*

12. *C. Asi mismo se ha de servir V.M. de mandar que de la Artilleria que al presente se está sacando en la quinta Ysla Mariana, donde se perdió la Nao Concepcion el año de 36 [rather 38] se quede á juicio del Gobernador de dichas Marianas, la que pareciere necesaria á sus presidios y defensas.*

*13. I. Asi mismo desde Noviembre de 83, en que murió el Gobernador D. Antonio Saravia, esta gobernando en interin dichas Yslas el Sargento mayor D. Damian de Esplana, que con todo celo, y buen exemplo, insiste en los aumentos de aquellas cristianidades, con la asistencia de D. José de Quiroga, que al presente hace oficio de Sargento mayor, con mucho credito y buen exemplo. A V.M. suplica se sirva de **confirmar á dicho Sargento mayor D. Damian de Esplana con la propiedad del Gobierno, y asi mismo al Sargento mayor D. José de Quiroga con la futura en dicho Gobierno, señalándole á uno y otro el salario fixo en la Real Caxa de Mexico, y dandoles esperanzas de que tendrá atencion á sus buenos servicios en orden á la promocion al Gobierno de Filipinas, alentandoles en interin con vuestras Reales Cédulas de agradecimiento y alguna merced.***

Jesus.

Luis de Morales.

Translation.

Luis de Morales, Procurator of the Society of Jesus in the Philippines, and of the holy Mission of the Mariana Islands, presents to the consideration of Y.M. the following points, for the greater progress of said mission which is so much to the service of God, and pleasure of the pious zeal of Y.M.

Ch[apter] 1. He begs Y.M. to please order that, with regards to the royal decree of 31 March 1683 that was carried off by the Governor of the Philippines, Don Gabriel de Curuzeleágui, concerning the **ship and communication between Manila and the Marianas, it should be noted that the ship must go out every year without fail during the said months of April and May**, with a penalty being stated for sending it at the wrong time of year, as well as in the yearly despatch, by making the matter a separate chapter in the *residencia* of the Governors who might not carry it out.

Ch. 2. In addition, to ensure the good continuation of the benefits of your Royal decree of 13 March 1676, so that no person with less than good habits be taken from New Spain, nor left there by the Generals of the Philippine galleons, Y.M. should be pleased to order that **the Governors of the Philippines do not send any resident, or soldier, in exile to the Mariana Islands**; indeed, at the occasion of having sent General Sebastián Rayo, a resident of Manila, in 1681, the fervor of those who used to succor said Mission with some alms became tepid, and they began to look upon it as tiresome, and costly, given that from then on they began to see that, in Islands so uncomfortable and distant, the door to an exile was being opened. In addition, Y.M. should be pleased to order that in case of said Governors sending someone to the Marianas, in exile or by force, the Governor or Officer-in-charge overthere should not accept them.

Ch. 3. Although, in compliance with the Royal decrees of 24 October 1671 and 28 January 1683 giving tight orders to the Viceroys of New Spain so that no duties or fees whatever be charged on the account of Y.M. for the succors and necessities sent every year by the Procurator of said Marianas who lives in Mexico, they have not entirely been obeyed in the port of Acapulco, thereby imputing excessive expenses on said

Mission. To remedy this situation, Y.M. should be pleased to order the notification, through the Fort Commander and officials at Acapulco, with a fine of 2,000 ducats or any other amount that would please Y.M., not only of said Generals but also the Masters of the Philippine galleons, to prevent their putting up excuses, or delays, but to have them give every year a ship and suitable berthing space aboard it, and separately, so as to prevent the risk of confusion or misplacement of the food supplies and succors that are shipped from New Spain to said Islands when they reach their destination, with the obligation of delivering same to the Master of the galleon, and let the omission on this point become one of the motives or chapters of the *residencia* that, upon returning to Manila, is taken of said General and officers of the galleons.

Ch. 4. And in addition, because the cultivation of cotton, the setting up of looms, and the recruitment of master weavers to teach them this cultivation and manufacture of clothing have been wanting for some time, and in order for the recently-converted to be able to cover their complete nakedness, without imposing upon them a tribute when they accept the sweet yoke of the Holy Gospel, Y.M. should be pleased to grant them the relief that is given to other new conversions, by benefiting and improving their extreme poverty, to wit **exempting converted adults from tribute for a period of 40 years**. The others should not be taxed either, though they be married, until they reach the age of 20 years, and the old people should be exempted from said tribute upon reaching the age of 50 years.

Ch. 5. To improve the security, preservation and progress, not only of the conquered Islands, but of those yet to be discovered, Y.M. should be pleased to order that **the number of soldiers in the garrison, as well as that of the missionaries, be increased**, along with the respective subsidy, and alms, now funded by the Royal treasury in Mexico, for the other soldiers and missionaries who presently reside in said Islands. And let the new Missionaries bound for the Marianas be succored with alms for one year, in accordance with a Certification to be given in Mexico by the Procurator Commissioner, or by the Superior in charge of said Mission, giving these alms in advance, without the need for posting bonds.

Ch. 6. In addition, Y.M. should be pleased that, in accordance with the custom of other new Christian communities in the Indies, each new church be given **a set of ornaments and a bell** on the account of Y.M. There are 12 churches existing at present in said Islands.¹ In addition, Y.M. should be pleased to order that an alm be set asides in the Royal treasury of Mexico **for the cultivation of wheat, and also for linen and rough cloth for distribution**, not only to the poor adults but to the boys and girls of the two colleges of the Islands of San Juan, and that the number in each one of said colleges be increased up to 100, with an increase in the corresponding endowment which the children of said colleges now enjoy, on account of the great fruit that the training of these tender plants makes us hope for the future adults, and the children of the other

1 Ed. note: Unbeknown to Fr. Morales, they had all been burned by rebellious natives, without exception, and at the time of writing, only one had been rebuilt.

Islands, and furthermore, some alm for tools and the iron for the construction of the churches and the children's colleges.

Item 7. In addition, with regards to awards and rewards for those who lived through hardships in the Islands during the first years, helping and risking their lives with the Venerable Martyr Diego Luis de San Vitores, I place before the merciful memory of Y.M. **Captain Don Juan de la Cruz, an Indian chief of the Tagalog nation** who with his family went from Manila to said Islands, being one of the first conquerors, and because he has died, Y.M. should be pleased to grant the reward to three of his nephews who have been orphaned; their names are Don Ignacio Pagtacotan, Don Julian (N.) and Don Juan de la Cruz, whom he left, and at present they live in the Philippine Islands, Y.M. giving them an exemption from tributes, poll taxes, and other personal services, and honoring them with your Royal decree, and the distinction of the Knights of the medal, to each one of the aforesaid three.¹

Item 8. In addition, another participant in the first conquest was **Second Lieutenant Andrés de la Cruz, an Indian chief of the Pampango nation** who, after 7 years of service in said Missions [1668-1675] went back to the Philippine Islands where at present he is a poor man in need. Y.M. should be pleased to reward him with the staff of Master-of-camp, or that of Sergeant-Major of his nation, with pay, and attached to the Port of Cavite, giving him also an exemption from tribute, poll taxes, and personal services for his children, and for his sisters, Doña Maria Petrona, and Doña Maria Teresa, and their children, and to said Lieutenant the honor of being a Knight of the medal, as well as your Royal decree of thanks and recommendation for his services.

Item 9. In addition, Y.M. should be pleased to honor **Don Antonio de Ayihi, an Indian chief of the Island of San Juan in the Marianas**, by making him as well as his descendants Knights of the medal, because said Don Antonio has been the man who, in the first entrance of the Venerable Diego Luis de San Vitores, assisted and defended the conquest with many and continuous risks to his life, and for this reason Governor Antonio de Saravia honored him with the staff and rank of Lieutenant of Captain General for the Indians born in said Mariana Islands, and Y.M. should be pleased to confirm him in the honors of said post, and he should be honored with a pre-eminent seating at official gatherings, and his loyalty rewarded with a Royal decree, and the said honors of Knight of the medal.

Item 10. In addition, it would be a boost to those new Christian communities if Y.M. orders the distribution, among those who are found to be the most deserving chiefs of said Islands, of some distinctions of the medal, in recognition for their loyalty, and Christian zeal, at the choice of the Governor and Missionaries of said Islands.

1 Ed. note: Fr. Morales's memory was not too good on this point, as he introduces a mistake in the name of the first conquistador of the Marianas, saying de la Cruz, instead of Santa Cruz.

Ch. 11. In addition, Y.M. should be pleased to honor with the **title of City the first and capital town of said Islands by the name of San Ignacio de Agatña** which is where the Governor and garrison reside at present, and in order to give some participation to the other Islands, Y.M. should be pleased to allow the designation of Town to the main settlement on each Island.¹

Ch. 12. In addition, Y.M. should be pleased to order that **the cannon that at present are being salvaged in the fifth Mariana Island** [i.e. Saipan], where the galleon **Concepción** was lost in the year 1636 [rather 1638], be left in said Mariana Islands in accordance with the opinion of the Governor there, as needed for their garrisons and defences.

Ch. 13. In addition, since November 1683, when the Governor Don Antonio Saravia died, the Sergeant-Major Don Damian de Esplana is governing said Islands on an interim basis, and, with complete zeal and good example, he pursues the advancements of those Christian communities, with the assistance of Don José de Quiroga, who at present fills the post of Sergeant-Major, with much credit and good example. He begs Y.M. to please **confirm said Sergeant-Major Don Damian de Esplana in the post of Governor, and also Sergeant-Major Don José de Quiroga with the post of future Governor,**² and earmarking both of them with the corresponding increases in salary, to be separately paid out of the Royal treasury in Mexico, and giving them hopes that their good services will be taken into account at the time of promotions to the Government of the Philippines, and meanwhile encouraging them with your Royal decrees of thanks, and some favor.

Jesus.

Luis de Morales.

V2. Decision of the Council of the Indies, dated 10 August 1685

Source: AGI Ultramar 562, col. Simancas, fol. 73.

Original text in Spanish.

Consejo á 10 de Agosto de 1685.

Señores: Castellar; Villa Umbrosa; Cañalejas; Dicastillo; Cerdeño; Richa; Cortés; Valunde; Camargo.

En vista del memorial del Padre Luis de Morales, y de lo acordado antecedentemente por el Consejo y Junta se acordó en cada uno de los trece Capítulos lo siguiente:

- 1 Ed. note: We recognize here that a better rendering in English of the ordinary word “pueblo” would be “village”, rather than “town.” In actual fact, in the Marianas, the so-called “pueblos” were never more than villages by European standards.
- 2 Ed. note: Fr. Morales is here heeding what Fr. Xaramillo and Fr. Solorzano asked him to do, and is unaware of the current situation. This request was to cause untold hardships to the missionaries, until the death of Esplana, in 1694.

Al 1º: Lo resuelto y añadase la circunstancia de los tiempos.

Al 2º: Que se haga como lo pide despachandole las cédulas necesarias.

Al 3º: Que se de despacho para el Señor Virrey ordenandole de en esto la providencia que juzgare combeniente señalandoles el buque necesario y encargandole tenga presente lo mucho que S.M. desea la combersion y aumento de esta nueva Cristiandad, y conservacion de estas Yslas.

Al 4º: Que se les concede relevacion de tributos por 20 años, y pasados estos, no contribuyan los que no tubieren 20 años cumplidos de edad, aunque sean casados. Y los que llegasen á edad de 50 años no contribuyan tampoco. Y reconozcase si por esto es necesario consulta.

Al 5º: Lo resuelto en los dos puntos primeros que contiene este capitulo, y en el tercero de que los Misioneros que se hubieren de quedar en las Marianas, vayan socorridos con la limosna de un año, que se les concede con solo se obligue el Padre Procurador que han de llegar á las Yslas los que fueren, y traer certificacion de ello; y en defecto de no cumplir el año de asistencia, lo que les faltare se les halla de poner en cuenta por recibido, á los que les sucedieren y fueren en lugar suyo al año siguiente y con esta obligacion sola sin otra fianza se les anticipará el año de la limosna.

[Al] 6º: Que se les de el ornamento y campana, para cada iglesia, proveyendolo la Casa de Contratacion. Y en lo demas despacho al Señor Virrey y Audiencia y Arzobispo para que imformen con sus pareceres.

Al 7º: Que se consulte la relevacion de los tributos que propone á los tres sobrinos por sus personas. Los otros puntos de este Capitulo á la Junta.

[Al] 8º: Que se consulte como aquellos en la relevacion personal de tributos, los demas puntos á la Junta.

Al 9º: A la Junta.

Al 10º: Ydem.

Al 11: Consulta para que al pueblo primero y principal que le nombra S. Ygnacio de Agaña, se le conceda el titulo de Ciudad. Y á los demas Pueblos principales de cada Ysla el de Villa.

Al 12: Lo acordado.

Al 13: A la Junta.

Estan rubricados.

Translation.

The Council, 10 August 1685.

Gentlemen: Castellar; Villa Umbrosa; Cañalejas; Dicastillo; Cerdeño; Richa; Cortés; Valunde; Camargo.

In view of the memorial of Father Luis de Morales, and of the previous agreements made by the Council and the War Committee, the decisions taken in every one of the 13 Chapters are as follows:

Nº 1.—Same as previously decided, but the circumstance of the appropriate times is to be added.

Nº 2.—Let it be done as asked, despatching the necessary decrees.

Nº 3.—A despatch is to be sent to the Viceroy ordering him to make appropriate arrangements in assigning them a necessary ship and entrusting him to keep in mind that H.M. wishes the conversion and progress of this new Christian community, and the preservation of these Islands.

Nº 4.—They are to be granted an exemption from tributes for 20 years, and after that, those under 20 years of age, though married, are to be exempted. And those who reach the age of 50 are not to contribute either. And find out if a consultation is necessary about this.¹

Nº 5.—Same as previously decided for the first two points mentioned in this chapter. And in the third point, concerning the Missionaries bound to the Marianas to receive their stipends for one year in advance, they are to be granted them, provided that the Father Procurator guarantees that they will indeed go on to the Islands, and presents a certification of same; and in case of their not completing the year already subsidized, the difference should be debited from the account of those replacing them and going there the following year, and with this obligation and no other bond, the alms for the year in question can be paid in advance.

Nº 6.—They are to be given the ornaments and bell for every church, and they are to be supplied by the House of Trade. And for the rest, send a despatch to the Viceroy and Audiencia and Archbishop, and ask them for a report with their opinions.

Nº 7.—Let us have a consultation on the proposed exemption from tributes of the three nephews, for themselves. The other points of this chapter are to be referred to the War Committee.

Nº 8.—Let us have a consultation for their personal exemption from tributes for them also. The other points go to the War Committee.

Nº 9.—To the War Committee.

Nº 10.—Idem.

Nº 11.—Consultation for the first and main town, named San Ignacio de Agaña, to be granted the title of City. And the other main settlements in each Island receive the title of Town.

Nº 12.—What was decided previously.

Nº 13. To the War Committee.

Original signed.

Editor's notes.

There was a meeting of the War Committee held on 23 August 1685. Approval was given for an increase of 90 soldiers, making it a total of 130. Also see Doc. 1685Y for the Royal decrees of 29 September 1685 to Viceroy, Gov. Phil. and Gov. Marianas.

1 Ed. note: Meaning: if the King should be advised about it first.

V3. Second memorial, to the Queen Mother and to the King, September 1685

Sources: AGI Ultramar 562, fol. 36-37; the copy directed to the King is on fol. 68; copy in Colección Pastells, Fil. 2, pp. 379-381.

Notes: This memorial was addressed to the Queen Mother, but intended for the King. To be sure, Fr. Morales directed a shorter, but almost-exact copy, to the King himself, making just a few minor changes in the process.

Original text in Spanish.

Señora.

*Luis de Morales, Procurador de la Compañía de Jesus en Filipinas, y de la Santa mision de las Yslas Marianas, se pone á los Reales pies de V.M. con las **dos relaciones adjuntas** del estado y progresos que desde el año de 1681 tienen aquellas Yslas en lo espiritual, y temporal que siendo protegidas y honrradas con el soberano nombre de V.M. ha querido Nuestro Señor que ambas cosas corran con felicidad y aumento en la forma que constará de las relaciones, lo cual sin duda se deve todo á las Santas oraciones y piedad de V.M. pues no fuera facil que sin este socorro se pudieran contrastar con las fuerzas humanas las grandes dificultades y embarazos que por mar y tierra, y tambien con el desvio y poca afición de algunos Ministros, movió y mueve cada dia el comun enemigo contra aquella nueva planta y tierna Cristiandad cuya conservacion y aumento pende unicamente de la piedad y grandeza de V.M. cuanto es mayor el desamparo y necesidad, que en comparacion de las demas tierras de Yndias, tienen aquellas Yslas, con la falta de todas las cosas que pueden servir de cebo á la codicia de los hombres, por que no hay minas de oro y plata, ni de los demas metales fructuosos y aun para lo preciso de la vida humana, fué necesario llevar de otras partes, plantas, semillas, y animales, que van produciendo en algunos generos con fecundidad y aumento y con esperanza de que las Yslas reducidas se poblarán del necesario sustento.*

Y respecto de que la situacion del presidio socorrida de las caxas de Mexico, no es mas que de cuarenta soldados, y la de los misioneros de solos diez y seis, y cada dia se van descubriendo nuevas Yslas y se esperan descubrir hacia la tierra Austral, otras muchas mas, muy llenas de gentiles, que infelizmente se condenan por falta de quien pueda sacarlos de las horrosas tinieblas en que estan sepultados, y para resistir á las hostilidades de los Indios rebeldes que se mueben facilmente con las persuasiones de sus magos y hechizeros, es muy corto el número asi de los soldados como de los Misioneros.

Suplica á V.M. mande que se añaden otros veinte soldados mas, y que sean los Ministros veinte y seis por ahora, por que con este aumento aunque limitado se podrá conservar la Cristiandad reducida y se adelantará la conquista espiritual en las muchas Yslas que estan á la vista, y como la salvacion de sola un alma pesa y vale mas en la presencia de Dios que todos los reynos y tesoros del Universo estando la salvacion de aquellos miserables Indios, y las Misiones debajo del amparo de V.M. espera el suplicante que en necesidad tan estrema se ha de servir V.M. de hacerlas esta merced y limosna; y tambien que se de órden que queden en el presidio las piezas de artilleria de

*las que actualmente se estan sacando de la Nave **Concepcion** en la quinta Ysla Mariana llamada Seypan que se perdió el año de 635 y por que despues de muchas cédulas en que el Rey nuestro Señor mandó á los Gobernadores de Filipinas despachasen cada año, á costa de su real Hacienda, una balandra, ó embarcacion mayor, con trigo, y vino para celebrar el Santo Sacrificio de la misa, y tambien con alguna ropa gruesa con que cubrir la desnudez de los Yndios, que hombres y mugeres andan en carnes y con otras cosas precisas para el presidio y Misioneros, y en tantos años no se ha podido conseguir de dichos Gobernadores con todas las instancias, y diligencias posibles, que se despachase esta Balandra, sinó fué una sola vez en el año pasado de 1683.*

Tambien suplica á V.M. se sirva interponerse con el Rey Nuestro Señor, para que mande despachar nueva cédula á los Gobernadores de Filipinas con los apremios y penas que parecieren justas de que se les pueda hacer cargo en la residencia, para que con ningun pretesto se escusen de embiar esta Balandra en la forma referida, y para que sirva de la misma manera en el descubrimiento de las Yslas que corren al Sur como está mandado por S.M. que en todas las Misiones y el suplicante reciban merced.

Translation.

Madam:

Luis de Morales, Procurator of the Society of Jesus in the Philippines, and of the holy mission of the Mariana Islands, places himself at the Royal feet of Y.M. with the **two enclosed reports**¹ about the condition and progress made since 1681 in things spiritual and temporal in those Islands. Since they are protected and honored with the sovereign name of Y.M.,² our Lord has willed that both things move happily and increase in the manner stated in the reports. This state of affairs are no doubt due entirely to the holy prayers and piety of Y.M.; indeed, it would not have been easy without this succor, faced as they might have been with human frailties, the great difficulties and problems at sea and on land, and also with **the indifference and little love shown by some Ministers**, which have been caused and are being caused by the common enemy every day against that new plant and tender Christian community, whose preservation and increase depend only on the mercy and greatness of Y.M., the more so because the isolation and need of those Islands, when compared with other countries in the Indies, are greater, with the lack of everything that might serve as bait to attract the cupidity of men, because there are no gold nor silver mines, no income-producing metals and not even products necessary to sustain life; in fact, it was necessary to bring in from other places some plants, seeds, and animals, some species of which are now producing with fertility and it is hoped that the Islands that have been reduced might be supplied locally with the necessary food.

1 Ed. note: They are Doc. 1684A.

2 Ed. note: The copy sent to the King says: "with the sovereign name of the Queen our Lady, mother of Y.M."

And with respect to the situation of the garrison that is supported by the treasury in Mexico, it is not more than 40 soldiers, and that of the missionaries is only for 16 of them, and every day new Islands are being discovered and it is hoped that many more can be discovered toward the Austral Land, very full of heathens, who are unfortunately condemned, for lack of someone to take them out of the horrendous darkness under which they are buried. And in order to resist the hostilities of the rebel Indians who are easily moved by the persuasive methods of their magicians and witch doctors, the number of soldiers, like that of the missionaries, is very small.

He begs Y.M. to order that 20 more soldiers be added, and that the number of [Gospel] Ministers be 26 for now, because with this increase, though limited, the Christian community already reduced will be preserved and the spiritual conquest will be improved in the many Islands that are in sight, and considering that the salvation of just one soul weighs and is worth more in the presence of God than all the kingdoms and treasures of the Universe, and given that the salvation of those miserable Indians, and the Missions are below the protection of Y.M., the supplicant hopes that in such an extreme need Y.M. should be pleased to make them this favor and alm.¹ And also may an order be given to have the cannon, which are being salvaged from the ship **Concepción** in the fifth Mariana Island called Seypan that was lost in 1635 [rather 1638] be kept in the garrison, and because after many decrees in which the King our Lord ordered the Governors of the Philippines to despatch every year, at the cost of the royal treasury, one sloop, or larger vessel, with wheat and wine to celebrate the holy sacrifice of the mass, and also with some rough cloth to cover the nakedness of the Indians, as men and women walk around stark naked, and with other things required by the garrison and missionaries, and after so many years it has not been possible to get them from said Governors, no matter how many requests and efforts were made to have this sloop despatched, except just once, in the past year 1683.

Also he begs Y.M. to please intercede with the King our Lord, so that he may order the despatch of a new decree to the Governors of the Philippines, adding some just fines and duns that could be attached to their *residencia*, to prevent them from using any pretext for not sending this sloop in the above-mentioned manner, and in order for it to be used the same way in the exploration of the Islands that lie to the south, as H.M. has ordered. Such would be considered favors by all the missionaries and the supplicant alike.

1 Ed. note: The details that follow are not reproduced in the copy sent to the King.

V4. Decree from the King to the Council, dated Madrid 30 September 1685

Source: Idem, fol. 36; copy in Colección Pastells, Fil. 2, p. 379.

Note: Transmitting Fr. Morales' memorial which he had received from the Queen Mother.

Original text in Spanish.

Madrid á 30 de Setiembre de 1685.

El Rey Nuestro Señor:

Remite al Consejo un memorial de Luis de Morales, de la Compañía de Jesus, Procurador de su Religion en Filipinas, sobre lo que necesitan las Yslas Marianas para que se consulte lo que se ofreciere.

Traese la Consulta que hizo la Junta ultimamente sobre algunos puntos de los que contiene este memorial:

Luis de Morales, Procurador de la Compañía de Jesus de Filipinas, ha dado el memorial incluso que remito al Consejo de Yndias, para que sobre lo que representa y suplica me informe lo que se ofreciere y pareciere.

Está rubricado.

En Madrid á 30 de Setiembre de 1685.

A D. Vicente Gonzaga.

Translation.

Madrid, 30 September 1685.

The King our Lord:

Remits to the Council a memorial from Luis de Morales, of the Society of Jesus, Procurator of his Order in the Philippines, about the needs of the Mariana Islands, for a consultation on what to do best.

Bring forward the Consultation that the War Committee has held recently regarding some points reflected in this memorial.

Luis de Morales, Procurator of the Society of Jesus in the Philippines, has given the enclosed memorial that I remit to the Council of the Indies. Please inform me on what can best be done about his requests.

Original signed.

In Madrid, 30 September 1685.

To Don Vicente Gonzaga.¹

¹ Ed. note: Prince Gonzaga was acting President of the Council.

V5. Notes from the Council, dated 5 & 11 October 1685

Sources: Idem, fol. 77; copy in Colección Pastells, Fil. 2, pp. 442-443, and also in Fil. 17, fol. 356 et seq.

Original text in Spanish.

Consejo á 5 de Octubre de 1685.

Aconseja: Que en los puntos que contiene el memorial de este religioso está consultado á V.M. la providencia que ha parecido dar y comformandose y lo repitirá: Que al Consejo solo pertenece lo que mira á los Misioneros en cuya diligencia juzga se ha pasado este religioso acudiendo á S.M. para que se le den mas por que siempre que cualquiera de estas partes acude á el, les concede los que piden en la prudencial forma que halla combeniente segun la necesidad que se reconoce de aumentarlos y que por lo presente en las Marianas le parece se le conceda el aumento de los 10 [mas misioneros] que pide.

Rubricado.

Que se lleve á la Junta este decreto.

Señores: S.E.; Castellar; Villa Umbrosa; Canalejas; Cerdeño; Veytia; Cortés; Yscar; Sierra; Valunde; Camargo.

Junta á 11 de Octubre de 1685.

En vista del Decreto de S.M. de 30 de Setiembre con el memorial que remite del Padre Luis de Morales, y lo resuelto por S.M. tocante á la providencia de las Ysla Marianas: acorde y para quienes los pide, si para la infanteria del fuerte ó para los Indios. Asi mismo que declare y cite las órdenes que refiere hay para ejecutar lo que acá pide.

Que en el punto de proveer Gobernador á las Marianas se pregunte á este religioso si conoce persona de su satisfacion y devocion que propone, y si el que esta en interin le aprueban.

Rubricado.

Señores: S.E.; Montefacho; Granja; Castellar; Villa Umbrosa; Cañalejas; Veytia.

Translation.

The Council, 5 October 1685.

The Consultation: With reference to the points contained in the memorial of this religious, Y.M. has been consulted already on what must be done, but to comply, it is repeated: That the Council is concerned only with matters touching on the religious, and it appears that this religious has bypassed them to appeal to Y.M., so that the missionaries may be given more; in fact, whenever someone from overthere appeals to them, he is granted his requests in the prudential manner, as required by the need to improve the situation and, according to the present situation in the Marianas, it seems that the additional 10 [missionaries] requested can be granted.

Original signed.

Take this decree to the War Committee.

Gentlemen: His Excellency; Castellar; Villa Umbrosa; Cañalejas, Cerdeño; Veytia; Cortés; Yscar; Sierra; Valunde; Camargo.

The War Committee, 11 October 1685.

In view of the decree of Y.M. dated 30 September with the memorial remitted by Father Luis de Morales, and what has been decided by Y.M. regarding measures for the Mariana Islands: agreed, but let him state for whom he makes the requests, for the infantry of the fort or for the Indians. In addition, let him declare and cite the orders that he says were given, in order to carry out here what he wants.

Regarding the point about the provision of a Governor for the Marianas, this religious is to be asked if he knows a person satisfactory to him and with the required devotion, and if he approves the person serving there on an interim basis.

Original signed.

Gentlemen: His Excellency; Montefacho; Granja; Castellar; Villa Umbrosa; Cañalejas; Veytia.

V6. Decision of the Council of the Indies, 10 November 1685

Sources: AGI Fil. 3-3-160a; copy in Col. Pastells, Fil. 17, fol. 356v-357v.

[It turns out that the text is exactly the same as in Section V2 above.]

V7. Opinion of the War Committee, dated 15 January 1686

Source: AGI Ultramar 562, col. Simancas, in one of the following folios: 65-72, 82-83, or 88-94.

Original text in Spanish.

Señor

Pongo en manos de V.S. el expediente adjunto tocante á lo que pide para las Yslas Marianas, el Padre Luis de Morales, para el efecto que V.S. llevó entendido de la Junta de Guerra, en los cinco puntos pendientes en ellas, los cuales van sacados en papel aparte.

Guarde Dios á V.S. muchos años como deseo.

Madrid 15 de Enero de 1686.

De V.S. su mas obligado servidor,

Antonio Ortiz de Otalora

[Al] Sr. D. José de Veitia.

[Enclosure:]

Junta á 15 de Enero de 1686.

Los puntos que faltan de resolver del memorial del Padre Morales, y tocan á la Junta de Guerra se copiaran (advirtiendo al margen la parte en que se hubiese tomado resolucion por el Consejo) y embiarán al Sr. D. José de Veitia para que confiera sobre ellos con el Padre Morales, y adviertasele á este se vea con el Sr. D. José.

Rubricado.

[Clarifications made by Fr. Morales]

7º El fin á que se propone la medalla es por insignia de honrra que manifieste lo agradable á S.M. de los servicios del sugeto á quien se hace merced á la manera que se ejecuta en la Europa con los soldados que sirven veinte años continuos sin pedir licencia y que la medalla sea con las mismas efixias de Rey y Reyna, sin que importase en quanto á la materia que como acá son de oro, fuesen allá de plata sobredorada, y de los tres sobrinos del D. Pedro Juan de la Cruz, sirvió personalmente en las mismas Yslas Marianas llevandole muy niño su tio, el tercero que tiene su propio nombre y fué el primero que aprendió la lengua y sirvió de interprete y el tio difunto tubo cédula de S.M. gobernando la Reyna Madre N[uestra] S[eñora] honrrandole y manifestandole cuan agradables le habian sido sus servicios.

8. Hay dos ó tres compañías de Pampangos en Manila y Cavite con su primera plana y su Maese de Campo y Sargento mayor de forma que se gobierna como Tercio, y la provision de estos Cavos son de la regalia del Gobernador.

9. D. Antonio de Ahiyi [sic] es el único que de los estimados por nobles en aquellas Yslas se manifestó constante en la admision asistencia y defensa de los Religiosos que fueron á introducir la fé, tanto que los demas Indios tubieron resuelto matarle, y despues que hubo Gobernador por S.M. sirvió debajo de su mando con la misma fineza y lealtad hasta haberle por esto hecho la merced que se refiere en que está continuando y al presente esta recibiendo la prerrogativa que se propone de darle lugar preminente en la iglesia, distinto de los demas de su nacion, y algunas veces le ha combidado el Gobernador á comer.

10. La resolucion de este punto dependerá de tomarla en lo general de la forma[,] modo[,] calidades y servicios con que se hubiere de instruir este honor de la medalla cuya distribucion podrá diferirse unicamente al Gobernador.

13. D. Damian de Esplana, habia gobernado antes, por lo militar y politico aquellas Yslas por nombramiento del General de Filipinas, que yendo á ellas desde Acapulco le dexó en ellas, y habia servido en Chile. Con que entendia lo militar, y se portó con gran valor hasta que llegó D. Antonio de Saravia, nombrado por S.M. y despues habiendo pasado á Filipinas el Gobernador de aquellas Yslas por lo que pudiera suceder le dió futura sucesion del Gobierno en caso de faltar D. Antonio de Saravia con que poco despues que llegó á aquellas Yslas por falta de el entró en el Gobierno.

D. José de Quiroga habia tambien servido en interin desde que D. Damian de Esplana habia pasado á Filipinas, hasta que llegó D. Antonio de Saravia. Este Cavallero es de Galicia y habiendo militado en España, y habiendose ya retirado á su Patria, á instancia del Padre Tirso Gonzalez, paso á servir á Dios y al rey en aquella reduccion.

En cuanto á otros sugetos para aquel Gobierno no se ofrecen á la memoria, pues aunque se halla en España el Sargento mayor D. Francisco de Irrizarri, Cavallero Navarro que estuvo y sirvió en las mismas Yslas Marianas lo mas del tiempo lo ha gastado en Filipinas en algunos Gobiernos y parece que viene mas con ánimo de retirarse que de bolver á servir.

Para el aviamiento de los diez Religiosos de la Compañia de Jesus, que Su Magestad ha concedido pasen de estos Reynos á costa de la Real hacienda para las misiones de las Yslas Marianas, y que halla [=aya] en ellas el numero de veinte y seis; y asi mismo el aviamiento de un laico que les corresponde á los dichos diez religiosos son necesarios trescientos cuarenta y tres mil, quinientos y cuarenta maravedis, en que van incluso los diez ducados que se dan á cada religioso Sacerdote de los que van por la Nueva España. Esto sin el gasto que han de hacer desde los Colegios de donde salieren, hasta llegar á Sevilla que se les ha de contar á razon de siete reales cada dia por cada religioso (de que ha de constar por certificacion de los Superiores de los dichos colegios) y á razon de ocho leguas por dia; y mas dos reales en cada uno de los que se detubieren en Sevilla aguardando embarcacion; que es la cuenta que se acostumbra hacer en semejantes pasages, y consta por los libros de nuestro cargo.

Guarde Dios á V[uestra] m[erced] los muchos años que deseamos.

Madrid á 7 de Marzo de 1686.

Andres de Peñaranda

Luis de Astorga

Sr. D. Antonio Ortiz de Otalora.

Translation.

Sir:

I place in the hands of Your Lordship the attached file regarding the requests made for the Mariana Islands by Father Luis de Morales, for the effect that Your Lordship has understood from the Committee in the **5 pending points** therein, those that have been copied on a separate piece of paper.

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

Madrid, 15 January 1686.

Your Lordship's much obliged servant,

Antonio Ortiz de Otalora.

[To] Don José de Veitia.

[Enclosure:]

The Committee, 15 January 1686.

The points of the memorial of Father Morales that remain to be resolved, and that concern the War Committee are to be copied (taking care to note in the margin the parts that have already been decided by the Council) and they are to be sent to Don José de Veitia for him to consult with Father Morales. Send a message to the latter to come and see Don José.

Original signed.

[Clarifications made by Fr. Morales]

7. The purpose sought with the medal is as a sign of honor to manifest the pleasure of H.M. for services rendered by the individual to whom this favor is made in the manner used in Europe for soldiers who serve 20 continuous years without asking for furlough, and the medal should be with the same effigies of the King and Queen, but it is not important which metal is used (it is gold overhere, but could be gold-plated silver overthere), and about his three nephews, Don Pedro Juan de la Cruz served in person in the same Mariana Islands, though his uncle brought him there when he was very young,¹ and the third one bears the same name as his uncle and was the first one who learned the [local] language and served as an interpreter. As far as their late uncle is concerned, he received a decree from H.M., when the Queen Mother our Lady was Regent, honoring him and manifesting how agreeable his services had been.

8. There are 2 or 3 companies of Pampango soldiers in Manila and Cavite with their own establishment, a Master-of-camp and Sergeant-Major; in other words, they are administered as a Regiment, and the commissioning of these officers is the purview of the Governor.

9. Don Antonio de Ahiyi [rather Ayihi] is the only one, out of those who are esteemed as nobles in those Islands, who showed constancy in the reception, assistance and defence of the Religious who went there to introduce the faith, so much so that the other Indians plotted to kill him, and after the arrival of the Governor commissioned by H.M. he served under him with the same delicacy and loyalty, and for this reason he was given the favor mentioned in this point, in which he continues to serve. At present, it is question to give him the prerogative of assigning him a prominent seat in the church, distinct from the other men of his nationality. And a few times the Governor has invited him at his table.²

10. The resolution of this point will depend on taking it generally, as far as the format, mode, qualifications and services, for which the honor of this medal ought to be instituted, and whose distribution could be done by decision of the Governor alone.

13. Don Damian de Esplana had governed before, the military and political aspects of those Islands, by appointment of the General of the Philippines who, arriving over-

1 Ed. note: Either he, or his cousin, was but a baby of 16 months then. Doc. 1673B5 mentions him by name.

2 Ed. note: Had the events of the 1684 rebellion been then known at Madrid, Fr. Morales would certainly have included Chief Ineti in his recommendation.

there as he was coming from Acapulco left him there, and he had served in Chile. That is why he understood the military aspect, and he behaved with great valor until the arrival of Don Antonio de Saravia,¹ appointed by H.M. and after he had passed to the Philippines, the Governor of those Islands, for any future eventuality he gave him the right of succession in the government, should Don Antonio de Saravia die, and a short time after he got back to those Islands this happened and he became Governor.

Don José de Quiroga had also served in an interim capacity, after Don Damian de Esplana had passed to the Philippines, until the arrival of Don Antonio de Saravia.² This gentleman is from Galicia and having served as a military man in Spain, he had already retired to his homeland, but at the request of Father Tirso Gonzalez, he went on to serve God and the King in that reduction.

With respect to other individuals for that Government, none comes to mind; in fact, although Sergeant-Major Don Francisco de Irrizarri, a gentleman from Navarra who was there and served in the Mariana Islands themselves [1676-78], most of his time was spent in the Philippines in a few government posts and it seems that he came back with the intention of retiring, rather than going back there to serve.

For the outfitting of the 10 Religious of the Society of Jesus, for whom His Majesty has granted permission to pass from these Kingdoms at the expense of the Royal treasury for the missions of the Mariana Islands, and to bring up their number to 26 there; and also the outfitting of one lay [brother] corresponding to the said 10 Religious, the sum required amounts to 343,540 maravedis, which include the 10 ducats that are given to each religious Priest going by way of New Spain. This is excluding the expense that must be made for them, from their College of origin until they reach Seville, which must be counted at the rate of 7 reals per day for each religious (about which there must be a certification by the Superiors of said colleges) and at the rate of 8 leagues per day; plus 2 reals [per day] each for those who are detained in Seville while awaiting embarkation. That is the usual accounting for similar passages, as stated in the books under our care.

May God keep Your Grace for the many years that we wish.

Madrid, 7 March 1686.

Andrés de Peñaranda

Luis de Astorga

[To] Don Antonio Ortiz de Otalora.

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- 1 Ed. note: Fr. Morales was not well informed on these points. In fact, Esplana's first term was for 2 years (1674-76) and there were three others who served in the interim period, before the arrival of Saravia in 1681. Between 1676 and 1683, Esplana was serving within the Philippines, notably at Cebu.
 - 2 Ed. note: Then-Captain Quiroga had served only 1 year (1680-81), and only after Captains Irisarri and Salas had preceded him. He went to Manila in 1681 but returned with Esplana aboard the sloop of 1683.

V8. Decision of the War Committee, dated 22 January 1686

Source: AGI Ultramar 562, col. Simancas, fol. 78-81; copy in Colección Pastells, Fil. 2, pp. 443-448, and also in Fil. 17, fol. 364 et seq.

Original text in Spanish.

Puntos que faltan por resolver del Memorial del Padre Luis de Morales, tocante á las Yslas Marianas cuya determinacion pertenece á la Junta de Guerra.—Junta á 22 de Enero de 1686.

7. I. Asi mismo por lo que toca á la gratificacion y premio de los que en los primeros años mas trabajosos, asistieron y arriesgaron sus vidas con el Venerable Martir Diego Luis de San Vitores, pongo á la piadosa memoria de V.M. al Capitan D. Juan de la Cruz, etc.

La relevacion de tributos esta condedida por el Consejo, lo demas quedó para la Junta. Que se les conceda á los tres sobrinos la insignia de la medalla, por seña de honra, que servirá de estimulo y aliento á que otros ejecuten semejantes servicios, que estas medallas hayan de ser de plata sobre dorada con las efigias del Rey N.S. y Reyna Nuestra Señora, y que las recivan de mano del Gobernador de las Marianas y que el de Filipinas se las remita á este.

Rubricado.

8. I. Asi mismo entró en dicha primera conquista el Alférez Andrés de la Cruz, etc. Esta decretado por el Consejo lo mismo que en lo antecedente, que se le conceda la insignia de la medalla, y cedula de recomendacion para el Gobernador de Filipinas para que le atienda y acomode y adelante cuante pudiere en los empleos de su profesion y nacion.

Esta rubricado.

9. I. Asi mismo se ha de servir V.M. de honrrar á D. Antonio de Ayihi, etc. Decretado por el Consejo á la Junta, que se le confirme en el grado que le dió el Gobernador de Marianas, despachandosele cedula para ello y concediendole la insignia de la medalla para el hijo mayor ó el que eligiere.

Esta rubricado.

10. I. Asi mismo se sirvirá de aliento á aquellas nuevas Cristiandades que V.M. mande repartir entre los que se hallaren mas veneméritos algunas insignias de la medalla á los principales de dichas islas, etc. Decretado por el Consejo á la Junta que sobre esto se pida informe al Gobernador de Marianas para que S.M. resuelva, á quien se hubiere de dar, que solo se le permita al Gobernador poder dar por si una ú dos de estas insignias, y esto en caso muy preciso, y que concurra en la persona á quien la diere relevantes motibos de meritos y servicios particulares.

Esta rubricado.

13. I. Asi mismo desde Noviembre de 83 en que murió el Gobernador D. Antonio Sarabia, está gobernando en interin dichas Yslas el Sargento mayor D. Damian de Esplana, etc. Decretado por el Consejo á la Junta:

Que se consulte la confirmacion en este Gobierno á Esplana y á Quiroga en el puesto de Sargento mayor, y que llegando á faltar aquel gobierno en interin este en el entretanto que el Gobernador de Filipinas da providencia en quien sirva en interin dicho Gobierno de la Marianas. Y en lo que toca á los sueldos que se escriba al Sr. Virrey les señale el que juzgare preciso, y mas ajustado á proporcion de los empleos, pidiendo informe al Gobernador de Filipinas, y de cuenta de lo que ejecutare.

Rubricado.

[Dissenting opinion]

El Conde la Monclova, va con la Junta y solo en el punto de las medallas se aparta pareciendole tener incombeniente por que siendo esta una insignia instituida para los Militares que sirven 20 años continuos sin licencia ni interpolacion constituida en tanta estimacion y honor en España que hombres de la sangre la solicitan y apetecen, y á veces por defecto de leve circunstancia de no poder ajustar la sucesion de un papel que califique la serie y continuacion del tiempo señalado para concederse, suele derogarseles, juzga que dezcazeria notablemente lo apreciable de este, hora si de la diferencia de las personas que en los Exercitos de S.M. le solicitan y adquieren, y de la estimacion en que se tiene descendiese á la inferioridad de que le gozasen, y se diese á los que se propone que su empleo, y los servicios que hacen son á distinto fin, aunque tan heroico y grande como contribuir á la estension de Nuestra Santa Fé Católica pero entiende les deve corresponder otros premios y honrras de diferente calidad y que en las Yndias no habrá Español que apetezea este honor viendole conferido en los que se debe creer los miran con demasiada diferencia para igualarseles.

Esta rubricado.

Ase de asentar en los puntos que fueron consultivos asi de Consejo y Junta, por planta de la Consulta que por las proposiciones que el Padre Morales ha hecho ha sido presentado de dichos tribunales.

Rubricado.

Señores: Granja; Monclova; Buornovilla; Villa Umbrosa; Dicastillo; Beitia.

Anotaciones que hace la Secretaria á los capitulos del nueve Memorial que ha presentado Luis de Morales, de la Compañia de Jesus, sobre varios puntos tocantes á las Yslas Marianas.

C. 1º Lo que toca á esta embarcacion vaya todos los años es nuevo. Ya lo tiene resuelto la Junta.

C. 2. Tambien es nuevo lo que sobre esto se pide.

C. 3. Sobre este Capitulo no se ofrece que informar.

C. 4. Por Cédula de 22 de Agosto de 677 se mandó para Filipinas se embiasen Misioneros á los infieles que los pidiesen aunque sea con la calidad de no pagar tributo.

I. C5. En cuanto á este acrecentamiento de soldados que pide, esta concedido por S.M. en 90 plazas á consulta de la Junta de 23 de Agosto de 85. Y tambien está resuelto por el Consejo el aumento de los Misioneros y solo está pendiente de dar cuenta de esto á S.M. en respuesta del decreto que sobre ello hay.

C. 6. Para otras nuevas combersiones ha sido estilo ordenar á la Casa de la Contratacion, provea semejantes géneros, menos los que toca al trigo, lienzo, y ropa que esto es nuevo.

I. 7. De haberse reservado de tributo hay exemplar por méritos, y en cuanto á la insignia de los Cavalleros de la medalla, es punto nuevo.

I. 8. Ydem.

I. 9. Ydem.

I. 10. Tambien es nuevo esto.

C. 11. Sobre este capitulo no se ofrece que informar.

I. 12. Está decretado por la Junta lo que toca á esto.

I. 13. Tambien en la Consulta citada de la Junta, se dixo á S.M. quedava mirando en sugeto digno para este Gobierno.

Translation.

The points still outstanding for the resolution of the Memorial of Father Luis de Morales regarding the Mariana Islands, whose determination concerns the War Committee.—The Committee, 22 January 1686.

Item 7. In addition, with regards to awards and rewards for those who lived through hardships in the Islands during the first years, helping and risking their lives with the Venerable Martyr Diego Luis de San Vitores, I place before the pious memory of Y.M. **Captain Don Juan de la Cruz**, etc.

The exemption from tributes is granted by the Council; what remains is for the Committee:

The three nephews can be granted the distinction of the medal, as a sign of honor; it might serve as a stimulus and encouragement for others to carry out similar services. These medals are to be made of silver and gold plated with the effigies of the King our Lord and Queen our Lady, and they are to receive them from the hand of the Governor of the Marianas, who is to receive them from the Governor of the Philippines.

Original signed.

Item 8. In addition, another participant in the first conquest was **Second Lieutenant Andrés de la Cruz**, etc.

It is decreed by the Council the same as for the previous item, that the distinction of the medal be granted him, and a decree of recommendation sent to the Governor of the Philippines so that he may take care of him, accommodate him and promote him as much as he can in jobs for his profession and nationality.

Original signed.

Item 9. In addition, Y.M. should be pleased to honor **Don Antonio de Ayihi**, etc.

It is decreed by the Council to the War Committee that he be confirmed in the rank given to him by the Governor of the Marianas, and a decree is being despatched to this effect and granting him the distinction of the medal for his oldest son or anyone else chosen by him.

Original signed.

Item 10. In addition, it would be a boon to those new Christian communities if Y.M. ordered the distribution, among those who are found to be the most deserving chiefs of said Islands, etc.

It is decreed by the Council to the War Committee that on this score a report be asked from the Governor of the Marianas so that H.M. may resolve to whom they should be given, that the Governor be authorized to give out only one or two of these distinctions, and only in very necessary cases, and only to a person with relevant degrees of merits and special services.

Original signed.

Item 13. In addition, since November 1683, when the Governor Don Antonio Saravia died, the Sergeant-Major Don Damian de Esplana is governing said Islands on an interim basis, etc.

It is decreed by the Council to the War Committee: That a consultation be held regarding the confirmation of Esplana as Governor, and Quiroga as Sergeant-Major, and the eventuality of the interim position being vacated, meanwhile the Governor of the Philippines is finding a replacement to serve as interim Governor of the Marianas. And regarding the salaries, a letter is to be sent to the Viceroy asking him to fix a competent amount, one better suited to the jobs, asking the Governor of the Philippines for a report, and to report back on actions taken.

Original signed.

[Dissenting opinion:]

The Count of Monclova agrees with the Committee, except on the point of the medals. He thinks that it would be inappropriate, because this distinction was instituted for military men who have served for 20 continuous years, without any furlough nor interruption, one upon which is founded so much esteem and honor in Spain that men of the nobility ask for it and crave it, and at times, for lack of a slight circumstance, such as not being able to prove uninterrupted service with all the papers in succession and the continuity of such service of sufficient length, their request is usually refused. Therefore, he thinks that it would be degrading its status appreciably; for instance, if the difference between persons in the armies of H.M. asking for it and acquiring it, and of the esteem in which it is held is allowed to come down to the lowest level of those enjoying it, and if it is given for a different purpose than the intended employment and services, though they be so heroic and great as those contributing to the extension of our Holy Catholic Faith. Nevertheless, he understands that they should be given other awards and honors, of a different quality, to make sure that in the Indies the Spaniards

who vie for this honor will not see them conferred on persons whom they think are too different to be considered their equals.

Original signed.

The points that were consulted by both the Council and Committee are to be set down as the basis for the Consultation that said tribunals have been asked to do about the proposals of Father Morales.

Original signed.

Gentlemen: Granja; Monclova; Buornovilla; Villa Umbrosa; Dicastillo; Veitia.

Notations made by the Secretariat to the chapters of the new Memorial that Luis de Morales of the Society of Jesus has presented, regarding various points concerning the Mariana Islands.

Ch. 1. What he says regarding this vessel going every year is new. The Committee has already taken care of it.

Ch. 2. What he asks here is also new.

Ch. 3. About this chapter, there is no need for a report.

Ch. 4. According to a decree of 22 August 1677, the Philippines were ordered to send missionaries to the heathens who ask for them, though it be with the condition of not paying tribute.

Ch. 5. Regarding this requested increment of soldiers, H.M. has already granted 90 positions, in a consultation held by the Committee on 23 August 1685. Also, the increase in the number of missionaries was resolved by the Council. There only remains to inform H.M. about it, in answer to the existing decree on this subject.

Ch. 6. For other new conversions the custom has been to order the House of Trade to provide similar goods, except for the matter of the wheat, linen, and cloth, which is new.

Item 7. There are examples of exempting people from tribute on account of their merits, but the matter concerning the distinction of the Knights of the medal, is new.

Item 8. Idem.

Item 9. Idem.

Item 10. This is also new.

Ch. 11. About this chapter, there is nothing to report.

Item 12. The Committee has already decreed about this.

Item 13. That too, in the Consultation held by the Committee, H.M. was told that a worthy candidate for Governor was being sought.

V9. The Council of the Indies to the King, dated Madrid 28 January 1686

Sources: Idem, fol. 33-35; copy in Colección Pastells, Fil. 2, pp. 374-379, and also in Fil. 17, fol. 359 et sequitur.

Original text in Spanish.

Señor

Con decreto de 30 de Setiembre del año pasado de 1685 se sirvió V.M. remitir á este Consejo, un Memorial de Luis de Morales, Procurador de la Compañía de Jesus de las Yslas Filipinas, y Marianas para que sobre su contenido se consulte á V.M. lo que se ofreciere, y pareciere.

Con el Memorial puso en las Reales manos de V.M. las dos relaciones que buelben con esta consulta del estado y progresos que desde el año de 1681, tienen las Yslas Marianas, en lo espiritual y temporal corriendo uno y otro con el aumento y felicidad que espresan, diciendo que su conservacion pende unicamente de la piedad y grandeza de V.M. quanto es mayor el desamparo y necesidad que en comparacion de las demas tierras de Yndias, tienen aquellas Yslas con la falta de todas las cosas que pueden servir de cebo á la codicia de los hombres, por que no hay minas de oro, plata, ni de los demas metales fructuosos, y que aunque para lo preciso de la vida humana, fué necesario llevar de otras partes plantas, semillas y animales, que van produciendo en algunos géneros con fecundidad y esperanza de que las islas reducidas se poblaron del sustento necesario.

Y entre otros puntos que tocó verlos á la Junta de Guerra, y sobre ellos hace consulta á V.M., mandar aumentar el número de los 16 misioneros que hay hasta 26 y mandar despachar nueva Cédula al Gobernador de Filipinas, con los apremios y penas que parecieren justas, de que se le hará cargo en su residencia, para que con ningun pretexto se escuse de embiar la balandra, ó embarcacion mayor que repetidas veces le está mandado, con trigo y vino para celebrar el Santo Sacrificio de la Misa, y tambien alguna ropa gruesa con que cubrir la desnudez de los Indios y con otras cosas precisas á los existentes en aquella tierra, como trigo para sembrar, y que el numero de los Colegiales de los dos Colegios que se han fundado se aumente hasta ciento con la dotacion competente á la que al presente tiene los niños de ellos, y alguna limosna de herramientas, y hierro para fábrica de las iglesias y colegios, sirviendo la embarcacion, no solo en esto, sino en el descubrimiento de las Yslas que corren al Sur.

En lo que mira á los Misioneros juzga el Consejo que este religioso se paso en su diligencia acudiendo á V.M. entendiendo conseguir mas numero, siendo asi que siempre que qualquiera religion solicita semejante instancia en el, les conceden los que piden en la prudencial forma que halla por conveniente, segun la necesidad que se reconoce, y asi lo ha hecho á esta concediendosela los diez mas que pide.

En quanto á la embarcacion parece al Consejo se repitan las órdenes dadas al Gobernador de Filipinas, añadiendole la despache todos los años, enviandola precisamente,

por los meses de Abril ó Mayo, por ser los tiempos oportunos, y que de cuenta con testimonio de haberlo ejecutado así, y en defecto de faltar á remitirla todos los años el que incurriere se declare le sea cargo de su residencia.

Y respecto de que hasta aora no se ha expedido orden alguna para dar trigo, lienzo y ropa vasta que pide (y en otro memorial dice sea de la Caxa de Mexico) siendo V.M. servido se escribirá al Virrey, Audiencia, y Arzobispo de aquella Ciudad imformen lo que se les ofrece sobre esta limosna, y lo demas que va espresado pide, dando su parecer y en caso de serlo el que se digan se dé, digan el tiempo, por que combendrá concederse.

Y haciendo reflexion el Consejo de las repetidas órdenes que V.M. tiene dadas para el fomento de la Mision de estas Yslas, conservacion y aumento de aquella nueva Cristiandad, y cuan del agrado de V.M. ha sido quanto se ha dispuesto á este fin, no habiendo tenido carta posterior de D. Antonio Saravia Gobernador que fué de ellas, desde la que ultimamente se recibió del año de 1683 (en el cual murió) hizo llamar á este Procurador, y se le preguntó, que necesitaban aquellas Yslas, así para la extension de la fé en ellas, como para su conservacion y adelantamiento en lo temporal. Sobre lo cual presentó un papel de varios puntos, que los que tocan y se han visto en el Consejo se reducen:

A que para la siembra del algodon, entablar telares y buscar Maestros que enseñen á fabricar la ropa, se necesita de algun tiempo, y para que los recién convertidos, puedan cubrir su total desnudez, sin que con el tributo se les haga pesado el suave yugo del Santo Evangelio, se sirva V.M. relevar de tributo por 40 años á los adultos convertidos, y que á los demas no se les cobre aunque esten casados hasta haber cumplido 20 años de edad, reservando de él á los ancianos en llegando á la de 50 años; lo cual parece al Consejo será muy propio de la grandeza de V.M. conceder, limitando á que sea por 20 años, los 40 que pide.

Que en conformidad de lo que se estila con otras nuevas conversiones de Indios mande V.M. proveer á cada una de las doce iglesias que allí se han hecho con un ornamento y campana por necesitar de uno y otro. Y siendo esta costumbre tan del Católico celo de V.M. es de parecer el Consejo se dé la orden necesaria á la Casa de la Contratacion de Sevilla, para que provea de estos generos á la Compañía de Jesus, de suerte que puedan ir en la flota que este año ha de navegar á la Nueva España, valiendose del caudal que para casos semejantes lo hubiere hecho reintegrando lo que montare del que viene de las Indias de cuenta de V.M.

*Que para la gratificacion, y premio de los que en los primeros años asistieron con mas trabajos ariesgando sus vidas con el Venerable Martir Diego Luis de San Vitores, pone en la piadosa memoria de V.M. al **Capitan Don Juan de la Cruz**, Indio principal de la nacion Tagala, que con su familia, pasó desde Manila á dichas Yslas siendo uno de los primeros Pacificadores, y que, por haber muerto se sirva V.M. logren el premio tres sobrinos suyos, huerfanos que dexó cuya nombres son D. Ygnacio Pagtactan, D. Julian, y D. Juan de la Cruz, y al presente estan en Filipinas concediendoles V.M. reserva de tributo, polos, y demas servicios personales, lo cual parece al Consejo*

proporcionado segun el mérito que representa lizo su tio, con calidad que solo sea por sus personas.

*Que tambien fué de los que concurrieron en la primera entrada el **Alferez Andrés de la Cruz**, Indio principal de nacion pampanga, y despues de siete años que sirvió en dichas Misiones, volvió á Filipinas, donde al presente se halla pobre y necesitado, por que propone se le de la reserba de tributo, polos, y servicios personales, para sus hijos y dos hermanas suyas, y á los hijos de estas, en que al Consejo parece puede V.M. servirse concedersela para su persona.*

Que V.M. se sirva honrrar con el titulo de Ciudad al primero y principal pueblo de dichas Yslas nombrado San Ygnacio de Agatña, que es donde al presente reside el Gobernador y presidio, y para que participen las demas islas del favor de V.M. que en cada Ysla se haga Villa al pueblo mas principal. Y esto sienta el Consejo será muy conveniente concederselo, asi para el lustre y conservacion de aquellos pueblos, como para su adelantamiento, y buena forma en su política siendo tambien medio para que crezcan sus poblaciones, y con el abrigo de los Españoles, que alli se avecindaren, se arraigue la fé, que es el fin principal á que V.M. siempre atiende.

V.M. mandará lo que mas fuere (servido) su Real voluntad.

Madrid á 28 de Enero de 1686.

Hay siete rubricas.

Translation.

Sire:

By a decree of 30 September of the past year 1685, Y.M. was pleased to remit to this Council, a Memorial from Luis de Morales, Procurator of the Society of Jesus for the Philippine and Mariana Islands, in order for us to consult Y.M. on what can best be done about its contents.

With the Memorial he placed in the Royal hands of Y.M. two reports (that are sent back with this consultation) on the condition and progress of the Mariana Islands as of the year 1681 in things spiritual and temporal; both of them speak of improvements and success, saying that their preservation depends only on the mercy and greatness of Y.M., the more so when their isolation and need are greater than in other countries in the Indies; indeed, because those Islands lack everything that could serve as bait to attract the cupidity of men, because there are no gold or silver mines, no worthwhile metals, and that even concerning what is basic for human survival, it was necessary to bring in from elsewhere plants, seeds and animals, that are producing fertile results in some breeds, and it is hoped that the Islands, once reduced, will be self-sufficient in food.

And among other points that were referred to the War Committee, it is recommended to Y.M. to order an addition to the 16 missionaries, for a total of 26, and to order the despatch of a new Decree to the Governor of the Philippines, stating some just fines, and warning him that the matter will be part of his *residencia*, to prevent him from using some pretext not to send the sloop, or a larger vessel, that he has been ordered

many times to send, with wheat and wine to celebrate the Holy Sacrifice of the mass, and also some rough cloth to cover the nakedness of the Indians and with other things necessary to those living in that country, such as wheat for sowing, and that the number of boys and girls for the two Colleges that have been founded be increased up to 100 with an endowment of a sum relative to that presently spent on the children there, and some alm for tools, and iron for the construction of churches and colleges, with the vessel intended, not just for this, but also for the exploration of the Islands that lie to the south.

With regards to the missionaries, **the Council thinks that this religious was overly zealous in appealing directly to Y.M.**, in order to obtain a larger number, but whenever some religious Order solicits the Council with a similar request, they are granted their request in the prudential and appropriate manner, in accordance with the recognized need, and so, this request was granted and he got the 10 whom he asked for.

With regards to the vessel, the Council is of the opinion that the orders given to the Governor of the Philippines should be repeated, with the addition that he is to send it every year, and precisely during the months of April or May, on account of their being opportune times, and that he is to send a report, complete with legal depositions, on actions taken by him, and if he should fail to send one every year, the implication is that he would be charged with this failure in his *residencia*.

And with regards to no order having yet been sent to give the requested wheat, linen and coarse cloth (and in another memorial he says that it should be paid by the treasury in Mexico), Y.M. should be pleased to order that the Viceroy, Audiencia, and Archbishop of that City be asked to inform on what is best to do about this alm, and the rest that he has asked for specifically, and each one is to give his opinion and, in case of he thinks it should be given, he should state for how long, and why it should be granted.

And, the Council having considered the repeated orders that Y.M. has already sent for the development of the Mission in these Islands, the preservation and progress of that new Christian community, and how much the actions taken for this purpose were agreeable to Y.M., in view of the absence of any letter written later than the one sent by Don Antonio Saravia, their former Governor, in the year 1683 (the year that he died), they had this Procurator called, and he was asked what those Islands needed, not only for the extension of the faith there, but also for their preservation and advancement in things temporal. To this effect, he presented a paper with various points; those that concern the Council can be reduced to the following:

For the cultivation of cotton, the setting up of looms and the recruitment of master weavers to teach them how to make cloth, some time is required; and in order for the recently-converted to cover their total nudity, without their being burdened with having to pay tribute and accept the sweet yoke of the Holy Gospel, Y.M. should be pleased to exempt from tribute for 40 years the converted adults, and as far as the others are concerned, they should not be taxed until they have reached 20 years of age, and the older people should also be exempted upon reaching the age of 50. The Council is of

the opinion that this request seems reasonable on the part of the greatness of Y.M. to grant, but that it should be limited to a period of 20 years, rather than 40.

In line with the custom with other new conversions of Indians, Y.M. could order that each of the 12 churches overthere be provided with one set of ornaments and a bell, as they need both. And since this custom is so typical of the Catholic zeal of Y.M., the Council is of the opinion that the order be given to the House of Trade in Seville, for them to provide these goods to the Society of Jesus, so that they may catch the fleet that sails this year for New Spain, debiting the funds that they have available for similar cases, from those coming from the Indies on the account of Y.M.

With respect to the reward, or award, to those who assisted the Venerable Martyr Diego Luis de San Vitores with many hardships during the first few years, at the risk of their lives, the Council wishes to recall to the merciful memory of Y.M. **Captain Don Juan de la Cruz**, an Indian chief of the Tagalog nation, who with his family went on from Manila to said Islands, he being one of their first Peace-makers, and that, on account of his death, Y.M. should be pleased to award the prize to three of his nephews, whom he left behind as orphans, and whose names are Don Ignacio Pagtacotan, Don Julian and Don Juan de la Cruz, and at present they are in the Philippines. Y.M. should grant them an exemption from tribute, poll taxes, and other personal services. The Council thinks that such an award would be fitting in view of their uncle's merit, with the condition that the exemption apply only to themselves.¹

Also, one of the participants in the first conquest was **Second Lieutenant Andrés de la Cruz**, Indian chief of the Pampango nation, who served for 7 years in said Missions, returned to the Philippines, where at present he is destitute, reason for which he proposes that he be exempted from tribute, poll taxes, and personal services, for his children and two sisters of his, and their children. The Council is of the opinion that Y.M. should be pleased to grant him a personal exemption.

About Y.M. being pleased to honor with the title of City the first and foremost town of said Islands, named San Ignacio de Agatña, which is where the Governor and garrison reside at present, and for the rest of the Islands to participate in the favor of Y.M., in each Island the main settlement should be named Town. The Council thinks that it would be very proper to grant it, not only for the glory involved and the preservation of those towns, but also their advancement, and to place politics in good form, in order to encourage the growth of their populations, and for the shelter of the Spanish who might settle there, and for the faith to take roots, which is the main aim that Y.M. always looks forward to.

Y.M. will order what his Royal will sees fit.

Madrid, 28 January 1686.

1 Ed. note: In other words, it should not be hereditary.

V10. The War Committee to the King, dated Madrid 29 January 1686

Sources: Idem, fol. 47-50; copy in Colección Pastells, Fil. 2, pp. 397-402, and also Fil. 17, fol. 361 et sequitur.

Original text in Spanish.

El Marques de la Granja; Conde de la Monclova; Duque de Buorno Villa; Conde de Villa Umbrosa; Conde de Cañalejas; D. Miguel de Dicastillo; D. José de Veitia. Señor.

Los puntos que tocó ver á esta Junta de los que contiene el memorial de Luis de Morales, de la Compañía de Jesus, Procurador de su religion de las Yslas Filipinas y Marianas, que con decreto de 30 de Setiembre del año pasado de 1685 remitió V.M. al Consejo, y otro papel que despues dió con orden que tubo para ello, tocante á lo que se necesita proveer á las Marianas, cuya conservacion y adelantamiento tiene V.M. tan repetidas veces encargado se reducen á lo siguiente:

Que V.M. se sirva crecer el numero de la guarnicion y gente de aquel presidio.

*Que V.M. mande quedar en el las piezas de artilleria que el Gobernador juzgara necesita de las que actualmente se estan sacando de las que se perdieron el año de 1635 [sic], con la Nao **Concepcion** en la quinta Ysla Mariana llamada Seipan.*

Que lo que mereció el Capitan D. Juan de la Cruz, Indio principal de la nacion Tagala que con su familia pasó desde Manila á dichas Yslas con el Venerable Martir Diego Luis de S. Vitores, tolerando grandes trabajos y arriesgando su vida, y por haber muerto se sirva V.M. logren el premio tres sobrinos suyos huerfanos nombrados D. Ygnacio Pagtacotan, D. Julian, y D. Juan de la Cruz que al presente asisten en las Yslas Filipinas, honrrandoles V.M. a cada uno con su Real Cédula y la insignia de los Cavalleros de la medalla.

Que por haber entrado al mismo tiempo en Marianas el Alferez Andrés de la Cruz, Indio principal de nacion Pampanga y despues de siete años que sirvió en las misiones de ellas, bolbió a Filipinas donde se halla pobre y necesitado se sirva V.M. premiarle con el baston de Maestre de Campo, ó el de Sargento mayor de su nacion con sueldo en el Puerto de Cavite, haciendole tambien la honrra de Cavallero de la medalla embiandole cédula de agradecimiento y recomendacion por sus servicios.

Que asimismo se sirva V.M. honrrar á D. Antonio de Ayihi, Indio principal de la Ysla de S. Juan en las Marianas, haciendole y a sus descendientes Cavalleros de la medalla, por haber sido el que en la primera entrada del Venerable Diego Luis de San Vitores asistió y defendió en cuanto fué necesario con muchos y continuos riesgos de su vida, en cuya consideracion el Maestre de Campo D. Antonio de Saravia que fué Gobernador por V.M. en aquellas Yslas de dió el baston y titulo de Teniente de Capitan General de los Indios naturales de ellas, cuyo nombramiento propone le confirme V.M. en los honores y que en los actos publicos se le honrra con asiento preminente, gratificando tambien su lealtad con cédula y los honrras de Cavallero de la medalla.

Que servirá de aliento á aquellas nuevas Cristiandades que V.M. mande repartir entre los que se hallaren mas beneméritos algunas insignias de la medalla á los principales de dichas Yslas que mas se hubieren señalado en la lealtad y cristiano celo á juicio del Gobernador y Misioneros de ellas.

Y que desde Noviembre del año de 1683, en que murio el Gobernador D. Antonio de Saravia, esta gobernando en interin las dichas Yslas el Sargento Mayor D. Damian de Esplana, que con todo celo y buen exemplo insiste en los aumentos de aquellas Cristiandades con la asistencia de D. José de Quiroga que al presente hace oficio de Sargento mayor con mucho credito y buen exemplo, por lo que suplica á V.M. se sirva confirmar á D. Damian de Esplana la propiedad del Gobierno, y á D. José de Quiroga, la futura de el, señalando al uno y al otro el salario fixo en la Caja de Mexico, dandoles tambien esperanzas de que en atencion á sus buenos servicios les tendrá V.M. presentes en orden á su promocion al Gobierno de Filipinas alentandoles en el interin con cédulas de agradecimiento, y alguna merced.

Habiendo discurrido la Junta sobre todo lo referido, deve decir á V.M. que lo que toca al acrecentamiento de gente que se pide para el presidio, lo tiene V.M. resuelto á Consulta de esta Junta de 23 de Agosto de 1685, aumentando noventa plazas mas á las cuarenta que tenia cumplimiento las 130 que el Gobernador D. Antonio Saravia mantenía, para lo cual y otras providencias que en esta Consulta resolvió V.M. se dispusiesen se dió la órden conveniente al Virrey de Nueva España y embiandosela en los avisos que ultimamente salieron, y se repitirá en la ultima flota.

En cuanto á la artilleria que se está sacando de la Nao que refiere se perdió allí; sienta la Junta combendrá dar órden para que se aplique y apropie al fuerte que fabricó D. Antonio Saravia.

Tambien parece á la Junta será muy propio de la grandeza de V.M. conceder á los tres referidos sobrinos del dicho D. Juan de la Cruz, la insignia de la medalla, por seña de honor y demostracion de que han sido agradables á V.M. sus servicios, omitiendo la espresion y término de Cavalleria que se propone considerando la Junta servira de estimulo y aliento á que otros le imiten y los ejecuten semejantes, y que estas medallas sean de plata sobre dorada con las efigies de V.M. y la Reyna nuestra Señora, las cuales reciban los interesados de mano del Gobernador de las Marianas al cual se las remita el de Filipinas. Y hallandose en estas Yslas como ahora se dice se las dará este Gobernador al cual se las embiará el Virrey a quien se dará la órden para ello.

Que al dicho Alférez Andrés de la Cruz tambien se le podrá conceder la insignia de la medalla, y cédula recomendandole al Gobernador de Filipinas, para que le atienda y acomode adelantandole cuanto pudiere en los empleos de su profesion y entre los de su nacion.

Que á D. Antonio de Ayihi, halla digno de que V.M. le confirme en el grado de Teniente de Capitan general de los Indios que le dió el Gobernador de las Marianas concediendole asi mismo la insignia de la medalla, para el hijo mayor ó el que eligiere.

En cuanto á las demas medallas que se propone se repartan entre los mas veneméritos: parece á la Junta se pida informe al Gobernador de las Marianas para que hallan-

dolo por conveniente y avisando los que juzga por dignos, resuelva V.M. á quienes se hubiere de dar, permitiendole al Gobernador en el interin que viene el informe que pueda repartir por si una ú dos, y no mas de estas insignias, advirtiendole que aun esto lo ha de ejecutar en caso muy preciso, y que concurra en la persona á quien la diere algun relevante motivo de merito ó servicio muy particular, á fin de evitar, si con facilidad se concediesen el que se haga menos apreciable este honor.

Y por los servicios que concurren en el Sargento Mayor D. Damian de Esplana, y D. José de Quiroga, y lo que uno y otro han solicitado merecer en las Marianas; parece á la Junta que para alentarles á su continuacion comvendrá que V.M. confirme al primero en el Gobierno de las Marianas que le dió en interin el Gobernador de Filipinas, y al segundo en el puesto de Sargento mayor, con la preminencia de que si sucediere faltar el primero gobierne en interin este, en el entretanto que el Gobernador de Filipinas da providencia en quien sirva el dicho Gobierno de las Marianas, mientras V.M. le da en propiedad, escribiendo en lo que toca á los sueldos con que se les hubiere de asistir al Virrey de Nueva España les señale el que juzgara preciso y mas ajustado á proporcion de los empleos, pidiendo para ello informe al Gobernador de Filipinas, y que avise de lo que ejecutare.

El Conde de Monclova va con lo que asiente la Junta, apartandose solo en el punto de las medallas, por que ha reparado y juzga que esta proposicion y todas las que miran á cosas militares y de Gobierno, deberán venir y hacerse por Ministro de V.M. como el Gobernador de las mismas Yslas Marianas ó Filipinas, pareciendole tener inconveniente la de que se concedan estas medallas, por que siendo una insignia instituida para los militares que sirven 20 años continuos sin licencia, ni interpolacion constituida en tanta estimacion y honor en España, que hombres de muy conocida sangre y obligaciones la solicitan y apetezen, y a veces por defecto de la leve circunstancia de no poder ajustar la precision de un papel que califique la serie y continuacion del tiempo señalado suele de negarseles: juzga que descaezeria notablemente lo apreciable de este honor si de la diferencia de las personas que en los Exercitos de V.M. le solicitan y adquieren, y de la estimacion en que se tiene descendiese á la inferioridad de que le gozasen, y se diese á los que se propone por que su empleo y los servicios que hacen son á distinto fin, aunque tan heróico y grande en cuanto toca á la mayor extension de nuestra Santa fé Católica. Pero entiende que á esto debia corresponder otros premios y honrras de diferente calidad, y que en las Indias no habrá Español que apetezca este honor viendole conferido en los que se debe creer los miran con demasiada diferencias para igualarles en ellos.

V.M. mandara lo que mas fuere su Real Voluntad.

Madrid á 29 de Enero de 1686.

Hay seis rubricas.

Translation.

The Marquis of La Granja; the Count of La Monclova; the Duke of Buorno Villa; the Count of Villa Umbrosa; the Count of Cañalejas; Don Miguel de Dicastillo; Don José de Veitia.

Sire:

The points that concerned this Committee from those contained in the memorial of Luis de Morales of the Society of Jesus, Procurator for his Order in the Philippine and Mariana Islands, which Y.M. remitted to the Council with a decree last September 30th, and another paper that you gave afterwards with an order to look at it, regarding the needs of the Marianas, whose preservation and progress Y.M. has so often entrusted, can be summarized as follows:

That Y.M. be pleased to increase the number of soldiers in that garrison.

That Y.M. order that as many cannon that the Governor thinks he needs be left there, from those that are being salvaged from the number lost in the year 1635 [rather 1638] with the galleon **Concepción** at the fifth Mariana Island named Seipan.

That, on account of the merit of Captain Don Juan de la Cruz, Indian chief of the Tagalog nation, who passed from Manila to said Islands with his family in the company of the Venerable Martyr Diego Luis de San Vitores, tolerating great hardships and risking his life, and on account of his death, Y.M. should be pleased to reward three nephews of his, orphans, named Don Ignacio Pagtacotan, Don Julian and Don Juan de la Cruz, who are at present residing in the Philippine Islands, Y.M. honoring each one of them with your Royal decree and the distinction of the Knights of the medal.

That, on account of the Second Lieutenant Andrés de la Cruz, an Indian chief of the Pampango nation, having participated in the conquest, and who, after 7 years of serving the missions there, returned to the Philippines where he is at present destitute, Y.M. should be pleased to reward him with the staff of Master-of-camp, or that of Sergeant-Major of his nation with a salary paid out of the Port of Cavite, with the additional honor of Knight of the medal, sending him a decree of thanks and recommendation for his services.

That, in addition, Y.M. should be pleased to honor Don Antonio de Ayihi, Indian chief of the Island of San Juan in the Marianas, by making him and his descendants Knights of the medal, for having been the man who assisted and defended the Venerable Diego Luis de San Vitores at the first entrance, whenever necessary, at great and continuous risks to his life, in whose consideration the Master-of-camp Don Antonio de Saravia, Y.M.'s official appointee and former Governor in those Islands, gave him the staff and rank of Lieutenant of Captain-General of the native Indians there, whose appointment it is proposed be confirmed by Y.M. with the corresponding honors, such as a place of honor at official ceremonies, and also rewarding his loyalty with a decree and the honors of Knight of the medal.

That, the better to encourage those new Christian communities, Y.M. should order the distribution among the most worthy chiefs of those Islands of a few distinctions of

the medal, those who might have stood out by their loyalty and Christian zeal, at the discretion of the Governor and missionaries there.

And, since November 1683, when the Governor Don Antonio de Saravia died, the Sergeant-Major Don Damian de Esplana is governing said Islands on an interim basis, and he attends to the progress of those Christian communities with a complete zeal and good example, with the assistance of Don José de Quiroga who at present holds the office of Sergeant-Major with much credit and good example, hence he begs Y.M. to please confirm Don Damian de Esplana with the actual ownership of the title of Governor, and Don José de Quiroga with that of the next governorship, and fixing for both of them a salary in the treasury in Mexico, giving them also some hopes, in line with their good services, that Y.M. might keep them in mind for their promotion to the Government of the Philippines, encouraging them in the meantime with decrees of thanks, and some favor.

The Committee discussed all the above, and must tell Y.M. that, with regards to the increase of personnel requested for the garrison, Y.M. has already decided, by Consultation of this Committee dated 23 August 1685, to increase by 90 positions, the 40 positions that it had, making a total of 130 that Governor Don Antonio Saravia was maintaining. To this effect, and by other provisions that Y.M. decided in this consultation, it was decided to give the Viceroy of New Spain an appropriate order, and to send same aboard the advice boats that left of late, and will be repeated in the last fleet.¹

As far as the cannon are concerned, that are being salvaged from the galleon lost overthere, the Committee is of the opinion that it would be proper to give an order that they be applied to and become part of the fort that Don Antonio Saravia built.

The Committee is also of the opinion that it would be very proper for the greatness of Y.M. to grant to the three above-mentioned nephews of the said Don Juan de la Cruz the distinction of the medal, as a sign of honor and to show that his services have been agreeable to Y.M., but omitting the expression and term of Knighthood that is proposed, as the Committee considers that it will serve to stimulate and encourage others to imitate him and to carry out similar feats, and that these medals be made of silver and gold plated with the effigies of Y.M. and that of the Queen our Lady. The recipients in question should receive same from the hand of the Governor of the Marianas, who is to have them sent to him by the Governor of the Philippines. And if the latter happens to pass by these Islands, as they say he will, he should give them [i.e. the medals] himself, and in this case, they should be remitted to him by the Viceroy, who is to receive an order to that effect.

That the said Second-Lieutenant Andrés de la Cruz could also be granted the distinction of the medal, and decree recommending him to the Governor of the Philippines, so that he may take care of him and accommodate him, by promoting him how much as possible in the jobs of his profession and among those of his nation.

1 Ed. note: See Doc. 1685Y1 and 1686B1.

That Don Antonio de Ayihi is found to be worthy that Y.M. confirm him in the rank of Lieutenant of Captain-General of the Indians given to him by the Governor of the Marianas, and also granting the distinction of the medal to him, to his oldest son, or one selected by him.

As far as the other proposed medals are concerned, to be distributed among the most worthy, the Committee is of the opinion that a report be sought from the Governor of the Marianas, asking him to give of list of those worthy, if he thinks it appropriate, so that Y.M. might decide to whom they should be given, but allowing the Governor to distribute one or two, in the meantime that his report is on the way, but no more of these distinctions, warning him that even this short distribution should be done only in a very specific case, and that the recipient must have somehow earned the corresponding merit, or done some very special service, in order to avoid the danger that this honor become less appreciated, if too many are granted it.

And for the services done by the Sergeant-Major Don Damian de Esplana and Don José de Quiroga in the Marianas, for which both are said to deserve a reward, the Committee is of the opinion that, in order to encourage them to continue, it would be proper for Y.M. to confirm the former in the governorship of the Marianas, given to him on an interim basis by the Governor of the Philippines, and to confirm the latter in the post of Sergeant-Major, with the pre-eminence that if the former should fail he would succeed him in the post as interim Governor, in the interval of time that it takes the Governor of the Philippines to provide a replacement to serve as Governor of the Marianas, by interim also until Y.M. can intervene with an official appointment. As for the salaries, a letter should go out to the Viceroy of New Spain who is to assist them with salaries on an appropriate scale, in line with their employment, he being required to seek a report from the Governor of the Philippines to that effect, and to report on actions taken.

The Count of Monclova agrees with the decisions of the Committee, except on the point of the medals, because he has reservations and thinks that such a proposal and all those touching on military things and governance, should come from and be supported by an officer of Y.M., such as the very Governor of the Mariana, or Philippine, Islands. He thinks it is inappropriate to grant these medals, because they have been created for military men with 20 years of continuous service, without furlough or interruption whatever, medals that are so esteemed and honored in Spain that men of very honorable birth and duties are soliciting them and covet them, at at times are being denied them on account of some slight defect of circumstance, such as the lack of some supporting piece of paper to vouch for the continuity of their services. He thinks that the distinction would soon become less appreciated, if the difference marking the persons serving in the armies of Y.M. who solicit and obtain them, and the esteem in which they are held, would come down to the lower level of those who enjoy them, and are given them for some employment and services in another arena, though they be so heroic and grand as services to extend our Holy Catholic faith. However, he understands that the people in question deserve to be given other prizes and honors of a different

quality, and there should be no Spaniard in the Indies, desirous of this honor, who might be slighted when they see it conferred on persons so different that they cannot look upon them as equals.

Y.M. will order what best suits your Royal will.

Madrid, 29 January 1686.

There are six signatures.¹

1 Ed. note: For follow-up action on the above memorials, see Docs. 1686B, 1686AC and 1687H.

Document 1685W

Biography of Fr. Augustin Strobach

Eulogy published in Italian by Fr. Ortiz

Source: Fr. Ambrosio Ortiz' I storia (Naples, 1686), pp. 634-645.

Original text published in Italian.

Elogio del Ven. Padre Agostino Strobach ucciso da Barbari per Christo.

Il Ven. P. Agostino Strobach natiuo d'Iglàu nella Morauia da suoi genitori, non men pij che nobili, fù alleuato in ogni pietà: hebbe due altri fratelli nella Compagnia, & il lor padre, vecchio di veneranda canutezza, e di candidissimi costumi, soleua dire, che egli ancora haurebbe seguitato l'esempio de'sigli suoi, quando non si fusse trauato impedito da legami del matrimonio. Apprese il nostro Agostino le prime lettere nelle scuole di quel Collegio della Compagnia; con lode d'ingegno, ma con maggior commendatione delle sue virtù; perciòche ammesso alla Congregatione della Madonna diede singolari esemplij di diuotione, e d'osseruanza delle regole de congregati. E fin dall'ora sarebbe stato ammesso nella Compagnia, come egli a gran istanze chiedeva, & i suoi talenti e costumi gli meritauano; se la guerra del Turco in Vngaria, e li danni che da quella pativa la vicina Morauia; non gl'hauessero fatto differire a miglior tempo l'adempimento di questi suoi desiderij. Nel mentre prese per ispediente portarsi ad Olmutz, & in quella celebre Vniuersità studiò la Filosofia, & ne ottenne il grado, con applauso, del suo ingegno, & applicatione. Fattosi dopoi clerico proseguì per due anni lo studio della Teologia; finche rassettatisi i tumulti della guerra, rinouò egli le sue istanze, & ottenne d'esser'ammesso nella Compagnia, & inuiato al Nouitiato di Brun a 15 d'Ottobre del 1667 d'anni 21 d'età.

Subito intraprese lo studio delle virtù, con feruore più di veterano che di nouitio; e si fece conoscere vero figlio di S. Ignatio nell'acquisto della perfettione: a segno che i Superiori (tra per la sodezza sperimentata della sua virtù e talenti, tra per la scarsezza de soggetti, a cagione delle guerre) finito il primo anno di nouitiato l'applicarono a far schola nel Collegio di Znoim; & egli talmente accoppiava l'occupationi, che senza mancar a quelle di Maestro, mostraua non essersi mica scordato di quelle di nouitio. Finito poi il secondo anno, e fatti li voti, seguitò per altri quattro l'occupatione di maestro; con sodisfattione grande de nostri, e con non minor profitto delli suoi scolari, nelle lettere e nelle virtù; & anche hoggi ve ne sono molti de suoi descepoli, quali con l'acquisto che fecero di sapere, e di virtù autenticano assai la perfettione del loro maestro: massimamente quei della Congregatione della Madonna, della quale il P. Agostino fù Prefetto, e con feruenti esortationi, e colloquij tenerissimi promoueva la diuotione e l'affet-

to alla Vergine, la quale egli amò sempre come dolcissima madre. Dopo fu richiamato a terminare lo studio della Teologia; & il P. Nicolo Auancino (gia Assisten-te di Germania, ch'era all'ora Visitatore di Boemia) attesta d'hauerlo sperimentato giouine di candidissimi, e maturi costumi, asseruantissimo della disciplina regolare, humile, amato da tutti, auido di trattar'a solo con Dio, e di patire per Christo, e per la salute dell'anime.

Terminati con lode li suoi studij, e sul fine di quelli fatto sacerdote, fù di nuouo applicato à leggere Rettorica, & Humanità; prima nel Collegio d'Egra, e poi in quello di Litomeriz: ne sodisfatto il suo fervore dell'impiego impostogli dall'vbbidenza, s'aggiunse quelli di confessare, predicare & scorter'il paese nelle missioni; quante volte dall'impiego principale gli veniva permesso. Et egli, mercè la perfettione de'suoi talenti, nella cattedra, e nel pergamo insegnaua a i discepoli & vditori l'arte di dir bene, e di vivere meglio; con quella felicità e frutto, che lasciava in dubbio, se egli fusse miglior rettorico che operario: per ciòche non perdeua punto di tempo, che non lo spendesse nel profitto proprio, & in procurate l'altrui salute. Quindi poi passò a Telez a far'il terzo anno di prouatione: e talmente s'agretò nell'acquisto della perfettione, che doppo quattro mesi (instando il Conte di Thun, generale dell'armi di Cesare per alcuni soggetti, quali attendessero, al solito, al profitto spirituale de'soldati del suo esercito) i superiori stimarono di commutar'al Padre Agostino ciò che gli restaua di sperienze & egli volentieri accertò tal'impiego, come nouitiato di quei patimenti, che speraua di trouare nell'Indie.

Conciosia che già da molto tempo in più lettere e con gagliardissime istanze haueua chiesto & ottenuto dal padre Generale la licenza di passar'all'Indie nella prima opportunità che s'offerisse: hora però, douendo passar da Praga, doue già si raddunauano quei che nella prossima flotta douean'imbarcarsi per l'Indie, quiui dal suo fratello (che era Ministro del Collegio Clementino) seppe, che i Superiori, dubitando, che la debolezza della salute d'vno de già nominati non haurebbe potuto reggere a i patimenti dell'Indie, ne meno a quelli di così lungo viaggio, pensauano d'inuiar vn'altro in vece sua. Tal congiuntura prese il Padre Agostino come mandatagli dal Signore; e ramemorando a i superiori li suoi antichi desiderij e licenza, pregolli a grand'istanze, d'esser egli sostituito in luogo di colui che doue a restarsi: ciòche ottenne con gran suo godimento; e con l'altri compagni parti subito per Genoua; & indi sopra vna naue Veneziana per Cadice. Et in questo viaggio per terra e per mare diede il Padre Agostino ottimi saggi della soda sua virtù, nell'osseruanza religiosa, non tralasciando veruno dell'esercitij spirituali, quali faceua con quella puntualità e perfettione, come se dimorasse in vn numeroso Collegio: mà molto più in quella che è la pietra di paragone, cicèla tolleranza de patimenti con lieta fronte, e con serenità, anzi con allegrezza d'animo; ciòche era in lui d'ammirarsi più, quanto la nausea dell'ondeggiamento del mare più era contraria al suo stomaco, e lo faceua mareggiarsi di continuo.

Gionto poi a Cadice seppe, che s'era differita la partenza della flotta: onde s'applicò ad impararsi l'idioma Castigliano, per rendersi più atto alle fatiche dell'Indie, & anche all'aiuto dell'anime de passaggieri nel viaggio; e de'paesani, mentre quiui douesse trattenersi. Oltre acciò giouò assai al Procuratore dell'Indie nell'accomodamento delle scritture, e speditione de negotij, che teneua pendenti. In questo mentre gionse il tempo, in cui doueua il Padre Strobach fare la sua professione solenne: e perche li ricapiti della sua Prouincia gionsero in Roma, a tempo che non potè dal Padre Generale darsi l'auuiso, perche la facesse in vno de'giorni assegnati per tutti, e per altro i meriti del Padre Agostino non doueuan patire il trattenimento di quella per altri sei mesi; scrisse il Padre Generale, ch'il Padre Strobach douesse fare la professione nella prima Domenica o festa doppo l'arriuo della sua lettera; nella quale soggiunse; questa esser'in tal materia la prima dispensa che conceduea; e che questa sarebbe anche l'ultima, doue

non concorressero i meriti di simil sogetto. Et inuero quei del Padre Agostino erano tanto cospicui, che quantunque la sua humiltà cercasse ogni via di nascondergli, veniuano nondimeno conosciuti da nostri, & anche da secolari; e tutti in vedere la sua vita osseruantissima, e tanto regolata, e la modestia del volto e compostezza del corpo, che predica senza parlarne, lo stimauano Santo, e così comunemente il chiamauano. Onde quando hebbe ad imbarcarsi per l'Indie, gli diede il Procuratore la soprintendenza de'nouitij, che passauano alle Filippine, acciò l'istruisse nello spirito, e li mantenesse nel loro feruore.

Venne il tempo dell'imbarco, e seguì quello de i nostri sopra la naue nomata il Nazareno; sopreuenendo però il naufragio di quella nel Porto (secondo che habbiamo già raccontato nella vita del Padre de Angelis) anche il Padre Strobach sene ritornò con l'altri a Cadice, & indi la notte seguente alla flotta, doue fù riceunto da vna delle nauì, insieme col Procuratore e con li nouitij; mà senza altra prouisione, che quella del Breuiario e del Crocefisso: ciòche per la fretta fù quasi commune a tutti: tutti però sopportauano velentieri questo scommodo, per non perdere la commodità del viaggio. Durò questo 67 giorni; ne è facile a dirsi li patimenti ch'ebbero i nostri passeggeri, de' quali toccò non picciola parte al Padre Agostino: mà farà facile a pensarsi in persone religiose, condotte come per limosina, senza vitto, vestito, ne letto proprio; anzi senz'vna camera, doue poter ritirarsi, trouandosi già tutte occupate: onde conveniu loro dormire nel nudo pauimento, & in luoco aperto, esposti all'incommodità di quanti passauano, & anche a i colpi de fagotti e delle valigie, che con li scuotimenti della naue, gli veniuano sopra. Mà il Padre Strobach, e li compagni suoi, non contenti di questi patimenti forzosi accresceuano d'altri voluntarij, nel confessare, predicare, assister'a moribondi, insegnare la Dottrina Christiana; e ne i ministerij tutti dela Compagnia soliti praticarsi nelle nauigationi; de quali hó parlato altroue, e perciò non deuo qui ripeterli.

In Messico continuò il Padre Strobach il suo zelo apostolico nel Collegio di SS. Pietro e Paolo: ogni di, mattina e giorno, assisteua nel confessionario; e conosciuta la sua piacevolezza e virtù concorreuano moltissimi, per confessarsi anche generalmente da lui: ne solamente l'esterni, mà molti di nostri, hauuta licenza dal superiore; gli comunicauano le loro coscienze. Spesso veniu chiamato a confortar' i moribondi: ciòche egli faceua con tal tenerezza, e così al proposito del bisogno, che i circostanti facilmente conosceuano lo spirito che parlaua in lui. Andando vna volta per la Città disse repentinamente al compagno: "Fratello, affrettiamo il passo, e portiamoci a quella casa" (additandola con la mano) e gionto vi trouò vn huomo, il quale a lunghi passi caminaua alla morte. Gli fece il Padre veder' il suo pericolo, lo confortò, l'inanimi, & vdi la sua confessione; mà appena l'ebbe assoluto, ch'egli rese lo spirito a Dio. Dalche il compagno argomentò, ch'il Padre Agostino hauesse hauuto qualche lume superiore, per conoscer' & accorrer'a quel pericolo; poiche non vi fù argomento veruno sensibile, onde egli l'hauesse potuto conoscere. Questo tenore di vita osseruò anche in Acapulco, mentre quiui s'attendeua la naue delle Filippine, assistendo giorno e notte a i soldati, & alli paesani, e tanto a i bene stanti come all'infermi.

Gionto alle Mariane, tuttoche egli non andaua destinato per quelle, talmente pregò il Procuratore e Superiore, ch'ottenne di remanersi, con indicibile consolatione del suo spirito: & appena sbarcato attese ed impararsi l'idioma Mariano, per applicarsi a i ministerij, e trouare campo alli suoi feruori. Et in breue (mercè la sua applicatione) gli riuscì d'impararselo così bene, ch'il superiore gli diede la soprintendenza della Residenza di S. Giuseppe di Naraian [sic]: doue mostrò bene la qualità de suoi talenti, istruendo quei paesani ne i misterij della Fede; e facendoli cambiare l'antica lor barbarie nella soauità de'Christiani costumi. Onde poi meritò d'essere promosso alla Missione di Rota o Zarpàna, hoggi S. Anna; & hauer la cura di parte dell'Isola; doue egli talmente s'affaricò, che vi formò vna delle migliori

Residenze nel temporale, e molto più nello spirituale: & a gran ragione si meritò il nome d'huomo apostolico, degno di annouerarsi trà i principali Missionarij delle Mariane. Il Padre Manuele di Solorzano suo superiore soleua dire, ch'il Padre Agostino era huomo di molta oratione, e di strettissima familiarità col Signore, & in vna paarola tutto di Dio. Vn altro Padre in Messico affermaua, esser'huomo spiritualissimo, amabile assai a Dio & all'huomini: e questo era il concetto, che tutti haueuano comunemente del seruo di Dio.

Faceua l'oratione, e l'altri esercitij spirituali sempre inginoc[h]ione; con tal'applicazione, che lembraua, quelch'era, tutto rapito in Dio; con tal compostezza, ch'infondaua alli spettatori vn sacro horrore, ch'incitaua alla diuotione. Molto più mentre offeriua il Santo Sacrificio, tremendo anche alli spiriti più sublimi: nel quale spendeua la mezz'hora prescritta dalla regola, & altrettanto nel rendimento di gratie. Et in prepararsi alla Santa Messa, in dire l'officio, recitar la corona, & altre diuotioni la maggior parte del giorno se la passaua in oratione, & iaginoc[h]ione; ne contento dell'hore già stabilite, daua straordinariamente a quella tutto quel tempo, che gli rimaneua da i ministerij in aiuto de'prossimi. Di questa oratione era sorella e compagna indiuidua la sua mortificatione. Castigaua il suo innocente corpo con discipline cotidiane & asprissime, e con cilicij, che recauan'horrore, solamente a guardarli. Dormiua per l'ordinario sopra vna tauola, o scanno, senza seruirsi di cuscino ne matarazzo; e ciò anche per abbreviarsi più il sonno, e poter dare quel tempo all'oratione. Mangiua pochissimo, & oltre all'hauersi leuato l'vsanza dell'oltramontani di far collatione la mattina, non volle mai in Messico assaggiare la beuanda tanto vsuale del ciocolate. Di rado mangiua carne, contento del pesce, che gl'osseriuano l'indiani; & al più d'vna sorte de granci, che fuori dell'acqua si trouano in luoghi sotterranei: la solita sua cena era più tosto collatione, poiche prendeua solamente qualchenica, o frutti del paese per bere. E quantunque i Superiori gli mangauano tal volta alcune cose dolci per regalo, in occasione dell'arriuo di qualche naue, egli non mai le toccaua; mà riseruauale per i passeggeri, che per auuentura approdassero alla sua Residenza.

*Mai discacciò dalle mani, e dalla faccia le zanzare; quali sono vn continuo e molestissimo martirio, massimamente all'Europei, che piogge, de'venti, del Sole cuocente di quel paese caldissimo, de'cotidiani viaggi per terra e per mare, con tante incommodità; anzi con allegrezza e con gusto, in considerare che patiua quelle, per bene dell'anime, e per gloria del suo Signore. Amaua la **pouertà** come cara madre: ne mai fù vdito lamentarsi, che gli mancasse qualche cosa, in vn paese doue per necessità gli ne mancavano tante; ne meno che facesse conoscere l'effeti che patiua della santa pouertà nelle cose più necessarie; finche la vigilante carità de'Superiori li notaua, e prouedeuagli di riparo; & all'hora ringratiauali di ciò, con mà ogni cosa sopraecedente al suo merito. Non haueua mai cosa alcuna, che ad vn pouero fusse disdiceuole; mà con la nettezza e pulitezza, di cui preggiuasi assai, le rendeua più dureuoli: onde quel vestito, che sul partirsi gli fù dato nella sua Provincia, gli durò per tutto il viaggio, & anche doppo il suo arriuo alle Mariane potè seruire.*

*L'**vmiltà** gli fù come congenità; & egli si studiaua di mantenerla & accrescerla, al possibile, con l'vmiliationi. Nelle sue lettere in vece di Estrobach solea sottoscriuersi **Estropajo**, che alli Spanuoli è l'istesso che strofinacciolo: spesso ponderaua, ch'egli era il peggior di tutti, disutile in ogni cosa; ne v'era alcuno, ch'egli non stimasse superiore: e si come mai nominaua l'altri, che col titolo de santi e d'angioli; così spesse volte nominaua se stesso col titolo di demonio, di grandissimo peccatore, e con qualunque altro che trouaua di peggio. Con l'oratione, e mortificatione continua, e con vna esattissima modestia de suoi sentimenti promoss a tal grado la virtù della castità, che appena sperimentaua in se mouimento impuro,*

anche indeliberato: e quindi auueniua, che tali voleua l'altri, ad imitatione dell'Apostolo; e niuna cosa più zelaua nell'indiani della sua Residenza, che l'allontanarli dall'antiche licenze, e farli osseruare la castità e purità Christiana ne i loro costumi. Perciò saputo che vn giouine, il quale gli seruiua in casa, haueua pigliata non só qual pratica men che honesta, licentiollo subito; stimando indegno della sua compagnia, chi in vece d'edificatione seruiua ad altri d'inciampo. Nell'**vbbidienza** era il Padre Agostino la consolatione de'Superiori: imperóche eseguiua ad literam, e senza interpretatione veruna, i lor'ordini, quantunque fossero difficili: ne contento dell'impieghi, che gli veniuano imposti, s'offeriua prontamente a maggiori fatiche.

Quelle virtù veniuano nel Seruo di Dio regolate & imperate dalla carità, Regina di tutte. Amaua ardentissimamente Iddio, e con altrettanto feruore zelaua l'honor suo, & abborriua le sue offesse; quali haurebbe voluto bandir'affatto del mondo. Et a mantener' & accrescere questo suo amore leggeua spesso l'Enchiridio di S. Agostino, e quell'altro suo trattato, che s'intitola Soli Deo: e con questi, come con due ale soffiaua il fuoco & alzaua le fiamme del suo amore, meditando di continuo nella diuina bontà, nelli beneficij, e motiui, quali per mille titoli rendono Dio degno infinitamente d'esser'amato. Quindi, come per riuerberò, volgeua le sue fiamme ad amare i prossimi per l'istesso Dio: e si struggeua di zelo e desiderio, che tutti gl'huomini conoscessero, amassero, e godessero il sommo bene. Mà assai più esercitaua questo amore verso quei meschini Mariani, commessi alla sua cura: impercióche non perdonaua a diligenze, a fatiche, ne a traugli e pericoli, doue vedeua di poter recar loro alcuna vtilità spirituale, & anche temporale. Dal Governatore, che haueua stima grande del seruo di Dio, chiedeuà egli & otteneua, che l'indiani del suo distretto, fossero sgrauati, al più che si poteva, de i pesi della militia del Presidio: ne contento di ciò, con regalucci, e con altri beneficij accarezzaua tutti, per tirarli con dolce violenza ad vdire la Dottrina, recitar'lorationi, & eservitarsi nelle virtù.

Et era perciò talmente amato dalli suoi indiani di Rota o Zarpàna, che nulla veniua loro comandato dal Padre Agostino, che volentieri non l'eseguissero: e quando in Guan segui la congiura, e la morte di trè de'nostri, e di alcuni soldati; benche i congiurati inuiarono subito messaggieri a Zarpana, esagerando la strage delli Spagnuoli, e l'oportunità loro di scuotere la Fede & il dominio de Guirraghi, & inuitandoli ad ammazzare il loro Missionario, & a prendere l'armi, aggregandosi alla congiura; essi però cacciarono via quei parricidi, ne vollero mai dar'orechio al misfatto suggeritoli d'uccider' il loro amarissimo Padre Agostino: anzi si studiarono di guardarlo, e di collocarlo in luogo più sicuro, acciò non venisse ucciso dalli nemici. E quando segui dopoi la di lui morte nell'Isola di Tinian, come vederemo; tutto che la Zarpàna si trouasse già piena de congiurati fugitiui da Guan, e quelli facessero gagliarde istanze per tirar' i Rotensi al loro partito, & anche ad ardere la Chiesa, e la casa, & a noi le speranze di rihauerli quanto prima; venendo il soccorso de Filippine, e secondando il Signore li progressi delle nostre armi.

Doppo Iddio amaua con tenerissimo affetto la Madre Vergine; e procuraua di attaccar'a tutti l'amore di Lei, tanto douuto, e così profitteuole. Questo amore se lo stampò nel cuore da che era secolare e congregato della Madonna: crebbe poi in lui, da che entrò nella Compagnia; la quale sapeua, che essendo tutta di Giesú, tutta è anche di Maria. Mentre leggeua l'Humanità e Rettorica, & era Prefetto della Congregatione della Vergine, ogni sabbato, e le vigile delle sue feste faceua a'congregati feruenti esortationi, per eccitarli alla diuotione della loro Signora; & era perciò la più feruente & efficace l'esempio della sua vita, e de i digiuni, penitenze, e diuotioni, con le quali disponeuasi a celebrare le feste di lei. Queste le spendeuà tutte in confessarsi, e comunicarsi con maggior diuotione; & in procurar altrettanto dell'altri, etiandio delli suoi indiani: in parlare delle sue eccellenze, e meditare più a lungo le virtù proprie di quel-

la festa e Misterio. Ogni di faceua qualche ossequio particolare alla sua Signora: & a tal fine in vn giornale manuscritto teneua notati i misterij, l'opere, e beneficij della Madonna, fatti, o riceuuti in quel di; & anche gl'ossequij particolari che conueniuu farle. E quando in Seuiglia da qualche ladroncello gli fù rubbata la baligia, mentre egli si trouaua fuori, solamente si risentí, per la mancanza di questo giornale, che quiui conseruaua; mà poi saputo, che vno de compagni ne teneua altro simile, gli lo chiedette in prestanza; e fattane vna copia sen'acquistó; quasi che null'altro gl'hauesse mancato. Ogni di recitaua piú volte il Rosario, & a questo fine sempre lo portaua seco, anche per insegua della sua perpetua seruitú alla Madonna. Visitaua frequentemente l'Imagini e Santuarij di lei piú celebri; e quelle che teneua nella sua Chiesa l'adornaua ogni festa con fiori naturali; o uero di seta, doue quelli mancassero.

Fù anche diuotissimo di S. Agostino, di cui ne portaua il nome: e passando da Milano per'Indie, ne punto curandosi vedere le cose piú cospicue di quella insigne Cittæ, cercó solamente di visitare il suo santo tutelare: e dire la Messa nella Chiesa, doue fù battezzato da S. Ambrogio; & offerirli il suo dolore di non poter passar a venerare le di lui sacre reliquie in Pauia. Ne minor diuotione portaua al S. Padre Ignatio: e perche consideraua le regole, che ci lasciò per incaminarci alla perfettione, come tante reliquie di lui, & altre tanti esempj delle sue virtù, anche per questo titolo di veneratione ed imitatione, si studiua d'osseruarle a puntino, e di mostrarsi in ciò vero suo figlio. A S. Francesco Sauerio haueua dedicati tutti i venerdì dell'ani. 3, per offerirgli ossequij, e diuotioni, e per impetrarne per la di lui intercessione il vero zelo della salute dell'anime. Non finitissimo, se hauessimo a raccontar'in particolare tutte le sue diuotioni, all' Anime del purgatorio, all'Angelo Custode, & altri Santi; e l'ossequij & opere di pietà, con le quali procuraua questo Seruo del Signore di meritarsi & ottener' il loro patrocinio.

Il Signore però, che lo vedeua già stagionato per il Cielo, e voleua premiarli queste sue virtù, e li sudori apostolici, con li quali haueua colciuato quella nuoua vigna, chiamollo a se per vna morte sofferta da barbari per il suo amore; la quale segui cosi. Chiamato dal Superiore con l'altri per li 23 di Luglio alla conferenza da tenersi in Agadgna, sopra i mezzi e modi di promuouer piú quelle missioni, e la propagatione della Fede, e conuersione dell'anime, il P. Agostino si dispose subito a fare quel viaggio; mà la contrarietà de'venti e fortuna del mare non gli permisero di farlo fin'alli 27, giorno in cui segui l'incendio fatto da barbari della Chiesa, casa, e Seminarij d'Agadgna; onde il P. Strobach, che giunse la mattina seguente prima di farsi giorno, vedendo al buio della notte le reliquie e scintille dell'incendio, in vece delli edificij, si diede a credere, che li barbari fussero già padroni del tutto; onde per sfuggire l'inciampo nelle loro mani, voltó subito la prora verso Zarpana; doue giunse, hauendo anche sfuggito vn altro pericolo piú vero ininacciatogli dalle canóe d'Apurguan, che si dettero ad inseguirlo. Ma poco appresso, vedendo, che il messaggiero mandato dal Governatore in Saypan al Sargente Quiroga col auiso dell'accaduto, risiutaua [sic] di passare piú oltre; prese il Seruo di Dio la lettera, e risoluesse d'andar egli a portarla, riconosciuta l'importanza d'hauersi quanto prima dal Quiroga l'auiso.

S'imbarcó dunque per Saypan: mà passando da Tinian fece sbarcar'vno de'marinari, per accertarsi, che cosa vi fusse di nuovo: e se quei Isolani, fussero complici, o almeno consapeuoli de la congiura; & egli fra tanto si remase nella barca. Appena però fù il P. conosciuto da Tinianese, che subito con altre canoè gli corsero sopra, ligategli le mani il trassero prigione a terra, e lo condussero al principale, e come Governatore d'ella. Costui mai gli volle dar vn bocale d'acqua, chiestogli dal Padre in dono, perch'ardeua di sete: gli fece bensì alcune dimande, e doppo ch'il Seruo di Dio l'hebbe sodifatto con sincerità, egli lo trasmise così legato ad vn'altro principale quindi distante da quattro miglia; come vn altro Pilato ad Herode: e ne meno questi il volle refrigerare d'vn poco d'acqua. Per strada spesse volte alzaua gl'occhi

al cielo, offerendosi al Signore in sacrificio: e doppo che gionse alla casa del principale, e fù per vn pezzo lasciato solo, si mise ad orare nel breuiario, ed a far tenerissimi colloquij al Crocefisso: mà trouato così da quegli empj, l'vno e l'altro, gli strapparono dalle'mani, dicendo, quell'Imagine essere Macàna, cioè ingannatore: e l'hauerebbero fatta in pezzi, & anch'il breuiario, se Iddio con particolar prouidenza non hauesse voluto riseruarle a maggiori honori; perciòche dopoi furono rehauute da nostri, in conto di gran reliquie.

Da questi preamboli, e dall'hauer saputo, che pochi giorni auanti quei di Tinian haueuano data la morte a i nostri soldati, che quiui si trouauano, ben s'accorgeua il P. Agostino, douer'anche egli aspettare questa forte; onde quanto più la vedeua vicina, tanto maggiormente si studiaua di prepararsi. Dimandò dopoi a quei patricidi, qual delitto hauerse egli commesso contro di loro, perche cercauano di dargli la morte. Essi in vdire ciò ammutolirono; perciòche non trouauano delitto da potergli opporre. All'ora il Padre soffiunse. Io nulla pauento la morte, perciòche son certo di non hauer delitto; & hó per mio protettore Iddio, che mi difenderà, e m'aiuterà. All'ora ripigliarono più arrabbiati quei barbari. Che cosa puole questo vostro Iddio? Non sappiamo per auentura noi, chi sia questo Iddio, di cui tanto voi vi vantate? E ciò detto vno di quei sacrilegi per nome Zuijan, alzato il bastone scaricó al seruo di Dio vn fiero colpo, e lo fece cader'a terra: poi ripetendogli più colpi, lo finirono, nel mese di Agosto del 1684 non si sà però il giorno preciso, ne altre circostanze della sua morte; perciòche non rassettate ancora l'Isole, ne meno s'è restabilito il commercio: onde non v'è adiro dicauarne più distinte notitie; quali perciò si riseruaano ad altra relatione.

Translation.

Eulogy of the Ven. Father Augustin Strobach killed by barbarians for Christ.

The Ven. Fr. Augustin Strobach was born in Iglau [=Jihlava] in Moravia from parents who were not less pious than noble; he was raised in every piety. He had two other brothers in the Society, and their father, ripe with venerable old age, and of very candid habits, used to say that he had yet to follow the example of his sons, when he would no longer be prevented from it by the bonds of matrimony. Our Augustin learned his first letters in the school of the College of the Society; praised for his genius, but more so for his virtues, so much so that, having joined the Sodality of Our Lady, he gave particular examples of devotion, and observance of the rule of the sodality. At the end of this, he would have been admitted into the Society, as he was earnestly asking, and his talents and habits were deserving of, if the Turkish war in Hungary had not done the damages being suffered in neighboring Moravia. It would not have made him postpone to a better time the accomplishment of his desires. Meanwhile, he took it as expedient to move to Olmütz [=Olomouc] where, in its famous University, he studied Philosophy, and obtained the degree, with distinction, due to his genius and application. Afterwards, he became a cleric, and pursued for two years the study of Theology, at the end of which, the disturbances of the war having settled, he renewed his request, and succeeded in being admitted to the Society, and invited to the Novitiate of Brünn [=Brno] on 15 October 1667, at 21 years of age.

He immediately undertook the study of virtues, with a fervor more suitable for a veteran than a novice. He showed himself to be a true son of St. Ignatius by acquiring

perfection, to such a degree that the Superiors (either on account of the proven solidity of his virtue, or the scarcity of subjects, caused by the war at the end of the first year of novitiate sent him to teach school at the College of Znoim [=Znojmo]. Whenever his occupations overlapped, without prejudice to that of teacher, he showed that he was not at all forgetful of that of novice. At the end of the second year, having made his vows, he continued in the occupation of teacher for four more years, at the great satisfaction of our people, and no less benefit on the part of his pupils, in letters and in virtue. Even today, one can see many of his disciples who, with the acquisition of knowledge and virtue, have authenticated rather well the perfection of their master, specially those of the Sodality of Our Lady, of which Fr. Augustin was Prefect; with fervent exhortations, and very tender presentations, he promoted the devotion and affection to the Virgin, whom he loved always as a very sweet mother. Afterwards, he was recalled to finish the study of theology. Fr. Nicolas Avancino (already Assistant of Germany, who was then Visitor of Bohemia) attests to having found him a youth of very candid and mature habits, very observant of the regular discipline, humble, loved by everyone, fond of treating alone with God, and to suffer for Christ, and for the salvation of souls.

Having finished his studies with honors, at the end of which he became a priest, he was again busy as a lecturer in rhetorics and the humanities, firstly at the College of Egra [=Zagreb], and then in that of Litomeriz. His fervor, not being satisfied with the job imposed by obedience, he added that of confessing, preaching and covering the country giving missions, whenever his main job allowed him to do so. Thanks to the perfection of his talents in the pulpit and in the [professor's] chair, he taught to his disciples and listeners the art of speaking well, and of living better. This success, left in doubt whether he was a better preacher than operative, because he lost no portion of time, whether to benefit himself, or to procure the salvation of others. Then, he went on to Telez to do his third year of probation; he advanced(?) so well in the acquisition of perfection that after four months (when the Count of Thun, general of the armies of the Emperor, was looking for some subjects to take care, as usual, of the spiritual needs of the soldiers of his army) the superiors decided to give Father Augustin a different kind of experience, and he willingly affirmed himself in such a job, as a novice in those sufferings which he hoped to find in the Indies.

Given that some time ago already, in more letters and with very strong requests, he had asked for, and received permission from the Father General to go on to the Indies at the first opportunity that came up. But now, those who were about to leave Prague to embark aboard the next fleet for the Indies had assembled; he learned from his brother (who was Minister of the Clementine College) that the Superiors, fearing that the weakness of the health of one of those already named might not resist the sufferings of the Indies, and even less those of a long voyage, were thinking of sending someone else instead. Such an event was seen by Father Augustin as a mandate from the Lord. He reminded his Superiors about his old desires and license, begged them earnestly to be substituted for the one who had to stay behind. This he obtained to his great

pleasure, and, he immediately joined the companions leaving for Genoa, where they boarded a Venitian ship bound for Cadiz. During this voyage by land and by sea, Father Augustin gave great proofs of his solid virtue, in the religious observance, not omitting any of the spiritual exercises which he did with such punctuality and perfection, as if he lived in a large college, but the more so that which is the stone of the paragons, that is, the tolerance of sufferings with a happy face, and with serenity, even with joy of spirit, which could be admired in him even more, when the nausea caused by the swells of the sea were contrary to his stomach, and they made him feel seasick continuously.

Upon arriving at Cadiz, he learned that the departure of the fleet was postponed. Therefore, he applied himself to learn the Spanish language, to render himself more apt to the labor of the Indies and also to help the souls of the passengers during the voyage, and those of the local people, while he had to delay there. He also assisted the Procurator of the Indies with the arrangement of the paperwork and despatch of business that were pending. In the meantime, the time arrived at which Father Strobach had to make his solemn profession. Because the submissions of his Province had arrived at Rome at the time that Father General could not give notice soon enough for him to make it on one of the days assigned for everyone; given the merits of Father Augustin, he should not suffer the delay of another six months, so, Father General wrote that Fr. Strobach was to make his profession on the first Sunday or holiday after the arrival of his letter. It turned out that this was the first exception he granted in the matter, and it would not be the last time that he would concur with the merits of such an individual. True it was that those of Father Augustin were so conspicuous that, although his humility made him try to hide them in every way, our people nevertheless got to know of them, and the civilians also. Everyone could see that his life was very strict, and so regulated, and the modesty of his face and appearance of his body, which preached without talking; they thought of him as a Saint, and so he was commonly referred to. When the time came to embark for the Indies, the Procurator gave him the supervision of the novices, who were on their way to the Philippines, for him to instruct them, spiritually, and maintain their fervor.

The time of departure arrived, and it turned out that our people boarded the ship named **Nazareno**. Then occurred the shipwreck in that port (according to what we have already narrated in the biography of Father de Angelis). Father Strobach also had to go back to Cadiz with the others, and from there went the following night to the fleet, where he was received by one of the ships, together with the Procurator and the novices, but without any other provision than that of a Breviary and a Crucifix. Due to haste, everyone was similarly affected; but everyone willingly bore this inconvenience, so as not to lose the opportunity of the voyage. The voyage lasted 67 days. It is not easy to mention the sufferings that our passengers had to endure, not a small part of which Father Augustin had to partake, but it will be easy to imagine how religious persons behaved, living from alms, without food, clothing, or beds to call their own, even without a cabin, where they could have retired, since the cabins were already all occupied. Hence they had to sleep on the deck, in any bare spot, exposed to the discomfort of so

many passengers, and to shoves from loose bundles and trunks, added to the jerks of the ship, as mentioned previously. However, Father Strobach and his companions, not content with these forced sufferings, increased them with voluntary ones, by confessing, preaching, attending the dying, teaching the Christian doctrine, and all those ministries that the Society usually practices during voyages at sea, about which I spoke elsewhere, and therefore I do not have to repeat them now.

In Mexico Father Strobach continued his apostolic zeal at the College of San Pedro y San Pablo. Every day, morning and afternoon, he attended the confessional, and once his benevolence and virtue became known, very many more than usual flocked to him for confession, not just people from outside, but many of our own people, with the permission of the superior, opened their conscience to him. He was often called upon to comfort the dying; this he did with such tenderness, and so appropriately under the circumstances, that they easily recognized the spirit that spoke through him. Once when he was visiting the city, he chanced to say to his companion: "Brother, let us hurry, and head for that house overthere" (pointing it out) and, upon arriving there, they found a man who was well on the way to his death. The Father saw the danger he was in, comforted him, motivated him, and heard his confession, but the absolution had hardly been given that he gave up the spirit to God. Hence his companion argued that Father Augustin must have had some superior enlightenment, in order to know of, and run up to this danger, since there was no sensible argument by which he could have known otherwise. This kind of life he also observed when he was in Acapulco, while waiting for the Philippine ship, attending day and night to the soldiers, and local people, those who were in good health, as well as the sick.

Once in the Marianas, though he was not assigned there, he begged the Procurator and Superior so much that he obtained [permission] to remain, at the unspeakable consolation of his spirit. He had hardly disembarked that he applied himself to learn the Mariano language, in order to apply it in his ministries, and to find a field for his fervors. Soon (thanks to his application) he succeeded in learning it so well that the Superior gave him the supervision of the Residence of San José of **Inarajan**, where he showed well the quality of his talents, instructing those natives in the mysteries of the Faith, and making them change their old barbarian customs for the sweetness of Christian ones. He then deserved the promotion of being sent to the Mission of **Rota**, or Zarpana, today Santa Ana, and to be put in charge of part of the island. There he busied himself so much that he formed one of the best Residences, materially speaking, and more so in spiritual terms, to the extent that he deserved the name of apostolic man, worthy of being counted among the principal Missionaries of the Marianas. Fr. Manuel de Solorzano, his Superior, used to say that Fr. Augustin was a man of many prayers, and of the closest familiarity with the Lord, and, in one word, a man of God. Another Father in Mexico asserted that he was a very spiritual man, loved by God as well as men; such was the concept that everyone commonly had of the servant of God.

He was always kneeling when he prayed and did the other spiritual exercises, with such an application that he appeared, to anyone, to be enraptured in God, with such

composure that he instilled a sacred horror in the spectators, that incited to devotion. Much more so when he was offering the Holy Sacrifice, even frightening the more sublime spirits. That is how he spent the half hour prescribed by the rules, and as well the thanksgiving period. In preparing to say holy Mass, in saying the office and other devotions, he spent the greater part of the day in prayer, and on his knees. Not content with the hours already established, he gave extraordinarily whatever time remained to the ministries to help the neighbors. The sister and individual companion of that prayer was mortification. He chastised his innocent body with discipline, daily and very harshly, and with a hair shirt, which caused horror, just by looking at it. He usually slept upon a board, or bench, with neither a pillow nor a mattress, in order to shorten his sleep, and to be able to give that time to prayer. He ate very little; besides having abandoned the custom of the Central Europeans of having [a substantial] breakfast in the morning, in Mexico he never wished to taste the usual chocolate drink. He seldom ate meat, preferring fish, as the Indians do, as well as a sort of crab that is found not in water, but in underground places.¹ His usual supper was a rather quick meal, since he took only *nica*, a local product, to drink.² Whenever the Superiors would give some sweet things to eat as a special treat, on the occasion of the arrival of some ship, he never touched them, but reserved them for the travellers who would perchance visit his Residence.

He never chased the mosquitos from his hands or from his face, although they were a continuous and very bothersome martyrdom, specially for Europeans; the same with the rain, the wind and the burning sun of that very hot country, the daily trips by land and by sea, with such discomfort; to the contrary, he took them with joy and pleasure, considering that he suffered them for the good of the souls, and the glory of his Lord. He loved **poverty** as he would a dear mother; he was never heard to complain about the lack of anything, in a country where, by necessity, they lacked so many things. He did not let the effects that he suffered from holy poverty in things most necessary, unless the watchful charity of the Superior noted them himself, and undertook to repair it; he then thanked him for it, not so, however, with everything in which his merit excelled. He did not own a single thing, that was not something considered unbecoming by a poor man; however, by keeping it clean, something that he rather paid attention to, he made it last longer. For instance, the cassock that had been given to him by his Province, lasted him for the whole voyage, and was still serviceable after his arrival at the Marianas.

Humility was congenital with him, and he endeavored to maintain and augment it, as much as possible, by humiliation. In his letters, instead of Estrobach, he used to sign his name as “Estropajo”, which in Spanish means “dish-washing rag.” He often commented upon his being worse than everybody, useless in everything, [although] there was nothing in him which the superiors did not esteem. Whenever the others would give

1 Ed. note: This is the land crab, or coconut crab.

2 Ed. note: Obviously, Fr. Ortiz did not know that it was a root crop.

him the title of saint, or angel, he would often respond by referring to himself with the title of devil, or of very great sinner, and with whatever other worse name he could find. With prayer, and continuous mortification, and with the strictest of modesty in his feelings, he promoted the virtue of **chastity** to such a degree that he hardly experienced in himself impure emotions, though not deliberately. Therefore, he would do without, as he wished the others to do, at the imitation of the Apostle; there was nothing he watched over more in the Indians of his Residence, than to separate them from their old licentious behavior, and to make them observe Christian chastity and purity in their customs. For instance, he learned that a youth, who was serving him at home, had bent to some practice or other that was less than honest; he immediately dismissed him, judging him unfit to remain in his company, because he would scandalize the others, instead of serving to edify them. In **obedience**, Father Augustin was the consolation of the Superiors; he nevertheless obeyed literally, without any interpretation, their orders, no matter how difficult. Not content with the tasks that he had been imposed, he offered himself readily for other labors.

Those virtues came in the Servant of God to be regulated and ordained by **charity**, the queen of them all. He loved God most warmly, and with as much fervor he watched over His honor, and dreaded offences made to Him, so much so that he might have wished to banish them completely from the world. To maintain and increase this love of his, he often read the *Enchiridio*¹ of St. Augustine, and some other treatise of his, entitled *Soli Deo*. With these, as with two wings, he fanned the fire and raised the flames of his love, continuously meditating upon the divine kindness, the benefits and the motives that, by a thousand titles, made God infinitely worthy of being loved. Therefore, as by reverberation, he turned his flames to loving his neighbors for this God, and he burned of zeal and desire that all mankind should know of, love and enjoy the supreme goodness. However, he exercised this love rather more toward the mean Mariano people committed to his care. Therefore, he did not spare any diligence, labor, work or danger, where he saw that he could cause some spiritual, and also some material, good in them. From the Governor, who had a great esteem for the servant of God, he asked for and obtained that the Indians of his district be relieved, as much as he could, of the burdens imposed by the soldiers of the Garrison. Not content with that, with small gifts, and with other benefits he endeared everyone, to attract them with sweet violence to listen to the Doctrine, recite prayers, and exercise themselves in virtue.

That is why he was so loved by his Indians of Rota, or Zarpana, that no order came from Fr. Augustin that was not willingly carried out. When the uprising took place in Guan, and the death of three of our people, and of a few soldiers, although the rebels immediately sent messengers to Zarpana, exaggerating the disaster of the Spaniards, and the opportunity of getting rid of the Faith and the dominion of the *Guirrago* [i.e. foreigners], and urging them to kill their Missionary, and to raise an army, to join in the conspiracy, they, however, chased away the patricides, not willing to listen to the

1 Ed. note: "Enchiridion" means manual, or handbook in Greek.

misdeed suggested to them of killing their beloved Father Augustin. So, they endeavored to protect him, and to place him in a more secure place, so that he would not be killed by enemies. When later on they heard about his death in Tinian, as we will see, although Zarpana was then full of fugitive rebels from Guan, and that they made valiant efforts to attract the Rota people to their party, and also to burn the church, and the house, and they hoped to re-establish them as soon as possible, as soon as help from the Philippines came, and the Lord would uphold the progress of our army.

After God, he loved the Virgin Mother with very tender affection, and tried to fix in everyone his love for her, so worthwhile, and so profitable. This love was anchored in his heart even since he was a civilian and a sodalist of Our Lady. It grew in him, after his admittance to the Society, which knows that whatever belongs to Jesus also belongs to Mary. While he was a lecturer in humanities and rhetorics, and was Prefect of the Sodality of the Virgin, every Saturday, and on the eves of her feast-days, he would fervently exhort the sodalists, to motivate them to the devotion of their Lady, and thus gave the more fervent and efficient example of his life, and of the fasts, penances, and devotions, with which he prepared himself to celebrate her feast-day. This day he spent completely in going to confession, taking communion with greater devotion, and in exhorting others to do the same, even his Indians, by speaking about her excellence, and taking more time to meditate upon the particular virtue of that feast and mystery. Every day he made some special praise to his Lady, to such an extent that he kept a handwritten diary in which he noted the mysteries, good works, and benefits of Our Lady, done or received, on that day, and also the special praises that were appropriate for him to do. When in Seville, he had his suitcase stolen by some small thief while he was out, his only regret was for the loss of that diary, which he kept in it. However, when he learned that one of his companions kept a similar diary, he asked him to loan it to him, and he made a copy for himself, without delay, so that the other could hardly have missed it. Every day he recited the Rosary many times, and to this effect always kept it with him, also as a sign of his perpetual servitude to Our Lady. He frequently paid visits to Images of her in the more famous shrines, and the one he kept in his church, he adorned at every feast with natural flowers, or some of real silk, when the former were lacking.

He was also very devoted to St. Augustine, whose name he wore, and passing from Milan to the Indies, he did not care to miss the more conspicuous things of that illustrious city, except visiting those of his holy patron saint, for instance, saying mass in the church where he had been baptized by St. Ambrose, and to offer to him his regret at not being able to make a sidetrip to Pavia to venerate his sacred relics. His devotion to the Holy Father Ignatius was as great; because he considered that his rules showed the way to perfection, as well as relics from him, and so many other examples of his virtues, also for reasons of veneration and imitation, he endeavored to observe them punctually, and thus to show that he was a true son of his. To St. Francis Xavier he had dedicated all the Fridays in the year, offering him praises, and devotions, asking to be imbued through his intercession with the true zeal of the salvation of souls. We would never finish, if we narrated in detail all his devotions, to the Souls in purgatory, to the

Guardian Angels, and the other Saints, as well as the praises and pious works with which the servant of the Lord tried to earn for himself and obtain their sponsorship.

However, the Lord, who had him reserved for Heaven, and wished to reward his virtues, and the apostolic sweat, with which he had cultivated that new vineyard, called him to Himself by a death suffered at the hands of the barbarians for His love. It happened as follows. The Superior had called him with the others to attend a conference to be held at Agadña on 23 July, regarding the means and manners of promoting those missions, and the propagation of the Faith, and conversions of the soul. Fr. Augustin made ready immediately to make the voyage, but the contrary winds and the luck of the sea did not allow him to do so until the 27th, the day that followed that in which the barbarians burned the church, house, and seminaries of Agadña. Then, Fr. Strobach, who left the next morning to make the voyage, saw amid the darkness of the night the remains and flames of the fire, instead of the buildings, he began to believe that the barbarians had already made themselves masters of everything. Therefore, in order to escape from the trap set for him, he immediately veered towards Zarpana, where he arrived, after having escaped from another danger, even more inimical, from the canoes of Apurguan, that insisted on pursuing him. Soon afterwards, when he saw the messenger sent by the Governor to Sergeant [Major] Quiroga in Saypan with the news about the event, he resolved to go beyond. The Servant of God took the letter, and decided to go ahead himself, having recognized the importance of advising Quiroga as soon as possible.

Therefore, he embarked for Saypan, but, passing by Tinian, he had one of the sailors go ashore, to find out what the news was there, whether those Islanders were accomplices, or at least conscious of the uprising, while he remained aboard the boat. However, no sooner had the Father been recognized by the Tinianese, that they caught him with other canoes, tied his hands and dragged him ashore as a prisoner, and took him to the chief, who was like a Governor there. The latter never gave the cup of water, which the Father had asked from him as a gift, because he burned from thirst. He did ask him a few questions, and then, though the Servant of God had satisfied him with sincerity, he sent him still tied to another chief living some 4 miles from there, like another Pilate to Herod. This man also refused to let him have a little water. Along the way, he often raised his eyes to heaven, offering himself to the Lord in sacrifice, and after they arrived at the house of the chief, and he was left alone for a while, he began to pray with the breviary, and to hold very tender discussions with the Crucifix, but when those impious ones found him doing that, they grabbed both of them from his hands, saying that the Images were *Macana*, that is, deceiver, and they would have cut them to pieces, including the breviary, if God as a special favor had not wished to preserve them for greater honors, since they were afterwards recuperated by our people and regarded as great relics.

From this preamble, and having learned that a few days before those of Tinian had given death to our soldiers, who found themselves there, Fr. Augustin must have known that a similar fate awaited him. The more he saw it approaching, the more he endea-

vored to prepare himself for it. He asked the patricides what faults he had committed toward them, because they were preparing to give him death. Upon hearing this, they were left mute because they did not find any crime they could accuse him of. The Father then whispered: "I do not fear death, because I am sure that there is no crime, and I have God as my protector. He will defend me, and will help me." The barbarians, more enraged, replied: "What can your God do? We here have not chanced to hear who is this God, whom you are boasting about." This said, one of the sacrilegious ones, named Zuijan, raised a stick and struck the servant of God a savage blow, and made him fall upon the ground. Then, with repeated blows they finished him off, during the month of August 1684, as the exact day is not known, nor the other circumstances of his death, because the Islands have not yet been pacified again, nor has contact been re-established. Therefore, some more distinct news are not given here, and are thus reserved for another report.

Notes on a published biography, by Fr. De Boye

Source: Printed book by Fr. Manuel De Boye: "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 barbarè trucidati Anno 1684, Mense Augusto. Conscripta à P. Emmanuele De Boye, è Societate Jesu, Anno M.DC.XCI." (Olmucii [i.e. Olmütz, Moravia, Czech.], Typis Joannis Josephi Kylian).

Comments: This book is available in manuscript form at the University of Vienna (formerly in the Wiener Staats-Archiv, Geistl. Angel. Nr. 419, says Huonder), and in book form in the Vatican Library where, according to Streit & Dindinger (p. 57) it is ref. n° St.: Rom, B. VE.: 14, 24 B.26. There is a second edition of this book, also printed at Olmütz, in 1703.

Documents 1685X

Biographies of Fr. Carlos Boranga

X1. Eulogy, in Italian, by Fr. Ortíz

Source: Fr. Ambrosio Ortíz' Istoria, chap. 32, pp. 645-655.

Note: The information most probably comes from one of Fr. Bouwens' eulogies, dated 20 May 1685 (see Doc. 1685L1).

Original text published in Italian.

Il Ven. P. Carlo Boranga nacque in Vienna d'Austria da genitori molto cospicui; quasi prima del parto fu consecrato alla Madonna & al suo glorioso Sposo S. Giuseppe; e dopoi con singolar pietà su allevato nella diuotione di amendue, e nel timor di Dio. Segui poco appresso la barbara inuasion di Gustauo Adolfo nell' Austria, e nelli Stati dell'Imperio onde per sottrarlo da i pericoli fu dalli medesimi mandato a Venetia; doue dimorò, sinche i Suedisi, come piacque a Dio, furono vinti e scacciati. Ritornato poi a Vienna attese nelle schole della Compagnia allo studio delle buone lettere; mà piu assai a quello delle virtù. La sua ottima indole & il tratto con nostri lo spinsero a desiderar' ardentemente, e chiedere con istanze l'esser' ammesso nella Compagnia: mà molto più il desiderio, ch'hebbe fin da fanciullo di confectarsi alla conuersione dell'enfedeli. S'accese vie piu questa fiamma dall'hauer'egli vdito celebrare con stupore le merauiglie ch'allora operaua il glorioso Apostolo S. Francesco Sauerio per la sua miraculosa Imagine di Potàmi in Calabria Vltra: le quali accrebbero la diuotione al Santo, non solamente nel Regno di Napoli, mà etiandio in Germania, Spagna, e fino nell'Indie occidentali, doue dal Ven. Padre Sanuitores furono publicate nel Messico, nel suo libro dell' Apostolo dell'Indie e nuove genti.

Nondimeno il Padre Carlo trouò nel suo ingresso graui difficoltà; perciòche i Padri della Prouincia d'Austria temeuan che la debolezza della sua complessione non haurebbe potuto reggere a i pesi de nostri ministerij: egli però superolle tutte, con seruenti preghiere che offerse perciò al Signore, e col ricorso ch'hebbe alla Vergine & al suo Sposo S. Giuseppe; quali sapeua che da'genitori suoi, prima ch'egli nascesse, gl'erano stati assegnati patroni. Et in fatti gl'impertrarono l'adempimento de suoi desiderij, & il nostro Carlo su riceuuto nella Compagnia a 7 d'Ottobre del 1656: ne a ciò giouarono poco le speranze già concepute del suo ingegno e talenti, e l'effetti, che già si sperimentauano, della purità delli suoi costumi. Di questo il P. Nicolò Auancino (che poco fà morì in Roma Assistente di Germania, huomo di quella dottrina e virtù, che sono a tutti notissime) il quale gli fù direttore della coscienza, finche entrò nella Compagnia, & appresso anche Rettore e Prouinciale in Austria, testifica di hauerlo consegnato al Maestro de nouitij nell'età d'anni sedeci, con quella medesima innocenza a che riceuè nel Battesimo. E

questa sola testimonianza potrebbe al P. Carlo bastar per elogio: percióche niuno crederá, che nella Religione fusse egli men buono di quel che era stato nel secolo; e cioche dirèmo appresso, ci fà vedere, ch'egli sopra tal'innocenza s'andó lauorando vna altissima perfettione.

Impercióche dal bel principio del nouitiato superó etiandio le speranze concepute da nostri: mà cioche a tutti recó maggior merauiglia, fù che frà pochi mesi nelle mortificationi e penitenze s'acquistó tal robustezza e vigore di forze, quale nella vita piú commoda non si haurebbe potuto sperare. Finito il nouitiato attese alli studij di Filosofia, e Teologia, & in essi diede quei faggi d'ingegno e di virtù, che gli meritaron' i premij piú riguardeuoli, e la professione de quattro voti. Fatto poi Sacerdote fù da Superiori applicato ad insegnare le lettere humane nelle schole di Vienna, doue prima l'haueua apprese: cioche egli fece con straordinaria applicatione, e sodisfattione di tutti. Ma perche ogni di andaua crescendo in lui quella brama della conuersione dell'infedeli, quale il Signore gl'haueua comunicata fin da fanciullo, spesso ripeteua a i Superiori le sue istanze per ottenere la licenza di passar'all'Indie. Al Padre Generale scrisse di cio sin'a diece lettere; dal che puo facilmente intendersi, quante fussero quelle, che full'istesso soggetto scrisse a Superiori piú immediati; & in tutte replicaua i motivi che per cio gli scuopriua [=scopriva?] nuouamente il Signore. Ma è piú da notarsi in quelle, che chiedendo egli la missione all'Indie, chiede insieme la piu trauagliosa fra tutte: & in vero puo dirsi, che l'ottenne tutto dal Signore in quella delle Mariane; ma non senza graui contraddittioni, e trauagli.

Conciosia che douendosi dalli scholari delle nostre scuole far'vn'opera alla Maestà dell'Imperatore Leopoldo, si preparó il Teatro in vn Palazzo vicino, frà il quale però & il nostro Collegio tramezzaua la strada; onde per ageuolare l'assistenza necessaria de'nostri a mettere le cose in ordine, si fece in alto vn ponte di legno, che seruiua per il passaggio; & il Padre Carlo, che era il Maestro di lettere humane, spesso se ne passaua di là, per obbligo del suo vfficio: auuenne però, che il ponte (o perche malamente facricato, o per qualche altro accidente) venne giù, mentre egli vi si trouaua sopra; e dalla caduta si fracassó malamente vna gamba. Questa disgratia gli cagionó dolori acerbissimi; ne minori gli hebbe della cura: egli però gli sopportó tutti con inuitta pazienza. E perche a risanarsi, piú che nelle diligenze humane confidaua nell'aiuto deuino, hauuta perciò licenza da i superiori, fece voto tli passr'all'Indie, e fare perciò tutte l'istanze e diligenze conuenienti, se il Signore si compiaceua di restituirgli la sanità. Mostró il Signore d'hauer'accettato la nuoua offerta; percióche frà breue il nostro ammalato si risanó, restandogli solamente vna leggiera zoppagine, che appena si conosceua; e seruiuagli perche ad ogni passo si ricordasse del beneficio, e con ogni genuflessione rendesse le gratie. Replicó dunque le sue istanze per il passaggio; ne si fermó, finche da superiori gli venne concesso.

Ottenuta dalla Religione la licenza, gli restaua d'ottenere quella del Rè: passó dunque a Madrid con altri compagni, e si studiò di ottenerla per le diligenze de i nostri; mà molto piú per quelle dell'Ambasciatore Cesareo, il quale s'interpose a ciò, per la stima grande che faceua del padre Carlo, e per quella che portaua alla sua gente. Mà colui che all'hora presiedeua cose dell'Indie, per dettame & inpegno particolare, mai non volle piegarsi ad ammettere per il passaggio quelli che non fussero vassalli: onde per quel viaggio restó escluso il nostro Carlo con li suoi compagni. Mà non per questo si sgomentó; anzi accertato vna volta che Iddio lo chiamaua all'Indie, non mai perdette la speranza di passarui; frapponesse il mondo l'ostacoli che volesse. Si trattenne dunque vn'anno in Madrid, sperando di poter raddolcire le difficoltà, & ottener'il bramato passaggio per la flotta seguente: mà ciò ne meno gli riuscì; onde gli conuente ritornarsene con gli suoi compagni a Vienna. Ciò farebbe paruto ad ogni vno bastenole ad acquietar il Padre Carlo nell'obbligo del suo voto; & a togliergl'insieme la speranza del suo passaggio: egli

però da tali contraditioni cauó l'effetto contrario; acerebbe più tosto le sue speranze, & al pari di quelle i suoi desiderij. Onde al suo confessore disse con ogni asseueranza: saper'egli, che li Padri Spagnuoli non mai si sarebbero quietati, ne lascierebbero di replicar al Rè Cattolico le loro ragioni; finche la licenza di passar'all'Indie si stendesse anche a i sudditi dell'Imperatore: perloche egli non perdeua la speranza d'ottener col tempo l'adempimento del suo voto; pregaua bensì li superiori ad impiegarlo frà tanto nella Missione castrense, o uero in quelle dell'Vngario, o in altri ministerij li più humili e faticosi; quali gli se-ruissero d'insiaio per le missioni dell'Indie.

Fù dunque assignato alla Missione Castrense dell'Esercito Cesareo contro 'Vngari rubelli, comandato dal Generale Kopp; il quale fece grande stima del Padre Carlo, per la sua singolar modestia, prudente zelo, & ardentissima carità: ne punto meno fù stimato dall'altri Officiali e soldati; percióche egli giorno e notte ad altro non attendeua, che ad aiutare tutti, ne i loro bisogni spirituali, & anche, per quanto poteua, ne i temporali. Mà qualche ci recaua stupore a tutti (dice vno de'suoi compagni) era l'asprezza e rigore, con cui trattaua se stesso: percióche in mezzo al verno cosí horrido in quei paesi passaua le notti intiere in campagna aperta, posto a giacere sopra le neui e giacci, e couerto di solamente il mantello; e tutto che poteua facilmente ottenere qualche commodità di tenda e di letto migliore, mai non volle chieder ciò; per non esser di peso a qualche altro, che douesse scommodarsi per sua causa. Delche edificati e commossi al maggior segno i soldati cercauan' a gara di procurargli qualche riparo dal freddo, gittando sopra di lui li proprij mantelli: e ciò anche in riguardo della di lui salute tanto loro cara, quale temeuan che da tali patimenti douesse pericolare. Finita poi la campagna fù egli designato Prefetto del Seminario de nobili della Città di Fiume: & egli lo governó con intiera sodisfatione de i nostri, e dell'eterni: mà ciò non potè durar lungo tempo.

Impercióche ricordeuole del suo voto non cessaua di replicar'a i Superiori le sue istanze per l'Indie; & ottenutasi dal Rè la licenza di mandar'a quella missione anche i sudditi di Cesare, l'anno 1676 hebbe il Padre Nicoló Auancino, all'ora Prouinciale dell'Austria, l'auuiso di ciò dal P. Generale, & insieme l'ordine di mandar'a Spagna certo numero di soggetti. Il Prouinciale comunicó subito con lettera circolare alla Prouincia questo auuiso & ordine; affinche accudissero da lui quei che hauessero tal vocatione, per farne dopoi la scelta, & eseguire l'ordine. Si lesse a tauola questa lettera, & in vdirla il Padre Carlo si mise a piangere per l'allegrezza: poi finita la tauola sen'andó a far'oratione al Sacramento, & indi al Prouinciale, che quiui si trouaua: & inginochiatosegle auanti, lo pregó istantemente di esser'egli vno dell'assegnati, e di ottenere questa gratia, ch'haueua tanti anni desiderata. Il Prouinciale, che di tutto n'era ben consapenole, & haueua trattato la coscienza del Padre Carlo sin'da fanciullo, benche sentiuua dolore a spogliare se, e la Prouincia di vn tal soggetto, nondimeno preferendo a tutto la causa publica, la gloria di Dio, & il bene dell'Indie, nominollo tra i primi per quella missione, & egli tutto allegro cominció subito a disport il suo viaggio verso Genoua.

Gionto colà, e venuto il tempo dell'imbarco fù egli nominato Superiore di tutti i compagni che da Germania, e da Italia passauan' in quella Missione: e per cominciare l'officio dalla carità, e dall'vmiltà, portossi subito al Vascello, e quiui attese a comporre per le stesso i letti e camere de'suoi sudditi e compagni: mà perche le fue forze corporali non regeuano a quelle del suo spirito, appena imbarcato s'hebbe a porte in letto, vinto dalla stracchezza di tante fatiche, & molto più dalla maretta sorda, contraria assai al di lui stomaco, e che lo fece mareggiare mentre duró quel viaggio. Gli dolse però assai più l'hauer trouato, quando gionse in Cadice, che la flotta s'era il giorno auanti patita per l'Indie: percióche da tal accidente preuedeua ciò che segui, che gli conveniuua aspettare altri due anni il passaggio; nella prossima

flotta per l'Indie; ne sapeua doue traessero a fermarsi tante contraddittioni. Nondimeno adoró con vmità le diuine dispositioni; e da Cadice passó con li compagni a Seuiglia, per chieder'in questa dimora impiego, che trattenesse, quando non potesse satiar'il suo zelo. E ben tosto lo trouó, qual apunto poteua desiderarlo: auuenga che scorrendo la Spagna il Padre Tirso Gonzalez con le sue apostoliche Missioni, venne anche a Seuiglia chiamato dal zelantissimo Arciuescouo, e nuouo S. Carlo, Monsignore D. Ambrosio Spinola, le di cui virtú y insigne misericordia con li poueri publicó D. Giordi Loaysa Canonico di quella Metropolitana, nel elogio, che di lui fece doppo la sua morte.

Haueua già il Padre Tirso l'anno 1672, fatta vn'altra missione in Seuiglia e nell'altre terre di quell'Arciuescouato, insieme col Padre Gio. Gabriele Guiglien, e con altri dell compagnia: mà perche il zelo del santo Prelato non mal si satiaua delle missioni, & il frutto all'ora raccolto gli faceua sperar altro non minore dal a sequente; e le calamità, che continuauano, pareua che la ricercassero come rimedio, procuró con ogni sforzo d'hauere la seconda volta il Padre Tirso. E conciosiache il P. leggeua all hora vna delle Cattedre fondate dal Rè alla Compagnia nell'Vniuersità di Salamanca, ne poteua senza licenza della Maestà sua, e beneplacito dell'Vniuersità lasciar la lettura; il zelo e l'autorità di cosi gran Prelato superó ogni difficulta, & il Padre Tirso il primo di della Quaresima diede principio alla sua missione nella Cattedrale il doppo pranso; e continuolla per otto giorni, con l'assistenza di Monsignore e di quell'Illustrissimo Capitolo, e concorso d'immense popolo. Appresso la proseguì nella Casa Professa, nelle Paroche della Città, e Monasterij di Monache: & il frutto fù cosi abbondante, che il zelante Prelato attribui a quello l'essersi preseruata la Città dalla contagione, che traueglió i luochi conuicini.

All' hora gionse a Seuiglia il Padre Boranga; e perche sin dall'altra volta che si trattenne in Madrid sapeua quanto bastaua, dell'idioma Castigliano, & egli con la prattica & applicatione ogni di s'andaua in quella perfettionando, subito s'applicó ad aiutare li missionarii, insieme con l'altri Padri: quali benche molti fossero, non bastauano però ad vdire le confessioni di tanti e tanti che concorreuano. Il nostro Carlo mattina e giorno non si partiu dal confessionario; si che appena gli restaua libero il tempo preciso a dire la Messa, e l'officio, e fare l'altre cose d'obbligo: mà cresceua in lui la consolatione, quanto piu se l'accresceuano le fatiche; mentre cosi gli pareua di compensar' in Europa, quelle che desideraua nell'Indie. Finita la missione di Seuiglia il P. Carlo fu inuiato da superiori al Collegio di Xerez; acció quiui seruisse d'operario, finche venisse l'oportunità d'imbarco per l'Indie: & egli continuó i ministerij col feruore stesso con cui gl'haueua cominciati in Seuiglia. La mattina la spendeua tutta in Chiesa, o nell'Altare, o nel Confessionario; ne mai gli mancauano penitenti, tirati dalla piaceuolezza, con cui gli trattaua; e molto piu dalle parole, con cui gli moueua all'abborrimento, e dolore de' peccati; percióche vedendo l'esempio della sua vita, e che parlaua loro di cuore, le sue parole loro restauano stampate nell'anima. Il doppo pranso andaua a visitare le carceri, e li spedali; e trouaua le sue delitie nel souenir'a i bisogni spirituali & anche corporali di quei meschini. Di notte spesse volte veniu chiamato ad assister'a moribondi; a i quali egli accorreua, & assisteua con singolar carità e piaceuolezza. E perche con l'vso gia parlaua bene la lingua Castigliana, le Domeniche e le feste andaua per le strade e piazze, ad insegnare a i fanciulli, & in essi anche all'adulti bisognosi, la Dottrina Christiana; secondo l'vsanza della Compagnia nella Spagna.

*Gionto poi il tempo, in cui la flotta douena partire per Messico; tutti i missionarii del'Indie furono chiamati a Cadice; per doue s'incaminó il P. Boranga: mà non senza dispiacere grande di quei di Xerez, doue tutti, e nostri & esterni, l'amauan' assai, per la stima grande ch'haueuano delle sue virtú, modestia, e piaceuolissimi costumi. Salí egli con l'altri sopra la naue **Nazareno**; mà vrtando quella nel Diamante,*

vtó anche il P. Carlo in altro scoglio di nuoue contradittioni al suo passaggio nell'Indie, mà piú forte della naue fú la di lui pazienza; poiche ne meno con questo colpo si diede per vinta: e quantunque vedeua troppo manifesto il pericolo di rimanersi fin al seguente viaggio, e ciò gli penetraua sin all'anima; ad ogni modo si quieraua in considerare, che ciò veniua così disposto dalla diuina prouidenza, per li suoi fini, adorabili e non scrutabili a noi: ne mai perdette la speraua di passar'all'Indie, o in questo, o in altro viaggio. Così se ne ritornó con l'altri compagni a casa: ma poi richiamato dal Procuratore dell'Indie sulla mezza notte, a tentare nuouamente fortuna, rauuiuó le sue speranze; & in vna barca velocissima andó con li compagni a giungere la flotta, che gia si trouaua in alto mare; & in vna delle nauí su ammesso come per limosina, senz'altra prouisione che cioche portaua in dosso, e la confidenza in Dio.

Hebbero in questo viaggio venti assai fauorcuoli (fuorche il giorno 12 di Agosto che patirono burrasca) onde in soli 67 giorni gionsero al porto della Vera Croce, ond'imeno il Padre Carlo tornó a sperimentare, quanto gli fusse contrario il mare, ancorche tranquillo, percioche appena poté in questo tempo alzarsi dal letto, ne mangiare quanto gli bastaua per viuere. Sopportaua egli questo trauaglio con inuita pazienza: mai non fu vditto lamentarsi; ma bensí spesse volte render grazie al Signore de i patimenti, che sopportaua per eseguire la sua chiamata. I passeggeri però compatendogli nausea tanto prolissa, e cattinati dalla sua modestia e tolleranza, cercauan'a gara di trouargli qualche fomento, con ogni forte di regalo. Gionto poi in Messico, quivi si ristoró de patimenti sofferti; e ben tosto ripiglió le fatiche di predicare e confessare, con quel frutto che dalla sua gran carità e zelo poteua sperarsi. Et il tempo che gli auanzaua da questi essercitij lo spendeua nell'oratione in Chiesa, ouero nello studio de casi di coscienza in camera; da doue non si partiuu, che chiamato dalla carità, o dall'vbbidienza.

Venuta poi la naue delle Filippine, fú nuouamente designato il Padre Carlo Superiore della Missione: onde prima dell'altri compagni hebbe a partire col fratello suo compagno, per metter in ordine le cose necessarie a quella nauigatione: & egli talmente vi s'applicó, che dalle fatiche, e dal caldo eccessiuo del clima, gli s'accese vna febre che lo fece per alcuni giorni guardar' il letto, ma cio non pote fare, che gionto il tempo di far vela non salisse con l'altri sulla naue; perciò che stimatta trauaglio assai maggiore il restarsi. Col viaggiare, e coll ondeggiar del mare gli s'accrebbe talmente la febre, che lo ridusse a mal termine: egli però fece spicarr' assai in questa malattia la sua modestia, sofferenza, e conformità col voler diuino; vincendosi nel riceuer'alcuni remedij, per lui non meno trauagliosi che l'istessa malatti. Doppo 77 giorni di nauigatione giunsero a vista dell'Isole Mariane: e perche la missione andaua tutta a dispositione del Prouinciale delle Filippine e Vice Prouinciale delle Mariane, & vn Padre assai graue cattiuato dalli talenti e virtù del P. Carlo lo voleua in ogni conto per le Filippine; egli li fece tali istanze, e tanto lo pregó, che alla fine si contentó di cederlo, con grand'vtilità delle Mariane; ma con indicibile consolatione del seruo di Dio, in vedere che doppo tanti patimenti haueua gia trouato porto; doue non gli farebbe mancato campo ad altri che desideraua molto maggiori.

Appena sbarcò, e si riparó alquanto de'trauagli del viaggio, che attele subito ad impararsi quell'idioma; e fra pochi mesi, merce la sua applicatione & abilità, se lo rese così proprio, ch' il Superiore stimó di potergli raccomandare vna Residenza nell'Isola di Guan: & egli ben tosto comprouó con gl'effetti quanto fusse stata accertata questa elettione; percioche non mancaua a parte veruna d'vn zelantissimo Missionario. Prouedeua abbondantemente alle sue pecorelle co'l pascolo della dottrina christiana; or in publico nella Chiesa li giorni festiui; or visitandole, e parlando loro priuatamente, secondo che richiedeua il bisogno: si che raddolciti dal paterno amore, & amoreuole piaceuolezza, che sperimentauan' in lui quei colli per altro restiui, riceueuano con gusto il gogo del Santo Vangelo; e moueuansi all'osseruan-

za della legge christiana, & alla prattica delle virtu. Massimamente vedento, che il P. Carlo nulla insegnaua e prescriueua loro, intorno al bene dell'anima, che egli non lo pratticasse in se stesso; e con perfectione tale, che non trouauano difetto da potergli oporte, ma bensì molte virtu da toda in lui, e continui beneficij da doueruelo ringratiare: de quali ne daró qui qualche contezza, secondo la scarsezza delle notitie, ch'habbiamo.

Il Padre Nicolo Auancino già Assistente di Germania e Prouinciale d'Austria pala così del Ven. Padre Carlo. Fu sempre di animo nobile e disposto a grand'impres; di grande, e costante confidenza in Dio: col cui aiuto nulla non speraua di bene, nulla temeua di male. Zelante assai della salute dell'anime, & accuratissimo nell'eseguire con ogni perfectione qualunque impiego gli venisse imposto dall'vbbidienza: abborriua gl'honori, e le lodi del mondo; e con vguale studio andaua sempre in traccia de proprij disprezzi. Ciò dico parlando del tempo che lo trattai, e fui consapeuole della di lui coscienza in Europa: e credo che non sia stato meno, anzi più, da che passò alla missione dell'Indie. Così egli, prima che venissero le notitie dalle Mariane: da noue habbiamo, che quanto era piaceuole con tutti, tanto fu rigido, & austero con seco stesso. Mangiaua solamente al mezzo di, lasciata la cena, e la collatione della mattina, ch'vsaua nella Germania; ne mai prese la cioccolata tanto vsuale nell'Indie: e talmente maltrattaua il suo corpo con cilicij e discipline spietate, che fa di messiere a Superiori, di prescriuergli tassa, che non douesse passare.

Quando il chiamaua qualche bisogno spirituale o corporale de' prossimi, accorreua subito; ne mal lo trattennero da ciò, ne piogge, ne sole cuocente, ne qualunque altra scommodità che gli si presentasse d'auanti. Per non esser di peso all'indiani del suo distretto, e gli piantaua e coltinaua con le proprie mani vn horticello, le dicui hortaglie ser-uiuagli per sostentamento; & anche per regalare l'Indiani.

Fù modestissimo e castissimo del pari: e per allontanare dalla sua casa e Residenza qualunque licenza contraria alla purità, faceua che i giouani, che gli seruiuano, dormissero in vna camera vicina alla sua; acciò di nocte non potesser'vscire di casa: e fuori teneua designati certi sindici secreti, i quali osseruassero e li riferissero, se tal'vno mancasse in questo genere; & occorrendo, sapeua ogn'vno che teneua certo lo sfratto. Ne fù men'amante della santa pouertà; quale soleua dire che non s'offeruaua bene, mentre non mancavano delle cose necessarie; ne mai, perche queste gli mancassero, egli si lamentó, ne fece ricorso ad altri per hauerle: onde a ragione disse di lui il Superiore, che il P. Carlo era veramente pouero, & affatto lontano, anzi disprezzatore delle cose temporali. Mà cio non è merauiglia, mentre egli tutte le sue delitie l'haueua riposte in conuersare nel Cielo. Quel tempo che gl'auanzaua dall'ammaestramento dell'Indiani, e dall'altre cose d'obbligo lo spendeua tutto in oratione, con cui cercaua & otteneua da Dio, che volesse dar'efficacia alle sue fatiche e diligenze, per la conuersione e salute di quei meschini, commessi alle sua direttione: e se tal ora crescendo l'occupationi gli mancaua l'opportunitá per l'oratione ritirata e lunga, come egli l'hauerebbe voluto: ciò suppli[ca]ua con frequenti, mà ardentissime giaculatorie, drizzate a Dio, alla Madonna, all'Angio e Santi suoi diuoti.

Sarebbe lungo assai il voler riferire ad vna ad vna le virtù tutte di quello Seruo di Dio: & io il tralascio per non repeter in gran parte, quelle, ch'hó riferito dell'altri compagni; perciòche furono tutti nel zelo, nella carità, nell'osseruanza e virtù vguali; si come nella professione. Non deuo però tralasciare vn singular esempio che ci lasciò d'vbbidienza, poco prima della sua morte. Ordinogli il Superiore, che lasciata la Residenza, che gouernaua in Guan, passasse a quella di Aguisan [sic] nell'Isola di Zarpana: e benche il V. Padre desideraua di continuare il già cominciato in quella di Guan, doue era amato da tutti, & egli vicendeuolmente amaua quei ch'haueua regenerato & alleuato in Christo; e dall'altro canto il met-

tersi in mare per Rota o Zarpana gli fusse vn mettersi in agonia, secondo che haueua talmente a spese sue sperimentato nell'altre nauigationi: non dimeno a questi & altri motiui prepose il vero vbbidente vna sola insinuatione della diuina volontà, che gli parlaua nel Superiore. Onde senza replicar vna parola, ne dar'vn segno di dispiacere si mise subito in barca, gionse a Zarpana, piú morto, che viuo; mà insieme ringraziando il Signore, perche gli disponeua l'occasioni di quei patimenti, in traccia della salute de suoi ricomprati.

Appena si ristoró del viaggio, che subito ripiglió le fatiche di Guan per addottrinare quei di Zarpana; quali come piú rozzi piú rozzi piú anche gli dauano da faticare. Mà pochi mesi erano passati, quando seguí la congiura di Guan, e gionse in Zarpàna la notitia; accresciuta però delle menzogne, ch'habbiamo notato sopra. Poco appresso il Superiore inuitó i Padri Strobach, e Boranga a venirsene in Agadgna; mà il P. Boranga vedendo il mare pieno di pericoli; e che li suoi Indiani gl'offeriuano ogni sicurezza, giudicó di restarsi trà essi. I fatti però di quei sconoscenti troppo furono contrarij alle loro parole; perciòche sedotti da quei di Tinian, che al P. Strobach haueuano già data la morte, entrarono anche essi nella congiura; e credendo che fussero già finiti li Padri, e li soldati di Guan e di Saypan, promisero di far'altre tanto del loro missionario, e de soldati che trouassero: a fine di scacciat'vna volta i Guirraghi tutti, e la nuoua legge, che essi introduceuano, cosi contraria a i lor'antichi costumi. Andarono dunque dal Seruo di Dio, e trouatolo spensierato tutti vnitamente gl'investirono, e lo finirono a bastonate. Ciò s'è potuto sin'ora sapere, da alcuni venuti casualmente da Zarpana in Guan, intorno alla morte del P. Boranga: non si sanno altre circostanze, per la mancanza di communicatione, mentre dura la ribellione. Mà per quanto dicono i mentouanti Zarpanesi, crediamo che fusse per la comun causa della Fede; e che il Signore con tal morte hauesse voluto premiare le fatiche e le virtù di questo Seruo. Con altre notitie si darà del tutto maggior contezza; ne questa pretendiamo ch'habbia piú credito, che di sede humana.

Translation.

The Ven. Fr. Charles Boranga was born in Vienna, Austria,¹ from very important parents. As soon as he was born, he was dedicated to Our Lady and to her glorious spouse, St. Joseph. Ever since, he was raised with special piety in the devotion to this couple and in the fear of God. There followed afterwards the barbaric invasion of Austria and the Imperial estates by Gustav Adolf.² So, to remove him from the dangers, he was ordered to go to Venice, where he stayed, until it pleased God to have the Swedes defeated and expelled. He then returned to Vienna to attend the schools of the Society and study the humanities, but even more so, virtue. His better nature and his contact with our people pushed him to desire keenly, and ask earnestly, to be admitted to the Society, but more so the desire, which the boy had of dedicating himself to the conversion of the heathens. This flame became more intense after he heard retell with stupor the miracles then operated by the glorious Apostle St. Francis Xavier by his miracu-

1 Ed. note: On 29 June 1640.

2 Ed. note: King of Sweden.

lous Images at Potami, in Outer Calabria [southern Italy], they increased the devotion to the Saint, not just in the Kingdom of Naples, but even in Germany, Spain, and as far away as the West Indies, where Fr. Sanvitores had his book published in Mexico, entitled: "The Apostle of the Indies and of new peoples."¹

Nevertheless, Fr. Charles found serious difficulties to his admittance, because the Fathers of the Province of Austria feared that the weakness of his constitution might not withstand the burdens of our ministries. However, he overcame it all, with fervent prayers that he offered to the Lord for that purpose, and with the recourse that he had to the Virgin and her spouse, St. Joseph, as he knew that his parents had assigned them as his patron saints, as soon as he was born. In fact, they allowed him to fulfill his desires, and our Charles was received into the Society on 7 October 1656; hence, the hopes already conceived of his genius and talents were enhanced, and the effects which they had already experienced of the purity of his habits. About this, Fr. Nicholas Avancino (who a little later died in Rome, as Assistant for Germany, a man of such doctrine and virtue that they are well known by everyone) who was his director of conscience, since he joined the Society, and afterwards also Rector and Provincial of Austria, testifies to [his] having confided to the Master of novices that, at the age of 16, he had the same innocence that he received at baptism. This sole testimony could suffice as a eulogy to Fr. Charles, because no-one will believe that in Religion he was less good than when he was a civilian; in what we will say next, as will be seen, he kept such an innocence and worked to achieve the highest perfection.

That is why from the good beginning of the novitiate he exceeded even the hopes conceived by our people; however, he caused everyone to marvel even more when, after a few months of mortifications and penances, he proved such solidity and vigor of forces, that one could not hope to expect more in his life. After the novitiate, he busied himself with the study of Philosophy and Theology, and in these he gave proof(s) of genius and virtue, [so] that he merited the respected rewards, and the profession of the four vows. After he became a priest, he was assigned by the Superiors to teach the humanities in the schools of Vienna, where he had first studied; this he did with extraordinary application, and satisfaction of everyone. However, because one day there grew in him such desire for the conversion of the heathens, that the Lord had communicated to him as a boy, he often reiterated to the Superiors his request to get permission to go to the Indies. He wrote to Father General about this no less than 10 letters, by which one may easily understand how many more he must have written to his more immediate Superiors. In all of these letters he repeated the reasons why he thought that the

1 Ed. note: This book is said to have been composed by him in 1660 and 1661, while he was in Mexico, but it was published (and paid for) by the Licentiate Don Mathias de Peralta Calderón, who was the principal member of the Sodality of St. Francis Xavier, and was printed by Augustín de Santisteban and Francisco Rodríguez Lupercio in 1661 (ref. Sommervogel, vol. vii).

Lord was behind him. But it is to be noted that, in asking for the missions of the Indies, he also asked for the most difficult of them all. One can also say, that he obtained it all from the Lord, when he was sent to the Marianas, but not without serious contradictions, and labors.

It so happened that the scholars of our schools were to present an opera for His Majesty, Emperor Leopold.¹ The theater was made ready in a palace close by, situated across the street from our College. So, to facilitate the assistance required by our people to arrange things, a sort of wooden bridge was built, to serve as a passage-way [over the street]. Father Charles, who was Master of Humanities, often used it, in carrying out his duties. However, it happened that the bridge (either because it was badly built, or for some other defect) came down, while he was crossing it, and in the fall he broke a leg badly. This misfortune caused him very sharp pains, and even more so the cure. He, however, supported everything with exemplary patience. Because, to regain his health, he trusted more in divine help than in human care, with the permission of the Superiors, he made the vow of going to the Indies, and therefore to make all the requests and efforts necessary, if the Lord deigned to give him back his health. The Lord showed that he accepted the new offer, because our sick one recuperated soon after, remaining with only a light limp which was hardly noticeable; thereafter, whenever he remembered the favor, and every time he knelt down, he would say thanks. He therefore reiterated his requests for the passage and did not cease until it had been granted by the superiors.

Having obtained the permission from our Order, he still had to get that of the King [of Spain]. He therefore went to Madrid with other companions, and endeavored to obtain it through that of the Imperial Ambassador, who intervened in this, on account of the great esteem he had for Father Charles, and for the esteem he had for his kin. But the man who was then President of the affairs of the Indies,² by special dictate and provision, never wished to admit for the passage anyone who was not a vassal; therefore, our Charles and his companions were excluded from the voyage. However, this did not terrify him; to the contrary, God had already shown once that He wanted him for the Indies, so, he never lost hope of a passage to them, whatever obstacles the world placed in the way. He therefore tarried one year in Madrid, hoping to be able to soften the difficulty, and to obtain the desired passage aboard the next fleet, but he did not succeed in getting it, so that it was agreed that he should return to Vienna with his companions. That would have appeared to anyone like a sufficient reason for absolving Fr. Charles of the obligation of his vow, and also to remove any hope of a passage. However, from such contradictions he drew the opposite effect. It made his hopes more intense, and at par with his desires. Therefore, to his confessor he said with every assurance: "You know that the Spanish Fathers will not keep quiet, and will give their reasons in their

1 Ed. note: Leopold I, born in Vienna (1640-1705), King of Hungary, Archduke of Austria and Holy Roman Emperor (1657-1705), King of Bohemia (1658-1705). He was to succeed in having the Turks leave Hungary in 1699.

2 Ed. note: Between 1671 and 1679, this was the Count of Medellin.

applications to the Catholic King, until permission to go to the Indies is extended to the subjects of the Emperor." Therefore, he did not lose hope of carrying out his vow in due course. That is why he begged the superiors to employ him in the meantime as a military chaplain, either in Hungary, or in other ministries more humble and tiring, which could be used as a trial for the mission field of the Indies.

He was therefore assigned as military chaplain in the Imperial army against the rebellious Hungarians, which was commanded by General Kopp. The latter acquired a great esteem for Father Charles, on account of his singular modesty, prudent zeal, and very keen charity. He was no less esteemed by the other officers and the soldiers, because he strove day and night to assist others, either in their spiritual tasks, and whenever he could, in material ones as well. But, what caused stupor in everyone (says one of his companions) was the harshness and rigor with which he treated himself. For instance, in the middle of such a horrible winter in those countries, he spent whole nights in the open, lying on top of the snow and ice, covered only with an overcoat. Although he could easily have gotten some comfort, such as a tent and better bed, he never wished to ask for that, so as not to be a burden on anyone else, who might have to suffer in his place. Edified and moved by compassion, the soldiers would take care to provide him with some protection from the cold, by throwing upon him their own overcoats; they did this to keep him in health, which was dear to them, as they feared that such sufferings might make him perish. Once the campaign was over, he was appointed Prefect of the Seminary for noblemen in the City of Fiume.¹ He governed it at the entire satisfaction of our people, and of the eternal One, but that could not last for long.

It so happened that, remembering his vow, he never ceased to reiterate his requests to the Superiors for the Indies. In 1676, permission was also granted by the King to send to that mission the subjects of the Emperor. Father Nicholas Avancino, then Provincial of Austria, was advised of this by Father General, together with an order to send to Spain a certain number of individuals. The Provincial immediately communicated this notice and orders in circular letters to the Province, in order for those who had such a vocation to come forward, so that he might then make a selection, and follow the order in question. This letter was read at meal-time. Upon hearing it, Father Charles began to cry of joy. After the meal, he went off to pray before the Sacrament, and from there went to the Provincial, who happened to be present. He kneeled before him, begged him earnestly to make him one of those assigned, and to grant him the favor which he had been asking for during so many years. The Provincial, who was well aware of it, as he had dealt with the conscience of Father Charles since his boyhood, though he felt pain at losing him, and the Province such a subject, nevertheless preferring above all the public good, the glory of God and the good of the Indies, appointed him among the first ones for that mission. With this he began immediately to prepare his voyage toward Genoa.

1 Ed. note: Now called Rijeka, a port in Croatia, on the Adriatic Sea.

After arrival there, the time for boarding having arrived, he was appointed Superior of all the companions who, from [the Assistance of] Germany and Italy, were passing to that Mission. To begin this duty with charity and humility, he immediately went to the vessel, and there endeavored to obtain by himself bunks and cabins for his subjects and companions, but because his physical strength was not up to that of his spirit, he had to remain in bed as soon as they boarded, vanquished by the drain of so much fatigue, made worse by the rolling motion that was contrary to his stomach, and which made him seasick during the whole voyage. It hurt even more when he learned, upon arrival at Cadiz, that the fleet had sailed for the Indies the day before. Because of such an accident, it became foreseeable that he would have to wait two more years for a passage aboard the next fleet for the Indies. He did not know either when such contradictions would cease. Nevertheless, he humbly respected the divine dispositions. From Cadiz he went to Seville with his companions, to look for employment during the delay, in order to be able to satisfy his zeal. He did find it as soon as he could have wished it to be. It happened that Father Tirso Gonzalez¹ was then also covering Spain with his apostolic missions. He also came to Seville, invited there by the very zealous Archbishop, and the new St. Charles, Monsignor Ambrosio Spinola, he whose virtue and kindness towards the poor were made famous by Don Jorge Loaysa, Dean of that Metropolitan Church, in the eulogy published after his death.

Father Tirso had already, in 1672, carried out another mission in Seville and throughout the lands of that archdiocese, together with Father Gabriel Guillén, and with other members of the Society; however, because the zeal of the saintly prelate was not completely satisfied with those missions and that the fruit then gathered made him hope for more the next time around. The calamity, just mentioned, appeared to him as the remedy that he had been looking for. Fr. Tirso made every effort to obtain a second tour. Since the Father was then lecturer in one of the chairs funded by the King in favor of the Society at the University of Salamanca, he could not without permission from His Majesty, leave his lectures. The zeal and authority of such a great Prelate overcame every difficulty, and Father Tirso in the afternoon of the first day of Lent began his mission in the Cathedral. He continued it over 8 days, with the assistance of the Monsignor and that Most Illustrious Chapter, a huge crowd being in attendance. Afterwards, he pursued it at the House of the Professed, in the parishes of the City, and the monasteries of the monks. The fruit was so abundant that the zealous Prelate attributed that to the City having been saved from the contagion that plagued the neighboring places.

It was then that Father Boranga arrived at Seville. Because he had learned how to speak Spanish rather well enough the last time he had done business at Madrid, and that every day, with practice and application, he was becoming better at it, he immediately applied to help the missionaries, together with other Fathers who, though they tried hard, could not manage to hear the confessions of so many people who flocked

1 Ed. note: Future Jesuit General, from 1687 to 1706.

in. Our Charles, morning and afternoon, did not leave the confessional; he had hardly enough time left to say mass, and the office, and attend to the other obligatory things, but there grew in him some consolation, in tune with the increasing burden. Meanwhile, he seemed to compensate in Europe for what he had planned to do in the Indies. Once the Seville mission was over, Fr. Charles was invited by the superiors to the College of Jerez, so that he could serve as a worker there, until the next opportunity to embark for the Indies. He continued his ministries with the same fervor that he had shown in Seville. He would spend every morning in church, either at the altar, or in the confessional. He never lacked penitents, attracted by the kindness with which he treated them, and more so by the words with which he motivated them to abhor and avoid sins, so much so that, seeing the example of his life, and that he spoke to them from the heart, his words remained engraved in their souls. After lunch, he would visit the jails, and hospices; he found pleasure in attending to the spiritual and physical needs of the meek. At night he was often called to attend the dying; he ran up to them and assisted them with special charity and benevolence. Because practice had made him a good speaker in the Spanish language, on Sundays and holidays he would go through the streets and public squares, to teach children; to adults also he was busy teaching the Christian Doctrine, in accordance with the method used by the Society in Spain.

Finally, the time for the fleet to depart for Mexico arrived and all the missionaries of the Indies were called to Cadiz, where Fr. Boranga went, but not without the great regret of those in Jerez, where everyone, our people and those outside, loved him enough, on account of the great esteem they had for his virtues, modesty, and very kind habits. He left with the others aboard the ship **Nazareno**, which however hit upon the Diamond [Shoal]; thus Fr. Charles also hit upon another shoal of new contradictions to his passage to the Indies. However, his patience was stronger than the ship, because this blow did not overcome him, even though it was quite obvious that he ran the risk of remaining behind until the next voyage, and that affected him greatly. In any case, he considered that such a thing had happened in accordance with divine providence, for its purposes, respectable though inscrutable to us. He never lost hope of a passage to the Indies, either in this, or in another voyage. He had no sooner returned to the house with the others, when he was recalled by the Procurator for the Indies that same night, to attempt a new adventure, which revived his hopes. With his companions aboard a very fast launch, he went to catch up with the fleet, which was then in the high sea. He was taken on board one of the ships out of compassion, without any other supplies than those he carried on his back, and trust in God.

They had rather favorable winds during this voyage (except for the 12th of August when they suffered a squall), and after only 67 days they arrived at the port of Veracruz. During the voyage, Father Charles again experienced [seasickness], whenever the sea was rough, but even when it was calm, since he could hardly leave his bunk, or eat sufficiently to stay alive. He supported this hardship with exemplary patience. He was never heard to complain; he would rather often say thanks to the Lord for the sufferings, which he put up with to answer his calling. However, the passengers sympathized

with such a prolonged nausea, and amazed at his modesty and tolerance, would endeavor to find him some relief, with all kinds of gifts. They then arrived in Mexico, where he recovered from past sufferings; soon enough he resumed the labors of preaching and confessing, with the fruit that could be expected from his great charity and zeal. The time that these exercises left him, he spent praying in church, or else studying cases of conscience in his room, which he did not leave unless called by charity, or obedience.

Finally, the ship from the Philippines arrived. Father Charles was again designated as Superior of the mission band. He was therefore forced to go immediately [to Acapulco] with a lay brother as a companion, in order to arrange for the necessities of that voyage. He put so much effort into it that the fatigue and excessive heat of the climate gave him a fever that forced him to stay in bed for a few days, but that did not prevent him from joining the others when his ship sailed, because he thought that the hardship of staying behind would be somewhat worse. With the voyage, and with the sea swells, the fever was increasing so much that it was feared that it might end up badly for him. However, his modesty stood out enough in this sickness, suffering, and acceptance of the divine will. He resigned himself to receiving some medicines, though for him they were as bad as the sickness. After 77 days of navigation, they arrived in sight of the Mariana Islands and, because the whole mission was at the disposal of the Provincial of the Philippines and the Vice-Provincial of the Marianas, and that a Father as well endowed with talents and virtues as Fr. Charles was highly desirable for the Philippines, he nevertheless requested, and begged so earnestly that in the end he consented to yield him, at the great benefit of the Marianas, but with the unspeakable consolation of the servant of God, in seeing that after so many sufferings he had finally reached port, when there was no lack of others who desired to stay even more.

He had hardly landed, and recuperated somewhat from the hardships of the voyage, when he began at once to learn that language. After a few months, thanks to his application and ability, he made it his own, enough for the Superior to judge him able to assume the care of a Residence in the Island of Guan. Soon enough he proved effectively how good this decision had been, because he did not lack any of the true qualities of a very zealous Missionary. He abundantly provided his flock with the pasture of the Christian doctrine, either in public in the church on holidays, or by visiting and talking to them in private, according to the needs of the job. Softened by his fatherly love, and loving kindness, those who saw him bear the yoke of the Gospel on his neck were made to receive it with joy, and were motivated to observe the Christian law, and practice virtue, specially when they saw that Fr. Charles did not teach and prescribe to them, for the good of the soul, anything that he did not practice himself, with such perfection that they did not find any defect that they could be opposed to. Rather, they must have been grateful for his great virtue and the continuous benefits derived from it. Regarding these, I will not give an account of it, given the scarcity of news that we have received.

Father Nicholas Avancino, already Assistant for Germany and Provincial of Austria, speaks as follows about the Ven. Father Charles: "He was always a noble soul and

suited for great enterprises, with a great and constant trust in God, with whose help he hoped nothing but good things, and feared no harm. [He was] rather zealous of the salvation of souls, and very exact in carrying out whatever duty was assigned to him by obedience. He abhorred honors, and praises from this world. With equal precision, he was always searching for ways to depreciate himself. I say that, referring to the time that I knew him and was conscious of his conscience in Europe. I believe that he would not have been any less, perhaps more, after passing to the mission of the Indies. According to the first news that we got from the Marianas, he was as kind to everyone as he was rigid and severe with himself. He ate only at noon, omitted supper, and the morning breakfast to which he had been accustomed in Germany.¹ He never took chocolate, such a common drink in the Indies. He mistreated his body so much with the hair shirt and pitiless disciplines, that the Superiors had to prescribe him a limit which he was not to exceed.”

“When he was called to any spiritual or physical task towards the neighbors, he would run up immediately; nothing bad could make him give it up, neither rain nor burning sun, no discomfort whatever could stop him. So as not to be a burden on the Indians of his district,² he planted and cultivated a small garden with his own hands; this garden produce served as food for himself, and as gifts for the Indians.”

He was very modest and very chaste as well, chasing away from his house and Residence whatever licence contrary to **chastity**; he ordered the youths who served him to sleep in a room adjacent to his, so that they could not leave the house at night, and meet at pre-arranged secret places outside; this way they would be observed and he would get to know, if any of them were amiss in this matter, and, if it happened, he learned of every escapade for certain. He was no less a lover of holy **poverty**. He used to say that it was easy to observe it, when necessities were not lacking; neither did he complain when they were lacking, nor did he ask others for any. So it is with reason that the Superior says of him, that Fr. Charles was truly poor, completely removed as he was, and deprived of physical things. However, that is no wonder, as he found that all his delights were met by conversing with Heaven. Such time as he had left, after the indoctrination of the Indians, and other obligatory things, he spent it all in prayer, in which he sought and obtained from God, to deign to make his labors and diligence bear fruits, for the conversion and salvation of the meek ones committed to his care. Now and then, whenever his occupations reduced the opportunity for prayer, he would retire far away, as he would have wanted. That he addressed with frequent, but very earnest pleas, directed at God, at Our Lady, at the Angels, and at the Saints to whom he was devoted.

It would take a long time to describe every one of the virtues of this Servant of God. I omit it, so as not to repeat a large part of what I said about the other companions,

1 Ed. note: Fr. Avancino was then Assistant for Germany. This Assistance comprised the provinces of Austria, the Czech Republic, Belgium, etc. in addition to those of Germany proper.

2 Ed. note: He was then ministering at the main residence of Agaña (see Doc. 1682I).

because they were all equal in zeal, charity, observance and virtue, as well as in profession. I should not, however, omit a special example that he left of obedience, a little before his death. The Superior ordered him to leave the Residence which he administered in Guan, to go to that of **Agusan** in the Island of Zarpana. Although the Ven. Father wished to continue where he had already begun in that of Guan, where he was loved by all, and he reciprocally loved those he had regenerated and raised in Christ, and besides, to set out by sea for Rota or Zarpana was to set out for agony, such as he had so often experienced in other navigations, nevertheless, in this and other motives the truly-obedient one saw only one possibility, that divine will spoke through the Superior. So, without uttering a word, or giving a sign of displeasure, he immediately boarded the boat, went to Zarpana, more dead than alive, but also thanking the Lord, because He gave him the opportunity for sufferings, in the quest for the salvation of his redeemed ones.

He had hardly recovered from the voyage, when he resumed the labors of Guan to indoctrinate those of Zarpana; they being rougher, the more fatigue they would also give him. However, few months had passed when the uprising of Guan took place. The news of it travelled to Zarpana, increased, however, by the lies that we have already mentioned. A little afterwards [rather before], the Superior [had] invited Fathers Strobach and Boranga to come to Agaña, but Fr. Boranga, seeing the sea full of dangers, and that his Indians were offering him every assurance, he judged that he should stay among them. However, he did not know that they would not keep their words. Indeed, urged by those of Tinian, who had already killed Fr. Strobach, they also joined the uprising. Believing that all the Fathers were already finished, as well as the soldiers in Guan and Saypan, they planned to do the same to their missionary, and to any soldiers they might encounter, in order to finish once and for all with all the *Guirrago*, and the new law that they had introduced, so contrary to their old customs. They therefore looked for the Servant of God, and caught him unaware. All together, they attacked him, and finished him off with blows from sticks. That is all that has been learned in Guan, from some people who chanced to come from Zarpana, regarding the death of Fr. Boranga.¹ No other circumstances are known, for lack of contact, while the rebellion continues. However, from the little that the above-mentioned people of Zarpana, we believe that the common cause was on behalf of the Faith, and that the Lord wished by such a death to reward the labors and virtues of his Servant. Following other news, a more detailed account will be given; until then, we do not pretend to give more credit [to this story] than is humanly possible.

1 Ed. note: This was learned some time in November 1684. Therefore, the martyrdom took place in September or October of that year. However, Fr. Bonani has set the record straight about this martyrdom (see X2 below).

X2. Biographical update, by Fr. Bonani, in German

Sources: Stöcklein's Welt-Bott I, n° 9, and VII, n° 151.

Notes: The first part of this document is simply a German translation of X1 above. Fr. Ortiz had translated the basic text from Latin to Italian; then Fr. Bonani translated it from Italian back to Latin, and Stöcklein had this translated into German. Therefore, this part does not have to be repeated here. The second part is an extract from a letter by Fr. Bonani dated 27 May 1719 (see Doc. 1719A); it was originally in Latin.

Published German translation.

Leben Des Ehrwürdigen Patris Caroli Borango [sic], Heraus gezogen aus dem Leben Patris Didaci San-Vittores, beschrieben von P. Francisco Garzia, aus dem Spanischen in das Welsche übersetzt von P. Ambrosio Ortiz, demnach in das Latein und nunmehr in das Teutsche durch zwey andere Priester übertragen; alle aus der Gesellschaft JESU.

Verbessert aus einem Brief Patris Josephi Bonani, ged. Societät Priesters.

Pater Carolus Borango [sic], dessen Vatter Käyserlicher Hof-Fechtmeister gewesen/ zu Wien in Oesterreich den 29 Junii 1640...

...
Wie es aber Patri Carolo Boranga ferner ergangen seye/ hievon hatte P. Franciscus Garzias, aus welchem ich fast alles/ was bißher hievon ist gesagt worden/ übersetzt hab/ keine richtige Kundschaft; weil er nehlich denen ersten unter währendem Aufstand aus denen Marianischen Insuln angelangten Brieffen gar zu viel geglaubt hat: da doch unsere Missionarii allda austrücklich beygefügt hatten/ daß sie die Sachen beschrieben/ wie sie solche von denen Indianern vernommen hätten/ nebst der Vertröstung/ daß sie mit der Zeit nach gestillter Unruhe sich besser erkundigen und was gewisseres berichten wolten.

Nun können wir nichts gewisseres von dem seeligen Todt V.P. Caroli Boranga wissen/ als was uns P. Josephus Bonani unserer Gesellschaft Jesu an eben dem Ort/ wo derselbe gelitten hat/ dermahl Missionarius, und also sein Amts-Nachfolger in seinem den 27 May 1719 unterzeichneten Brief/ nach eingenommenem Augenschein/ an R.P. Sigismundum Pusch, des Academischen Colegii Soc. Jesu und der Universität zu Graitz [sic] Cantzlern/ mit folgenden Worten/ so ich aus dem Latein verteutschte/ geschrieben hat:

[Letter from Fr. Bonani to Fr. Pusch, dated Rota 27 May 1719]

“Auf dieser Insul Rota, da ich dermahl mich befinde/ hat V.P. Carolus de Boranga aus unserer Oesterreichischen Provintz... um des Evangelii willen sein Blut vergossen. Sein Andencken ist hier meine gröste ja einzige Freud... Mit seinem Todt aber/ gleich wie ich von einem glaubwürdigen Mann/ so alles mit Augen angesehen/ selbst vernommen hab/ ist es folgender Gestalten hergangen.”

“Gedachter P. Carolus verwaltete damahls die Residenz und Christenheit von Agusan, auf der Insul Rota, als die Rebellion wider den Christlichen Glauben auf der

Haupt-Insul Guahan einen Anfang genommen: Er wuste aber von solchem Aufstand eben so wenig/ als sein Gespan V.P. Augustinus Strobach, der seinen Sitz auf eben demselben Eiland zu Sosanago hatte: allwo ich würcklich wohne. Die Barbarn schickten aus erwehnter Haupt-Insul Guahan einen Nachen auf gedachtes Eiland Rota, mit Befehl/ beyde Patres zu tödten/ in der Hoffnung/ daß/ wann nur einmahl diese zwey Jesuiter hin wären/ alles für die Meuterey wurde sicher seyn. Die Überbringer solches Befehls waren von der Insul Saypan, dero Innwohner diesen Priester Mord gern über sich genommen hatten. Nachdem sie also mit bewaffneter Hand graden Weegs nach Sosanago herüber kommen waren/ und gefragt hatten/ wo der daselbst bestellte Missionarius P. Augustinus Strobach wäre? dessen Bedienter aber ihnen geantwortet: sie könnten für disesmahl/ weil er verhindert/ mit ihm nicht reden; seynd sie auf eben derselben Insul Rota von dannen nach Agusan (da P. Carolus Boranga dem Christlichen Weesen vorstunde) gezogen/ und in den Pfarr-Hof getretten/ allwo sie ihn mit einem Wurff-Pfeil oder Speer aus Menschen-Bein/ so wohl an dem Haupt als an dem Halß tödtlich verwundet/ demnächst aber halb todt haben liegen lassen/ und nach verrichteter That in ihr Vatterland oder auf die Insul Saypan über die inzwischen liegende Meer-Enge zuruck gefahren seynd.”

“Erst folgenden Tag ist oft-gedachter Pater Carolus an seinen Wunden heilig gestorben/ folglich nicht/ wie etliche berichtet haben/ mit Kolben erschlagen/ sondern mit Wurff-Pfeilen theils gestochen/ theils durchrennet: auch nicht von denen uns jederzeit wohlgewogenen Rotanern/ (wie ein gewisser geschrieben hat) sondern von denen Saypanern tödtlich verwundet worden. Seine Gebein hab ich zwar gesucht aber nicht gefunden.”

“So viel und weder mehr noch weniger bezeugt von dem Marterthum V.P. Caroli Boranga[.]”

“P. Josephus Bonani.”

Aus einem andern Brief hab ich erlernt/ daß der Leichnam dieses Blut-Zeugens nach der Zeit in Europam auf Wien in Oesterreich seye überbracht worden/ allwo er in der grossen Grufft unter dem Hoch-Altar der Profesß-Hauß-Kirchen in einem besonderen Sarch fleißig bewahret wird.

Translation, by P. H.

Life of the Reverend Father Carlos Boranga, extracted from the Life of Father Diego Luis San-Vitores, written by Fr. Francisco García, translated from Spanish into Italian by Fr. Ambrosio Ortiz, then into Latin, and now into German by two other priests, all from the Society of Jesus.

Corrected from a letter by Fr. Joseph Bonani, Priest of said Society.

Father Carlos Boranga, whose father had been fencing master at the Imperial Court, was born in Vienna, Austria, on 29 June 1640...

...

Concerning Fr. Carlos Boranga's further fate, I believe that Fr. Francisco García, who wrote almost everything that I have translated above, did not have correct information, since he believed far too much the contents of the first letters which arrived during the rebellion in the Mariana Islands. But our missionaries explicitly added that they were reporting these matters as they had heard them from the Indians. They pointed out that after a while, when the unrest would be over, they would want to make more inquiries and report more reliable information.

Now we cannot know anything more certain about the death of the Venerable Father Carlos Boranga than that which Father Joseph Bonani, then-missionary of our Society at the very place where the man had suffered, and who is thus his successor in office, has described in a letter dated 27 May 1719, in all likelihood to the Reverend Father Sigismund Pusch of the Academic College of the Society of Jesus and Chancellor of the University of Graitz [sic = Graz], in the following words which I have translated from Latin into German:

[Letter from Fr. Bonani to Fr. Pusch, dated Rota 27 May 1719]

“On this Island of Rota, where I am located now, the Ven. Fr. Carlos Boranga, from our Austrian Province... has spilled his blood for the sake of the Gospel. His memory is my greatest and my only joy here...¹ As I was told personally by a credible man who was an eyewitness, his death occurred in the following manner:”

“Said Fr. Carlos Boranga administered the residence and Christian community of Agusan, in the Island of Rota, at the time when the rebellion against the Christian faith started on the main Island of Guahan. But he knew as little about this rebellion as did his colleague, the Ven. Fr. Augustin Strobach, who had his church in the same island, at Sosanago [or Sosanrago], where I am in fact living now. The barbarians sent a boat from the above-mentioned main Island of Guahan to said Island of Rota with the order to kill both Fathers, hoping that once these two Jesuits were dead, everything would be safe for the mutiny. The conveyers of this order were from the Island of Saypan, whose inhabitants would gladly have carried out the murder of these priests. When they went in arms straight to Sosan[r]ago, they asked where the local missionary, Fr. Augustin Strobach, was. When the Father's servant told them that they could not speak with him at the time because he was otherwise engaged, they went to Agusan on the same Island of Rota, where Fr. Carlos Boranga was in charge of the Christian community. They went into the parish house where they wounded him mortally in the head as well as in the throat, with a spear made of human bone, and left him there half-dead. After the deed was done, they returned to their homeland, i.e. to the Island of Saypan, across the strait that lies between.”

“Only on the following day did the above-mentioned Father Carlos die of his wounds. He was not—as some have reported—killed with a club, but he was partly

1 Ed. note: From this point onwards, the text is the same as that of his letter to Fr. Pettinati of same date (Doc. 1719A).

stabbed and also run through with spears, and he was mortally wounded, not by the islanders from Rota (as someone has written), as they were always friendly to us, but by those Saypanese. I have looked for his bones, but could not find them.”

“Only this, not more and not less, records the martyrdom of the Ven. Fr. Carlos Boranga.”

“Father Joseph Bonani.”

From another letter I have learned that later, the body of this martyr was shipped to Europe, namely to Vienna in Austria, where it is carefully kept in a separate coffin in the large vault below the high altar in the church of the Profess-House.¹

1 Ed. note: There is no confirmation of this elsewhere. The custom was to send back only the skull to the mother country. At least in Spain, this skull was usually given to the blood relatives of the dead priest.

Documents 1685Y

Royal decrees dated Madrid 29 September 1685

Y1. Decree sent to the Viceroy, ordering the increase of the Mariana Garrison to 130 positions

Sources: AGI Fil. 331, libro 8, fol. 25-26, pp. 77-79; AGN Reales Cédulas, vol. 20, decree n° 118; AGN Californias, vol. 26, folio 59, and 187-89. Note: These decrees are in answer to Doc. 1683M2.

Original text in Spanish.

El Rey

Al Virrey de la Nueva España sobre el aumento de las 90 plazas de soldados al Presidio de las Marianas para que en todas sean 130.

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 Presidente de mi Audiencia de ella, ó a la persona ó personas a cuyo cargo fuere su Gobierno.

*El Maestro de Campo Don Antonio Saravia, siendo mi Governador y Capitan General de las Islas Marianas, me remitió con carta de seis de Junio del año de mill seiscientos y ochenta y tres **la Planta de la fortaleza** que allí havia hecho fabricar, capaz para quatrocientos hombres con quatro Baluartes diciendo (entre otras cosas) havia colocado en ellos quatro piezas de bronce y un trabuco y que quedava sustentando ciento y treinta Plazas de soldados para la guarnizion y solo tenia yo señalado quarenta.*

Y haviendose visto en mi Junta de Guerra de Indias, y consultandome sobre ello, he aprobado lo obrado por el dho Don Antonio Saravia y he tenido por bien aumentar (como por la presente acreciento) sobre las quarenta Plazas de soldados que hasta aora han tenido de Presidio las Islas Marianas, cumplimiento a las ciento y treinta que puso el dho Don Antonio, y asi os mando hagais remitir a ellas con el situado que todos los años se embia à Philipinas, no solo el sueldo de las quarenta sino tambien lo que ymportare el crecimiento de las noventa que aora les aumento, empezando a practicarlo en la proxima Nao que saliere de Acapulco, despues que recivais este despacho, y en

todas las ocassiones dareis orden a los Generales de las de aquella carrera para que dejen este socorro en las Marianas que assi combiene a mi servicio y a la mayor seguridad de conservar aquellos Dominios, y en ellos la Christiandad que es el fin principal que me mueve por la mayor onrra y gloria de Dios. Y del reçivo de este despacho y de lo que en su virtud dispusieredes me dareis quenta.

Fha en Madrid a veinte y nueve de Septiembre de mill seiscientos y ochenta y çinco años.

Yo el Rey.

Por mandado del Rey nuestro Señor, Don Antonio Ortiz de Ojalora.

Señalada de la Junta de Guerra.

Translation.

The King

To the Viceroy of New Spain about the increase of 90 positions for soldiers in the garrison of the Marianas to make a total of 130.

Count of Paredes, Marquis of Laguna, Relative in my Council 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.

When Master-of-camp Don Antonio Saravia was my Governor and Captain General of the Mariana Islands, he sent me, with a letter dated 6 June 1683, **the plan of the fort** that he had built there, spacious enough for 400 men, with 4 bulwarks, saying (among other things) that he had placed upon them 4 bronze guns and one blunderbuss and that the establishment was only for 40 men.

And this matter having been seen in my War Committee of the Indies, and in consultation, I have approved the work done by said Don Antonio Saravia and I have decided that it was proper to add (as I by the present do add) a complement to the 40 positions of soldiers which until now has been the established strength of the garrison of the Mariana Islands, to make up 130, which was the number maintained by said Don Antonio, and therefore I order you to remit with their subsidy that every year is sent to the Philippines, not only the salary of the 40 but also the increase corresponding to the 90 positions that I am adding now, beginning to do so with the next galleon that leaves Acapulco after you receive this despatch, and at every opportunity you are to give an order to the General of the galleons of that run to leave this succor in the Marianas, as such is befitting my service and the greater security toward the preservation of those dominions, and in them the Christianity which is the main objective that moves me for the greater honor and glory of God. You are to acknowledge the receipt of this despatch and the actions taken in your kingdom.

Made in Madrid, 29 September 1685.

I, the King.

By order of the King our Lord,

Don Antonio Ortiz de Ojalora.

Countersigned by the War Committee.

Y2. Decree sent to the Governor of the Philippines

Sources: AGI Fil. 331, libro 8, fol. 28-29, pp. 83-85; AGN Californias, vol. 26, fol. 185-187.

Original text in Spanish.

El Rey

Al Governador de Philipinas sobre las armas municiones y demas generos que ha de rremittir a las Marianas y que cuide de sus asistencias.

Almirante Don Gabriel Curuzelaegui y Arriola Cavallero del orden de Santiago, mi Governador y Capitan General de las Islas Philipinas y Presidente de mi Audiencia de ellas ó a la persona ó personas a cuió cargo fuere su Gobierno.

*El Maestre de Campo Don Antonio Saravia siendo mi Governador y Capitan General de las Islas Marianas me remittio con carta de seis de Junio del año de mill seiscientos y ochenta y tres **la planta de la fortaleza** que alli avia hecho fabricar capaz para quatrocientos hombres con quatro Baluartes, diciendo havia colocado en ellos quatro piezas de bronce y que [que-]dava sustentando ciento y treinta Plazas de soldados para la guarnizion teniendo yo señalado solo quarenta y que neçesitava de cinquenta arcabuços quarenta mosquetes una docena de Pinzotes, Polvora y Balas asi de hierro como de plomo unas tinajas de salitre, Azufre Pez, Aguardiente y un poco de hierro todo de buena calidad y pidiendo se le embie con brevedad por consistir en ella la conservazion de aquellas Islas.*

Y haviendose visto en mi Junta de Guerra de Indias y consultandome sobre ello, he aprobado lo obrado por el dho Don Antonio Saravia, he tenido por bien aumentar hasta las çiento y treinta Plazas que puso en aquel Presidio, y siendo conveniente embiar a el las Armas muniziones y generos referidos que pidio os ordeno y mando que assi [luego] que reçivais este despacho los remitais dirijido al sugeto que tuviere a su cargo aquellas Islas gobernando os en quanto a la remision de la Polvora balas azufre y las otras cosas en que no señalo cantidades, practica y prudencialmente conforme al mas ymmediato conoçimiento que os assistirá para ver las que combendra embiar de cada genero y esas remitais luego de forma que se pueda poner el fuerte proveydo de todo lo neçesario, y os encargo mucho cuideis tambien de sus asistencias y de aquellas Islas, socorriendolas con todo lo que en lo venidero se os pidiere para asegurar su conservazion y aumento de nuestra santa fee catholica en ellas: en que me hareis muy agradable servicio, y del recivo y ejecuzion de este despacho me dareis quenta en la primera ocassion que se ofrezca.

Fha en Madrid a veinte y nueve de Septiembre de mill seiscientos y ochenta y çinco años.

Yo el Rey.

Por mandado del Rey nuestro Señor,

Don Antonio Ortiz de Ojalora.

Señalada de la Junta de Guerra.

Translation.

The King

To the Governor of the Philippines about the weapons, ammunitions and other goods that he is to send to the Marianas, and he is to make sure they are assisted.

Admiral Don Gabriel Curuzeláegui y Arriola, 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 person or persons in whose charge their government may be.

When Master-of-camp Don Antonio Saravia was my Governor and Captain General of the Mariana Islands, he sent me, with a letter dated 6 June 1683, **the plan of the fort** that he had built there, spacious enough to hold 400 men, with 4 bulwarks, saying that he had placed upon them 4 bronze guns, and that he was maintaining 130 positions of soldiers for the garrison, when I had established only 40, and that the need was for 50 arquebuses, 40 muskets, one dozen "pinzotes" [whip-staffs], powder and balls, of iron as well as of lead, some jars of saltpeter, a load of sulphur, brandy and a little iron, all of good quality, and asking that they be supplied as soon as possible, given that the preservation of those Islands was dependent upon them.

And this matter having been seen in my War Committee and Council of the Indies, I have approved what said Don Antonio Saravia has done, and decided to increase the established strength to 130 positions that he placed in that garrison, and since it is proper to send the above-mentioned weapons, ammunitions and goods that he requested, I order you, as soon as you receive this despatch, to send them, addressed to the individual who would then be in charge of the government of those Islands. As far as the sending of the powder, balls, sulphur and the other things whose quantities he did not mention, you are to decide practical and prudent quantities for each item, in accordance with the closer knowledge that you have of the situation, and then, once these have been sent, you are to send enough to make sure this fort is supplied with everything necessary, and I entrust you to take good care to assist those Islands in every possible way in future to the best of your ability, in order to ensure their preservation and the progress of our holy Catholic faith there, by which you will do me an agreeable service. You are to acknowledge the receipt of this despatch and at the first opportunity give me a report on actions taken.

Made at Madrid, 29 September 1685.

I, the King.

By order of the King our Lord, Don Antonio Ortiz de Ojalora.

Countersigned by the War Committee.

Y3. Decree sent to the Governor of the Marianas

Sources: AGI Fil. 331, libro 8, fol. 26-27v, pp. 79-82; AGN Californias, vol. 26, fol. 182-183v.

Original text in Spanish.

El Rey

Al Gobernador de las Marianas aprovando lo que su antecesor obró en la fabrica de un fuerte para lo que ymite sus direcciones y avisandole el aumento de plazas que se à hecho à aquel presidio y al socorro que se manda le haga el Gobernador de Philipinas.

Mi Gobernador y Capitan General de las Islas Marianas.

*El Maestre de Campo Don Antonio Saravia sirviendo esos cargos me remitio con carta de seis de Junio del año de mill seiscientos y ochenta y tres **la planta de la fortaleza** que havia hecho fabricar capaz para quatrocientos hombres con quatro baluartes diciendo (entre otras cosas) havia colocado en ellos quatro piezas de bronce y un trabuco.*

Y habiendose visto en mi Junta de Guerra de Indias y consultadoseme sobre ello, he tenido por bien aprovar (como por la presente apruevo) lo que obró el dho Don Antonio Saravia en orden a la fabrica del fuerte que ay hizo haçer y para que en lo venidero se logren los buenos efectos que tanto ymportan para lo espiritual y temporal, os encargo mucho ymiteis los direcciones zelosas y christianas del Gobierno del dho Don Antonio Saravia vuestro antecesor asi en el fomento de las misiones de esas Islas como en la conservazion de la tierra adquirida en ellas, y he tenido por combeniente acreçentar a ese Presidio noventa Plazas sobre las quarenta que al presente tiene siendo en todas çiento y treinta para cuió cumplimiento embio a mandar por zedula de la fha de esta a mi Virrey de la Nueva España aumente estas noventa Plazas y que haga remitir con el situado que todos los años se embia a Filipinas lo que ymportare el crecimiento de ellas, y juntamente el de las quarenta dando orden a los Generales de las Naos de esa carrera para que dejen en esas Islas este socorro; y a mi Gobernador de Philipinas le mando por otra del mismo dia que luego os embie à esas Islas cinquenta arcabuces y quarenta mosquetes una doçena de pinzotes, polvora balas asi de hierro como de plomo unas tinajas de salitre, azufre pez, aguardiente y un poco de hierro todo de buena calidad que dixo Don Antonio Saravia neçesitava; y que en quanto a los generos en que no señalo cantidades se gobierne practica y prudencialmente conforme al mas ymmediato conoçimiento que le asistirá para ver los que combendra remitir de cada genero, y esos embie luego de forma que se pueda poner ese fuerte proveido de todo conveniente [necesario] y le encargo mucho cuide tambien de sus asistencias y de esas Islas socorriendolas con todo lo que en lo venidero se le pidiere para asegurar su conservazion y aumento de nuestra santa fee catholica en ellas, de que estareis advertido para solicitar que uno y otro se cumpla, y de lo que resultare y se fuere ofreçiendo me dareis quenta.

Fha en Madrid a veinte y nueve de Septiembre de mill seiscientos y ochenta y çinco años.

Yo el Rey.

Por mandado del Rey nuestro Señor, Don Antonio Ortiz de Otorla.

Señalada de la Junta de Guerra.

Translation.

The King

To the Governor of the Marianas, approving what his predecessor did in the construction of the fort, so that he might imitate his examples, and advising him of the increase of positions that was made to that garrison and to the succor that the Governor of the Philippines was ordered to send to him.

My Governor and Captain General of the Mariana Islands.

When Master-of-camp Don Antonio Saravia was serving in that post, he sent me, with a letter dated 6 June 1683, **the plan of the fort** that he had built, spacious enough for 400 men, with 4 bulwarks, saying (among other things) that he had placed upon them 4 bronze guns and one blunderbuss.

And this matter having been seen in my War Council of the Indies, and having held a consultation on it, I have decided to approve (as I do by the present approve) what said Don Antonio Saravia did, with respect to the construction of the fort that exists overthere and, in order to obtain in future the good effects that are so important in things spiritual and temporal, I very much entrust you to imitate the zealous and Christian examples of the term of office of said Don Antonio Saravia, your predecessor, not only in the development of the missions of those Islands but also in the preservation of any acquired territory there, and I have decided to increase this garrison by 90 positions, over and above the 40 positions of the present establishment, making 130 overall, and for this purpose I have sent a decree of same date as this to my Viceroy of New Spain, to increase it by these 90 positions, and to locate them as part of the subsidy which he sends every year to the Philippines, increasing same accordingly, and also ordering the Generals of the galleons of that run to leave this succor in those Islands, and to my Governor of the Philippines, I order him by another decree of same date to send to you in those Islands 50 arquebuses and 40 muskets, one dozen "pinzotes," powder, balls, of iron as well as of lead, some jars of saltpeter, a load of sulphur, brandy and a little iron, all of good quality, which Don Antonio Saravia said were necessary, and, concerning the goods for which he did not state quantities, he was to use practice and prudence as guides to decide on suitable quantities, given his closer knowledge of the situation, and he is to send them right away, the better to provide this fort with everything convenient, and I entrusted him to take very good care of those Islands, by succoring them with everything that they might need in future, in order to ensure their preservation and the progress of our holy Catholic faith there. Now that you have been made aware of it, you may solicit any one thing that is not properly fulfilled, and you are to give me a report on the results at every opportunity.

Made at Madrid, 29 September 1685.

I, the King.

By order of the King our Lord,

Don Antonio Ortiz de Ojalora.

Countersigned by the War Committee.

Documents 1685Z

Captain Eaton's voyage in the ship Nicholas

Sources: Two original mss. in the British Library under Sloane mss. 1050; one copy available at MARC. Published in edited formats in many collections of voyages, e.g. Callander, Burney, Harris, Masefield, Kerr, Hacke, etc.

Introductory note.

Cowley was one of many English buccaneers infesting the coasts of Spanish America in 1684. He was the master of the ship *Revenge* under Captain John Cook when the Danish vessel *Batchelor's Delight* was captured. In March of that year, Cook was joined by Captain John Eaton in the *Nicholas*, and Cowley shipped as master of the *Nicholas*, crossing the Pacific. He was to desert Captain Eaton in the Philippines, reach Batavia in a native boat, and return to England aboard a Dutch ship. Another famous buccaneer, Dampier, had joined Captain Swan and he too wrote an account of his separate, but similar, visit to Guam a year later. Cowley's narrative is to be compared with those of Fr. Bouwens (Doc. 1685F) and that of Major Esplana (see Doc. 1685P2).

Z1. Narrative of William Ambrosia Cowley

Source: The following version of Cowley's account is from Captain William Hacke's Collection of Original Voyages (London, 1699), Chapter III.

Captain Cowley's voyage round the globe

CHAP. III

They sail to Gorgona, and resolve for the East-Indies. An Account of the Sailing. Arrive at Guana (Guam of the Ladrones) and its appearance. With their Adventures with the Indians there. Friendly with the Spanish Governor; Guana described. Presents between them. They supply the Governor with some Powder; they Cruise. Receive more Presents of the Spaniards; of Trade to the Philippines. Are set upon, but beat the Indians, who are described here, and their

Arms. Intelligence from two Indians. Treacherous. They sail away. Strong Current. Nutmeg Island. Sail for Luconia.

We in our Ship, towards the middle of August, set sail from the Gulf of [San] Miguel,¹ steering away for Cape St. Francisco, where we chased a Ship, which got [away] from us. Then we bore up to 7 deg. South lat. and finding that the Country [of Peru] was alarmed, we stood into Paita Bay, which lies in the lat. of about five deg. South, where we took two Ships at an Anchor; but the Spaniards would not ransom them, nor give us any thing for them; which enraged our Captain to that degree, that he commanded our Men either to sink or burn them; which was our farewell to that Coast.

For then we sailed to Sharp's Island, alias Gorgona,² and watered our Ship for the East-Indies: then we had so done, and taken in Wood also at the said Island, which lies in the lat. of 3 deg. and 15 min. North, and in the long. of 305 deg., we steered away W.N.W. till we came into the lat. of 13 deg. North: Then we steer'd away West until we came as low almost as the Rocks of St. Bartholomew, lying near the long. of 240 deg. then we sailed into 15 deg. North lat. till that we thought we were past those Rocks and Dangers. Then we got into the lat. of 13 deg. again, which lat. we held until we made the Island of Guana [**Guam**], which is one of the Ladrones, lying in the lat. of 13 deg. North, and in the long. of 150 deg. according to our Log. We had had a Trade Wind for the most part ever since we sailed out of the lat. of 10 deg. North, having now a very sick Ship, no Man being free from the Scurvey, and in a consuming condition.

It was the 14th of March,³ about seven in the morning, when we saw the Land, and it proved to be the **Island of Guana**; it bore West from us: And I observed at 12 a Clock, and found our selves in the lat. of 13 deg. and two min. not meddling with the Diurnal variation. The Land maketh in different high at W.N.W. and appears with a great many Trees on the high Land; we having made out in our sailing, by Judgment, 7646 miles; that is to say, departed so many miles from Gorgona or Sharp's Isle, by loss made out in Longitude, which is about Two thousand five hundred and forty nine Leagues.

The next Day, being Sunday, we sailed about the S.W. part of the Island; at the West-end whereof lieth a small Island;⁴ about five miles off from the shoar, with a Reef running off from the great Island to the small; and to the Eastward thereof lieth an Isthmus from the great Island, which maketh a fair Bay; but no anchoring until you come within a little way of the shoar. The Danger which lieth in the Bay is discernable, and it showeth about five Foot; we came to an Anchor in the Bay,⁵ and sent a Boat ashoar with a Flag of Truce; But when we came near we found that the Natives had burnt their Houses and ran away by the light of them. However, we felled some Cocoa Nut Trees,

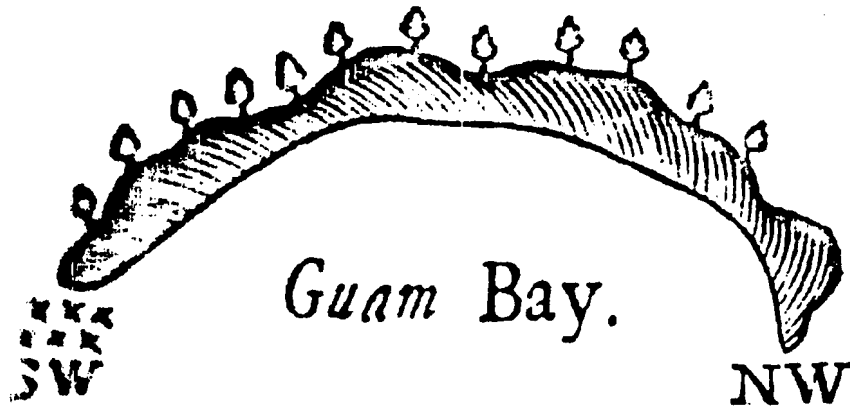
1 Ed. note: San Miguel, in Panama.

2 Ed. note: It was then a pirate haven, located off the coast of Columbia. The island is 2 leagues in length by 1 league in width, with a good harbor on the west side, and plenty of wood and water.

3 Ed. note: Old Style date, but 24 March by the Spanish/Gregorian calendar.

4 Ed. note: Dano, or Cocos Islet, of course.

5 Ed. note: Umatac Bay.



A sketch of Umatac Bay, by Ambrose Cowley. A mistake was made by Callander's editor; the SW notation was interchanged with NW.

and brought a hundred or two on board to refresh our Men, who were exceeding weak. But it fell out as we were put off with our Boat, that there appear'd a Party of Indians out of the Bushes, with their Launces, seeming as if they designed to attack us; but we called to them and told them, that we were their Friends, tho' they would scarce believe us, till at length we having a Flag of Truce, one of the Indians went into the Wood, and having peeled a Stick, so as it appear'd white, he advanced towards us, when one of his Mates seeing that he had no Cap to Compliment our Men, called him back and gave him one for that End.

From Sunday the 15th to Monday the 16th we lying at an Anchor, went on shoar and got some Cocoa Nuts, and had a free Trade with the Indians that day until the next morning, being the 17th, when our Men going over to the low Island, which lieth on the West side of Guana, there the Indians fell upon our Boat with Stones and Launces; upon which we made some shots at them, and killed and wounded some of them, but our Men in the Boat got no harm.

Two days after, the Governor of the Island, being a Spaniard, came down to a Point of Land not far from the Ship, and sent his Boat on board with a Letter written in Spanish, French and Dutch, demanding in the Name of the King of Spain what we were, whither we were bound, and from whence we came. Our Answer was written in French, That we were employed by some Gentlemen of France, upon the discovery of the unknown Parts of the World. The Messenger being got on shoar, was sent again on board immediately, to desire our Captain to come to the shoar-side and talk with him; which our Commander did, taking with him 20 Men double armed: Upon our landing the Spaniard fired a Volley, and we answer'd with 10 Guns. We quickly came to a right understanding one with another, and satisfied the Governor, that we had killed for some

of the Indians in our own Defence; and he gave us toleration to kill them all if we would; then we sent ashore for some Cocoa Nuts.

This Island of **Guana** is in length about 14 Leagues, and lieth in the lat. of 13 deg. and 3 min. North. The Land is plentifully stored with Cocoa Nuts, Potatoes, Yams, Papa[ya]s, Plantans, Monanoes [i.e. bananas], Sower Sops, Oranges and Lemons, and some Honey.¹ They having a Trade from Manilha in the East-Indies, they report that sometimes here arrives two Ships in a Year from the South part of Mexico, and 8 [sic] from Manilha, which do bring them Sugar, and Tobacco, Silks, and other Commodities. The Spaniards in the Year 1684 built a Ship at this Island (as they affirm) burthen about 160 Tuns, and sent her to Manilha to Trade.² They told us also, that they have about 600 Soldiers here.³

On Wednesday about 12 of the Clock came on board one of the Spanish Captains, being sent on purpose by the Governor, and continued until 12 the next day, which was the 19th. This Captain brought us 10 Hogs, abundance of Potatoes, Plantans, Oranges and Papaes, and red Pepper, in token of their Friendship: In return whereof our Commander sent the Governor, by him, a Diamond Ring for a Present, valued at 20 Pounds, and gave the Bearers each Man a Sword.

Next day the Governor sent on board again a Captain, a Jesuit, and a Friar⁴ to see our Captain, desiring him withal to spare him some Powder, by reason he had Wars with the Indians; and our Commander spared them 4 Barrels of Powder, and offered them 4 great Guns; but they refused the Guns, and only accepted of the Powder. They brought a Box along with them, wherein was about sixteen hundred Pieces of Eight in Gold and Silver to pay for them; but our Captain would not take a Penny. Wherefore, upon the return of the Money, the Governor presented our Captain with a Diamond Ring worth fifty Pounds.

We went out a Cruising the following Day with our Man of War Canoa, chased some Indians and made them forsake their Boat and get on shore: We thereupon took their Boat, with all their Furniture to it. And that Boat served afterwards to carry a Guard with our Canoa, when we sent any in shore for Water or Cocoa Nuts.

The Governor's Boat on the 22d came on board us, and brought us some Cocoa Nuts, Potatoes and Chocolate, a piece of Plate and six China Cups, A **French Jesuit** being the Messenger;⁵ who taught us to make Milk of the Cocoa-Nuts, by scraping of

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- 1 Ed. note: Not honey from bees, I don't think, but locally-made coconut syrup/molasses.
 - 2 Ed. note: True. This was the replacement sloop built by Captain Lopez that took Fr. Xaramillo and company back to Manila in February 1684. Its capacity was probably half what is said.
 - 3 Ed. note: Major Esplana may have lied, saying 600 instead of 60, but it is unlikely. Rather, I think that he said "soixante" or "sesenta", and this was misunderstood for "six cent" by their French interpreter.
 - 4 Ed. note: A Jesuit Brother, *Frère* in French, a word which, by the way, is at the origin of the word Friar.
 - 5 Ed. note: In other words, the Jesuit brought some raw chocolate, a silver pot to serve the hot chocolate, and some cups to serve it in. The only French-speaking Jesuit priest then in Guam was Fr. Basile Le Roulx.

them and putting Water to them, and then squeezing them; which will cause them to look like Milk, and receive a very pleasant taste.

These Indians before we came, revolted from the Spaniards, and seeing us at first coming into the Road, did take us for the great Ship which comes from Acapulco, that carrieth always abundance of Silver for the Philippine Islands, especially to the City of Manilha, on the Island of Luconia, that being the greatest Place of Trade that the Spaniards have in all the East Indies. This Ship in her outward-bound Voyage very seldom carries less than 1500 Souls, her sailing Crew being 400: The others they leave at the Philippine Islands, to recruit their Plantations there; and strikes a great Dread upon these Indians. This Ship hath seven Decks, but brings seven Ships Cargo from Manilha to Acapulco; and she always in her outward and homeward-bound Voyage toucheth at this Island of Guam for Wood, Water and fresh Provisions. When we approached the Island, we stood in with Spanish Colours flying, and, at last, some of the Natives came off to our Ships-side, calling to us, Friends or not: Our Answer was, Friends: Then they came on board us, and brought us Potatoes, Monanoes, Cocoa Nuts and Plantans, selling them to us for old Nails and old Iron: But, they being treacherous, we trusted them not, for we had always our small Arms ready, and great Guns loaden with round Ball and Cartridges: Sometimes we should have our Deck full with those Infidels; but we were always in Arms, having our Swords and Pistols by our sides, with some Centinels standing abast before them. However, having tarried here some time, we thought these Infidels had forgot our first saluting of them, so that they came frequently on board, and we had free Liberty to go ashoar any where on the Island, not only by the Spaniards but also by the Indians, who invited some of our People to go a fishing with them with a Sean [i.e. seine]; but it had like to have cost them very dear: For whilst some of our Men were on shoar, and the Boat near the shoar with ten Men in her, these Infidels brought their Sean round the Boat, thinking thereby to draw both Men and Boat ashoar. But our People that were in the Boat being provided with Fire-Arms, let go in amongst the thickest of them, and killed a great many of their Number, while the others, seeing their Mates fall, run away: Our other Men which were on shoar, meeting them, saluted them also by making holes in their Hides. We took our Boat immediately thereupon, and went on board, most of our well Men being on shoar, and seeing many of these Infidels Boats lie along our Ship's side, did not what Design they might have on board our sick Men; but, as it fell out, they were Boats which came from the Governor, with more Presents for our Refreshment.

[Description of the Guam natives]

There Indians are a People of a very large stature, some of them being seven Foot and an half high; they going stark naked, having nothing at all before their private Parts. They never bury their dead, but let them lie in the Sun to putrifie and rot. They have no Arms but Launces and Slings; the sharp ends of their Launces are made with dead Men's Bones; for, upon the decease of a Person, his Bones make eight Launces; of his Leg Bones two, of his Thighs as many, and his Arms afford four; which being cut like

to a Scoop, and jagged like to the Teeth of a Saw or Eel-Spear, if a Man happen to be wounded with one of those Launces, if he be not cured in seven days, he is a dead Man. We took four of these Infidels Prisoners, and brought them on board, binding their Hands behind them; but they had not been long there, when three of them scap'd over board into the Sea, swimming away from the Ship with their Hands tied behind them: However we sent the Boat after them, and found a strong Man at the first Blow could not penetrate their Skins with a Cutlace. One of them had received in my Judgment, 40 shots in his Body before he died; and the last of the three that was kill'd, had swam a good English Mile first, not only with his Hands behind him, as before, but also with his Arms pinion'd.

But, to return again to the Spanish Governor's Kindness; he sent us moreover, the succeeding days, by one of his Captains and an *Alferus*,¹ thirty Hogs, some Pomkins, green Trade, Potatoes and Rice, as a Present. And our Captain presented him with six small Guns; while most of the Men were in the mean time busie at work to rigg our Ship, heel, and scrape her.

When we had gone through with the foresaid Work, we fell to watering our Ship; and while that was doing there came two Indians to our People, who were born at Manilha, under pretence to barter with us; but we secured them both, and they told us, that the major part of the Indians were run away to another Island 10 Leagues off,² insinuating withal, the Weakness of the Spaniards in this Island; and would have had us to cut them off, and plundered the Island of its Riches. But our Captain would hear of no such base Action.

We had not done watering of the Ship, when there came near 100 of these Indians about us with their Launces and Slings, and brought with them some Cocoa Nuts: But our People knowing their Treachery, fired about 20 Guns at them, not to hit them, which made them run away, and appear no more that Day.

The month of March had quite spun out, before we made an end of watering our Ship, and supplied our selves with Cocoa-Nuts and other Necessaries. But on the first of April we weighed our Anchor from the Bay, and stood off along the shoar toward the Governor's Seat.

And next day being come up with the Fort, we fired three Guns to salute it; which the Governor answered again with three more. And on the 3d sent his Captain on board with some Provisions for our Commander: When we sailed away from the Island, it bearing from us at night E. by N. distant 45 Miles. As it did at W.N.W. upon our first making of it, and appear'd in this manner.[see sketch above]

On the 4th of April we sail'd W.by S. 88 Miles dist. run from the Island, 233 Miles. And the day after 73 Miles W. departed from the Island 205 Miles: From which day I kept no constant Account, by reason we had Calms and little Winds: But when we had got to the length of St. Bartholomew's Rocks we shaped our Course W.N.W...

1 Ed. note: *Alferes*, or Second Lieutenant.

2 Ed. note: The Island of Rota.

Z2. Transcript of part of the original journal

Source: BM Sloane mss. 1050; transcribed, and edited heavily, by Richard J. Shell, as first published in "ISLA: A Journal of Micronesian Studies," 2:2, Dry Season, 1994 (pp. 306-310), and reproduced here with permission.

Journal of William Ambrosia Cowley, Guam, 1685.

...

Sate day. 14. March

This 24 hours we have sailed with the wind at E. by N., finding ourselves in the Latitude of 13 Deg. 3 Min. "no meddleing with the diurnal variation." This morning we sighted the "Iland of Goana, judging our selves in the Lon. of 150 Deg. 22 Min."

On approaching the island closely enough for them to see our ship, the natives, having rebelled against the Spaniards and thinking we were the galleon ("great Carect") that comes every year from Acapulco, set their houses on fire, burning and destroying all that they could not carry off in their boats. But when we came to the west side of the island they saw that we were not a Spanish ship and, thinking that they had deceived ("betrayed") us and that we did not know of their rebellion, had the courage to come alongside ("Aboard" with "Cocanutts & Plantons.")

On Monday we anchored as there were too few men who were fit enough even to furl the sails; the Captain had held out for as long as he could and fell down "for dead," but even though we had "nothing in our ship to comfort him" he recovered in a little time. About twelve of us landed in our boat. We were well armed and called out to the inhabitants, but they stayed hidden in the woods and would not show themselves; we thought they saw us but we could not see them.

On the 15th "we found great store of Coconutts" near the shore, but not having the strength to climb the trees, and to fight as well should the occasion arise, we cut down some of them. We loaded our boat as "full as we thought convenient." When we had gone about a "Pistols shot" from the shore about 40 or 50 natives appeared; we called to them in Spanish, crying "friends," and they answered in Spanish "Non East Megoe."¹ We carried a white flag on to the shore and by degrees we got fairly near to them. One of them ventured to approach us but not until he had gone into the wood, got a stick and peeled it white.² He approached us with his white stick, but on seeing that we had hats and caps he returned to his "mate" and got a cap to hold in his hand while talking to us.

Sunday. March. 15

1 Ed. note: Probably "no amigos" which means "not friends." They could not be friends, after their coconut trees had been cut down.

2 Ed. note: He was probably a Filipino soldier who had gone over to the side of the Chamorro rebels.

We asked him where the Governor was. He pointed toward the mountains; we thought he meant the “Indian Governor or King” as we did not know that any Christians lived there. They understood us to be Christians but not Spaniards.

The next day we had a great many boats alongside and about 100 natives came up on our deck. We stood to our arms carrying swords by our sides and our pistols in our hands; we mounted guard over our small arms and our “great Guns” were loaded with “Round & Catrige” so that they were afraid to attack us. We bought “Nutts, Rice & Plantons, Potatoes & Yams,” all these being plentiful. By drinking coconut milk and eating roots, most of our men recovered within a week.

Of the Ladaroones

These people are of very large stature and go naked, not covering their private parts. Their weapons of war are made of the arm and the leg bones of men; they make hollowed spear (“Launces” heads, like a bone scoop, with teeth along the edges like an eel spear, which they fix to a shaft to throw. If a man is wounded so as to draw blood, he will die if he does not recover in seven days. They have no fire-arms nor do they till the ground. The whole land is a garden “& the land naturally bringeth forth fruit for Life.”

The reason for the war between them and the Spaniard was as follows. The Spaniards had built a “Cloister” [=enclosure] about four leagues from the castle and within it was a “Covent” [=convent] of about 16 Fathers who thought they had converted 16,000 infidels. It seems that some of the converts deserted to the infidels and attacked the “Covent” at night, killing eight of the Fathers; the rest escaped but the “Covent” was burnt and destroyed “so that one half of the Iland was against the other.”

We rode in a bay, there being a small island [i.e. Cocos] laying to the SW. of the island with a reef from it and an isthmus lying to the NE., making a fair bay but with rocky ground near the shore. You may ride in nine fathoms of water, with a flow [i.e. tide] of about five feet. Because of her great draught, which is over 36 feet when laden for Manila, the “Aquapulcae-Man” rides in 27 fathoms.

Every year the Acapulco galleon brings 200 tons of silver to Manila, carrying 1,400 or 1,500 people when “outward bound” and returning with 300.¹ She sails from Acapulco on about the 20th March “according to their stile, our 10th,”² and is “at the Ladaroones” about June. Every year a ship sails from Manila to New Spain, weighing anchor on St. John’s day...³ The ship that goes home every year carried goods brought to Manila from Persia and the Coromandel Coast and from China; seven ships, some very large, bring goods from Persia and the Coromandel Coast and eight or nine from China—two small ships of 20 guns and the rest about 100 tons each. The galleon carries to New Spain the goods that are worth sending there.

1 Ed. note: The English always thought that the galleon was based at Acapulco, rather than at Manila.

2 Ed. note: That is, according to the Gregorian, rather than the Julian, calendar.

3 Ed. note: A few lines were not transcribed here.

I will not mention all the events that have taken place every day, or may happen to us while we lie here “but write all things that are Remarkable.”

The Indians in their boats looked around us, bringing crosses to make us believe they were Christians, but the Spanish Governor [i.e. Esplana] came with a guard and sent one of his Captains along with a letter written in Spanish, French, Latin, and Dutch on the chance that we might understand one of these languages. The Indians, seeing the Governor’s boat come alongside, left us, sailing off in a fleet of about 30 boats to a small island about a league away where our boat had gone to collect coconuts; they would have seized our boat as some of our men were on shore, but about 16 of us got together and attacked them, wounding some and killing others. Then they gathered themselves together and sailed off to another island.

The Governor’s letter demanded in the name of the King of Spain to know who we were. Our Captain, thinking that the French would be more welcome to the Spaniard than the English because of their religion, replied in French. He said that we were Frenchmen who had been fitted out by private merchants in France to make a fuller discovery of the world than they already knew about. When the reply had been read by the Governor he sent his boat alongside and asked the Captain to come ashore and speak with him.

The Captain went near to the shore in his boat together with 20 well-armed men; he was well received by the Governor, who promised that we should want for nothing that the island could provide, for as long as we were there. The Captain told the Governor that some Indians had attacked us and that we had killed some of them. He wished that we had killed all of them; he told us about their rebellion and how they had “cut off” a Dutch ship and men that had landed (“fallen in” there some years ago, just as we had. And he gave us authority (“Commission”) to kill and take what we could find upon the one half of the island that had rebelled against him. So we made war on the Indians and went on shore every day, fetching provisions and firing on them wherever we saw them, and most of them left the island. Then the Indians sent two of their chiefs (“Captains”) to make peace, but we would not, knowing that they were treacherous. But we kept the two on board and took four more, giants of men, whom we also brought aboard.

The Governor sent us “Hogs, plantons, Monanoes, Coconutts, Wine, peper, Rice, *good store*,”¹ and as he was short of powder, we sent him four barrels together with small arms and swords. The Indians would have captured (“cut off”) the Spaniards if we had not come to their assistance, for the two chiefs we had taken had been the Governor’s “slaves,” but escaped, and had told the Indians that there was no more than four pounds of powder in the fort, which they therefore intended to storm as there were no more than 60 people there—men and women.

1 Ed. note: These two words are probably an incorrect transcription for “sour sops,” as evidenced by other versions.

By this time all our sick had recovered. While we were fetching water I went ashore with others to guard the watering party. When our boat came alongside the ship, three of our captives, who had their hands tied behind their backs, jumped overboard and swam off. One of the crew took a gun and killed one of them close to the ship, but the other two swam away and were followed by the boat; they swam under water and we could not have taken them had we not had men enough ashore to prevent them from reaching it. One of our men shot at an Indian with “a Pistoll” but hit Henry Price, so the boat was commanded to come alongside with the wounded man. By the time the boat could catch up with the Indians to kill them, they had swum more than a mile with their hands bound behind them. When the boat caught them up our carpenter, a strong man, tried to cut off the head of one of them with his sword; he struck twice before he could fetch blood, their skins being harder than a bull. One of the Indians had 40 shot holes in him when he was found.

The Governor sent his Captain aboard, together with “one Jesuite & one Father,”¹ with a present of some chocolate and chinaware, a large silver cup that the Governor used, and a diamong ring of his own; he also sent along a boy with a “cabinet” containing gold and silver to the value of £400,² and desired that our Captain would pay himself for the “powder & small Armes,” but the Captain refused to take any money.

The Indians never bury their dead but let them lie, as we do our horses, so that they may get their bones to make arms for their wars.³ The bones of one man make eight spears, four from the arms and four from the legs and thighs. There is no great plenty of gish about this island.

Their boats are built long and very narrow and sharp, the best that I ever saw upon a wind and the swiftest; they make the head the stern and the stern the head as they please, “shifting their Saile never winding their Boat but the Saile being shifted the Boat runneth with the Sterne which was foremost.”

On seeing a very large man I asked whether they had many of these giants there; the Captain said that there was an island in sight where there were even larger—as much as eight and a half feet tall. But on this voyage we have seen men’s bones very much larger than those I have just mentioned—exceedingly long and big, the leg bone 3 feet 2 inches long and the ankle bone about 4-3/4 inches in circumference.

We thought we had frightened away all the Indians yet more than 100 appeared, but we fired on them and they fled. Not liking to trade with them, for now we had what we had lacked and our men were now all well “& pretty lusty,” having had fresh food every day and plenty of fruit, we made haste with our ship to get her righted and watered.

We used to make milk with coconuts, scraping the kernel, putting it in water and then straining it; it looked and tasted like milk. If the milk is boiled it turns to good oil.

1 Ed. note: This last word should probably be “Friar”, meaning Brother, instead of Father.

2 Ed. note: The transcriber says that the currency is unclear. Hacke says the amount was 1,600 pesos. Spanish documents say it was actually only 600 pesos.

3 Ed. note: The assumption was incorrect, but the ancient Chamorros did bury some of their dead in shallow graves, the easier to get at the bones some three months later.

The water inside the nut is very good to drink; if left in the sun or boiled and allowed to stand it will turn to vinegar. They make cups, dishes and vessels from the shell; the outer covering (“kinde”) they use to make a sort of cloth and ropes and match. From this tree one may “build a Ship & furnish her with all things that she wanteth fitt for Sea,” therefore I commend it as the best tree in the world. It could be called the **“Tree of Life”** for a man may very well live with what the tree affords. It can provide food, varieties of drink, clothing, and firewood; cut the tree and it will bleed, giving a water that is an excellent drink and turns to oil when boiled.

The Governor had given us about 50 hogs and good provisions and we were all well and cheerful. And now on 1st April¹ we weighed anchor, sending on shore an Indian formerly taken prisoner. We told him to tell the rest of the Indians that if any Christian ships should arrive again they should not “do by them as they had done by us” and that if they did they would get hurt and driven from their island—and they would get no nails or old iron, which they value more than gold.

The inhabitants reported that in the month of August there were violent NW. winds so, our ship “being under Sail,” we sailed up toward the fort. We saluted the Governor with seven guns, “he giving us again as many as he could”—not having more than four or five at the most though he might have had more, and I believe he would not have us think he wanted for guns. On coming up by the castle, he sent his Captain with provisions; one of our men went ashore with him for more hogs so our departure was delayed till night.

The Governor was the man who detained Sir John Narborough’s Lieutenant at Valdivia, when the King sent him to make discoveries in the South Seas.²

Once our man was on board we set sail, steering a course WSW.³ as there is a ledge of rocks 200 leagues to the west of the Ladrones which runs from north to south, is 15 or 16 leagues long, and not very high above the water.⁴

1 Ed. note: Old style, or Julian, date.

2 This incident occurred in December 1670. Ed. comment: Valdivia is in Chile. Esplana had in fact been stationed there, before his transfer to the Philippines.

3 Ed. note: Error for WNW.

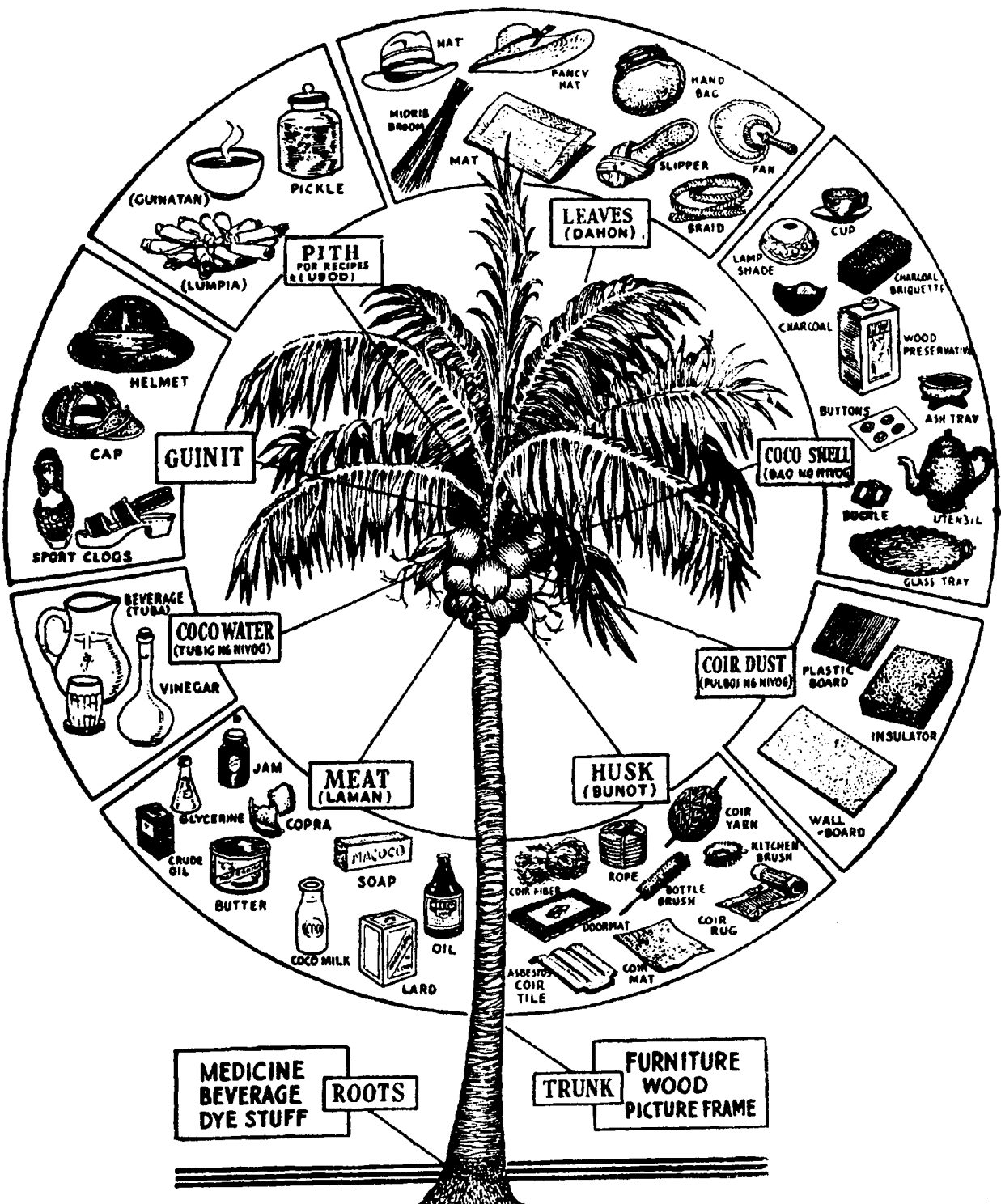
4 Ed. note: The English had a very bad chart, showing Matalotes Island in the wrong location.

Editor's comments.

The Nicholas went north as far as the Bashee Islands, and, upon landing on one of them, they reported the presence of nutmeg. They then sailed down the western side of Luzon. Cowley, after separating from Eaton, went back to Europe and arrived at London on 12 October 1686.

Callander, who paraphrased Cowley, added the following comments: "Captain Cooke, who was here in 1710, finds great fault with Captain Cowley's description of this island, which, he is pleased to say, is false; but, I apprehend, without any just grounds. He mentions but two instances: The first is as to the length of the island, which he affirms to be but 10 leagues; whereas Captain Cowley says it is 14: But, as both speak by conjecture, I cannot say which is in the right; but Captain Woodes Rogers, under whose command Cooke made the voyage, and who was, to the full, as accurate a writer, fixes the circumference at 40 leagues; which, considering the shape of the island, agrees very well with what Captain Cowley says. The other mistake he charges him with, is, as to the number of the garrison, which, when Cooke was there, did not exceed 100 men. In order to make out this mistake, he asserts a direct falsehood; for, he says, that Captain Cowley only says, makes it 600 men; whereas Captain Cowley only says, the Spaniards told him so; and seems to doubt it. In other circumstances they agree tolerably well."

Kerr, who also edited Cowley's account, points out that his estimate of the distance from Gorgona Island to Guam is considerably too short. "Gorgona is in long. $78^{\circ}33'$, Guam in $216^{\circ}40'$, both W. from Greenwich. The difference of longitude is $138^{\circ}07'$, which gives 9530 statute miles, or 2762 marine leagues..." Actually, Cowley was short by only about 4%; everything is relative.



The Tree of Life—Modern products from the coconut tree. (*Tagalog terms are shown in parentheses*).

Document 1686A

Letter from Fr. Vidal to the Duchess, dated Mexico 12 January 1686

Source: Present location unknown; 3-page ms. offered for sale by Maggs Bros. in 1923 for 21 pounds (Cat. N° 442, n° 1943, p. 210).

Extract from the Maggs Catalog

...

It is with great regret and sorrow that I have to inform you of the death of some of your “sons” of the beloved Mariana Mission, and a tragedy that I have always dreaded with the news that last year, 1684, Don Damian de Esplana was taking up the position of Governor of those Islands. On another occasion when he was there [1674-76], similar tragedies would have occurred had not God disposed that he should return to the Philippines, for the good man is utterly unsuitable for the post of Governor.

I realize and feel the troubles that these poor creatures must have endured, but I also recognize, and give thanks to God, that they were not of the plot hatched by the common enemy [i.e. the Devil] to annihilate that Christian community, which is soaked with the blood of so many apostolic men, and has been developed by your saintly zeal which even sustains those of us who are very far away.

[Further praise follows, and then he continues:]

I forward to you the report which has reached me from there, because it gives a veracious and sincere account of what has taken place there. The dead Fathers were chosen men, the Lord chose them for His own, though we had thought their precious gifts were very appropriate for the salvation of all those souls—yet what God disposes is best of all, and thus may His will ever be done.

Desiring the progress of my beloved Mission, I advised that in future, some Governor should be sent from the Philippines... and a vessel also, so that, should the famous one fail,¹ the Superior—in consultation with the other Missionaries—should

¹ Ed. note: He refers to Major Quiroga.

nominate a fit and proper person to fill that post, as was done in times gone by, with great success...

Our congregation of Our Lady of Sorrows, in this College of St. Peter and St. Paul, is progressing very favorably, and it is a matter for thanks to God, to see how deeply the faith is taking root in the hearts of all the congregants...

[He concludes with the hope that the Duchess will forgive him for troubling her, saying:]

Although I could obtain these favors through the Procurator, I would rather receive them at your hands, so that our congregants may be particularly aware of the debt they owe you.

Documents 1686B

Royal decrees of 30 March 1686

B1. List of the decrees issued on behalf of the Mariana Islands on 30 March 1686

Main sources: AGI Fil. 83-2-67; AGI Ultramar 561.

Notes: This list is undated, but was made after May 1687. Many copies of these decrees are to be found in AGN Californias, vol. 26, fol. 343 and following.

Original text in Spanish.

Memoria de los despachos de Su Mgd. que el año de 1686, se expidieron a instancia del Procurador general de la Comp^a de Jhs, a favor de la Mision de las Islas Marianas.

En 30 Março del año pasado de 1686, se expidieron los despachos de S.Mgd. siguientes:

—*Uno para que diez religiosos y un coadjutor de la Compañia de Jhs, conçedidos a la Mision de las Islas Marianas para llenar el numero de los 26 que se han de emplear en la reducion y enseñanza de aquellos naturales, fuesen proveydos de lo neçesario a su viage. Y por no haver efectos en la Casa de la Contratacion, se les libro lo que esto importase en la Caja de la Veracruz, y en su defecto en la de Mexico, por otro de 5 de Mayo de 1687.*

—*Al Virrey de N^a Espa^a se ordeno dho dia 30 de marco de 686 hiçiese asistir a dhos diez religiosos y un coadjutor, con lo mismo que huviere sido costumbre dar a los demas que estan en dhas Islas.*

—*Por otro, se conçedio a dha Mision, que obligandose su Procurador que reside en Mexico a que los religiosos que fueren destinados a las Marianas llegaran a ellas, y a traer certifiçacion de ello, y en defecto de no cumplir el año de asistencia alli, lo que faltare del año de estipendio que se les antiçipa, se ponga en quenta por reçivido a los que les suçedieren, y fueren en su lugar el año siguiente, y que con esta obligazion sola sin otra fianza, se les antiçipe en Mexico lo que importare el año de la limosna señalada.*

—*Por otro despacho se ordeno al Virrey diese la providençia conveniente para que esta religion conduzga en la Nao de Filipinas lo que remitiere a las Islas Marianas.*

—*Por otro se le ordeno informase sobre la limosna de trigo, ropa, y otras cosas, que dha religion pidio para las Marianas.*

—*Idem, a la Audiencia de Mexico.*

—*Idem, al Arcobispo de Mexico.*

—*A la Casa de la Contratacion de Sevilla se mando proveyese a cada una de las doce Iglesias de las Marianas, con un ornamento y campana.*

—*Y al Governador de Filipinas se ordeno que todos los años por Abril ó Mayo, despache a las Islas Marianas la embarcacion que antecedentemente le estara mandado.*

Translation.

List of the despatches of His Majesty for the year 1686, issued at the request of [Fr. Morales] the Procurator General of the Society of Jesus, on behalf of the Mariana Island Mission.

On 30 March of the past year 1686, the despatches of His Majesty that were issued were as follows:

—One granting 10 religious and one brother coadjutor to the Mariana Island Mission of the Society of Jesus, to make up total of 26 missionaries employed in the reduction and education of those natives, and they were to be provided with everything necessary for their transportation.

—The Viceroy of New Spain was ordered, on said date of 30 March 1686, to provide assistance to said 10 religious and one coadjutor, with the same benefits that were usually given to the other missionaries bound to said Islands.

—In another, said Mission was granted, subject to the condition that its Procurator living in Mexico vouched for the religious bound to the Marianas would in fact get there, and to show certification to that effect, and if they should not stay there for the one full-year in accordance with the yearly stipend to be advanced to them, the sum was to be debited to those sent to replace them, who would go there the following year, and subject to this condition, without the need for any other bond, the yearly alm meant for them is to be paid to them in advance in Mexico.

—In another despatch, the Viceroy was ordered to make the proper arrangements for this Order to have lading space aboard the Philippine galleon for what it sends to the Mariana Islands.¹

—In another he was ordered to inform about the alm for wheat [flour], cloth, and other things that said Order requested for the Marianas.²

—*Idem, to the Audiencia of Mexico.*³

—*Idem, to the Archbishop of Mexico.*⁴

1 Ed. note: This decree is now in AGN Californias, vol. 26, fol. 74, and 206-207.

2 Ed. note: Found in AGN Californias, vol. 26, fol. 347.

3 Ed. note: Found in AGN Californias, vol. 26, fol. 346.

4 Ed. note: Found in AGN Californias, vol. 26, fol. 345.

—The House of Trade in Seville was ordered to supply a set of ornaments and a bell for every one of the 12 churches in the Marianas.

—And the Governor of the Philippines was ordered to despatch every year, in April or May, the vessel that he had been previously ordered to send.¹

B2. Decree sent to the Viceroy regarding the salary of the Governor of the Marianas

Note: A copy is also found in AGN Calif. 26, fol. 349.

Original text in Spanish.

El Rey

Conde de Paredes, Marques de la Laguna, pariente de mi Consejo y Camara y junta de guerra de Indias, mi Virrey Gobernador y Capitan general de la Nueva España, y Presidente de mi Real Audiencia de ella, ó à la persona ó personas, à cuyo cargo fuere su gobierno.

En atencion à que desde Noviembre del año de mil seiscientos y ochenta y tres en que murió D. Antonio de Saravia que fué mi Gobernador de las Islas Marianas, las está gobernando en interin con nombramiento de mi Gobernador de Filipinas D. Damian de Esplana, y asistiendo con todo celo, y buen exemplo en los aumentos de aquellas Cristiandades con la asistencia de Don José de Quiroga, que al presente hace oficio de Sargento Mayor con mucho credito, he resuelto por Provisiones mias de este dia confirmar al primero en el Gobierno de las Marianas para que le tenga por el tiempo de mi voluntad y al segundo, en el puesto de Sargento Mayor, con la preheminiencia, de que si sucediere faltar el primero Gobierne este en el entretanto que el Gobernador de Filipinas de providencia en quien sirva en interin el dicho Gobierno de las Marianas, mientras yo le doy en propiedad, y para que se les asista con los sueldos que hubieren de gozar, os mando le señaleis el que juzgareis preciso, y mas ajustado à proporcion de los empleos, en que les he ocupado pidiendo para ello, informe à mi Gobernador de Filipinas, y en señalandose hareis se le pague del genero de Hacienda, y à los tiempos y plazos que se satisfaciere el suyo à la gente de Guerra del Presidio de las Marianas, que asi es mi voluntad, y que de lo que ejecutareis me dareis cuenta.

Fecha en Madrid à treinta de Marzo de mil seiscientos y ochenta y seis años.

Yo el Rey

Por mandado del Rey nuestro Señor,

Don Antonio Ortiz de Ojalora.

Translation.

The King

¹ Ed. note: See B3 below.

Count of Paredes, Marquis of Laguna, relative of my Council and Privy Chamber and War Committee of the Indies, my Viceroy Governor and Captain-General of New Spain, and President of my Royal Audiencia there, or to the person or persons in whose charge its government may be.

In view of the fact that since November of the year 1683, when Don Antonio de Saravia who was my Governor of the Mariana Islands died, Don Damian de Esplana has been governing them on an interim basis, with a commission from my Governor of the Philippines, and taking care of increasing those Christian communities with complete zeal and a good example, with the assistance of Don José de Quiroga, who is presently filling the post of Sergeant-Major with much credit, I have decided, through my Provision of this date, to confirm the former in the governorship of the Marianas for as long as remains my will, and the latter in the post of Sergeant-Major, with the pre-eminence that, lacking the former, he may succeed him for as long as the Governor of the Philippines may deign to name an interim Governor, until such time as I may make it permanent. Also in order for him to assist both of you with the salaries that you are to enjoy, I order you to tell him what you think just and more in line with the jobs, in which I have employed both of you, by requesting them from my Governor of the Philippines, and in stating same you are to pay him his salary out of the merchandise belonging to the Treasury, and at the times and terms that might suit your pleasure, you are to pay the military men of the garrison of the Marianas, as such is my will, and you are to submit a report to me on actions taken.

Made at Madrid, 30 March 1686.

I, the King.

By order of the King our Lord,

Don Antonio Ortiz de Otalora.

[In 1692, a report on this matter was submitted by the Governor of the Philippines. It recommended that the salary be the same as what the King had given to Governor Saravia, in the latter's appointment letter dated Madrid 26 August 1679, i.e. 110 escudos of 10 reals each per month, giving 1,650 pesos per year.]

B3. Decree sent to the Governor of the Philippines regarding the vessel for the Marianas

Original text in Spanish.

...
Y ahora à instancia de Luis de Morales de la Compañia de Jesus, que ultimamente vino de esas Islas por Procurator General de su religion de ellas, y las Marianas, y à consulta de mi Consejo de las Indias, he resuelto repetiros como lo hago executeis lo contenido, en la Zedula en esta inserta à que os añado despacheis de esas Islas à las Marianas todos los años la embarcacion que os tengo mandado embieis à ellas haciendo-la precisamente en los meses de Abril ó Mayo por ser en ellos los tiempos oportunos

para aquella navegacion y de haberlo ejecutado asi me dareis cuenta con testimonio de ello, y en defecto de faltar vos, ó vuestros Sucesores à remitirla todos los años, declaro que al que incurriere le sea cargo en su residencia, que asi es mi voluntad.

Fecha en Madrid, à treinta de Marzo de mil seiscientos ochenta y seis años.

Yo el Rey

Por mandado del Rey nuestro Señor,

D. Antonio Ortiz de Ojalora.

Translation.

...
[After repeating the decree of 31 March 1683, written at the suggestion of Fr. Pantoja (Doc. 1683D), he says:]

And now, at the request of Luis de Morales of the Society of Jesus, who has recently come from those Islands as Procurator General of his Order for them, and for the Marianas, and after consulting my Council of the Indies, I have decided to tell you again, as I do now, to carry out the contents of the decree (copy enclosed) to which I add that you are to despatch from those Islands to the Marianas every year the vessel that I have already ordered you to send there, doing so precisely during the months of April or May, as those are the opportune times for that navigation, and having done so, you are to give me a report, enclosing legal depositions about it, and should you, or your successors fail to send it every year, I declare that the guilty party is to have this matter included in his *residencia*, as such is my will.

Made at Madrid, 30 March 1686.

I, the King.

By order of the King our Lord,

Don Antonio Ortiz de Ojalora.

B4. Decree sent to Captain Esplana

Source: AGN Californias, vol. 26, fol. 183v-185.

Original text in Spanish.

El Rey

Don Damian de Esplana mi Governador y Capitan General de las Islas Marianas.

*Entre lo que me hare presentado Luis de Morales de la Compañia de Jesus Procurador General de su Religion de Filipinas, y de esas Islas dice combendría mucho que yo mandase, quedar para guarnecer ese Presidio las piezas de Artilleria que vos juzgareis nesesito de las que actualmente se estan sacando de las que se perdieron el año de mil seis cientos y treinta y cinco [sic], con la Nao la **Concepcion** en la quinta Isla Mariana llamada Seypan.*

Y haviendose visto en mi Junta de Guerra de Indias, y Consultadoseme sobre ello, he resuelto aplicar (como por la presente aplico y apropiio) al Fuerte que en esas Islas

fabrico el Governador Don Antonio de Saravia, vuestro antesezor, la dha artilleria que se esta sacando de la referida Nao: Y asi os mando lo dispongais de forma que quanto antes se plante en dho fuerte por lo mucho que combendra a mi servizio ponerla en toda defenza y seguridad. Y de haverlo hecho me dareis quenta.

Fha en Madrid, a treinta de Marzo de mill y seis cientos y ochenta y seis años.

Yo el Rey.

Por mandado del Rey nuestro Señor,

Antonio Ortiz de Otalora.

Translation.

The King

[To] Don Damian de Esplana, my Governor and Captain-General of the Mariana Islands.

Among other things presented to me by Luis de Morales of the Society of Jesus, Procurator General of his Order for the Philippines, and for those Islands, he says that it would proper for me to order that as many cannon remain there to outfit that garrison that you might think necessary, from among those that are presently being salvaged from those that were lost in 1635 [sic] by the galleon **Concepción** at the fifth Mariana island called Seypan.

And, this matter having been seen in my War Committee for the Indies, and having received counsel about it, I have decided to apply (as as I do now apply and assign) to the Fort that your predecessor, Governor Don Antonio de Saravia, built in those Islands, said cannon that are being salvaged from the above-mentioned galleon. Thus I order you to arrange for the installation of same within said fort as soon as possible, as such is convenient to my service, in order to make it fully ready for defence and security. And you are to report to me on action taken.

Made at Madrid, 30 March 1686.

I, the King.

By order of the King, our Lord,

Antonio Ortiz de Otalora.

B5. Medals granted to residents of Guam by the King

Source: AGN Californias, vol. 26, fol. 351-351v.

Original text in Spanish.

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 Nueva España, y Presidente de mi Audiencia de ella, ò a la persona, ò personas, a cuyo cargo fuere su Gobierno.

En atencion a lo que se señalo Don Juan de la Cruz, Indio principal de la nacion Tagala, que con su familia, paso desde Manila a las Islas Marianas con el Be. Martir Diego Luis de San Vitores, tolerando grandes trabajos, y ariesgando su vida, y por haver muerto; He resuelto hacer merced (entre otras) [a] sobrinos suyos nombrados Don Ignacio Pagtacotan, Don Julian, y Don Juan de la Cruz. Y al Sargento Mayor Andres de la Cruz, Indio principal de nacion Pampanga, que tambien se empleo en dha entrada, todos quatro residentes en Filipinas; y à Don Antonio de Ayihi, Indio principal de la Isla de San Juan en las Marianas, por el mismo motivo de la Insignia de la Medalla, para su hijo mayor ò el que eligiere, por seña de honor, y de mostracion de que me fueron agradables sus servicios propios, y heredados; y tambien He resuelto, que en el ynterin que me informa mi Governador, a que otras personas, sera bien dar de estas Insignias, reparta una, y dos, concurriendo en quien la diere algun relevante motivo, de merito, ò servicio muy particular; y para que esto tenga efecto, òs mando, que luego que recibase este despacho dispongais que de qual quier hazienda mia se hagan siete Medallas, de plata, sobre dorada, con las efigies mia, y de la Reyna Doña Maria Luisa de Orléans mi muy chara, y amada Esposa, del tamaño y modelo de las que en estos mis Reynos doy a los Militares; y las quatro de ellas, las remitireis en la primera Nao que saliere de Acapulco, a mi Governador de Filipinas, para que de su mano, las recivan los dhos Don Ignacio Pagtacotan, Don Julian, y Don Juan de la Cruz y el Sargento Mayor Andres de la Cruz. Y al de las Marianas las tres restantes, una para el hijo del dho Don Antonio de Ayihi y las dos que en la forma referida le permito reparta, entre los que hallare mas benemeritos; y de haverlo executado me dareis quenta.

Fha en Madrid à treinta de Março de mil seiscientos y ochenta, y seis años.

Yo el Rey

Por mandado del Rey nuestro Señor,

Antonio Ortiz de Otalora.

[Membrete:] *Al Virrey de la Nueva España que haga hacer siete Medallas de plata sobredorada, y remita las quatro al Governador de Filipinas, y las tres, al de las Marianas para que las den a quien V. Mgd. ha echo merced de ellas.*

Translation.

The King

Count of Paredes, Marquis of Laguna, Member of my Council, Privy Council, and War Committee for 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.

With regards to the outstanding performance of Don Juan de la Cruz, Indian chief of the Tagalog nation, who with his family moved from Manila to the Mariana Islands with the glorious martyr, Diego Luis de San Vitores, having tolerated great hardships, and risked his life, and who has since died: I have decided to grant a favor (among others) to some nephews of his named Don Ignacio Pagtacotan, Don Julian, and Don Juan de la Cruz. And to Sergeant Major Andrés de la Cruz, Indian chief of the

Pampango nation, who also served in said conquest, all four of them residents of the Philippines. And to Don Antonio de Ayihi, Indian chief of the Island of San Juan in the Marianas, for the same reason, the distinction of the Medal, for his oldest son, or the one he would choose, as a sign of honor, and to express the feeling that their personal services were indeed appreciated, and to their heirs. I have also decided, in expectation of a report from my Governor about other worthy individuals, to have him distribute some of these medals, say one or two, to some people who might have some reason to deserve same, out of merit, or for some very special service. In order for this to take effect, I order you, as soon as you receive this despatch, to arrange for whatever amount from my treasury to have seven Medals struck, of gold-plated silver, with my effigy, and that of the Queen, Doña Maria Luisa of Orleans, my dearest and beloved wife, of a size and model similar to those given in my Kingdoms to military men; and you are to remit four of these aboard the first galleon that might leave Acapulco, to my Governor of the Philippines, for him to deliver personally to said Don Ignacio Pagtacetan, Don Julian, and Don Juan de la Cruz and to Sergeant-Major Andrés de la Cruz. And the remaining three are to be sent to the Marianas, one for the son of said Don Antonio de Ayihi and I permit that the other two be distributed in the above-mentioned form, among those most deserving of same. You are to report to me on action taken.

Made at Madrid, 30 March 1686.

I, the King.

By order of the King, our Lord,

Antonio Ortiz de Ojalora.

[Endorsement:] To the Viceroy of New Spain, to have seven gold-plated silver Medals struck, four of them to be sent to the Governor of the Philippines, and three to that of the Marianas, to be distributed to those to whom Your Majesty has done this favor.

Document 1686C

Letter from Fr. Cardeñoso to the Duchess, dated Guam 25 April 1686

Source: Present location unknown; 4-page ms. offered for sale by Maggs Bros. of London in 1923 for 21 pounds (Cat. N° 442, n° 1944, p. 211).

Extract from the Maggs Catalog

...

I hope that by the time this letter reaches you, you will have received the other letters sent to you last year, 1685; in which we notified you of the distressful state of your beloved Mission. The common enemy [i.e. the Devil] seems to have gained his desired end, which he has been attempting to compass in the Islands these many years. You will have had a full report from the Father Vice-Provincial [Bouwens]; nevertheless, in view of the precariousness of these despatches, I must tell you something of the events myself.

On Sunday, 23 July 1684, some criminal Indians attacked the Governor, the soldiers, the Fathers, and, spreading over the neighboring parts of the Islands, killed many inhabitants, and wounded many others.

[Then follows a description of the events of that tragic Sunday. He likewise blames the Governor's lack of precaution as a reason if not an incentive to the disorders on the part of the savages. He also attributes the rising to:]

...the many vexations inflicted by the military commanders of the garrison, together with excessive work and the continual payment of tribute which overtaxed their slender resources... Such a thing could not have occurred under Don Antonio Sarabia, because being so great a soldier, he trusted nobody(!). And above all, he set a great example with his Christian living and high sense of honor.

On the day of treachery, everything had been so badly organized that there was not a weapon to be had and hardly a soldier prepared for defence...

Our Governor is called Don Damian de Esplana, a native of Peru, and it is enough to say that he hails from the Indies, where neither truth nor secrecy is known. Such is this individual; there is not a secret which he does not divulge. In this way he has

already mentioned in our presence how he has already written to the King, informing His Majesty that it is impossible to establish a Christian community here, as the natives are so treacherous and will never truly embrace the truth. You can gather what sort of person this is from the foregoing, being so coarse in everything he does; and this, Madam, is no exaggeration, for it is far less than what I could say of him.

It seems that [former Governor] Don Juan de Vargas has informed His Majesty how he [Esplana] arrived here in a sloop and entered this Government, and that the first year was peaceful, only on account of the excellent state in which Don Antonio Saravia, his predecessor, had left it. Don Juan de Vargas, having been informed of the peaceful state of the colony, passed the information to the King, in the Governor's favor—who now declares that he awaits his reward for his services! What we dread most of all is an extension of his term of office, because while he remains here, little hope have we of his doing anything for our benefit.¹

1 Ed. note: Although Esplana's second term of office ended in 1688, he was promoted to Colonel equivalent in 1689 and was sent back to Guam for a third term as Governor (until 1694). No wonder the Missionaries were to place much of the blame for the decadence of the Mission upon his shoulders.

Document 1686D

Eulogy of Fr. Coomans by Fr. Bouwens, dated Guam 31 May 1686

Source: AGR Fonds Jésuite, ms. #1480 (2 copies); also in ARSI Phil. 13, fol. 217-219.

Notes: The two Belgian copies of this eulogy show signs that they were both copied from a third one, the original by Fr. Bouwens (which must now lie at ARSI in Rome). Furthermore, the copies were made in Belgium by Jesuits who were not familiar with the correct spelling of the Mariana Islands, etc. Also, there is some miscellaneous material on Fr. Coomans in ARSI Phil. 20, fol. 322-335, under the title: "quædam concernientia".

Summary biography of Fr. Coomans, by the editor.

Fr. Coomans was stoned to death by the natives of Saipan in July 1685 (the exact date is not known). As a priest he had made all 4 vows within the Society of Jesus, was then 47 years old and had been a Jesuit for 29 years, including 13 years as a missionary in the Mariana Islands.

He was born in Antwerp on 30 January 1638 and went through his classical studies there. His mother was a widow when he entered the Society of Jesus on 19 September 1656. His first assignments involved teaching catechism in the villages, attending the sick in hospitals and the poor. While a student in philosophy, he caught asthma and had to stop studying for a while. However, he recovered enough to finish his studies and be ordained as a priest. His first mass was on the feast of St. Francis Xavier; he then announced that he wished to serve as a missionary in the Indies. He had to finish his fourth and final year of theology before he was allowed to leave for the missions.

He went from Ostend to Spain aboard an old ship that narrowly escaped both pirates and storms along the way. At Madrid, and later on in Mexico, he found out all he could about the Mariana Mission and applied for it. He arrived at Guam at the beginning of May 1672.

He had been only two years in the mission when he became superior, following the death of Fr. Ezquerria, but he did not serve for long, because the 1674 galleon was pushed off the coast of Guam by wind and current, and he was carried off to Manila. Aboard the ship, he fell and injured one arm. He made it back to Guam only two years later. For the next two years, the continuous rebellions kept him close to the main



Death of Father Coomans at Saipan in July 1685. *In reality, Fr. Coomans died of blows from sling-stones. (From C. Hazart's Kerchelycke Historie, 1682)*

Residence of Agaña, but he was not inactive. He looked after the souls, read and wrote letters, studied languages (composing a vocabulary of the Chamorro language). Then, there followed 6 years of travels and missionary work.

When Fr. Besco became Superior (in 1676), he made him his assistant. Once peace was re-established, the island of Guam was divided into districts or residences. Two such districts were entrusted to Fr. Coomans; one was dedicated to the Immaculate Conception [Pago] and the other to San Antonio de Padua [Mapupun].¹

In January 1682, he was re-assigned to Rota with Fr. Boranga and Br. Dubois. Two churches were built, one at Sosa, dedicated to San Francisco de Borja, and the other at Agusan, dedicated to San Francisco Xavier. He was called back to Guam on account of the troubles with the natives. On 23 March 1684, he joined Quiroga's fleet with Fr. Cuculino and went to Rota, then Tinian, Saipan and Ainguan, in April and May.

After peace was established on Saipan and a fort had been erected, Fr. Coomans recommended an expedition to the northernmost islands. He was put in charge of it and he left with 25 bodyguards, covering over 100 leagues in his travel. Most of the islands gave him a good welcome. While there, his party received the news (false as it turned out) that all the Fathers and soldiers had been killed in the southern islands. Those who had brought the news wanted Fr. Coomans and his guards killed on the spot. On the trip back, as his men were making ready to leave one of the islands (perhaps Alamagan), the plotters attacked them. Only three of those were able to escape by swimming ashore. The survivors and Fr. Coomans were warned and went into hiding, for one year, under the protection of a chief (a friend of Chief Ayihi of Guam). This did not stop him from attending to the new Christians in the neighborhood.

Finally, he decided to return to the southern islands, his first stop being Saipan. Upon arriving near the shore, his oarsmen did not wish to go near, but he persuaded them to go forward. A fleet of Saipanese canoes encircled his own canoes, he was seized and all his clothes taken off, except for his trousers. He was then dragged ashore, tied to a tree, and made the target of their slings. He died from the wounds inflicted by a cloud of stones from those slings. His body was left untouched for a few hours, then buried in the sand, right where he had been martyred.

Original eulogy in Latin

Reverende in Chro Pater.

P. E.

Infelicem missionis nostræ Marianæ conditionem, statumque plane miserandum, jam intellexerit (ut credo) R^a V^a ex iis, quas Anno proxime elapso transmissi ad Provinciam; quandoquidem suas (uti solebat) eo destinare huc non potuerit ulteriori in Insula, omni humano solatio destitutus, Reverendus, unus vero venerabilis Pater Petrus Coomans, cujus mortem in conspectu Domini pretiosissimam, sequenti Elogio, quod et vitam viri vere Apostolici, laboret pro fide inter hosce Neophitos sane incultos (ne bar-

¹ Ed. note: See Doc. 1682C.

baros dixerim) dilatanda, toleratos complectitur hisce inferendam dixi, ad ædificationem simul et gloriam Provinciæ Nostræ flandrobelticæ, in qua spiritum hausit religionis.

Mense Julio, (die incerto) 1685, velit alter Ecclesia Protomartyr a barbaris, fideique semper infensis Zaypanensibus, lapidatus, pro Christo, occubuit Ven. P. Petrus Coomans, 4 votorum professus, anno ætatis suæ 47, initæ Soctis. 29, Missionis autem Marianæ 13. Natus erat Antverpiæ, Anno hujus sæculi [16]38, die 30 Januarii; atque ibidem litteras humaniores edoctus, ea Latinitatis elegantia se excoluit, quam Madritum deinde, ubi (dum regiam in Indias transmittendi licentiam præstolabatur, Rethoricam docuit) est admiratum. Adolescens virtutem haud animis, quam litterarum studiosus, Socti. ineundæ animum adjecit, gratamque a Matre vidua, quæ unico senectutis suæ soatio lubens se pro Domino spoliavit, licentiam nactus in tyrociniam Mechliniense fuit admissus anno 1656 die 19 7bris. Alias inter virtutes, quibus præluxit connovitiis suis, ingens in illo animarum, ut eas Deo lucri faceret, zelus exarsit; pauperumque imprimis ac rudium, quorum catechisandorum causa, jam vicinos urbis pagos circumcurabat, jam inclusa mænibus nosocomia obebat, ac charitate[-is] sua[-æ] indigentibus, liberaliter impensa, piisque colloquis in illorum [eorum] animos suaviter illapsus, aliis, ut vitiorum cæno, aliis ut hæresi, sese extricarent, felix fervensque orator persuadebat.

Votis, peracto tyrocinio, emissis, ac ad Philosophiam admissus, asthmate laborare cœpit, tam pe[r]tinaci, ut studia vitæ (quæ medicorum judicio, si in iis progredieretur veterius, in extremo versabatur periculo) jussus fuerit posthabile sententiam hanc ea sui ipsius dimissione est amplexus, sit e vestigio, liberalibus, altioribusque disciplinis nuntium remiserit, quacumque demum conditione, quæ [qua] suam sibi in Soc[ie]tate stationem securam redderet, contentissimus.

Verum heroica hæc determinatio brevi illis valetudinis fæmis as[h]ospitato Deo est consecuta, quod non decurrendæ solum philosophiæ, litterisque subinde humanioribus juventutem edocendis, sed et eme[n]tiendæ Theologiæ scholasticæ par fuerit sacerdotis demum initiatus, non postremo felicitatis loco habuit; primam Deo hostiam, festiva magno Indiarum Apostolo luce, pro suo in divinum affectu litare, ejusdemque imitandi studio, succedaneam sese victimam pro Indorum salute, bona cum Superiorum venia eidem devorare [devoevere]; illam sæpius supplex aliquando adeptus, jam non capiebat sese, alteri Mundo destinatus Martyr. Quare in Hispaniam quamprimum soluturus, duplicem in portu remoram, tantum non patiebatur. Altera, quod Theologiæ curriculum confecturo 4ti[quarti]anni pars major supererat; et supremi ad Gradum examinis aleam nondum jecisseti altera, quod navis propediem consendenda nauclero, ac Gubernatore, a tempestuoso mari, improvise, haustis destituta diutius subsistere cogebatur [cogitetur]. Vicit jam felix, atque expeditum viri ingenium folius octidui studio subjectam examini materiam, ita complexum ut periculo facto, omnium cum satisfactione, laudatum studiis colophonem adjecerit. De 2^a vero infracta ejusdem ita triumphavit magnanimitas, ut Hispaniam modico devectus lembo, salvus incolumisque temierit, ausus non tam oceano, quam Deo duce se committere, quo opitulante et pyratam Maurorum lembo suo infestam, ac propemodum incumbentem, horrendamque deinde tempestatem, altera a jactis in statione anchoris hora, susque deque vertentem omnia evasit.

Madritum terrestri delatus itinere, jam ibi [primam] de insulis Marianis notitiam hausit, ampliorem deinde Mexici: illud quæ sibi perjucundum fuit auditu, esse earum incolas gentem pauper[ri]m, fideique magistris prope[modum] destitutam. Quare campum hunc esse ratus, cui excolando operam suam navaret[;] fructuosissimam, Deo inprimis consulto, ac Superioribus deinde rogatis, ab iisdem ut coloniam hoc in Novali sibi agere liceret, dudum apostolici [viri] virtutem, invictumque ducis et adversis rebus, constantiamque probe edoctis, nullo negotio impetravit. Mexico ergo lætus, sibi gratulabun-

du, ad portum Acapulcanum advolans, navimque ingressus, non tam illius, quam votorum suorum velis, Marianas tenuit anno 1672 die 2^a Maij. Simul atque in terram exiliit, superiorem missionis arcte complexus, ad laboriosa quæque Provinciæ dumtaxat, Deo adducenda minia, sese stitit [obeunda], nec egit minus strenue, atque dixit, in animarum salute procuranda.

Alterum agebat in missione annum, quando hujus Gubernaculum [propter mortem] Vener[abili] Patri Francisco Esquerra ab indigenis illatam, ad P. Petrum fuit devolutum, quod ea tenuit prudentia, et fervoris discretione, ut illa in tempestate, nec missionis navicula, nec sociorum vita, nec Indorum amicorum fides periclitarentur; neque adeo miles annona (cujus procuratio tunc temporis etiam missionis Superiori incumbere) destituerentur: verbo, omnibus omnia fieret, egentibus refugium, afflictis solatium, infirmis remedium, vivum [virum] rudibus indigenis, ad meliora exemplum, ea cum singulis usus comitate, ut superioritas eum non extolleret, ad humilior[um] vero obeunda provius invitaret, ad sola ardua ac [et] difficilia erigeret usque ad generosum vitæ ipsius contemptum. Gravis milites inter iis exarserat, stricte dumtaxat ferro, et sanguine extinguenda; jamque non nemo a furentiori Antagonista magno vulnere designatus impendentem haud declinasset ictum; nisi advolans e vestigio Pater, midatoque pectore, altero prius ictum excepturus, furi impetum remoratus, egregio facto, rationum pondere; ut iras defevescere, pacem vero amicitiamque coalescere jussisset.

Alius non multo post, longeque acerbior, missionis suæ amantissimam Patrem afflixit casus. Aderat A^o 1674 ex Nova Hispania redux oneraria Philippinensis: verebatur prudens Pater, ne in Australi Insulæ ob admissam antecessoris necem, inimica anchoras jaceret, eoque facto, et sociis, qui advehebantur, et qui submittebatur, commentui male foret consultum; cons[er]vens actutum e patriis hisce naviculis nonnulla ad onerariam advolat, ac supplex factus nauclero, ut littus domni nostræ magis propinquum legeret, rogavit. Annuit iste; verum qua prominentius, et ab aquarum refluxibus male semper audiens, promontorium erat superandum conjurata maris ventorumque violentia navis in transversuam acta bonum Patrem, Gubernatore ac nautis nequidquam contra juventibus ex insulæ conspectu abripuit.

Ibat itaque Manilam charissimorum suorum orbitate mæstus Pater, qui pro illis Deo lucrandis jam dudum ita se devoverat, ut superioribus annuentibus, solus cum illic, quid alio quam divino stipatus præsidio, subsidiove degeret. Remientibus vero eadem prorsus animi æquitate, qua colverat, missos faceret: non suæ tum in hoc, tum in alio quolibet negotis, sed divinæ in superioribus sibi declarandæ, [sibi] concessurus voluntati. Ab hac igitur omnino pendens illustriorem in navi patientiæ meruit coronam. Hanc illi donavit casus repentinus, quo in navis [e navis] convixo [convexo] per ejusdem fauces in carinæ concava devoluto altera scapularum tam obstinate fuit loco naturali excussa, sit nulla neque vi, neque medicantium industria, in sedem suam potuerit retorquiere futura exinde continuo patientissimo Patri martyrium, invictæ illius fortitudini solum impar, quæ quidem illo licet tormento premi ad sensum usque potuerit, querul[us] nequimquam verbum viro exprimere valuit.¹

Manilæ, ubi primum licuit per vires, ministerium gessit, effusæ in omnes charitatis significatione, ac in Marianam præsertim missionem (cujus ei memoriam) nulla occupatio, nulla impediabat distantia, nulla oblivio obliterabat: pro ejus incrementis dies noctesque excusabat, pro ejus potissimum revisendæ licentia, nullum non monebat lapidem, donec annuentibus tandem superioribus, novis prolixisque laboribus, in plus quam semestri Americam versus, ac pæne trimestri inde ad Marianas navigatione, exantlandis se accinxit; ac superata demum varia illa, et marium, et climatum, nec non quæ exinde nasci solet,

1 Ed. note: The other copy reads: "tum e verbum viro exprimere nunquam valuit."

corporis humoremque vicissitudine, dilectissimam hanc sibi spartam iterum tenuit, subsidioque multo hactenus copiosiore pro sua in eam charitate conquiesto [conquisito] recreavit. Redux octennio integro vixit hac in missione, vivum virtutem solidarum Apostolicarumque protot[h]ypon, nihil assertu[us] in exterioribus, totus in concinnandis excolendisque interioribus occupatus. Biennium cum reliquis commissionariis, ut temporiam calamitates, sextis domesticis inclusus exegit numquam minus, quam tum otiosus; diuturnas religionis nostræ distributiones ad unquem observabat, horis deinde subcisivis [subsicivis], lectio[n]i scriptionique impallescebat; a[s]cetica tum proprio consulturus spiritus, tum movalia proximo profuturus voluebat assidue, aut linguæ insudabat perdiscondæ indigenarum; tali sui cum impendio, quale mar[t]e suo confecta probant, testanturque vocabularia fusissima, nobilesque rerum aliarum lucubrationes; quibus indefessus adeo inhærebat, ut cubiculo [cubili] nisi sub vesperam, animum tantisper remissurus, stasque Deo, cœlitibusque precationes soliturus, non exiret. Reliquo sexennio nunquam ex integro suus aut susceptis pro Dei gloria, bonoque animarum itineribus, terra marique huc, et illuc ferebatur, aut continuis infirmanda, ornandaque missione laboribus adhibebatur.

Appulerat huc cum Ven. Patre Petro R. P. Bartholomæus Bescus missione præfectus cum vicibus ipsius Provincialis, factaque hinc ab excelentissimo Domino Mexici Prorege potestate, ut militari hinc præsidio ducem præsceret, quo aptior haud [apparebat,] muneri tamen imparem elegit: ne quid vero per arrogantiam, insolentiamve peccaret, imprudens, dirigendo, moderatorem adjunxit Vener. Patrem Petrum. Elexit hic enimvero viri prudentia in saluberrimis, quibus militiæ præfectum ad ingens missionis ornamentum instruebat, et manu quasi ducebat, consiliis prius semper cum V. Provinciali pro sui dimissione, ne quid incautus determinaret, communicatis. Quoties vero insulam, duci comes percursabat Pater, aut rebelles refrænaturus, aut protecturus amicos, seu infirmos, ac moribundos, collatis animarum Pharmacis procuturus, illud agebat inprimis, ne numen offenderatur, sociorumque ab indigenis abunde prospiceretur, neque ab illis hi lacesserentur, rudesque fidei doctrina, quam sedulus semper explicabat, rite imbuerentur, datisque munisculus in nostri conservarentur amore. Tum in conquirendis militi necessariis, quorum causa pæne quotidie cum præsidariis excurrerebat, nulla sive solis, sive aeris inclementia, nulla viarum lubricitate, culicumve molestissimorum infestatione præpeditus, quin alacer semper, ac hilaris, et commilitones animaret, et excitaret, nulla nec horum offensus petulantia, nec dignitæ cassatus, nec provocatus malevolentia, qua non nemo animum sinistris præoccupatum delationibus, Patrem nil tale promeritum acriter a versabatur, quo minus abundanter, amanterque omnia præsidio necessaria procuraret, nullamque nisi imprudenti querulandi materiam, multa vero, quæ suspicerent, virtutum daret exempla, detractoque nonnumquam sibi iudicio, quo alteriis indigentis subveniret. Si quando vero, ab itinere intempesta nocte revertebatur, domum non adibat prius, quam nosocomium inviseret, decumbentesque per ordinem circumspiceret, atque si quid opis, solatiæ alieni deesset, et nosset accuratus, et conferret charitativus. Et talem quidem, donec militas in suis comitabatur expeditionibus, se gerebat; at ubi missioni per Philippinarum Gubernatores de aptis prospectum esset ductoribus, prudens Pater, illico rebus militiam concernentibus abstinebat; sese omnino subtrahebat, eaque sui moderatione, eorumdem animos ita sibi devinxerat, ut nisi æger[is]ime, suis in visitationibus illo carerent: quare vetro expetitus, earum interfuit plurimus, usque oppido periculosis, tum ad componendam hanc S[anct]i Joannis Insulam, tum adsubjugandam eam, quæ Rosa [i.e. Rota] vulgo dicitur: fidam malefactorum, et patricidarum hinc fugientium receptatricem iterato susceptis, comitante semper R. P. Comano, qui hac usus occasione, quam diu per amicitia licuit, totam illam percursans, plurimas, et parvulorum et moribundorum animas, quas Baptismo abluerat transmisit in Cælum; quo ejus zelo, mirum, quantum oblectati superiores,

cum reducem, ovantemque complexu hilari astringerent, gratiasque agerent pro exantlatus laboribus, manipulisque, in Domini horreum congestis, in hæc verba prorupit animarum zelo succensus Pater. In procuranda misellorum istorum salute, ne intermittant RR. VV. quo munus, quidquid collibitum fuerit mihi demandent: Æstuet sol, pluat cælum, furat aer, serveant æquora; macheras quin et hastas, etsi quid obstat amplius, vel unius salvandi causa, Deo fretus, perrumpam quam obrem ubi nobis reductionibus, templo ædibusve prospiciendum fuerit. Ecce ego, mittite me, ad unam, eaque fundata; ad aliam, usque ad ultimam tractus septentrionalis, meridionalisque insulam, nulla habita mei ratione.

Vaticinium dixeris generosum ferventis animi votum ungue in apostolico Patre expletum etenim ubi exactis pace firma gaudebat hæc Sancti Joannis Insula: aptum terræ concredendo verbi divini semini tempusque rati superiores, Colonias ducere, residentiasque earum cultui necessarias existruere decreverunt. Harum ergo, amplissimæ duæ, V. P. Petro adjudicatæ, ejusdemque industria sesquianni intervallo, ad quanto cum labore, hac præsertim terra, ubi seu ligna cædenda, seu convehenda, planta disponenda, et deducenda fabrica, totum solius Patris ædile alio (non suppetente, humeris capitique incumbit opus) e fundamentis, ad suum perductæ fastigium, altera immaculatæ Virginis conceptioni, altera Dive Antonio de Padua steterunt consecrata, animæque ad illam, plus, ad hanc paulo minus mille sylvarum montiumque cavernis fuere reductæ; omnes indefesso Patris labore, avitas superstitiones, inveteratamque lubricitatem, vagæque licentiam libidinis, ita dedoctæ, ut recepto volentes baptismate, Christo nomine dederint, initaque nuptiali fœdere sancti matrimonii fidem sibi reciprocam copulati servarent.

Binis hisce rite constitutis, dicatisque resistentiis [residentiis], ad erigendas alias in Insula Rosa [sic], quæ jam alba erat ad messem: novæ coloniæ superior fuit designatus Januario mense, Anni 1682, additis navigationis; operumque sociis P. Carolo Boranga, et Fratre Balthazar[e] du Buyes [= Dubois] natione hoc quidem Gallo belga, illo austriaco. Statim ubi insulam attigit, manum operi admovens, alteram Sancto Francisco Xaverio, alteram S[anct]i Francisco de Borgia sacram exstruxit ædem, junctosque de more insulanos, ad fidem pietatemque ita instruxit, ut uni P[at]ri Petro insulæ istius reductio primario debentur.

Quod quidem ubi pro binibus curat, amplius fervori charitatique ipsius spirituali, cum plurium [complurium] bono apertus est campus. Fugam nescio quibus phanaticorum hominum dementati delirio cœperant, oppidi abaguas [Abagadnao]¹ proximo dissitæ incolæ, plenisque velis boreali plagæ proximæ adjacentes petebant insulas, nobis, fideique christianæ hactenus adversantes. Superiores ergo apostatandi animo id factum reti, celeri cymba Vener[abilem] P[atrem] Petrum facti admonent; simulque, ut rosam [=Rotam] appulsos ad suos reverti compellat, jubento [h]obandiit obsequentissimus superiorum mitibus Pater, adjutusque a suis transfugarunt plurimos, sibi, suisque huc remissos restituit. Haud multo post assiduis detentum laboribus, Rosa [sic] huc revocavit R. P. Vice Provincialis ad Insularum Borealiū reductionem, quæ [tunc] disponebatur mittendum. Adfuit promptissimus Pater, datisque pro iterato labore, ut ipse labores suos vocare consueverat, gratiis rebusque ritæ compositis socio R[everendo] P[at]re Matthia Cuculino [= Kuklein] cum extremo [supremo] vigiliarum præfecto Domino Josepho de Quiroga, Anno 86 [sic] præsidiariis celorem ingressus 23° Martii Rosam [sic] versus vela fecit, ac inde solvens, faventibus superis, Tiniam ac Agingam Insulas tenuit 24° Aprilis pacem postulantes: Zaypanensis vero Insulæ habitatores ad celosis conspectum conglomerati. Arma rapuere quidem, adituque nostros pacem

1 Ed. note: Rather Agadña. The copyists had trouble with Fr. Bouwens' handwriting, which is not surprising to me.

nequidquam præ se ferentes jactis [e] funda lapidibus arcere conati, illico atque scloporum vim sentire, terga verterunt, relictoque nostris littore alii in interiore insulæ, alii asconsis sc[h]laphis in citeriores septentrionis insulas:] primo impetu sunt dilapsi nostris vero fugitivorum indagini continuo inhærentibus, et obvia tuguria, vicosque flamma vastantibus, pacem supplices petiere, eaque data, stabilitaque ex templo V. P. Petrus Coomanis (nam qui socius illi adhærebat, parum erat linguæ istius peritus) Evangelium pacis prædicare indigenis parvulosque eorum, Iustrali aqua abluere, adultos vero prævia doctrina ad sacramentum, quo regenarentur in Christo, disponere occepit. His incumbentem consultoris officium, quo fungebatur, ad nos revocavit, ut novi regiminis denuntiationi interesset, simulque retulit, subjugata insula Zaypanensi præsidioque munita, ingens apertum esse ostium proferendo in reliquas ad boream insulas Evangelium: quare expeditis hæc omnium difficillima prævio Gubernatoris consensu decreta, ac V[enerabili] P[at]ri Petro pro animi sui in hujusmodi difficultatibus magnitudine, et experientia demanda fuit, aditque præsidarii cum suo ductore, 25 selectiores, ac naviculæ insulis usitata Patri sociisque devehenti attributæ. His instructis omnem octo illarum insularum tractum centum ampliis leucis protensum percurrit benevole ab Insulanis exceptus, auditusque ea ierit rei Christianæ fundamenta; quæ cum [dum] jucundissima nobis essent, animarum hosti accidere molestissima, quarum capiti suo metuens veterator Acheronta movit, variaque tum patrum [P. Petrum], tum militum nece, insulas Christo pridem mancipatas funestavit, omniumque animos implacabili in nos odio succendit. Tempestatis hujus inscius Pater, sociique præsidarii reditum huc maturabant, haud paucis, istarum insularum in signum sui in nos affectus eos subsequentibus, quando Indi hujates nostrorum vectores mendacissimum a suis summo cum secreto (ne fidentioribus nobis innotesceret) acceperunt nuntium, cæteros omnes tum Patres, tum milites interneccione deletos, solum quem illi vehebant, sacerdotem cum suo comitatu superesse: auferent porro, et illum cum suis op[or]tunitatem nacti mari dare.

Ex insula itaque Alamachen [-gem] [= Alamagan] dicta, in altum provecti, milites cum suo ductore in mare præcipitant, provocantque tribus dumtaxat, natatu, et aliis totidem a fideliori quodam nauta proditionis ignaro reservatis. E statione necdum solverat P. Petrus, sed vectoribus suis in resarc[i]endis aplustribus (provido minime nobiliori ipsius martyrio reservanti) occupatis, sustulit forte fortuna in altum oculos sollicitus Pater, dum [tum] ecce natantes ingurgite vasto, animamque cientes intuetur socios.

Interea obviam habet nonnullum ante fide nobis probatissimum, reique novitate (ut et ipse erat totius conspirationis ignarus) perquam attonitum hic in amici sui ædes Patrem abducit alioquin in littore una secum a submissis e vestigio parricidis trucidandum: illi itaque dum prædam sibi ereptam vident ab Incolis, quod ipsi nequiverant, perpetrari satagebant flagitium. Horruere facinus insulani, quorum e præcipuis nonnemo Patrem in fidem suam ita recepit, ut integro illum anno aluerit conservaveritque omni alioquin spe, præsidioque humano, ac solatio destitutum. Ea interea dum suo detinebatur exilio, sese offerebat bono Patri patiendi materies, cui perferandæ adamantina solum virtus par esse potuerat. Et talis erat assiduis laboribus, periculis, et calamitatibus exercita, semper tamen infracta viri plane apostolici patientia, ut hac in missione, post veneri, sanctumque (si ita loqui fas sit) ipsum fundatorem animi robore, infractu in adversis constantia, præclareque factorum excellentia vix ullus secundus fuerit. Et talia commisisset [tum egisset], tulissetque ea erat demissione animi, ut se neminem, neque sentiret, neque diceret despicibilem. Indicium suum cum [tum] in privatis, tum in publicis congressibus alieno semper posthabebat, et si forte signiori ductus ratione ab aliis dissideret, veniam quovis tyrone humilior petebat, al[ia] iucinatamque se profitebatur: Tam nulla sui tangebatur estimatione. Rerum Moralium cum

longo usu esset, multoque studio peritissimus, ne quid tamen inconsultius ageret, minus peritorum sententiam rogabat sæpius.

Quali erga superiores fuerit submissione, sat superque vidimus; erga æquales erat, quam dici posset, profundiori. Non nemini e nostris, ut certum officii genus sibi præstare ne gravaretur, roganti humillimus respondit Pater: labentur se mandata facturum: id solum se ab eo postulare, ut sibi deinceps quidquam mandandum occurrisset, non rogatu, sed impetratu, id faceret: nam sibi impetratis obsequi gratissimum fuisse semper, ac porro deinceps futurum.

Asperitas, qua in se animadvertibat, humanis major viribus videbatur: licet enim continuis laboribus, molestique Asthmatis ac scapula loco suo motæ doloribus conflictaretur, tamen ac si pateretur nihil, durus sese excipiebat usus sui affligendi globo ferreo e catenula pendulo ferreisque aculeis horrida, quo se identidem larebat, cruentabatque. Zantitiarum usor vilibus, et non palato solum, sed et aspectum ingratis indigenarum cibis ita assueverat, ut nulla sibi in crassimum cura de congerendis necessariis immodice angeretur obvio quovis edulio contentus: quin ubi ordo ita fer[r]at, ut relicta una residentia sua labore atque industria affatum de necessariis instructa sese conferret ad [con]formandam aliam post se relinquebat omnia futurorum sollicitudine in Deum projecta, atque hoc instructus viatico, ad omnia promptus, paratusque erat itinera, Dei proximorumque amore obeunda. Hic illum ad ultimas usque Septentrionis insulas penetrare fecit, idemque ad Australis, si earumdem detectis daretur, summo animi sui cum gaudio evexisset, quam quidem provinciam ipsi dudum manile decreverant superiores ob insignem viri fortitudinem, qua in superandis, proterendisque pollebat difficultatibus, quæ montium instar sese objectam [ut] evangelicæ primum prædicationi inferendæ.

Et hanc ea cum applicatione pertractaret, ut ab audientibus, quem vellet, fructum referret, proximum hinc dissitum habemus vicum, cujus incolæ in rebus fidei primi fuere V. P. Petri discipuli, quos ad amissim adeo perpol[li]vit, ut qui palmam illis ferat, sit nemo: quam et in præsentis rerum turbine retulerunt omnium illustrissimam soli ipsi in fide constanter et pro nobis contra vim torrentis in aciem defendendo. Eandem fidei integritatem, firmitatemque, quotquot a Patre Petro instituti ingenerare (quantum in eo erat) totis procurabat viribus; nec omnino infeliciter, quando vel Zaypanentibus Austrum spectantibus bimestri dumtaxat ejus consuetudine usus tam zelosus influxit, ut (si fide digno credendum auctori) diuturniore [longe] perpolit[is] instructione, nihilum celere viderentur. Jungebat hinc sum applicationi raram ad Barbaros sibi devinciendos industriam, qua quidem ut Pater perquam benevole, amanterque complectebatur. Singulis nemine excluso, pro viribus æque ac spiritualibus aderat, aliud nihil, quam amare, amarique affectans, etiam cum ad[h]ibita ad tempus severitate ad errantium [aderantium] correctionem, correptionemque esset opus, statim enim ad pristinam compositus suavitate[m], eosdem ita delineabat, ut colerent[.] Studiosus; intellexerentque rudes licet, illud sui amore fieri, quo a vitis abs[tr]acti, cælo certius affererentur, quo pacti ductiles adeo reddebantur agrestium animi, ut quo vellet Pater, facile inclinarentur. Eo ex una residentiarum suorum digresso [haud] scio, quid discordiarum inter primores obortum fuerat, damnumque, quod et reliquos omnes involveret, timebatur; ut primum adfuit Pater, eos paucis ita composuit, ut præterquam, quod ipse decerneret, vellent nihil. Et hinc fuerit, quod præsertim amarent singuli, descendentem lucto prosequerentur universi, absentemque [omnes] desiderarent. Verum qui tanta sibi charitate devinciebat externos non minori ejusdem [hujusdem] studio ferebatur in domesticos, omnes æstimabat, bene singulis volebat. Jam hos, jam illos relaxandi amici causa. Ad se invitabat, transeuntes que per suam residentiam peramanter excipiebat, prompteque quidquid habebat, refo[s]cillandis apponebat, hilarique colloquio, curas viacumque, tædia, divvertebat: abeuntes

demum ad temperandum cum solis tum itineris æstum fructibus sua industria consilis instructos prosequatur.

*Ejus in Deum **charitati** tam præclara, quæ pro dilatanda illius Gloria, terra marique egit, tulitque plus satis suffragantur. Hunc ardentibus in dies angebat affectibus, quibus in quotidianis suis exercitiis, penso Canonico, cæterisque colliquescebat devotionibus, meditationis præsertim, quam genu flexus eorum Augustissimo Sacramento, ubicumque illius habebatur copia, peragebat totus in Deum elevatus, atque absorptus: et sacris operans, genuflexiones ei Corporis totius faciebat, [cum] demissione [dimissione], ut subter terram majestatis (quam adorabat) pondere quasi oppressus] sese abdere velle putaretur. Virgini Matri devotissimus omnia sua ejus honori nuncupata volebat: expeditiones suas optato coronans. Sine decantato eidem [ejusdem] sacro grates persolvebat, primum, quam extruxit residentiam, immaculatæ ejusdem conceptioni conservavit: quot diebus magna cum devotione dulcique mysteriorum, quæ in linguam marianam suoapte studio traduxit, ruminatione [miminatione] percurrerebat.*

***Obedientia** ipsius numquam tergiversabatur, nullum formidabat periculum, omnem exhauiebat laborem. Jussus aliquando ad aliam se partem conferre, audiendis ibidem pænitentibus operum daturus, pedes Insulam ab Aquilone ad Austrum excensus [immensus], mari deinceps omnium turbulentissimo [-um] iter facturus naviculam fræmentibus licet ventis, ac fluctibus superbe tumentibus, conscendit auspice obedientia sui omnino securus; ac illa duce omnium cum admiratione salvus portum tenuit. Hac fretus fiducia obedientiæ ergo animam suam pretiosiore se quo proximorum salutem in tuto collacaret, haud umquam faciebat qualicumque mortis generi, quo Deus illum donare vellet, lubens semper expositus solebat dicere: Mortalium se fere felicissimum, si vitam sibi; sanguinem que fundere, Dei, obedientiæque causa; quamvis non esset in odium fidei, liceret: mortem enim a nobis non eligendam, sed cum gratiarum actione accipiendam esse, qualem, et quando Deus decernere dignaretur. Hinc quantumcumque anhælalet ad suam pro fidei confirmatione vitam immolandam, semper tamen, ut poterat, eam conservare studebat ad Sanctorum, quos in eo imitabatur, exemplum.*

***Paupertatis** amantissimus, qualicumque inopia premeretur, numquam conquiri est auditus: tunica plerumque vestiebatur attrita, et obsoleta, sua paupertate ita hilaris, ac Contentus, ut præter ea, quæ pauperibus, et extremæ Indorum nuditati operiendæ adhibere posset, nihil prorsus habere vellet.*

*Angelicam ejus **puritatem** paucis ab ipsemet certa in occasione verbis expressis abinde laudavero: scilicet hac in materia se ne cogitatione quidem venialiter umquam offendisse.*

[Fr. Coomans' martyrdom]

Et hæc quidem de Apostolicis illustris hujus viri virtutibus, ad quarum cumulum annuo inter Borealis Indos exilio, nullo præterquam unius Dei (in quam spem, fiduciamque suam omnem conjecerat, usus recreatusve solatio) desideratam toties adjecit laureolam illustrissimi sui martyrii, rem, uti accepimus, transcribo.

Ab Insulas borealibus, quos inter degebat, vitamque utcumque tol[er]abat, faustiori nuntio, qui nos hic nostras, meliori, quam credebatur, loco consistere, certo ferebat provocatis huc versus revehebatur religiosissimus Pater, jamque in conspectum deferebatur insulæ Zaypanensis: ubi haud dubius acceperat quindecim [15] milites infausto non substitisse, vivosque etiamnum asservati ab ipsis hostibus. Vectores itaque, ut ea appellerent, mætis, desolatisque, si quam posset (nam in extremo eorum salus versabatur discrimine) opem exomologesi collaturus rogabat. Renuebant illi: certam, si id auderent, Patri necem ab efferatis illis indigenis inferendam, causati. At sitientissimus animarum Pater, vitæque propriæ extremam

misellorum necessitatem antefendam ratus, iterum, iterumque, ut votis suis annuerent, reluctantes interpellabat, donec, ut proram, quo sua eum [ipsium] vocabat corona, flecterent, est consecutus. Vix terræ appropinquantes conspexerunt insulam, quando turmatu præcipitatis in mare naviculis, obviam sese effundiunt. Cingitur, capiturque navicula, qua P[ater] Petrus vehebatur, eique vestis præter femoralia detrahunt ferociores Barbari, virumque ab iis ipsis meliora promeritum, ubi terram tenere, arbori alligant, eumque fundis suis scopum constituunt.

Ut vidit mansuetissimum Pater, mortem sibi jam jam excutiendis lapidibus inferendam, divum Protomartyrem, et necis genere, et juncta charitate invitaturus, altum vociferantes, frementesque fundibularios ita fertur allocutus. Filii nihil mea refert, hoc me a vobis a modo tractari, mactarique: vestri dumtaxat mi fervor, nam plus nimio Deum offenditis: verum ut ille vestri etiam misereatur, etiam atque etiam rogo.

Quibus dictis, sublatisque in cælum oculis, animam suam Deo commendans, inter crepitantium lapidum imbres, ea stetit, qua semper animi celsitudine, ad extremum usque habitum, quo identidem ingeminitatis JESU ac MARIE nominibus supremum vixit. Moriatur anima mea morti istius, et fiant novissima mea, istius [illius] similia.

Horarum aliquot spatio arbori alligatum, venerabile corpus, omnium damnis, contumeliis, ludibriisque exponebatur, donec sua inhumanitate satiata barbaries, resectis funibus, a trunco renuesum, scaphilæque impositum, in abierto insulæ arenarium tumulo, virum nobilius meritum mausolæum sabulo obruit: at immarcescibili gloriæ corona victrix illius anima triumphat redimita in cælo. Istic nos jungat Deus post decursa hæc vitæ spatia, quæ mihi quidem Martio mense, jam proxime elapso videbantur abruptenda extremis munito sacramentis. Restituta tamen valetudine, Dei opitulantis beneficio, utcumque subsisto ad obsequium R. V. et Provinciæ mihi charissimæ omnius orationibus, sanctisque sacrificiis, me sociosque singulos enixe commendo, ut vivere nobis Christus sit, et mori lucrum.

Ex Insula S[ancti] Joannis, una ex Marianis 31[-ma] Majj, 1686.

Reverendiæ Vestræ Servus in Christo,

Gerardus Bauwens [sic].

Loose translation

Reverend Father in Christ,

Peace be with you.

Y.R. would already have heard (I believe) about the unhappy state of our Mariana Mission from the letter which I sent to the Province last year. Since your usual letter to him [Fr. Coomans] could not have reached him until much later, in the island where our Reverend, and truly Venerable Father Peter Coomans, was completely destitute of human consolation. His death in the eyes of the Lord is very precious, according to the following **Eulogy** about the life of this truly apostolic man, who labored to propagate the faith among these neophytes without culture (not to say barbarians), in which I have said and put forward things to be understood with tolerance, for the edification as well as the glory of our Flandro-Belgian Province, where religion has absorbed the mind.

During the month of July 1685 (the date is not certain), there may have been made another Protomartyr of the Church by the barbarian Saipanese, always hostile to the

faith. The Ven. Fr. Peter Coomans was stoned to death for Christ. He had made the profession of the 4 vows, was in his 47th year, 29 years since his entrance into the Society, but 13 years in the Mariana Mission. He was born in Antwerp on 30 January 1638. Once trained in the humanities, in which he excelled in the elegance of his Latin, which was later admired at Madrid (where he taught Rhetorics, while awaiting royal permission to go to the Indies). Growing in virtue while his mind made progress in letters, he made up his mind to join the Society. [This virtue] being recognized by his widowed mother, whose sole consolation he was in her old age, she sacrificed herself for God and gave her permission for him to join the Novitiate at Malines, where he was admitted on 19 September 1656. Among other virtues, by which he outshone his fellow novices, there he showed a passionate zeal for the souls, in order to gain them for God. He would make the rounds of the villages in the vicinity of the town, now to teach catechism to the poor, advanced and beginners, then to visit hospitals included in the poorer markets, out of charity, liberally spending, and slowly penetrating the souls there with pious discussions, and, being a lucky and zealous orator, he was persuading some to extricate themselves from the dirt of vices, or some others from heresy.

Once he had finished the novitiate, taken a vow, and been admitted to Philosophy, he began to suffer from asthma, so tenacious that he was ordered to postpone his full-time studies (according to the opinion of the physicians, if he continued to pursue them, his health would be in extreme danger). Faced with his own dismissal, should there remain some tell-tale sign, he would have ignored the warning with even more severe discipline, despite his condition, if he had not obtained a guarantee that his place in the Society was secure; then he was very happy.

What followed was a truly heroic determination to regain his complete(?) health quickly with the help(?) of God, which did not deter him from rushing through basic philosophy, and letters immediately after completing his youth, but it would be a lie to say that he became a priest as soon as he finished his studies in Theology, [without saying] that he did get the last lucky spot.¹ He offered his first host to God in daylight on the feast-day of the big Apostle of the Indies, saying mass to honor his love of God, and to imitate him, by offering himself as a victim for the salvation of the Indians, and with the permission of the Superiors to devote himself to them. Having acquired this permission after many requests, more often made on his knees, he did not yet realize that he was destined to become a Martyr in another World. Because, as he was ready to sail as soon as possible to Spain, he was delayed twice in the port, [but] much worse would have to be endured. Another thing was that he lacked the greater part of the fourth year of Theology. Another was that he had not yet passed through the risky test to reach the highest degree: would it have been possible to imagine himself aboard a ship, sitting with the captain and the Governor, in a stormy sea, and suddenly destitute of anything to drink in order to survive? Happily he made it through an 8-folio exam material by sheer genius, so complex that it was full of danger, but he managed to ob-

1 Ed. note: Approximate rendering.

tain a mark of completely satisfactory. He triumphed over the second test with equal magnanimity; while on the way to Spain aboard a patache of a moderate size, safe and sound, he would fear being brave, not so much on account of the ocean, as on account of God in whose guidance one should commit oneself, for assistance in a sea infested with the piratical ships of the Moors, and a horrible storm about to hit, when another hour was spent with the anchor down, it veered right around and he escaped it all.

The trip overland to Madrid being delayed, already there he collected notices about the Mariana Islands, and more information afterwards in Mexico: what he heard about them was agreeable to him: that their inhabitants were very poor people, and nearly destitute in teachers of the faith. Because he believed this to correspond to the field where his labor would lead to very fruitful results, with the help of God. He then begged the Superiors, to let him, during the one-year stay here, give free rein to his apostolic virtue, not put off by adversities, and constantly pushing forward all business; he got what he wanted. Then happy to be in Mexico, and congratulating himself on the way to the port of Acapulco, and the ship having arrived, not so much with the sails of this ship as with the wings of his desires, **he arrived at the Marianas on 2 May 1672.**¹ As soon as he stepped ashore, having tightly embraced the superior of the mission, [telling him] that he had been sent by God simply to work in the Province, and to assign to him the smallest places to visit, where he would work no less strenuously, as he said, to achieve the salvation of the souls.

He had worked in the mission another year, when its administration fell upon Fr. Peter on account of the death of the Ven. Fr. Francisco Esquerro caused by the natives.

[Synopsis: He led the mission with prudence, taking upon himself the most difficult tasks. He went off to meet the yearly galleon bringing in supplies, as this was the proper duty of a Superior, but the ship carried him off, in spite of the efforts to get back to Guam made by the pilot and the new Governor of the Philippines who was aboard. During the voyage he had an unfortunate accident, by falling through an open hatch and breaking a collar bone. Nothing could be done to alleviate his pain.]

[In Manila, while regaining his strength, he could not forget that he was there to look after the needs of the Mariana Mission.² Then he made the 6-month voyage to America, returning to the Marianas after a 3-month journey, bringing in the largest subsidy ever gathered...]

[Fr. Bartolomé Besco arrived with the returning Fr. Coomans. He had been sent as new Superior by the Provincial himself, and empowered by the Viceroy to take control of the garrison, for which he was better suited, on account of his arrogance, etc. Luckily, he made Fr. Coomans his assistant. Many times, Fr. Coomans accompanied the leader on sorties about the island, to refrain rebels, protect friends, attend to the needs

1 Ed. note: The date at which Fathers Bouwens and Coomans arrived at Guam may have been 10 May 1672 instead.

2 Ed. note: Fr. Bouwens was well placed to write about Fr. Coomans' stay in Manila, since he was also there at the same time.

of the sick and dying, explain the doctrine, etc. by good and bad weather, always giving an example of austerity, virtuous conduct, etc. When he returned to stay overnight at the house, he went to pay a visit to the hospital first. When he judged that the Island of San Juan had been made reasonably secure, Coomans accompanied Besco to Rota, where the assassins of the Fathers had gone to hide; there, Fr. Coomans was able to visit the island, looking for a suitable place to build a church, baptizing children, etc.]

“Here I am, send me to one already known, or some other one, be it the northernmost one, or one to the south, uninhabited, I think.”¹

[Back in Guam, during the 1-1/2 year interval, Fr. Coomans was assigned two large parishes, where he raised buildings and re-arranged plants, all with his own hands. One parish he dedicated to the Immaculate Conception [i.e. Pago] and the other to Saint Anthony of Padua [i.e. Mapunpun]. He then spent his time reducing the inhabitants to a Christian mode of living.]²

[Once these two parishes had been set up, he was sent to build others in the Island of Rota, where the harvest was already ripe. He became superior of new colonies there in January 1682. His associates were Fr. Carlos **Boranga**, Austrian, and Brother Balthazar **Dubois**, from the Gallo-Belgian Province. One parish was dedicated to St. Francis Xavier, the other to St. Francis Borgia. The Rota Islanders owe their reduction to Fr. Peter.]

[Fanatical men had fled to the northern islands. Fr. Coomans was despatched with speedy canoes to the reduction of the northern islands. His associate in this expedition was Fr. Mathias Cuculino [i.e. Kuklein], and the ever-vigilant commander, Don José de **Quiroga**. On 23 March 1686 [rather 1684], they set sail toward Rota, and from there to **Tinian** and **Agingan**, where they made peace on 24 [rather 14] April.]

The inhabitants of **Zaypan** assembled and came forward in their boat(s), taking their weapons along, and our people having offered peace in vain, they made an effort to repulse them by throwing stones from slings, but as soon as they felt the impact of the muskets, they turned tail and abandoning the shore to our people, some [fled] to the interior of the island and others absconded in canoes to the islands further north. At the first attack, our people dispersed to chase after fugitives who had remained, and the obvious thatch huts and villages were ravaged by fire. They sued for peace, and it was given. With peace established, the Ven. Fr. Peter Coomans (for the companion attached to him was not expert enough in their language) preached the peace of the Gospel from the church to the natives, and baptized their children. He began to dispose the adults [for baptism] with some previous indoctrination about the sacrament, by which they would be regenerated in Christ. He gave back the incumbent role of advisor, which he had accomplished, to us, and at the same time retired, in order to separate himself from

1 Ed. note: Thus spake Fr. Bouwens. His own frustrated zeal is obvious.

2 Ed. note: Fr. Bouwens says that Fr. Coomans' territory included people living in just under one thousand caves; this statement should not be taken literally.

the new denuntiation of the regime. Once the Island of Zaypan had been subjugated and a garrison built, he preferred to make an entry for the Gospel in the rest of the northern islands. That is why the Governor had previously considered such an expedition to be very difficult, but at the insistence of the Ven. Fr. Peter, who did not mind the size of the difficulties, 25 soldiers were chosen,¹ with an officer in charge of them, and despatched aboard the usual local canoes to the Father and his companions. He preached in every one of those eight islands, covering the distance of more than 100 leagues over which they are spread, being willingly received by the islanders, who listened to what he had to say regarding the fundamentals of Christianity, which, though very pleasant to us, happened to be very unpleasant to the enemies of the souls, whose crafty old Acheronta,² fearing for his head, caused the death of the Father [Peter] and of the soldiers; he corrupted the islands not so long ago yielded to Christ, and he excited all the minds to a relentless hate toward us. Ignorant of the [impending] storm, the Father and his soldier companions were hurrying to return here, following not a few of those islands that showed signs of their affection for us, when the Indians conveying our passengers [concocted] a very big lie to their own people in great secrecy (so that it would not become known to our confidants) spreading the message [to the effect] that all the Fathers and the soldiers [had been] eliminated in a massacre, except the priest and his company whom they were transporting. They were to dare [to go] even farther, and the sea was to give them the opportunity.

Hence, as they were leaving the island called **Alamagan** and in the high sea, they threw the soldiers with their officer overboard, and signalling to three who were until then swimming, and to as many others who were more faithful or ignorant of the secret pact [they were] spared. Fr. Peter would have hardly sailed from the station, but his conveyers were busy repairing the poop ornament [of their canoe] (at least saving him for a nobler martyrdom in the future). The anxious Father chanced to look up toward the high sea, only to see the vast [ocean] filled with his companions swimming with water up to their neck, something that must have stirred his soul.

Meanwhile, there was one who had remained very excellent in favoring us along the way;³ he became unexpectedly and completely contrite (unless he was totally ignorant of the conspiracy) and took the Father to the home of one of his friends there. Otherwise he would have been killed ashore by one of the remaining assassins of the Fathers. Therefore, they, as long as they saw the booty taken by the islanders, gave up the idea of perpetrating the infamy, which they would not be able [to do] by themselves. It makes one shiver, just to think of the act of the islanders, none of them could be trusted by the Father, so that he was to be sustained for one whole year and somehow preserving complete hope, though lacking human protection and comfort. Meanwhile, while he was

1 Ed. note: Five were sent up from Guam, and 20 taken from the Saipan garrison. The officer was Lieutenant Tapia, a Filipino.

2 Ed. note: An allusion to Greek mythology, where the Acheronta was the man in charge of the boat crossing the river in Hades, or Hell; in other words, the Devil.

3 Ed. note: This was Chief Ayihi.

detained in his exile, the good Father was offering himself by suffering matters which could only have been patiently borne only by being virtuous.

[Synopsis: There follows further description and assessment of some of his virtuous conduct; they are mostly in the form of generalities, or conclusions. He apparently still suffered bouts of asthma, and some pain from his dislocated shoulder. He continually used a whip made of small chains with barbed links upon his body. Jesuit eulogies had to give examples of the following virtues: charity, obedience, poverty, and chastity. So, one paragraph is devoted to each of these virtues.]

[Fr. Coomans' martyrdom]

The above were some examples of the virtues of this illustrious apostle, who spent his last year among the Indians of the northern islands, in exile, but for [the presence of] one God (in whom he would have placed his entire faith and trust, his usual consolation). He [must have] often desired the laurel of the most illustrious martyrdom, something which I will describe happened as we have heard.

From the northern islands, where he was spending time, and whatever life it was he tolerated it. Having heard more favorable news that we here were alive, than had been believed, the most religious Father must have had a reason to leave the place and dare to sail toward here. He had already arrived before the Island of Zaypan, where, hesitant, he may have told the 15 soldiers [sic] not to offer resistance, unfortunately, and even now [1686] they are kept by the enemies themselves.¹ The passengers, therefore, forced to land there, were much saddened and devastated (for they realized that their salvation had become critical in the extreme), he urged them to make a confession if they could. They refused him; if they had dared [to do] that, they would have caused the certain death of the Father by making the natives even wilder. However, ever mindful of the souls and of his own life, the Father, thinking about the extreme need of the miserable ones before him, again and again, so that they would consent (accede?) to his wishes, he kept on inviting the reluctant ones to yield, until he received his prow, as he himself called his crown. They had hardly sighted the island upon nearing the land, when a band of canoes sailed off to meet them. They surrounded and took control(?) of the canoes, with which Fr. Peter was sailing, and the wilder barbarians took his clothes off except for his shorts. To pay him back for his better service to them, when they arrived ashore, they tied him to a tree, and they made him the target of their slings.

As you can see, kindest Father, you would already have inferred that his death was by stoning, that [he was] a saintly Protomartyr, considering the sort of death, plus the charity with which he called out aloud to the shouting and howling sling-men, so as to exhort them [thus]: ***"Sons, never mind that. This is one way to tie me to you, and to kill me, in spite of my love for you, but you have nevertheless offended God. He may still have mercy on you, that is what I beg Him to do."***

1 Ed. note: The soldiers could not offer much resistance, even if they had wanted to, because they had been deprived of their firearms. He had at most 3 soldiers; the rest were native sailors.

Having said that, he raised his eyes to heaven, commending his soul to God, he stood there, pelted by a shower of stones, always with that greatness of spirit, until the end, as long as he was conscious, he continued to moan the words: ***“JESUS, MARY. I am dying this way. May these be my last [words: Jesus, Mary].”*** And things similar to this.

After the interval of a few hours that he had been tied to the tree, the venerable body was exposed to the damage, the insolences and the mockeries of everyone, until the barbarians had satisfied their inhumanity, they cut the cords that tied it to the trunk, placed it inside a canoe, and buried it in an open sandy area, the sand pile becoming a noble mausoleum for this meritorious man; however, the crown of unwithering glory, for the victory gained by this soul was presented in heaven. May God let us join him after the course of this life. As for me, last March, they had to administer to me the last sacrament. However, I have regained my health, thanks to God's help. In any case, I survive to greet Y.R. and the whole Province so dear to me in my prayers and holy sacrifices. I strongly commend myself to each and every associate, and may God live in us, and [may we] gain what we seek.

From the Island of San Juan, one of the Mariana Islands, 31 May 1686.

Your Reverence's servant in Christ,
Gerard Bouwens

Document 1686E

Letter from Fr. Cerezo to Fr. Mansilla in Mexico, dated Aña 17 May 1686

Source: Present location unknown; 4-page ms. offered for sale by Maggs Bros. of London in 1923 for 52 pounds (Cat. N° 442, n° 1937, p. 203).

Extract from the Maggs Catalog

...

Being in a very sorrowful state, as you will have gathered from our letters of last year, the glorious Saint Anthony consoled us on his feast day, the 13th of June [1685], with the arrival of the ship **El Niño Jesús**, which we had so greatly desired, and with it the supplies of which we were so greatly in need. God recompense you and all the others who have worked to send so good and complete a present, which the Fathers here say is the most substantial relief we have as yet received; that is, as far as our supplies are concerned, for, as regards the supplies for the Camp, you well know that these were very limited in quantity, the fault lying with him whose duty it was to have asked for more.

A singular providence of God it was, that you should not have sent all the money which the good gentleman (to what end, God alone knows) desired; at which he was sorely grieved, and loudly complained against it. But however much these gentlemen may complain, it seems to my limited judgment that it is never wise to give in to them in these matters. I consider it is far more important to send adequate supplies always, whether the Governor asks for them or not, for he endeavors to compel the Fathers to use up all their supplies in maintaining the entire camp, as has happened this year; and I hope to God that the gentleman will not order that while he is here there should be no colleges to maintain, so that he may—and I have ample foundation for my suspicions—after seizing the supplies for the collegiates, keep the money for the expenses of the camp...

This year he wanted to take possession of all the supplies, although he offered to pay for what he had, but I would not agree to it; nevertheless, I gave him the greater part of them, realizing the great need of the poor people.

[This missionary does not hesitate in his own quaint manner to accuse the Governor of a desire to do away with the Mariana Mission altogether, by the subtle means of abolishing the seminary, "so that there may not be any more good Christians trained in the colleges." He gives an interesting account of the dangers of life among the ill-governed natives; the Governor's obstinate disregard of normal precautions; and his intrigue with the wife of a Captain who was unjustly imprisoned. News of the missionary work carried out in the distant Islands is also given. He says:]

Many of the Indians emerged from their caves and remote corners in other islands, bringing their children with them to receive holy baptism, so that we have baptized up to 60 already, and have made peace with them. God be praised for having granted us at least this consolation, seeing that the many troubles we endure here are at any rate not entirely in vain and without benefit.

Some Indians who have returned from the other islands gave us the sad news that those in Zaypan had killed Father Pedro Comano, distinguished and perfect missionary; but particulars of the manner and date of his death are not yet forthcoming. It is difficult to verify the facts, for these Indians resemble the sails of a ship; the wind blows this way and that, and what they say can seldom be credited. We have also learned of the death of the saintly Filipino, Felipe Sonson.

And thus, my Father Balthasar de Mansilla, this year has yielded its plenitude of sorrows for us. God accept our sufferings and console us as soon as possible with the arrival of the ship which our good Governor is awaiting at Umatag. A few days ago, he went there with Father Cardeñoso and Father Lorenzo Bustillo, whose good fortune nobody envies!¹

1 It will be observed that the good Father is consistently sarcastic in the adjectives he applies to the hated Governor.

Document 1686F

More pirates at Guam in May 1686: Captain Swan in the *Cygnet*. The narrative of Captain Dampier

Sources: Chapter 10 of Captain William Dampier's book entitled: "A New Voyage Round the World" (London, Knapp, 1697) and other editions; reprinted in B&R 38: 241 et seq.; also reproduced in the Guam Recorder, 1st series, ca. 1924.

Notes: There were many other editions of Dampier's book, in English and in other languages, e.g. in French (Amsterdam, 1698). The English dates are Julian, i.e. 10 days behind Spanish dates. Dampier's Voyage is actually an edited version of his manuscript journal; the latter has been shown (for instance, by Captain Burney, pages 238 & 241) to have contained many small variations from the published text.

A short biography of William Dampier [1651-1715].

Dampier had an early desire to see the world and he ended up being the first man, I think, to circumnavigate it three times. At the age of 18, he travelled to Newfoundland as a sailor. He later joined an East-Indiaman, fought the Dutch War of 1673, went on to the West Indies where he learned his "trade" as a buccaneer, by joining several privateering expeditions, notably that of Captain Sharp from Jamaica to Portobelo, in which they marched across the isthmus of Panama and, in a captured ship, went to Peru to make a raid on the town of Ilo. In 1680, Dampier visited the Island of Juan Fernandez.

Upon returning to the West Indies, he joined other privateers flying French colors, as France was then at war with Spain. Dampier then took an active part in organizing a group of pirates under the command of Captain Cook, with the intention of sailing to Chile and Peru by way of Cape Horn. In so doing, they touched at the Cape Verde Islands, the Falklands, and the Juan Fernandez Island (where Dampier found a Nicaraguan Indian whom he had left behind on his previous voyage). Between the Horn and Juan Fernandez I., they were accompanied by Captain John Eaton then on his way across the Pacific.

Up the coast of Peru, the pirates captured two Spanish vessels which were on their way to Panama. They then rested at the Galapagos Islands before moving on to



William Dampier [1651-1715].

Mexico. Back to Peru, where they sacked the town of Paita, then attempted to take the town of Quayaquil but failed.

After other privateers joined them, they decided to attack the Spanish fleet coming out of Lima. There were 10 ships in all, not very well armed, so that when they saw the Spanish fleet with 14 strong ships they felt too weak to attack and decided to escape instead.

After a series of small adventures, Captain Swan, whose ship **Cygnets** Dampier had joined, decided to cross the Pacific on the track of the Manila galleon.

After visiting Guam in May 1686, the **Cygnets** and a small bark went to Mindanao where they settled for a while. Trouble soon developed among the crew. Captain Swan was left stranded ashore, and Dampier carried off

by the mutineers, under Captain Read. The ship was driven to China by a typhoon. They came back toward the Philippines and sailed all the way to the Moluccas and New Holland (Australia), where they veered northward to the Nicobar Islands, where Dampier jumped ship with two others.

Dampier and his friends managed to reach Sumatra in a canoe with 4 natives and a Portuguese half-breed. On his way home to England, Dampier's ship sprang a leak near Ascension Island. The crew was later taken off this island by the East-Indiaman **Canterbury**.

Once again Dampier put out to sea, in 1703, this time in command of two ships, the flagship **St. George** and a galley called the **Cinque Ports**, commanded by Alexander Selkirk, soon to become marooned on Juan Fernandez, for reasons of mutiny. Dampier's mate was then the same Clipperton who went off with 21 men in a captured bark. As for Dampier, he abandoned the original **St. George** as unseaworthy and crossed the Pacific in 1705 in a captured brigantine with his leftover crew of 30 men. This time, he was also unlucky, in that the Dutch made him a prisoner at Amboina and he did not return to England until the end of 1707.

Dampier was to visit Guam a third time with Woodes Rogers in 1710.

Introductory note, from the Guam Recorder.

Of all the early adventurers, none have left behind a more interesting chronicle, than that of William Dampier in his "A New Voyage Round the World." In chapter 10 of his book he describes in detail his voyage from the coast of Mexico to Guam; the coconut tree and its fruit; the Toddy or Arack distilled from it, and its uses; coir cables; the Lime; the Breadfruit; and the Natives of Guam; and their remarkable boats.

Many of his descriptions set forth are rather quaint; but when compared with those who succeeded him, it will be seen what perfect work he turned out under such difficulties of writing aboard a buccaneer cruiser. Considering his busy life of action, spent among pirates one is surprised that he found time to write three books of voyages. Imagine him writing up his journal, describing some beautiful or rare flower, in the intervals between looting some ship or sacking a village. His best book was written amid the drunkenness and noise of his shipmates. When he went ashore he did not follow his mates to the rum shops, but interested himself in the people and their customs, and jotted down details of every bird, beast, tree and fruit which he chanced to see.

William Dampier was the son of a tenant farmer in Somersetshire, England. He was baptized June 8, 1652. His parents had designed him for a tradesman. In 1669 at his own request he was apprenticed to a master mariner. From that time until about 1711 he followed the life of a sailor. From 1679 to 1688 he was connected with various buccaneering expeditions fitted out in England to prey on the rich commerce carried on by the Spaniards with their colonies in the New World. It was during one of these expeditions that he chanced to call at Guam.

Dampier died in 1711. In foreign works, the epithets of "exact, skillful, admirable," and "uncomparable" are found attached to his name. Dampier was pilot of the privateer expedition under Woodes Rogers, which rescued Alexander Selkirk from the island of Juan Fernandez, where he had been marooned some 4 years and 4 months before. It was upon the tales of adventure told by Selkirk that Defoe based his famous book "Robinson Crusoe" which has delighted so many readers, both young and old.

The first voyage of William Dampier around the world

Chapter X

—Their Departure from Cape Corrientes for the Ladrone Islands, and the East-Indies. Their Course thither, and Accidents by the way: with a Table of each Day's Run, &c. Of the different accounts of the breadth of these Seas. Guam, one of the Ladrone Islands. The Coco-Nut Tree, Fruit, &c. The Toddi, or Arack that distils from it; with other Uses that are made of it. Coire Cables. The Lime, or Crab-Limon. The Bread-fruit. The native Indians of Guam. Their Proes, a remarkable sort of Boats: and of those used in the East-Indies. The State of Guam: and the Provisions with which they were furnished there.

I have given an Account in the last Chapter of the Resolutions we took of going over to the East-Indies. But having more calmly considered on the length of our Voyage, from hence to Guam, one of the Ladrone Islands, which is the first place that we could touch at, and there also being not certain to find Provisions, most of our Men were almost daunted at the thoughts of it; for we had not 60 days Provision, at a little more than half a pint of Maiz a day for each Man, and no other Provision, except 3 Meals

of salted Jew-fish; and we had a great many Rats aboard, which we could not hinder from eating part of our Maiz. Beside, the great distance between Cape Corrientes and Guam: which is variously set down. The Spaniards, who have the greatest reason to know best, make it to be between 2300 and 2400 Leagues; our Books also reckon it differently, between 90 and 100 degrees, which all comes short indeed of 2000 Leagues, but even that was a voyage enough to frighten us, considering our scanty Provisions. Captain Swan, to encourage his Men to go with him, persuaded them that the English Books did give the best account of the distance; his Reasons were many, although but weak. He urged among the rest, that Sir Thomas Candish and Sir Francis Drake did run it in less than 50 Days, and that he did not question but that our Ships¹ were better sailers, than those which were built in that Age, and that he did not doubt to get there in little more than 40 Days: This being the best time in the Year for breezes, which undoubtedly is the reason that the Spaniards set out from Acapulco about this time; and that although they are 60 Days in their Voyage, it is because they are great Ships, deep laden, and very heavy sailers; besides, they wanting nothing, are in no great haste in their way, but sail with a great deal of their usual caution. And when they come near the Island Guam, they lie by in the Night for a Week, before they make Land. In prudence we also should have contriv'd to lie by in the Night when we came near Land, for otherwise we might have run ashoar, or have out-sailed the Islands, and lost sight of them before Morning. But our bold Adventurers seldom proceed with such wariness when in any straights.

But as all Captain Swan's Arguments, that which prevailed most with them was, his promising them, as I have said, to cruize off the Manila's. So he and his Men being now agree, and they encouraged with the hope of gain, which works its way thro' all Difficulties, we set out from Cape Corrientes March the 31st, 1686. **We were 2 Ships in Company, Captain's Swan's Ship, and a Bark commanded under Captain Swan, by Captain Teat,** and we were 150 Men, 100 aboard of the Ship, and 50 aboard the Bark, besides Slaves, as I said.²

We had a small Land-wind at E.N.E. which carried us 3 or 4 Leagues, then the Sea-wind came at W.N.W. a fresh gale, so we steered away S.W. By 6 a Clock in the Evening we were about 9 Leagues S.W. from the Cape, then we met a Land-wind which blew fresh all Night, and the next Morning about 10 a Clock we had the Sea-breeze at N.N.E. so that at Noon we were 30 Leagues from the Cape. It blew a fresh gale of Wind, which carried us off into the true Trade-wind, (of the difference of which Trade-winds I shall speak in the Chapter of Winds, in the Appendix) for although the constant Sea-breeze near the Shoar is at W.N.W. yet the true Trade off at Sea, when you are clear of the Land-winds, is at E.N.E. At first we had it at N.N.E. so it came about Northerly, and then to the East as we run off. At 250 Leagues distance from the Shoar we had it at E.N.E. and there it stood till we came within 40 Leagues of Guam. When we had eaten

1 Ed. note: The Cygnet was in company with a small, nameless, bark.

2 Ed. note: These Spanish-speaking slaves had been captured in Peru.

up our 3 Meals of salted Jew-fish, in so many Days time, we had nothing but our small allowance of Maiz.

After the 31st Day of March we made great runs every Day, having very fair clear Weather, and a fresh Trade-wind, which we made use of with all our Sails, and we made many good observations of the Sun. At our first setting out, we steer'd into the Lat. of 13 degrees, which is near the lat. of Guam; then we steer'd West, keeping in that lat. By that time we had sailed 20 Days, our Men seeing we made such great runs, and the Wind like to continue, repined because they were kept at such short allowance. Captain Swan endeavoured to persuade them to have a little Patience; yet nothing but an augmentation of their daily allowance would appease them. Captain Swan, though with much reluctance, gave way to a small enlargement of our Commons, for now we had not above 10 spoonfuls of boil'd Maiz a Man, once a day, whereas before we had 8: I do believe that this short allowance did me a great deal of good, though others were weakened by it: for I found that my strength increased, and my Dropsie wore off. Yet I drank 3 times every 24 Hours; but many of our Men did not drink in 9 or 10 days time and some not in 12 days; one of our Men did not drink in 17 days time, and said he was not adry when he did drink; yet he made water every day more or less. One of our Men in the midst of these hardships was found guilty of theft, and condemned for the same, to have 3 blows from each Man in the Ship, with a 2 inch and a half rope on his bare back. Captain Swan began first, and struck with a good will; whose example was followed by all of us.

It was very strange, that in all this Voyage we did not see one Fish, not so much as a Flying-Fish, nor any sort of Fowl; but at one time, when we were by my account 4975 miles West from Cape Corrientes, then we saw a great number of Boobies, which we supposed came from some Rocks not far from us, which were mentioned in some of our Sea-Cards, but we did not see them.¹

After we had run the 1900 Leagues by our reckoning, which made the English account to Guam, the Men began to murmur against Captain Swan, for persuading them to come this Voyage; but he gave them fair words, and told them that the Spanish account might probably be the truest, and seeing the Gale was likely to continue, a short time longer would end our troubles.

As we drew nigh the Island, we met with some small Rain, and the Clouds settling in the West, were an apparent token that we were not far from Land; for in these Climates, between or near the Tropicks, where the Trade-wind blows constantly, the Clouds which fly swift over head, yet seem near the Limb of the Horizon to hang without much motion or alteration, where the Land is near. I have often taken notice of it, especially if it is high Land, for you shall then have the Clouds hang about it without any visible motion.

1 Ed. note: They were probably near Taongi Island, at most 1° north of their position.

[Santa Rosa Bank discovered by the Cygnet a few days before its official discovery by the Santa Rosa]

The 20th day of May, our Bark being about 3 Leagues a-head of our Ship, sailed over a rocky shole, on which there was but 4 fathom water, and abundance of Fish swimming about the Rocks. They imagin'd by this that the Land was not far off: so they clapt on a Wind with the Barks head to the North, and being past the Shole, lay by for us. When we came up with them, Captain Teat came aboard us, and related what he had seen. We were then in lat. 12 d. 55 m. steering West.¹

The Island Guam is laid down in Lat. 13 d. N. by the Spaniards, who are Masters of it, keeping it as a baiting-place as they go to the Philippine Islands.²

Therefore we clapt on a Wind and stood to Northward, being somewhat troubled and doubtful whether we were right, because there is no Shole laid down, in the Spanish Drafts, about the Island Guam. At 4 a Clock, to our great Joy, we saw the Island Guam, at about 8 Leagues distance.

[Arrival at Guam]

It was well for Captain Swan that we got sight of it before our Provision was spent, of which we had but enough for 3 days more; for, as I was afterwards informed, the Men had contrived, first to kill Captain Swan and eat him when the Victuals are gone, and after him all of us who were accessory in promoting the undertaking this Voyage. This made Captain Swan say to me after our arrival at Guam. *Ah! Dampier, you would have made them but a poor Meal*, for I was as lean as the Captain was lusty and fleshy. The Wind was at E.N.E. and the Land bore at N.N.E. therefore we stood to the Northward, till we brought the Island to bear East, and then we turned to get in to an anchor.

[The author here follows with a detailed list of his days' runs, sea, wind, etc. which are of slight interest today. He does, however, make some curious comments on the size of the "South Sea" and other bodies of water.]

1 Ed. note: According to Burney, the manuscript journal has the additional comment that "the Cygnet in getting up to the bark, ran over a shoal bank, where the bottom was seen, and fish among the rocks; but the ship ran past it before we could heave the lead."

2 Ed. note: Dampiers' ms. journal has the additional detail: "We did not observe the variation of the compass at Guam. At Cape Corrientes we found it 4°28' Easterly, and an observation we made when we had gone about a third of the passage, shewed it to be the same. I am inclined to think it was less at Guam." Dampier's assumption was correct; the Spanish had measured it about 5 years before at 3°30' (see Doc. 1681T1).



William Dampier (left) being embraced by Captain Swan. *At their arrival at Guam in May 1686, they had only three days' worth of provisions left in the way of a few pints of corn. The sailors had threatened to eat the officers. Dampier the Mate would have been second to Captain Swan in being eaten. After the Cygnet had cast anchor, Swan embraced Dampier and said: "Ah! Dampier, you would have made them but a poor meal." (From Jules Verne's Exploration of the World, f.p. 411).*

[Discussion on the size of the oceans, etc.]

We then saw the Island Guam bearing N.N.E. distant from us about 8 Leagues, which gives the latitude of the Island 13 d. 20 m. And according to the account foregoing, its longitude is 125 d. 11 m. West from the Cape Corrientes on the Coast of Mexico, allowing 58 and 59 Italian miles to a degree in these latitudes, at the common rate of 60 miles to a degree of the Equator, as before computed.¹

As a Corollary from hence it will follow, that upon a supposal of the truth of the general allowance, Seamen make of 60 Italian miles to an Equinoctial degree, that the South Sea must be of a greater breadth by 25 degrees, than it's commonly reckoned by Hydrographers, who make it only about 100 more or less. For since we found (as I shall have occasion to say) the distance from Guam to the Eastern parts of Asia, to be much the same with the common reckoning; it follows by way of necessary consequence from hence that the 25 degrees of longitude, or thereabouts, which are under-reckoned in the distance between America and the East-Indies Westward, are over-reckoned in the breadth of Asia and Africk, the Atlantick Sea, or the American Continent, or all together; and so that Tract of the Terraqueous Globe, must be so much shortened. And for a further confirmation of the fact, I shall add, that as to the Æthiopick or Indian Sea, its breadth must be considerably less than 'tis generally calculated to be, if it be true what I have heard over and over, from several able Seamen, whom I have conversed with in these parts, that Ships sailing from the Cape of Good Hope to New Holland, (as many Ships bound to Java, or thereabouts, keep that latitude) find themselves there, (and sometimes to their cost) running aground when they have thought themselves to be a great way off, and 'tis from hence possibly, that the Dutch call that port of this Coast the land of Indraught, (as if it magnetically drew Ships too fast to it) and give cautions to avoid it: But I rather think, 'tis the nearness of the Land, than any Whirlpool, or the like, that surprizes them. As to the breadth of the Atlantick Sea, I am from good hands assured, that it is over-reckoned by six, seven, eight, or then degrees, for besides the concurrent Accounts of several experienced Men, who have confirmed the same to me: Mr. Canby particularly, who hath sailed as a Mate in a great many Voyages, from Cape Lopez on the Guinea, to Barbadoes, and is much esteem'd as a very sensible Man, hath often told me, that he constantly found the distance to be between 60 and 62 degrees; whereas 'tis laid down in 68, 69, 70 and 72 degrees, in the common Draughts.

As to the supposition it self, which our Seamen make, in the allowing but 60 miles to a degree, I am not ignorant how much this hath been canvased of late years especially, and that the prevailing opinion hath been that about 70, or upwards, should be allowed. But till I can see some better grounds for the exactness of those trials, that have been made on Land by Mr. Norwood and others, considering the inequality of the Earths surface, as well as the obliquity of the way; in their allowing for which I am

1 Ed. note: The true length of a degree at the equator is 70 nautical miles; hence, the above figures would have to be adjusted before a comparison with modern figures could be made.

somewhat doubtful of their measures. Upon the whole matter, I cannot but adhere to the general Sea calculation, confirmed as to the main by daily experience, till some more certain estimate shall be made than those hitherto attempted. For we find our selves when we sail North or South, to be brought to our intended place, in a time agreeable enough with what we expect upon the usual supposition, making all reasonable allowance, for the little unavoidable deviations East or West: and there seems no reason why the same estimate should not serve us in crossing the Meridians, which we find so true in Sailing under them. As to this course of ours to Guam particularly we should rather increase than shorten our estimate of the length of it, considering that the Easterly Wind and Current being so strong, and bearing therefore our Log after us, as is usual in such cases, should we therefore, in casting up the run of the Log, make allowance for so much space as the Log it self drove after us (which is commonly 3 or 4 miles in 100, in so brisk a gale as this was) we must have reckoned more than 125 degrees; but in this Voyage we made no such allowance: (though it be usual to do it) so that how much soever this computation of mine exceeds the common Draughts, yet it is of the shortest, according to our experiment and calculation.

[Description of the Island of Guam]

But to proceed with our Voyage: The Island Guam or Guahon, (as the Native Indians pronounce it) is one of the Ladrone Islands, belongs to the Spaniards, who have **a small Fort with six Guns in it**, with a Governour and 20 or 30 Soldiers. They keep it for the relief and refreshment of their Philippine Ships, that touch here in their way from Acapulco to Manila, but the Winds will not so easily let them take this way back again. The Spaniards of late have named Guam, the Island Maria,¹ it is about 12 Leagues long, and 4 broad, lying N. and S. It is pretty high Champion land.

The 21^t day of May, 1686, at 11 a Clock in the Evening we anchored near the middle of the Island Guam, on the West side, a Mile from the shore. At a distance it appears flat and even, but coming near it you will find it stands shelving, and the East side, which is much the highest, is fenced with steep Rocks, that oppose the Violence of the Sea, which continually rage against it, being driven with the constant Trade-wind, and on that side there is no Anchoring. The West side is pretty low, and full of small sandy Bays, divided with as many rocky Points. The Soil of the Island is reddish, dry and indifferent fruitful. The Fruits are chiefly Rice, Pine-apples, Water-melons, Musk-melons, Oranges and Limes, Coco-nuts, and a sort of Fruit called by us Bread-fruit.

1 Ed. note: Needless to say, Dampier misunderstood the explanation about the new name of Mariana applying not just to Guam but to the whole group. No wonder the English continued to call the group Ladrone well into the 20th century.

[Treatise on the coconut tree and its fruit]

The Coao-nut Trees grow by the Sea, on the Western side in great Groves, 3 or 4 Miles in length, and a Mile or two broad.¹ This Tree is in shape like the Cabbage-tree,² and at a distance they are not to be known each from other, only the Coco-nut Tree is fuller of Branches, but the Cabbage-tree generally is much higher, tho' the Coco-nut Trees in some places are very high.

The Nut or Fruit grows at the head of the Tree, among the Branches and in Clusters, 10 or 12 in a Cluster. The Branch to which they grow is about the bigness of a Man's Arm, and as long, running small towards the end. It is of a yellow Colour, full of Knots, and very tough. The Nut is generally bigger than a Man's Head. The outer Rind is near two Inches thick, before you come to the Shell: the Shell it self is black, thick, and very hard. The Kernel in some Nuts is near an Inch thick, and sticking to the inside of the Shell clear round, leaving a hollow in the middle of it, which contains about a Pint, more or less, according to the bigness of the Nut, for some are much bigger than others.

This Cavity is full of sweet, delicate, wholesome and refreshing Water. While the Nut is growing, all the inside is full of this Water, without any Kernel at all, but as the Nut grows towards its Maturity, the Kernel begins to gather and settle round on the inside of the Shell, and is soft like Cream; and as the Nut ripens, it increaseth in substance and becomes hard. The ripe Kernel is sweet enough, but very hard to digest, therefore seldom eaten, unless by Strangers, who know not the effects of it; but while it is young and soft like Pap, some Men will eat it, scraping it out with a Spoon, after they have drunk the Water that was within it. I like the Water best when the Nut is almost ripe, for it is then sweetest and briskest.

When these Nuts are ripe and gathered, the outside Rind becomes of a brown rusty colour; so that one would think that they were dead and dry; yet they will sprout out like Onions, after they have been hanging in the Sun 3 or 4 Months, or thrown about in a House or Ship, and if planted afterward in the Earth they will grow up to a Tree. Before they thus sprout out there is a small spongy round knob grows in the inside, which we call an Apple. This at first is no bigger than the top of ones finger, but increaseth daily, sucking up the Water till it is grown so big as to fill up the Cavity of the Coco-nut, and then it begins to sprout forth. By this time the Nut that was hard begins to grow oily and soft, thereby giving passage to the Sprout that springs from the Apple, which Nature hath so contrived, that it points to the hole in the Shell, (of which there are three, till it grows ripe just where it's fastened by its stalk to the Tree; but one of these holes remains open, even when it is ripe) through which it creeps and spreads forth its Branches. You may let these teeming Nuts sprout out a foot and half, or two foot

1 Ed. note: Caution is required when reading some of the applications derived from the coconut tree below, as they apply to the East Indies, and not necessarily to Guam.

2 Ed. note: The palmetto, or ordinary palm tree.

high before you plant them, for they will grow a great while like an Onion out of their own Substance.

Beside the Liquor or Water in the Fruit, there is also a sort of Wine drawn from the Tree called Toddy, which looks like Whey. It is sweet and very pleasant, but it is to be drunk within 24 hours after it is drawn, for afterwards it grows sowre. Those that have a great many Trees, draw a Spirit from the sowre Wine called Arack.¹ Arack is distill'd also from Rice and other things in the East-Indies; but none is so much esteemed for making Punch as this sort, made of Toddy or the sap of the Coco-nut Tree, for it makes most delicate Punch, but it must have a dash of Brandy to hearten it, because this Arack is not strong enough to make good Punch of it self. This sort of Liquor is chiefly used about Goa; and therefore it has the Name of Goa Arack. The way of drawing the Toddy from the Tree, is by cutting the top of a Branch that would bear Nuts; but before it has any Fruit: and from thence the Liquor which was to feed its Fruit, distils into the Hole of a Callabash that is hung upon it.

This Branch continues running almost as long as the Fruit would have been growing, and then it dries away. The Tree hath usually 3 fruitful Branches, which if they be all tapp'd thus, then the Tree bears no Fruit that year; but if one or two only be tapp'd, the other will bear Fruit all the while. The Liquor which is thus drawn is emptied out of the Callabash duly Morning and Evening, so long as it continues running, and is sold every Morning and Evening in most Towns in the East-Indies, and great gains is produced from it even this way; but those that distil it and make Arack, reap the greatest profit. There is also great profit made of the Fruit, both of the Nut and of the Shell.

The Kernel is much used in making Broath. When the Nut is dry, they take on the Husk, and giving two good Blows on the middle of the Nut, it breaks in two equal parts, letting the Water fall on the Ground; then with a small Iron Rasp made for the purpose, the Kernel or Nut is rasped out clean, which being put into a little fresh Water, makes it become white as Milk. In this milky Water they boil a Fowl or any other sort of Flesh, and it makes very savory Broath. English Seamen put this water into boiled Rice, which they eat instead of Rice-milk, carrying Nuts purposely to Sea with them. This they learn from the Natives.

But the greatest use of the Kernel is to make Oyl, both for burning and for frying. The way to make the Oyl is to grate or rasp the Kernel, and steep it in fresh Water; then boil it and scum off the Oyl at top as it rises. But the Nuts that make the Oyl ought to be a long time gathered so as that the Kernel may be turning soft and oily.

The Shell of this Nut is used in the East-Indies for Cups, Dishes, Ladles, Spoons, and in a manner for all eating and drinking Vessels. Well shaped Nuts are often brought home to Europe and much esteemed. The Husk of the Shell is of great use to make Cables, for the dry Husk is full of small Strings and Threads, which being beaten, become soft, and the other Substance which was mixt among it falls away like saw-dust,

1 Ed. note: This practice was not yet current in the Marianas, where the Filipino soldiers had been forbidden, by the missionaries, to teach the natives how to make aguardiente.

leaving only the Strings. These are afterwards spun into long Yarns, and twisted up into Balls for convenience: and many of these Rope-Yarns joined together make good Cables. This Manufactory is chiefly used at the Maldive Islands, and the threads sent in Balls into all places that trade thither, purposely for to make Cables. I made a Cable at Achin with some of it. These are called Coire Cables; they will last very well. But there is another sort of Coire Cables (as they are called) that are black, and more strong and lasting; and are made of strings that grow, like Horse-hair, at the heads of certain Trees, almost like the Coco-nut Tree. This sort comes most from the Island Timor. In the South Seas the Spaniards do make oakam to caulk their Ships, with the husk of the Coco-nut, which is more serviceable than that made of hemp, and they say it will never rot. I have been told by Captain Knox, who wrote the Relation of Ceylon,¹ that in some places of India they make a sort of coarse Cloth of the husk of the Coco-nut, which is used for Sails. I myself have seen a sort of coarse Sail-cloth made of such a kind of substance; but whether the same or no I know not.

I have been the longer on this subject, to give the Reader a particular Account of the use and profit of a Vegetable, which is possibly of all others the most generally serviceable to the conveniences, as well as the necessities of humane Life. Yet this Tree, that is of such great use, and esteemed so much in the East-Indies, is scarce regarded in the West-Indies, for want of the knowledge of the benefit which it may produce. And 'tis partly for the sake of my Country-men, in our American Plantations, that I have spoken so largely of it. For the hot Climates there are a very proper soil for it; and indeed it is so hardy, both in the raising it, and when grown, that it will thrive as well in dry sandy ground as in rich land. I have found them growing very well in low sandy Islands (on the west of Sumatra) that are over flowed with the Sea every Spring-tide; and though the Nuts there are not very big, yet this is no less, for the Kernel is thick and sweet; and the Milk or Water in the inside is more pleasant and sweet than of the Nuts that grow in rich ground, which are commonly large indeed, but not very sweet. These at Guam grow in dry ground, are of a middle size, and I think the sweetest that I did ever taste. Thus much for the Coco-nut.

The **Lime** is a sort of bastard or Crab-limon. The Tree, or Bush that bears it, is prickly, like a Thorn, growing full of small boughs. In Jamaica, and other places, they make of the Lime-Bush Fences about Gardens, or any other Inclosure, by planting the seeds close together, which growing up thick, spread abroad, and make a very good Hedge. The Fruit is like a Lemon, but smaller; the rind thin, and the inclosed substance full of juice. The juice is very tart, yet of a pleasant taste if sweetened with Sugar. It is chiefly used for making Punch, both in the East and West-Indies, as well ashoar as at Sea, and much of it is for that purpose yearly brought home to England, from our West-India Plantations. It is also used for a particular kind of Sauce, which is called Pepper-Sauce,

¹ Ed. note: Robert Knox [1640-1720] had been held prisoner among the natives for almost 20 years. His book is entitled: "An Historical Relation of the Island of Ceylon in the East Indies" which was published in London in 1681, one year after his escape and return to England.

and is made of Cod-pepper, commonly called Guinea-pepper, boiled in Water, and then pickled with Salt, and mix'd with Lime-juice to preserve it. Limes grow plentiful in the East and West-Indies, within the Tropicks.

The **Bread-fruit** (as we call it) grows on a large Tree, as big and high as our largest Apple-Trees. It hath a spreading head full of branches, and dark leaves. The Fruit grows on the boughs like Apples: it is as big as a Penny-loaf, when Wheat is at five Shillings the Bushel. It is of a round shape, and hath a thick tough rind. When the Fruit is ripe, it is yellow and soft; and the taste is sweet and pleasant. The Natives of this Island use it for Bread: they gather it when full grown, while it is green and hard; then they bake it in an Oven, which scorcheth the rind and makes it black; but they scrape off the outside black crust, and there remains a tender thin crust, and the inside is soft, tender and white, like the crumb of a Penny Loaf. There is neither seed nor stone in the inside, but all is of a pure substance like Bread: it must be eaten new, for if it is kept above 24 hours, it becomes dry, and eats harsh and choaky; but 'tis very pleasant before it is too stale. This Fruit lasts in season 8 months in the year; during which time the Natives eat no other sort of food of Bread kind. I did never see of this Fruit any where but here. The Natives told us, that there is plenty of this Fruit growing on the rest of the Ladrone Islands; and I did never hear of any of it any where else.

They have here some **Rice** also; but the Island being of a dry Soil, and therefore not very proper for it, they do not sow very much. **Fish** is scarce about this Island; yet on the shole that our Bark came over there was great plenty, and the Natives commonly go thither to fish.

[Description of the Guam natives]

The Natives of this Island are strong-bodied, large-limb'd, and well-shap'd. They are Copper-coloured, like other Indians; their hair is black and long, their eyes meanly proportioned; they have pretty high Noses; their Lips are pretty full, and their Teeth indifferent white. They are long-visaged, and stern of countenance; yet we found them to be affable and courteous. There are many of them troubled with a kind of **Leprosie**. This distemper is very common at Mindanao; therefore, I shall speak more of it in my next Chapter. They of Guam are otherwise very healthy, especially in the dry season; but in the wet season, which comes in June, and holds till October, the air is more thick and unwholesome; which occasions Fevers: but the Rains are not violent nor lasting. For the Island lies so far Westerly from the Philippine Islands, or any other Land, that the Westerly Winds do seldom blow so far; and when they do, they do not last long: but the Easterly Winds do constantly blow here, which are dry and healthy; and this Island is found to be very healthful, as we were informed while we lay by it.

[Chamorro canoes]

The natives are very ingenious beyond any People, in making Boats, or Proes, as they are called in the East-Indies, and therein they take great delight. These are built sharp at both ends; the bottom is of one piece, made like the bottom of a little Canoa,

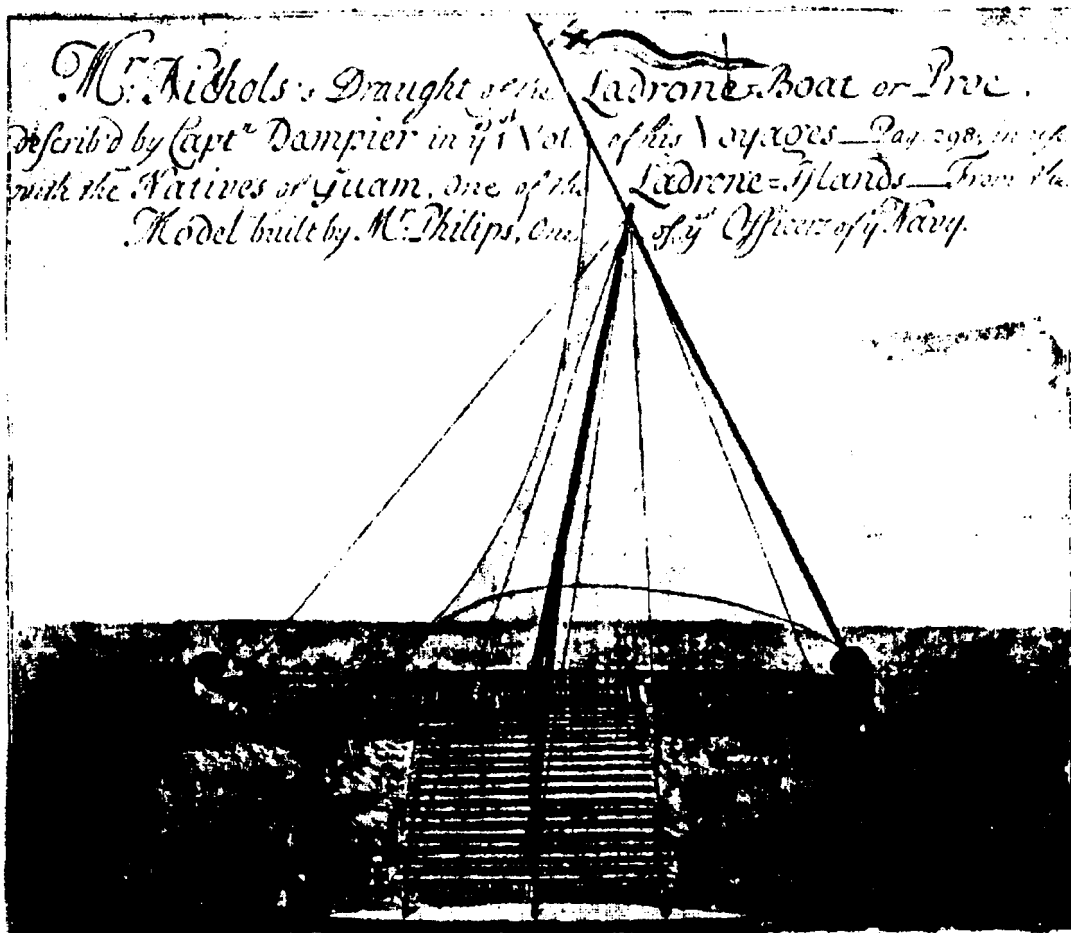
very neatly dug, and left of a good substance. This bottom-part is instead of a Keel. It is about 26 or 28 foot long; the under-part of this Keel is made round, but inclining to a wedge, and smooth; and the upper-part is almost flat, having a very gentle hollow, and is about a foot broad: From hence both sides of the Boat are carried up to about 5 foot high with narrow Plank, not above 4 or 5 inches broad, and each end of the Boat turns up round, very prettily. **But what is very singular, one side of the Boat is made perpendicular, like a Wall, while the other side is rounding, made as other Vessels are, with a pretty full belly.** Just in the middle it is about 4 or 5 foot broad aloft, or more, according to the length of the Boat. The Mast stands exactly in the middle [length-wise], with a long Yard that peeks up and down like a Mizzen-yard.¹ One end of it reacheth down to the end or head of the Boat, where it is placed in a notch, that is made there purposely to receive it, and keep it fast. The other end hangs over the Stern: To this Yard the Sail is fastened. At the foot of the Sail there is another small Yard,² to keep the Sail out square, and to roll up the Sail on when it blows hard; for it serves instead of a Reef to take up the sail to what degree they please, according to the strength of the Wind.

Along the Belly-side of the Boat, parallel with it, at about 6 or 7 foot distance, lies another small Boat, or Canoa, being a Log of very light Wood, almost as long as the great Boat, but not so wide, being not above a foot and a half wide at the upper part, and very sharp like a Wedge at each end. And there are two Bamboes of about 8 or 10 foot long, and as big as ones Leg, placed over the great Boats side, one near each end of it, and reaching about 6 or 7 foot from the side of the Boat: By the help of which, the little Boat is made firm and contiguous to the other. These are generally called by the Dutch, and by the English from them, Out-layers. The use of them is to keep the great Boat upright from over-setting; because the wind here being in a manner constantly East, (or if it were at West it would be the same thing) and the Range of these Islands, where their business lies to and fro, being mostly North and South, **they turn the flat side of the Boat against the Wind, upon which they sail, and the Bely-side, consequently with its little Boat, is upon the Lee.**³ And the Vessel having a

1 Ed. note: James Hornell, in his book "Canoes of Oceania," vol. 1, p. 146, says that "the vessels of the British Navy and Merchant Service of Dampier's time carried a true lateen sail on the mizzen; at a later date this was replaced by the gaff sail of modern days."

2 Ed. note: Hornell, op. cit., adds: "By small, Dampier appears to mean a slender yard."

3 Ed. note: Captain Burney has noted that such a sailing technique may not have been the normal way: "The Ladrone flying proa described in Commodore Anson's Voyage, sailed with the belly or rounded side and its small canoe to windward; by which it appears that these proas were occasionally managed either way, probably according to the strength of the wind; the little parallel boat or canoe preserving the large one upright by its weight when to windward, and by its buoyancy when to leeward." James Hornell, op. cit., is formal in saying that Dampier made "an unaccountable mistake—the statement that the flat side of the hull is turned against the wind and that the outrigger and belly side are upon the lee side of the hull. Such an arrangement would be instantly disastrous if the wind were at all strong, for the float would bury itself in the sea and the canoe would capsize... One can only account for Dampier's mistake by inferring that he wrote the account from memory some considerable time later."



A Chamorro canoe, inspired by Dampier's description. *The writing at the top is as follows: "Mr. Nichols's Draught of the Ladrone Boat or Proe, describ'd by Capt. Dampier in ye 1st. Vol. of his Voyages, Pag. 298, in ref. with the Natives of Guam, one of the Ladrone Islands. From the Model built by Mr. Philips, one of ye Officers of ye Navy." This illustration is one of the colored drawings inserted by Samuel Pepys in his scrap-book, entitled: "Coliection of Vessels Naval", now catalogued as Sea Ms. 2934, Pepysian Library, Magdalene College, Cambridge University. The model, supposedly based on Dampier's description does not agree with it. Not only is the Church pendant inaccurate, but also the lack of a boom, or lower yard on the sail. (From H.H. Brinkley's article: "Early Pictures of Lateen Sails" in the magazine Mariner's Mirror 12 (1926): 9-22).*

Head at each end, so as to sail with either of them foremost [indifferently] they need not tack, or go about, as all our Vessels do, but each end of the Boat serves either for Head or Stern as they please. When they ply to windward, and are minded to go about, he that steers bears away a little from the Wind, by which means the stern comes to the Wind; which is now become the Head, only by shifting the end of the Yard.

This Boat is steered with a broad paddle, instead of a Rudder. I have been the more particular in describing these Boats, because I do believe, they sail the best of any Boats in the World. I did here for my own satisfaction, try the swiftness of one of them; sailing by our Log, we had 12 Knots on our Reel, and she run it all out before the half Minute-Glass was half out; which, if it had been no more, is after the rate of 12 Miles an hour; but I do believe she would have run 24 Miles an hour. It was very pleasant to see the little Boat running along so swift by the others side.

The Native Indians are no less dexterous in managing, than in building these Boats. By report, they will go from hence to another of the Ladrone Islands about 30 Leagues off, and there do their Business, and return again in less than 12 hours. I was told that one of these Boats was sent Express to Manila, which is above 400 Leagues, and performed the Voyage in 4 days time.¹ There are of these Proes or Boats used in many places of the East-Indies, but with a Belly and a little Boat on each side. Only at Mindanao I saw one like these, with the Belly and a little Boat only on one side, and the other flat, but not so neatly built.

[Local political scene, etc.]

The Indians of Guam have neat little Houses, very handsomely thatch'd with Palmeto-thatch. they inhabit together in Villages built by the Sea, on the west side, and have Spanish Priests to instruct them in the Christian Religion.

The Spanish have a small Fort on the west side, near the south [sic] end, with 6 Guns in it.² There is a Governour, and 20 or 30 Spanish Soldiers. There are no more Spaniards on this Island, beside 2 or 3 Priests. Not long before we arrived here, the Natives rose on the Spaniards to destroy them, and did kill many: But the Governour with his Soldiers at length prevailed, and drove them out of the Fort [sic]: So when they found themselves disappointed of their intent, they destroyed the Plantations and Stock, and they went away to other Islands: There were then 3 or 400 Indians on this Island, but now there are not above 100; for all that were in this Conspiracy went away. As for those who yet remain, if they were not actually concerned in that broil, yet their hearts also are bent against the Spaniards; for they offered to carry us to the Fort, and assist us in the Conquest of the Island; but Captain Swan was not for molesting the Spaniards here.

1 Ed. note: Says Hornell: "A rate which would require a mean speed of 12.5 miles per hour to be maintained throughout the journey."

2 Ed. note: Although there was already a small stockade in Umatac, Dampier may refer here to the main fort at Agaña, which was, of course, located nearer the north end.

Before we came to an anchor here, one of the Priests came aboard in the Night with 3 Indians. They first hailed us to know from whence we came, and what we were: to whom answer was made in Spanish,¹ that we were Spaniards, and that we came from Acapulco. It being dark they could not see the make of our Ship, nor very well discern what we were. Therefore they came aboard: but perceiving the mistake they were in, in taking us for a Spanish Ship, they endeavoured to get from us again, but we held their Boat fast, and made them come in. Captain Swan received the Priest with much Civility, and conducting him into the Great Cabin, declared, That the reason of our coming to this Island was want of Provision, and that he came not in any hostile manner, but as a Friend to purchase with his Money what he wanted: And therefore desired the Priest to write a Letter to the Governour, to inform him what we were, and on what account we came. For having him now aboard, the Captain was willing to detain him as an Hostage, till we had Provision. The Padre told Captain Swan, that Provision was now scarce on the Island; but he would engage, that the Governour would do his utmost to furnish us.²

In the Morning the Indians, in whose Boat or Proe the Friar came aboard, were sent to the Governour with two Letters; one from the Friar, and another very obliging one from Captain Swan, and a Present of 4 Yards of Scarlet-cloath, and a piece of broad Silver and Gold Lace. The Governour lives near the South [sic] end of the Island on the west side: which was about 5 leagues from the place where we were; therefore we did not expect an answer till the Evening, not knowing then how nimble they were.³ Therefore when the Indian Canoa was dispatched away to the Governour, we hoisted out 2 of our Canoas, and sent one a fishing, and the other ashore for Coco-nuts. Our fishing Canoa got nothing; but the Men that went ashore for Coco-nuts came off laden.

About 11 a Clock, that same Morning, the Governour of the Island sent a Letter to Captain Swan, complimenting him for his Present, and promising to support us with as much Provision, as he could possibly spare; and as a Token of his Gratitude, he sent a present of 6 Hogs, of a small sort, most excellent Meat, the best I think, that ever I eat: They are fed with Coco-nuts, and their flesh is hard as Brisket Beef. They were doubtless of that breed in America which came originally from Spain: He sent also 12 Musk-melons, larger than ours in England, and as many Water-melons, both sorts here being a very excellent Fruit; and sent an order to the Indians that lived in a Village not far from our Ship, to bake every day as much of the Bread-fruit as we did desire, and to assist us in getting as many dry Coco-nuts as we would have; which they accordingly did, and brought off the Bread-fruit every day hot, as much as we could eat. After this the Governour sent every day a Canoa or two with Hogs and Fruit, and desired for the same Powder, Shot and Arms, which was sent according to his Request. We had a delicate large English Dog; which the Governour did desire, and had it given him free-

1 Ed. note: By the captured natives from Peru.

2 Ed. note: The Jesuit priest was kept on board for 9 days. He was Fr. Cuculino (Doc. 1688C).

3 Ed. note: Once again, the word South was substituted for North. However, Governor Esplana had come down from Agaña to Umatac to await the galleon whose arrival was then due.

ly by the Captain though much against the grain of many of his Men, who had a great value for that Dog. Captain Swan endeavoured to get this Governours Letter of Recommendation to some Merchants in Manila, for he had then a design to go to Fort St. George,¹ and from thence to trade to Manila: but this his design was concealed from the company.

[The galleon Santa Rosa diverted from Guam in 1686]

While we lay here, the Acapulco Ship arrived in sight of the Island, but did not come in sight of us; for the Governour sent an Indian Proe, with advise of our being here. Therefore she stood off to the Southward of the Island, and coming foul of the same shole that our Bark had run over before, was in great danger of being lost there, for she struck off her Rudder and with much ado got clear, but not till after three days labour. For tho' the shole be so near the Island, and the Indians go off and fish there every day, yet the Master of the Acapulco Ship, who should (one would think) know these Parts, was utterly ignorant of it.² This their striking on the shole we heard afterward when we were on the Coast of Manila; but these Indians of Guam did speak of her being in sight of the Island while we lay there, which put our Men in a great heat to go out after her, but Captain Swan persuaded them out of that humour, for he was now wholly averse to any hostile action.

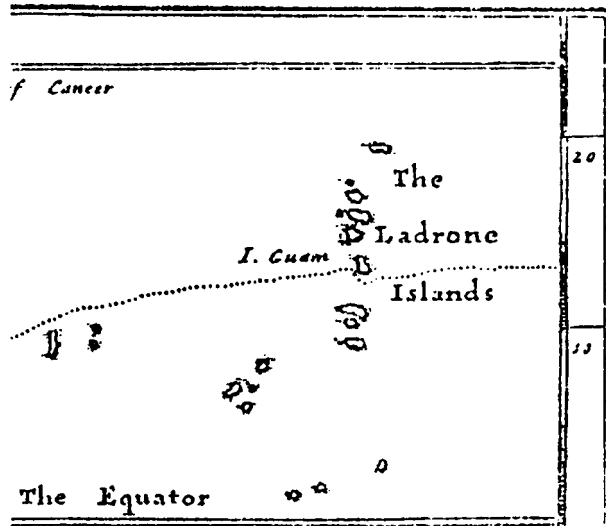
The 30th day of May, the Governour sent his last Present, which was some Hogs, a Jar of pickled Mangoes, a jar of excellent pickled Fish, and a jar of fine Rusk or Bread of fine Wheat-Flower, baked like Bisket, but not so hard. He sent besides, 6 or 7 packs of Rice, desiring to be excused from sending any more Provision to us, saying he had no more on the Island that he could spare. He sent word also, that the West Monsoon was at hand, that therefore it behoved us to be jogging from hence, unless we were resolved to return back to America again. Captain Swan returned him thanks for his kindness and advice, and took his leave; and the same day sent the Friar ashoar, that was seized on at our first arrival, and gave him a large Brass Clock, an Astrolabe, and a large Telescope; for which Present the Friar sent us aboard six Hogs, and a roasting Pig, 3 or 4 Bushels of Potatoes, and 50 pound of Manila tobacco. Then we prepared to be gone, being pretty well furnished with Provision to carry us to Mindanao, where we designed next to touch. We took aboard us as many Coco-nuts as we could well stow, and we had a good stock of Rice, and about 20 Hogs in salt.

Chapter XI—They resolve to go to Mindanao. Their departure from Guam...

1 Ed. note: Fort St. George was in Madras, India.

2 Ed. note: Captain Francisco Lazcano was indeed knowledgeable, but his charts did not show this shoal, which was soon baptized the Santa Rosa Bank. To avoid the English pirate, the galleon went southwest as soon as the ship was floated off the bank, and thus sighted Yap, which was named Carolina Island. As for Lazcano, as he was scouting ahead in the ship's launch near the Santa Rosa Bank, he lost sight of the galleon and drifted off, all the way to Cagayan, Philippines.

While we lay at Guam, we took up a Resolution of going to Mindanao, one of the Philippine Islands, being told by the Friar and others, that it was exceedingly well stored with Provisions; that the Natives were Mahometans, and that they had formerly a Commerce with the Spaniards, but that now they were at Wars with them. This Island was therefore thought to be a convenient place for us to go; for besides that it was in our way to the East-Indies, which we had resolved to visit; and that the Westerly Monsoon was at hand, which would oblige us to shelter somewhere in a short time, and that we could not expect good Harbours in a better place than in so large an Island as Min-



Dampier's sea-chart showing his track near Guam in 1686.

danao: besides all this, I say, the Inhabitants of Mindanao being then, as we were told, (tho' falsely) at Wars with the Spaniards, our Men, who it should seem were very squeamish of plundering without Licence, derived hopes from thence of getting a Commission there from the Prince of the Island, to plunder the Spanish ships about Manila, and so to make Mindanao their common Rendezvous. And if Captain Swan was minded to go to an English port, yet his Men, who thought he intended to leave them, hoped to get Vessels and Pilots at Mindanao fit for their turn, to cruize on the Coast of Manila. As for Captain Swan, he was willing enough to go thither, as best suiting his own design; and therefore this Voyage was concluded on by general consent.

Accordingly, June 2d, 1686, we left Guam, bound for Mindanao. We had fair Weather, and a pretty smart gale of Wind at East, for 3 or 4 Days, and then it shifted to the S.W. being rainy, but it soon came about again to the East, and blew a gentle gale; yet it often shuffled about to the S.E. being the shifting Season for the Winds here; the other shifting Season being in October, sooner or later, all over India. As to our Course from Guam to the Philippine Islands, we found it (as I intimated before) agreeable enough with the account of our common Draughts.¹

The 21st of June we arrived at the Island St. John [i.e. Siargao], which is one of the Philippine Islands...

¹ Ed. note: They saw no island along the way, and no Spanish ship either, although the galleon Santo Niño had been sent from Manila and was then looking for them in that neighborhood, a search which led to the re-discovery of Yap, this time to be named San Barnabe Island. Swan, Teat, Dampier and company arrived off Mindanao on 21 June, by the old-style calendar. See report by Fr. Bouwens (Doc. 1687C).

Document 1686G

Letter from Fr. Tuccio to Fr. Espinar, dated Manila 12 July 1686

Source: RAH 9/2668, doc. n° 117.

Note: Fr. Antonino Tuccio was an Italian Jesuit, born in Messina in 1641. He served in the Philippines from 1672 until his death in 1716. He served twice as Provincial: 1696-99, and 1707-08.

Original text in Spanish

Mi P. Pedro de Espinar

Pax Christi

*Muy grande sentimiento nos causo el año pasado el no haver recebido ni una carta de V.R, que atribuyamos al haverse perdido varias cartas que se echaron menos por todas partes. Con que no tengo que obedecer esse año o por dezir mejor no tengo que referir cosa que tenga cumplida por orden de V.R. pues no he tenido dicha de ser mandado por sus cartas de V.R. Lo que mando el año antecedente todo se cumplio como havra sabido por mis cartas que por todas partes he remitido y de dos vias con la carta cuenta tambien de todo. Estavamos aguardando este año a V.R. todos y yo me previne para es ver el socorro de los sujetos que sin duda trahiria V.R. pº con la nueva que hemos tenido de la Nao hemos quedado desconsolados. Tuvimos la nueva ante ayer de que avia llegado **Santa Rosa** a Lampon. Las cartas todavia no han llegado. Alcança la nueva de la Nao a este despacho por raçon de no ir este año Nao por haver salido la que avia de ir para comboyar la que venia por haver havido nuevas de Navios enemigos. Y esos fue quinze dias antes del termino en que avia de salir la Nao estando ya vazias las bolças de todos en los empleos grandes que han echo los vezinos por lo mucho barato que ha causado el haver venido 27 Champanes.*

La que va es la balandra que teniamos alcançada para Ladrones haziendo oblacion de mil pesos a la Caxa Real de ayuda de costa por haverse destruydo casi todo lo de aquella Mission en el levantamiento general de todos en que mataron quatro Padres y un hermano a pie de 80 soldados quemaron todas las casas y Iglesias de los Padres quedando no mas que la fuerça. En esta escribo aunque con no poco recelo de que aya de arribar. Pobre Mission que les falto este socorro aunque por todo se pasaron 4,500

*pesos y todo se queda aqui ni han de tener socorro el año que viene pues no va nao y en la balandra no va nada. Y de mas a mas van dziendo que no dio fondo la Nao **Santa Rosa** ni dexo nada por dos Navios que la estavan aguardando en Ladrones y avisados por las sentinelas y banquillas que ter-(?) prevenidas los Nuestr[.] no pararon queriendo nos privarse del socorro que poner en peligro la Nao. Con que el haver presidio y Mission en Ladrones (digo yo) no daña a las Naos, que sino lo huviera bien contingente fuera tuviera por lo menos mayor peligro.*

El haver havido tantos champanes y Sangleyes dio atrevimiento a unos 500 dellos los mas soldados de Pompuan a quererse de veras acabar con esto con esperança que estando ellos en buen estado los hacian de seguir todo la trae es que dize el Señor D. Pedro Bolivar que lo averiguado todo, era diabolica, y como dellos tan sagazes. En fin despues de Dios que siempre ha amparado esto por algunos Indiçios y avisos tambien de algunos Sangleyes se supo antes de intentarlo ellos y aunque no se creyo por aquella aprension general y dicho que los Sangleyes nunca se han levantado sino que los han levantado, no se dexo de estar con prevencion. Y la noche que lo intentaron matando al Alguasil Mayor y su teniente estavan todos muy prevenidos y lo an que vino a parar fue que el día siguiente se hieron muchos y traxeron las cabeças de unos ocho y prendieron a otros y luego se fue aclarando y averiguando todo y a[h]jorcaron en dos vezes 12, mandaron se bolviesen a China todos los Sangleyes que no tuviesan oficio, y de echo se ha vuelto grandisima cantidad dellos, en los champanes que mandaron salir quanto antes. Y oy queda todo sosegado a Dios las gracias. Lo demas de nuevo no dexaran de escribirle otros no dudo que V.R. me perdonara la brevedad y con esto Dios nos guarde a V.R. muchos años con entera salud, y nos le trayga quanto antes.

Manila y Julio 12 de 1686.

Siervo de V.R.

Antonino Tuccio S.J.

Translation

My dear Fr. Pedro de Espinar

Peace of Christ

We were very much saddened last year when we did not receive a single letter from Y.R., which we attribute to the fact that various letters are missing everywhere, and are probably lost. That is why I did not have anything to obey this past year, or to put it another way, I had nothing to carry out in accordance with the orders of Y.R.; indeed, I did not have the good luck of receiving orders through your letters. What Y.R. ordered the previous year has all been carried out, as you were made aware of through the letters which I have transmitted everywhere and by two routes, along with the letter of accounts on everything. This year we were all awaiting Y.R. and I myself expect that Y.R. will undoubtedly bring the succor for the individuals, but with the news that we have about the galleon, we have been left disconsolate. We received the news the day before yesterday that the **Santa Rosa** had arrived at Lampon. The letters have not gotten here yet. The news of the galleon can be mentioned in the present despatch, be-

cause no galleon was sent this year [to Acapulco]. The galleon was sent instead to convoy the incoming galleon, because of news that were received about enemy ships. This latter news came 15 days before the deadline for despatching the galleon, at a time when the pockets of all the residents were empty, on account of their great business during the great bargain sale that happened when 27 Champanes came [from China].

The ship that is going is the sloop that we have managed to get for the Ladrones,¹ by making a donation of 1,000 pesos to the Royal Treasury as a grant-in-aid, given that almost everything in that Mission was destroyed during the general uprising of everyone in which they killed 4 Fathers and 1 Brother, up to 80 soldiers; they burned all the houses and churches of the Fathers, with only the fort remaining [intact]. I am sending letters aboard it, although I have no little fear that it might turn back. Poor Mission! It failed to get this succor, although all in all 4,500 pesos bypassed it and everything is now here. It will not get succor this coming year either, because the galleon is not going, and in the sloop there is nothing. More and more we hear that the galleon **Santa Rosa** did not anchor, or left anything, because of two ships that were awaiting her in the Ladrones, as she was advised by look-outs, and canoes that were sent to her by our people to warn her. They did not stop, preferring to deprive us of the succor than to place the galleon at risk. That is why I say that the presence of a garrison and a Mission in the Ladrones cannot hurt the galleons; rather, if they were not there, there would be at least greater risk.

The presence of so many champans and Sangleys [i.e. Chinese merchants] was the occasion for some 500 of them, most of them soldiers of Pompuan, to talk about finishing this all, with the hope that they would come out unscathed. So says Don Pedro Bolivar² who has investigated the whole thing; it was a diabolical plot, and they are such astute people. Finally, after God, who has always protected this, by some clues and advices given also by some Sangleys, their intention was learned beforehand, and although it was not believed, on account of the general apprehension and saying that "Sangleys have never rebelled, except when they have been made to rebel," nevertheless, precautions were taken. So, on the night that they attempted a coup, by killing the Senior Mayor [of the Parian] and his Lieutenant, they were all prepared. The outcome was that, on the next day, they wounded many and brought in the heads of about 8 of them and they captured others. Then, there was an investigation and everything became clear. They hanged 12 of them, in two executions. They ordered all the Sangleys who did not hold a job to return to China, and in fact, a very great number of them

1 Ed. note: It is strange that a Jesuit would still call the Marianas by their old name, 18 years after their conquest.

2 Ed. note: Pedro Sebastian de Bolivar y Mena was a member of the Audiencia. He arrived at Manila in 1681, and was soon embroiled in the Pardo controversy. He was arrested for allegedly plotting to overthrow Governor Curuzelaegui, taken to internal exile; he was later pardoned, but died when returning to Manila, under suspicious circumstances, in about 1688. By the way, one of those who had helped him arrest Archbishop Pardo was a cantor named Figueroa, who is said to have been sentenced to banishment for life in the Marianas (B&R 39: 271).

have gone aboard the champans that were ordered to leave as quickly as possible. Today everything is quiet, thank God. The rest of the news will no doubt be written by others. Y.R. will please forgive me for the shortness of this letter, and with this, may God save Y.R. for many years with full health, and may He bring you to us as soon as possible.

Manila, 12 July 1686.

Y.R.'s servant,

Antonino Tuccio, S.J.

Document 1686H

Eulogy of Brother Felipe Sonson, a Filipino oblate

Source: RAH 9/2677.

Eulogy of Brother Felipe Sonson, who died on 11 January 1686

Original text in Spanish.

Noticias de la vida exemplar del H^o Felipe Sonson Donado de la Comp^a de Jhs.

Mi Padre Provincial

Pax Christi &c^a

En esta doy noticia a V.R^a de la exemplar vida y solidas virtudes del humildissimo Her^o Phelipe Sonson Donado de nuestra Comp^a de Jesus en estas Islas Marianas donde murio con opinion de Santo viernes 21 [sic] de Henero de este año de 1686 a los setenta y cinco años de su hedad.—

Fue el Her^o Phelipe Sonson Pampango de nacion y noble entre los suyos[.] Natural del pueblo de Macabebe desde sus primeros años fue siempre muy observante en la Ley de Dios y temeroso de ofenderle en algunos de sus mandamientos. Y asi aviendo aprendido a leer y escribir, y las buenas costumbres christianas acomodando al modo comun de servir a Dios, luego que llego a hedad conpetente tomo el estado del Santo Matrimonio en que para sustentarse en que para sustentarse a sí y a su familia toda, era ocuparse a imitacion de San Isidro Labrador de quien fue muy devoto en la labranzas de las tierras que Dios le dio por juzgar sea esta su divina voluntad, teniendo en este exercicio muy presentes, las operaciones del Santo Labrador Isidro, y andando como este Santo andaba en el santo estado conjugal en una continua presençia de Dios, a que le ayudaba mucho la buena capacidad, doçil y de humilde natural, y desengaños que Dios nuestro Señor le dio desde sus tiernos años de los quales tambien fue muy singular la devoçion con la Santissima virgen deseando servirla por toda su vida como el mas humilde y obediente esclavo como a tan gran señora sellando su voluntad con un escapulario de Nuestra Señora del Carmen que se hecho al cuello, desde entonçes hasta la muerte para acordarse de la obligacion que se inponia para obedecer a esta divina Señora, en la puntual observançia de los preçeptos de su Santissimo Hijo Christo nuestro Señor, a esto se llega la continua y tierna memoria que en trabajar como Dios se lo

mandaba para adquirir el sustento de su cassa, tenia en la memoria la passion de nuestro dulcissimo Livertador Jesus y asi lo que padeçia y trabajaba [era to-]do embuelto en lo que padeçio y trabaxo el Señor por nosotros en su Santissima vida se lo ofreçia a su divina Magestad.—

Suçedio el alsamiento de los Chinos que llaman Sangleyes enemigos de nuestra Santa fee, para cuya defenza entre las Compañias de los españoles se aplico con un arcabus en que salio bien diestro como aqui se noto en su manejo en los alzamientos de estos Marianos porque como en todo lo que enprendia miraba solo al servicio de Dios y de su Santissima Madre con façilidad se hazia habil en lo que via, o era nesessario ocuparse segun los tiempos como adelante se dira.—

Muerta su consorte y puesto un Hijo que tenia en estado dexandole quanto tenia determino en su interior buscar algun retiro para con mas desahogo y mas desembaraso a Dios nuestro Señor debaxo de la obediencia de alguno, a quien en lugar de Dios sugetase su voluntad, para lo qual se fue a ofreçer a los Padres de San Agustin como a quien es mas conoçia por ser los ministros de su naçion pampanga para servirles por amor de Dios en lo que quisiesen ocupar[e.] reconoçiendo a estos Reverendos Padres la buena voluntad y humilde reçignaçion de Don Phelipe Sonson le admitieron con el agrado que se dexa entender, a que correspondio dicho D. Phelipe sirviendoles en todo lo que mandaba con grande puntualidad y fineza, imaginandose como a esclavo de los Religiosos, en cuya seña tomo la correa de San Agustin que desia era la divisa y marca de ser esclavo de la familia del Santo Doctor, en cuyo servicio como lo mas principal del edificio de las Casas[,] Conventos e Iglesias de Filipinas es de madera, y que muchas vezes no avia quien ayudase a los Religiosos en las fabricas, el amor al Señor a quien con grande humildad y exaçion servia le hizo en poco tiempo maestro con el singular afecto que tenia de agradarle en todo lo que era de su servicio, y para emplearse en obras tan nesessarias para el culto de su divina Magestad, y vivienda de sus ministros, de tal suerte que ofreçiendose a los Padres de Santo Domingo la fabrica de Iglesia y Cassa en el Parian de los Sangleyes para el ministerio de los que a nuestra Santa fee se iban convirtiendo, con la fraterna comunicaçion de unos y otros padres de San Agustin y Santo Domingo se le ofrecio ocaçion a nuestro D. Phelipe Sonson con la liçençia y beneplaçito de los unos y singular estimaçion de los otros a emplearse mas de çerca y ayudar a la converçion de las almas que a su divina Magestad le costaron su misma vida.—

Y asi señalado de los Padres Agustinos para el hedificio que los Padres Dominicos neçesitaban dispuso el Señor dandole por su pretendiente de aquella obra un Religioso Dominico tan Santo y apasible qual nuestro D. Phelipe desseaba para que dirigio su espiritu por el verdadero camino de servir a Dios en verdad y humildad que era a lo que singularmente hangelaba, y viendo aquel Religioso Padre la profunda humildad, y modo santo de proseder de nuestro D. Phelipe y que con instançias humildissimas se serviese de señalarle por esclavo del glorioso padre y patriarca Santo Domingo haziendole graçia por amor de Dios por quien se lo pedia del Santo escapulario y havito de su horden sagrada, para servirle como a esclavo en estado de donado. Provadas y conoçidas muy bien las virtudes de D. Phelipe se lo conçeçdio aquel Religiosissimo Padre con gran Jubilo de su alma sirviendole en aquella Cassa y Convento fabricado por dicho D. Phelipe saliendo la fabrica tam buena como si se huviera hecho por Artifiçe consumado en el Arte de aquel ofiçio para cuyo asierto desde que tomo sus instrumentos en la mano para exerçerle a imitaçion del glorioso esposo de la Purissima Virgen Madre del Señor se dedico tambien por esclavo deste gloriosissimo Patriarcha, ordenando y ofreçiendo todas sus obras por medio de nuestro Santo Joseph a la Santissima Virgen por medio de la misma Señora a su Santissimo Hijo en reverençia de su Santissima Passion.—

De esta manera iba cada día aprovechando en comp^a de aquel Santo Religioso mas, y mas, maestro D. Phelipe Sonson en la virtud y devoçion de los Santos que con impulso interior elegia por sus amos y Señores que assi nombrava sin perderlos nunca de vista alla en su interior, procurando imitar en todo lo que podia el exemplar de virtudes que via en el Padre Dominico con quien vivia. El qual viendo la buena disposiçion de D. Phelipe le señalo el modo de oraçion y mortificaçion que avia de tener moderandole las diçiplinas que hazia diziendole que en lugar de los que le quitaba ofreçiesse a Dios el trabajo del ofiçio que exerçitaba.—

Concluyda la fabrica de la Iglesia y Convento del Parian, y prosiguiendo alli mismo con servir a aquel Santo Religioso Dominico haziendo con mucha humildad y promtitud todo lo que via era insignvaçion [sic = insinuacion] de la voluntad de aquel Religioso Padre procurando en todo aliviarle aquel Santo Saçerdote en quien con humildad interior reverençiaba al mismo Christo.

Se llevo el tiempo en que el Benerable Padre Diego Luis de San Vitores tratava de ir a esta espiritual conquista de las Islas Marianas, y como en todos los Santos ay un sierto vinculo de caridad e igual en la salvaçion de las almas comunico el Benerable Padre San Vitores su disignio con el Religioso Dominico en cuya comp^a vivia nuestro D. Phelipe Sonson y como la gente nesesariamente avia de acompañar al V. Padre para ayudarle a plantar la fee en estas Islas Marianas, mas apenas llegaban a quatro personas. Queriendole ayudar en esto aquel fervoroso Padre Dominico, y sabiendo la humilde y prompta obediencia de D. Phelipe y la buena inclinacion y desseo de ayudar en qualquier parte del mundo a los Sacerdotes que se ocupan en nuevas converçiones, y que avia de ser de gran provecho para el intento se le ofreçio al Venerable Padre San Vitores de los diçipulos de nuestro Señor Jesuchristo.—

Con esto como era tan avisado el buen D. Phelipe pidio liçençia un día de mañana a su amo que asi nombrava al dicho Padre Dominico para presentarse al Venerable padre San Vitores. Llego aquella misma mañana a nuestro Collegio de Manila en ocaçion que el Venerable Padre yba del confesonario a su aposento. Salióle al encuentro y al llegar sele postro a los pies con muchos y sollosos rogandole se dignase de llevarsele consigo a la converçion que pretendia. No dexo de causar ternura aquesta açion al V. Padre Diego Luis de San Vitores y luego con grande alegria de su animo y no menor cariño le levanto del suelo y enterado de quien era le consolo diziendo lo encomendase muy de veras a Dios nuestro Señor para que su divina Magestad despusiese en lo que fuese su mayor gloria y que estuviese prompto para hazer en todo lo que Dios dispuese. Despedido el Venerable Padre con un villete que escrivio al Religioso Padre Dominico que le embiava, y de alli a pocos días se vino D. Phelipe para vivir ya de asiento en nuestro Collegio de Manila hasta la partida del Venerable Padre San Vitores para esta nueva converçion Mariana.—

Viendose el humilde D. Phelipe con la esperanza tan çerca del desseo que siempre havia tenido de emplearse en servir a los sacerdotes que se emplean en convertir almas y en espeçial las que no tenian luz del Santo Evangelio y que ya estava admitido para esto no es deçible el gozo que su alma reçibio, y para obligar mas a Dios para que esto se cumpliese como lo deseaba, todo el tiempo que tenia libre de la ocupaciones que aora dire y aun en ellas mismas lo ocupaba con oraçiones y petiçiones a su divina Magestad por la salvaçion de las almas Marianas a que juntaba no pocas penitencias en espeçial diçiplinas y cilicios.—

Y para no perder tiempo e ir logrando desde luego sus desseos y ayudar en todo lo que era de su parte para el efecto de esta empresa con mucha soliçitud y rendimiento al Venerable padre San Vitores començó a buscar en que ocuparse aunque no lo estubiese con mucho alivio y edificaçion de aquellos con quien

vivia. Y así lo primero que hizo en esta ocasión fue aplicarse con mucha docilidad a executar todo lo que le mandaba el Venerable padre San Vitores y en especial a coser y remendar la ropa que era nesessaria, porque aunque este oficio no lo havia exercitado, la buena voluntad y caridad con que abrasaba el servir a Dios en lo que le encargaban le hazia salir con todo. —

Embarcado pues en Cavite el V. Padre San Vitores con el Padre Thomas Cardeñoso, y todos los demas Compañeros seglares para venir a plantar la fee en estas Islas, no es deçible la atencion que nuestro D. Phelipe Sonson ponía para aliviar a todos en lo que le encargaba el V. Padre que hiziese acudiendo a la execuccion de todo con mucha caridad como quien servia al Señor de todos y en espeçial en coser y remendar los vestidos de los que tenían nesessidad, y no salía de su rincosillo hasta tener concluido lo que se le avia encargado, o para [a]cudir a otra cosa nesessaria de nuevo encargada, y en concluyendo con una cossa con gran puntualidad, acudia a otra y mas sierta obra de ropa de que se neçesitaba u otra cosa semejante al instante la entregaba al V. Padre para que le ocupase de nuevo sin dar jamas entrada a la ocioçidad, y si algun rato no tenía ocupacion o los dias de fiesta todo se ocupaba en devoçiones[,] leer libros esperituales, tener muchos ratos de oraçion, y en dar buenos consejos a los de su naçion para que empleasen bien el tiempo y lograsen las obras que hazian para que se esmerasen bien en servir a Dios, y de camino en las conversaciones ordinarias los instruya en los misterios de nuestra Santa fee que estan eran sus ordinarias conversaciones quando hablava con los de su naçion o con los Españoles en una, y otra lengua y al cavo inclinado todo el cuerpo con mucho agrado y notable humildad, y sumiçion les deçía que le perdonasen por amor de Dios lo que huviese herrado porque era un ignorante, inclinada la cabeça y el cuerpo profundamente venerando a todos se despedía[,] lo qual hizo toda su vida hasta que murio porque fue en extremo humilde desde que fue nuestro donado siempre que hablava con otro, y si algun Sacerdote le hablava al començar a hablarle y despedirse hincaba la rodilla y le besaba la mano con notable sumission hasta el suelo diçiendo que [e]l perdonase por amor de Dios sin aver de que, antes mucho de edificaçion, y así tenían todos de que aprender e imitar en este siervo de Dios antes y despues de ser nuestro donado. —

Llegado a Acapulco y otra vez en esta navegacion de buelta ya derechamente para Marianas, prosiguió con el mismo teson de virtudes, y ocupaciones que he dicho humillandose a todos sin omitir las misas que se deçían así en tierra como en la mar todas de rodillas con notable fervor y zençilla devoçion en el rincón mas oculto de la Iglesia o navio siempre con la atencion debida de no hazer falta de lo que le era encargado que si corria prisa despachar o hazer alguna cosa entonces rectificaba la intencion dexando a Dios por Dios. —

Llegue finalmente el desseado fin de sus desseos y llegado a 3 [sic] de Junio de 68 a estas Islas Marianas en donde no es creible lo que trabajo por espaçio de 18 años en varias ocupaciones para cooperar y ayudar a la salvaçion de estos Indios, ayudando a los Predicadores de nuestra sãnta fee en todo quanto sufrio su estado incansablemente sin negarse a nada de quanto podia trabajar y hazer con sus manos con notable aplicaçion[,] humildad[,] fervor de espiritu y rendimiento a qualquiera Religioso y muy en espeçial a los superiores. —

Y assi luego que saltaron en tierra los Padres Missioneros a los quales acompañaba para esta converçion se postro a los pies del Venerable Padre Sanvitores ofreciendose a su voluntad para que le ocupase en todo lo que su R^a viesse podía ayudar en esta mission porque lo haría hasta dar la sangre de sus venas porque estos Isleños se salvaran, y que todo seria poco pues mucho mas le devia a Dios por haverlo traydo a tal Comp^a y empleo. Levantole del suelo el V. Padre con grande alegria. Viendo el humilde

D. Phelipe tan deseoso de trabaxar y ayudar en la converçion de estos pobres cuya buena disposiçion le encargo encomendase muy de veras a Dios[,] remendar y hazer de nuevo muchas vestiduras y ornamentos para el culto divino que como tan inmediatamente eran para Dios, aunque no era su proprio ofiçio con su mucha aplicaçion, y meditaçion que en ella tenia por representar las insignias de la passion de nuestro Redemptor salian tan perfectas y acavadas como si fuessen hechas y aliñadas por un perfecto maestro de Arte y lo mismo era en los demas vestidos nesarios que cosia y remendaba, y los ultimos dias de su vida despues del alçamiento de estos naturales por haver mas nesidad y haver robado y quemado los Indios nuestro vestuario nos cosia y remendaba los vestidos de todos nosotros, como una sollicita y piadosa madre que tiene muchos hijos de que cuidar. Y siendo nesario a la republica, y no teniendo con que vestirlos a todos, hazia remendaba y conponia para que aunque pobres andubiesen bien aseados, y compuestos, y se ocupen sin cuidado en lo que les toca por su estado cogiendole en esta caritativa ocupaçion los ultimos de su vida que por acabarse ya por su mucha hedad trabajos, y sudores arrimo finalmente la aguja con lo que estaba haziendo y dixo ya no puedo mas bendito sea el Señor y con esto se dexo caer en su pobre lecho sin tener ya mas fuerzas, y aunque se le asistio con todos los remedios posibles y confortativos, se rindio finalmente la tenuada naturaleza a pagar su deuda como dire despues.—

Esta principal ocupaçion en que la gran caridad de este humilde siervo de Dios se ocupo en estas Islas Marianas la qual fue alternando con otra no menos principal conforme la neçesidad de los tiempos y disposiçion de los superiores que fue la de fabricar Iglesias y Cassas siendo incansable en esto, porque se imaginaba fabricar alcazares y templos donde avia de reçibir con espeçial presençia el mismo Dios y ser apazentadas en ellos con la sangre del cordero las almas de estos pobres Marianos.—

Admiraçion causaba ver en un hombre de su hedad de pequeño y atenuada estadura las veras y fuerzas con que emprendia trabaxo tan exceçibo unas vezes y no pocas al resistero del sol[,] volteando, labrando, y cargando las maderas, todo bañado en sudor que corrian como arroyos por todo su delicado y flaco cuerpo hasta el suelo y en los espiritus tan incansable como si tal cosa no fuera, pero con el fervor que ardia en su pecho del amor de Dios parecia inçençible a todos esto[s] exceçibos trabajos y tal vez yendo metido en su interior suçedio que hechando las medidas al edificio caer del andamio abaxo y fue prodigio no matarse por ser no poco alto, si bien convaleçio presto desta caida pero le fue nesario desde entonces mientras vivio andar siempre arrimado a un vaculo por lo liciado que quedo, y no es deçible el fervor con que bolvio a proseguir esta fabrica y comenzar otras muchas tan sin miedo como sino le huviera sucedido tal cosa por que todo lo savia vencer con su estremada caridad y ançias de servir mas, y mas a Dios, hasta dar la vida en la demanda.—

Y aunque quando tenia estas obras entre manos, oya cada dia una o dos o mas missas conforme el tiempo que veyera era menester para uno y otro que todo lo disponia con atencion de no faltar a estas y otras devoçiones con reposo de su espiritu ni tanpoco a la puntualidad de las fabricas ponia admiracion el aumento destas junto con el tiempo que gastaba en los exerçijos espirituales que usaba cada dia sin faltar a estos.—

Varias iglesias y fabricas y de cassas que hizo con todos los ad[h]erentes nesarios de Altares[,] mesas[,] açientos y sillas, mientras estuvo en Marianas por la diverçida y tiempos de los alçamientos de los Indios, porque ya los desaçian los uracanes, otras la maliçia del demonio en los Indios alçados, y otras nosotros mismos para nuestra defenza en los mismos alzamientos, en los quales tambien con liçençia del Padre Superior manejaba una boca de fuego con fin de defender la fee Catholica y a sus Predica-

dores, lo qual no pudo hazer en este ultimo por ser ya de tanta hedad, y haver quedado muy devilitado y valgado de las heridas que le dieron.—

Finalmente en la perfeccion de la ultima fabrica que hizo de una buena Cassa de dos quartos bien capaces para los Missioneros en Agadña le cogio a nuestro buen Her^o Phelipe Sonson el ultimo alzamiento desta Isla a 23 de Jullio de 84, hiriendo cruelmente los Indios comenzando por la garganta pretendiendo degollarle y peligrara con esta herida aun quedara degollado a permitir Dios cortase mal el instrumento. Luego le dieron dos heridas en la cabeça y una en la conc^hja del ojo hizquierdo de que al curarle salio un pedaso del hueso dexandole por muerto y todo bañado en su sangre como a los Religiosos que murieron en este lanze, y como las fuerzas del Her^o Phelipe eran pocas con tanta hedad y trabajos, y como la sangre que avia corrido y salido de las heridas era mucha quedo de suerte que parecia haver fallecido, y al reconoçer que todavia tenia spiritus se le administro la extremaunçion, y buelto mas en sí el Sacramento de la penitencia y la[s] primera[s] palabra[s] que hablo eran el [soc] de Jesus y Maria, y de noche e de dia no se a de nombrar estos dulsisimos nombres mientras duro la cura, y verdaderamente que fue prodigio el no haverse muerto cogiendole tan devilitado y despedida tanta sangre que parecia imposible que viviese.—

Pero como el Señor vey a neseçidad que teniamos de su persona para la caridad que dixе exercito con nosotros despues que sano le dio vida que como tal supo bien reconoçer el fervoroso Her^o uniendose desde entonçes mas y mas con Dios con el exercicio de todas las virtudes que le fueron posibles exercitar en las circunstançias presentes, y lo que sobresalio mas en estos sus ultimos dias fue lo primero, que buscando un lugar oculto donde se deçian las missas desde alli clavado de rodillas sin ser visto de nadie las oya todas nuebe, lo segundo la exactissima obediencia a todos de suerte que como un cuerpo muerto se dexava tratar para lo que cada uno queria valerse del lo qual naçia de su interior teniendose ya como muerto para todo lo criado y solo vivia para Christo crucificado, lo terçero mientras no tenia ocupacion todo era estarse de rrodillas en oracion la qual aunque era de su gusto la dexava al instante en viendo que era menester mendar a los Religiosos pobres de Christo otra cosa para alivio de ellos.—

Aora concluyendo con el ultimo grado que exercito de la virtud de la caridad por haver sido nuestro Her^o Phelipe Sonson tan nimio en el servir a Dios si es que en el cave ni mi hedad. Digo prosiguiendo sus virtudes que con ninguno se le noto singularidad en nada ni de nadie se le noto que juzgase la menor falta antes procuraba excusarlas de otros consigo y con otros teniendo singular estima y veneracion a todos.

No dexava passar ocaçion que se le ofreçiese de mortificaçion que no se aprovechase della y mucho mas aquellas que sin buscarlas se le ofreçian llevandolas con una paciencia de cordero como venida de la mano del Señor.—

En hazer bien hechas las cosas ordinarias de cada dia asi espirituales como exteriores y el teson que tenia en esto y en ver otras extraordinarias que se ofreçian ya queda dicho.—

En la guarda de todos los sentidos y en espeçial los ojos[,] oydos[,] lengua, fue bien rara su modestia y los buenos exemplos que en esto nos dio.—

Ni era menos la soliçitud que tenia en la mortificaçion de algunas cosas que liçitamente podia hazer como en no salir del aposento sino fuese para algun buen fin, no ver cosa curiosa si es que en Marianas pudiera aver alguna ni preguntar ni querer saver lo que no inportaba.—

[Six different Jesuit residences in Agaña between 1668 and 1686]

Para su havitación en seis Casas que para nuestra havitación [h]emos tenido en Agaña con el primer Camarin en que recibieron los Indios al V. Padre Diego Luis de San Vitores fabricada las cinco por sus propias manos del Her^o Phelipe siempre busco el rincon mas desembarasado que havia y retirado y que para nada hiziese falta en la Cassa con que hasta en su havitación que avia de ser acomodada para el descanso de tanto trabajo buscaba su mayor mortificación e incomodidad[.] en la ultima Casa que dixé fabrico en Agaña por ser tan capaz le dava el Padre Vice Provincial aposento en uno de los quartos pero con notable humildad y razones le persuadio que para sus achaques con que tambien dixo inquietaria a los Padres, ninguno de aquellos Aposentos era apropiado, y assi con venepaçito del mismo Superior hizo una tasadiso [sic= pajadizo?] para su vivienda en el sitio mas penoso que avia por ser ensima de la cosina.—

Quando tomaba la refección corporal decia comamos no por gusto sino porque Dios nos lo manda para poder vivir[,] trabaxar y servirle y asi era bien estremada su templanza, y no se le noto hablase alguna ves de cosas de comida y mucho menos en medio de tantas neesidades se quexo de la falta[,] antes andava mas contento y alegre quando por la penuria desta tierra havia mas falta de sustento.—

Admirable fue su paçiencia pues en lo exterior no se le vieron señales algunas de inpaçiencias y aunque quando tenia fabricas entre manos y dezia a los que le ayudaban con voces algunas vezes lo que se avia de obrar era lo uno por ser muy sordo y lo otro era mas seriedad y energia para que la tal gente no cometiese yerros irremediables que señales de inpaçiencias, y quando cometian algun yerro aquellas voces eran querer corregirlos para que no hiziesen otros por los inconvenientes que se seguian y luego al instante con gran rendimiento y submission les pedia por amor de Dios le perdonasen si en algo les avia ofendido.

En su coraçon nunca dio lugar a la perturbación o sentimiento o tristeza[,] todas las ocaçiones y cosas que se le ofrecian las tomaba como embiadas de la mano de Dios de qualquiera manera y por qualquier medio o camino que viniesen y en esto se exercitaba de tres maneras: primera llevando todo lo que se ofrecia con paçiencia; segunda con promptitud; y tercera con gozo y alegria por juzgar ser aquella la voluntad de Dios.—

En los votos que hazen aun no perfecto Religioso aunque no eran de su Profession nos dexo tan señalados exemplos desde que estubo en nuestra Comp^a que todos tenian que aprender e imitar en el Her^o Phelipe, porque de su obediencia queda algun dicho y el tiempo no nos permite desir mas dire algo de su gran pobreza y castidad Angelicas.—

No solo fue singularissimo en no recibir de dentro y fuera de Cassa cosa alguna ni prestar ni tomar cosa de la Casa ni de otra parte alguna por minima que fuese sin liçencia sino que muchas vezes fue neessario hazerle instancias los superiores para que recibiese lo neessario para su vivir: de manera que en su retrete arinconsillo en sus vestidos con asseo de verdadero pobre remendados, en su comida y en todo lo demas resplandecia la virtud de la verdadera pobreza, y al diçimulo como quien no hazia nada cuydaba de componer[,] limpiar y aliñar algunas cosas de Cassa por pequeñas y minimas que fuesen por lo que podian servir despues en tierra tan pobre.—

La modestia en la vista[,] palabras y modo de obrar en todo del Her^o Phelipe estaban publicando su Angelical pureza de cuerpo y mente y de tal suerte estaban en el con naturalizados los medios por donde se adquiere esta gran virtud tan agradable a los ojos de Dios que en todo parecia un Angel en cuerpo mortal.—

De la recta intencion en todo lo que obrava puramente por Dios se actuaba en dirigirlo a su divina Magestad por la mañana al principio de cada obra y tambien en la misma obra levantando muchas vezes en ella el cora[zon] a Dios pri-]meramente lo hazia como quien sirve a Dios y no a hombres con mucho Jubilo de que estava alli haziendo la voluntad de su criador y Redemptor de tal suerte que mas parecia que estava amando que obrando.—

En la conformidad con la voluntad de Dios havia mucho que decir por los muchos exemplos que nos dexo en los muchos trabajos que padeçio a[de]mas de lo dicho de hambres, sed, soles, menospreçios de estos Indios en varios açamientos de ellos y en espeçial en este ultimo en que tanto padeçio por los golpes y heridas que le dieron los revelados y Apostatas de nuestra Santa fee, sufriendo todo con mucha fortaleza y alegria por amor de Dios como regalos de su divina Magestad a exemplo de Christo Cruzificado por cuyo amor y fee de la Santa Madre Iglesia Catholica y Apostolica Romana, unica y verdadera espesa del mismo Señor desseos [y] ançias este su humildissimo y fervoroso siervo dar su sangre y vida lo qual [se ha] hecho bien de ver quando le hirieron estos barbaros y mucho antes en tiempo del V. Padre Diego Luis de San Vitores en que corrio vos aunque falça como despues se vio de aver llegado a estas Islas naos olandesas y ultimamente, el año pasado de 85 a 24 de Março despues del çerco en que nos tubieron los Indios llegada una nao a estas Islas quando al principio se dixo era de hereges henemigos de nuestra Santa fee[,] dixo nuestro Her^o Phelipe levantando los ojos y manos al çielo con grande Jubilo y alegria que mejor cosa [que] esso nos embrasan derechos al çielo.—

Finalmente lleno de tantas virtudes y meritos pareçe le fue el Señor avisando se le açercaba el premio por medio de los achaquez y en espeçial el de unas flemas que a tiempo le molestavan mucho y en su mucha hedad se le fueron aumentando y constipando en el pecho y a quitarsele las ganas de comer[.] aquererlosele [a querer curarlo?] luego con los remedios posibles y reconociendo el peligro acu[di]eron luego con el sagrado viatico que reçivio con la devoçion y fervor que se dexa entender[.] parecia tener impulsos superiores de que aquel era el ultimo aprieto en que le ponía sus achaques y asi no hazia caso de lo que se le reçitaba y en queriendole administrar alguna medicina con mucha candidez dezía para que si me tengo de morir, y otras vezes en trayendole la comida con determinaçion columbina dezía, me tengo de morir para que es comer, pero en diziendole que le mandaba la Santa obediencia se dexava todo en manos de los que le curaban y asistian y serrando los ojos se esforçaba a pasar la comida hasta que ya no tenia fuerzas para mas, aunque no le faltó el uso de la razon y zentidos hasta que murio. Reçivo la extremaunçion respondiendole a ella con grande alegria[.] Llegose el dia viernes 11 de Henero y a las onze del dia dandole un paraçismo se le dixo la recomendaçion del alma y antes de acabarla volvio en sí con todos sus sentidos respondiendole a lo que restaba[.] Luego busco el Santo Christo y el Rosario que quito del braço al qual le tenia rodeado y tomandolo todo junto con ambas manos no seso de besar el Cruzifixo rosario y medallas a un tiempo, y nos parecia que no moria tan presto por lo menos ni en este ni en el siguiente dia, no obstante desde entonces hasta la una del dia siempre estubo un Padre acompañandole pero como todavia estaba en sí con sus sentidos y sin congoja alguna mientras reposabamos espirito, por que antes de dar las dos yendole yo a ber le halle fuera de la Cama y en el suelo puesto de rodillas con los braços en sima de la misma cama y la cabeça sobre ellos y juzgando que estava vivo le hable para entrarle adentro pero estava ya difunto.—

Juzgose como era tan siervo de Dios pudo ser que su Angel de guarda y la Santissima Virgen de quien ya se dixo era muy devoto con los demas Santos de su devoçion viniessen a decirle como ya era tiempo y asi que se puçiese de rodilas y se fuesse con ellos y como su profunda humildad oculto siempre a los

hombres lo mucho que se presume le favoreçio nuestro Señor pareçe que en esta ocaçion quizo su divina Magestad condescender con ella, o con sus ruegos para aguardar que nos recogiessemos aquella ora para hazerle el ultimo favor, todo se puede presumir de sus grandes virtudes y meritos, y de su exemplar, y Angelical vida que gasto en esta Mission como queda dicho incansablemente por espaçio de 18 años y con mucho espiritu teniendo muy presente a Dios en todas sus obras por cuyo amor obrava solamente. Las insignias de las varias esclavitudes como dexe escrito, hizo en su interior a los santos de su devoçion, como es a la Santissima Virgen[,] San Agustin, Santo Domingo y a San Ignaçio Nuestro Padre y a sus Religiosos, esto es los dos escapularios que dixel[,] la correa de San Agustin y la Sotana de la Comp^a siempre las trajo consigo. Murio y se enterro con ellas el dia 12 siguiente de dicho mes de Henero, y como todos le veneraban por santo, acudio el Governador con todos sus soldados a su entierro cargando el cuerpo el mismo Governador con el Sargento Mayor D. Joseph de Quiroga y dos Ayudantes desde la fuerza adonde murio hasta la Iglesia recién levantada junto alma [sic = al mar], y otros dos ayudantes le reçibieron en el hoyo de mano del Capitan Joseph de la Cruz, y Ayudante Joseph de Carabajal, y con esto requiescat in pace como esperamos de su inculpable vida delectus Deo, et hominibus cujus memoria &c.

Agadña y febrero 10 de 1686.—

Translation.

Notices of the exemplary life of Br. Felipe Sonson, Oblate of the Society of Jesus.

Dear Father Provincial
Peace of Christ, etc.

In this letter, I give notice to Y.R. of the exemplary life and solid virtues of the very humble Brother Felipe Sonson, Oblate of our Society of Jesus in these Mariana Islands where he died with the odor of sainthood on Friday 21 [rather 11]¹ January of this year 1686 at 75 years of age.—

Brother Felipe Sonson belonged to the Pampango nation and was a noble man among his people. He was from the town of Macabebe where, during his first years, he was always very observant of the Law of God and fearing to offend Him in any of His commandments. And so, having learned to read and write, and the good Christian customs in accordance with the common mode of serving God, as soon as he reached a competent age, he took the state of Holy Matrimony and, in order to maintain himself and his whole family, he busied himself, at the imitation of St. Isidore Laborer to whom he was very devout, at working the land that God gave him, as he thought that it was His divine will. In this exercise he always kept in mind the operations of the good laborer St. Isidore, acting as the good saint had done in the holy conjugal state and keeping his mind continuously on God. He was helped in this very much by the good ability, docility and humility of his character, and the disillusionments that God our Lord gave

¹ Ed. note: According to a perpetual calendar, January 11th 1686 was indeed a Friday. The correct date is further confirmed by the last page of the document, where the date of burial is said to have been the next day, January 12th.”

him from a very tender age, one of which was his very special devotion to the Most Holy Virgin. He wished to serve this so great Lady for his whole life as her most humble and obedient slave, and sealed his will with a scapulary of Our Lady of Carmen which he kept around his neck from that time until his death to remind himself that he had imposed upon himself the obligation to obey this divine Lady with the exact observance of the precepts of her Most Holy Son Christ our Lord. This was occupying his mind continuously and warmly: to work as God had ordered him to do to obtain food for his household. He kept in mind the passion of our most sweet liberator Jesus and so, his own sufferings and hardships were all involved in what the Lord suffered and labored for us during his most holy life and he offered them to His divine Majesty.—

There occurred the uprising of the Chinese, who are called Sangleyes,¹ the enemies of our Holy faith, in whose defence he applied himself with an arquebus on the side of the Spanish companies. He became very skilled in the handling of this weapon, as was observed here during the uprisings of these Marianos, because in everything that he undertook he looked only to the service of God and of His most holy Mother and thus easily became adept at what he saw, or was necessary for him to do, in accordance with the times, as will be said later on.—

Once his spouse had died and after he had placed his son in a reasonable state, by giving him all he had, he carried on with the decision that he had in mind, which was to look for some retreat where he could more comfortably and more readily serve God our Lord, through obedience to someone else, to whom he could ply his own will, instead of God. To this effect, he went to offer himself to the Fathers of St. Augustine, as they were the ones he knew best, as they were ministering to his Pampango nation. He offered to serve them for the love of God in whatever field they wished to occupy him. These Reverend Fathers recognized the goodwill and humble resignation of Don Felipe Sonson and they admitted him with the welcome that one can imagine. Said Don Felipe served them correspondingly in what he was ordered to do with a great punctuality and politeness, as he imagined himself to be a slave to the Religious. For this purpose, he put on the cordon of St. Augustine which he said was the symbol and the mark of a slave in the family of the saintly Doctor. As the services that were required was mostly in the field of the construction of residences, convents and churches, mostly made of wood in the Philippines, and as often-times there was no-one to help the Order in these constructions, his love of God, whom he served with great humility and exactitude, soon made of him a master [carpenter] with the singular affection that he had of embracing everything that was for His service. And in order to keep himself busy in works so necessary for the cult of His divine Majesty, and to lodge His ministers, he volunteered his services to the Fathers of St. Dominic for the construction of their church and house in the Chinese suburb of the Parian, for the ministry of those who were being converted to our Holy faith. A brotherly agreement was reached between the Fathers of St. Augustine and those of St. Dominic and the former gave our Don

1 Ed. note: This probably refers to the insurrection of 1662, when Sonson was about 51 years old.

Felipe Sonson permission to offer his services, that were willingly accepted by the latter. He welcomed this opportunity to work more closely toward, and help with, the conversion of souls, for which His divine Majesty gave His own life.—

And so, he was earmarked by the Augustinian Fathers for the construction work that the Dominican Fathers needed, and the Lord arranged for him to be assigned to a Dominican Religious who was so saintly and so gentle that our Don Felipe wished him to direct his soul along the true way of the service of God, in truth and humility which was what he sought so singularly. When this religious Father saw the deep humility and saintly manner of proceeding of our Don Felipe, and that with very humble requests he asked to be made a slave of the glorious father and patriarch St. Dominic, by thanking him for the love of God through whom he was begging to be given the holy scapulary and habit of his sacred order, in order to serve him as a slave in the category of an oblate. That very religious Father had proved and knew of the virtues of Don Felipe very well, and he granted him his request, at the great pleasure of his soul, and he began to serve him by building that house and convent. The construction came out as well as if it had been done by an expert builder. The better to assert himself in this trade, the moment he picked up his tools to exercise it at the imitation of the glorious spouse of the Most pure Virgin Mother of the Lord, he dedicated himself as well as a slave of this most glorious Patriarch, by arranging and offering all his works through our St. Joseph to the most holy Virgin, and through that same Lady to her most Holy Son in reverence of His most holy Passion.—

In this manner and every day, Master Don Felipe Sonson was taking advantage of the company of that saintly religious, more and more, in virtue and devotion to the saints that he had chosen for himself as his masters and lords, as he called them, without ever losing sight of them, within himself, while trying to imitate in everything as much as he could the example of the virtues that he saw in the Dominican Father with whom he lived. The latter, upon seeing the good disposition of Don Felipe, showed him how to pray and mortify himself, but he had to moderate him in the disciplines of his body, by telling him that he ought to save those extra ones and offer them to God by working at the trade that he exercised.—

Once the construction of the church and convent in the Parian was complete, he continued to serve that saintly Dominican Religious on the spot, by obeying very humbly and promptly the least manifestation of the will of that religious Father, trying to bring relief in everything to that saintly priest whom he revered with humility for the presence of Christ within him.

There came the time when the Venerable Father Diego Luis de San Vitores was trying to go to this spiritual conquest of the Mariana Islands [ca. 1665], and as there exists between saints a certain link of charity and equally so in things concerning the salvation of souls, the Venerable Father San Vitores communicated his plan to the Dominican Religious in whose company our Don Felipe Sonson lived, and told him that he necessarily had to have men to accompany him and help him plant the faith in these Mariana Islands, but had recruited only 4 persons. That Dominican Father wished to help

him in this, and knowing of the humble and prompt obedience of Don Felipe and the good inclination and desire to help priests occupied in new conversions in any part of the world, and that he would be of great assistance, he offered the man to the Venerable Father San Vitores, one of the disciples of our Lord Jesus Christ.—

After the good Don Felipe had been well briefed, one morning he begged permission from his master (so he addressed said Dominican Father) to present himself to the Venerable Father San Vitores. That same morning he came into our College of Manila and met the Venerable Father as he was returning from the confessional to his cell. He went up to him and, upon coming close, he prostrated himself at his feet with many sobs, begging him to please take him along to the planned conversion. This action did not leave the Venerable Father Diego Luis de San Vitores untouched and then, at the great pleasure of his soul and no less affection, he helped him to get up from the floor and, after he had learned who he was, he consoled him by telling him to commend himself verily to God our Lord so that His divine Majesty might arrange what was for His greater glory and that he should be ready to do everything that God would arrange. The Venerable Father dismissed him with a note that he wrote to the Dominican religious Father who had sent him. A few days later, Don Felipe came over to take up his lodging in our College of Manila until the departure of the Venerable Father San Vitores for this new Mariana conversion.—

When the humble Don Felipe saw that hope was at hand for the desire that he had always had of dedicating himself to serve the priests who dedicated themselves to the conversion of souls, and specially those who had not received the light of the Holy Gospel, and that he had already been accepted for this, the joy felt by his soul was incredible. In order to oblige God even more, to make sure that his desire would indeed become possible, the whole free time that he had left from his occupations (see below), and even during them, he occupied it with prayers and petitions addressed to His divine Majesty for the salvation of the Mariana souls, to which he added not a few penances, specially some disciplines and hair shirts.—

And, so as not to waste time and, of course, the better to achieve his desires and help the Venerable Father San Vitores as much as he could to effect this enterprise, with much solicitude and thankfulness he began to look for ways to occupy himself, though it was not without some relief and edification of those who lived with him. So, the first thing he did in this occasion was to apply himself with much docility to carry out the orders of the Venerable Father San Vitores, and specially in sewing and mending the clothes that were necessary, because although he had never done this job his goodwill and the charity that burned within him for serving God in whatever was asked of him made him succeed in everything.—

Finally, after the Ven. Father San Vitores embarked in Cavite with Father Thomas Cardeñoso and all the other lay companions to come and plant the faith in these Islands, it is incredible the attention that our Don Felipe Sonson paid to alleviate everybody in tasks assigned to him by the Ven. Father, attending to the execution of everything with much charity, as someone serving the Lord of everyone, and specially

in sewing and mending the clothing of those who had a need for it, and he did not get out of his small corner until he had finished the chore, or to take care of something else newly assigned to him, and upon finishing one thing with great punctuality, he took care of another one; for instance, in the case of some work done to some clothes and similar tasks, as soon as he was done he would hand it over to the Ven. Father, asking to be given a new task, simply to keep himself busy always. If he had some free time, or on feast days, he occupied it all with devotions, reading religious books, interrupted by prayer breaks, and in giving good advice to those of his nation, to have them use their time better and to make good in all the things they did in order to excel in the service of God, and in the course of his ordinary conversations with them he instructed them in the mysteries of our Holy faith. Such were his ordinary conversations when he spoke with those of his nation or with Spaniards, in either language. And at the end of the conversation, he would bend his whole body down with much graciousness and notable humility and submission, asking to be forgiven for the love of God for the errors that he might have committed, because he was an ignorant man. He would bent down his head and body deeply to venerate everybody and then say goodbye. That is what he did during his whole life until he died, because it was extremely humble ever since he became our oblate, whenever he spoke with anyone, and if some priest spoke to him, at the beginning and at the end of the conversation, he would bent down one knee, all the way to the ground, and kiss his hand with noteworthy submission, asking to be forgiven for the love of God, even when there was nothing to forgive; thus he edified everyone and they all had something to learn and imitate in this servant of God, before and after he became our oblate.—

Upon arriving at Acapulco and once more afloat, but this time directly toward the Marianas, he proceeded with the same tenacity with virtues, and the above-mentioned chores which he humbly did for everyone, not skipping the masses that were said, ashore as well as at sea, all on his knees with a notable fervor and simple devotion in the most hidden corner of the church or ship, but always with due attention of not forgetting any of the tasks assigned to him; if there was a need to despatch or do something quickly, he then rectified the intention by leaving God for God.—¹

Finally he reached the desired goal of his desires, arriving on the 3rd [rather 16th] of June 1668 at these Mariana Islands, where he incredibly spent 18 years in various occupations to cooperate and help with the salvation of these Indians, by helping the preachers of our holy faith to the limit of his possibilities, ceaselessly and refusing none of the tasks he could do with his own hands, with notable application, humility, spiritual fervor, and submission to any Religious, but more specially so to the superiors.—

And so, as soon as the missionary Fathers, whom he was accompanying for this conversion, stepped ashore, he prostrated himself at the feet of the Venerable Father Sanvitores, offering himself to his will, so that he would employ him in whatever His Reverence saw him as useful to this mission, because he would do so, even as far as to

1 Ed. note: In other words, he skipped mass, with permission.

give the blood from his veins, to ensure the salvation of these Islanders, and that it would be little to give, since he owed much more to God for having brought him in such company and employment. The Venerable Father helped him to get up, with great pleasure. Seeing the humble Don Felipe so desirous to work and help at the conversion of these poor ones, he entrusted him with preparing them, and himself well by commending himself truly to God, by mending and making many new clothes and ornaments for the divine cult, as they were so obviously for God, although it was not his own trade. However, he worked at it with much application and meditation, as the job entailed the representation of the figures illustrating the passion of our Redeemer. They came out so perfectly and so well finished, as if they had been made by a master tailor, and the same thing applies to all the other necessary clothes that he sewed and mended, and in the last days of his life, after the uprising of these natives, since there was more need and the Indians had stolen or burned our vestments, he would sew and mend the clothes of all of us, as a solicitous and merciful mother would have done for the many sons under her care. And as the government was also in need, and there were not enough clothing for everyone, he made some, and repaired others so that, though poor, they would go about well dressed, and not worried about things that were not of their own status. The last days of his life found him still busy at this charitable occupation; the labors and sweat finally caught up with him, on account of his advanced age, and he laid down the needle and what he had been doing, and said: "I can go on no longer, but blessed be the Lord!" This said, he let himself fall upon his poor bed, exhausted, and although he was assisted with all the remedies and comforts available, he finally gave up the fragile nature to pay his debt, as I will explain below.—

This was the main occupation in which the great charity of this humble servant of God occupied himself in these Mariana Islands, but from time to time he was no less busy at the no less important work of building churches and houses, in accordance with the need of the times, and he was untiring at it, because he imagined himself building fortresses and temples where God Himself was to be received and become present and where the blood of the Lamb would pacify the souls of these poor Marianos.—

It was wonderful to see a man of his age, of small and weak stature, apply all his strength at the enterprise, and sometimes working so exceedingly, often-times under the relentless rays of the sun, flying about, cutting and carrying the lumber, completely bathed in sweat that ran like streams down his delicate and lean body to the ground, and his cheerfulness was so untiring, as if he was not doing any such thing, but with the fervor that burned inside his chest with the love of God, he seemed not to notice all these excessive labors. But once, as his mind was busy with something in his inner self, it happened that, while measuring the buildings, he fell from the scaffold and it was a miracle that he did not kill himself, for the scaffold was quite high, but he soon recovered from this fall, although it became necessary for him from then on, as long as he lived, to walk always with the help of a cane, because he remained crippled, and it is incredible the fervor with which he returned to this job site, and he began many others, with no fear, as if nothing had happened, because he knew how to conquer all with his

extreme charity and the anxiety to serve God forever more, until he gave his life in the attempt.—

And although, while he had these works in progress, he still heard one, two or more masses every day, depending on the time that he saw was necessary for one thing and the other, he arranged his time so well that he did not fail to make these and other devotions, to retain his peace of mind. Still he did not fail to proceed with the timely constructions, so much so that it was amazing how fast they progressed, without neglecting any of the spiritual exercises that he did every day.—

He built many churches and other buildings, including residences, complete with all their accessories, such as altars, tables, seats and chairs, while he was in the Marianas, on account of the weather and frequency of the Indian uprisings, because either they were destroyed by hurricanes, or by the evil doings of the Devil through rebellious Indians, or even by our own doings, as defensive measures, during the uprisings themselves. During said uprisings, he even handled a gun in order to defend the Catholic faith and its preachers, with the permission of the Father Superior, but this he could not do in this latest [1684] uprising, because he was so old already, and had remained very weakened and beaten up from the wounds they gave him.—

Finally, our good Brother Felipe Sonson was putting the finishing touches on one good house with two apartments for the missionaries in Agaña when the last uprising of this Island caught him on 23 July 1684, in which he was cruelly wounded by the Indians, beginning with his throat, which they tried to cut off, but God did not allow him to be wounded and massacred in this way as the instrument was not sharp. Then they gave him two wounds on the head and one in the hollow of the left eye, from which, upon treating it, came out a piece of bone, and he was left for dead and completely bathed in his own blood, the same as happened to the Religious who died during this incident. And as the strength of Brother Felipe was low, on account of his advanced age and labors, and as the blood that had run and come out of the wounds was great, he was left because it seemed that he had perished, but when it was discovered that he was still breathing, he was administered the last rites. Upon his regaining consciousness, he was administered the sacrament of penance and the first words he uttered were those of Jesus and Mary; day and night he did not cease to repeat these most sweet names, as long as his recovery lasted, and truly, it was a miracle for him not to have died, when he was in such a weakened condition, and after spilling so much blood, that it seemed impossible for him to survive.—

However, as the Lord saw the need that we had of his person for the charity which I said he exercised with us, after he was cured, He gave him life and as such the zealous Brother recognized it full well, and of course he sought to get closer and closer to God by the exercise of all the virtues that were possible for him to exercise under the present circumstances. What stood out more in these his last days was, firstly, that he looked for a hidden spot where the masses were being said and remained fixed there, as if nailed down, on his knees, without being seen by anyone; he heard all 9 masses; secondly, the most exact obedience to everyone, so that he would let himself be treated as a dead body

would, responding to everyone's needs, and this seemed to come out of his inner self, looking upon himself as a dead body as far as the material world was concerned, and he only lived for Christ crucified; thirdly, whenever he was not busy, his whole time was spent on his knees in prayer, but, though it was to his liking, he would instantly abandon it when he saw it was necessary to mend something else belonging to the poor Religious of Christ in order to relieve them.—

Now, to conclude with the last degree of the virtue of charity that he exercised, since our Brother Felipe Sonson was so fastidious in serving God, even if I die in so doing, he said. He pursued his virtues so well that no-one ever noticed anything [wrong] in anything, that anyone would have judged to be the least fault; rather, he tried to excuse them in other people next to him, and with others, and was much esteemed and revered by all.—

He never let an opportunity of mortifying himself go by without taking it, and much more those that he got without looking for them; he bore them all with the patience of a lamb, as coming from the hand of the Lord.—

He endeavored to do well the ordinary every-day things, spiritual as well as external, and as far as the extraordinary ones, they have already been mentioned.—

In keeping a close watch on all his senses and specially his eyes, ears, and tongue, his modesty was very special and so were the good examples that he gave to us of it.—

He took no less care of the mortification of some things that he could licitly do, such as not going out of his cell unless it was for some good purpose, not looking at anything unusual, whenever there was any to look at in the Marianas, and never asked to know, or want to know, the details of any unimportant news.—

[Six different residences in Agaña between 1668 and 1686]

He lived in six different houses that constituted our lodgings in Agaña, beginning with the first shed in which the Indians received the Ven. Father Diego Luis de San Vitores. The five others were built by Brother Felipe with his own hands. In them he always sought the most encumbered and faraway corner for himself, and he made sure that nothing was lacking in the house proper, though his own room was not comfortable enough for him to rest from so much labor, but was designed to bring him mortification and discomfort. In the last house that I said he built in Agaña, it was so spacious that the Father Vice Provincial assigned him a cell inside one of the apartments, but with notable humility he persuaded him, by putting up some reasons, such as his own illnesses, which he said would bother the Fathers, saying that none of those cells was appropriate, and so, with the acquiescence of the Superior himself, he made a thatch hut for himself to live in, in the site that was most bothersome, which was on top of the kitchen.—

When he was eating, he would say that we ate not for pleasure but because God ordered us to, in order to live, work, and serve Him, and so, his temperance was extreme, and he was never heard to talk about food, not even in the midst of so many necessities

did he ever complain of lacking anything; rather, he went about more contented and happy when the need for food was greatest, on account of the poverty of this country.

His patience was admirable; in fact, externally, he never showed signs of being impatient and although when he was in the middle of a building project he would sometimes shout at those helping him, it was because he was very deaf, and the other reason was to instill seriousness and energy in such people, more so to prevent them from making irremediable mistakes than to show impatience. And when they would commit some error, such shouts were to correct them to prevent them from repeating them, for the disadvantages that would result, and then he would immediately beg them, in all humility and submission, and for the love of God, to forgive him if he had offended them in something.—

In his heart he never gave room for some perturbation, resentment or sadness. At every opportunity and business that presented itself, he took it as if coming from the hand of God, no matter how it came about or by whatever means or way they came, and in this matter he exercised himself in three manners: firstly, by bearing everything that happened with patience; secondly, with punctuality; and thirdly, with pleasure and joy, as he judged them to be manifestations of the will of God.—

In the vows that even an imperfect religious person makes, although they were not for his Profession, he left us with such outstanding examples of them that, from the time he joined our Society, all could have learned or imitated something from Brother Felipe. Since I have already said something about his obedience, and because time does not allow me to say much more, I will now say something about his great poverty and angelic chastity.—

Not only was he most peculiar in not receiving from inside or outside the House anything, nor borrow or taking any thing from the House, not from anywhere else, no matter how small, without permission, but many times it was necessary for the superiors to request him to receive what he needed to survive, so much so that in his small corner and retreat he had only the neat but mended clothes of a truly poor man. In his food and in everything else the virtue of true poverty shone, and out of sight, as someone not busy at all, he was in fact busy repairing, cleaning and finishing some furniture, no matter how small and insignificant it was, just in case it might be useful afterwards in a land so poor as this one.—

The modesty in seeing things, in saying things and the manner of behaving of Brother Felipe were advertising his angelic purity of body and soul, to such a degree that it was as if he had acclimatized in himself the means by which such a great virtue is acquired, one that is much to the liking of God, and in everything he seemed like an angel in a mortal body.—

In everything he did his intentions were pure. He did them only for God and directed them to His divine Majesty in the morning at the beginning of each task, and also while doing the same task by often raising his heart [to God.] Firstly, he did so as someone serving God and not men, with much jubilation that in doing so he was doing the will

of his Creator and Redemptor, so that it looked as if he was loving rather than working.—

In accordance with the will of God he had much to say through the many examples he left us, in the many hardships he endured, in addition to what has been said about hunger, thirst, the sun, the lack of appreciation of these Indians in their various uprisings and specially in this last one in which he suffered so much on account of the blows and wounds that the rebels and apostates of our Holy faith inflicted upon him. He bore everything with much fortitude and happiness for the love of God as gifts of His divine Majesty at the example of Christ crucified for whose love and for the faith in our Holy Mother, the Catholic, Apostolic and Roman Church, the unique and true spouse of the Lord Himself. This his most humble and zealous servant wished and pined to give his blood and life, which is what he showed well when these barbarians wounded him and much before, at the time of the Ven. Father Diego Luis de San Vitores, when a rumor circulated, though untrue as we learned later on, to the effect that Dutch galleons had arrived at these Islands, and of late, in the past year 1685, on 24 March, after the siege that the Indians kept us under, one galleon arrived at these Islands, which was at first said to be one of heretics and enemies of our Holy faith, our Brother Felipe said, lifting his eyes and hands toward heaven with great jubilation and happiness: "The good thing about this thing is that they might send us straight to Heaven.—"

Finally, already full of so many virtues and merits, it seemed that the Lord was advising him that his reward was near, by means of illnesses and specially that of some phlegms that at times bothered him so much, and on account of his old age they became worse and congested his chest until they took away his desire to eat. Possible remedies were then applied to him but recognizing the danger the sacred last rites were then applied, which he received with the devotion and fervor that one can expect. It seemed as if he had superior impulses that he had reached the final preparation that his ailments had brought him to, and so, he did not pay attention to what was said to him. When one tried to administer to him some medicine, he would say: "Why, since I have to die." At other times, when food was brought in, with the determination of a dove, he would say: "I have to die, why should I eat?" but in telling him that holy obedience ordered him to eat, he would let those nursing him feed him and, closing his eyes, he would try to force the food down, until he no longer had the strength, although he never lost the use of reason and feelings until he died. He received the last rites, responding to it with great joy. Friday, January 11th arrived, and at 11 a.m., when he lost consciousness, a prayer was said over him to recommend his soul but before it was over he regained consciousness and, with all his senses, he responded to what was being recited. Then he looked for a crucifix and the rosary that had been curled around his arm, and picking it up with both hands he did not stop kissing its cross and medals together, and it seemed to us that he would not die so soon but survive until at least the next day, but from then on until 1 p.m. there was always a Father present, but as he was still conscious and without any anguish, he expired as he rested, because before 2 p.m. had sounded, when I went to see him, I found him outside his bed and on the floor on his

knees with his arms upon his bed and his head on top of them. Thinking that he was still alive, I spoke to him, asking permission to enter, but he was already dead.—

As he was such a servant of God, it was thought that his Guardian Angel and the most holy Virgin, of whom he was very devout, as we have said, with the rest of the Saints of his devotion, had come to warn him that the time had come, and so, that he should go down on his knees and go with them. And as his deep humility had always hidden so much from men, it is presumed that our Lord favored him, it seems. On this occasion His divine Majesty wished to condescend to it, or with his requests to wait until that time to do him one last favor. Everything can be presumed, given his great virtues and merits, and his exemplary and angelical life that he spent in this Mission, as was said, untiringly for the period of 18 years and with much spirit, keeping God in mind during all his tasks for whose love he did everything. He always carried on his person the insignias of his various slaveries, as written above, which he did in his inner self, toward the saints of his devotion, for instance, the most holy Virgin, St. Augustine, St. Dominic, and St. Ignatius our Father and to his Religious, to wit, the two scapularies that I mentioned, the cordon of St. Augustine and the cassock of the Society. He died and was buried with them on the next day, 12th of said month of January, and as everyone revered him as a saint, the Governor came over with all his soldiers to attend his burial, the Governor himself carrying the body with Sergeant-Major Don José de Quiroga and two Adjutants from the fort where he died to the church recently built next to the sea, and two other Adjutants received him from inside the hole from the hand of Captain José de la Cruz and Adjutant José de Carabajal, and with this *requiescat in pace*¹ as we hope from his blameless life *delectus Deo, et hominibus cujus memoria, etc.*²

Agadña, 10 February 1686.—

1 Ed. note: Latin phrase meaning: “May he rest in peace.”

2 Ed. note: Latin phrase meaning: “chosen by God, and by men whose memory, etc.”

Document 1686I

Eulogy of Brother Pedro Pavon

Source: RAH 9/2677. Notes: In some documents, his first name is given erroneously as Tomás, not Pedro. The unnamed author of this eulogy was superior then; therefore, it was Fr. Bouwens.

Eulogy of Brother Pavon, who died on 24 March 1686

Original text in Spanish.

Mi Padre Provincial

*Pax Christi &c**

En 24 de Março de 1686 a las 11 de la noche passo desta vida a otra mexor el Her^o Pedro Pabon Coadjutor temporal teniendo 31 años de hedad 14 de Comp^a y 12 poco menos de esta Mission Mariana. —

Nacio en Passaron del Obispado de Plaçencia el año de 1655 de Padres honrrados y piadosos y criado dellos en el santo temor de Dios, por servirle mejor y escaparse de los laços del mundo entro en nuestra Comp^a en la Provinçia de Toledo y reçebido en el noviçiado de Madrid a 30 de Septiembre de 1672 se adelanto mucho en todo genero de virtudes conçernientes a su estado, y sintio grandes deseos en su coraçon de passar a Marianas y comunicandolos con el Padre Rector y Maestro de noviçios que era el Padre Juan Gabriel Guillen los tubo su R^a por vocaçion de Dios y le dio la licençia que deseava el Religioso Her^o para ir a su deseada Mission, para donde se embarco en Cadiz el año de 73 portandose en la navegacion con mucha edificaçion de todos, sufriendo con mucha paciençia sus trabajos, y acudiendo con puntualidad a quanto le mandaba la santa obediencia. —

Llegado a Mexico luego fue embiado a Tepoztlan a continuar su Noviçiado y en el continuo el exerciçio de sus Religiosas virtudes en particular el de la Santa paciènçia de la qual dio señaladas muestras en una grave enfermedad que le sobrevino. Açercose entretanto el tiempo de partir y embarcarse para Marianas, y queriendo el Padre Vidal que se quedase en Mexico por no hallarse al parecer con bastantes fuerças para un viaje tan largo, le pidio muy encareçidamente a su R^a le dexase ir confiando en Dios, que se las daria para llegar con salud a su deseada termino[.] concedioçelo el Padre por no privarle de sus queridos Padres Marianos, con que se partio para Acapulco sufriendo mucho en el camino tan agrio de suyo y trabajoso y mas para quien iba conbaleçiente pero tan sufrido que a nadie dio materia de sentimiento. —

En Acapulco se embarco para Marianas adonde llego a 16 de [blank] de 1674 y acabado su noviçiado hizo los votos Religiosos a 1^o de oc[tubre] del mismo año desde luego empeso a trabajar incans-

ablemente cuid[ando] de la enseñanza de los niños Collegiales y es increíble el desvelo que [metía?] en cumplir con su obligación así en buscarles el sustento como en [enseñar?] les lo mejor que pudo. Encargaronle también los superiores la cosina [la] qual hizo con mucha caridad ya sea sin tener quien le ayudase mas que un muchacho siendo forçoso el ir a buscar la leña y traerla sobre sus hombros, añadiosele luego otro cargo mas pesado de ir a buscar y comprar sustento para la Cabeçera, con que iba por estos pueblos sin omitir diligen[cia] ninguna, ni reparar en soles, aguas, malos caminos y peores posadas, ordinariamente a pie sin estorbarcelos muchos achaques executando los ordenes de los superiores, con tal brevedad que asustando(!) en una parte adonde llegaba el negoçio a que iba, al instante passaba a otro pueblo sin dejarse detener de la religiosa caridad de los nuestros lastimado deberle mojado, sudado, y a veces sin lo neçessario, que portando y su religioso proceder digno de todo agasajo.—

Pero adonde mas campeaba su industria era en la llegada de la nao[.] de antemano tenia prevenidas algunas sementeras de la fruta de la tierra pa[ra] darles de refresco a quien nos traya el socorro cuyo desembarque hasta [po]nerle en tierra y guardarlo y conducirlo a Agadña de ordinario le costa[ba] muchissimo pasando las noches sin dormir, los días en continuo trabaxo y sin comer por no tener lugar ni tiempo para aliñar un bocado, todo lo qual lle[va]ba con paz y alegría, por entender recibian gusto de su puntualidad los superiores, por cuyo alivio hazia y padeçia con gusto quanto podia, así hallando una vez entre otras al llegar la nao muy apretado de un penoso a[chaque] de la garganta y tal que apenas podia tragar la saliva, no le permitio su [ar]diente caridad el quedarse en casa sino como estaba se entro en una banca y fue con un sol que se abrasaba, y el Señor a quien miraba en sus superiores coopero con su caridad, que el mucho sol contra lo que temiamos le dio la salud de suerte que cuando llego a la nao se hallo libre del mal que le fatigaba.—

Y reconociendo y estimando los superiores de quien siempre fue su[s] pies] y sus manos la puntualidad del Her^o Pedro de que de cuanto le en[carga]ban podian descuydar, y darlo por hecho, sobre todos estos trabajos cargaron la fabrica de la Iglesia y Casa de Agadña que se trazaba capaz y fuerte obra de dos años y mas. Aquí era forçoso el buen Her^o andar por estos montes en busca de maderas, asistir al corte prevençion de tablas y junta de todo el material estando semanas enteras con la gente en el monte, proveyendoles con mucho trabajo el sustento, y sufriendo sus floxedades e impertinencias, por no faltar a la asistencia de la Cabeçera la proveya de puercos que buscaba juntamente y adquiria por aquellos montes y de pescado que coxia estando en la playa para conducir por la mar la tablaçon y maderas labrados a Agadña, y viniendose un día con una embarcaçion bien cargada gobernando el mismo el timon que al descuidar un poco le hecho al agua y estando con su capote puesto se fue envedando en el a pique, que se huviera ahogado sino por particular providençia de Dios le llevara presente un Indio buzo que se arrojó tras del y agarrandole de la rropa [le] saco de entre las aguas y garras de la muerte.—

Premiole Dios estos sus afanes y peligros con dexarlo ver cassi acabada la Iglesia y Cassa, aunque por esso no se le acabaron aquellos, porque al salir deste, luego fue metido en otro que era levantar una estancia en [que] recoger el ganado mayor, y menor, que se iba criando, labro pues casa capaz y fuerte, y corrales, y majada para el ganadof.] desmonto gran trecho para sementeras de mais, y rayzes de la tierra todo para alibio de la Cabeçera y mission, andando tan ocupado en eso sin mas alivio suyo sino el de [una] yegua, que a causa de su quebrada salud se le permitio los superiores para ir y venir a la cabeçera por estos soles y ardientes arenales.—

Suçedio el desgraçado alsamiento destos Indios cabiendole al Her^o Pedro no la menor parte de su barbara inhumanidad porque cogiendole descuydado algunos dellos en el patio de la Casa le derribaron

a puros golpes en el suelo dandole de machetazos, puñaladas, palos, puñadas, y patadas, hasta dexarle a su parecer muerto en dicho patio, pero idos ellos, bolvio sobre si el buen Her^o y como pudo se lebanto y camino hasta la fuerça, quando al salir de la çerca y emparejarse con la portada de la iglesia dio con otros que le trataron de la misma suerte como los primeros, hasta poner sus sacrilegos pies sobre su garganta pecho y vientre para ahogar y rebentarle a fuerça de brincos y saltos que dieron sobre el, todo lo qual llevo con sufrimiento de Mar[tyr] o-]cupado interiormente con actos fervorosos de amor de Dios, y confiança su piedad de que reçibiria su Magestad todo eso en descuento de sus peca[dos] y le miraria con ojos de Padre misericordioso, finalmente dexandole tambien estos por muerto, bolvio otra vez sobre si y ayudado de dos soldados como pudo se retiro a la Cassa del Governador, teniendo tres heridas en la Cabeça otras en las manos que le baldaron dos dedos en la una y uno en la otra[,] dos estocadas peligrosas y todo el cuerpo molido y quebrantado a palos y patadas, lo que padeçeria en la cura de tantas heridas y quebrantamiento no es fácil decirlo, no pudiendose mandar ni menear sino era con ayuda de manos ajenas. No obstante luego que bolvio a cobrar algunas fuerças bolvio asimismo a sus trabajos, y cuydados de asistir y acudir como antes a la comunidad recogida dentro de la fuerça, y proveerla lo neçessario para su sustento en tanto aprieto como era el presente, y llegada la nao del año passado y aviendo ido a ella con mi liçençia para ir con ella a Manila, y considerando la falta de asistencia que teniamos en tiempos tan apretados[,] resolviöse a quedar, y morirse en esta su querida mission, y en efecto se me ofrecio, y con mi aprovaçion volbio a Agadña para continuar sus trabajos mientras el Señor fuese servido.

Y queriendo su Magestad que el buen Her^o descansase dellos le embio a 3 de Março una enfermedad grave originada de sus habituales achaques[,] que desde que los indios le maltrataron en la forma susodicha se le fueron agravando de suerte que su enfermedad empeso por varios humores [tumores?] que se le hizieron en diferentes partes del cuerpo, y en espeçial en una pierna de que se le hizo llaga ademas que se quexaba siempre del estomago de que abundaba mucha flema y la abundancia desta y colera, le alteraron finalmente de manera que bolvia la comida y resulto calentura de que raras vezes se limpio della en toda la enfermedad. Al principio de la qual se le fueron resolviendo hazia dentro todas aquellas hinchasones, secasele la llaga de la pierna y la fuente que tenia ya libre paso[,] hasta que murio, fue sintiendo al toser en el pecho mucho dolor, y asi deçia que alli estaba su mal, y que no escaparia de aquella, no obstante se le aplicaron todos quantos remedios se pudieron, pero nada basto para apl[acar] el mal y asi a 24 de Março a las 11 y media de la noche espiro reçibidos todos los sacramentos muy a tiempo y dicha la recomendacion del alma tres oras antes que espirar que fue con el soçiego y paz que siempre tubo en su conçiencia para cuya pureza y serenidad siempre andubo muy vigilante evitar todo lo que podia ser ofenja de su criador y Señor, y disponiose con el continuo exerciçio de virtudes segun su estado para este ultimo tranze.—

Aviale dotado Dios con gran cordura y madurez en sus dichos y hechos con que se gobernaba en algunos topes que no dexaban de ofrecerse por parte de algunas malas lenguas que porque el Religioso Her^o cumplia, puntualmente con las obligaciones a que los superiores le havian puesto, lo mordian que perseguia, y con valor defendia las acciones de los superiores contra quien las opugnaba, y desvanecia con modestia Religiosa las murmuraciones que algunos pocos considerados se dexaban desir contra los Religiosos de [la] Comp^a a la qual amaba tiernamente, y se holgaba de morir en ella y [di]ciendo poco antes de espirar que quedaba muy agradecido a quien le avia reçivido en ella y sobre todo a Dios por haverle traydo a tan Santa Religion, y en esta conformidad procuraba guardar sus Reglas con todo cuidado, seguia la comunidad con toda puntualidad, aun estando fuera con el embaraso del corte y estan-

cia, y si por algun descuydo o falta fuese reprehendido de [los] superiores, los oya con humildad, y dever de la enmienda, estimaba con [defe]rençia a todos, con mucho respecto a los Saçerdotes, y a los Hermanos con la veneracion segun su estado.—

Su paçiençia ya se ve qual ha sido en tantos trabajos y afanes que [to]mo sobre sí por el bien de esta mission, y los malos tratamientos y injurias que le hizieron estos naturales. Qual era entre otros quando un Indio aviendose ensuçiado un pie con escremento de hombre, se llevo adonde estaba el Her^o y por burla y escarnio se lo limpio en su sotana, lo qual el Her^o llevo con paçiençia por amor de quien quiso ser tenido por desecho de la pleve. Sus mortificaçiones han sido muchas asi las que le dieron algunos seglares como las proprias que exerçitaba y le causaban los achaques que tenia y le servian de continuo siliçio. Su abstinencia en el comer era rrara, privandose de frutas y otras cosas apeteçibles por no consentirlas como decia la flaqueza de su estomago, y neseçitando por causa dellos de comer carne en dias vedados no lo quiso hazer hasta que se lo mandasen los superiores.—

La caridad se estendia a todos asi de adentro como de afuera ell- [1-cm hole] -pleo a que con tanta solicitud buscasse el sustento a los nuestros y les profcuraba]se con tal cuydado lo nessario en una tierra tan falto de todo, y es[tando] en la estancia los convidaba para agazarlos segun la pobreza presente y saliendole a ver se holgaba, y les agradeçia el favor que le hazian y el buen rato que le daban en su soledad, por causa della se hazen lenguas del los soldados a quien socorria con quanto podia salvo la santa pobreza, y usando por mucho tiempo el ofiçio de çirujano, les sirvio de medico acudiendoles con mucha caridad, asi a los heridos como a los emfermos, y con el ayuda de Dios que cooperaba con el hizo algunas curas señaladas. A ella la experimentaron los Indios, a quien les favoreçio en quanto le era possible y liçito, y aviendo quedado tan maltratado dellos, nunca les falto el desseo de hazerles bien, ni se oyo en su boca palabra de venganza antes se compadeçia dellos y los emcomendaba al Señor.—

Su obediencia era qual la pide a sus hijos Nuestro Padre San Ignaçio pronta[,] alegre y perseverante, bastando le la insinuacion del Superior para executar lo que conoçia era su voluntad por dificultoso y aun peligroso que fuese. Un dia entre otras le mando el superior fuese a un pueblo distante a Agadña cosa de tres leguas a curar a un soldado herido de una lançada que le dieron los Indios[,] era sobre tarde y aviendo de ir por la mar en una banca de la tierra, reparo el Her^o que hazia mucho viento, y que corria riesgo su vida por estar las olas muy altas mas no propuso [propaso?] fiado en la obediencia que le sacaria a salvamento como suçedio.—

Era su amor para con la santa pobreza a la medida del desvelo y cuydado que ponía en lograr y asegurar el socorro que nos venia, en guardar y repasar a menudo los generos con que se avia de buscar el sustento para que no se corrompiesen las pobres alahas de cassa, para que no hiziesen falta a los usos preçisos de ellas, en experimentar sus efectos en sus viages y ocupaciones ahorrando del gasto de su persona para tener con que suplir a otros, y siempre que se daba alguna cosa por menuda que fuese la estimaba y agradeçia como pobre de Christo.

Su castidad era Angelical, y siendo asi que vino a esta mission muchacho de 19 años, y a causa de sus ocupaciones andaba cassi continuamente entre esta gente tan poco recatada, era su recato fundado en el santo temor de Dios que jamas se vio, ni oyo la mas minima cosa que aun de lexos pudiese desdorar su limpieza y honestidad por cuya causa los que le causo la mayor pena y sentimiento en la cura de sus heridas era el no ser dueño de sus manos sino a verse de valer de agenas para cosa que no le podian escusar.—

Este es un breve dibuxo de la vida y virtudes del Religioso Her^o Pedro Pabon y aunque piadosamente confiamos esta gozando de Dios[,] con todo por no faltar a mis obligaciones suplico se sirva V.R^a de mandar se le hagan los acostumbrados sufragios, y a mi no me olvide en sus santos sacrificios, y oraciones y Dios me guarde a V.R. como desseo.—

Translation.

My dear Father Provincial
Peace of Christ, etc.

On 24 March 1686 at 11 p.m. there passed from this life to a better one our Brother Pedro Pabon, lay coadjutor, at the age of 31, with 14 years in the Society and almost 12 in this Mariana Mission.—

He was born in Passaron in the Diocese of Placencia in the year 1655 from honorable and pious parents, and raised by them in the saintly fear of God. To serve Him better and to free himself from wordly ties, he joined our Society in the Province of Toledo and was received in the novitiate of Madrid on 30 September 1672. He made much progress in all kinds of virtues concerning his status, and he felt great desires in his heart to go to the Marianas. He communicated them to the Father Rector and Master of novices who was Father Juan Gabriel Guillén. His Reverence saw in this a calling from God and gave the permission that the religious Brother desired to go to his desired Mission. To this purpose, he embarked at Cadiz in 1673, and during the voyage behaved at the great edification of everyone, by suffering his hardships with much patience, and responding quickly to any order given by holy obedience.—

After his arrival at Mexico he was then sent to Tepoztlán to continue his novitiate and there he continued exercising his religious virtues, specially that of holy patience, in which he gave singular signs during a grave illness that happened to him. Meanwhile the time for him to leave and embark for the Marianas arrived, but Father Vidal wanted him to remain in Mexico, because he appeared not to have sufficient strength to make such a long voyage. He begged His Reverence very affectionately to please let him go and trust in God, who would make him reach his desired destination healthy. The Father granted his request, so as not to deprive his beloved Mariano Fathers. So, he left for Acapulco, suffering much along the way, so rough as it is, and made worse for one who was still convalescing, but he never gave anyone cause to be sorry for him.—

In Acapulco he boarded the ship for the Marianas, where he arrived on 16 [June] 1674 and, after completing his novitiate, he pronounced his religious vows on 1 October of the same year. Of course, he began to work untiringly, taking care of the education of the college children and it is incredible the care he took in complying with his duty, not only in looking for food for them but also in teaching them as best he could. The superiors also assigned him to the kitchen, which he took care of with much charity, even when he had but one boy to help him out, and had to go out to look for wood and bring it on top of his shoulders. He was then asked to do a more difficult task, that of going out to look for and buy food for the capital. That is why he would travel through these towns, not omitting any procedure, nor paying attention to the sun, rain, the bad

roads and worse inns, ordinarily on foot but he was bothered by many illnesses while carrying out the orders of the superiors, with so much speed that once he had finished his business at one place he would immediately go to another town, without wasting time, because of his religious charity toward our people, who were sorry to see him wet, sweating, and at times coming back without the necessities. His religious proceedings were worthy of everyone's approval.—

However, where his industry was best shown was at the arrival of the galleon. Beforehand he would have gathered from some plantations the local products to give some refreshment to those who were bringing us the succor, at whose unloading he worked continuously until it was landed, watched over and taken to Agaña, which usually cost him a lot of work, as he spent the nights without sleeping, and his days in continuous work and without eating, as there was no place nor time to prepare a bite to eat. All of this he bore with peace and joy, understanding that the superiors were pleased with his punctuality. For their relief he did and suffered with pleasure as much as he could. For instance, one time among many, the galleon arrived to find him suffering from a painful throat ache, so serious that he could hardly swallow his saliva, but his burning charity did not allow him to remain at home. Instead, as he was, he boarded a canoe and went off under a burning sun. The Lord, whom he saw in the person of his superiors, cooperated with his charity, because the hot sun gave him back his health, so that when he arrived aboard the galleon he found himself free of the sickness that had bothered him.—

The superiors recognized and esteemed him as Br. Pedro was always their feet and their hands. Whatever they entrusted him with, they could consider it done, and done in a timely manner. On top of all these works, they made him responsible for the construction of the church and house of Agaña that was being planned, as a spacious and strong work of two years and more. Here the good Brother was forced to walk through these woods in search of timber, to supervise the cutting, preparation of boards and collection of all the materials, spending whole weeks with the men in the bush, providing them their food at the cost of much labor, and suffering their laziness and impertinence. So as not to fail to assist the capital, he provided it with pigs that he looked for at the same time and found throughout those woods and with fish that he picked up when he was on the beach, on the occasion of conveying the raw timber and finished lumber to Agaña. One day he came in with a well-loaded boat, with himself at the helm, but when he got distracted for a moment the rudder knocked him overboard and the jacket he had on was dragging him down; he would have drowned, had not an Indian diver been present, by special providence of God. The Indian dove after him and, grabbing him by his clothing, dragged him out of the waters and from the clutches of death.—

God rewarded him for his hard work and dangers by letting him see almost finished the church and house, although they did not cease for all that, because this done, he

was then assigned another project, that is, the creation of a ranch where the big and small cattles that were being raised could be collected.¹ To do so, he built a large and strong house, plus enclosures and pens for the cattle. He cleared a great stretch of bush for plantations of corn and local root crops, all destined to the relief of the capital and mission. He was busy attending to that, without relief for himself other than a mare, which the superiors allowed him, on account of his broken health, to come and go to the capital under a burning sun and burning sands.—

Then happened the unfortunate uprising of these Indians, and not a small part of their barbarity was felt by Brother Pedro, because some of them caught him unaware on the patio of the house. They brought him down with pure blows, hitting him with machetes, knives, sticks, their fists and feet, until they left him for dead on said patio, but once they had gone, the good Brother regained consciousness. He got up as best he could and made his way toward the fort, but upon leaving the enclosure and coming abreast of the doorway of the church he fell in with others who treated him the same way as the first, going as far as to place their sacrilegious feet on his throat, chest and belly in order to choke him to death and crush him by relentless bounces and jumps on top of him.² He bore all of this with the patience of a martyr, being busy in his inner self with zealous acts of love for God, and trusting in the mercy of His Majesty would receive all of that as a credit against his sins and would look upon him with the eyes of a merciful Father. Finally, they also left him for dead. He regained consciousness once more and, helped by two soldiers, got up as best he could and retreated to the Governor's house. He had three wounds on his head, others on his hands which crippled two of his fingers on one hand and one on the other, two dangerous stab wounds and his whole body bruised and bearing marks from the sticks and kicks. It is not easy to describe what he suffered during the healing of so many wounds and bruises. He could not manage to get around or take care of himself except with the help of foreign hands. Nevertheless, after he had regained some strength, he also went back to his labors, and previous cares in order to assist the community gathered inside the fort, and to provide it with necessities for their maintenance in such a fix as the one in question. At the arrival of the galleon of the past year [1685], he boarded it to go aboard her to Manila with my permission, but considering the lack of assistance that we suffered in such difficult times, he decided to stay, and die in this his beloved mission. In fact, he offered himself to me and with my approval he returned to Agaña to continue his labors, until the Lord might decide otherwise.—

But His Majesty willed that the good Brother got some respite from his labors and He sent him a grave sickness on 3 March [1686] which originated with the usual aches that he suffered from ever since the Indians mistreated him, and were getting worse, so

1 Ed. note: This ranch was located where Tamuning is today.

2 Ed. note: One has to read between the lines of this and other documents to realize that Br. Pavon's attackers were older Chamorro boys, formerly raised in the college, who had been forced to do hard labor in the Spanish ranch, under Br. Pavon's severe style of supervision, and now sought revenge.

that his sickness began with various tumors they had caused on various parts of his body, specially on one leg, where it became an open sore, in addition of his continual complaint about his stomach from which issued much phlegm and the abundance of it, plus bile, affected him so much that he finally vomitted his food, and ended up with a fever. A few times, the fever made the whole sickness disappear by resorption, at the beginning all of those swellings would subside, the sore on his leg would dry up and its source would then drain freely. Until he died, he fell much pain in his chest upon coughing, and thus he used to say that his sickness was there, and that he would not escape from it. Nevertheless, he was applied all the remedies available, but nothing sufficed to abate the illness and so, on 24 March at 11:30 at night, he expired, having received all the sacraments, all on time. The recommendation of the soul was recited three hours before he expired, which he received with the calm and peace that he always kept in his conscience, for whose purity and serenity he was always vigilant in avoiding all that could offend his Creator and Lord. He had prepared himself well with the continuous exercise of virtues in accordance with his status, for this last stage.—

God had endowed him with a great wisdom and maturity in his sayings and actions when he met with some difficulties that did not lack now and then on the part of some bad tongues, because the Religious Brother complied punctually with the duties assigned to him by the superiors. They ridiculed him for going ahead, and with valor he defended the actions of the superiors against whomever opposed them, and he broke up with religious modesty the murmurs that a few malcontents listened to, that were said against the Religious of the Society which he loved tenderly, and he was glad to die in it. A short time before he died, he said that he remained very thankful to the people who had accepted him in it and above all to God for having brought him into such a holy Order, and as such he endeavored to obey its Rules with complete care; he followed the community with complete punctuality, even when he was outside in charge of the wood cutting and the ranch. And if he was reprehended by the superiors for some carelessness or failure to do something, he listened with humility, and duty to reform. He esteemed everyone with deference, showing much respect to the priests, and to the Brothers with the veneration that belied his status.—

One can imagine what his patience was in the midst of so many hardships and worries that he assumed for the good of this mission, and the bad treatments and injuries caused by these natives. One example among many was when an Indian, after he had dirtied his [bare] foot on some human excrement, went up to the place where the Brother was and, as a joke and scoffing, used his cassock to clean his foot; this the Brother bore with patience for the love of him who wished to be held in contempt by the common people. His mortifications were many, not just those given to him by some lay people but also the ones that he exercised and caused him the aches that he had and served him as continuous tortures. His abstinence in eating was a rare one; he deprived himself of fruits and other tasty things, because, as he said, the frailty of his stomach could not stand them, and since he had to eat meat for this reason on forbidden days, he did not wish to do so until he was ordered to by the superiors.—

His **charity** extended to everyone, inside and outside... [1-cm hole in paper] ... in the employment that he performed with so much solicitude, in looking after the food supplies of our people, and he did manage to provide them carefully with the necessities in a country so devoid of everything, when he was at the ranch he invited them and welcomed them, in accordance with the present poverty; he was glad to receive visitors and he thanked them for the favor they were doing him and for the good time they brought him in his solitude. This caused some wagging tongues among the soldiers, despite the fact that he succored them with food as much as he could, except for holy poverty, and for a long time had filled the post of **surgeon** and served them as a physician, taking care of them with much charity, not only when they were wounded but also when they were sick, and with the help of God who cooperated with him, he made some remarkable cures. Even the Indians experienced it, as he favored them whenever it was possible and allowed. Even after he had been so mistreated by them, he never failed to wish them well, and he was never heard to utter a word of revenge; rather, he sympathized with them and commended them to the Lord.—

His **obedience** was the one that our Father St. Ignatius asks of his sons: prompt, joyful, and persevering. It was sufficient for the Superior to insinuate his will for him to carry it out, no matter how difficult and even dangerous it was. One day among many, the superior ordered him to go to a town, distant from Agaña by about three leagues, to treat a soldier who had been wounded by a spear thrown by Indians. It was very late and, as he had to go by sea aboard a local canoe, the Brother noticed that there was much wind, and that his life would be in danger, because the waves ran very high, but he did not shrink(?), trusting that obedience would ensure his safety, as it did.—

His love for holy **poverty** was in line with the concern and care he took in obtaining and securing the succor that came in, in watching over it, by revising often the goods that would be used to pay for the local food supplies, to prevent the poor household furnitures from rotting, and have them serve their purpose when they were needed. Its effects were felt during his voyages and occupations, as he saved on his personal expenses in order to supply others with more, and whenever something was given him, no matter how small, he esteemed it and was grateful to be poor for Christ.

His **chastity** was angelical, and it was so when he arrived at this mission as a boy of 19 years of age. And because of his occupations that took place continuously among these people who show so little modesty, his own modesty was based on the saintly fear of God. Never was the least thing seen or heard that might have stained in the least his purity and honesty; that is why, what caused him the greater pain and sorrow during his convalescence was not being able to use his own hands, and have to let someone else help him with something that could not be helped.—

This is a brief sketch of the life and virtues of the Religious Brother Pedro Pabon and although we piously trust that he is now enjoying the presence of God, still, so as not to fail in my duties, I beg Y.R. to please order that the customary prayers be said, and do not forget me in your holy sacrifices, and prayers, and may God keep Y.R. as I wish.—

Document 1686J

Letter from Fr. Bustillo to the Duchess, dated Umatac 30 May 1686

Sources: Present location unknown; an 18-page ms. offered for sale by Maggs Bros. of London in 1923 (Cat. N° 442, part 1 of item n° 1936, pp. 200-202).

Note: This copy was not sent until one year later, because the 1686 galleon did not stop.

Extract from the Maggs Catalog

...
Last year 1685, I wrote a lengthy letter to you (I think it is about 13 sheets) giving news of this, your “Benjamin” Mission and Christian community; and of the lamentable state it was in, and must continue to be in, until the removal of the political and military Governor, who, as I informed you is Don Damian de Esplana, a creole from Peru.

On the 13th June, the Day of Saint Anthony of Padua, the vessel, called **Santo Niño**, arrived here, and the following day I received letters urgently calling me on board, from our great friend General Antonio Nieto... It is imposible to describe in words or in writing the cordial reception accorded us by our good friend General Nieto, who so greatly sympathized with all our sufferings in this Mission... As you must know, he had left us here in the year 1668, having been in command of the ship in which we had arrived with the Venerable Father Diego Luis San Vitores, to lay the foundations of our Holy Faith, for which purpose we landed here and took possession in the name of the King, General Nieto acting as godfather to the first little boys whom we baptized.

On boarding the ship, the sympathetic General said he could not expect anything better of the government of Don Damian de Esplana, knowing him well, as he does, and being aware of his lack of ability... and he greatly regretted our wretched plight in being left at the mercy of such a man’s rule. He gave us all the assistance he could, and generously left us 40 picked men, to replace the losses we had sustained, saying (which was overheard by the Governor) that with these men alone armed with sticks, we could subdue all the Indians; and he remarked: “If only we had as Governor a man like Don Joseph de Quiroga!” with which we wistfully agreed. The General was extremely sorry

he could not elect Quiroga himself and carry Esplana off with him to Manila, a maneuver we said might well be brought about, as it was provided for—as the Vice-Provincial pointed out—under a certain interpretation of the Philippine Consistory Court, page 1, paragraph 3, to which he replied that such a proposition was unfortunately not practicable as it would be against the regulations of the Administration...

You will now see what was done with the help so generously accorded us. It seems that this Esplana acts, speaks, and now writes to Manila, Mexico and Madrid, with a view to compassing the utter ruin of this Christian community which has cost us so much to build up. Indeed, it is a miracle that we should be alive at all in this man's power, with his slovenly, madcap rule.

As I have already told you, the Governor came to Umatag in May last year, to await the vessel, and after its departure he stayed on until August with more than 70 men, without having accomplished any useful work, or dared to order the capture of four Indians, who mocked and annoyed him wherever he went.

... He merely ground the inhabitants down with so much work that many sickened, and one day a soldier, a fine veteran, having worked strenuously all through the day without tasting food, was found dead in the evening.

[The writer states that the Governor's tyranny became intolerable, and after a time, even he began to fear the growing resentment of the Indians; but had not got the resolution to deal with the rebels firmly and justly.]

He [Esplana] says that he has not the heart to judge and punish them in cold blood, but prefers to wait until matters come to such a pass, that he kills them in hot blood.

[The writer gives details of the squalid murders perpetrated under this thoroughly unsatisfactory ruler's orders; of how the soldiers were reluctantly employed in uncongenial work, while desiring to come to grips with the Indians, who openly derided them; of the Governor's vacillation in dealing with miscreants; and his exasperating inability to administer the dependency under his control. Finally, with his undue leniency to the Indians and unjust severity towards the soldiers, who were underfed, overworked, and callously subjected to the crazy whims of a thoughtless tyrant, matters reached a climax, when **the soldiers mutinied**... They quickly elected a chief, who was not slow to canvass among his comrades, and in a short time, 15 soldiers had joined the agitator against the Governor. However, remorse overtook one of them, and at dead of night he hastily sought the Vice-Provincial, asking him to warn the Governor of the impending danger.]

The Father did so, giving the reasons of the soldiers' dissatisfaction, and asking whether the cause of their grievance might not be removed... He heard the Father out—astonished, as one can imagine—without uttering a word, swallowing hard for a few moments, and then he made one of his imbecile remarks; telling the Father that he was too much of a man to fear, and that no-one would dare to touch him, for he would have anyone who attempted to harm him promptly garrotted; that he would not alter by a fraction his mode of government; that he would continue to treat—or ill treat—the soldiers as they deserved both by deed and word, since any opprobrium poured on them

was not offensive coming from a Governor... and with that, and further tomfoolery, the Father—seeing that there was nothing more for him to do in the matter—took his departure...

A few hours later he had four men in handcuffs, without troubling to ascertain whether or not they were the culprits! ... Indeed, one of them was a man to whom the Governor owed his life! He had watched over him day and night... and in consideration of his services, he had been made a Captain, but on the other hand, the Governor had dishonored him by making illicit love to his wife... and fearing that this scandal should reach the husband's ears—as it was notorious in the district—he accused him, without the slightest justification, of conspiring with the soldiers against him.

The Captain bore this unfounded charge with incredible patience, not once forgetting the respect due to the King's representative... but the Governor persisted in his accusation and ordered him to be imprisoned in a dungeon with handcuffs... and yet he was innocent... and the Governor continued with his customary severity towards the soldiers and the Indians. These were, however, somewhat subdued after the imprisonment of the others, and the Governor curbed his habit of using foul language to a certain extent...

[A month later, the Captain was able to establish his innocence, and was graciously re-instated in his rank by the autocrat of the Islands. At about this time rumors of a native rising began to spread, and, Quiroga, reflecting that it would be wise to keep the matter firmly in hand, approached the Governor without ceremony. The result of this enforced séance was the despatch, post haste, of 50 soldiers under the leadership of an adjutant. These men were instructed to investigate and return as soon as possible, being ordered to shoot at sight any enemy Indian, an amiable order which they amiably complied with. Their "bag" on the first day's shoot included two children aged 8 and 9 years respectively, two women who were ill, and an infirm old man...]

...which gave the Adjutant pause, and caused him to moderate his methods; after which he brought back 7 children as prisoners, the youngest, who was 2 years of age, was wounded. The oldest prisoner was a girl of 12, and the oldest boy was 9.

[There was also a formidable foe, aged 4! but it is characteristic of the officer's ideas of courage and justice that no Indian male adult was among the haul of pathetic little captives. He also describes the martyrdom of Fathers Pedro Comano and Pabon, and the death of Father [sic] Phelippe Sonson, a native of Pampanga...]

...whose solid virtues were an example to his countrymen, and who, being a noble among his own people, is now, we believe, from his blameless life, a most noble citizen of the Realm of Heaven.

Note on the official Jesuit annual report for 1685-1686, by Fr. Bustillo

Sources: Present location unknown; a 20-page ms. cited by Uriarte, V, 125-126, by B&R 53: 314, by Gallardo,¹ by de Backer & Sommervogel, and by Retana.

Note: The report is entitled: "Relación del estado y progresos de la Mission de las Islas Marianas desde Junio pasado de 85. hasta el de 86. Que es la inmediata à la que por Junio de dicho año de 85 se envió, del alzamiento y ruina que destos naturales padeció esta cristiandad Mariana el año antes, 23 de Julio 84." Dated San Juan & San Ignacio de Agaña, in the Marianas, 23 May 1686.

[The text begins with: "Despues de las gloriosas muertes por Cristo de los venerables padres Manuel de Solorzano, Teofilo de Angelis, Agustin Estrobac, Carlos Boranga, y la del venerable hermano Baltasar Dubois, quedamos en esta mission Mariana diez sacerdotes..."² and ends with: "De San Juan de Guan y San Ignacio de Agaña, en las Marianas y Mayo 23 de 1686." My conclusion is that the annual report in question is the same as, or similar to, the above document, sent to the Duchess.]

1 Ed. note: Bartolomé J. Gallardo. *Ensayo de una Biblioteca Española de libros raros y curiosos* (4 vols., Madrid, 1863-1889), t. II, col. 157.

2 Ed. note: The 10 priests in question were: Fathers Ahumada, Bouwens, Bustillo, Cardeñoso, Cerezo, Coomans, Cuculino, Le Roulx, Tilpe, and Zarzosa.

Documents 1686K

Inquiry held in Manila about the Mariana sloop

Source: AGI Fil. 13-1-9, pp. 137-186.

Literal copy of the Records of Proceedings that took place, and other measures taken at the request made by the Father Procurator General of the Society of Jesus, for the despatch of a vessel to the Mariana Islands. Year of 1686.

The first memorial of Father Antonino Tuccio.

Father Antonio Tuccio of the Society of Jesus and its procurator general in these Islands:

Declared that, the natives of the Mariana Islands having risen in rebellion and given violent deaths to five Religious missionaries and to many Spanish and Pampango soldiers, burned the churches, houses and colleges and placed that Christian community in its last stage of being lost, with the Indians becoming so bold as to give many wounds to their Governor, Sergeant-Major Damian de Esplana, as stated in the letters addressed to Your Lordship that were brought in by the galleon **Santo Niño**, not only from said Governor but also from Father Gerardo Bouvens, Vice-Provincial of said Mission. In order to procure the remedy to so many damages, said Father Vice-Provincial sent Father Diego de Zarzosa to these Islands so that, as an eyewitness, he may inform Your Lordship, and from your zeal and Christianity all the missionaries expect the total remedy of so many souls, in which on account of their rebellion the most precious blood of our Lord Jesus Christ is being lost, and the great expenses and cares that the King our Lord (God save him) has endowed and endows are being frustrated, and because everything can be remedied if only Your Lordship be pleased to send to that afflicted mission some vessel with relief supplies and troops, in quantities that Your

Lordship thinks necessary, as it is stipulated by the zeal of our Catholic monarch in his Royal decrees addressed to this Government, in compliance with the order given him in this matter by Father Provincial, he makes this representation and begs Your Lordship, as follows:

He begs and beseeches Your Lordship to please order that said Royal decrees be reviewed and according to their contexts arrange and order what would be for the greater glory of God to comply with the will of His Majesty and good of that afflicted Christian community, and he hopes to obtain everything from the Catholic and pious zeal of Your Lordship.

Besides, he represents to Your Lordship that three years have passed since the said Sergeant-Major Damian de Esplana governs those islands and according to the news we have received he wishes for a successor, besides the fact that it appears appropriate to give him one, because the natives, recognizing the serious crime that they have committed against his person, will never trust the peace that he offers them, as they fear the just vengeance that they will always fear. All of which he leaves to the great comprehension and zeal of Your Lordship.

Opinion of the Fiscal.

The Fiscal of His Majesty, in view of what was represented and asked for in the memorial of 21 February last by Reverend Father Antonio Tuccio of the Society of Jesus and its Procurator General in these Islands with copies of the Royal Decrees attached,¹ regarding the measures that must be taken for the preservation of the Mariana Island missions:

Declares that their present condition is notorious and public knowledge to everyone in this City and it is not necessary to check further, on account of said notoriety, and that it is sure and certain that not long ago the natives of said Islands rose in rebellion against their Governor and religious missionaries of the Society of Jesus, giving various wounds to the former, leaving him for dead, and killing five of the latter and a few soldiers of that garrison, as well as profanating the sacredness of the temples, it would be very much in agreement with the Royal will, as explained in said Royal Decrees, for Your Lordship with the Christian zeal that assists you to please give all the necessary development for the preservation of our Holy Catholic faith in said Islands, which was the unique purpose and only objective that led the Catholic zeal of His Majesty (may God save him) to the conquest of those Islands and to spend large sums of money from his Royal Patrimony in what their preservation has cost and costs, and so that this representation will not remain a mere generality, he will now specify what can be deduced from the Royal decrees themselves, to confirm the requests of said Father Procurator General, that is, that Your Lordship be pleased to send a vessel with relief supplies and

1 Ed. note: They were: 1) the decree dated San Lorenzo 21 October 1682 (see Doc. 1682S); 2) the decree dated Madrid 28 July 1681 (Doc. 1681S1); and 3) the decree dated Madrid 3 October 1680 (Doc. 1680R).

troops as a remedy, defence and succor for the Catholics, ecclesiastical as well as secular, who have been oppressed by that barbarian mob, in order for said mission to continue and produce the glorious fruit of their conversion and reduction to our Holy Faith, and as to the conformity of this request to the Royal will it can be deduced from the text of the decree dated Madrid 28 July 1681 addressed to this Government, found among the records of proceedings, in which it is recorded that Master-of-camp Don Juan de Vargas Hurtado, when he was Governor of these Islands, reported to His Majesty in a letter dated 27 May 1680¹ on the condition of the Christian community in the Mariana Islands and that he had arranged for a vessel to be sent there to let those Religious travel between the Islands, and thanking him for same; from said context it can be supposed that His Majesty had ordered the construction of said vessel for the above-mentioned purposes, for instance in the following words: “For said purpose you said that the vessel that I have ordered you to build to enable said Religious to travel between the Islands was already in the works, its keel laid, etc.”

And although texts do not generally prove, but are to be proven, nevertheless here it is proven, with the same acceptance of said rescript in which His Majesty gives thanks to said Master-of-camp for what he did for the development of said mission, entrusting him to continue to do so, although he did not report on that occasion anything else he did in this government, with regards to said mission, other than the preparation of said vessel; indeed, the rest of said narrative is a Report that said Don Juan forwarded to His Majesty, written by the Superior of the mission of said Religious about the more noteworthy things that happened in said Islands between June 1678 and May 1679.

And although this Royal decree addressed said Master-of-camp by his own name and does not say in writing that it counts on his obedience, nevertheless it cannot and must not prevent nor delay the accomplishment of said rescript, as it is in agreement with law that Royal decrees may be directed at a Viceroy or Governor, though his personal name be mentioned therein and the following phrase omitted: “or to the person in whose charge those provinces may be,” they must be obeyed and carried out by his successor in the kingdom or government in question, unless the issue of his [personal] industry be brought up for some specific thing: this is thus expressly stated by decree dated Madrid 9 December 1683 and reported by Mister Solorzano in Volume 2 of his **Jure Indiarum**, Book 4, Chapter 12, Titles 77 and 78, on folio 838, and the import in law is that a tribunal always remains the same, though the persons of the judges or ministers change. The previous decree is further verified by the text of another decree, also addressed to Master-of-camp Don Juan de Vargas Hurtado, dated 3 October 1680, that is found among the records of proceedings, with its acknowledgment of obedience, etc. etc.

...

[There follow even more legal arguments, then the following recommendation:]

1 Ed. note: ref. Doc. 1681S1.

It is the opinion of the Fiscal, in view of the urgency of the present need and the greatness of the affliction that, it is understood, will impact that Christian community with the insolence and meanness of that mob carried out under the pretext of freedom, it would be very appropriate, to remedy the situation, that as soon as possible under the circumstances Your Lordship be pleased to make provisions for the despatch of a vessel to said Islands with the necessary relief supplies and troops, charging the expenses to the branch of the Royal treasury that has funds readily available, the arrangement of which he leaves to the prudent and justified judgment of Your Lordship, so that those rebellious barbarians be refrained. Indeed, in the giving of remedies to mutinies and rebellions experience has always shown that speed is very proper, because the crowd becomes excited and acts boldly when it does not see a punishment or opposition, and the enterprise becomes more insolent, and in order to avoid such damages, mutinies must be remedied in their beginnings, before evil has taken roots and it grows with delays. Indeed, once men have been killed and robberies and other insolences have taken place during a sedition, they will be reduced with difficulty to obedience and calm.

Notwithstanding the aforesaid, it should not be understood that it goes against other Royal decrees by which His Majesty orders that the reduction of Indians not be done by military or violent means, but by sweet and bland methods, because offensive war is not presently involved; rather, it is only a defensive measure, introduced by natural law, to enable that Christian community to defend itself from sudden attacks by that barbarian nation.

...

If Your Lordship be pleased, a provision may be taken about this matter in the form stated by the Fiscal in the previous paragraph, as it is in agreement with said Royal decrees, or in the form that Your Lordship may see more befitting to the service of both Majesties.

At home, on 4 March 1686.

Doctor Don Estevan Lorenzo de la Fuente y Alanis.

With regards to the other petition contained in the memorial of said Father procurator general, he sees no legal reason for the removal of the present Governor of those Islands, one that would involve a criminal action and without first hearing his plea. In this and in everything else Your Lordship will please do what you see fit, etc.

Ut supra.

Doctor Don Estevan Lorenzo de la Fuente y Alanis.

The Governor decides to convene a meeting of the Finance Committee.

Decree dated Manila 5 March 1686:

Submit the request made by the Fiscal and by the Procurator General of the Society of Jesus for a vessel to be sent to the Mariana Islands to a general meeting of the treasury in order to resolve the point: whether the costs should be borne by the royal treas-

ury or not, in view of the causes that they mention, to wit, the uprising that occurred in the said Islands, and, regarding the second petition, let it be done as the Fiscal requested.¹

...

Second memorial of Fr. Tuccio.

Father Antonino Tuccio of the Society of Jesus and its Procurator General in these Islands:

Declares that, in view of the quasi-total destruction of the mission that his Order has in the Mariana Islands on account of the general uprising of the natives of said Islands, with the death of five Religious, the burning of all the houses and churches there, and the need for said mission of an extraordinary succor, which Your Lordship has been pleased to resolve, by sending a vessel from here with said succor to said Mariana Islands, and inasmuch as the treasury of His Majesty in these Islands are in a deficit situation, on behalf of said mission he makes an oblation for this once only of 1,000 pesos in common gold as a grant-in-aid for the despatch of said vessel, and therefore:

He begs and beseeches Your Lordship to please appoint a person to whom he must deliver said 1,000 pesos, as he will consider it a favor from the greatness of Your Lordship.

Antonino Tuccio

[Naturally, the 1,000-peso contribution was accepted, on 19 April. The members of the Finance Committee presented various proposals and counter-proposals for the financing of the project.]

1 Ed. note: There follow many other documents, among them a petition presented by the legal representative of Governor Esplana of the Marianas (Major, but already General of galleons Lucas Matheo de Urquiza), along with a letter and a report by Esplana reproduced separately in this volume (Doc. 1685P). Some letters written by Fr. Bouwens are also placed on record (Doc. 1685Q).

Document 1686L

Letter from Fr. Ahumada to the Duchess, dated Guam 30 May 1686

Source: Present location unknown; an 8-page ms. offered for sale by Maggs Bros. of London in 1923 for 31 pounds (Cat. N° 442, n° 1941, p. 208).

Notes: The date of this document is wrongly stated as 17 May in Reid's Bibliography of Guam. It, too, could not have been mailed in 1686, as the Santa Rosa did not stop at Guam, but went south to prevent a meeting with English pirates, and to discover Carolina [Yap] Island.

Extract from the Maggs Catalog

...
Last year I wrote to you, replying to a letter which you had deigned to address to me...

I gave you news of many troubles we had endured in the past year, and this one has not yielded less abundance... all of which being done due to my sins, and many souls have been lost and will continue to be lost because we have a Governor who is not a prudent man or courageous... Although we have done all we could on our part, we have obtained nothing from this man, who is so possessed of fear that the few outings he has had in this country have cost him many sleepless nights... and indeed he has behaved like one who has taken leave of his senses.

The soldiers do as they please—they leave the garrison whenever they choose and return when they think they will, since there is none to punish their lack of discipline; and as this is lacking, everything else is lost, as fear of punishment might have deterred the wicked ones. The Indians have returned to their old homes, and we cannot go to visit them without an escort, for fear of enemies... The Governor will not grant this [escort] unless perchance they sally forth to surround a piece of land where there are few people, for he does not dare to send where there are many people, in case they and the soldiers should kill one another.

Nothing has been done to discover who had burned the churches and houses, and stolen the sacred ornaments and jewels, which were considerable, and killed the Fathers and soldiers, although through the work and diligence of the Commandant, Don Joseph

de Quiroga, they have caught many of the rebels who had waged a primitive war against us, but he has not done much more than put them in chains in prison, and bring them out in twos to work as galley-slaves.

[The writer proceeds to give an account of the Governor's incompetence. He says that the Indians are very cowardly, and fear the soldiers' arms, yet the Governor so greatly feared them that he ordered the soldiers to refrain from pursuing them too far into their mountain homes.]¹

Indeed, were they to fight face to face, such action would prove advantageous... this has caused us all to suffer, for it has frustrated our hopes...

[Apparently, the Governor was in the habit of announcing his program beforehand, which brought down the wrathful scorn of the Missionaries on his foolish but arrogant head.]

You will see what manner of a man he is by his habit of reversing the usual custom in warfare... which is to preserve secrecy until one's aim is achieved; and if one warns him of the risk of his procedure in publishing in advance all about his intended sorties, he replies airily that he is not the man to take advice, for he was made to rule armies and keep them under his heel, and that it is he who had to give advice to others...

O, what a wonderful general the King has missed for his Armies against the French! I think he would be better off in a lunatic asylum. I agree he is not a man to take advice (on account of his incapacity to appreciate it), but I deny that he is at all a fit person to give advice. Indeed, as regards his boast that he takes nobody's advice himself, there is no man on earth who can govern his life entirely without the advice of others, as history teaches us.

[He gives an interesting account of the expedition to Umatag when the Vice-Provincial Gerardo Bouwens attempted...]

...to discharge his obligation by converting those Indians who through mismanagement had revolted. The zealous Father influenced them with love and benevolence... He was not able, however, to achieve his object.

Etc.

1 Ed. note: "Mountain" is here translated literally, but the real meaning is that of "bush" or "wild country". The exact equivalent word "bundok", in Filipino, has given rise to the American word "boondocks". This latter word has been further modified into another slang word, popular in the Marianas of the 1980s: "boonies."

Document 1686M

Letter from Fr. Ahumada to Fr. García, dated Guam 31 May 1686

Source: A 5-page ms. among Phil. mss. II, Lilly Library, Indiana University, Bloomington.

Note: This letter was accompanying his diary of the events of 1684; that is why it was ascribed the year 1684 in the Lilly Library archives (because of the wrong date given by the author).

Translation of Fr. Ahumada's letter

My Father Francisco García,
Peace of Christ, etc.¹

Last year 1685, I answered the letter of Y.R., giving thanks as I could for the honor which Y.R. made me in writing to me, and giving me news of the steps taken by Y.R. and my Lady, the Duchess of Aveiro, to promote this mission, and whose sponsorship we need very much, particularly in the circumstances in which we find ourselves, because our Lord has been served by sending us the greatest of punishment we have ever experienced for a thousand sins, the cause and the manner of which Y.R. will learn from others who are writing to Y.R.² I have already told Y.R. last year about what we suffered.³ This has not been a favor, and God only knows when these misfortunes will stop. I hope his [divine] Majesty will not put a stop to everything; this is what afflicts us the most. May God—in whom we trust—remedy it as He wishes and take pity on us and deign to lift the scourge with which he chastises us as a Father would. We are very sorry for the atrocious death, hence a happy one, of the Ven. Fr. Comano,⁴ one of the most illustrious missionaries whom our mission has had. He died as our saint

-
- 1 Ed. note: Father Juan (de) Ahumada was born in Cáceres, Spain, in 1634 and arrived at Guam in 1674. He was sent to the Philippines to complete his studies (1677-83). He died a natural death in October 1687.
 - 2 Ed. note: The writer is alluding to Governor Esplana as the root cause of the rebellion and massacre of 1684.
 - 3 Ed. note: See Doc. 1685H.
 - 4 Ed. note: Fr. Peter Coomans was born at Antwerp in 1638, arrived at Guam in 1672, and was killed at Saipan in July 1685.

and I hear that his death was no less cruel, may God be praised on high and be known in all this stature, by giving us patience so that we do not lose the merit of so much work.

I thank Y.R. and say again and again thank you for the many efforts Y.R. gives on behalf of this mission; although Y.R. says that you do nothing, we know well how much we owe Y.R., for which we are all very thankful, and we can never repay you, but God, through whom everything is done, does not forget those who serve Him nor does He leave a thing unnoticed. I confess, although useful, that I will never be able to forget a benefactor whom I wish from all my heart to serve, on account of how much I esteem and love Y.R. in our Lord. I send to Y.R. the **diary** of what this gentleman has done, through which Y.R. will dig something out of the many events we have been through, whose feats are such that they seem incredible, but are much more than what is written, because not everything can be said, [as] that would be never to put an end to such a brave case file as this man would give us. I manifest the danger or scourge of our mission, I have not been able to make a tidy extract, by transcribing the diary. Thus, I sent the draft. Y.R. will have much work in reading¹ but at last you will find out what we have suffered and I do not doubt you will take pity on us. From this diary, Y.R. will avail yourself of the things that were for the greater glory of God with well-ordained courteousness and charity. That is why I do not want to be the cause of this poor man being punished. May God have mercy of the one I am fed up with; the account given will put an end to what cannot be alleviated. May God be pleased that I may be able to help and relieve him in something...

[There follows a very long tirade against Governor Esplana, his lack of respect for the missionaries and the bad example he gives to soldiers and Indians alike.]

Today we do not have any servants to help us, and thus we are forced to take advantage of a few children from the college who stayed with us, and if God had not helped us this year we would have spent it with a very great workload and with all this we have suffered much because we cannot do everything that they do but the Governor makes them work [only] when he feels like it. We had a few Filipino servants and he took them from us last year, and he had the soldiers do it by force, and two of them, on account of no longer being able to work so much, fled to the Indians and the enemies killed one of them, and the other is still with them, even one who was [like] our feet and hands, who was a music teacher, taught the college children and celebrated mass with everyone and acted as fiscal on behalf of the Indians,² taking care of the sick, and other relevant things for the good of the souls. They took him away and made him a soldier like the rest [of the Filipinos], reason for which we do not have anyone to serve at high masses. Y.R. may [thus] consider the esteem such officers have of us! and I pass

1 Ed. note: Fr. Ahumada's handwriting is not easy to read.

2 Ed. note: The early Jesuit missionaries called "fiscal" someone who checked church attendance, and reported on the behavior of Christians in the community.

comment on the soldiers and Indians. In short, my dear Fr. Francisco García, everything is suffering, and more suffering, until God decides otherwise.

[Only one horse remaining in Guam, in 1686]

We have one colt left from a few small mares that we had and that were all killed last year; it was left because it was at home in case there came a call from afar for a confession, with all speed to succor some soul. This he [Esplana] took from us and took it with him to the port of Umatag, located one day off; this was done with the pretext to wait for the galleon, as if it would not be better to remain at the fort, from which to make a few outings that would be of much service to God, and to the advantage of souls, and to go out from here 2 days before the time it usually arrives, but this idea of looking after the good of the souls is not understood by him. Well, a few times he was heard to say that “500,000 devils carry more than just candles.”¹

...
There is here a soldier from old Spain, who has been serving the King here for many years, 11 years in fact. He has been Sergeant and Lieutenant, and today he is the one who has given a good example with his manner of living; he is well born and deserves to be rewarded with some position here, which the poor one could stand for. He is married locally and he has suffered much from this good officer treating him as if he were a vile man, without his deserving it, calling him all the time “picaro” [i.e. rogue, knave, schemer], and telling him many old insults... His name is **José Caravajal y Ballesteros**. Now comes my request. There is a garrison here and it has its fort. If it were possible to obtain from the King the title of Warden of the Fort with some salary, even if it were not much. He would appreciate it and I also, because, as I said, he is a man who deserves to be rewarded. If Y.R. should think appropriate to discuss it with my Lady, the Duchess of Aveiro, I would appreciate it; and her Excellency will see what to do...

I have mentioned the good that Don José de Quiroga has done here; if he were governor, soon the mission would be in good condition...

I report all this to Y.R. so that a remedy be found, by giving instructions to those who might come, because otherwise they treat us like vile people, without paying any attention to us, nor giving us a free hand, wishing to govern us in everything, as if we were slaves, without letting us buy food, until they have had what they need. I cannot write more because the galleon is at this island.²

May God preserve Y.R. for many years, as I desire, for the good of this mission. I beg Y.R. not to forget me in his masses and prayers.

From the island of San Juan, 31 May 1684 [sic].

Y.R.'s useless servant,
+ Juan de Ahumada +

1 Ed. note: An old Spanish proverb whose meaning is obscure: “Mas que velas lleven 500,000 demonios.”

2 Ed. note: This was the galleon **Santa Rosa**, but she did not stop at Guam that year.

Document 1686N

Letter from Fr. Jacinto García to the Duchess, dated Manila 1 June 1686

Source: Present location unknown; 4-page ms. offered for sale by Maggs Bros. of London in 1923 for 52 pounds (Cat. N° 442, n° 1938, p. 204).

Note: The Maggs Catalog states, wrongly, that the writer was Fr. Francisco García, the procurator then living in Spain.

Extract from the Maggs Catalog

...

The two arrivals [in distress], one of the vessel of these islands (which is sent to New Spain annually),¹ and the other of the fleet to Cádiz, according to the news received here, have undoubtedly been the cause of the scarcity of letters and authentic news from that Court [at Madrid], so that we have not heard how you are. Indeed, speaking for myself, I say that since the year 1682, I have not received or seen a letter from you, although I have not on that account failed to write to you whenever I have had the opportunity. I had thought that I was the only one who was without news, but found that Father Antonio Xaramillo complained of the same thing; from which I inferred that it was no fault of yours, but of the circumstances and the fact that matters are not very quiet in that kingdom, which has also caused Father Luis de Morales, Procurator of this Province, to tarry in Mexico without going on to Cádiz these two years, greatly to the detriment of our work.² But I trust that he will now have seen you and conferred at length with you with regard to our Mariana Mission.

O, inscrutable ways of God! O, the inconstancy of human felicity! O, the limitations of human judgment! When we had judged that all our troubles were over, after a prolonged war which had proceeded since the Spaniards had set foot in those islands, when we sought to gather the fruits of our labor... the Devil, enemy of all good, had raised a

1 Ed. note: The galleon **Santo Niño** was sent out to look for pirates that year. Two frigates sent to Acapulco both turned back.

2 Ed. note: Fr. Morales did go to Cádiz in 1685, but the writer had not yet heard about it.

storm so terrible by means of a general uprising and revolution, of the four islands which, it had seemed, Christ and His Gospel had controlled in peace: ... that everything seemed now in danger of being destroyed and the Fathers and soldiers all murdered, had it not been for a miracle—although we have not been lightly let off, for we have lost five of the best members of this Mission, killed by the cruel hands of those barbarians of the Islands—albeit their glorious labors deserved a thousandfold to be rewarded by the Crown of Martyrdom.

The names of these are Manuel de Solorzano, who had just completed his term as Vice-Provincial... by whose glorious death, you now have a perpetual intercessor in Heaven; Father Teofilo de Angelis, an Italian; Father Agustin Estrobac and Father N. Vorogan [= C. Boranga], both Germans; and a Flemish Brother [Dubois].

[The writer narrates further details of the rising, and he mentions the good work done by Father Gerardo Bouwens, the new Vice-Provincial, and that of the Master-of-Camp, Don Antonio de Sarabia. A detailed description is given of the attack on the Governor on the day of the rising, 23rd July 1684, and how the rebellion was quelled eventually by Don Joseph de Quiroga...]

...a truly great man in every way, who had been victorious with a few soldiers in the Islands of the North... and with the help of God and his own capable hands, he and his few men caused much havoc among the Indians, but he was obliged to retire to the Island of San Juan to see what had happened there and to help the garrison...

After these tragic events, the Fathers were obliged to send Father Diego Zarzosa to Manila [in 1685] to inform the Governor of all that which had happened, and to see whether any effort was being made to put into effect His Majesty's orders with regard to the establishment of commerce between the Marianas and the Philippines. The Governor, learning of the many trials and troubles we had endured, and of the risk which both the Garrison and the Mission ran, has now complied with the wishes of His Most Catholic Majesty, and is arranging to despatch a small ship to that Mission. The Superiors have advised me that I have been chosen to go, so that by the grace of God, on the 1st of June, we shall sail with Father Diego Zarzosa, and I thus end this letter with more pleasurable anticipation than any previous one.¹

1 Ed. note: They left Cavite aboard a sloop in August 1686, accompanied by Brother Melchor de los Reyes (ref. B&R 39: 131-132); however, they did not make it to the Marianas that year.

Document 16860

Letter from the King to Governor Curuzeláegui, dated Buen Retiro 2 June 1686

Source: AGI Fil. 331, libro 8, fol. 70v-71, pp. 168-169.

Answering his letter of 11 December 1684

Original text in Spanish.

El Rey

Al Governador de Philipinas aprovandole haver dado fondo en las Marianas y socorridolas.

Almirante Don Gabriel de Curuzelaegui y Arriola Cavallero del orden de Santiago de mi Consejo de Guerra mi Governador y Capitan General de las Islas Philipinas y Presidente de mi Audiencia de ellas en carta que me escrivisteis en 11 de Diziembre de 1684 avisais que quando pasasteis à esas Islas disteis fondo à 8 de Junio de aquel año en la de San Juan una de las Marianas donde dexasteis el situado que se les embiava de Mexico y socorristeis al Governador con veinte hombres dos tinajas de polvora un arbol y dos betas ó calabrotos y me embiais una relazion por donde parece que ademas de lo adelantada que esta nuestra santa fee en aquellas Islas se reconoçen muchos fundamentos para esperar maiores progresos, a que deçis ayudariais con quanto os fuese posible.

Y haviendose visto en mi Consejo de las Indias ha parecido aprobar os (como lo hago) lo que en esto obrasteis y os encargo mucho todo lo que condugere al mayor fomento y adelantamiento espiritual y temporal de las Islas Marianas por lo que en uno y otro deseo su buen logro que me sera muy agradable.

De Buen Retiro à dos de Junio de 1686 años.

Yo el Rey.

Por mandado del Rey nuestro Señor,

Don Antonio Ortiz de Otalora

Señalada del Consejo.

Translation.**The King**

To the Governor of the Philippines, approving him for having anchored at the Marianas and succored them.

Admiral Don Gabriel de Curuzeláegui y Arriola, Knight of the Order of St. James, of my War Council, my Governor and Captain General of the Philippine Islands and President of my Audiencia there:

In a letter which you wrote me on 11 December 1684,¹ you advised me that when you passed by those Islands you anchored on 8 June of that year at the Island of San Juan, one of the Marianas, where you left the subsidy that was being sent to them from Mexico and you succored the Governor with 20 men, 2 jars of powder, 1 mast, and 2 ropes or stream-cables, and you sent me a report, from which it appears that, in addition to the advances made by our holy faith in those Islands, it is recognized that there are many good reasons to hope for greater progress, and you said that you would help as much as you could.

And this having been seen in my Council of the Indies, I have decided to approve (as I do now) what you did in this matter, and I entrust you very much everything that may lead to the greater development and advance, spiritual and material, of the Mariana Islands, given that I wish both aspects to succeed and would be pleased if they did.

From Buen Retiro, 2 June 1686.

I, the King.

By order of the King our Lord,

Don Antonio Ortiz de Ojalora.

Countersigned by the Council.

1 Ed. note: Doc. 1684P.

Document 1686P

Letter from the King to Fr. Solorzano, dated Buen Retiro 8 June 1686

Source: AGI Fil. 331, libro 8, fol. 11v-12, pp. 170-171.

Note: The King had not yet heard of his violent death in 1684. He refers to part 2 of Doc. 1684A and Doc. 1684P.

The King received the 1682-84 mission report

Original text in Spanish.

El Rey

Al Vice Probinzial de la Comp^a de Jhs de las Marianas dandole graçias por lo que se a dedicado en la maior extension de la fee en ellas.

Manuel de Solorzano Viçe Provinçial de la religion de la Comp^a de Jhs en las Islas Marianas.

Don Gabriel de Curuzelaegui y Arriola mi Governador y Capitan General en las Philipinas y Presidente de mi Audiencia de ellas con carta de 11 de Diziembre de 1684 me ha remitido la relacion que formateis y le disteis de lo suçedido en esas Islas desde Junio de 682 hasta Junio de 684 por donde pareçe que ademas de lo adelantada que esta nuestra santa fee en ellas se reconoçen muchos fundamentos para esperar maiores progresos.

Y havindose visto en mi Consejo de las Indias ha pareçido daros graçias (como lo hago) por el çelo y amor con que os haveis dedicado a la maior estension de nuestra santa fee catholica en esas Islas y espero lo continuareis (como os lo encargo) con los demas religiosos de esa mision por ser tan combeniente al serviçio de Dios y mio y conforme a mi deseo.

De Buen Retiro à 8 de Junio de 1686 años.

Yo el Rey.

Por mandado del Rey nuestro Señor,

Don Antonio Ortiz y Otalora.

Señalada del Consejo.

Translation.

The King

To the Vice-Provincial of the Society of Jesus in the Marianas giving him thanks for having dedicated himself to the greater expansion of the Catholic faith there.

Manuel de Solorzano, Vice-Provincial of the order of the Society of Jesus in the Mariana Islands.

Don Gabriel de Curuzeláegui y Arriola, my Governor and Captain-General of the Philippines and President of my Audiencia there, in a letter dated 11 December 1684 has enclosed the report that you wrote and given to him about the events of those Islands from June 1682 until June 1684, from which it appears that, in addition to the progress that our holy faith has made there, it is recognized that there are many reasons to expect better progress.

Having examined the question in my Council of the Indies, it has been decided to give you thanks (as I do now) for the zeal and love with which you have dedicated yourself to the greater expansion of our holy Catholic faith in those Islands, and I hope that you will continue to do so (as I do entrust you) with the other religious of that mission, since it is proper for the service of God and mine and in line with my desire.

From Buen Retiro, 8 June 1686.

I the King.

By order of the King our Lord,

Don Antonio Ortiz de Otalera.

Countersigned by the Council.

Document 1686Q

Letter from Fr. Salgado to Fr. Espinar, dated San Pedro [Phil.], 10 June 1686

Source: RAH 9/2668 doc. 114.

Original text in Spanish

Mi Pe. Procor. Pedro Espinar.

Pax Christi, etc.

No sé donde encontrara esta a V.R., harto me holgara, que fuese en el embocadero para consuelo mío, y de toda esta Provincia...

*y que **la balandra, que estaba apercevida para el socorro de Marianas deje este viaje y emprenda el de Nueva España para el socorro de acá.** El bajel es mui moderado mas la necesidad es tal, que a todo peligro se arriesga.*

El levantimiento de Marianas ha sido otro de los regalos, que el D[emonio] nos a enviado, el Pe. Diego de Zarzosa, que vino de aquella mission a solicitar su remedio a enviado relacion de todo, por eso la omito mas no (por la contingencia) la de las muertes allí de los Padres Solorzano, Strovac, Angelis, Boranga, y Hermano Duvois. Aqui murieron los PP. Mathyas de Montemayor en Dauís, Domingo Visconti en Manila. V.S. diga las misas.

...

San Pedro y Junio 10 de 1686.

Muy siervo de V.R.

JHS

Francisco Salgado

Translation

My dear Fr. Procurator Pedro Espinar

Peace of Christ, etc.

I do not know where Y.R. will be when you will receive this letter. I would be very glad if it were at the entrance of the channel [to the Philippines] for my great consolation, and that of the whole Province...¹

The sloop, that was earmarked for the relief of the Marianas, abandons this voyage and takes on that to New Spain for the relief of the Philippines. The vessel is quite moderate, but necessity is such that any existing risk must be taken.

The uprising in the Marianas has been another gift that the D[evil] has sent to us. Fr. Diego de Zarzosa, who came from that mission [in 1685] to solicit their remedy has sent a relation of everything; that is why I omit it, but, for all that, I do not omit to mention the deaths there of Fathers Solorzano, Strobach, Angelis, Boranga, and Brother Dubois. Here died Father Mathias de Montemayor in Dauís,² and Domingo Visconti in Manila.

Y.R. should have the masses said for them.

San Pedro, 10 June 1686.

Y.R.'s eager servant,

JHS

Francisco Salgado.³

-
- 1 Ed. note: Because of the Dutch threat, and the existence of only one galleon in the Philippines in 1686, the Governor had cancelled her voyage to Acapulco.
 - 2 Ed. note: A village in Bohol, Philippines.
 - 3 Ed. note: This letter was dictated by him, as only the shaky signature is his own.

Document 1686R

Letter from Fr. Salgado to Fr. Rodriguez, dated San Pedro 12 June 1686

Source: RAH 9/2677.

Original text in Spanish

*Mi padre Procurador Manuel Rodriguez
P. X.*

Alleme favorecido en la nao del año pasado con dos de V.R. una y otra de 12 de Febrero de 84. La una contiene el suceso que a tenido lo de Mindoro en el Consejo que se reduce a peticion de nuevos informes y aviendo sido los mexores, que se podian haser los que se remitieron bien se conoce la remission con que los Ministros del Consejo entran en este negocio en orden a lo que pedian los indios por el poder de la parte contraria, y assi se a dexado ya del todo tratarlo otra ves... Con la llegada del Padre Luis de Morales abra savido V.R. el que nos tiene aun con grandisimo reçelo assi por el autor de el, que no dexara piedra por mover contra nosotros, como por la materia sobre que se fundo en que tanto se aventura el credito de esta Provincia...

La segunda contiene un resumen de varias novedades remitiendose a las gazetas que V.R. nos hizo favor de remitir. Apunta V.R. las cedulas favorables a nuestras misiones de Indias que deven mucho a la solicitud de V.R., y para que se logre, hablo por lo que a pasado con las cedulas de Marianas, V.R. las remita a las partes que ellas cuidaran de su presentacion, y execucion; porque de las que V.R. menciona el despacho pasado, no sé hasta aora, si fueron como parece dirigidas al gobierno de Mexico, alli se an quedado, y aun quando se dirigiesen a este, no serian los primeras que se suprimiesen. Doscientos pesos costo el buque que ocuparon las cosas de Marianas, a que no se da lugar. Antes que nos apartasemos de cuidar de lo tocante a la milicia, se señalava buque para esto, y para nuestras cosas, y en el v[er]enja todo: el año pasado el Buque fue el mesmo; pero nuestras cosas no entraron, ni se les señalo lugar.

*Oy hasen nueve dias luego a Manila despacho de la Isla de Mindoro, bien cercana a ella, en que se da parte, estavan en Calavite Puerto de dicha Isla siete Naos... En virtud del se a decretado no haga viaje este año a Castilla la nao **Sancto Niño**, unica en las Islas, sino que salga con un Patache de Macan en busca de lo que viene, para asegurarla, y que **la Balandra que estava dispuesta para el socorro de Marianas, a que se concurrio por parte de la Mission con mil pessos, pase a Nueva España a diligenciar el socorro de estas Islas. El vaxel es muy moderado, y que apenas bastara para el matalotaje, mas la necesidad es tal, que a todo se arriesga, y el daño de los vesinos en sus caudales, que dependen de que la nao vaya, es gravissimo.***

Del levantamiento de Ladrones, y casi ruyna de aquella Christiandad embia cumplida Relacion a la Señora Duquesa de Aveyro, a quien suplico a V.R. recurra; porque no a avido tiempo para traslados, mas no quiero dexar de noticiar a V.R. en breve del origen; porque no faltaran muchos, que nos hagan causa de lo sucedido; pero quien desapacionadamente hisiere reflexion sobre el hecho conocera claramente, que el sumo descuido en gobernar las armas ocasionó el destroso padeçido.

[Note in margin:] *Ya remito a V.R. la relacion, para que leida se sirva entregarla a la Señora Duquesa, porque si fuese primero a su Ex^a, que puede estar ausente, tarde llegaria a manos de V.R.*

A 23 de Julio de 84, 60 Indios en la opinion que mas numero da los conjurados, que otros diçen eran quarenta, casi a medio dia entraron en Agadnia, donde era mucho mayor el numero de soldados, y divididos acometieron la casa de los Padres, en que mataron dos de los nuestros, hirieron tres. Las de los españoles matando dos, y hiriendo dies y siete. La fuersa donde mataron la centinela, y un criado del governador, sin que nadie les resistiese, porque no avia quien: al Governador acometieron otros en la calle hiriendolo gravemente, aqui acudio uno, y mato uno de los agresores, y este fue el unico desquite de tantos daños en aquel dia, y ya se ve que a aver prevençion no huviera osadia para este atrevimiento, ó lo huvieran executado a mayor costa.

La mexor prueba es el sucesso de Saypan, donde governava D. Joseph de Quiroga con su acostumbrada diciplina, la sedicion se intento alli primero ardidosamente, despues a lo descubierto el numero de soldados de D. Joseph treinta, o poco mas, buena parte enfermos: el de los enemigos toda la Isla, y a lo ultimo todas, y en todos los encuentros, que fueron muchos no perdio D. Joseph un soldado, mato muchos enemigos, obligo gran parte a ausentarse de la Isla, y el resto vino rendido a su obediencia, en que se ve bien claro, lo que acabo de deçir, en el descuido de las armas estuvo todo el daño de Agadnia; como en el cuidado el buen suceso de Saypan. Con solo esto me parece se puede tapar la boca a los malafectos, interin de V.R. no sedee la relacion. Paso a hacerla de otros sucessos nuestros, de que juzgo necesario informar a V.R. por los malos informes, que contra nosotros iran.

...

Las cosas de la China tienen en gran confusion a los frailes, que an intentado por varios caminos concurrarnos a sus disposiciones en esta materia; mas yo me escusado sabiendo lo que pasó a nuestro Padre General difunto; y porque en virtud de ello,

jusgo dañará antes que aprovecharon nuestra asistencia para esto negocio en la Corte Romana[.] V.R. perdone lo molesto que e sido porque las materias son enredosas, la noticia necesaria, y la distancia tan grande no e podido menos. Acabo esta ofreciendome al servicio de V.R. y encomendandome en sus santos sacrificios de que tanto necesito.

S. Pedro y Junio 12 de 1686.

Muy siervo de V.R.

Jhs

Francisco Salgado.

Translation

My dear Father Procurator Manuel Rodriguez

Peace of Christ.

I found myself favored when the galleon of last year brought me two letters from Y.R., both dated 12 February 1684. One refers to the success that the business of Mindoro has had in the Council, which ended up by asking for new reports, and since they have been the best ones that could be had that were sent, it is well known that the Ministers of the Council have been shaken in this business by what the Indians were asking, through the contrary party, and so, they gave up and postponed a decision for another time... With the arrival of Father Luis de Morales [in Spain], Y.R. would have learned that he still holds a very great distrust of us, not only on account of the author of same, who would not leave a stone unturned to act against us, but also on account of the subject matter that he based himself upon, and in which the credit of this Province was placed at such a great risk...

The second letter contains a summary of various news transcribed from gazettes that Y.R. was pleased to send to us. Y.R. mentions the decrees favorable to our missions in the Indies that owe much to the solicitude of Y.R., and with regards to their being obeyed, you spoke of what happened to the decrees about the Marianas, and Y.R. sent them to the parties that are to take care of their presentation, and execution; however, those mentioned by Y.R. in the last despatch, until now I do not know if they were addressed to the government of Mexico, as it appears, and if so, they have remained there, and even if they have been addressed to the government of Mexico, they would not be the first ones to have been suppressed. The freight charges for the Mariana supplies aboard the galleon cost us 200 pesos, and space is not given. Before we gave up looking after the business of the militia, lading space was reserved for this, and for our supplies, and everything came together; last year the lading space was the same, but our things were not loaded and no space was assigned to them either.

Nine days ago, a despatch from the Island of Mindoro arrived at Manila. Very near the place from which the report was written, there were in Calavite, a port of said

Island, 7 [Dutch] galleons...¹ For this reason, it has been decreed that the galleon **Santo Niño**, the only one in the Islands, will not make the trip to New Spain this year, but that a patache from Macau is to go out to look for the incoming galleon, to increase her safety, and that **the sloop that was being made ready to go to the succor of the Marianas, the one for which we contributed 1,000 pesos on behalf of the Mission, is to go to New Spain** to negotiate the succor of these Islands. The vessel is very moderate [in size], and has hardly enough space for the sea supplies, but necessity is such that everything is jeopardized, and the harm done to the investments of the residents, who depend on the voyage of the galleon, is very serious.

About the uprising in the Ladrones, and quasi-ruin of that Christian community, a Report is being sent to the Duchess of Aveiro, and I beg Y.R. to resort to her, because there has not been time to make copies; still, I do wish to let Y.R. know briefly about the origin, because there will no doubt be many to ascribe a cause to what happened. However, anyone who reflects upon the event without passion will know clearly that the extreme carelessness in the management of arms caused the destruction in question.

[Note in margin:] I have decided to remit the report to Y.R., so that you may read it before handing it over to the Duchess, because, if it goes directly to Her Excellency, who might be absent, it would get late into the hands of Y.R.

On 23 July 1684, 60 Indians, which is the largest number given of the conspirators—some say that there were 40 of them—at about noon they came to Agaña, where most of the soldiers were, and dividing themselves they attacked the house of the Fathers, where they killed 2 of our people, and wounded 3. In the Spanish houses they killed 2, and wounded 17. At the fort, they killed the sentinel, and a servant of the Governor, without anyone resisting them, because there was no-one to do so. Others attacked the Governor on the street, wounding him seriously, but here one [soldier] ran up and killed one of the aggressors, and this was the only retaliation for so much harm done on that day. Already one can see that if some precaution had existed, they would not have dared do this waywardness, or they would have done so at greater cost [to themselves].

The greater proof is given by the events of Saypan, where Don José de Quiroga governed with his usual discipline. Sedition was first tried there with much intensity, then in the open. Don José had only 30 soldiers, more or less, a great part of them sick; the number of enemies was the whole Island, and in the end all of them, but in all the encounters—and there were many—Don José did not lose a single soldier. He killed many enemies, and obliged a large part to abandon the Island, while the rest finally submitted to his obedience. Therefore, one can see clearly, what I have just said, that the disaster of Agaña was due to the carelessness of the arms, whereas the success of Saypan was due to its good care. This is sufficient, it seems, to make the dissatisfied shut up, while Y.R. retains the report. I go on to talk about other things that happened to us, which I think I should tell Y.R. about, given the bad reports against us that will be mailed.

...

1 Ed. note: Calavite lies north of Mount Calavite at the NW tip of Mindoro Island.

[He goes on to treat of the dispute with the Archbishop of Manila and land disputes in which the Jesuits were involved in the areas of Taytay, Cainta and Antipolo, towns east of Manila.]

The business of China has got the friars in great confusion. They have tried by various means to have us concur with their decisions in this matter, but I have excused myself, knowing what happened to our late Father General, and because in view of it, I think it would damage rather than help the cause of our assistency for this business at the Roman Court. Y.R. will please forgive me for bothering you, because the affairs are complex, news about them necessary, and distance so great that I could do no less. I end this letter by offering my services to Y.R. and commending myself to your holy sacrifices, which I need so much.

San Pedro [de Macati], 12 June 1686.

Y.R.'s real servant,

Jhs

Francisco Salgado.

Document 1686S

Letter from Fr. Andrade to Fr. Morales, dated Santa Cruz [Phil.], 22 June 1686

Source: RAH 9/2668, doc. 116. Note: The letter is in the form of an unedited diary. Fr. Thomas Andrade was connected with the San José College of Manila for some 20 years. Santa Cruz is across the river from walled Manila.

Original text in Spanish

*Pe. Proc. General Luis de Morales,
Pax Xristi, etc.*

El año de '85 me hallé favorecido con la de V.R^a alegrandome sumamente...

... El ultimo de Abril de '86 llego aviso como el Pe. Irigoyen y Francisco Gayoso vienen en un patache de Canton. Estan en Cavite...

La nao que venia de Acapulco [en 1685] y en ella el Pe. Diego Zarzosa con la desgraciada nueva del general alzamiento de los Marianos que mataron a los Pres. Solorzano, Estrovac, Boranga, Benedicto [sic] de Angeles, y al Hermano Balthasar Duvois. Quemaron la famosa casa nuevamente fabricada por el Pe. Manuel Solorzano, al Cavo Esplana le dieron varias heridas y ha sido patente milagro de Dios no hayan perecido todos asi padres como soldados. La mucha seguridad y confianza que tenian de los Indios les hecho [=echo] aperder por que quando acometieron al presidio se hallava casi sin gente[.] Esplana y los soldados havian ido acasar [=a cazar] [para] su comida. El Señor Governador se a mostrado muy piadoso en esta ocasion deseando con todas veras executar lo que el Rey nuestro Señor manda en sus cédulas y lo que con tanto encajamiento le encomendo la excelentissima Señora Duquesa de Avero, protectora insigne de aquellas misiones envia Su Señoria una famosa y muy grande balandra. mucho mayor que la passada con gente, etc. Va en ella el Pe. Solorzano [sic] con otro Pe. y un Hermano[.] a Esplana le conceden lo que con Instancia a pedido al gobierno de venirse a Manila y entra a ser governador el Sargento Mayor de Marianas Don Joseph de Quiroga, y de Manila va a su puesto el Capitan Toledo, persona de valor, y practico en ma-

teria de rumbos y navegaciones que haye mucho mucho [sic] al caso para aquellas misiones de adonde esta Vice Provincial el Pe. Gerardo Bovens que acabara el año de '87. Mucho alaban aun [= a un] Maese de Campo Mariano D. Antonio Ay[ihi] fidelisimo a nuestro Rey y a los Españoles a quien el Señor D. Antonio Saravia no dudo hazerle su teniente de Capitan General con su valor y autoridad. Con los suyos a obrado mucho y librado(?) al Pe. Comano que se hallava en la ultima isla en tiempo del alzamiento, en medio de tantos enemigos, es merecedor de qualquiera honra y que se tenga particular atencion en que se le acuda [acorde?]. Con lo temporal, como su fidelidad merece que servira de exemplar para que otros Marianos le imiten.

...

[Note in margin:] *Llegaron los Pes. Irigoyen y Gayoso a Manila por mayo de '86. Escrivi ese a nuestro Pe. los dexé en esta provincia por la gran falta de lenguas Chinas.*

...

Por las cartas de los Pes. de Marianas que creo entregaria el Pe. Diego Zarzosa al Pe. Francisco Blanco pues se encontraron la nao que iba con la que venia [en 1685], y se vieron y hablaron. Dichos Pes. habran V. R^a savido el alzamiento de los Marianos y el haver muerto al Pe. Solorzano escojido sugeto, Pe. Boranga, Pe. Estrovac y Pe. Benedicto [sic] Angeles y al H^o Baltazar y fue providenzia de Nuestro señor no haber acabado con todos assi Religiosos como soldados. la mucha seguridad y confianza les acarreo. La desgracia pues los ministros estaban con firma quietud en sus pueblos, los soldados en cazar, hazer huertas, etc. con que acometiendo al presidio hallaron solo al gobernador Esplana a quien dieron varias heridas de que fue [h]arto ecapar con la vida. Don Joseph Quiroga no estaba en el presidio, que andava en otra is. largero. Luego que llego fue de grande ayuda mostrando su valor y componiendolas las materias. como el tiempo y circunstancias pedian el Pe. Zarzosa informo bien y el remedio unico era se venirse Esplana a Manila pues lo a pedido y no tiene genio para aquel puesto y que entrase en el gobierno Don Joseph de Quiroga. todo se a conseguido del Señor gobernador en la Audiencia del Pe. Provincial pues envia famosa balandra con gente, municiones, etc. y va titulo de gobernador a D. Joseph Quiroga y por Sargento mayor va el Capitan Toledo que vino aora dos años castellano viejo y que sabe bien rumbos y navegacion. el capitan Miguel Sanchez se empeño en que fuese con esta plaza su intimo Don Juan de Medrano el qual es amisisimo de Don Joseph Quiroga, pero el General Andaya mirando al bien de Marianas dispuso fuese el Capitan Toledo con que entre Miguel Sanchez y Andaya hubo su poquillo desentimiento. parece volvera el Pe. Zarzosa con la balandra a sus Marianas.

Antes del alzamiento de aquellas islas aporto alli una nao o patache frances o ingles que parece es uno de la quadrilla de las naos piratas que andan robando de que dio noticia el Señor Virrey de Mexico. Allí no hicieron cosa que indicase mal designio ni voluntad. antes estuvieron mas corteses y afables y pidieron al gobernador Esplana les socorriese con algun bastimento que lo satisfarién en ropa, pezeria, etc. y en retorno le pidió polvora y se la dió no se que tantos barriles, y otras municiones y con eso se despidió de Marianas este patache.

...
*En medio destes sustos [en el Parian], estando la balandra de proximo para Marianas y los Pes. Zarzosa y Jacinto Garcia para irse a Cavite, llevo nueva del Corregidor de Mindoro como andavan por alli siete naos con que todos se aboroto y volvio de arriba abaxo y de la Junta salió que el **Santo Niño** que iba a Acapulco no fuese sino que saliese a pelear con otros pataches, y por General D. Thomas de Andaya. que pidió al Pe. Cano y que la balandra vaya a Acapulco a llevar cartas y traer el situado y a V. R^a vera el mal para las Islas pero al parecer necesario pues no ay por aca otro galeon para resistir pues se deshizo **San Antonio** en esto andan. La capellania de la balandra no esta aun señalada que a de salir despues de salida la armada. Es menester sugeto animoso. Dizense aofrecido [dicen se ha ofrecido] a los superiores el Pe. Jacinto García. Va por Cavo dela el que iba a Marianas por Sargento mayor.*

...
*A diez de Junio salió la armada y por capellan de la capitana el Pe. Cano van al embocadero a encontrarse con la Nao **Sta. Rosa** que viene de Acapulco...
 Santa Cruz, Junio 22 de 1686.
 Siervo de V.R.*

+
Thomas de Andrade

Translation

[To] Fr. Procurator General Luis de Morales,
 Peace of Christ, etc.

In the year 1685 I found myself lucky to receive one from Y.R. which pleased me very much...

On the last day of April 1686, there came the news that Fr. Irigoyen and Fr. Francisco Gayoso¹ are coming in a patache from Canton. They are at Cavite...

The galleon that was coming from Acapulco [in 1685] brought Fr. Diego Zarzosa with the sad news of the general uprising of the Marianos who killed Fathers Solorzano, Estrovac, Boranga, Benedicto [sic] de Angeles, and Brother Balthasar Dubois. They burned the famous house newly built by Fr. Manuel Solorzano. They gave various wounds to the Commanding Officer, Esplana, and it has been a patent miracle from God that all of them did not die, the Fathers as well as the soldiers. The great safety and trust they had in the Indians was the cause of their perdition, because when they attacked the garrison, it was almost without men, Esplana and the soldiers having gone to hunt for food.

The Governor [of the Philippines] showed himself to be very keen on this occasion, wishing for once to carry out what the King our Lord has ordered in his decrees, and

1 Ed. note: He who had served in the Marianas from 1674 to 1676 before going to China.

what the most excellent Lady, the Duchess of Aveiro, the famous protectress of those missions, has so aptly recommended [to him]. His Lordship is sending an excellent and very large sloop, much bigger than the last one, with people, etc. Aboard it are going Fr. Solorzano [rather Zarzosa] with another Father and a Brother.¹

As for Esplana, in answer to his request to the government, they grant him permission to come to Manila and the new governor is the Sergeant-Major of the Marianas, Don Joseph de Quiroga, and from Manila they send Captain [José de] Toledo to take over his post [as garrison commander].² He is a person of valor and expert in questions of courses and navigations, so that he should be of much value for those missions, whose Vice-Provincial is Fr. Gerardo Bouwens whose term will be over in 1687.

Much praise is given to a Mariano Master-of-Camp, Don Antonio Ay[ihi], very faithful to our King and to the Spaniards, whom Don Antonio Saravia did not hesitate to make his lieutenant as Captain-General, on account of his valor and authority. With his people, he did much to free Fr. Coomans who was then at the last island at the time of the uprising, among so many enemies. He deserves whatever honor that may be granted to him on the material side, as his fidelity deserves to serve as an example for the other Marianos to imitate.

...

[Note in margin:] Fathers Irigoyen and Gayoso have arrived at Manila in May 1686. The former wrote to our Fr. to be left in this province on account of the lack of Chinese interpreters.]

...

By the letters from the Fathers in the Marianas, which I believe Fr. Diego Zarzosa would have delivered to Fr. Francisco Blanco (since the galleon that was going met the galleon that was coming) and they saw and spoke to each other, the said Fathers would have already told Y.R. about the uprising of the Marianos and the death of Fr. Solorzano, a select individual, Fr. Boranga, Fr. Strobach and Fr. Benedicto [sic] Angeles, and Br. Balthazar. It was providential that Our Lord did not finish them all off, the Religious as well as the soldiers. Their great safety and trust brought about the tragedy; for instance, the ministers were living quietly in their villages, the soldiers were either hunting or gardening, etc. So, when they [i.e. the rebels] attacked the garrison, they found only Governor Esplana to whom they gave various wounds from which he barely escaped with his life. Don Joseph Quiroga was not in the garrison, but was busy in another, faraway island. Later, after he arrived, he was of much help by showing his valor and arranging various matters in accordance with the time and circumstances.

Fr. Zarzosa has made a good report [about this]. The only remedy is for Esplana to come to Manila—since he has asked for it and he does not have the brains for that job—and for Don Joseph de Quiroga to take over the government. Everything has been

1 Ed. note: The latter two were Fr. Jacinto García, and Br. Melchor de los Reyes, but, as it turned out, they never left for the Marianas that year (see below).

2 Ed. note: This plan never took effect.

granted by the Governor in the audience he gave to the Fr. Provincial [i.e. Salgado]. For instance, he is sending the excellent sloop with men, munitions, etc. and the title of Governor goes to Don Joseph Quiroga, and that of Sergeant-Major goes to Captain Toledo, who has been fort warden for the last two years and knows well the courses and navigations. Captain Miguel Sanchez¹ made pressure on behalf of his close friend, Don Juan de Medrano—he who is also a close friend of Don Joseph Quiroga—for this post, but General Andaya, looking to the good of the Marianas, arranged for Captain Toledo to go. That is why not a little bad feeling took place between Miguel Sanchez and Andaya. It looks as if Fr. Zarzosa will go back to his Marianas with the sloop.

Before the uprising of those islands, a French or English galleon or patache made port there; it appears to be one from the small squadron of pirate ships that are cruising, about which wrote the Viceroy of Mexico. There they did not do anything that might indicate bad intentions or ill-will. Rather, they showed themselves to be very polite and friendly; they asked Governor Esplana to assist them with some supplies in exchange for clothes, fish, etc. The Governor did so and asked for gun-powder in exchange and was given I don't know how many barrels of it, and other munitions. Withal this patache bid goodbye to the Marianas.

...

In the middle of these troubles [in the Parian], the sloop for the Marianas being ready to leave, and Fathers Zarzosa and Jacinto García ready to go to Cavite, there came the news from the Corregidor of Mindoro about seven galleons cruising in that neighborhood. This turned every plan upside down and made the [War] Council decide not to send the **Santo Niño** that was to go to Acapulco, but to send it to fight with the other pataches, and appointed Don Thomas de Andaya as General (who asked for Fr. Cano as chaplain), and to send the sloop to Acapulco to take letters and bring the subsidy. Y.R. may well understand the evil for the Islands, but it appears necessary, since there is no other galleon here to offer resistance, since the **San Antonio** was dismantled. So it goes. The chaplaincy of the sloop, which has to leave after the fleet has left, has not yet been determined. A lively individual is required for that. They say that Fr. Jacinto García has offered himself to the superiors. Her commander is he who was to go to the Marianas as Sergeant-Major [i.e. Captain Toledo].²

...

On 10 June, the fleet left, with Fr. [Pedro] Cano as chaplain of the flagship. They are going to the Entrance [i.e. San Bernardino Strait] to meet with the galleon **Santa Rosa** coming from Acapulco...

Santa Cruz, 22 June 1686.

Y.R.'s servant,

+

Thomas de Andrade

1 Ed. note: Appointed Government Secretary as of 1684 (B&R 39:176).

2 Ed. note: This voyage too was aborted.

Documents 1686T

Letters from Fr. Xaramillo, dated Manila 1686

Sources: Present location unknown; 2 mss., 10- and 8-page respectively, offered for sale by Maggs Bros. of London in 1923, for 52 and 25 pounds respectively (Cat. N° 442, items n° 1939 and 1942, pp. 205-206, 209).

T1. Letter to the King, dated Manila 24 June 1686

Extract from the Maggs Catalog.

Sire.—

To the favorable and happy news regarding the Christian community in the Marianas, which I forwarded a year ago to Your Majesty, I must now add annoying and sad news of the same, this contrast being perhaps what constitutes the beauty of the fabric, of which God weaves the lives of the just, particularly in lands where they endeavor to introduce the Faith...

On Sunday, 23 July 1684, an Indian by the name of Antonio, surnamed Juda [rather Yura] (and in truth a veritable Judas in his actions), after Mass and the sermon for the day, left the church with the intentions of a Judas, captaining some 50 other Indian traitors, whom he ordered to form into various squads after the congregants had returned to their homes, and endeavor to murder simultaneously the Fathers and the soldiers of the garrison and town of Agaña, promising that he would undertake to murder the Governor, and, considering that it would be easy enough subsequently to put an end to the remaining fathers in other towns, and the soldiers who were subduing the Islands that lie to the North.

[There follows a detailed account of the attempt on the Governor's life, and the murder of Father Manuel de Solorzano already described in other letters; mentioning that they also wounded the Father Superior, Gerardo Bouwens, and Father Diego Zarzosa, who both recovered, however.]

The sight of so much blood pouring from their cutlasses only served to rouse the fiery lust of these barbarians, and presently they attempted to burn down our house,

but although they did not succeed, there were nevertheless many cases of arson reported throughout the Island.

The next day they murdered Father Theophilo de Angelis as he was preaching with his crucifix in his hand, his murderer being a Christian Indian...

The false rumor spread abroad to the Northern Island, formerly known as Zarpána, and now called Santa Ana, that all the Spaniards had been annihilated; and although the Indians had shown themselves to be clever and artful at first, their finesse was not altogether consistent, and a few days later they killed Father Carlos Boranga while he was praying in church; and Father Agustin Arobay [rather Strobach], upon landing at the third island which is called Tinian, where he intended to warn the Spaniards, was knifed to death by the Indians. There were some soldiers on this Island, and two barques loaded with artillery which had been salvaged after the loss of the ship **Concepción**, and they were awaiting favorable winds to take them to San Juan. The Indians, seeing these soldiers off their guard, stabbed them all to death, destroyed the barques—and the lost artillery has sunk back again into the depths of the sea.¹

Guarding the secret of their treacherous pact, some of these Indians embarked with Fr. Pedro Coomans and 25 soldiers, who were unaware of all that had happened, and whose object was to revive the Faith, of which the Venerable Father Diego Luis Sanvitores had sown the first seeds in the remotest Islands to the North, which face Japan... and when they were nearing land, at a given signal, they were suddenly flung into the sea, where they were all drowned, with the exception of the Father and three soldiers, who were rescued and revived by some of the natives.

No sooner had the news of this disaster reached the fourth Island, known as Zaypan, than the inhabitants straightaway attempted to kill the Commandant, Don Joseph de Quiroga, Father Mathias Cuculino, and 37 soldiers, who were living there; but the very vehemence of their desire proved their undoing, for their treacherous intent was discovered through their own impatience to carry out their plan.

On Sunday, 6 August, a vast multitude of Indians assembled at the Zaypan garrison, repeatedly asking for implements and tools for agricultural work, and for soldiers to come and help them. The Commandant and the Father discovered that there were legions of them, and they had certainly not been instructed to assemble for work, as it was a holiday... Thus their suspicions were roused. While they were hesitating as to what course to pursue, a soldier was seen to hurry across to the Camp, defending himself against some Indians who had injured him. The others, seeing that their real animosity was thus unmasked, declared war on us amid a pandemonium of yells and general confusion, while we, on our side, replied with a steady fusilade, fighting all day long. And in this and other battles which continued for three months in Zaypan, the barbarians finally learned, greatly to their cost, the difference that lies between the treacherous murder of a few unsuspecting Spaniards by a host of savages, and a serious

1 Ed. note: This happened in Sungharon Harbor, Tinian, but only about 10 cannon had been aboard the two boats, the rest being still in Saipan.

war with those same soldiers when they are armed and fighting face to face. Although our men numbered 37, and many were ailing, and the others included all the natives of the Island, joined by a vast number from the neighboring islands, they were conquered, and many were the dead and wounded among them; and prisoners, so abjectly terrified, that they finally begged for peace; and all along not one of our men had received any serious injury at their hands... Nothing of all this was known at San Juan, where the natives were likewise fighting and being conquered.

[The report continues with further details of the hard work which devolved upon Quiroga and his gallant band of soldiers, who not only had to contend with the enmity of the Indians, but with the deceit of some Filipinos...]

...who, being half Indian themselves, accorded their sympathy to the natives, and subsequently regretted their treachery to ourselves.

[Detailed accounts are given of raids by the enemy during the services in church; and of the unexpected loyalty of a troop of natives, captained by one **Ignacio Yneti**, who approached the Spanish Commander-in-Chief, and, as proof of his friendship, offered his soldiers and weapons in defence of the Spaniards. This Indian proved a staunch friend, in spite of the enemy's attempt to intimidate him.]

They did their utmost to persuade him—under all manner of threats—to slay the Governor, who trusted him, to which he replied that he would rather lay down his life as a good Christian and loyal subject of Your Majesty, than ever consent to be a party to such treachery. And it is worthy of note that this Indian, now so loyal, had lain in ambush with his men in the year 1676, on St. Rose's Day, to murder us all... [During the 1684 uprising] a son of this Indian saved the lives of two Fathers, who were administering the church in an outlying district, by warning them of their imminent danger and helping them to escape from the enemy [who were already entering the town].¹

...

With the help given last year by the galleon **Santo Niño**, and the assistance expected this year from the galleon **Santa Rosa**,² there is hope that the Mariana Church may somewhat regain its old happy state; because the same facility with which the opportunity for evil precipitates the Indians' ruin, the opportunity for good likewise assures their speedy repentance... As inconsequent children at one moment laugh at that which amuses them, and the next moment cry at what they deem pathetic... so these Indians, also, are naught but inconsequent children at heart, whatever land they may inhabit, and be they ne'er so old in years... they are children in mind, and, spiritually, are no more than babes; and whatsoever opportunity presents itself for good or ill, so, for the time being, it governs their hearts, not admitting of any guidance on the part of another, save the Maker of all men and Dispenser of our fortune and understanding.

Etc.

1 Ed. note: On the afternoon of 23 July, the young Hineti went to Pago to rescue these missionaries.

2 Ed. note: However, the Santa Rosa did not stop at Guam in 1686.

T2. Letter to the Duchess of Aveiro, dated Manila 14 July 1686

Extract from the Maggs Catalog.

In July 1685, I received a letter from you, dated 28 June 1682; and although methinks one year is long enough for a letter from Spain to reach us either by privateer or the fleet, this one was delayed **three** years, which shows the tendency to loss or delay in transit across such vast distances between that Kingdom and these dominions.

By the time you get this, I trust you will have received the letters which I sent, informing you regarding the Mariana Mission, via Acapulco and the coast, and in June 1685, I had news from Santo Thomé that my communications had been received and were on their way to Europe...¹ Nevertheless, delayed as it was, I was thankful to have your letter and learn of your good health, for which I pray every day, for I, no less than all the Missionaries here, are so greatly in your debt...

My present sojourn in the Philippines is not due to ill health on my part, but in obedience to orders from the Father Provincial Francisco Salgado, who with other Fathers, considered I could be of more use to the Mariana Missions from here. Of the terrible persecutions suffered by that Mission, you will learn from the enclosed document, which is a transcript of the report which I am forwarding to His Majesty.² Happy, a thousand times happy, they who have now consummated their life's work—and wretched my lot, in spite of my two journeys to the Marianas, in not meriting the martyrdom—either in death or wounds—that was the fate of those among whom I worked... but certain it is that the success of the Mission was the cause of its undoing, for it gave rise to such undue confidence as to render all the Spanish Military element intolerably careless and imprudent—and this lack of precaution it was that encouraged the Indians to engineer a plot which could only have been carried out among those who were napping...

[He deplores the lack of cooperation between the Diplomatic and Ecclesiastical Authorities, referring to the controversy between the Archbishop of Manila and Governor Curuzeláegui.]

...

In short, these lands are in need of a completely new vestment, for they are in very truth naked, and with their nakedness *refrigauit charitas multorum*,³ there being no solid consolation beyond the dealings with the Indians and their souls' salvation.

[He describes the death and baptism under extraordinary circumstances of a native woman and her infant son, on whose behalf he had offered a mass to St. Ignatius.]

1 Ed. note: Referring to the coast of India. These letters were sent to other Jesuits in Macao and transported by Portuguese ships to Europe.

2 Ed. note: See section T1 above.

3 Ed. note: A Latin phrase meaning: "The charity of many has cooled off."

...and I bade all the Indians who were attending the patient, go down upon their knees and offer a prayer or the Ave Maria to Saint Paul, so that as father and Apostle of the people, he might watch over the sick one until the baptism...

In the year 1682, there arrived in the Philippines a Mariano Indian, Margarita Loyola and her husband, Juan Zubiaur, a Spaniard, who was the first such to marry an Islander. God gave them a daughter named Maria Ignacia, who is now an orphan, and approximately eight years of age.¹ I would fain send her to you, and me-thinks it would be an appropriate occasion when Don Juan de Vargas returns with his wife, Doña Isabel, for they will have to cross both the southern and northern seas.²

I would also like to send one Diego Luis Sanvitores [rather Matapang], a Mariano Indian, whom I baptized, and on account of whose baptism they martyred the Venerable Father Sanvitores.³

1 Ed. note: That marriage must therefore have taken place in 1673, or before.

2 Ed. note: There is no record of Maria Ignacia Zubiaur having gone to Spain. The *residencia* of ex-Governor Vargas did not take place until 1688. He was exiled to the provinces, and afterward (1690) sent to Spain, but he died in the North Pacific.

3 Ed. note: This intention also must have remained a pious wish.

Documents 1686U

Letters from Governor Curuzeláegui to the Duchess of Aveiro in 1686

Source: NLA mss. 1398; cited in Lietz' Calendar of Philippine Documents, items 45 & 46.

Note: B&R 53: 313 refers to letters from him to the royal court, dated 8 June and 11 December (both were in AGI 67-6-12 and -13 respectively); the texts may be the same as here. The manuscript post-dated 12 December 1686 was offered for sale by Maggs Bros. of London in 1923 (Cat. N° 442, n° 1948, p. 214).

U1. Letter dated Manila 3 July 1686

Synthesis by Lietz.

The Governor thanks her for her help. Three more islands have been taken in the Marianas, notably Saipan which is heavily populated. On 23 July 1684, there occurred an insurrection of Indians of San Juan de Guajan. The Governor, Damian de Esplana, was captured and left for dead, the mission was destroyed and 4 religious and 17 soldiers were killed. The revolt spread but was countered by Sergeant Major José de Quiroga y Losada with 40 men on Saipan. He fought off a coalition of the natives of 3 islands in a 3-month campaign. He then returned to Guam and drove off the enemy but only after they had plundered the island. Five missionaries and 70 soldiers were lost, according to reports from the Vice-Provincial [Bouwens] of the mission and the Governor, Esplana. In 1685, the galleon Santa Rosa [rather Santo Niño] visited the islands and left 40 men and supplies. Now the islands appear quiet and well-fortified. The Governor's plan to send a sloop with settlers and religious was thwarted by the appearance of 7 enemy ships on the coast, and a fleet was despatched against them to protect the galleon. The sloop went instead to New Spain for help, with a request that José de Quiroga be made interim governor because of his obvious qualifications.

Translation.

Most Excellent Lady.

Madam:

I recognize as a necessary duty for me to present myself at the feet of Y.E. as I do in this letter with due submission and begging for opportunities to show the obedience of Y.E.'s servant.

In this regard, Madam, and with the knowledge of the pious zeal that assists Y.E. in saving souls and extending our holy Catholic faith and, particularly, in the progress of the Christian community in the Mariana Islands, although I could keep quiet about the adverse events that they have suffered, presuming that I could cause Y.E. some distress, I think that I would fail the said islands, if I did not aspire to their greater development in time of need and more so when I am so confident and sure that Y.E. will support me in whatever contingency. Also I might offend the magnanimity of Y.E. by judging her susceptible to fall short, the principles which move and have moved Y.E. to help the said islands are so supreme, under such a premise, Madam, I say that, at the time that Christian community was growing and when three islands had been conquered anew, it was meant to subdue and make a settlement in the Island of **Saypan**, which is full of people; the common enemy [i.e. the Devil] became envious of the good [done] to those souls.

On 23 July 1684, there occurred a plot and rebellion of the Indians of San Juan of Guajan, by which all of them became in recognized danger of being lost. Firstly, they besieged the Governor, Don Damian de Esplana, whom they left for dead with many wounds, and then going to the church and house of the missionaries, and seminary of the young people, they killed four religious, 17 soldiers, and robbed whatever they found. When they thought they had finished with everything, they gave notice to the other towns, and islands, for them to do the same. This they executed as much as they could and they would have succeeded, had it not been for Major José de Quiroga y Losada, who was in the above-mentioned Island of Saypan with 40 men, who not only resisted the whole population of three islands who rose against him but he did them much harm in the space of three months that the war lasted, until he was called by the said Governor when he returned to the Island of Guajan where the war still persisted but later quieted down. They all fled, imagining so much horror that they abandoned the island. Later on, it was necessary to look for them, in order to punish the main aggressors as well as to calm the others and seize those who were implicated.

When they notified me, they had achieved this in part; they also told me that 5 religious have been killed, as they later learned, and 60 soldiers in all. This is a very pitiful situation, but made extraordinary because, with such a lack of personnel, they could easily have succeeded, an event due to divine Providence well worth mentioning in detail. To this effect, I send to Y.E. by the first opportunity from here, copies of the reports sent to me about the case by the Vice-Provincial of that mission and Governor Esplana.

Last year of 1685, after the said event, the galleon Santa Rosa [rather **Santo Niño**],¹ [passed] by the said islands where the General under whose command she came left 40 men and the other materiel necessary, and the General of the galleon which we are presently awaiting would have done the same.² With all this, I now judge them, God willing, very quiet and fortified. However, nevertheless, I intended on my part to despatch a sloop, people, and missionaries as relief. When they were already out of danger, I heard that seven enemy ships had been seen along these [Philippine] coasts. For this reason and in order to defend the galleon that was coming, it became necessary to despatch as a fleet against the enemy the galleon that was ready to leave, on account of which, because there was no other [galleon] at these islands, it became necessary to change the [arrangements for the] voyage and instead to despatch the said sloop to New Spain to get the royal subsidy so that we would not lack everything.³ Her commander [i.e. Captain Toledo] carries an order to touch at the said islands on the return leg of the voyage and the title of interim Governor of them for Major José de Quiroga who, besides the fact that Major Damian de Esplana has resigned, is very much fitting and qualified for the job, and finally, as I understand, a subject who was approved and selected by Y.E. on account of his great virtue and experience, which is as much qualification as can be hoped for in the interest of those islands.

With all this, we can hope all will go well in the future, I hope, so that the very generous and Christian zeal of Y.E. will succeed. On my part I will do whatever falls within my powers, not only because I know how much both their Majesties will be served by it, but also because I understand the particular interest and liking Y.E. has in it.

May Our Lord lengthen Y.E.'s life and give you the greatest of happiness.

Manila, 3 July 1686.

Most Excellent Lady.

From one who kisses the foot of Y.E.,

Gabriel de Curuzeláegui y Arriola.

[Endorsement: To] the Most Excellent Missionary Lady, the Duchess of Aveyro.

U2. Letter post-dated Manila 12 December 1686

Synthesis by Lietz.

His previous despatch was to go by a frigate to New Spain. It had been his intention to send the frigate to the Marianas to make up for the failure of the [1686] galleon to stop there. The latter [rather the Santo Niño] had joined the fleet in search of the enemies infesting the islands. He had news that the galleon **Santa Rosa** did not stop at the is-

1 Ed. note: Governor Curuzeláegui has confused the Santa Rosa that brought him over in 1684, with the brand-new Santo Niño that made her maiden voyage under the command of General Antonio Nieto, the friend of the Mariana Mission.

2 Ed. note: This was the Santa Rosa, but she did not stop, in 1686.

3 Ed. note: However, the sloop did not make it, either to Acapulco or Guam.

lands [in 1686], although expected there, by reason of having discovered two ships of pirates when it came to Guam and was warned away by the inhabitants. Thus the people of the islands failed to get the help given them each year. The Governor arranged for another frigate which had arrived to take them aid and to carry there the religious destined for the islands. He has received a royal order to assist the people with arms and ammunition, a matter in conformity with His Majesty's zeal for the extension of the faith. He [the Governor] has done everything to get the expedition ready to go. [This part of the letter is dated 16 August 1686]. Continuing the letter at a later date, the Governor informs the Duchess that on 26 August the frigate sailed for the Marianas with the Jesuits, the Sergeant-Major, infantry, powder, arms, iron, saltpeter and other things. It was to have reached port on 17 September, but because of unfavorable winds was obliged to put into a port 20 leagues distant from Manila. He is sorry but feels that he has done his duty. He will send the frigate out again in the month of April [1687], a better time of year. This final section is dated 12 December 1686.

Translation.

Most Excellent Lady,

Madam:

Notwithstanding the report I have addressed to you regarding the Mariana Islands, contained in the main despatch which the frigate which is now ready to leave for New Spain to get the royal subsidy (as this frigate turned back the first time), what I want to do with this letter is to report to Y.E. that I am very sorry that the first attempt to send the said frigate to the said islands, to make up for the lack of a galleon, has failed; the galleon had gone out in the fleet in search of the enemies that infested these islands.

I have also received a notice that the galleon **Santa Rosa** which we were expecting did not touch at the said islands, on account of two other pirate ships being anchored at the main island of Guajan when she sighted the islands,¹ and about whom they put out to sea to warn the General. Thus, they were left without the yearly succor that she brought them. This consideration and the condition in which they found themselves made such an impression and weight upon me that within 30 days I had arranged for the completion and outfitting of another, new frigate to take it to them and the missionaries who were destined for them.

In making these arrangements, I was conscious of the file containing a Royal decree I received from his Majesty in which he orders me to take care of them with armed personnel, ammunition and other materiel they might require, which is very much in accordance with the pious and very Catholic zeal with which his Majesty attends to the expansion of our holy Catholic faith. For this reason, I judge it to be very much to the liking of Y.E. to get this notice, to the effect that, in compliance with obedience and my good desire, I have made all the arrangements necessary for this voyage on which it is

1 Ed. note: The English pirate ships *Cygnets*, Captain Swan, and one unnamed bark, Captain Teat. Dampier, who was aboard the *Cygnets*, left a narrative (Doc. 1686F).

ready to leave and to go very soon, so that I may in this be of some pleasure and service to Y.E. whose greatness may Our Lord foster for many years.

Manila, 16 August 1686.

[P.S.] The above-mentioned frigate, which I had gotten ready with the missionaries of the Society of Jesus, the appointed Major, the infantry, powder, weapons, iron, sulphur, and other materiel sent as ordered by his Majesty in the above-mentioned decree, left for the Mariana Islands last 26 August. It came out of the [San Bernardino] Strait on 27 September when I held it for certain that the danger was over and it should have succeeded in its voyage, but it turned back, the favorable winds having failed and having been attacked by strong contrary winds that forced it to be beached in a port 25 leagues from this city, an event that made me very sad and that can be counter-balanced only by what I have done to comply with my duty and the hope that, by despatching the frigate again at a more convenient time next April, I will overcome my worry and concern and those islands will get the assistance that I consider necessary for them, as the galleon **Santa Rosa** did not touch there, an event that stimulates me sufficiently to achieve its accomplishment, in addition to having it as a necessary duty very much in the service of his Majesty and to the liking of Y.E.

Manila, 12 December 1686.

Most Excellent Lady,

The one who kisses the foot of Y.E.,

Gabriel de Cruzelaegui y Arriola.

[To] Most Excellent Missionary Lady, the Duchess of Aveiro, Arcos y Maqueda.

Documents 1686V

Letters from Governor Curuzuláegui to the King, postdated Manila December 1686

V1. Letter dated 12 July 1686, postdated 3 December 1686

Source: AGI Fil. 12-1-50, pp. 1-6.

Original text in Spanish.

De el Governador de Philipinas

*Da quenta a V.M. de como tubo nuevo aviso de que avia llegado el Galeon **Santa Rossa** de buelta de la Nueva España, a una Provincia de aquellas Yslas.*

*Azerca de lo que en esta ocasion tengo escripto a V.M. en carta de quatro de Junio passado, sobre los siete Navios enemigos de que tube aviso se havian visto en estas costas y de la Armada que despaché[,] dispoçiones y ordenes que dí para la seguridad de estas yslas y de el Galeon **Santa Rossa** que esperamos conforme al testimonio que le corresponde se me ofreçe de nuevo dar quenta a V.M. de como ayer once de Julio estando para serrar este despacho tube aviso de que el Galeon referido esta ya en una ensenada de Naga en la Provincia de Camarines no muy distante de esta Ciudad aunque sotabentado a la parte del norte de el Embocadero por no haver podido entrar en el, por las muchas corrientes y tiempos contrarios, y aunque no es Puerto avierto es bastante para asegurar la plata de el Real situado y vezinos, con que sera Dios servido de que gosen de algun alivio estas yslas: Y solo se a estendido estas nuevas hasta aora a saver que en las costas de la Nueva España le estaban esperando quatro navios de franzeçes o piratas de que tubo aviso por dos Bajeles que la selosa dispoçion de el Conde de Paredes Virrey de aquel Reyno hizo que le esperazen en la boca de las Californias para darsele y asegurarle como subcedio llegando com bien à Acapulco a donde le pretendieron acometer siguiendole sin que pudiesen lograr faccion alguna[.]*

[The Santa Rosa ran aground on Santa Rosa Bank and lost her boat and 2 anchors there]

Y tambien como de buelta del viaje estando ya para dar vista a las Yslas Marianas, salio una embarcazion al mar afuera y casi de noche le noticio que le estavan esperando dado fondo en ellas otros dos Navios enemigos (que fue bien estraño encuentro y como de la providencia divina) aunque les pudo ser muy costoso respecto de que por hacerse afuera a la parte de el Sur tocó tres veces en bajo el timon y quedaron sin usso del, por tres dias y hallandose como perdidos echaron la lancha con veinte y tres hombres para que reconisiesen el rumbo por donde podian seguir su viage y creziendo a esto tiempo la brisa se perdieron estos, y el Galeon dos anclas, y dos cables pero fue Dios servido de ponerlos en camino (que tanto Señor es lo que cuyda de estas yslas) con que prosiguió hasta dho Paraje y no so sabe de sierto si algunos de dhos enemigos vendran en su seguimiento o son los descubiertos por acá, pues haviendo quenta de los referidos y de el Pirata que ha continuado estas costas un año à, haze el numero de siete a estos, y a los que se tubo notiçia el año passado havian passado de el mar de el Norte a este del Sur mas en qualquier manera que sea ya estará la plata asegurada y dho Galeon tambien si ha llegado la armada a darle vista como se presume, con que podrá esta vezindad sobre llevar la faalta de viage de Galeon este año que les es bien senzible por no tener otro recurso y no se a podido escusar como tanpoco a mi (con los demas) el sentimiento de que las yslas Marianas se ayan quedado sin socorro este año por dhos enemigos que son las resultas de semejantes subçesos a que procuraré acudir como es mi obligazion y anticipar el remedio y prevenziones neçessarias para la defensa de estas yslas conforme a lo que se explorase de sus operaciones con buenas esperanzas de que entre tantas novedades y diverzidad de subçesos me ha de ayudar Dios a desempeñar en serviçio de V.M. C.C. y R.P. Guarde su Magestad como toda la Christiandad y estas yslas necessita.

Manila y Jullio 12 de 1686 años.

Añadido.

*A pocos dias despues de escrita esta Señor tube aviso de como la lancha de dho Galeon **Sancta Rossa** con 23 hombres (que como ba expresado se tubo por perdida) avia aportado a la costa de Cagayan de esta ysla con todos ellos haviendo corrido milagrosa fortuna en mas de tresçientas leguas que navegaron en veinte y quatro dias con solo el bastimento que se les dio para la ocasion dicha, subçesso que todo se devio a la providencia divina con cuyo favor quedan ya en salud, y dho Galeon en el Puerto de Cavite que es lo que de nuevo se me ofrece dar quenta a V.M.*

Manila y Diciembre 3 de 1686.

G. de Curuzelaegui y Arriola

Translation.

From the Governor of the Philippines

He reports to Y.M. how he got news of the arrival of the galleon **Santa Rosa** coming back from New Spain, at a Province of those Islands.

Regarding what on this occasion I wrote Y.M. in a letter dated 4 June last, about the 7 enemy ships that I had been notified as having been seen along these coasts and about the fleet that I despatched, about the arrangements I made and orders I gave for the security of these Islands and about the galleon **Santa Rosa** that we await, as per the record of proceedings that refers to her, I have this new opportunity to report to Y.M. that yesterday, 11 July, as I was about to close this despatch, I received a message that the above-mentioned galleon was already in a bay in Naga, in the Province of Camarines, not very far from this City, although it went to leeward, that is, to the north of the Embocadero, because she was unable to enter it, on account of the great currents and contrary winds. Although it is not an open port, it is sufficient to place the silver of the Royal subsidy and of the residents in safety, so that God will be pleased to bring relief to these Islands. And the only news that I have heard so far is that on the coasts of New Spain there had been 4 French or pirate ships waiting for her, as she learned from 2 vessels that the zealous arrangement taken by the Count of Paredes, Viceroy of that Kingdom, to have them await her at the mouth of the Californias in order to meet with her and convoy her safely to Acapulco. That is what happened and they arrived safely at Acapulco, where they tried to attack her, by following her, but they were unable to carry out any successful attack.

[The **Santa Rosa** ran aground on **Santa Rosa Bank** and lost her boat and 2 anchors]

And also, as she was on her return voyage, being already in sight of the Mariana Islands, a craft came out to the high sea and almost at nightfall it notified her that two other enemy ships, anchored there, were waiting for her (which was a very strange encounter and like a coup from divine providence) although they could have paid a high price for it, because as it happened, having gone towards the south, her rudder touched three times on a shoal and they were left without the use of it, for three days. As they found themselves in danger of being lost, they lowered the launch with 23 men¹ to reconnoiter a route through which they could continue their voyage, but the breeze increased at this time and the men were lost [from sight], and the galleon lost 2 anchors, and 2 cables, but God was pleased to show them the way (such is the great Lord who watches over these Islands) so that she proceeded as far as said neighborhood and it is not known for certain if some of said enemies will come after her or if they are the same as those discovered overhere. In fact, by tallying the said enemy ships and those of the pirate that has continuously infested these coasts for one year already, that makes a total of 7, besides those that were heard about last year as having passed from the North

1 Ed. note: Led by Pilot Lazcano.

to the South Sea, but, in any case, the silver would already be in safety and said galleon also, if the fleet has managed to get sight of her, as we presume. So, the residents will be able to tolerate the lack of the galleon voyage this year, though they are very sorry about the situation, as they have no other recourse, but it could not be helped, and I am sorry too (like the rest) that the Mariana Islands have been left without succor this year, on account of said enemies. Such are the results of these events. Nevertheless, I will try to fulfil my duty and anticipate a remedy and take the necessary precautions for the defence of these Islands, depending on the results of their operations, with good hopes that, among so many news and diversity of outcomes, God must help me to discharge my obligation in the service of Y.M. whose Catholic and Royal person may His [divine] Majesty keep as the whole of Christendom and these Islands need.

Manila, 12 July 1686.

Postscript.

A few days after I wrote the above, Sire, I received news about the launch of said galleon **Santa Rosa** with 23 men (which as I had said had been lost) had made port on the coast of Cagayan in this Island with all of them, after a miraculous run of over 300 leagues in 24 days, with only the food they had been given for said occasion.¹ The successful outcome was completely due to divine providence. Thank God they are now safe and sound, and said galleon is in the port of Cavite, which are the news that I have the opportunity to report to Y.M.

Manila, 3 December 1686.

G. de Cruzeláegui y Arriola²

V2. Letter dated 21 June 1686, postdated 11 December 1686

Source: AGI Fil. 12-1-54, pp. 1-8.

Note: The greater part of this letter was repeated the following year (see Doc. 1688A).

Original text in Spanish.

De el Governador de Philipinas

Señor

Haze Relaçion a V.M. de el Alsamiento que hizieron los indios de las Marianas por Jullio de 84. Las muertes y subçesos que resultaron de el; y el estado en que quedan y como estando para remitir una fragata a ellas, y ya para salir, por haviso que hubo de siete vageles de enemigos que se avian visto en aquellas costas fue forsooso suspender este viaje y remitir dha fragata a la Nueva España por el Real situado.

1 Ed. note: That of surveying the Santa Rosa Bank for a safe passage of the galleon over it.

2 Ed. note: This letter was delivered to the Council of the Indies by Thomas de Olidem, on 5 January 1688, and examined in the Council on 16 January 1688.

*En el despacho de año passado di quenta a V.M. de el buen estado en que halle a las yslas Marianas y de los progresos de nuestra sancta fee que se yban experimentando assi en la de San Juan de Guajan como en la derrota [sic] y otras nuevamente conquistadas a cuyo tiempo segun las nuevas que trujo el Galeon **Sancto Niño** de buelta de la Nueva España, ya tenian los ministros Misioneros[,] Gobernador y demas gente de ellas larga experiençia de muchos trabajos, muertes, y desdichas que senti como devo, y al paso que selebre lo primero.*

Fue el casso Señor que al tiempo que estava ya sujeta la ysla grande de Seypan, y otras tres proximas de la banda de el norte y algunos pidiendo paz para rendirse por el miedo de las armas y baptisados muchos niños de ellas, el enemigo comun viendo que yba tan de cayda su partido truxo de instigar los indios de San Juan y tramar con ellos una conjurazion diabolica en que prorrumpieron Domingo viente y tres de Jullio de ochenta y quatro, despues de missa y envistieron una quadrilla de ellos en primer lugar al Gobernador Don Damian de Esplana a quien coxieron descuydado a cuerpo y sin armas paseandose fuera de su cassa y le dieron nueve heridas algunas penetrantes, y le hubieran acavado a no llegar un Ayudante que atravezo con una lanza al caudillo principal con cuya muerte se auyentaron los compañeros dejando por muerto al Governador y con los demas alsados pasaron a buscar a los Religiosos y en su cassa e iglessia hirieron de muerte a seis, de los quales tres saçerdotes y un coadjutor murieron aquella tarde y entre ellos el Padre Manuel de Solorzano sujeto de grandes prendas de virtud y letras y Viçe provinçial actual de aquella Mission y mataron hasta diez y siete soldados que cogieron en la iglessia y Real[,] quemaron dha iglessia y cassa y las demas de aquella ysla robando todo lo sagrado y profano; y el Collegio que servia de seminario donde se criaba y doctrinava la jubentud de ella: y despues de haver executado tanta maldad como apoderados y señores de todo juntos con los demas que restavan de la ysla fueron dando aviso y conspirando a los naturales de las otras para que hiziesen lo proprio y matazen a los Misioneros y soldados que estavan repartidos en ellas como lo executaron en quanto pudieron y lo intentaron hazer en la de Seypan donde se hallava el Sargento Mayor Don Joseph de Quiroga y Losada, con quarenta hombres que havia llevado para la conquista y saca de las piezas de Artilleria que faltaban[,] quien no solo se defendio sino es que les hizo mucho daño en dos meses y medio que le hizieron guerra la gente de tres yslas que se juntaron para ello portandose con grande valor y prudenziales operaciones; al cavo, de los quales tubo aviso de lo que avia pasado en dha ysla de Guajan y orden de el Gobernador para que pasase a ella por hallarse todavia con aprieto y guerra muy ensendida con dhos naturales como la tubo por mas de quatro meses sin poder salir con los soldados que le avian quedado de la fuerza que defendio tambien con muerte de algunos de los alsados.

Llego dho Sargento Mayor a veinte y tres de Noviembre de dho año al Real de Agaña de dha ysla de Guajan aviendo perdido en el viaje tres embarcaciones chicas (con quinze hombres) de ocho que trahia a causa de el mal tiempo, y luego que le vieron junto con el Gobernador y su gente conzibieron tanto horror los enemigos que se retiraron de-

samparando el Real[,] sus pueblos[,] cassas, y sementeras con que çesso el aprieto en que les tenian y la guerra que avia sido muy sangrienta hasta entonzes.

Libre de sus heridas dho Governador trato de hazer dos barcos con que salir a buscar a los naturales de aquella ysla entre las demas a fin de aquietarlos y reduzirlos a ella y a cada uno en la suya y a seguir a los prinçipales motores para castigarlos haviendoles quitado las banquillas que pudo y de que usan para que no tubiezen con que alexarse pero hasta Mayo de el año passado (segun excriven) a muchas diligencias que se hizieron solo avian podido juntar en ella, hasta dosçientos de los labradores que sembravan en los montes con que quedavan prosiguiendo en esta reduzion y de las demas yslas aunque con pocas fuerzas respecto de haverles muerto hasta sesenta soldados y cinco Religiosos segun lo que hasta entonzes avian averiguado.

Asimismo en dhas Relaciones se haze menzion de como el pirata olandes, ó franzes de que doy quenta a V.M. en otra, llegó a dhas yslas a veinte y quatro de Marzo del año pasado y como alli se mostro amigo y andubo generoso[.] hizo leña y agua y passo a estas de que en la referida hago larga relación a V.M.

[Visit of the galleon *Santo Niño* in 1685]

*En dho estado les coxio el Galeon Capitana **Santo Niño** que llego a ellas por Junio de el año pasado cuyo General en conformidad de la Orden que llevan los de esta carrera reconociendo su neçesidad les dejo quarenta y quatro hombres de socorro y algunos cosas de que necesitaban con que pudieron rehacerse y asegurarse por entonzes, mas no obstante **despacharon en el, a estas yslas al Padre Diego de Zarzosa uno de los Misioneros con las dos Relaciones de el Governador y Vice provincial** que incluyen los autos que corresponden a esta en que mas individualmente reconoçera V.M. lo que ba referido y las instançias que me an hecho dhos Religiosos para que remita Baxel de socorro a dhas yslas a fin de tenerlo mas breve que el que se les avia de imbiar por Acapulco[.]*

[The frigate *Santo Tomás* re-assigned in 1686]

*Y por hallarse en tal estado y aprieto y parezeme era ocasion preçisa ya que no devia faltar en atenzion a las Reales Cedula que V.M. ha sido servido de mandar expedir para que mi antecesor fomentase estas yslas tenia determinado embiar una fragata acabada de fabricar y de muy buen porte a dhas yslas con dho Religioso y otros dos que imbiava su Religion con el socorro de los de alla y el que por sí remite el Podatario de aquella Mission y estando ya para salir muy bien peltrechada y aviada de gente con todo lo neçessario à cuyo gasto hecho en virtud de Junta de Real hacienda ayudó la Religion de la Compania con mill pesos que ofreçio para ello de su voluntad: Tube aviso de que se avian visto en las costas de estas yslas, siete Navios de guerra de enemigos por cuya razon y lo resultado en Junta universal que selebre sobre dho aviso para que fuese con mayor asierto **se suspendio el viaxe de dha fragata para dhas yslas Marianas** y se aplico para que lo hiziesse a la Nueva España por el Real situado, a causa de suspenderse tambien el de el Galeon que estava destinado para salir este mes*

para dho Reyno y no tener otra defensa estas yslas que disponer a este de guerra con otras embarcaciones de Particulares para que salgan a pelear con el enemigo en la forma que en otra hago relacion a V.M.

*Conosco Señor quan neçessario y fructuoso fuera este despacho a dhas yslas, pero la ocasion es preçisa y el riezgo de estas conosido para no faltar a lo principal ademas de que atendiendo a la defensa de estas miro a la de aquellas y no las puedo acudir ni socorrer por otro camino que el que espero les habra hecho Dios mediante el General de el Galeon **Santa Rossa** que estamos esperando aunque con el reçelo de el riezgo que le amenaza y assi solo cave en esta ocaxion hazerles despacho por el acostumbrado rumbo de la Nueva España si bien no podra ser otro que por escripto por no arriesgarlo demas en dha fragata:*

*En cuya considerazion y por haverse pedido el Viçe provincial de aquella Mission deje para guarnizion de la fuerza de Agaña algunos pedreros de los que se an sacado de la nao **Conçepcion** que se perdio en la ysla de Seypan y otra que muchos años hà se perdio en la derrota [sic], remito orden para que se queden y tambien algunos de las culebrinas y piezas de Artilleria que an sacado si preçisamente las neçesiten, las quales por una parte dizen que son diez, y por otro diez y siete. Y en qualquiera manera seran muy provechosas por acá, de que tendre razon fixa si Dios trae com bien a dho Galeon y la participare a V.M. en la primera ocasion:*

Asimismo remito titulo de Governador Interino de aquellas yslas al dho Sargento Mayor Don Joseph de Quiroga y Losada persona que ademas de lo que llevo referido tiene bastante recomendazion en lo que ha obrado y con mas extenzion consta por dhas Relaciones a caussa de haver hecho dejacion la parte de el dho Don Damian de Esplana de aquel Gobierno en que por futura de esta Real Audiencia subçedio por muerte de el Maestro de Campo Don Antonio de Saravia.

Y para que subçediese al dho Sargento Mayor en este cargo tenia nombrado persona de toda satisfazion que a un tiempo fuese por Cavo de dha fragata y por su defec-to y embarazo de dho viaxe passa a la Nueva España por tal Cavo en ella con que llenare este hueco en la primera ocasion que se ofresca de poder despachar dhos religiosos y lo demas referido como deseo a dhas yslas por ser muy combenientes estos nombramientos al mayor servicio de V.M., y bien de aquella Mission, sobre que tengo representado a V.M. lo que se me ofrecio el año passado aserca de dho Gobierno y tambien de los gastos que se hubieren de hazer en este con las embarcaciones que hubieren de yr derechanmente [sic] a dhas yslas y aquello y esto Junto lo pongo en la soberana considerazion de V.M. para que sobre todo se sirve de mandar V.M. lo mas combeniente C. C. y R. P. guarde Dios felizes años como los vasallos deseamos y hemos menester.

Manila y Junio 21 de 1686 años.

Añadido.

*El que no obstante lo referido **despaché otra fragata a las Yslas Marianas** en conformidad de las dos Reales Cédulas que rezivio de V.M.*

*Despues Señor de haver concluydo las disposiçiones de que hago Relaçion a V.M. en las adjuntas por lo que mira a la aplicacion que fue forsozo hazer de la fragata destinada para las yslas Marianas al viaje de la Nueva españa como llevo referido entre en consideraçion de la neçesidad que padezerian respecto de lo subçdido en ellas y de haverlas faltado el socorro de este año a causa de haverseles extraviado el Galeon **Santa Rossa** lo qual hizo tanta esfuerza en mi que instantantemente puse todo esfuerzo para que se concluyese otra fragata que se estava fabricando y se consiguio y previno dentro de treinta dias para despacharla como estava previsto y determinado por Junta general de haçienda de veinte y cinco de Mayo de el corriente, a cuyo tiempo entre las demas Reales Cedula que rezivi me halle con dos en que V.M. me manda les acuda con las armas, munizioni, y demas generos que neçesitaren para su conservaçion; que prevenga vajel que haga viaxe a dhas yslas una vez, u dos al año si ser pudiere y que informe a V.M. de el numero fixo de los soldados que tienen y pueden dejar las naos de esta carrera en ellas quando llegaren de passo de la Nueva España sin perjuicio de la que se condusse para estas yslas, en cuyo cumplimiento y por que no se omitiesse sin-cunstançia de las referidas ni las demas que incluyen dhas Reales Cedula, hize conbo-car Junta de Pilotos que se çelebré en ocho de Agosto de este año en que se declaró por tiempo competente para la salida de dha fragata (llamada **Nuestra Señora de Aranzazu**) a dho viaje; hasta el fin de dho mes de Agosto.*

*Y asimismo segunda Junta de haçienda en diez y nueve de el, en que se resolvió con vista de dhas Reales Cedula se despachase costeandose de la Real haçienda como estava resuelto en la primera, en cuya conformidad y haviendose embarcado en ella el Sargento Mayor nombrado para dhas yslas y los Arcabuzes, munizioni, polvora, salitre y los demas generos que V.M. mandava se hizo a la vela el dia veinte y seis de dho mes, despues de lo que tube aviso que avia desembocado de entre estas yslas a diez y siete de septiembre siguiente; Y venzido este riezgo que no es el menor, tube por sin duda el que se lograse el viaje y el muy Catholico çelo de V.M. pero la divina lo dispuso de otra manera permitiendo, el que (como a la fragata **Santo Thomas** que salio para la Nueva España) le faltase el vendabal que era el favorable y le entrasen rigurosos tiempos contrarios, que tambien la desarbolaron y maltrataron de manera que por bolver de arrivada tan trabajosa vino a barar el dia veinte y uno de Noviembre passado en el Puerto que llaman de Batangas veinte leguas de esta Ciudad desde donde tube el aviso, y acudiendo luego con lo neçesario para que no se acavaze de perder, he savido quedó bueno el casco y que a Dios graçias se salvó la gente y assi se vino a ygualar este sub-çesso con el de dha fragata **Santo Thomas** y fue por que una y otra partiçiparon de los propios tiempos; sobre que tambien las ygualari, en la averiguazion, que se desea hazer de el casso, y de lo que resultase dare quenta a V.M. con los autos, que corresponden a esta en el despacho de el año que viene.*

Por lo referido Señor reconocera V.M. mis buenos deseos y en ello y lo demas sub-çesos el estado de estas yslas y mi sentimiento de que ocurran tantos en mi tiempo, pero sobre todo me queda la confiansa de que V.M. juzgue que he cumplido con lo que ha estado de mi parte pues lo demas no esta en mi mano y por que en este punto y en los

*demas de mi obligazion solo procuro acertar a obedezzer lo que es de la Real voluntad de V.M. proseguire en el intento remitiendo la fragata que fuere mas aproposito a dhas yslas por Mayo o Junio del año que viene Dios mediante que es tiempo mas seguro, y los generos referidos; y repetire las ordenes que asimismo havia dado para que el Governador actual y Vice provincial de aquella mission me ynbien razon fija de toda la gente que las guarneçe, y para que les cavos de la fragata reconoscan **una ysla que descubrio Sancta Rossa**, como a treinta leguas de distancia de las referidas por la parte del sur (sobre que hay opiniones unos que la tienen por nuevo descubrimiento y otros que la señalen por apuntada en la carta de Marear) de donde pasaran a las demas que pudieren descubrir por aquella parte, para que en esta quede enteramente servido V.M. y logrados (Dios lo haga) mis buenos deseos;*

Manila y Diciembre 11 de 1686 años.

G. de Curuzeláegui y Arriola

Translation.

From the Governor of the Philippines.

Sire:

He reports to Y.M. about the uprising of the Indians of the Marianas in July 1684; the killings and events that resulted from it; and the condition in which they remain. He was about to send a frigate overthere, and it was ready to sail when he received an advice that 7 enemy vessels had been seen on those coasts and it became necessary to suspend this voyage and to send said frigate to New Spain for the royal subsidy.

In last year's despatch I reported to Y.M. on the good condition of the Mariana Islands and the progress of our holy faith being experienced, not only in the Island of San Juan of Guajan but also in that of Rota and other newly-conquered Islands, at which time, according to news brought in by the galleon **Santo Niño** on her return from New Spain [in 1685], the missionary ministers, the Governor and other people there had already suffered very many hardships, deaths, and misfortunes, about which I am sorry, as I must, since everything was so fine when I passed by there.

Sire, the case happened as follows. At the time that the great Island of Seypan had already been subjected, along with three other neighboring islands toward the north [of Guam], and that some had asked for peace in order to submit themselves, on account of the fear of arms, and that already many children had been baptized there, the common enemy, seeing that his party was losing the battle, began to instigate the Indians of San Juan and plot with them a diabolical conspiracy that burst forth on Sunday 23 July 1684. after mass, and a squad of them first attacked the Governor, Don Damian de Esplana, whom they caught unaware, in short sleeves and unarmed, taking a walk outside his house, and they gave him 9 wounds, some penetrating, and they would have finished him off, had not one Adjutant arrived who pierced the main leader of the coup with a spear. His death caused his companions to flee, leaving the Governor for dead. With the other rebels they went on to look for the Religious and in their house and church they mortally wounded 6 of them, of whom 3 priests and 1 coadjutor died that

afternoon, and among them Father Manuel de Solorzano, an individual of great qualities in virtues and letters and the present Vice-Provincial.¹ They killed up to 17 soldiers whom they caught in the church and royal camp. They burned said church and house, and the other houses of that Island, robbing everything sacred and profane, as well as the college that served as a seminary where the youth there was being raised and indoctrinated. And after having done so much evil, finding themselves lords and masters of everything, jointly with the rest of the people of the Island they send messages asking the natives of the Islands to join the conspiracy, for them to do the same and kill the missionaries and soldiers who were distributed among them. This they did as much as they could and they tried to do it in the Island of Seypan, where the Sergeant-Major Don José de Quiroga y Losada was with 40 men, who had gone there for the conquest, and the salvage of the missing cannon. Not only did he defend himself but he did them much damage during the two and a half months that the war lasted with men from three islands who had come together for that purpose. He behaved with great valor and prudence during the operations, at the end of which he received news of what had occurred in said Island of Guajan and an order from the Governor to go back to it, because it was still under duress and with a live war going on with said natives, as it did for a period of over 4 months, with the surviving soldiers being unable to go out, although they defended themselves and killed a few of the rebels.

Said Sergeant-Major arrived back at the Royal camp of Agaña of said Island of Guajan on 23 November of said year, having lost in the voyage 3 small craft (with 15 men) out of 8 that he brought, on account of the bad weather. And as soon as they saw him and his men with the Governor, the enemies conceived so much horror that they retreated, abandoning the royal camp, their towns, houses, and crops, and this marked the end of the siege under which they held them and of the war that has been the bloodiest so far.

Free from his wounds, said Governor tried to build two boats with which to go out and look for the natives of that Island among the other Islands in order to pacify them and reduce them to it, and everyone back to his place, and to pursue the main perpetrators in order to punish them. He had seized as many canoes as he could, to prevent them from using them to flee, but until May of last year (according to the reports), despite many efforts that were made, they had only gathered in it up to 200 people, of the type who work the land and have plantations in the woods. Still they were proceeding with this reduction and that of the other islands, though with few men, because the natives have killed up to 60 soldiers and 5 Religious, according to the count that had been verified up to that time.

In addition, in said Reports, mention is made of the Dutch, or French pirate, about whom I give a separate report to Y.M.² He arrived at said Islands on 24 March of last

1 Ed. note: Fr. Solorzano had, in fact, relegated the post to Fr. Bouwens one month before his death.

2 Ed. note: He was neither Dutch nor French, but an English pirate, Captain Eaton, in the ship Nicholas (see Doc. 1685Q2, 1685Z).

year and he showed himself to be friendly and acted generously, taking in wood and water, then he went off to these Islands. In the separate report, I give a long and detailed report to Y.M.

[Visit of the galleon Santo Niño in 1685]

This is the condition they were in when the flagship galleon **Santo Niño** arrived overthere in June of last year. Her General, in accordance with the standing order that those of this run carry with them, recognizing their need, left them 44 men as relief and some things that they needed, with which they could renew themselves and be secure in future, but nevertheless **they despatched to these Islands aboard her Father Diego de Zarzosa, one of the missionaries with the two Reports, one from the Governor and the other from the Vice Provincial,**¹ which have been included in the record of proceedings accompanying this despatch, the better for Y.M. to survey in detail the facts of the above-mentioned events and the requests that said Religious have made to me, for me to send a relief boat to said Islands in order to get relief faster than by the succor sent by way of Acapulco.²

[The frigate Santo Tomás re-assigned in 1686]

And, for their being in such a condition and fix and as it seemed to me that the occasion was precisely correct for the execution of the Royal decrees which Y.M. has been pleased to order the issue of, to make my predecessor develop these Islands, I had decided to send a recently-built frigate, one of good capacity, to said Islands with said Religious and two others being sent by his Order, along with the succor of those overthere and that sent by the Procurator of that Mission, but as it was already about to sail, very well equipped and supplied with men and everything necessary, toward which expenses a meeting of the Royal treasury had been held and the Order of the Society assisted with 1,000 pesos that it offered for this purpose of its free will, I received an advice about 7 enemy warships having been seen on the coasts of these Islands. For this reason and as a result of a universal assembly that I held regarding said advice, to make sure that it would come out more positively, **the voyage of said frigate for the Mariana Islands was cancelled** and a demand was made to send it to New Spain for the Royal subsidy, reason being that the voyage of the galleon, whose departure for said Kingdom had been planned for this month, had also been cancelled and the fact that these Islands have no other war defences to put up against the pirate, along with other private vessels to go out and fight with the enemy in the manner described in another report to Y.M.³

I know, Sire, how necessary and fruitful this despatch to said Islands would have been, but the situation is critical and the risk to these Islands well known and cannot

1 Ed. note: The two reports are those from Fr. Bouwens (Doc. 1685E) and Major Esplana (Doc. 1685P).

2 Ed. note: See Doc. 1686K.

3 Ed. note: Doc. 1686AA.

be disregarded, in addition to the fact that, in taking care of the defence of these Islands, I am looking after the interest of those Islands and I cannot come to their rescue by any other way than the one I hope, God willing, they got from the General of the galleon **Santa Rosa** which we are awaiting, although with some fear of the danger threatening her. So, under this circumstance, there remains only to make a despatch by the usual route of New Spain, even if only letters be despatched, so as not to endanger said frigate unduly.

In consideration whereof, and given that the Vice-Provincial of that Mission asked that a few swivel-guns, from those that had been salvaged from the galleon **Concepción** that was lost at the Island of Seypan and from another that was lost many years ago in that of Rota, be left there for the garrison of Agaña, I am sending an order to have them remain there, and also a few of the culverins and cannon that were salvaged, if they really need them; as to their number, in one report they mention 10, but 17 in another, but, in any case, they would be very advantageous overthere. I will get a detailed report, if God wills that said galleon comes in successfully, and I will then let Y.R. know at the first opportunity.

In addition, I am sending the title of interim Governor of those Islands to said Sergeant-Major Don José de Quiroga y Losada who, in addition to the fact that the above-mentioned reports make sufficiently clear that he deserves it, and I refer Y.M. to them for more details, because said Don Damian de Esplana, had abandoned his claim on that government, which he had received from this Royal Audiencia on the basis of the eventual death of the Master-of-camp Don Antonio de Saravia.¹

And, as far as the succession of said Sergeant-Major is concerned, I had appointed a person of entire satisfaction who would at the same time act as Commander of said frigate, but now, on account of the cancellation and impossibility of said voyage, he is going to New Spain, still as her commander. Therefore, I will fill this vacancy at the first opportunity that presents itself of being able to despatch said religious and the other things mentioned, as I wish to do for said Islands, considering that such appointments are very proper for the greater service of Y.M. and the good of that Mission. Regarding this matter, last year I made representation to Y.M. about said government and also about the expenses that would have to be made in this government for the boats that would have to go directly to said Islands and that and this I jointly leave to the sovereign consideration of Y.M., so that above all Y.M. will be pleased to order what is convenient. May God keep the Catholic and Royal person of Y.M. for happy years as we your vassals wish and need.

Manila, 21 June 1686.

1 Ed. note: It was not until 1688 that Esplana went off and was replaced as Governor by Quiroga.

Postscript.

Notwithstanding what is said above, **I despatched another frigate to the Mariana Islands** in conformity with the two Royal decrees that I received from Y.M.¹

Sire, after having concluded the arrangements that I mentioned in the Report to Y.M. (enclosed), with regards to the application that became necessary to make of the frigate destined for the Mariana Islands to the voyage to New Spain, as mentioned earlier, I had considered the need that they would feel, as a result of the events of the past there and the lack of succor of this year, caused by the galleon **Santa Rosa** having bypassed the Islands. This made such an impression on me that I instantly made all efforts to put the finishing touch to another frigate that was being built. It was accomplished and made ready within 30 days, and is to be despatched, as decided by the general Meeting of the treasury that took place on 25 May of the present year. This was the time that I received other Royal decrees; in two of these, Y.M. orders me to supply them with weapons, ammunition, and other goods that they might need for their preservation; that I was to send a vessel to make the voyage to said Islands once or twice a year if possible, and that I was to inform Y.M. on the exact number of soldiers there, and the number that could be left there by the passing galleons of this run, on the return voyage from New Spain, without prejudice to the relief of these Islands. To comply with same and in order not to omit any of the circumstances mentioned above, nor those mentioned in said Royal decrees, I called a Meeting of Pilots, which took place on 8 August of this year, and in it it was declared that the appropriate time for the departure of said frigate (named **Nuestra Señora de Aranzazu**) for said voyage was until the end of said month of August.

In addition, a second Meeting of the Treasury was held on the 19th, in which it was resolved that, in view of said Royal decrees, it should be despatched, and the costs charged to the Royal treasury, as decided at the first meeting. In compliance thereof and having embarked aboard the appointed Sergeant-Major for said Islands² and the arquebuses, ammunition, powder, saltpeter and the other goods that Y.M. has ordered, it set sail on 26 of said month. Afterwards, I got news that it had passed through the [San Bernardino] Strait of these Islands on 17 September following. And, since it had conquered this risk, which is not the smallest, I had no doubt that it would accomplish its voyage and the very Catholic zeal of Y.M., but the divine Majesty decided otherwise; it allowed the monsoon wind, that is the favorable wind, to fail and rigorous contrary winds to begin blowing, and they dismasted it and mistreated it in such a way that in order to get back it had a hard time and ended up by running aground on 21 November last in the port that they call Batangas, 20 leagues from this City, from where I received the news. What was necessary to prevent it from becoming entirely lost was then sent. I have since learned that the hull remains good and that, thank God, the men

1 Ed. note: This was the Aranzazu (see below), but it too was forced back by bad weather.

2 Ed. note: The first person appointed was Toledo, but he was sent to Acapulco with the frigate Santo Tomás instead; the new man was Major Miguel Martinez, with a new frigate, the Aranzazu (see Doc. 1687R).

are safe. So, this outcome ended up as badly as the one of said frigate **Santo Tomás** as both of them had shared the same weather. I will therefore hold an inquiry to consider the circumstances of both cases together, and will inform Y.M. of the results, complete with the record of their proceedings, in the despatch of next year.

From the above, Sire, Y.M. will recognize my good wishes and in this and the other events, the condition of these Islands and my feeling as to the happening of so many things during my term, but above all I remain confident that Y.M. will agree that I have complied to be best of my ability; indeed, the rest is not in my hands. On this point and on the others, in what concerns me, I only try my best to obey what corresponds to the Royal will of Y.M. and will continue to do so, by sending the frigate that will be considered the better one to said Islands by May or June of next year, God willing, which is the safer time, with the above-mentioned goods. And I will repeat the orders that I had also given for the present Governor and Vice-Provincial of that mission to send me an exact list of all the men in the garrison, and for the commanders of the frigate to reconnoiter **an island discovered by the Santa Rosa**, at about 30 leagues from the aforesaid toward the south of them (about which there are divers opinions, some saying that it is a new discovery and others saying that it already appears on the Nautical Chart).¹ From there they are to go on to the possible discovery of other islands in that neighborhood, so that Y.M. may be completely served in this endeavor, and may God make my good wishes come true.

Manila, 11 December 1686.

G. de Curuzeláegui y Arriola.²

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- 1 Ed. note: Neither point of view was correct. The galleon Santa Rosa had sighted Yap, an island previously discovered. The second opinion referred to Matalotes Island, which was on the chart. I have already proven this to be the name informally given to Fais by Villalobos (see HM 1:585), but one that has been wrongly applied to Sorol in more modern times.
 - 2 Ed. note: This letter reached the Council of the Indies in Madrid, through Thomas de Olidem, on 5 January 1688. On 16 February, the Council examined it and referred it to the Fiscal, along with the previous letter.

Document 1686W

Letter from Major Esplana to Fr. Bouwens, dated Guam 12 September 1686

Source: A 2-page ms. among Phil. mss. II, Lilly Library, Indiana University.

Note: A note at the top, in another handwriting, gives the following explanation: "Copy of the formality used by Governor Damian de Esplana to excuse himself and to retract the calumny he had been heard to utter."

Letter regarding a calumny against Fr. Bustillo

My Fr. Vice-Provincial Gerardo Bobens [sic],

On account of a certain rumor that occurred on August 21st, some gossip originated with two Filipinos about some information given to one of them by Fr. Lorenzo Bustillo, the said Filipinos have been heard to say, according to the news, that Y.R. had about the case, as if the said information came from knowledge acquired through sacramental confession.

I, finding such a talk strange and sorry for what I was hearing, talked about the individual as it is clear to all, not with intention of supporting the calumny but a zeal to reprehend the shamelessness, and even, if necessary, to punish it. And so that nobody would interpret my words as an insult in support of their crime, I hereby declare, and if it be necessary, as required, will swear to it, that I have never felt, much less said, nor do I feel or say, that the said Fathers, or any one of them, have contravened the secret or privilege of the sacrament of penance, as it seems, that falsely and with manifest harm to confession they have imputed to Fr. Lorenzo Bustillo, either through ignorance or by malice.

However, I say that on account of the zeal that, as Governor and Lieutenant of Captain-General of these Mariana Islands, helps me lean toward the innocence of the said Fr. Lorenzo Bustillo, and the other Fathers of this Mission, and for the veneration and cult of our holy sacraments, I oblige myself, as I must, should it be necessary, to give all the help that Y.R. may ask of me, in order to chastise those who may have wronged the said Father, or any one of them, by such a calumny, and to compel the culprits to

revoke the said calumny sufficiently and in a proper form, to take it back; in the same way as I will myself took it back, and now take back, if carried by anger or natural precipitation, whatever I may have said directly or indirectly, from which such a calumny may be inferred, suspected, or subscribed to, as perhaps some have wished to infer, suspect or subscribe to out of what I have uttered when carried away by my temperament upon hearing the calumny, i.e. that **I would not go to confession while in this country.**

But this, if we give it the proper meaning, was the same as saying that if it were true, what they falsify slandered the Fathers about, I would never confess myself in this country. This is a very different thing from the one that someone, who may not know me or understand my mind, may think I was thinking, as if I were giving credence to the calumny (something that did not even cross my imagination) and sponsoring it by saying that I would never again go to confession while in the Marianas.¹ My actions must speak for themselves; as any other Catholic, I know my duty, wish to and must comply at times with what God and the holy Church order to everyone of us, without any exception.²

The reason why I did not go to confession at the feast of Saint Rose, as I had intended to do, was not because I gave credence to such a calumny but because there was too short a time between the occurrence of the said rumor and the feast-day, also the meeting, unexpected by me, that happened two days before St. Rose's Day, which was that a certain Father, accompanied by another priest, by order of Y.R., came to talk to me; the said Father alluded that I had, upon agreeing with the calumny, refused to confess myself. For this reason, I brought out to his Reverence, alas! what in prejudice to confession, I had neither said nor thought of saying [before]. Well then, seeing that my excuse was not accepted, I said without thinking and angrily, rash, excited and blind with anger, without seeing, hearing nor thinking about what I was being told, that I would prove it. About this, returning to my own self, I repented, as I now repent for having acted then in anger. Thus I later retracted it and I wish that everyone, as they must, take it as never said nor heard; well, witness what on other occasions I have been heard to say that, carried away by the first impulse (something common to all angry men) I let out some words without noticing nor hearing what I am being told.

Now what I wish to assure Y.R., and I will confirm it at a proper time, is the following: that all the Fathers whom I know in this Mariana Mission are, with regard to their ministry, friendly and exemplary, that no-one can without very serious slander impute them anything that might tarnish their reputation or credit; and if I have said or had said anything else I would retract it later at once, and I retract it now, so that no-one

1 Ed. note: I suspect that Fr. Bustillo had mentioned aloud that the Governor was sleeping with the Chamorro wife of a Filipino captain, something the Fathers had written about in their letters to other Jesuits, saying that the case was notorious. When the Governor was unmasked, Fr. Bustillo may have been accused here of revealing the secret.

2 Ed. note: It was then compulsory for a Catholic to go to confession at least once a year, during Lent.

should give credence to what is unreasonable nor dare say that he has heard or had heard from my mouth something that might be interpreted as supporting their mistake, or imputing slanderously anything against the decorum of your Reverences, in defence of which, as a witness to their innocence, I will always remain, as I wish and must,

Your Reverence's servant.

At home, 12 September 1686.

He who kisses the hand of Y.R., your best friend and servant,
Damian de Esplana.

Document 1686X

Letter from Fr. Thirso Gonzalez to Fr. Diego Altamarino, dated Salamanca 16 October 1686

Source: Present location unknown; 2-page ms. offered for sale by Maggs Bros. of London in 1923 for 12 pounds (Cat. N° 442, n° 1949, p. 215).

Note: Fr. Gonzalez became Jesuit General only the following year.

Letter regarding the life of Fr. de Angelis

Extract from the Maggs Catalog.

...
With regard to what you order me to do in assisting the Lord Bishop of Aya and Bolivar, I will obey you with much pleasure, but I can only do this in the way I have stated—that is, by means of a report, should he desire it, when I would give this gentleman all the information I might be able to give within the limits of truth.

I have been greatly distressed at the news of the martyrdom of five Mariana Missionaries, particularly of the death of Theofilo de Angelis, who studied theology under me for two years, and was a fervent priest; he used to distribute the alms daily, and teach the Doctrine to the poor who generally congregate beneath the portico. During Lent, he would ask permission of the Superior to go into the outlying country districts to preach the Gospel to the peasants... During the Festivals, he would make pilgrimages on foot to the grave of Saint Theresa [of Avila]; and to Villagarcia to visit that of Father Balthasar Alvarez.

When he bade me farewell, he left me a small engraving with the figure of the Virgin and Child, and the Cross in the background. In the four corners of the print, he has written some little Latin verses... I have always carried that print with me in my breviary, and now I must place it in a shrine.

I send you herewith a copy of what he wrote, and I beg you to show it to the Duchess of Aveiro. I corresponded much with this holy Martyr, and have many letters

from him. I also possess a long report describing the Mariana Islands, which he wrote in 1682.¹

I am much relieved at the news you send me regarding the dispute in the Philippines; and that the persecution of the French Bishops [in China] is ceasing... To the members of our Order, I send my affectionate remembrances...

...

Latin verses written by Fr. de Angelis on an engraving given by him to Fr. Gonzalez before his departure for the Marianas.

“Ac Magistro meo, P. Thirso Gonzalez.

Pater mi ter mihi in Christo amanti...

Enixe obsecro ac per omne sanctum obtestor,

Sanctis sacrificiis, et finis ad Deum precibus...

Jesus Christus Amor meus crucifixus est in dextera Dei Patris Amen

Amen, Amen, Jesum Christum Crucifixum.

Gentibus prædicare, ac pro eius gloria pati et mori vehementer desidero...

Indignissimo servus et infimus discipulus R. Væ.,

Theophilus de Angelis.”

[Translation:] “To my Teacher, Fr. Thirso Gonzalez.

My thrice beloved Father in Christ ...

I strongly beseech you and for the love of everything sacred I beg you

To remember me in your holy sacrifices [i.e. masses] and your prayers to God...

Jesus Christ my Love crucified at the right hand of God the Father, Amen

Amen, Amen. I passionately wish to preach Jesus Christ crucified

To the heathens, and to suffer and die for His glory.

The most unworthy servant and least disciple of Y.R.,

Teofilo de Angelis.”

1 Ed. note: See Doc. 1682I.

Documents 1686Y

Three letters from Fr. Balthasar de Mansilla to the Duchess of Aveiro, sent from Mexico in 1686

Sources: 1) Huntington Library, mss. HM 9969, 22490 and 9968 respectively; 2) published in Fr. Burrus' Kino Writes to the Duchess (Rome, 1965), pp. 182-188, 201-203 (or pp. 299-307, 327-330 in the Madrid 1964 edition).

Notes: The mss. documents in question were sold to Mr. Huntington by Maggs Bros. of London in the 1920s; Doc. Y1 sold for 45 pounds sterling, and Doc. Y3 for 35 pounds.

Y1. Letter dated 13 March 1686

Original text in Spanish.

Señora.

Haga V.E. pruebas y mas pruebas de la constante ley de mi humilde reconozimiento, suspendiendome el soberano favor de sus letras; que aunque el carezer de este sea duro martirio a mi alma, estan tan dentro de ella y tan impresos los de su dignacion en mi persona, y los de su patrocinio en mis Marianas, que, embargando todo el caudal de mi agradecimiento, por justa deuda, se pasa mi corazon al atrevimiento y vanidad de pensar, que esta suspension es examen, y no olvido. Señora, llameme V.E. confiado, llameme atrevido, llameme importuno, que la canso con repetidas toscas letras mias; pero si de otra forma no puedo explicar mi rendido agradecimiento, ni profesar el caracter de su humilde capellan y criado, ay justicia para que dexé yo de publicar mi deuda, porque a su soberania no puede servir de caudal mi paga? Señora, con Dios asi nos desempeñamos los pobres; quien por él, y como él nos tiene tan adeudados como V.E., bien supo, y save, quando nos obliga, que ni su Grandeza nezesita, ni nuestra cortedad se puede atrever a otra paga.

Señora, di quenta a V.E., y la repito, como a dos de febrero del año passado entregue el oficio al Padre Majino Sola, que me vino a suceder, de orden de la santa obediencia. Digo que le entregue el oficio, pero no el cuydado, mientras yo estuviere en este Reyno, porque siempre sera muy del mio servir a las Marianas y su Apostolica Mision, como

lo ê executado en quanto se a querido valer de mi su Procurador: y en lo que yo e podido injeniarme para su alivio y socorro.

Señora; por la Gazeta que acompaña a este, reconozera V.E. la tragedia acaecida en sus Marianas por la ignavia de su Cabo, y la providencia con que las atiende el Señor, habiendo conservado alli a nuestro D. Joseph de Quiroga, medio unico para que el Demonio no saliese por entero con la suya: y que lo sera del todo para que, no solo se restaure el daño, sino que crezcan en muchos aumentos, si, como propuse a V.E., el Governador de aquellas Yslas, pues es el restaurador de ellas, y con el valor de tan gran soldado, save juntar lo cristiano y desinteresado, que tanto importa, singularmente en nuevas Cristiandades, donde lo que gana la espada, arruine el mal exemplo. Embiase en la nao, que esta para salir del Puerto de Acapulco, un muy buen socorro, y yo quise fuese de mi cuydado el de los soldados, para tener alguna parte, proveyendoles de quanto con las experiencias e juzgado nezessario para esta ocasion.

Señora, de Manila y sus Yslas no tengo gazetas de conversiones; sino de alborotos, encuentros, disensiones, que no solo las atrasan en los Gentiles, sino que ni aun a los que no lo son les dexan ser buenos christianos. Si V.E. las quisiere ver, mande al Padre Luis de Morales, a quien con ingenuidad, se le escriven, y remiten para el remedio, que se las entregue a V.E.

Señora; en la gran China nuestros Misioneros y los de las demas Sagradas Religiones tienen una bastissima mies, pero o que pocos operarios! El Emperador los patrocino como siempre, nuestra corta Prov^a de Manila se quito quatro operarios p^a aquella viña. Los obispos franceses que impedian su cultivo, ya acabaron todo y uno nuevo que de orden de la propaganda passo, franciscano, a dado tan buenos principios, que nos prometemos con el favor divino muchas crezes.

Señora; del estado de las Californias da perfct noticia a V.E. el Padre Eusebio Francisco Kino, que se halle en esta Ciudad entendiendo en este negocio, quien dira a V.E. quanto lo favorezen Sus Exc^llencias los Senores Virreyes.

Del Nuevo México puedo decir a V.E. el fervor con que custodiò y Santos Religiosos se interesan en su recuperacion, pero los Seglares que han governado alli, y uno por cuya causa se perdiò, a esto terrible oposicion con informes y valimientos, a los que estos Sanctos Varones hazen, y a los medios que proponen para su reposicion, a mi corta entender, exequibles, racionales, christianos y del zelo de ambas Majestades, a que e procurado concurrir; y espero de Dios, y del zelo del Señor Marquez (que de verdad le tiene grande de las conversiones) se a de descubrir medio con que aquel bastissimo Reyno se restituya a la luz del Evangelio.

En esto, por las Provincias donde se hallan nuestros Misioneros, haviendose descubierto otras nuevas de Gentiles, an entrado en ellas, y en el gobierno de este Cavallero se an establecido mas de doze Misioneros que se emplean en le cultivo de estas nuevas plantas con grande fruto, y cada uno de ellos tiene a su cargo Provincias enteras de naciones en donde asta aora no avia amanezido la aurora del Santo Evangelio.

Gracias al Señor que se digna de mostrar su misericordia y de valerse de nosotros para que se logra el precio infinito de su sangre; y plegue a ella el dignarse de que no

*quede ninguna de las muchissimas que restan sepultadas en sus tinieblas sin que gozen de esta soberana luz, y de hazernos dignos dispensadores de ella; y de mantener a V.E. en la perfecta salud que continuamente le pido p^a que patronzine, como lo haze, estas celestiales empresas, y como yo mas que todos e[*s*] menester.*

México, y Marzo 13 de 1686.

Ex[celentiss]ma Se[ñ]ora

Esta, como deve, a los pies de V.E. su mas rendido siervo

JHS.

Balthasar de Mansilla.

[Note in margin:] *Señora. Aunque V.E. me quiera reñir; una dozena de abanicos que en una caxuela lleva el R[everen]do Padre Custodio, es reverente atrevimiento que profesa el culto, y cornadillo que califica el caudal.*

Synopsis in the Maggs Catalog.

Important letter in which the writer begins by thanking the Duchess for the favors which she has shown to the Missions in the Mariana Islands, and complains bitterly of the ignorance of the late Governor of the Islands. He states that Don Joseph de Quiroga has arrived there, the only means by which the Devil has not obtained entire possession of the Islands. He is sending help by the boat which is just leaving the Port of Acapulco, and only wishes that he had a word in the matter of choosing the soldiers for the expedition.

He has no news of conversions from Manila of the (Philippine) Islands, but only news of riots, quarrels, and disagreements, not only among the heathen, but also among those who call themselves good Christians. Father Luis de Morales will write on this matter.

From China the news is much the same, the Emperor patronizes the Missionaries as before, etc.

Father Eusebio Francisco Kino has sent her Grace a complete account of the state of the Californias. He is staying in this city, engaged on this business, and will tell her Grace as soon as the Viceroy and the Vicequeen have decided in his favor.

He also gives a full account of the state of affairs in Mexico and gives an account of the troubles with the secular forces in the government.

“In the Provinces in which our missionaries are settled they have discovered new heathen tribes and have made an entrance therein. In the government of this gentleman they have established more than 12 missionaries who are fully occupied with the cultivation of these fresh plants, and each one of the missionaries is in charge of an entire province of Indians.”

Part translation, by Fr. Burrus.

Your Excellency,

By denying me the favor of receiving letters from Y.E., you give me one more opportunity to prove my constant and humble gratitude. Even though the lack of them is

a severe trial for my soul, I know that your inclination towards me and your patronage of my Mariana Islands are so deeply rooted that it behooves me to think that I owe you a note of thank you, and that it is pure vanity on my part to think anything else than the delay is just a pause, not forgetfulness on your part.

Y.E. would be correct in calling me cheeky, wayward and inopportune with my frequent, boorish letters; but I see no other way for me to express my gratitude than by keeping Y.E. informed of everything that happens overthere. How else can your humble chaplain and servant repay a just debt? When God Himself who is so kind to us, poor ones, the only way for us to thank Him is to repeat numerous acts of thanksgiving, as Y.E. knows very well, and our very poverty cannot prevent us from doing so.

Y.E., it is my duty to inform you that, as of February 2nd of last year [1685], I transferred the post [of procurator of the Marianas] to Father Magino Solá, who came to replace me by order from holy obedience. I did transfer the duties to him, but not my interest in caring for those missions, while I remain in this Kingdom. I will continue to serve the Marianas as I have done in the past as their procurator, and someone who tried hard to assist them in their needs.

Y.E. will see, from the enclosed diary of events, what a tragedy occurred in these Mariana Islands, on account of the idleness of their Governor. However, we must recognize the special providence from God in having preserved there our gentleman, Joseph de Quiroga, to whom we owe the only resistance made to the rebels, thus preventing a complete victory of the devil. He is the one who could, not only restore order but also erect the Mission, if, as I proposed to Y.E., he were governor of those islands; indeed, his great valor, linked with good Christian principles, is what is needed in all new Christian communities, where bad examples can destroy the gain made by the sword.

Aboard the ship that is about to sail from Acapulco is being sent a very good supply of relief goods;¹ as I wanted to have some part in the [supply of] soldiers, I am using my experience to supply them with the best possible [equipment] under the circumstances.

Y.E., from Manila and the Philippine Islands, I do not have relations of religious events, only news of riots, disturbances and dissensions that not only retard the conversion of gentiles but also prevent those who are not from becoming better Christians. If Y.E. wishes to see the relations, please ask Father Luis de Morales,² to whom they have been simply remitted, for transmittal to Y.E.

[Here are omitted the news of the missions in China, California, and New Mexico]

Many thanks to Our Lord, for maintaining Y.E. in the perfect health that we continuously beg Him to give you, so that you may continue to sponsor these celestial enterprises, and that I, more than anyone else, consider necessary.

City of Mexico, 13 March 1686.

1 Ed. note: Unfortunately, as it turned out, the Santa Rosa did not stop at Guam in 1686.

2 Ed. note: He was then on the way to Madrid.

Most Excellent Lady,
 Y.E.'s most submissive servant who is at your feet,
 JHS

Balthasar de Mansilla.

[P.S.] Your Excellency: I take the risk of being scolded by sending you a box full of fans on behalf of the [Franciscan] Fr. Custodian.¹ It is an expression of my gratitude, not a proof of my poverty.

Y2. Letter dated 4 April 1686

Original text in Spanish.

Excelentísima Señora.

Señora.

Tengo escrito â V.E. largo por mano de un cavallero Asturiano que passa â España y â essa Corte, dando quenta a V.E. del estado de sus Marianas con la gazeta misma que me remitio el Superior de ellas, Padre Gerardo Vowens, de el Nuebo Mexico, China y Philippinas, con las mas sinceras noticias que ê podido adquirir, y de las Californias remitiendome a la que se da a V.E. [d]el Padre Eusebio Kino, y assi esta solo es afin de que logre mi veneracion y respeto el repetir la dicha de ponerme a los pies de V.E. por medio de ella y de D. Antonio de Figueredo que haviendo venido con los pliegos del Aviso aora dos meses, buelve con los de este, â quien e pedido me ponga a los pies de V.E., embidiandole yo la fortuna de haverlo de lograr en persona.

Y suplicando con humilde rendimiento â V.E. se digne de no desdeñar la demostracion de el en esas dos piedras de Gaspar Anton, cuyas virtudes y usso de ellas remiti en otra ocasion.

Y en todas [ocasiones], como en mi corazon agradecido, asi en mis sacrificios al Señor le supplico guarde la ex[celentí]sima persona de V.E., como todos emos menester.

Mexico y abril 4 de 1686.

Señora,

Esta a los pies de V.E., como deve, su mas rendido y agradecido Mariano.

JHS.

Balthasar de Mansilla.

Translation.

Your Excellency, Madam:

I have already written a long letter to Y.E., hand-carried by an Asturian gentleman² on the way to Spain and that Court, in which I informed Y.E. of the state of your Marianas and enclosing the relation which their Superior, Father Gerardo Bouwens, had

1 Ed. note: Fr. Burrus says that his name was Francisco de Ayeta.

2 Ed. note: Antonio Figueredo, as mentioned below.

sent me. It also gave the most sincere news that I was able to get from New Mexico, China and the Philippines, and about California by enclosing a report sent to Y.E. by Father Eusebio Kino.

This letter, therefore, is only for the purpose of repeating my esteem and my desire to serve Y.E., and to place myself at your feet, through Don Antonio Figueredo, who came here with the mail two months ago and is now going back to Spain aboard the advice boat with the reply mail. I have asked him to pay a courtesy visit to Y.E. on my behalf, since I do not have the pleasure of doing so in person. I beg Y.E., with all humility, to please not disdain to receive from him the present of those two stones from Gaspar Antón, whose curative power and use I have mentioned in previous letters.

As usual, in my sacrifices, with a grateful heart I will beg the Lord to preserve the most excellent person of Y.E., as we all need.

Mexico, 4 April 1686.

Madam,

The most subdued and grateful Mariano of Y.E. is at your feet,

JHS

Balthasar de Mansilla.

Y3. Letter dated 29 November 1686

Original text in Spanish.

Ex[celentíssi]ma Señora.

Señora,

Puedo yo dexar de manifestar en todas ocasiones que soy criado de V.E. y el menor de sus Marianos, aunque no logre la fortuna de verlo confirmado de su mano en quantas ay de embarcaciones de esos Reynos? El conocer yo, Señora, que no lo merezco, no quieta mi cuydado, por que como quiera que este favor no puede caer sobre merezimiento de ninguno, o, V.E. se a de negar a quien es y su Grandeza, o permitirnos aun a los mas viles gusanos nos alumbremos a sus rayos.

*Señora, en el Navío **Santa Theresa**, que salio por Mayo de este Reyno, tengo dada quenta a V.E. del estado de sus Marianas, por medio de la relacion original que de alla me remitiò el Superior, espero en todo el mes que viene nuevas noticias y mejores, que pasar a V.E., p^a temprarle su justo dolor, no obstante haver buuelto el corsario â infestar estas costas, cuya noticia tuvo el Virrey quatro dias â, y se aplicara con el zelo que deve a poner los medios de que se valiò su Antecesor para que no lograse el pillaje de la Nao. Dios le de azierto y nos la traiga a salvamento.*

Del estado de las Californias me aseguro el Padre Juan Eusebio Kino daa quenta a V.R. y de las tres nuevas Misiones que estan a sus puertas, donde acaba de partirse el Padre, asignadas por el singular zelo del Señor Conde de Paredes y piadosas instancias de mi Señora la Condesa a quien tiene V.E. tan quexosa y zelosa de carezes de sus letras, que dize cosas bien graciosas, y entre ellas, que yo le ôculto las que V.E. me escrivi a mi, por que conozco muy bien la razon y le sobra p^a su quexa y zelos.

Mucho a conseguido el Padre Luis de Morales para nuestras Marianas con el favor de V.E., y tiene bien en que mostrar su zelo este cavallero que a venido a gobernar estos Reynos, y lo que ofrecio en essa Corte a S. Xavier. Aora se presentaron las zedulas y despachos, y segun el que tuvieremos de ellos dare quenta â V.E. El mes pasado puse renta competente para sustentar un misionero, limosna que me dio mi Señora la Condesa, que desea tener parte con V.E. en sus Marianas.

Señora, en estos Azogues me llevo orden de nuestro Padre General para que baya sirviendo a mi Señora la Condesa en el ministerio de su Confesor hasta España, por haversele pedido Su Ex^a pero le suplica Su Paternidad, que haviendo conseguido el viaje, de su grata lizencia para que me restituya a la Prov^a de Philipinas.

Estoy tan alborozado con la esperanza de lograr la fortuna de ponerme a los pies de V.E., y manifestarle este pecho lleno de reverente agradecimiento, quanto no se explicar â V.E.; ruego a la Div^a Magestad me conceda esta dicha, y en mis continuos sacrificios por la salud y vida de V.E. que dilate quanto lo interesa el bien de las almas y yo, el menor de sus criados deseo y e menester.

Mexico y Noviembre 29 de 1686.

Ex[celentíss]ma Señora mi Señora.

Esta a los pies de V.E., como deve, su menor Mariano,

JHS

Balthasar de Mansilla.

Señora mi Señora Duquesa de Abeyro Maqueda y Arcos.

Translation, partly by Fr. Burrus.

Your Excellency, Madam:

How could I, who is your Excellency's servant and the least of your Marianos, possibly ignore an occasion to prove it, whenever there is a ship to those kingdoms? Never mind if I do not have the good luck of receiving your replies, I do not deserve them. This does not prevent me from doing my duty, as Y.E. may deny such a favor to whom-ever you wish, as long as you allow us vile worms to bask in your glow.

By the ship **Santa Teresa**, which sailed on 2 May last for that kingdom, I have informed Y.E. about the state of your Marianas by means of the original relation sent to me by their superior [Fr. Gerard Bouwens]. During the whole of this month, I have hoped to receive other, and better, news to pass on to Y.E., to reduce your just pain. They may yet come, in spite of the re-appearance of corsairs off our coasts, according to the news received from the Viceroy four days ago. He is doing his utmost to use the same means as his predecessor, in order to prevent the capture of the galleon. May God show him the way and guide the galleon safely in.

Regarding the state of the California Missions, Father Juan [sic] Eusebio Kino assures me that he has giving Y.E. an account of the three new Missions that are at the doorstep of the one to which he has just gone; they have been underwritten by the spe-

cial zeal of my Lady the Countess,¹ whom Y.E. has so jealously defended and praised in your letters, that I had to keep confidential what Y.E. has told me, because I know very well the reason why you have so defended and praised her.

Father Luis de Morales [Procurator of the Philippines] has obtained much for our Marianas, with the help of Y.E. As for this gentleman who has come to govern these kingdoms,² he will find much to demonstrate his zeal and the promise he made to St. Francis Xavier at that Court. The decrees and despatches will now be shown to him; then, according to what we get out of them, I will give a report to Y.E. Last month, I was able to obtain enough interest income to support one more missionary, out of the alms given to me by my Lady, the Countess, who wishes to join Y.E. in your good work for the Marianas.

Madam, in the last quicksilver [i.e. Atlantic] fleet, I received an order from our Fr. General³ for me to go on serving my Lady the Countess, as her confessor, during her voyage back to Spain, in accordance with a request that Her Excellency had made. However, His Paternity asks her to let me return to the Philippine Province, as soon as the voyage is over.

I am so overjoyed with anticipation at the good luck I will have of placing myself at the feet of Y.E., and to show the deep gratitude that is in my heart, that words fail me. I beg his Divine Majesty to grant me this good luck, and in all my prayers to give Y.E. good health and long life, that are so necessary for the good of the souls, and as I, the least of your servants, wish it so.

Mexico, 29 November 1686.

Your Excellency, Madam,

Y.E.'s least Mariano is at your feet, as he must,

Balthasar de Mansilla.

[To] Her Excellency, my Lady the Duchess of Aveiro, Maqueda and Arcos.

1 Ed. note: The Countess of Paredes, wife of the Viceroy whose term was up.

2 Ed. note: The new Viceroy, the Count of Monclova, 1686-88.

3 Note by Fr. Burrus: Ref. Carlos de Noyelle—Letter dated 3 November 1685 (ARSI Mex. 3, fol. 255v-256v, 2 copies).

Document 1686Z

Letter from Fr. Antonio de Borja to Fr. Luis de Morales, dated Manila 10 June 1686

Source: RAH 9/2668, doc. n° 113.

Note: Fr. Antonio de Borja, not to be confused with Francisco de Borja y Aragon, was born at Valencia in 1644, and at the age of 27 went to the Philippines. He acted as rector of various colleges and died at Manila in 1711. When he wrote this he was the procurator of the College of Manila, and as such at the center of the Pardo controversy, acting as attorney defending the interests of the Society of Jesus.

Original text in Spanish

Mi Padre Procurador General Luis de Morales

Jhs

P.C.

Esta carta va a Dios y a ventura porque la esperanza de que llegue el vagel que lleba los despachos es casi ninguna. El caso es que es tan a la ora de esta 7 Naos franceses, y Inglesas Junto a la Ysla de Mindoro, y para hazerles guerra an determinado valerse de la Nao que estaba aprestada para este año de 86 con dos Pataches que de Macan vinieron; y otros Champanes de fuego que todo ara armada de 5 velas. Es su derrotero combayar la Nao que esperamos, y fortificarla, y conducirla a Puerto seguro: por cuya razon va solo a la Nueva España la Balandra que estaba para hazer viaje a Marianas.

*El estado de las cossas de por aca las vera V.R. en esse papel incluyo, obserbacion mia desde que llego el nuevo gobierno: Las de ad intra como siempre: el Padre Provincial Francisco Salgado mui flaco, y achacosso, los Padres Riquelme, Andrade, y Pimentel **tanquam si non essent**[.] murio el Padre Bisconte despues de tres años de cama, yo sucedí (mal de mi grado) al Padre Cano en el officio de Procurador del Collegio. La Yglesia de Antipolo medio texada, las tarimas asta debajo del Coro, el Retablo mayor acabado es la V. SS^a en su nicho, aunque no dorado, si adornado[.] el Pueblo de Caynta alborotado, y aun despoblado, por aver mandado la Audiencia diessen quenta los Podatarios, quitado las tierras a los que las avian vendido, con que se juntaron, y bol-*

vieron al comun de Cainta mas de quatro cientos quiñones de tierra, y tras todo esto amontados todos, acudieron al Sr. Arzobispo los Indios pidiendo Padres Agustinos. No se a dado asta aora paso en este negocio Dios dira lo que sera.

N. Sr. guarde a V.R^a los años de mi desseo.

Manila y Junio a 10 de 86.

Mui Sfiervjo de V.R^a

Antonio de Borja

[Postscript]

*Estan ya aca los Padres Yrigoyen, y Gayosso[.] A este lo an puesto en Sta. Cruz, y a aquel lo an señalado para leer Theologia. Murio Don Juan Baesic(?) en Antipolo, y Laves(?) en San Pablo[.] el Padre Serrano esta en Binangonan, y Cano en Taytay con el Padre Parexa. Clarete esta en Sytan con Ferragut, y Francisco de Borja en Cavite el Viejo con Melendez, Pedro Martin Prior de Marinduque con Francisco Quiros, y Navarro en Marigondon. Salazar en Mariquina y Colomina en Funasan. Mura, Basilio, y Ayala en Cavite. Bello Prefecto de la Sacristia desde su buelta de Borney[.] *Cætera sicut erant dum esset hic V.R^a**

Sfiervjo de VR^a

Borja.

Translation

My dear Father Procurator General Luis de Morales

Jhs

Peace of Christ.

This letter is sent care of God and adventure, because the hope that the vessel carrying the despatches will make it is almost none. What has happened is that so close to its departure, 7 French and English galleons¹ were seen next to the Island of Mindoro, and in order to make war on them, it has been decided to make use of the galleon that was ready for this year 1686, with two pataches that had come from Macau, and others, champans used as fire-ships, to form an armed fleet of 5 sails. Its sailing orders is for them to convoy the galleon that we are expecting, and reinforce her, and escort her to a safe port. For this reason, the sloop that was to have made a voyage to the Marianas is going alone to New Spain.

As for the state of affairs overhere, Y.R. will see them in that paper (enclosed), which are observations of mine from the beginning of the term of the present Governor. The internal news are as always: that Father Provincial Francisco Salgado is very frail and sickly; Fathers [Xavier] Riquelme, [Tomás de] Andrade and [Louis] Pimentel *tanquam*

1 Ed. note: They were Dutch, and perhaps English as well.

si non essent.¹ Father [Domingo] Visconte died after spending three years in bed. I succeeded (against my wish) to Father [Pedro] Cano in the post of Procurator of the College. The church of Antipolo is half roofed, the benches finished up to just below the choir loft, the backdrop to the major altar is finished with the Holy Virgin in her niche, although not yet golden, but adorned. The people of Cainta have risen in rebellion, and even abandoned the town, because the Audiencia has ordered the Attorneys to inform, and removed the lands from those who had sold them. That is why over 400 land-tenants have come together, and gone to the town hall of Cainta, and after this, all of them on horseback went up to the Lord Archbishop, the Indians asking for Augustinian Fathers. This business has not yet been decided; God only knows what it will be.²

May God keep Y.R. for as many years as I wish.

Manila, 10 June 1686.

Y.R.'s servant,

Antonio de Borja

[Postscript]

Fathers [José de] Irigoyen and [Francisco] Gayoso are now here. The latter has been assigned to Santa Cruz, and the former has been assigned to study Theology. Don Juan Baesic(?) died in Antipolo, and Laves(?) in San Pablo. Father [Andrés] Serrano is in Binangonan, and [Pedro] Cano in Taytay with Father [Miguel] Pareja. [Isidro] Clarete is in Sylan [i.e. Silang] with Ferragut, and Francisco de Borja in Cavite the Old with [Juan] Melendez. Pedro Martín [O.P.] is Prior of Marinduque with Francisco Quirós, and Navarro in Marigondon. [Pedro de] Salazar is in Mariquina and Colimina in Funasan. Mura, Basilio, and [Diego de] Ayala in Cavite. Bello is Prefect of the sacristy since his return from Borneo. *Cætera sicut erant dum esset hic V.R.*³

I am Y.R.'s servant,

Borja.

-
- 1 Ed. note: Latin phrase meaning: "just as if they were not." Fr. Pimentel became Provincial the following year, 1687.
 - 2 Ed. note: The Archbishop took the administration of the village of Cainta from the Jesuits and gave it to the Augustinians, but only in late 1687, or 1688 (B&R 39: 146).
 - 3 Ed. note: Latin phrase meaning: "The other things were the same. Until Y.R. comes back."

Document 1686AA

Letter from Governor Curuzeláegui to the King, dated Manila 11 December 1686

Source: AGI Fil. 12-1-55, pp. 1-6, 13-51.

Note: This letter is written in a circumspect, almost cryptic, style on account of being despatched by way of Batavia, and Dutch ships. The letter reached the Council of the Indies at Madrid on 5 January 1688. The commander of this frigate was supposedly Major José de Toledo (see Doc. 1686V).

The return in distress of the frigate Santo Tomás in 1686

Original text in Spanish.

Del Governador de Filipinas

*Haze Relazion del despacho que tubo echo por Junio de 1686 que suple con el presente y de como arribo la fragata **Santo Thomas** que despacho a la Nueva España por impedimento del galeon **Santo Niño**: como falleció el oydor Doctor Don Diego Calderon y Serrano: y otros puntos sebre lo demas de que aparte da cuenta a V.M.*

Señor

La bariedad de subçisos que se han experimentado este año en estas Islas es caussa de que no haia podido lograr el dar aviso â V.M. de ellos estando prevenido para haçerlo al tiempo en que se havia de despachar el galeon apercevido para la Nueva España por cuiã razon y por si puedo suplir esta falta despacho el presente por via de Batavia y olanda con buenas esperanzas de que llegue con brevedad a esse supremo y Real Consejo.

Acompañan a esta Señor las que me permite la ocaçion de dicha via y las mas preçissos de el triplicado que tenia escripto por Junio y Jullio de este año; conforme a lo subçedido y al estado de las matherias que conprehender asta entonçes y añadido en algunas lo que asta oy se ha ofreçido de nuevo, y en quanto a los recaudos que çitan los reseruo para el despacho de el galeon que el año que viene ynbiare a la Nueva Es-

paña por ser yrregular el presente y en aquel los remitire a V.M. segun y en la forma que estavan dispuestos, con lo demas que se ofreziere asta esse tiempo.

*Los motivos que hubo para que se inpidiesse el viaje a la Nueva España del galeon **Santo Niño** refiere a V.M. en otra de las ynclusas y referidas a numero 1.*

Y como en su lugar despacho una fragata nueva por el Real situado a fin de que no fuesse tan costossa para estas Islas aquella falta y quando entendi que pudiera haver desembocado y estar ya el mar afuera y corriente en su viaje por haver la despachado en tiempo oportuno; no faltaron acçidentes de vientos contrarios que ayudados de un lebe defecto del timon acortaron el animo del Piloto y algunos marineros que juntos conbençieron al cavo de ello para que bolviessse à arrivar a un pueblo de esta baya y havindose acudido al reparo con la brevedad que el caso pedia y echo Junta de pilotos para que se viesse si por estar tan adelante el tiempo como a mediado de agosto podria haçer viaje se resolvió el que sí; en cuiá conformidad, con nuebo Piloto, por haver echo prender al primero[,] la bolvi a despachar el dia veinte y uno de dicho mez dejandome con buenas esperanzas de que se lograssse mi cuidado y fundadolas mejor con aviso que tube despues de dho Cabo y Piloto nuebo de las buenas experiencias y seguridad que havian reconoçido de dicha fragata, a que se siguió otro de que havian desembocado el dia seis de Septiembre siguiente; que junto todo me prometió buen subçesso y el alivio de el socorro para su tiempo en cuió discurso perzevere asta el dia veinte de Noviembre passado en que tube nueba de que dicha fragata se hallava de arrivada en la Isla de Mariveles proxima, à esta Ciudad despues de haver navegado dos mezes por distintos rumbos por haverle faltado el vendabal, antes que pudiesse montar las Islas Marianas y haver padeçido diferentes tiempos, baguios, y uracanes, que la desarbolaron y maltrataron de manera que milagrossamente (segun por dexar) escaparon con las vidas; sobre que se ha procedido a la averiguaçion en forma la qual cometi al Fiscal de V.M. que se hallava de conbaleçiente en el Puerto de Cavite de que no ha resultado culpa alguna antes sí, se han verificado todas las çircunstançias de su relacion.

*Accidente Señor hassido este muy sençible por la falta que ha de haçer el situado a lo preçisso de los gastos de estas Islas y se hace mas por la cortedad en que se hallan oy respecto del mal subçesso que tubieron los veçinos el año pasado en el Puerto de Acapulco con las mercaderias que llevo **Santa Rossa** pues mal baratando algunas dexaron en aquel Reyno la maior parte de ellas de que pudieran esperar algun aporçion[.] ademas de recaer esta falta, sobre la de el comerçio de el galeon de este año, que todo junto con los demas subcessos de que en esta ocaçion hago relacion a V.M. son bien sençibles pero no bastantes para que descaezca del animo en que me ynstruio mi propria obligaçion de aspirar al desempeño de ella, no obstante el mal semblante de los acçidentes que pareçe lo poner en contingencia, arrimandome por aora a la consideraçion de que quizas si errava el viaje a maior costa, si no hubiera subçedido assi respecto de los enemigos que descubrió **Santa Rossa** y refiero a V.M. en la de numero 3.*

En las demas que remito a V.M. extra de las añadidas se quedan las matherias que comprehenden en el estado y corriente que entonçes sin haverse ofrezido sobre ellas cossa notable. Los Reinos veçinos en paz con estas Islas à Dios gracias y con buena y

reciproca correspondencia, que no deja de ser de alivio segun su estado pues asta los frutos de la tierra andan escassos por los malos temporales cuya variedad y al influjo de los planetas que por aca dominan es infalible que passan a ellas; Digo lo Señor por que todavia no acavo de penetrar los naturales de ellos y assi no me sabre librar de los que acechan en mis acciones para notar las pero bastarame poner a vista de V.M. esta propossicion sin el riesgo de ser tenuta por generalidad y contar el estilo que devo observar, por que tengo por cierto que cada uno de por si se dara a conoçer en esse supremo y Real Consejo.

En los aumentos de la Real hacienda que constaran a V.M. prosigo con la propria eficacia no sé si a gusto de los interessados por que siendo de la açeptacion de V.M. y justos como me parecen no me devo de tener en otro reparo.

A mediado de Septiembre de este año falleçio el Doctor Don Diego Calderon y Serrano, oydor de esta Real Audiencia...

...
C.C. y R.P. guarde Dios con muchos y felices años que tan dilatada Monarquia necesita;

Manila y Diziembre 11 de 1686 años.

G. de Cruzelaegui y Arriola

Translation.

From the Governor of the Philippines.

He reports on the despatch that was done in June 1686, delayed until the present one, and relates how he had despatched the frigate **Santo Tomás** to New Spain, in replacement of the galleon **Santo Niño** that could not go; how the Audiencia member, Doctor Don Diego Calderon y Serrano has died; and on other points that he reports separately to Y.M. about.

Sire:

Unexpected changes have been experienced in the events of this year in these Islands. That is why I was unable to send a report to Y.M. about them, although a despatch was ready at the normal time that the galleon is to be sent to New Spain. For said reason and to try and make up for this failure, I am despatching the present by way of Batavia and Holland with good hopes that it will get quickly to that supreme and Royal Council.

Taking advantage of said route, Sire, I am also sending the third copies of the most necessary despatches that I have written this past June and July, which contain the status of events and the condition of the matters up to that time, with postscripts added to some of them, to bring them up to date. And with respect to the cautionary notes, I reserve them for the despatch of the galleon that I will send to New Spain this coming year, as the present despatch is irregular. In said galleon I intend to send fresh copies of them, in accordance with the regular format, with newer postscripts, to bring them up to date at that time.

The reasons why the voyage of the galleon **Santo Niño** to New Spain was prevented, are referred to in another letter, in the enclosed Despatch marked N° 1.

And as I despatched a new frigate in her place for the Royal subsidy, to reduce the very costly damage that the lack of it [i.e. subsidy] would cost these Islands, and when I heard that it could have left the entrance of the Strait and might already have reached the high sea and be on its way, since it had been despatched at an appropriate time, there was no lack of unexpected incidents of contrary winds. That, plus a slight defect in the rudder, made the courage of the Pilot and some seamen shrink. Together they agreed to advise its commander to turn back to a town of this bay, and it was repaired with the speed that the case demanded. A Meeting of pilots was held to find out if, given the advanced state of the season—it was the middle of August—it could make the voyage. It was decided in the affirmative. To this effect, with a new Pilot—I had ordered the old one arrested—once again I despatched it on 21st of said month, and was left with good hopes that my care would pay off. I had a better basis for such hopes later on, when I received an advice from said Commander and Pilot of the good results of the sea trials and safety aspects of said frigate. This advice was followed by another, dated 6 September following, saying that he had left the entrance of the Strait. Together, said despatches made me believe in a successful outcome and hope for the relief of the succor in due course. I remained with this conviction until 20 November last, when I received news that said frigate had turned back and was at the Island of Mariveles, near this City, after it had sailed for 2 months, searching for a favorable wind on various courses, as the monsoon wind failed before they reached the [longitude of the] Mariana Islands and after they had suffered bad weather, storms, and hurricanes that dismasted it and mistreated it to such an extent that miraculously (so to speak) they escaped with their lives. I proceeded with an inquiry about this matter, which I formally submitted to the Fiscal of Y.M. who was convalescing at the port of Cavite. The outcome was a verdict of not guilty; in fact, all the circumstances of its logbook were verified.

This accident, Sire, has been very bad luck, on account of the resulting lack of subsidy, necessary to cover the expenses of these Islands and it is made worse by the shortage that is suffered now as a result of the bad business that the residents had last year in the port of Acapulco with the merchandise that the **Santa Rosa** took there; indeed, offers for some goods were too low, and most of those for which some partial profit might be expected were left in that Kingdom. In addition to this failure, over and above that of the galleon trade of this year, all of which, coming on top of other events which I report to Y.M. on this occasion, are very deplorable, but not great enough to discourage me and make me forget my duty to aspire to succeed at it. Despite the bad aspect of the accidents that appear to put it in jeopardy, I fall back for now on the consideration that perhaps it could have been much worse, if the **Santa Rosa** had not discovered the presence of the enemies on time, about which I refer Y.M. to Despatch N° 3.

In the other despatches that I am sending to Y.M., besides what is said in the postscripts, there remains not one noteworthy thing to mention about matters related to the current situation. The neighboring kingdoms, thank God, are at peace with these

Islands and with good and reciprocal correspondence, and this is not a small matter for comfort, according to their present state of affairs; indeed, even the local products are in short supply on account of the bad storms whose unpredictability is due to the influence of the planets that dominate overhere and must necessarily pass through these Islands. I say that, Sire, because I have not yet fathomed the natural aspects thereof and so, I will not know how to free myself from those who set a trap for me in my actions long enough to notice them, but it should be enough to just place this hypothesis in front of Y.M. without the risk of having it judged to be a generality and a mere formality, because I am sure that every one of the members of that supreme and Royal Council will have something to say about it.

Regarding the increases in the Royal treasury, which will be reported to Y.M., I am sure, I acted with due efficiency, perhaps not to the liking of the interested parties, but being approved by Y.M.[’s officials] and, I think, just ones, I cannot do otherwise.

In the middle of September of this year, Doctor Don Diego Calderon y Serrano, a member of this Royal Audiencia, died...

...

May God keep the Catholic and Royal person for the many and happy years that such a vast Monarchy needs.

Manila, 11 December 1686.

G. de Cruzeláegui y Arriola.

Document 1686AB

Letter from Fr. Pimentel to the Provincial of the Indies, dated Manila 25 December 1686

Source: RAH 9/2668, doc. 118.

Note: Fr. Luis Pimentel became the new Provincial of the Philippines in 1687.

No galleon sent to Acapulco in 1686.

Father Procurator General of the Indies.

Peace of Christ.

I am sending this letter by way of the Coast [of India] because this year of 1686 no galleon went to New Spain, on account of a very malicious, unexpected accident that happened when she was ready to receive the load,¹ and a small patache that went as an advice boat has turned back in distress.

This coming year of 1687, we will not get any letters, or news from Europe; thanks be to God, who has so arranged it to punish us for our many sins.

...

[P.S.] On 22 December, the first ship left for India. In it, I have remitted the letters for Rome, and I wrote a long letter to Y.R...

Manila, 25 December 1686.

Y.R.'s servant,

Luis Pimentel

¹ Ed. note: In case his letter was read by foreign eyes, he so coded his letter to disguise the mention of Dutch enemy ships in Philippine waters.

Documents 1686AC

More memorials presented by Fr. Morales to the King in 1686

Source: AGI Ultramar 562, col. Simancas, folios 65-72, 82-83, 88-94; copies in Colección Pastells, Fil. 2, pp. 425-449, and also in Fil. 17, fol. 366 et sequitur.

Note: It appears that Fr. Morales was reacting to letters sent to him from Manila in late 1684 by way of Batavia and Holland, either from Fr. Xaramillo or Fr. Salgado, the Provincial (see Doc. 1684O). The present batch of memorials comes one year after the first one (Doc. 1685V).

AC1. First undated memorial

Original text in Spanish.

Señor

Luis de Morales, Procurador General por la Provincia de la Compañía de Jesus de Filipinas y Marianas:

*Dice que V.M. tiene mandado por repetidas cédulas á los Gobernadores de Filipinas, el que todos los años hallan [=ayan] de despachar por los meses de Abril y Mayo, **una embarcacion** via recta desde Manila para dichas Yslas Marianas, lo cual no podrá tener cumplido efecto, sino es sirviendose V.M. de mandar se señale á dichos Gobernadores ramo fixo de la cantidad competente, que escederá de **cuatro mil pesos** en cada un año, asi para la fabrica, aderezos, y carenas de dicha embarcacion, como para los socorros del Cavo, y Pilotos y Marineros que en ella fueren despachados: y para ocurrir á las dilaciones que ocasionará la distancia fixandose dicho señalamiento en las Reales Caxas de Mexico, pone á la Real consideracion de V.M. los muchos aumentos de mas de veinte mil pesos, nuevamente acrecentados á la Real Caxa de Filipinas, asi en las Pesquerias del Rio de Manila, como en los juegos del Parian y en los Almojarifazgos de dichas Yslas, por si en lo mas bien parado de dichos acrecentamientos fuere V.M. servido de mandarse haga el señalamiento de dicha cantidad, para que sin escusa ni dilacion alguna se consiga todos los años el despacho de dicha embarcacion.*

*Otrosi por la inconstancia que se experimenta en muchos de los naturales de las Misiones Marianas podrá conducir al mejor asiento y seguridad sus poblaciones el que asi el Virrey de Mexico, como el Gobernador de Filipinas, **embie en cada un año tres ó***

cuatro familias de soldados voluntarios honrrandolos con los privilegios de conquistadores, y que el Gobernador de Marianas les halla de poder señalar algunas conveniencias de acostamientos de tierra para sí y sus sucesores.

*Otrosi pone á la piadosa memoria de V.M. los buenos servicios del **Capitan Pedro Gomez de Cueba**, quien el año de 83, yendo de Cabo y piloto en una Balandra, hizo el primer descubrimiento de dicho viage via recta de Filipinas á Marianas, con toda felicidad, y muchos gastos de su hacienda propia á cuya causa se halla el dia de hoy, pobre y retirado. Y siendo V.M. servido de honrrarle con su Real Cedula de especial recomendacion, y la conveniencia de alguna encomienda en Filipinas podrá servir continuando la ocupacion en plaza de piloto de la embarcacion que se ha de despachar todos los años á las Yslas Marianas. Y por lo mucho que dichos puntos pueden conducir al mas pronto socorro yendo en el primer aviso que saliere para la Nueva España, a V.M. suplica sea servido de amparar con su Real Celo la extrema necesidad de dichas Cristianidades en cuyo nombre espera el suplicante recibir Merced de la Católica y Real piedad de V.M.*

Translation.

Sire:

Luis de Morales, Procurator General for the Province of the Society of Jesus of the Philippines and Marianas:

Declares that Y.M. has ordered by repeated decrees to the Governors of the Philippines that every year they had to despatch during the months of April and May, **one vessel** directly from Manila to said Mariana Islands, but this might not be completely fulfilled, unless Y.M. be served to order that said Governors be told to set asides under a fixed line of account a competent sum, which should exceed **4,000 pesos** each year, not only for the construction, equipping, and careening of said vessel, but also for the wages of the Commander, pilots and seamen that would be despatched aboard it. And to face the delays that distance might occasion, if said funds are earmarked in the Royal Treasury of Mexico, he places at the Royal consideration of Y.M. that increases in tax revenue of over 20,000 pesos have recently accrued to the Royal Treasury of the Philippines, not only from the fisheries of the Manila River, but also from the games in the Parian and from the customs duties of said Islands, in case Y.M. might be served to order that said sum be set asides, when said funds are distributed among accounts, in order for the despatch of said vessel to be made every year without fail or delay.

Furthermore, considering the inconstancy that is experienced with many of the natives of the Mariana Missions, one thing that might lead their population toward a better establishment and greater security, would be for the Viceroy of Mexico as well as the Governor of the Philippines **to send every year 3 or 4 families of volunteer soldiers** and rewarding them with the privileges of conquerors, and that the Governor of the Marianas should set asides for them some allowance or apportionment of land for themselves and their descendants.

Furthermore, he reminds the pious memory of Y.M. of the good services of **Captain Pedro Gomez de Cueva** who in 1683, being officer-in-charge and pilot of a sloop, made the first discovery of said direct route between the Philippines and the Marianas, with complete success, and much of it at his own expenses, reason for which he now finds himself poor and in retirement. And if Y.M. be pleased to honor him with his Royal decree of special recommendation, and the favor of some land-grant in the Philippines, he might be able to fill the post of pilot of the vessel that must be despatched every year to the Mariana Islands. And, given the great importance that said points have in leading to a faster relief, by going out by the first advice boat to leave for New Spain, he begs Y.M. to please protect with his Royal zeal the extreme necessity of said Christian communities, on whose behalf the supplicant hopes to receive mercy from the Catholic and Royal piety of Y.M.

AC2. Second undated memorial

Original text in Spanish.

Señor

Luis de Morales Procurador [general] de la Compañía de Jesus de Filipinas:

*Dice que desde el año de 71 está ordenado por diferentes cédulas que los Gobernadores de Filipinas despachen **embarcacion** á costa de la Real hacienda **con trigo, vino, ropa**, y habios [=avios] necesarios para los Misioneros, y soldados del presidio, como para cubrir la total desnudez de los pobres naturales que hombres y mugeres andan en cueros; y por que en espacio de 14 años, no se ha podido conseguir hasta el de 83 (que se embió una balandra que en menos de un mes, se puso en dichas Yslas desde las de Manila, en que se calificaron por faciles, lo que querian hacer imposible, siendo el viage de 300 leguas, por una misma altura de trece grados y medio) de que ha resultado ocupar en la Nao de la carrera de Nueva España el buque necesario que siendo en perjuicio de los vecinos de Filipinas, le ha resultado á su Religion grave nota por juzgarse con poco conocimiento que los dichos frutos y mercaderias eran de su cuenta para comerciar en que la malicia ha tenido Campo para cebarse, unos llevarse de la antipatia á desvanecer el exacto obrar de su Religion, y los progresos que consigue su celo, y otros por faltarles este buque en la Nao limitandoseles la combeniencia que idea la codicia en la licita y inlizita permission, y para evitar agravio tan sensible y que enteramente consigan ocupar con sus mercaderias los vecinos de aquellas Yslas el buque de las Naos cumpliendo las cédulas de V.M. que tambien se observen las que mandan se despache la dicha **embarcacion á las Yslas Marianas llevandose via recta la ropa, y demas géneros** necesarios para socorrerlas sin falta en cada un año, y de buelta de viage descubrir las demas al Sur, y tierra Austral.*

*Suplica á V.M. se sirva despachar apretada cédula á los Gobernadores de Filipinas, con **apremio de cuatro mil pesos**, ó lo que V.M. le pareciere para que sin excusas ni dilaciones en cada un año por principio de Abril (que es el tiempo mas á proposito) despachen **embarcacion**, como la del año de 683, ó mayor si fuere necesario en que se lleve*

los frutos y vestuarios necesarios, y que en la residencia se les saque por cada un año de omision, asi en el despacho como en el tiempo, la pena que se les impusiere, que en todo la Mision y el suplicante recibiran merced.

Translation.

Sire:

Luis de Morales, Procurator [General] of the Society of Jesus for the Philippines:

Declares that, ever since the year 1671, it was ordered by various decrees that the Governors of the Philippines should despatch a **vessel** at the expense of the Royal treasury **with wheat, wine, clothing**, and the necessary supplies for the Missionaries, and the soldiers of the garrison, as well as to cover the total nudity of the poor natives, men as well as women, who walk around bare naked and, because in the space of 14 years such a thing has not yet been achieved, except in 1683 (when one sloop was sent and took less than one month to reach said Islands from those of Manila, at which time the voyage of 300 leagues, that some people said was impossible, was qualified as easy, along a constant latitude of 13 degrees and a half). Now the recent use of the necessary ship, to replace the galleon of the run, resulted in prejudice of the residents of the Philippines and has caused his Order some serious trouble, as they judge, with little knowledge, that said products and merchandise were to be traded on its account and malice has had a free course, some going so far as to take advantage of the antipathy to break up the pious works of his Order, and the progress that its zeal achieves, and others, seeing they could not get their hands on this ship, in the absence of the galleon, and saw their greed being limited in the licit and illicit shares on board it. And in order to avoid such deplorable damage and to let the residents of those Islands completely occupy the space aboard the galleons with their own merchandise, Y.M. should be pleased to order that your other decrees be also observed, by the despatch of said **vessel directly to the Mariana Islands with the clothing and the other goods** necessary for their succor, without fail every year, and during the return voyage to explore the Islands to the south, and the Austral Land.

He begs Y.M. to please despatch the decree to the Governors of the Philippines with the express mention that **a fine of 4,000 pesos**, or whatever sum that Y.M. may think suitable, so that every year, without fail or delays and at the beginning of April (which is the more appropriate time) they will send the vessel, as was done in the year 1683, or more if considered necessary, to take the products and necessary vestments, and so that in their *residencia* they be fined for every year of omission, not only in the despatching but also in the timing, the sum fixed for same. The whole Mission and the supplicant would consider it a favor.

AC3. Briefing note for the War Committee

Original text in Spanish.

Junta.—

Esta pendiente para verse en la Junta un decreto de S.M. con memorial de Luis de Morales Procurador de la Compañia de Jesus de Filipinas, sobre varios puntos tocantes á la conservacion y aumento de las Yslas Marianas y sus misioneros.

Y ahora por Secretaria ha presentado los dos memoriales adjuntos, con las dos relaciones que en el uno cita del estado y progresos de esta Mision, desde el año de 1681 hasta Abril de 684 en que pide lo mismo que tiene suplicado, en el que vajo con decreto de S.M. y asi trae uno y otro á la Junta para que resuelva lo que combenga.

Y es de saver que en el punto tocante á la embarcacion solo está mandado al Gobernador de Filipinas que la embie á las Marianas para ir entablando el trafico de unas con otras, pero en cuanto á trigo y demas géneros que espresa este Procurador, hasta ahora no se ha ordenado nada. Y en carta del año de 1683 [sic] recibida con las Naos de Azogues este [año] de 1685, avisa el Gobernador D. Juan de Vargas haberse logrado el primer viage de la embarcacion de Filipinas á las Marianas, y que habiendose perdido en ellas, se hizo alli otra, y bolbió á Filipinas en muy buen tiempo, y esta carta está al Señor Fiscal.

Translation.

The Committee.—

There is a pending matter to be seen in Committee, i.e. a decree from H.M. with a memorial of Luis de Morales, Procurator of the Society of Jesus in the Philippines, about various points touching on the preservation and development of the Mariana Islands and their missionaries.

And now, through the Secretariat, he has presented the two attached memorials, with two Reports, one of which mentions the condition and progress of this Mission from the year 1681 to April 1684 wherein he asks for the same thing that is contained in his memorials,¹ the one that came down with a decree of H.M. and so, he brings up both memorials to the Committee for an appropriate decision.

And it should be pointed out that, with respect to the point he makes regarding the vessel, the only existing order is for the Governor of the Philippines to send it to the Marianas, in order to establish communications with them, but with respect to the wheat and other goods mentioned by this Procurator, until now nothing has been ordered. And in a letter of the year 1683 [sic]² received with the Quicksilver galleons this year 1685, Governor Don Juan de Vargas reports the successful outcome of the first voyage of the vessel from the Philippines to the Marianas, but that it was lost overthere,

1 Ed. note: Doc. 1684A.

2 Ed. note: Rather 1684, i.e. Doc. 1684J2.

another was built there, and it went back to the Philippines doing very good time, and this letter is with the Fiscal now.

AC4. Opinion of the Fiscal, dated 10 December 1686

Note: On 11 September 1686, the Council of the Indies ordered the Reporter Juan Vallejo to gather up all the papers generated by the memorials. On 23 November, they ordered them reviewed by the Fiscal.

Original text in Spanish.

El Fiscal ha visto este memorial, y dice que respecto de que está mandado que vaya en derecho una embarcacion desde Filipinas á Marianas podrá darse órden para que del aumento que ha hecho D. Gabriel de Curuzelaegui á la Real Hacienda, en los efectos que aqui se refieren se gaste lo que fuere preciso en el despacho de esta embarcacion, fabrica y aderezos, con toda cuenta y razon dandose cada año de lo que esto importare, y cuenta de ello en todas las ocasiones al Consejo; para que se reconozca la justificacion que contubiere lo gastado. Por quanto el poner cuota fixa á lo que puede importar menos ó mas, no es combeniente.

Y en quanto al punto de las familias, por lo que toca á Filipinas se debe de negar. Y por lo que mira á Mexico será conveniente que informe el Virrey, pues cuando las Indias estan tan despobladas, y necesitan tanto de gente, principalmente en las provincias de Mexico, como el Consejo consta, no se ha de quitar familia alguna haciendo como hace falta, para donde no es tan preciso.

Y por lo que toca al punto de la Cedula de recomendacion que pide, interin no se justifiquen los servicios no se debe conceder lo que en esta forma dicha se pretende.

Y asi lo siente.

Madrid y Diciembre 10 de 1686.

Translation.

The Fiscal has seen this memorial, and declares that, concerning the orders for a vessel to go directly from the Philippines to the Marianas, another order could be given to the effect that, in view of the increased revenue that Don Gabriel de Curuzelaegui has made for the Royal treasury, the sums required for the purposes intended here could be spent for the despatch of this vessel, construction and repairs, with complete accounting of the expenditures made every year, and forwarded to the Council at every opportunity, in order to verify the justification employed for such expenditures. Regarding the suggestion that a fixed sum be allotted for this purpose more or less, it is not convenient.

And regarding the point about the families, as far as the Philippines are concerned, it must be denied. And as far as Mexico is concerned, it would be convenient to inform the Viceroy; indeed, when the Indies are lacking population so much, and need so many people, mainly in the provinces of Mexico, as the Council knows, there is no point in

taking away a single family, with the need being what it is, in order to take them where it is not so acute.

And regarding the point of the decree of recommendation that he asks, as long as the services in question do not justify it, it should not be granted in the proposed form, as mentioned.

And such is his opinion.

Madrid, 10 December 1686.

AC5. Letter from the King to the Governor of the Philippines, dated Madrid 30 December 1686

Source: AGI Ultramar 561.

Note: There is yet another briefing from the Council to the King, dated 27 October 1687, but it is too repetitious to reproduce here.

Original text in Spanish.

...
*Ahora Luis de Morales de la Compañía de Jesus, Procurador General de esta religion en esas Islas, me ha suplicado fuese servido aplicar efecto de que se costee el gasto del apresto, y despacho de la referida **embarcacion** que tengo resuelto pase todos los años à las Islas Marianas; y de dar una encomienda de Indios, al Capitan y Piloto **Pedro Gomez** que fué el primero que hizo el primer viage à ellas.*

Y habiendose visto en mi Consejo de las Indias, con lo que dixo mi fiscal, y consultadose me he resuelto aplicar (como por la presente aplico) el [al?] gasto que ha de causar el apresto y despacho de la referida embarcacion, lo que resutare del Beneficio que os ordeno hagais del Buque que ha sido costumbre dar à esta religion en la Nao de la Carrera de esas Islas para la conduccion de lo que remite de Mexico à las Marianas, y que lo que faltara se cumpla de lo procedido del aumento que vos habeis dado à los tres ramos à mi Real Hacienda, de las Pesquerias del rio de esa Ciudad de Manila, de los juegos de los Sangleys, y de los Almojarifazgos, y asi os mando que en esta comodidad, dispongais la satisfaccion de gasto de la referida embarcacion, procurando se haga con la buena cuenta y razon que combiene, estando advertido, no habeis de permitir exceda su buque sino que sea de la calidad y porte que fué la que paso el año de mil seiscientos, y ochenta y tres, sin que se pueda aumentar y tambien hareis que sin falta ninguna salga todos los años à las Marianas, por los meses que os tengo prevenidos en las Cedula en esta insertas para que logrando de su oportunidad consiga feliz viage, y aquella nueva Cristiandad, y sus misiones sea asistidos de lo que necesitaren; y en quanto al dicho Capitan y Piloto, Pedro Gomez, me ha parecido recomendarosle (como lo hago) para que le premieis con alguna encomienda de Indios, de las que hubiere vacas, ó vacaron en esas Islas, y de la que le dieredes, y de lo que produxere el referido buque, y de lo demas que se sacare de los dichos tres efectos, y ramos de hacienda para el coste de la embarcacion, me avisareis para que me halle enterado de ello, que

asi es mi voluntad, y que de la presente tomen la razon mis Contadores de Cuentas, que residen en el dicho mi Consejo de las Indias, y los Oficiales de mi Real hacienda de esas Islas.

Fha in Madrid à treinta de Diciembre de mil seiscientos y ochenta y siete(?) años.

Yo el Rey.

Por mandado del Rey nuestro Señor, Don Antonio Ortiz de Ojalora.

Translation.

...

Now, Luis de Morales of the Society of Jesus, Procurator General of this Order in those Islands, has begged me to be pleased to allot a sum to cover the expenses made to make ready and to despatch the above-mentioned **vessel** that I have decided should go every year to the Mariana Islands; and to give a land-grant of Indians to Captain and Pilot **Pedro Gomez** who was the first to make the first voyage overthere.

And the matter having been seen in my Council of the Indies, along with what my Fiscal declared, and after consultation, I have decided to allot (as by the present I do allot) for what the outfitting and despatch of the above-mentioned vessel will cost, the revenue resulting from the sale of the lading space that I order you to make, that was usually given to this Order aboard the galleon of the run of those Islands for the conveyance of what is remitted from Mexico to the Marianas, and the difference is to be made up with the proceeds of the increase in revenue that you have made in three line accounts of my Royal treasury, to wit, that from the fisheries of the river of that City of Manila, that from gambling of the Chinese, and that from the customs duties, and so, I order you to made the necessary arrangements to justify the expenditures for the above-mentioned vessel, by trying to made them at reasonable prices, and warn you that you should not permit that its lading capacity be exceeded, but that it be in line with its design capacity, which is to be that of the ship that made the crossing in 1683, and not more, and also you are to make very sure that it goes out every year to the Marianas, during the months that I have ordered you in the enclosed decrees, so that it would take advantage of this timeliness to achieve a successful voyage, and that new Christian community and its missions are to be assisted with what they need; and regarding said Captain and Pilot, Pedro Gomez, I have decided to recommend him to you (as I do now) with a reward of some land-grant of Indians, from those that would be vacant, or become vacated in those Islands, and about which one you will give him, and on the proceeds gotten from the sale of lading space, and on the other proceeds from the three other line accounts, and branches of the treasury for the expenditures of the vessel, you are to report to me so that I may be made aware of them, as such is my will, and let my accountants of accounts residing in my Council of the Indies and the officials of my Royal treasury of those Islands heed this my present decree.

Made at Madrid, 30 December 1687 [rather 1686].

I, the King.

By order of the King our Lord, Don Antonio Ortiz de Ojalora.

Documents 1686AD

Request for 12 church bells and ornaments for the Marianas

AD1. Royal decree of 30 March 1686

Source: AGI ex-45-2-7/10; copy in Colección Pastells, Fil. 16, folios 68 et seq.

Original text in Spanish.

Jhs : Maria : y Joseph

Sevilla: Año de 1686

Auttos fechos por el Padre Pedro de Espinar, sobre que se le de para cada una de las dose Yglesias Marianas un Ornamento y Campana.

Ofizio de Geronimo de Rojas — Secretario de Camara.

El Rey

Mis Presidente y Juezes Oficiales de la Cassa de la Contratacion de la Ciudad de Sevilla:

A instancia de Luis de Morales de la Compañia de Jesus, Procurador general de las Yslas Filipinas y Marianas, y a Consulta de mi Consejo de las Yndias, e resuelto ordenaros y mandaros (como lo hago) proveais a la dicha Religion para cada una de las dose Yglesias que a fabricado en los pueblos reduzidos a nuestra santa Fee Catholica, de la nueva conbersion de los naturales de las yslas Marianas que esa a su cargo, con un ornamento y campana, de que necesitan, de suerte que uno y otro pueda yr en la flotta, que con el favor de Dios, este año a de navegar a la Nueva España, y para que lo podais disponer os doy y concedo facultad os balgais de el caudal que para en casos semejantes lo huviereis hecho, con calidad de reintegrar lo que montare, de el que viniere de las yndias, de cuenta de mi Real Hacienda, que asi es mi voluntad, y que de la presente tomen la razon mis Contadores de cuentas que residen en el dicho mi Consejo de las Yndias.

Fecha en Madrid a treinta de Março de mil seissientos y ochenta y seis años.

Yo el Rey.

Por mandado del Rey Nuestro Señor, Don Antonio Ortiz de Otalora.

Translation.**Jesus : Mary : and Joseph**

Seville: Year of 1686.

Records of proceedings originated by Father Pedro de Espinar, regarding his request for each one of the 12 churches in the Marianas to be given one set of ornaments and one bell.

Office of Geronimo de Rojas—Secretary of the Chamber.

The King

My President and official judges of the House of Trade of the City of Seville:

At the request of Luis de Morales of the Society of Jesus, Procurator General of the Philippine and Mariana Islands, and at the consultation of my Council of the Indies, I have decided to give you an order (as I do now) to provide said Order for each one of the 12 churches that they have built in the towns reduced to our holy Catholic Faith, in the new conversion of the natives of the Mariana Islands that are in their care, with one set of ornaments and one bell, which they need, so that the one and the other may go aboard the fleet that, God willing, is sailing this year to New Spain. And in order for you to arrange it, I give you and grant you authority for you to use as many funds that are earmarked for such cases, with the condition that the amount in question be reimbursed by any funds coming from the Indies, to the account of my Royal Treasury, as such is my will, and my accountants of accounts residing in the said my Council of the Indies are to heed this my present decree.

Made at Madrid, 30 March 1686.

I, the King.

By order of the King our Lord, Don Antonio Ortiz de Otalora.

AD2. Petition by Fr. Espinar, on behalf of Fr. Morales, undated (but presented on or before 23 May 1687)

Sources: AGI Fil. 83-2-64 [82-2-64?]; perhaps also in AGI Contratación 5550, año de 1686.

Original text in Spanish.

Señor

Luis de Morales de la Comp^a de Jhs, y su Procurador General por la Prov^a de Philipinas, y Misiones Marianas:

Dize que por zedula de treinta de Marzo de mil ceiscientos, y ochenta, y seis, fue V.Magd. servido de mandar a la Casa de la Contratacion de Sevilla se diese a cada una de las doze Iglesias de las Misiones Marianas, un hornamento, y una Campana, y habiendo acudido con dha Real Zedula, han respondido no haver efectos al pressente en dhas Reales Caxas como consta del instrumento que con esta pressenta, y por estar

proxima al despacho la flota para la Nueva España, en que se a de despachar dha Limosna.

A V.Magd. suplica sea servido de mandar se de la Providencia combeniente para que en las Reales Caxas de Mexico tenga cumplido efecto la Limosna que V.Magd. sea servido aplicar a dhas doze Iglesias, en que assi las Misiones, como el Suplicante esperan rezevir merced de la piedad de V. Magestad.

*Por ausencia de Luis de Morales como Procurador General de Indias lo firmo,
Pedro de Espinar.*

[Minute of the Council:]

Consejo.

Presenta testimonio, de haver acudido a la Casa de la Contratacion con la Zedula, que se despacho en 30 de Março de 686, para que a cada una de las 12 Iglesias de las Islas Marianas, diesen un ornamento, y una Campana, y que no ay efectos de que hacerlo, y por estar tan proxima la partenza de la flota, suplica se de la providencia conveniente a esto, para que tenga efecto de la Caxa de Mexico.

[Decision of the Council:]

Consejo à 23 de Mayo 1687.

Que acuda el Procurador al Señor D. Joseph de Beitia por tratar de esta materia y se le remitan estos papeles y la demas razon de todo lo conzedido à estas Iglesias.

&

Aviendo hecho tanteo sobre conferencia con el Pe. Pedro de Espinar parece que para los doce ornamentos y doce Campanas se pueden librar al Procurador de las Islas Marianas que reside en Mexico dos mil y seiscientos pesos aviendo de ser los ornamentos casulla con sus adherentes, frontal, capa, y paño de pulpito y todo de Damasco, ó tela de equivalente calidad y duracion, y sobre todo mandará el Consejo lo que fuere servido.

Madrid a 4 de Junio de 1687.

&

Consejo à 5 de Junio 1687.

Consta para que V.Mgd. lo mande assi como lo à arreglado el Sr. D. Joseph añadiendo que la execucion destos ornamentos y compra de campanas y demas cosas interrumpa D. Juan Joseph de Beitia Linaje y se execute todo à su satisfazion para la seguridad de que todo se haga como se deve, pues su Mgd. pone la costa de ello.

Exfecuta]da.

[Initialled by 7 members of the Council:] Señores SE, Castr., Vals., Dc., Zño., Cam., Arr.

Translation.

Sire:

Luis de Morales of the Society of Jesus, and its Procurator General for the Province of the Philippines, and the Mariana Missions:

Declares that by decree dated 30 March 1686, Your Majesty was pleased to order the House of Trade in Seville to give to each of the 12 churches of the Mariana Missions one set of ornaments and one bell, and having approached them with said Royal decree, they have answered that there was no cash at present in said Royal funds, as can be seen from the instrument that is enclosed, and since the despatch of the fleet for New Spain is imminent, aboard which said alm is to be despatched:

He beseeches Y.M. to please order that the appropriate provision be issued, so that the royal treasury in Mexico would honor Y.M.'s alm and that the money be allotted to said 12 churches. In this, the Missions, as well as the supplicant hope to receive as a favor from the mercy of Your Majesty.

In the absence of Luis de Morales, as Procurator General of the Indies, I sign:

Pedro de Espinar.

[Minute of the Council:]

The Council.

He presents a declaration to the effect that he has approached the House of Trade with the decree that was despatched on 30 March 1686, granting to each one of the 12 churches of the Mariana Islands one set of ornaments and one bell, but that there are no funds to do so, and given that the departure date of the fleet is so close, he beseeches that a provision be issued about this, so as to make it effective with funds from the Treasury in Mexico.

[Decision of the Council:]

The Council, 23 May 1687.

Let the Procurator come up to see Don José de Veitia to talk about this matter and let the latter have all these papers and the other list of everything granted to these churches.

&

Having held a discussion with Fr. Pedro de Espinar, it appears that, for 12 sets of ornaments and 12 bells, the sum of 2,600 pesos could be freed into the hands of the Procurator of the Mariana Islands residing in Mexico, as the set of ornaments in question should consist of a chasuble with its accessories, an altar cloth, cape, and a cloth for the pulpit, and everything of damask, or a textile of equivalent quality and durability, and about everything the Council should order what it pleases.

Madrid, 4 June 1687.

&

The Council, 5 June 1687.

Concurs with the arrangement made by Don José, so that Y.M. may order it so, but adding that Don Juan José de Veitia Linage should intervene in the acquisition of these ornaments and purchase of the bells and other things, and that everything be done to

his satisfaction, to make sure that everything will be done as it should; after all, His Majesty is paying for it.¹

Carried out.

[Initially by 7 members of the Council:] Gentlemen: His Excellency, Castr., Vals., Dc., Zño., Cam., Arr.

AD3. The Council to the King, dated Madrid 5 June 1687

Sources: AGI Fil. 3-4-183 and/or AGI Contratación 5550; copy in AGI Ultramar 562; copy in Colección Pastells, Fil. 2, pp. 450-451, and also Fil. 18, fol. 105 et seq.

Notes: There are other documents dealing with related matters, e.g. clothing allowances, in AGI Fil. 3-4-184 (and/or -185), and -186, and AGI Fil. 83-2-67 (formerly 67-6-3).

Original text in Spanish.

Señor.

El Marques de los Velez; Conde de Castellar; D. Bernardino de Valdés; D. Miguel de Dicastillo; D. Luis Cerdeño; D. Francisco Camargo; D. José de Arredondo.

*A Consulta de este Consejo fué V.M. servido de resolver se espidiese orden á la Casa de la Contratacion de Sevilla (como se hizo en 30 de Marzo del año pasado de 1686) que proveyese á la Religion de la Compañia de Jesus, **para cada una de las doce iglesias**, que ha fabricado en los pueblos reducidos á nuestra Santa fé Católica de la nueva combercion de los naturales de las Yslas Marianas que esta á su cargo, con **un ornamento y campana** de que necesitan para lo cual se valiese de qualesquiera efectos, con calidad de reintegrar lo que costase de los de la Real hacienda por que no dexase de ir en la primera ocasion.*

*Ahora el Procurador General de esta Religion ha presentado testimonio, de que habiendo acudido á la Casa de Contratacion **no hay efectos en ella de que poder dar esta limosna**, y por estar tan proxima la partenza de la flota: Suplica á V.M. se sirva de mandar dar providencia á esto librandolo sobre la Caja de Mexico.*

Habiendose visto en el Consejo, pareció remitir á D. José de Veitia confiriese con el Procurador de esta Religion lo que esto podria constar y segun el tanteo, que ha hecho dice que siendo los ornamentos, casulla con sus adherentes, frontal, capa y paño de pulpito, y todo de Damasco, ó tela de equivalente calidad y duracion importara 2,600 pesos de á ocho reales de plata, los cuales siente el Consejo que en cumplimiento de lo que V.M. tiene mandado sobre esta limosna, será muy propio de su Católico celo tener por bien, se libren con derogacion de ordenes contrarias en la Caja Real de Mexico mandando se le den al Procurador de esta Religion de las Yslas Marianas, que reside en Mexico, para que compre las campanas, ornamentos, y demas cosas referidas con intervencion de D. Juan José de Veytia Linage Contador Mayor del Tribunal de Cuen-

¹ Ed. note: Veitia has just been transferred to Mexico (see below).

tas de Mexico, pues para que se haga con la seguridad que conviene, juzge el Consejo se ejecute asi, respecto de costearlo V.M. que mandara lo que mas fuere servido.

Madrid á 5 de Junio de 1687.

Hay siete rubricas.

Membrete

Consejo de Indias á 5 de Junio de 1687.

Es de parecer se libren en la Caxa de Mexico 2,600 pesos para la compra de las campanas y ornamentos, que V.M. tiene resuelto se den á las nuevas iglesias, que la Compañia de Jesus ha fabricado en las Yslas Marianas.

Rubricado.

Como parece.

Rubricado.

A D. Antonio Ortiz.

Translation.

Sire:

The Marquis of Los Velez; Count of Castellar; Don Bernardino de Valdés; Don Miguel Dicastillo; Don Luis Cerdeño; Don Francisco Camargo; Don José de Arredondo.

At the consultation of this Council Y.M. was pleased to decide that an order be sent to the House of Trade in Seville (as was done on 30 March of last year 1686) to provide the Order of the Society of Jesus **for each one of the 12 churches** that they have built in the towns reduced to our Holy Catholic Faith in the new conversion of the natives of the Mariana Islands which is in their care, with **one set of ornaments and one bell** that they need, for whose purpose they were to use whatever available cash, as long as their cost be reimbursed from the funds of the Royal treasury, to make sure that they would not fail to go at the first opportunity.

Now, the Procurator General of this Order has presented a declaration that, having approached the House of Trade, **there is no available cash to enable this alm**, and given that the departure date is so near: He beseeches Y.M. to please order the issue of a provision to have this sum drawn on the Treasury of Mexico.

This having been seen by the Council, it seemed advisable to ask Don José de Veitia to confer with the Procurator of this Order to come up with a budget, and after some discussion, he says that the set of ornaments, consisting of a chasuble with its accessories, an altar cloth, cape and cloth for a pulpit, and everything of damask, or a textile of equivalent quality and durability, might cost 2,600 pesos of eight silver reals. The Council feels that, to comply with what Y.M. has ordered regarding this alm, it would be very proper for the Catholic zeal to approve that they be drawn, notwithstanding orders to the contrary, on the Royal Treasury in Mexico, by ordering them to be given to the Procurator of this Order for the Mariana Islands who reside in Mexico, for the purchase of the bells, ornaments, and other things referred to, with the intervention of Don Juan José de Veitia Linage, Senior Accountant of the Tribunal of Accounts of

Mexico; indeed, in order to have this done with the appropriate security, the Council is of the opinion that it should be carried out thus, reason being that Y.M. is paying for same, but Y.M. will order what you please.

Madrid, 5 June 1687.

There are 7 signatures.

Endorsement:

The Council of the Indies, 5 June 1697.

Is of the opinion that 2,600 pesos be drawn on the Treasury in Mexico for the purchase of the bells and ornaments that Y.M. has already decided to give to the new churches that the Society of Jesus has built in the Mariana Islands.

Original signed.

Concur.

Original signed.

To Don Antonio Ortiz.

Documents 1687A

The mission band led by Fr. Baraona that left Spain in 1687

A1. List of the missionaries who arrived in 1688

Source: AGI Fil. 83-2-63.

Letter from Fr. Luis de Morales to the King, undated (but before 7 April 1687)

Original text in Spanish.

Señor

Luis de Morales de la Compañia de Jhs Procurador General por la Prov^a de Philipinas y misiones Marianas:

Dize que V.Mgd. por su Real cedula a sido servido de mandarseles de el aviamiento acostumbrado a setenta y ocho sujetos de su relijion para pasar a dha prov^a en esta proxima flota conzediendole pudiese llevar la tercera partte de estranjeros vasallos de V.Mgd, u de los estados hereditarios de la cassa de Austria y que lo que importase su aviamiento se pagase en las Reales Cajas de la Veracruz o Mejico como mas largamente constara por dha cedula[,] y no aviendo podido juntar mas que quarenta y un sujettos y desstos solo los ocho estranjeros cuyos nonbres y patrias son los siguientes:

- 1. Anttonio Baraona Sazerdote natural de Gumiel obispado de Osma.*
- 2. Raimundo Caramunt Sazerdote natural de Piera obispado de Barzelona.*
- 3. Miguel de Aparicio Sacerdote natural de Colomera arcobispado de Granada.*
- 4. Antonio Ferris Sacerdote natural de Paniza arcobispado de Zaragoza.*
- 5. Joachin Assin Sazerdote natural de Zaragoza y su arcobispado.*
- 6. Joseph Hernandez Sacerdote natural de Gandia arcobispado de Balenzia.*
- 7. Lorenzo Antonio Paez Saçerdote natural de Buendia obispado de Cuenca.*
- 8. Garzia Salgado Sazerdote natural de La Coruña arcobispado de Santiago.*
- 9. Isidro de Robles Sazerdote natural de Madrid arcobispado de Toledo.*

10. *Joseph Sayas Sazerdote natural de Toledo y su arcobispado.*
11. *Francisco Calderon Sazerdote natural de Carmona arcobispado de Sevilla.*
12. **Juan Caller [sic] Sazerdote natural de Silecia y su obispado.**
13. *Rodolfo Sensqui Sacerdote natural de Boemia y su arcobispado.*
14. *Jorge Sayac Sazerdote natural de Moravia y su obispado.*
15. *Adamo Call Sazerdote natural de Boemia y su arcobispado.*
16. *Daniel Prusner Sacerdote natural de Moravia y su arcobispado.*
17. *Juan Bierdier [sic] Sacerdote natural de Prus en Austria y su arcobispado.*
18. **Ph. Muscati Sacerdote natural de Naple y su arcobispado.**
19. *Joseph Monttero Sacerdote natural de Sevilla y su arcobispado.*
20. *Antonio de Robles Sacerdote natural de Granada y su arcobispado.*
21. *Pe. Joseph Tuberi natural de la villa de Forre arcobispado de Alle [or Caller?] en Zerdeña.*
22. *Alonso Ramos natural de Villar de Frodes obispado de Zamora estudiante filosofo.*
23. *Gaspar Marco natural de Villar arcobispado de Balenzia estudiante filosofo.*
24. *Pedro de La Hera natural de Tauste obispado de Tarazona estudiante filosofo.*
25. *Bizente Obrina natural de Elda obispado de Origuela estudiante filosofo.*
26. *Ponze Picornel natural de Mallorca y su obispado estudiante teologo.*
27. *Joachin Sanchez natural de Villa Robledo arcobispado de Toledo estudiante filosofo.*
28. *Francisco Ignacio de Arce natural de Guadalaxara arcobispado de Toledo estudiante filosofo.*
29. *Domingo Baldes natural de Balenzia de Don Juan obispado de Leon estudiante filosofo.*
30. *Marcelo Valdivieso natural de Fuentes obispado de Leon estudiante filosofo.*
31. *Pedro de Silva natural de Llerena priorato de Leon estudiante filosofo.*
32. *Andres Diaz natural de Saldaña obispado de Leon estudiante filosofo.*
33. *Juan Agramont natural de Escatron arcobispado de Zaragoza estudiante teologo.*
34. *Juan Francisco Nicuesa natural de Vundues obispado de Pamplona estudiante filosofo.*
35. *Antonio de La Peña natural de Berlanga obispado de Ziguena estudiante teologo.*
36. *Hermano Juan Basilioqui natural de la ciudad de Iglesias arcobispado de Caller [sic] en Zerdeña estudiante teologo.*
37. *Hermano Juan Tomas Lay natural de Caller y su obispado.*
38. **Miguel Escolano natural de Valenzia y su arcobispado hermano coadjutor.**
39. *Andres Belon natural de Canzelo obispado de Lugo coadjutor.*
40. *Jorge Camel natural de Moravia y su obispado coadjutor.*
41. **Juan Aller natural de Bohemia y su arcobispado coadjutor.**

A V.Mgd. pide y suplica se sirva de aprovar dhos sujetos en la forma acostumbrada y mandar que respecto de no poder enviar en esta presente flota la tercera parte de extranjeros al respeto de los quarenta y uno referidos en conformidad de nuevo horden de V.Mgd. no se les ponga impedimento para que en la siguiente vayan demas los extranjeros que en esta flota foltta [sobran?] y dejan de ir sin exceder del numero de la conçesion, en que rezivira merced de la liversal mano de V.Mgd.

Por ausençia de Luis Morales como Procurador General de Indias firmo este memorial,

Pedro de Espinar, S.J.

[Endorsement:] Ley 28 tit. 27 lib 9:

Consejo à 5 de Mayo 1687.

Vealo el Señor Fiscal.

[Opinion of the Fiscal:]

El Fiscal ha visto este memorial, y dice que segun la resolucion que dio el Consejo segun el decreto a instancias de el fiscal lo que se lo [le? no?] rendiria sobre el exceso en que conforme a la permission, abia incurrido Bernave Gutierrez para la mission de Mexico, este expediente viene en forma sin exceder de lo permitido, y asi parece corriente el passo, y que se le conceda llebe en otra ocasion los extranjeros que le faltan cumplimiento a la tercera parte de la pressente: lo [blot]-y segun el numero de 41 religiosos que se lleban aora, y entre ellos doze extranjeros, como lo manifiestan los numeros 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 21, 36, y 37, 40, y 41, solo parece que son dos los que se dexan de embiar y los queda que remitir conforme a la tercera parte de la mision presente, sin embargo de decirse en este memorial, no se embian mas que ocho, porque se padeze equibocacion por el suplicante en tener como tiene por naturales a los de Zerdeña; los quales conforme a la Ley 28 titulo 27 libro 9 de la Recopilacion de Indias, no estan comprehendidos en la naturaleza:

Y assi pide el fiscal que quede notado en la Secretaria para quando remitiere el resto de la mission, y que de esta y sus reparos passe la noticia a la Cassa para que conforme a la ley del Reyno lo tenga entendido y assi lo siente.

Madrid y Mayo 6 de 1687:

[Postscript:]

Si bien diciendo la ley que no se reputen por extranjeros los de las Islas de Mallorca y Menorca por ser de la Corona de Aragon, parece esta tambien por la misma caussa comprehendida la Isla de Zerdeña aunque no se expresa: Pero necessita de declaracion en cuia conformidad [declarara, crossed out in favor of:] intentara el Consejo lo que fuere servido.

Fecha ut supra.

[Decision of the Council:]

Consejo a 7 de Mayo 1687.

Apruebanse, y declarase por aora la porzion de Sardos por naturales de estos Reynos de Castilla por no considerar por la 3ª parte de extranjeros mas que los ocho que refiere el memorial.

Translation.

Sire:

Luis de Morales of the Society of Jesus, Procurator General for the Province of the Philippines and Mariana missions:

Declares that Your Majesty, by your Royal decree has been pleased to order that the usual outfit be given to the 78 subjects of his Order to go on to said province aboard this next fleet, granting it the permission for one third of them to be foreigners, either vassals of Your Majesty or from the House of Austria and that the total cost of their outfitting be paid out of the Royal treasuries in Veracruz or Mexico, as can be seen in greater details in said decree. And given that it has not been possible to collect more than 41 subjects, and that only 8 of them are foreigners, their names and hometowns are as follows:

1. Antonio Baraona, priest, born in Gumiel, diocese of Osma.
2. Raimundo Caramunt, priest, born in Piera, diocese of Barcelona.
3. **Miguel de Aparicio, priest, born in Colomera, archdiocese of Granada.**¹
4. Antonio Ferris, priest, born in Paniza, archdiocese of Zaragoza.
5. **Joaquin Asin, priest, born in Zaragoza and its archdiocese.**
6. **José Hernandez, priest, born in Gandía, archdiocese of Valencia.**
7. Lorenzo Antonio Paez, priest, born in Buendia, diocese of Cuenca.
8. **García Salgado, priest, born in Coruña, archdiocese of Santiago [de Compostella].**
9. Isidro de Robles, priest, born in Madrid, archdiocese of Toledo.
10. José Sayas, priest, born in Toledo and its archdiocese.
11. Francisco Calderon, priest, born in Carmona, archdiocese of Seville.
12. **Juan Caller, priest, born in Silesia and its archdiocese.**²
13. Rodolfo Sensqui, priest, born in Bohemia and its archdiocese.³
14. Jorge Sayac [sic], priest, born in Moravia and its diocese.⁴
15. Adamo Call, priest, born in Bohemia and its archdiocese.⁵
16. Daniel Prusner, priest, born in Moravia and its archdiocese.⁶
17. Juan Bierdier [i.e. Wierdier], priest, born in Prus in Austria and its archdiocese.

1 Ed. note: The missionaries whose names are printed in bold characters stopped at the Mariana Islands. Fr. Aparicio's hometown could be Colmenar, instead of Colomera.

2 Ed. note: This is a mistake, I think, for Juan Schirmeisen, and not to be confused, as here, with the Czech Brother Jan Caller mentioned in AGI Contratación 5550, under 1687, and reported as n° 41 below.

3 Ed. note: This is the Czech Father Rudolf Bcenski mentioned in AGI Contratación 5550, under 1687.

4 Ed. note: This is the Czech Father whose name is given as Jiri Saías in AGI Contratación 5550, under 1687. Jiri is the Czech way of writing George.

5 Ed. note: This is the Czech Father Adam Cal mentioned in AGI Contratación 5550, under 1687.

6 Ed. note: This is the Czech Father Daniel Prunér mentioned in AGI Contratación 5550, under 1687.

18. Ph[ilippo] Muscati, priest, born in Naples and its archdiocese.

19. José Montero, priest, born in Seville and its archdiocese.

20. Antonio de Robles, priest, born in Granada and its archdiocese.

21. Fr. José Tuberi, born in the town of Forre, archdiocese of Alle [sic] in Sardinia.¹

22. Alonso Ramos, born in Villar de Frodes, diocese of Zamora, philosophy student.

23. Gaspar Marco, born in Villar, archdiocese of Valencia, philosophy student.

24. Pedro de la Hera, born in Tauste, diocese of Tarazona, philosophy student.

25. Vicente Obrina, born in Elda, diocese of Orihuela, philosophy student.

26. Ponce Picornel, born in Majorca and its diocese, theology student.

27. Joaquin Sanchez, born in Villa Robledo, archdiocese of Toledo, philosophy student.

28. Francisco Ignacio de Arce, born in Guadalajara, archdiocese of Toledo, philosophy student.

29. Domingo Valdés, born in Valencia de Don Juan, diocese of León, philosophy student.

30. Marcelo Valdivieso, born in Fuentes, diocese of León, philosophy student.

31. Pedro de Silva, born in Llerena, priory of León, philosophy student.

32. Andrés Díaz, born in Saldaña, diocese of León, philosophy student.

33. Juan Agramont, born in Escatron, archdiocese of Zaragoza, theology student.

34. Juan Francisco Nicuesa, born in Vundues [=Lumbier?], diocese of Pamplona, philosophy student.

35. Antonio de la Peña, born in Berlanga, diocese of Sigüenza, theology student.

36. Brother Juan Basילוqui, born in the city of Iglesias, archdiocese of Caller [i.e. Cagliari] in Sardinia, theology student.

37. Brother Juan Tomás Lay, born in Caller and its diocese.

38. Miguel Escolano, born in Valencia and its archdiocese, brother coadjutor.

39. André Belon, born in Canzelo, diocese of Lugo, coadjutor.

40. Jorge Camel, born in Moravia and its diocese, coadjutor.²**41. Juan Aller, born in Bohemia and its archdiocese, coadjutor.³**

He begs and beseeches Your Majesty to please approve said subjects in the usual manner and, with respect to the impossibility of sending aboard this present fleet the third part of foreigners corresponding to the above-named 41 in accordance with the new order of Your Majesty, to order that no obstacle be raised to prevent the balance of the foreigners left over from this fleet from boarding the next fleet, provided they do not exceed the concession. This he will consider a favor from the liberal hand of Your Majesty.

1 Ed. note: Aller, rather Caller, was the Spanish form of Cagliari, the capital of Sardinia.

2 Ed. note: This is the Brother Jiri Camel mentioned in AGI Contratación 5550, under 1687.

3 Ed. note: This is the Brother Jan Caller mentioned in Contratación 5550, under 1687. See also n° 12 above.

In the absence of Luis Morales, Procurator General of the Indies, this memorial was signed by

Pedro de Espinar, S.J.

The Council, 5 May 1687.

Pass this to the Fiscal.

[Opinion of the Fiscal:]

[Endorsement:] Law 28, title 27, book 9.

The Fiscal has seen this memorial and declares that, in accordance with the decision taken by the Council regarding the decree, at the instance of the Fiscal that [no] exemption be made to the excess of foreigners over the allowed number which Bernabe Gutierrez had incurred for the mission band to Mexico, this file happens to be regular and not exceeding the number permitted, and so, the passage is normal.¹ And regarding the permit for foreigners on another occasion, in the amount of the third part of the present mission band: as part of the 41 religious now going, there are 12 foreigners, as shown in numbers 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 21, 36, 37, 40, and 41; so, it appears that there are only 2 missing foreigners who remain to be sent, to make up the third part of the present mission band, notwithstanding the mention in this memorial that no more than 8 foreigners are being sent, because the supplicant has made a mistake in assuming that those from Sardinia were native [Spaniards]; with reference to Law 28, title 27, book 9 of the Code of the Indies, they are not included as natives.

And so, the Fiscal begs that it be recorded in the Secretariat for when the rest of the mission band will be sent, and that the present and its objections be brought to the attention of the House [of Trade] to make sure things are done according to the law of the Kingdom, and such is his opinion.

Madrid, 6 May 1687.

[Postscript:]

Even though the law says that the people of the Islands of Majorca and Minorca are not considered foreigners, as they belong to the Crown of Aragon, it appears that the Island of Sardinia is also included for the same reason. However, it is not so stated, and a declaration to that effect would be necessary, in conformity thereof the Council will attempt² what pleases them.

Same date as above.

[Decision of the Council:]

The Council, 7 May 1687.

The list is approved, and it is declared for now that those from Sardinia are natives of these Kingdoms of Castile, and no more than the 8 referred to in the memorial should be considered foreigners.

1 Ed. note: Fr. Pallavicino, an Italian Jesuit who arrived at Guam in 1688, must have gone to Mexico with that mission band.

2 Ed. note: The word "declare" was crossed out in favor of the word "attempt".

A2. Memorial of Fr. Gutierrez, dated 9 June 1687

Source: AGI ex- 45-2-7/10; copy in Colección Pastells, Fil. 16, folios 70'et seq.

Original text in Spanish.

1687.—Padre Antonio Baraona de la Compañia de Jhs con 41 Religiosos de la dicha Compañia (en que esta incluso) que pasan a las Yslas Philipinas y Marianas a expensas de la Real Hazienda por quenta de los 78 Religiosos que estan concedidos a las dichas Yslas.

A las Yslas Philipinas y Marianas. Mission en el navio n[ombrado de la **Santissima Trinidad**[,] Maestre Juan Antonio Ruiz de Eguilaz[,] uno de los de la flota de Nueva España.

Nº XXIX en 9 de Junio 87.

El Padre Bernave Francisco Gutierrez de la Compañia de Jesus y Procurador general de las Provincias de las Yndias:

Digo que su Magestad por las Reales Zedulas que presento es servido conceder a la dicha Religion puedan pasar a costa de la Real Hazienda a las Yslas Philipinas y Marianas setenta y ocho Religiosos para la reducion y enseñanza de los naturales della de que tan solamente se han podido juntar quarenta y un sugetos en que se incluyen ocho extrangeros en lugar de la tercia parte que le esta concedida a la dicha Religion quedando los demas que corresponden a los dichos quarenta y un sugetos para otra ocasion[,] en conformidad de la aprobacion del Consejo que tambien presento.

Y porque en las dichas Reales Cedula se da orden para que en este tribunal se ajuste la quenta de lo que ymporta el aviamiento, viatico y entretenimiento de los dichos quarenta y un Religiosos y que de todo se de certificacion para que se pague de la Caja de la Vera Cruz.

*A V.S. pido y suplico mande que en la Contaduria Principal desta Casa se haga el dicho ajustamiento y certificacion que su Magestad manda y que asimismo se den los despachos de embarcacion necesarios para le Navio el **Santo Cristo de San Roman**[,] Maestre Juan de Armental a quien se a de consignar en la dicha Caja de la Vera Cruz el flete y pasaje de los dichos Religiosos: Pido justicia &a.*

Otrosi, Digo que para la formacion de los referidos despachos de embarcacion se necesita de hacer la reseña de los dichos Religiosos.

A V.S. pido y suplico mande se execute en la forma ordinaria y que la de los dichos ocho extrangeros (atento a haver llegado a Cadiz enfermos y muy quebrantados del viage) se cometa al Señor Don Francisco Lorenzo de San Millan Juez Oficial desta Real Audiencia que asiste en aquella Ciudad en que recibire merced con Justicia que pido &a.

*Otrosi, Digo que el navio en que han de yr los sugetos es el nombrado **la Santissima Trinidad**, Maestre Juan Antonio Ruiz de Eguilaz y no el que arriva se refiere.*

*A V.S. pido y suplico que los despachos de embarcacion se entiendan con el dicho Maestre Juan Antonio Ruiz de Eguilaz y no con Juan de Armental. Pido Justicia &a. Y presento todos los instrumentos concernientes a esta Mission.
Bernave Francisco Gutierrez.*

Translation.

[File endorsement:] 1687.—Father Antonio Baraona of the Society of Jesus with 41 Religious of said Society (including himself) who are going to the Philippine and Mariana Islands at the expense of the Royal Treasury, as part of the 78 Religious who have been granted to said Islands.

To the Philippines and Marianas. Mission band aboard the ship named **Santissima Trinidad**, Master Juan Antonio Ruiz de Eguilaz, one of those belonging to the fleet of New Spain.

Nº XXIX [Seville] dated 9 June 1687.

I, Father Bernabe Francisco Gutierrez of the Society of Jesus and Procurator General for the Provinces of the Indies:

Declare that His Majesty, in the Royal decrees that I exhibit, was pleased to grant to said Order the passage at the expense of the Royal Treasury to the Philippine and Mariana Islands of 78 Religious for the reduction and education of their natives. It has been possible to assemble only 41 subjects, including 8 foreigners, instead of the one-third proportion that was granted to said Order, and there remains the balance that corresponds to said 41 subjects for another occasion, in conformity with the approval of the Council that I also exhibit.

And because in said Royal decrees an order is given to have the account reconciled in this tribunal for what makes up the outfitting, travel expenses including food supplies of said 41 Religious and to have everything certified in writing in order to have it paid by the Treasury in Veracruz:

I beg and beseech Your Lordship to order the main Accounting Office of this House [of Trade] to perform said reconciliation and certification of His Majesty's orders, and in addition, to have them give the necessary despatches for boarding the ship **Santo Cristo de San Román**, Master Juan de Armental, to whom must be paid by the said Treasury office in Veracruz the freight charges and fares of said Religious. I ask for justice, etc.

Besides, I declare that for the creation of the above-mentioned despatches for boarding, it is necessary for said Religious to be physically inspected:

I beg and beseech Your Lordship to order that it be carried out in the usual manner and that the inspection of said 8 foreigners (considering that they have arrived sick at Cadiz and very shaken by the voyage) be committed to Don Francisco Lorenzo de San Millán, official judge of this Royal Audiencia who resides in that City, which I will consider a favor with the justice that I ask for, etc.

Besides, I declare that the ship that the subjects must use is the ship named **Santissima Trinidad**, Master Juan Antonio Ruiz de Eguilaz and not the one mentioned above: I beg and beseech Your Lordship to have the boarding despatches mention said Master Juan Antonio Ruiz de Eguilaz and not Juan de Armental. I ask for justice, etc. And I present all the instruments concerning this mission band.
Bernabe Francisco Gutierrez.

A3. Inspection of the first group of subjects before boarding

Duty officer for the week, Don Pablo Rubio.

There appeared before me 34 religious of the 41 who are to board this fleet to go on to the Philippine and Mariana Islands, out of the 78 passages granted to the said Islands, and they are the following:

...

2. Fr. Antonio Baraona, priest, in charge of this mission band, native of Gumiel in the Diocese of Osma, aged 35, good body, slim, white complexion, black hair.

...

4. Fr. Miguel de Aparicio, priest, native of Colomera [=Colmenar?] in the Archdiocese of Granada, aged 30, tall, swarthy complexion, black hair.

...

6. Fr. Joaquín Asin, priest, native of Zaragoza in the Archdiocese of Zaragoza, aged 34, average height, slim, black hair.

7. Fr. Joseph Hernandez, priest, native of Gandía in the Archdiocese of Valencia, aged 28, good body, slim, black hair.

...

9. Fr. García Salgado, priest, native of Coruña, Archdiocese of Santiago, aged 32, good body, fat, white complexion, one scar on the forehead.

...

25. Fr. Marcelo Valdivieso, native of Fuentes [de Ropel], Diocese of León, student in philosophy, aged 17, tall, slim, beardless, white complexion, blond hair.

...

Those are the 34 Religious who were physically examined in the College of San Hermenegildo of this City of Seville, on 30 May 1687.¹

Pablo Rubio.

1 Ed. note: On second thought, I should have looked for and copied the information about Fr. Juan Aller, rather Schirmeisen.

A4. Inspection of the second group of subjects before boarding

Physical inspection of the 7 Religious of the Society of the Mission on the way to the Philippines and Marianas under the care of Fr. Antonio de Baraona:

Before Mr. Francisco Lorenzo de San Millán.

There appeared Fr. Antonio de Baraona of the Society of Jesus in charge of the mission band of 41 Religious, including himself, on their way to the Philippines and Marianas with permission from His Majesty and at the expense of his Royal Treasury with the said Religious, for the purpose of inspecting 7 of them who could not be inspected in Seville and their names, places of origin, ages, and special marks are as follows:

1. Fr. Rodolfo Sens [sic],¹ who is a native of Prague in Bohemia, priest, 40 years of age, average height, some grey hair.

2. Fr. Jorge Saias [sic], native of Silesia, priest, 32 years old, white complexion, plump body, auburn hair.

3. Fr. Adamo Call, native of Bohemia, priest, 30 years old, tall, fleshy face and white complexion.

4. Fr. Daniel Prusner, native of Silesia, priest, 35 years old, plump body, some baldness, blond hair.

5. Fr. Juan Berdier, native of Corintio in Austria, priest, 38 years old, tall, dark hair and pale.

6. Brother Jorge Camel, native of Moravia, Coadjutor, 26 years old, average height, auburn hair, white complexion.

7. Brother Juan Aller, native of Bohemia, Coadjutor, 32 years old, average height, plump, and white complexion.

...

Cadiz 20 June 1687.

A5. Certificate issued in Prague for the second group of subjects

Original in Latin.

*Mathias Tanner Prepositus Provincialis Societatis Jesu in Provincia Boemie.
Omnibus in quorum manus hæ literæ venerint, salutem in Domino sempiternam.
Cum dilectum in Cristo Fratres nostros PP. Rodolphum Bcenski, Georgium Hayac,
Adamus Call, Danielelem Prusner, Joannem Wierdier, et Fratres Georgium Kamell et
Joannem Aller ex obedientia ad Indos mittamus testatum volumus eos esse Societatis
nuestræ Religiosos, et quinque primos Sacerdotes nullis impedimentis prohibitos, quo-*

1 Ed. note: See A5 below for the proper ways to write their names.

minus Missa ubique celebrare, confesiones audire, concionari, cæteraque Societatis nostræ ministeria exercere possint; et si per aliqua Collegia nostra [sic] transierint excipi solita charitate debere; dignosque esse qui cum a nostris, tum ab aliis omnibus tamquam Dei servos excipiantur, et humaniter tractentur: Yn quorum fidem has literas manu nostra [sic] subscriptas ac sigillo Societatis nostræ [sic] munitas dedimus.¹

Pragæ die 1^a Martii Anno 1687.

Mathias Tanner.

Translation.

Matthew Tanner, Provincial of the Society of Jesus in the Province of Bohemia.

To all those in whose hands the present may come, greetings in God everlasting!

With pleasure in Christ I attest that our Brothers Fathers Rudolf Bcenski, Georg Hayac [sic], Adam Call, Daniel Prusner, Johann Wierdier, and Brothers Georg Kamell and Johann Aller are being sent to the Indies by holy obedience and that they are religious members of our Society, the first five being priests with no impediments whatever from saying mass, hearing confessions, preaching, and exercising our other ministries; and if they happen to stop at any of our Colleges, they are to receive the usual charity; and they are worthy to be received as servants of God, not only by ours but also by anyone else, and humanly treated.

In faith whereof I have affixed my name and securely attached the seal of our Society, in Prague, 1 March 1687.

Matthew Tanner.²

A6. Instruction given to Fr. Baraona, superior of the mission band leaving Spain in 1687

Source: RAH 9/2668, doc. 121.

Original text in Spanish.

Instrucción para el P. Antonio Baraona Superior de la Misión de Philipinas, que se embarca en la flota de '87 del cargo del Gen. Don Joseph de Santillan.

La edificación y modestia en el porte con los seglares en el Navio, asi en esta neva-geción del norte, como en la de el Sur y el cuidado en los ejercicios espirituales de oración, exsamen, etc. en lo que permite la incomodidad de el Navio...

A los Hermanos novicios señalara V.R. un Pe. que cuyde de ellos y a quien acudan; y los confiese el Pe. Miguel de Aparicio...

...

¹ Ed. note: The original transcriber of this document was obviously Spanish.

² Ed. note: The above certificate was a standard format. The same text was used by the Provincial of Naples to present Fr. Felipe Muscati on 13 February 1687; he too was destined to serve in the Marianas.

En Acapulco nos paga pasaje de Navio de el Rey en el alcazar; y las misiones llevan su matalotaje; digo esto porque en las Misiones de los años '78, y '80, y '82 no se a estilado asi el estilo que sea [= se ha] tenido a sido costosisimo para la Provincia. Aora no va mas Mission que la de V.R^a; que con la cosa preve[nida] y disposicion del Pe. Procurador de Philipinas, eligira lo mejor acia la Provincia, y Mission; y tambien acia el Pe. Morales, que queda con el cuidado, y cargo de otra.

En las Marianas se suelen quedar algunos sugetos, los que ban para las Marianas segun la concesion son 10 Pes. y 1 Hermano coadjutor; en esto no se puede disponer desde aquí lo que se a de hacer, ni aora, que no sean juntado todo los sugetos de la concecion, puede tener lugar el que darse todo[s] y así de orden expreso de el Pe. Luys de Morales. digo a V.R^a que conforme al orden (si le ubiese en Mexico del Pe. Prov. de Philipinas) y segun la necesidad de sujetos que ubiese en dhas Islas Marianas, dejara en ellas V.R^a los que el Pe. Vice Provincial le pidiese, pero con dos condiciones, la una que no a de quedar Pe. ninguno que no aya acabado sus estudios, y este examinado de ellos para la profesion, u, otro grado, ni por instancias, ni ruegos, ni con pretexto ninguno dejará V.R^a alguno; ni hermano actual estudiante; y mucho menos si dijere que por el bien de las Almas y dedicasse desde luego a su servicio, y bien, quiere dejar los estudios. por que no conviene ni a ellos, ni a la Prov^a ni los Pes. Provinciales ni quieren tal cosa; la otra, que es el numero, que quedare no exceda de los 10 Pes. y un Hermano coadjutor y esto aunque alguno, o algunos de los que actualmente estan en las Marianas sea preciso pase a las Philipinas o, por enfermo, o por otra causa. Y en esto ruego, y encargo a V.R^a no aya omission, interpretación, ni falta por ser como digo orden expreso del Pe. Luys de Morales. Y no dudo sea disposición tambien de la Provincia. En la Mission siguiente si faltaren a las Marianas sujetos, se le dejaron tambien.

*Con esto V.R^a y toda la Mission tengan un buen viage que yo les deseo.
M[adrid] y Junio 3 de 1687.*

Translation.

Instruction given to Fr. Antonio Baraona, Superior of the mission band boarding the fleet of 1687 under the command of General José de Santillán.¹

Edification and modesty in dealing with civilians about the ship, not only during the Atlantic crossing, but also in the Pacific crossing, and the care taken in the spiritual exercises such as prayers, examinations [of conscience], etc. within the limitations presented by the lack of comfort aboard the ship...

You are to point out a Father to take care of the novice Brothers, whom they may consult; **Fr. Miguel de Aparicio** is to confess them...

In Acapulco, they pay for us the transport cost aboard the King's ship, in the after-deck; the mission bands carry their own food supplies. The reason I say this is because in the years 1678, 1680, and 1682, we were not accomodated in this style and it was very

¹ Ed. note: The fleet of General José Hernandez de Santillán reached Veracruz on 17 September 1684.

costly for the Province. Now, there is no other Mission than that of Y.R. Having thus been forewarned, and the arrangement made by the Fr. Procurator of the Philippines, you are to choose the best for the Province, and Mission; and also for **Fr. Morales**, who is left in charge of another band.¹

In the Marianas, it is usual to leave some subjects. Those who are going to the Marianas, according to the concession, are 10 Fathers and 1 Brother coadjutor. In this regard, it is not possible to arrange from here what should be done, and not even now, as not all the subjects in the concession have been gathered. It could be that all of them may stay [there], and that would be as a result of an express order from Fr. Luis de Morales. I am telling Y.R. that, depending on the possible order that might be given in Mexico by the Fr. Provincial of the Philippines, and on the need for subjects that might exist in the said Mariana Islands, Y.R. will leave those whom the Fr. Vice-Provincial there might ask, but on two conditions: one is that no Father should stay who has not finished his studies, and passed his exam for the profession, or another grade. Y.R. must not leave any such subject, no matter what the request, prayer, or pretext used, not one brother who is presently studying, and much less if he should say that it is for the good of the souls, that he wishes to leave the studies in order to dedicate himself to that. The reason is that it is not convenient, neither for them, nor for the Province, and is contrary to the wishes of the Father Provincials. The other [condition] has to do with the number to be left; it is not to exceed 10 Fathers and 1 Brother coadjutor, and this applies in spite of the eventual departure of any number of those already in the Marianas for the Philippines, for reason of sickness, or any other reason. In this regard, I beg and order Y.R. not to fail me, or interpret this differently, since, as I have said, it is an express order from Fr. Luis de Morales. I do not doubt that this will also apply for the next mission band, should the Marianas lack subjects, they should also be left there.

Withal, I wish Y.R. and the whole mission band a good voyage.

Madrid, 3 June 1687.

[Unsigned]²

1 Ed. note: See Doc. 1689J.

2 Ed. note: Fr. Baraona, the mission band leader, must have stayed behind for one year in Mexico, because he crossed the Pacific only in 1689 (see Doc. 1690E).

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OYAUNE

ROY.

DE TONQUIN

DAVA

DE SIAM

ROY. DE COCHINCHINE

ROY. DE BOHÉ

MÉR DE

CALSINE

LES ISL

LES ISLES DE LA SONDE

BORNEO

MÉR

DES

INDES

ISLE DE

APRU